

Trieste 1768:

Winckelmann
privato

a cura di
Maria Carolina Foi
Paolo Panizzo





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*A Maria Fancelli,
'triestina' e winckelmanniana*

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The money and medals in Winckelmann's pockets

BRUNO CALLEGHER

On 16 November 1758, in a letter from Florence to the Saxon collector and diplomat Christian Ludwig von Hagerdorn (1712-1780)¹, Winckelmann expressed his enthusiasm for the offer of Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692-1779)² to enter his service, receiving lodgings and 10 ecus [scudi] per month as recompense. This possibility of returning to Rome, remaining 'his own master'³ and dedicating himself to antiquarian studies made his desire to 'live and die in Rome' feasible, as he had written only five days earlier in strict confidence, again from Florence⁴, to his school-friend Konrad Friedrich Uden (1719-1798)⁵. Over time, however, the Roman situation changed enough that in the summer of 1765 he tried to arrange his return to Berlin. Frederick II of Prussia (1712-1786) had offered him the

1 H. Gronemeyer, *Hagedorn, Christian Ludwig*, in: *Hamburgische Biografie*, 5, Göttingen, 2010, pp. 162–163.

2 L. Lewis, *Albani Alessandro*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1, Roma, 1960: <www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alessandro-albani__ (Dizionario-Biografico)>. Site consulted 10 March 2019.

3 M. Fancelli & J. Raspi Serra (eds.), *Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Lettere* [in the following: *Winckelmann. Lettere*]. I-III. *Edizione italiana completa*, Roma, Istituto Italiano di Studi Germanici, 2016, pp. 556-557

4 *Winckelmann. Lettere*. I, pp. 551-553.

5 This is recorded in *Winckelmann. Lettere*. I-III, *ad indicem*.

prestigious post of Librarian and Keeper of the Numismatic Cabinet and Antiquities with an annual salary of 1000 thalers, but Winckelmann demanded 2000 thalers so the Berlin option rapidly vanished, leaving him «between moments of despair and bursts of pride, escapism and processing of this defeat suffered»⁶. The success of the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterhums*, not always easy relations with the papal aristocracy and the intensifying of contacts with German Princes and scholars reawakened his desire for a return to Berlin⁷, perhaps even a reconciliation with the Berlin court for some position fitting his renown. Indeed, in November 1767, on his return from Naples, from being a hope the journey to Germany became realistic⁸. He also wrote to his friend Heinrich Wilhelm Muzell Stosch (1723-1782)⁹: «I am seriously thinking of a journey»,

«La mia partenza dovrebbe essere a marzo e non sarà senza difficoltà, specialmente da parte del Cardinale [Alessandro Albani], che ne direste di venire a Dessau quando ci sarò anch'io? Faremo insieme il viaggio a Berlino»¹⁰.

Some months later it was well organized: he wrote to Muzell Stosch at the end of March 1768 that

«Per il mio viaggio ho ottenuto una licenza illimitata tanto dal mio Signore che dai miei superiori; ma vi devo avvisare che arriverò in compagnia del nostro scultore migliore, Barthol. Cavaceppi [Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1715-1799)]¹¹, che per amor mio vuol, fare tutto il viaggio per quanto esso possa durare»¹².

6 M. Fancelli, *La gloria e la morte*, in: *Winckelmann. Lettere*. III, pp. 8-9.

7 *Winckelmann. Lettere*. III, Letter to Count L. von Moltke, 9 December 1767, p. 440: «Per questa traduzione dei miei pensieri [translation in French of the *Storia dell'Arte*] non sento in me alcuna predisposizione particolare, potrei impiegare meglio il mio tempo [...] A lungo andare è un boccone amaro e mi impedisce di vedere la mia patria, cosa che invece desidero con tutto il cuore».

8 Fancelli, *La gloria e la morte*, cit., p. 17.

9 As well as being one of the principal correspondents in *Winckelmann. Lettere*. I-III, *ad indicem*, for their shared interest in collecting cf U.R. Hansson, “Ma passion... ma folie dominante”. Stosch, *Winckelmann, and the Allure of the Engraved Gems of the Ancient*, in: “MDCCC 1800”, 3 (2014), pp. 13-33; Idem, *Philipp von Stosch and the Museo Stoschiano in Rome*, in: M. C. Cola (ed.), *Mostrare il sapere: biblioteche, camerini, studioli e raccolte antiche tra Barocco e primo Settecento*, posted on academia.edu on 24 August 2018; Idem, “On Oracle for Collectors. Philipp Stosch and the Collecting and Dealing in Antiquities in Early Eighteenth-Century Rome and Florence”, in: S. Borcken & A. Turpin (eds.), *The Art Market: Collectors and Agents Then and Now*, forthcoming (on academia.edu).

10 *Winckelmann. Lettere*. III, Letter to H.W. Muzell Stosch, 19 December 1767, pp. 410-412.

11 S. Howard, *Cavaceppi Bartolomeo*, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 22, Roma, 1979: <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-cavaceppi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-cavaceppi_(Dizionario-Biografico))>. For his role in European antiques in the second half of the 18th century: S. A. Meyer & C. Piva, *L'arte di ben restaurare. La Raccolta d'antiche statue (1768-1772) di Bartolomeo Cavaceppi*, Firenze, Nardini Editore, 2011, *passim*.

12 *Winckelmann. Lettere*. III, Letter to H.W. Muzell Stosch, 23 March 1768, pp. 452-453.

A little later he even described the itinerary: «I leave here [Rome] next Sunday, that is the 10th of this month [April] by way of Venice, Verona, Augusta, Munich, Vienna, Prague, Dresden and Leipzig»¹³. But the correspondence sent during the uncomfortable weeks in a carriage revealed not only regret and fear of seeing his expectations for the contacts in Berlin frustrated, but also a more intense anxiety to turn back with the increasing distance:

«Infastidito dal lungo penoso viaggio e dalla Germania med^{ma}, penso di tornarmene a Trieste per Ancona a Roma, sperando arrivarvi verso il fine del mese corrente»¹⁴. Again in the last correspondence with Muzell Stosch on 14 May, having just reached Vienna: «Da Augusta a qui ho fatto ogni sforzo per essere contento; ma il mio cuore dice non e non riesco a controllare la repulsione verso questo lungo viaggio»¹⁵. On the route from Rome to Dessau-Berlin, the Viennese digression does not appear very obvious, probably motivated by a commission at the highest level: to consign two letters from Cardinal Albani to Prince Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg (1711-1794) and the Empress Maria Theresa¹⁶, perhaps also to meet some collector because the correspondence of that period describes connections not Roman but rather with Princes, VIPs and scholars of other cities especially in northern Europe. It will be the testimony of the dying Winckelmann, the records of the Trieste investigation, and the deposition of the killer Francesco Arcangeli (1740-1768), that confirm the meeting with the highest authorities in Vienna. In the absence of documents and being able to refer only to the trial transcripts, the nostalgia for Rome perhaps arose from a request of the prime minister or the Empress to be the bearer of a message in reply to Albani's letters. This comes from the minutes of the trial, in the testimony of Gasparo Griotti, manager of the cafe where Arcangeli and Wickelmann habitually drank coffee. He stated that he had known from Arcangeli himself that the Todesco» ... «portava una scatola al Cardinale Albani sigillata»¹⁷.

From Vienna, therefore, Winckelmann departed for Rome taking the shortest route: Vienna-Trieste-Ancona. And at Trieste, for the investigating magistrate it will be a question of medals rather than

13 Winckelmann. *Lettere*. III, Letter to H.W. Muzell Stosch, 6 April 1768, pp. 458-459.

14 Winckelmann. *Lettere*. III, Letter to A. M. Bianconi, Regensburg 8 May 1768, pp. 460.

15 Winckelmann. *Lettere*. III, Letter to H.W. Muzell, Regensburg 8 May 1768, pp. 460.

16 Fancelli, *La gloria e la morte*, cit., p. 17.

17 Trieste. Biblioteca Civica "A. Hortis". Archivio Diplomatico, ms αE3, n. 27 1768 *Criminale contro Franc. Archangeli in puncto omicidij* edited by C. Pagnini e E. Bartolini, *L'assassinio di Winckelmann. Gli atti originali del processo criminale [1786]*, Milano, Longanesi, 1971 as ms XE3, p. 132. Substitutes the previous *Gli atti originali del processo criminale per l'uccisione di Giovanni Winckelmann, 1768 / trascrizione, presentazione e note di Cesare Pagnini*, Trieste, La Società di Minerva, 1964 [below Pagnini 1964]. M. Vidulli Torlo, *Un atroce misfatto. L'assassinio di Winckelmann a Trieste*, Trieste, Edizioni dei Musei Civici di Storia e Arte, 2012, p. 16.

«Quel traditore [---] a cui feci vedere delle monete d'silver grandi, e due d'oro, fra le quali una di queste grande, che l'Empress mi regalò in Schenbrun, in cui v'era il ritratto del Prencipe di Lichtenstein [---] Che non volevo fare pubblicità, né farmi conoscere»¹⁸.

Apart from the medals, even if the term at that time had an uncertain and ambivalent semantic value¹⁹, what is learned is a direct confirmation, almost *in articulo mortis*, of the conversation with Maria Theresa and her plenipotentiary von Kaunitz. On this, other and more notable information emerged from the interrogation in which Arcangeli retraced his conversations with the unknown personage, dominated by the hurry to reach Rome:

«Mi raccontò il motivo, per cui esso era andato a Vienna, cioè d'essere stato mandato, ne mi disse da chi, e che a Vienna avesse scoperto a Sua Maestà Maria Teresa un raggio, di cui molto poteva prevalersene, ma non spiegò in cosa consistesse questo raggio, ne io gli ne feci ricerca a questa sua confidenza fattami».

These confidences were later repeated,

«Discorrendo con lo stesso, mentre passeggiavamo»: «D'aver il suo cuore quieto d'essere stato mandato a Vienna, d'aver scoperto a Sua Sagra Maestà questo raggio, che aveva ricevuto mille accoglienze, e che in quel abito in cui si trovava era stato accettato, e si fosse trattenuto solo con essa, e fosse stato introdotto per le scalle segrete, facendolo passare per dove stavano le Dame. Che la Sua Maestà voleva, che si trattenesse in Vienna, ma che a lui non piaceva, che l'avesse introdotto un principe, che è la prima Persona dopo l'imperatore, che fa li fatti dell'impero. Che Sua Maestà li avesse regalato una medal d'oro, e due d'silver incartate, non sapendo ne pure cosa fossero, che li disse, che quello era il suo ritratto, che ne tenesse conto, e che si poteva compromettere molto da sua Maestà»²⁰.

He also asserted that that traveller of whom he did not know the personal details had more than once said that he did not consider him a spy and had thus confided in him to obtain help in finding a fast boat rental for Ancona. Indeed,

18 Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L'assassinio*, cit., pp. 40-41.

19 On the use of the two terms cf M.A. McCrory, *Medaglie, monete e gemme: etimologia e simbolismo nella cultura del tardo Rinascimento italiano*, in: M. Buora (ed.), *La tradizione classica nella Medaglia d'Arte dal Rinascimento al Neoclassico. Atti del convegno internazionale - Castello di Udine, 23-24 ottobre 1997*, Trieste, Editreg, 1999, pp. 39-52; A. Saccocci, *La tradizione iconografica classica nella produzione di Roberto Cremosini... spunti di antropologia della medaglia*, in: G. Zampieri (ed.), *Roberto Cremosini scultore e medaglista. Un artista ritrovato*, Padova-Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2018, pp. 111-127, in part. p. 112; A. Saccocci, *Una spaesata medaglia carrarese fra i toni di imperatori romani riprodotti nella Madonna con Bambino di Bernardino Butinone (1482-1485 c.) - Collezione Borromeo di Isola Bella, Stresa*, in: A. Savio & A. Cavagna (eds.), *Saggi di Medaglistica*, Milano, Società Numismatica Italiana, 2018, pp. 117-132, in part. pp. 123-124.

20 Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L'assassinio*, cit., pp. 89-90.

the two testimonies converge, and it does not appear plausible that a drifter like Arcangeli could invent, in his defence, what had happened at the court of Vienna. The motive for the crime is therefore attributed to the medals, their rarity and their value: a murder for robbery. But if that was the motive, is it possible that the youngster from Venice (Arcangeli was only 28 years old), by his own admission for days close to the unknown Winckelmann in Trieste, wouldn't have heard the jingling of the coins sewn into the «brache nere», on the various day-to-day occasions?²¹ No-one seems to have paid attention to the meticulous inventory of this money made by Judge Stanislao de Kupfersein in the presence of the witnesses Antonio Tosoni and Pietro Bratti²² and that is proposed here as evidence in a scheme divided by pockets and their contents (fig. 1). The list of coins found among the personal effects has to take into account the nomenclature of the values then in use and circulating in the Austrian empire in 1768, established by Viennese Sovereign Licenses and traceable in the exchange rates of the period²³. Because the coins are only cited without their respective dates and mints, this obviously compromises the reliability of their identification²⁴.

21 Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L'assassinio*, cit., p. 39.

22 Trieste. Biblioteca Civica "A. Hortis". Archivio Diplomatico, ms αE3, document no. 3, among the attachments to Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L'assassinio*, cit., pp. 278-279, already published in D. de Rossetti, *Il sepolcro di Winckelmann in Trieste*, Venezia, Tipografia di Alvisopoli, 1823, p. 120, a volume that summarizes the trial minutes, but with precise references to the papers of the entire documentation gathered in the investigation and trial. cursory and partial reference is made in F. de Callatay, *Winckelmann et les monnaies antiques*, in : «Revue des études grecques», 120 (2007.2), pp. 553-601, in part. p. 555 : « Les pièces du procès indiquent que Winckelmann voyageait à ce moment avec 79,5 ducats papaux et 81 ducats impériaux, lesquels sont comptés dans l'inventaire après le décès pour plus de cinq fois la valeur des deux médailles en or ». On the congruence of this citation is the inventory in the records of the investigation especially for the «81 ducats impériaux» cf *ultra*.

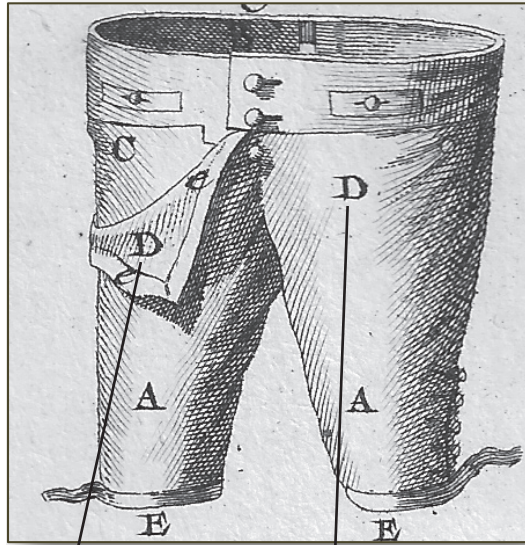
23 Particularly useful, because written in Trieste ambits and directed at verifiable exchanges in a place of rapid growth, are G. Barzellini, *Valore delle monete secondo le Sovrane Patenti*, Trieste, Tipografia dei Padri Mechitaristi, 1754; G. Barzellini, *Aritmetica di valute austriache colle rispettive loro tavole*, Gorizia, apresso Antonio Venier, 1770.

24 For the nomenclature cf E. Martimori, *La moneta. Vocabolario generale*, Roma, Istituto Italiano di Numismatica (Vincenzo Bartelli), 1915, *ad indicem*. The following examples described and proposed with photos were chosen from one of the various mints active during the reign of Maria Theresa, among these Vienna, Prague, Kremnitz: V. Miller zu Aichholz, A. Loehr & E. Holmair, *Österreichische Münzprägungen 1519-1938*, Wien, 1948, *ad indicem*; C.L. Krause & C. Mishler, *Standard Catalog of World Coins Eighteenth Century 1701-1800* [in the following Krause & Mishler 1993], Iola Wisconsin, Krause Pubns Inc, 1993, *ad indicem*.



Dighton, Charr; Cross, London, 1800. A man of fashion in 1700 (Copyright: Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University).

Diderot, d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie - L'art du tailleur*, tab. 2: Kniehosen des späten 18. Jh. (Credits: Wikipedia).



108 coins = g 450 gold



121 coins = g 660 silver



Fig. 1 Reconstruction of the coins in Winckelmann's pockets.

Alla saccocia drita [destra] nelle braghe furono ritrovati li seguenti effetti	Nella parte sinistra della saccocia delle braghe fu trovato una altra borsa di setta verde con entro
una moneta da 20:k.ni [carantani]	Ongari Papali N. 79 ½ et un Ongaro Olandese
una d.ta [moneta] da 10: k.ni [carantani]	Dall'altra parte più stretta della stessa borsa furono ritrovati
petizze: 2	Ongari Papali N. 14
grossi impli 2	Impli N. 4
soldi Imperiali 13; et due mezi	Cremnizer N. 2
Più una borsa di setta verde con entro da una parte della med.ma N. 81: Impli	Olandesi N. 2
Più nell'altra parte di d.ta borsa dalla parte più stretta	Luigi d'oro N. 5
Mezzi pauli N. 12: romani	
Paulo intiero uno [romano]	
Sei mezzi Pauli Fiorentini	

It does not require much calculation to demonstrate that the sums were significant and carefully distributed in two pockets: in the right those for normal purchases, in the left the coins in precious metal, to exchange when needed. A prudent separation in preparation for the journey and a precaution against any risks. Is it therefore possible that Winckelmann would leave the «brache nere» with so many precious coins in his hotel bedroom, at the mercy of the domestic staff, or is it more logical to suppose that he always wore them for security? And in that case, was there never any sound, a jingling of silver or gold?

Once described and consigned to the “Deposits Office” of the Trieste Tribunal, track of the actual content of the different “pockets” was lost so it is impossible today to establish an accurate correspondence between coins censused and those actually possessed. So, starting from the various denominations circulating in those years in the Austrian empire, and therefore also in Trieste, it was decided to show plausible examples between archive data and sums possessed by Winckelmann.

The first denomination recorded is a piece of 20 carantianians, a multiple of the unit of account carantianian/kreuzer a coin that had become very debased, then struck in billions.



20 caratanians/kreuzer 1763.

O/Bust of Maria Theresa. M.THERESIA.D:G.R.IMP.GE.HUBO.REG. in a palm and laurel crown

R/Crowned imperial coat of arms, on aedicule between branch of olive and palm, inscribed the value 20. ARCHID.AUST.DUX.BURG.CO.TYR.1763.X. Vienna mint.

Silver; 6.57 g; 28 mm.

Krause & Mishler 1993, p. 63.

Ref. Photo: Macho & Chlapović. Auction 12, no. 1137;

<http://www.coinarchives.com/w/openlink.php?l=2627030|2563|1137|37948dbbbdd42dc e225264ddfb481944>

In the list another coin followed, a piece of 10 caratanians.



10 caratanians/kreuzer 1756.

D/Bust of Maria Theresa. M.THERESIA.D:G.R.IMP.GE.HU.BO.REG. in a palm and laurel crown

R/Crowned imperial coat of arms, on aedicule between branch of olive and palm, inscribed with the value 10. ARCHID.AUST.DUX.BUR.CO.TYR.1756.X. Vienna mint.

Silver; 3.9 g; 28 mm.

Krause & Mishler 1993, p. 65.

Ref. Photo: Numizmatik Lanz München, Auction 150, 13 December 2010, no.529;

<http://www.coinarchives.com/w/openlink.php?l=930687|688|529|dca2218a16879bc8ed5>

The two petizze, a name of Slavic derivation, were multiples with a value of 17 caratanians²⁵.

²⁵ Martinori, *La moneta*, cit., *ad indicem*.



17 caratanians/kreuzer 1762 (petizza).

O/Bust of Maria Theresa. M.THERESIA.D:G.R.IMP.GE.HU.BO.REG.

R/Crowned imperial coat of arms; at the base value XVII. BURG.CO.TYR.1762.X ARCHID. AUST.DUX. Vienna mint.

Krause & Mishler 1993, p. 65.

Ref. Photo: Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 165, 8 March 2010, nr. 1362; <https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=809549&AucID=597&Lot=1362>

Imperial grosso indicated a multiple of that unit, equalling 3 caratanians struck during the reign of Maria Theresa with variations of the imperial coat of arms on the reverse. A specimen of 1765 is proposed here, chronologically close to 1768.



Imperial Grosso of 3 caratanians/kreuzer 1765.

O/Bust of Maria Theresa. M.THERES.D.G.R.I.G.AU.BO.REG.

R/Crowned imperial coat of arms; at the base value 3. BU.CO.TYR.1765* ARCH. AUST.DUX. Vienna mint. Krause & Mishler 1993, p. 65.

Ref. Photo: Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 101, 22 June 2005, nr. 1863; <https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=146566&AucID=117&Lot=1863>

Identification of the imperial coins cited in the trial inventory requires some specifications. These coins, which were among the lowest denominations in the empire, were not struck in the principal mints like Vienna, Graz, Kremnitz or Hall, but in Trento and Gorizia. In these latter, close to the monetary area of Venice, coinage was produced to sustain commercial trade in regions where the demand for small coins had increased around the mid-18th century as a consequence of the growth of the port of Trieste and the demand for goods of various types (salt, oil, wine, fabrics) between Carniola and the coastal regions of Istria

and Dalmatia (belonging to the Venetian monetary area). Indeed, almost at the end of his reign, Charles VI of Habsburg (1711-1740) reopened the Trento mint on 4 July 1739 authorizing it to strike soldi and ½ soldi with the imperial eagle and the value in cartouche «pel commercio»²⁶. Analogous values were struck in large quantities in the Gorizia mint throughout Maria Theresa's reign²⁷. Because the volume of the Trento issues was modest, it can be presumed that the definition of imperial soldi would have regarded that of Gorizia, bearing the heraldic shield of the city on the obverse and the value in baroque cartouche on the reverse. As confirmation of their success and wide diffusion within the Republic of Venice, in particular in the Istrian and Dalmatian territories, there are numerous accounting documents of the mid-18th century in which not only is it recorded that most of the hard cash are petizze of five carantanians, but that it is almost impossible to find and use Venetian money in the transactions and that the arrival of the Gorizia imperial soldo can be judged as a true invasion, being practically the only coin used by merchants in the retail trade. The situation must have seemed so serious and out of control that with a measure of 1766 the Venetian Senate supplied Istria with its own coins to an amount of over 200,000 lire of account. There were at least two reasons for the success of the Gorizia soldo. The first was monetary as traders and currency exchangers carried the imperial soldi to Istria where they had a favourable exchange rate with respect to Venetian money; the second was that in the trade flows the port of Trieste was rapidly supplanting those of the Dominante (Venice) with the consequence that the merchants demanded a coin that avoided the losses deriving from application of an exchange commission²⁸. The fact that in the right pocket of Winckelmann's trousers 13 were found with two coins of ½ soldi, while a smaller pouch, of green silk, contained 81 is perfectly in line with the ease of use of this coin, to be spent in the area where it was mainly requested, the port of Trieste.

26 *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, VI, Roma, 1922, p. 224.

27 M. zu Aichholz, Loehr & Holmair, *Österreichische Münzprägungen 1519-1938*, cit., *ad indicem*; *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, VI, cit., pp. 73-80.

28 On the monetary competition between Venice and the Austrian Empire during the 18th century and on the success of the imperial soldo of Gorizia, cf. D. Darovec, *Gospodarsko stanje v benetki Istri v 17. in 18. Stoletju*, in: "Zgodovinski Čaposis", 54 (2000). 1 (118), pp. 49-67: <<https://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-G8WG6ZH6>>, in particular p. 63: «Soldi imperiali so edino plačilno trgovsko sredstvo v provinci. Okužili so celo vse Monte di Pietà in Fontike v deželi, kjer so že velike vsote cesarskega denarja, ki pa nima realne vrednosti. Cesarci so ukazali svojim v Gorici in Reki, da se smejo posluževati le njihovega denarja, tako ga prinašajo v Istro in zamenjujejo po višji vrednosti», še toži koprski načelnik Antonio Dolfin leta 1777 (Rel., 1777)». Site consulted on 29 March 2019. This essential information came from my colleague Andrea Saccoci, University of Udine, whom I thank.



Soldo. 1764.

O/Heraldic shield of Gorizia surmounted by an imperial crown.

R/.1. /SOLDO/1764/.H. in baroque cartouche. Gorizia mint

Corpus Nummorum Italicorum VI, Roma 1922, pp. 77-78.

Ref. Photo: Inasta, Auction 38, 15 February 2011, no. 2570;

<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=3385841&AucID=3529&Lot=2570>



Half soldo. 1768.

O/Heraldic shield of Gorizia surmounted by an imperial crown.

R/ 1/2 /SOLDO/1768 in baroque cartouche. Gorizia mint

Corpus Nummorum Italicorum VI, Roma 1922, pp. 79.

Ref. Photo: Inasta, Auction 46, 19 September 2012, no. 2758;

<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=3410971&AucID=3537&Lot=2758>

The list also records other coins not of the Empire but exchangeable or that could be spent once Rome had been reached. Indeed, in the narrowest part of the pocket, 1 Roman paulo and 12 1/2 pauli emerged together with 6 Florentine half pauli²⁹. “Paolo” was the name given to the “giulio” with a value of two grossi weighing 3.85 g of good silver in 1540, then reduced to a little over 2.6 g of silver during the 18th century. An analogous denomination was also in use in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany³⁰. Restricting the chronology to between ca. 1740 and 1768, i.e. around the two decades of the mid-18th century, in all likelihood and without taking the variety of minting types into account, the pauli/giuli could have been similar to those described below. In particular, the 1/2 paulo or giulio of Florence could be identified in the 1738 coining for Pisa and extensively described as Florentine, still circulating in 1768.

²⁹ Martinori, *La moneta*, cit., p. 363. Giulii or paoli were the names given during the 17th/18th century to the papal grossi. The multiples had analogous interchangeable denominations (double giulii or double pauli) and submultiples (half pauli, third pauli, quarter pauli...).

³⁰ Martinori, *La moneta*, cit., p. 363.



Giulio (paolo) 1760.

Clement XIII. Rome mint.

Silver 2.65 g; *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, XVII, Roma 1938, no. 34.

O/Coat of arms surmounted by decussated keys and tiara; CLEM.XIII PONT.M.A. III
R/The Church, with radiant head, sitting on clouds with keys and small temple; SVpra
FIRMAM PETRAM. In the bottom, 17-60, at the sides of the D'Elci's heraldic sign.

Ref. Photo: Numismatica Ranieri, Auction 11, 14 May 2017, no. 778;

<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=2706531&AucID=2645&Lot=778>



Grosso (or 1/2 paolo) 1760.

Clement XIII. Rome mint.

Silver 1.28 g; *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, XVII, Rome 1938, no. 30.

O/ Coat of arms surmounted by decussated keys and tiara CLEM XIII PON M A II
R/ MISERICORS ET IVSTVS 1760 in cartouche

Ref. Photo: Numismatica Ranieri, Auction 6, 27 April 2014, no. 776;

<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=1711723&AucID=1615&Lot=776>



1/2 Giulio (paolo or grosso) 1738.

Francis II (III) of Loraine (1737-1765). Coining for Pisa.

Silver, 1.32 g. *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, XI, Rome 1929, p. 342, no. 1.

O/Shield of Loraine surmounted by a diadem; .IN.TE.DOMI/NE/NE.SPRAVI. 1738
R/Virgin Mary on the left; PISIS. SVP. OMNES SPECIOSA.

Ref. Photo: Numismatica Varesi, Auction 61, 22 November 2012, no. 550;

<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=1325753&AucID=1217&Lot=550>

The sum contained in the various pouches of the right pocket was far from modest and was almost certainly for payments, even quite large ones, without the need to exchange currency, i.e. from the green bag sown into the left pocket of the 'brache'.

The content of this is deduced from the bureaucratic specification where 79 papal ongari, ½ ongaro and one Dutch ongaro are listed, all gold coins cut to around the value of the florin. Their weight was of ca. 3.45 g with a purity oscillating between 23 carats and 21/32 and 22 carats and 5/17 or 14/17. Also in this case it can be supposed that the inventorying followed the monetary terminology in use at Trieste in that year. The list of gold coins, with relative exchanges in imperial and carantanian florins, or in lire and Venetian money «secondo le Sovrane Patenti», cites «Sovrani de' Paesi Bassi», "Zecchini [term that indicates a gold coin, therefore a synonym of ongaro] Imperiali, Kremnitzer, Olandesi di giusto peso, Veneti 'più, e meno'»³¹. The denomination 'papal ongari' and 'Dutch', despite the slight differences that were well known and scrupulously listed in the exchange rates, indicated that they were gold coins. Obviously, because this denomination had a high value, fractions were also struck, here vouched for by a ½ ongaro. In exchanges into carantanians or kreutzer, an imperial ongaro was worth 258 carantanians while a Kremnitz ongaro 260 carantanians. The papal and Dutch 'ongari' were changed at rates similar to these, which could also be indicated as 'zecchini'.

Of these gold coins, plausible examples are proposed below, chosen among those struck at the time of Winckelmann.



Zecchino [papal ongaro] 1760 (year III).

Gold, 3.41 g - ø 21.14 mm . Rome mint.

O/CLEMENS XIII / PONT MAX AN III, coat of arms plaque, above decussated keys and hidden with a cord and bow, all surmounted by a tiara with fillets.

R/SVPRA . FIRMAM . PETRAM, below, 1760., the veiled Holy Church, with radiant head, seated on the left on clouds, the right hand holds the keys and the left stretches towards a small domed temple. T/cordoned. *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, XVII, Roma 1938, no. 31.

Ref. Photo: Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 30, 4 June 2005, no. 613;

<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=143702&AucID=115&Lot=613>

³¹ Barzellini, *Valore delle monete secondo le Sovrane Patenti*, cit.



½ Zecchino [½ papal ongaro] 1758.

Gold, 1.710 g - ø 17.80 mm. Rome mint.

O/CLEMENS XIII / PONT. M. AN. I., coat of arms plaque, above decussated keys and hidden with a cord and bow, all surmounted by a tiara with fillets.

R/SVPRA . FIRMAM . PE / TRAM / 1758., the veiled Holy Church, with radiant head, seated in front on clouds, the right hand holds keys and the left a small domed temple.

Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, XVII, Roma 1938, no. 7.

Ref. Photo: Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 30, 4 June 2005, no. 614;

<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=143703&AucID=115&Lot=614>



Ducat [Dutch ongaro] 1755.

Gold, 3.44 g, ø 21.5 mm. Mint: The Low Countries (Holland).

O/CONCORDIA. RES - PAR. CRES. HOL. Armed soldier, facing right.

R/Baroque cartouche with inscribed: MO: ORD: / PROVIN. / FOEDER / BELG. AD / LEG. IMP.

Krause & Mishler 1993, pp. 783-784.

Ref. Photo: iNumis, Mail Bid Sale 11, 19 March 2010, no. 1842;

<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=839540&AucID=618&Lot=1842>

As in the left pocket, also in this case the bag was divided into two pouches, in the second of which there were other gold coins: 14 papal ongari, 4 imperial ongari (of Maria Theresa), 2 struck at Kremnitz, 2 Dutch together with 5 gold louis, a French denomination of different value and gold standard. From 1726 it weighed 8.15 g with a purity of 917%. Its exchange value would correspond to just over two ongari, but this depended on the weight and gold purity at the time of the transaction. Also in this case an example is proposed on the basis of the issues in the period of the reigns of Maria Theresa and King Louis XV of France.



Ducat [imperial ongaro] 1768.

Gold, 3.48 g. Vienna mint.

O/IMP.HU.BO.REG. M. THERES.D.G.R.; bust of the sovereign on the right.

R/Imperial eagle surmounted by a crown; BURG.COM.TYR.1768 ARCHID.AUST.DUX.

Krause & Mishler 1993, pp. 48, 61; Miller zu Aichholz, Loehr & Holmair, *Österreichische Münzprägungen 1519-1938*, cit., p. 270, tab. 36, no. 16.

Ref. Photo: Auktionshaus H.D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 81, 21 November 2007, no. 2423;

<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=459245&AucID=341&Lot=2423>



Ducat [Kremnitz ongaro] 1765.

Gold, 3.49 g. Kremnitz mint.

O/Sovereign with imperial insignias facing right; M. THER.D:G.R.I. G.H.B.R.A.A.D.B.C.T
In the field K / B

R/Madonna with child; HUNGARIAE 1765 PATRONA REGNI; in the field H. / D

Miller zu Aichholz, Loehr & Holmair, *Österreichische Münzprägungen 1519-1938*, cit., p. 266, tab. 37, no. 30.

Ref. Photo: Dorotheum, 26 May 2014 Auction, no. 976;

<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=1742066&AucID=1639&Lot=976>



Gold louis 1767. Louis XV.

Gold, 8.14 g; Paris mint.

O/Head of the king on the left; LUD.XV.D.G.FR. ET. NAV.REX.; mint sign at the base.

R/Two heraldic insignias of the reign surmounted by a crown. At the base: A, *1767. CHR.S. REGN.VINC.IMPER

Krause & Mishler 1993, p. 191.

Ref. Photo: Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG Auction 107, 2 February 2006, no. 20;

<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=231282&AucID=176&Lot=20>

We could therefore ask ourselves how much gold would all these coins correspond to in order to get an idea both of their absolute value and their purchasing power in that period. Regardless of the wear and tear or state of conservation of a gold coin remaining in circulation given that these could alter the official value, if we assume the weight of the papal, Dutch, imperial and Kremnitz ongaro as 3.45 g³², of the fraction as 1.75 g and the French louis as 8.15 g, the total weight of the various pieces would be around ca. 400 g of gold, corresponding to just over 116/120 ongari/zecchini. An idea of their market value can be inferred from the amount of some expenditures/pledges registered in the investigating records and from Winckelmann's testament. Arcangeli, for example, confessed to have pawned a ring for 3 imperial florins, that he had reached Trieste with 5 zecchini and that the innkeeper had exchanged 1 zecchino for 15 petizze. This is of some interest. Indeed, because the ongaro/zecchino, depending on its denomination (imperial, Dutch, papal, Kremnitz), was exchanged for 258/260/262 carantanians and a petizza was quoted at 17 carantanians, 15 petizze corresponded to 255 carantanians. The difference of 3-7 carantanians was perhaps due to a small exchange commission charged by the innkeeper or the decreasing weight. As to the value of the liquidity possessed by Winckelmann, i.e. its purchasing power, a broad idea is given by the expenditures recorded in the trial minutes. The «spago forzino» [reinforced strings] of the crime, for example, 1 or perhaps 2 imperial soldi of Gorizia, or ½ or 1 carantanian was paid to the «cordiaoli» [cord-makers or sellers] Bozini³³; the immediate availability of a boat for Ancona would have earned the «Patrone della barca», as well as the rental cost, an additional 2 zecchini³⁴. Another amount, this time the rental for 1750 of a part of the Palazzo Marenzi sited next to the Piazza Grande, considered one of the most valued addresses in Trieste. It was stipulated by Niclaus (Niklaus) Hamilton (1715-1769), an eminent figure of the imperial aristocracy who covered the highest administrative and political functions in the city and who will be mentioned again later. The rent amounted to «300 German florins» a year³⁵. In that period these were quoted at 4.33 against 1 imperial ongaro and 4.37 against a Kremnitz ongaro. On this basis, 300 florins therefore corresponded to a little more than 69 ongari. Even more

32 A. Martini, *Manuale di metrologia ossia misure, pesi e monete in uso attualmente e anticamente presso tutti i popoli*, Torino, Loescher, 1883, for the gold issues of Clement XIII (1758-1769), thus contemporary to W's journey, indicates 3.42 g for the zecchino and 1.71 g for the ½ zecchino. The three types of ongari (ordinary, imperial and of Kremnitz) also diverged slightly in weight because at the exchange rates the ordinary ongaro was worth 258 carantanians, the imperial ongaro 260 carantanians and the Kremnitz ongaro 262 carantanians: cf Barzellini, *Aritmetica di valute austriache*, cit. These slight deviations are of little relevance to the amount of gold available.

33 Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L'assassinio*, cit., p. 96.

34 Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L'assassinio*, cit., p. 157.

35 K. Baker, *Niclaus Hamilton oriundo scozzese*, Trieste, Civici musei di storia ed arte, 1976, p. 9.

indicative are the sums in the will of the dying Winckelmann: to Mogali³⁶ «suo incisore [...] sijno dati trecento cinquanta Zechini» deposited at the «Musico Anibaldi³⁷», to the abbot Piremei³⁸ I leave «Zechini cento» at the disposal of the «Pitore Maron»³⁹, to the Poor Box of Trieste «Zechini venti», to the waiter at the Osteria Granda «Zechini due», but for the «sante Messe in Suffragio dell'anima sua, Scudi dieci»⁴⁰. In the 18th century the term ecu [scudo] indicated a silver coin, struck especially in the mints of the Pontifical State. At the time of Clement XIII (1758-1769) its weight was reduced to 26.76 g and a silver purity of 917%⁴¹. In exchange with the Roman zecchino (3.452 g and with purity close to 1000%), it was worth 20 paoli or giuli and ½ paolo (two names for the same coin), or 2 ecus [scudi] and 5 baiocchi [for greater clarity in relation to the exchange with the Roman zecchino: 1 ecu [scudo] = 10 paoli = 100 baiocchi]⁴². For “saving his soul”, therefore, a little over 5 gold coins! These equivalents allow a reconstruction of the overall value of the sum possessed by Winckelmann on his journey, but its total acquires even more significance if compared with the annual salary/pen-

36 *Rectius*: Niccolò Mogalli (1723-1792), engraver of many tables in the works of Winckelmann. He is recorded in the *Raccolta antiche statue busti teste cognite ed altre sculture antiche restaurate da Bartolomeo Cavaceppi Scultore romano*, secondo volume, Roma MDCCCLXIX [1769], as one of the recipients of the two letters sent from Regensburg in May 1768 [8 May? They are missing in *Winckelmann. Lettere*. III] and as “engraver, and his household, to whom he wrote about preparing the apartment for him, and putting the furnishings in order, as he would soon once again be in Rome”: <https://books.google.it/books?id=0_JlAAAcAAJ&pg=PT31&lpg=PT31&dq=niccolò+mogalli+winckelmann&source=bl&ots=u9s8CH5CtR&sig=ACfU3UovIt39phawFogLW-WzH6Y3mKxPvJQ&hl=it&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjw19n4svrgAhUosaQKHVRnCJoQ6AEwCnoE-CAMQAQ#v=onepage&q=niccolò%20mogalli%20winckelmann&f=false>. Site consulted on 11 March 2019.

37 This was almost certainly Domenico Annibaldi (1700-1779), *contralto* (term used in the 18th century to indicate castrated singers), for a long time in Dresden at the Saxony Court and then in Rome.

38 *Rectius* abbot Piremei [Tuscan, reviser of the Italian version of the *Storia delle Arti del Disegno*, as recorded by C. Fea, *Storia delle Arti del Disegno presso gli antichi di Giovanni Winckelmann tradotta dal Tedesco e in questa edizione corretta e aumentata*, Roma MDCCLXXXIII [1783], p. LII. <https://books.google.it/books?id=3sZ4yVi97g4C&pg=PR58&lpg=PR58&dq=abate+piremei+incisore&source=bl&ots=Nya-P_vmGC&sig=ACfU3U1IgX5GXIZLwbZvfHqmMZ1naLef-Q&hl=it&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjw19n4svrgAhUosqQKHZnCDVAQ6AEwAHoECAIQAQ#v=onepage&q=abate%20piremei%20incisore&f=false>. Site consulted on 11 March. See also A. Marletta, *L'arte del temperare. Storia e progetto nell'opera Il Campo Marzio dell'antica Roma di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Firenze, Scuola Nazionale di Dottorato in Scienze della Rappresentazione e del Rilievo-Università di Firenze, 2011, p. 42. Piremei, for whom I have no bio-bibliographical data, was a friend of Giovanni Battista Piranesi: M. Campanelli, *Una satira sull'architettura nella Roma del 1763, tra Piranesi e Winckelmann*, in: “Atti e Memorie dell'Arcadia”, 1 (2012), p. 146.

39 This is Anton von Maron (1733-1808), active in Rome and painter of the famous portrait of Winckelmann dated 1768.

40 Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L'assassinio*, cit., p. 298.

41 Martini, *Manuale di metrologia ossia misure*, cit., p. 664.

42 F. Muntoni, *Le monete dei Papi e degli Stati pontifici*. I, Roma, Santamaria Edizioni, 1996, pp. XLVII-XLVIII.

sion he had enjoyed in Rome from 1764. In fact, in that year, in a competition with Piranesi (1720-1778), he had earned the position of Commissioner to the Antiquities of Rome, at an annual salary of 300 ecus [scudi], a sum expressed not without some amazement in a *post scriptum* at the end of a letter from Rome on the 30 November 1765 sent by the then Procurator General of the Camaldolese Order, Mauro Sarti (1709-1766)⁴³ to the famous collector Pietro Borghesi (1722-1794)⁴⁴ of Savignano sul Rubicone⁴⁵. The above-mentioned exchange ecus/gold coin allows it to be established that 300 papal ecus were equivalent to 146,341 Roman zecchini. Therefore, the total value of the coins sewn into the black trouser pockets would have more or less represented Winckelmann's annual salary⁴⁶.

Summing up the various coins (in relation to the gold coin), it may be concluded that Winckelmann was well supplied with money for any eventuality during his journey and his precipitous return. But it should also be noted how he hid it, to not arouse any suspicions or bad intentions. Nothing transpires about the role of such sums in the records of the investigation: just a brief list, more or less in the form of an attached document.

What had instead attracted Arcangeli's interest were the four medals, two gold and two in silver, enough to become the motive of a murder for robbery⁴⁷. Whereas Winckelmann had refused to declare his identity, this did not stop him (or did he do it intentionally?) from exhibiting the medals, unwrapping them, talking about them and proposing to show them at the table, during dinner, giving details on their provenance, explaining that they were a gift from the Empress and

43 G. M. Croce, *I Camaldolesi nel Settecento: tra la "rusticitas" degli eremiti e l'erudizione dei Cenobiti*, in: G. Farnedi & G. Spinelli (eds.), *Settecento monastico italiano. Atti del I Convegno di studi storici sull'Italia Benedettina*, Cesena, Centro Storico Benedettino Italiano, 1990, pp. 203-270, in part. pp. 256-258.

44 A. Campana, *Borghesi Pietro*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 12, Roma, 1971: <[, in: "Rivista Italiana di Numismatica", 116 \(2015\), pp. 361-390.](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-borghesi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>. Site consulted on 12 March 2019. On these two personages and their interest in numismatics, cf A. Gariboldi, <i>Enrico Sanclemente e la)

45 This report came from Andrea Gariboldi, whom I thank. In the letter (Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì, Carte Romagna, 432.79), a subject also cited in Gariboldi, *Enrico Sanclemente*, cit., p. 376, note no. 56, is written: «PS: Winckelman ha saputo giocare le sue carte. Ha spacciato per una total sicurezza un piccol filo di speranza, che aveva di andare al servizio del Re di Prussia. Il card. Stoppani, con buona grazia del suo mecenate Alessandro [card. Albani], gli ha fatto un assegnamento di scudi 300 annui per ritenerlo in Roma, e li concorrenti alla sua carica si grattano. Dicono che fosse promessa al Piranesi».

46 A very well-informed book about a reputable economist of the time, G. R. Carli, *Delle monete e dell'istituzione delle zecche d'Italia*, Mantova, Giovannelli Giovanni Paolo & c., 1754, p. 71, established this exchange rate: «In Roma il Filippo è allo stesso prezzo dello Scudo Romano; onde per raggugliare il Zecchino di Roma (valutato in Venezia soldi 15 meno di due Filippi) vi vogliono Filippi 2, Bajocchi 5, come pure Scudi 2, Bajocchi 5». I thank Andrea Gariboldi for this indication.

47 Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L'assassinio*, cit., p. 41, 289.

von Kaunitz.⁴⁸ They were undoubtedly precious objects: the investigators and experts described them accurately and estimated their weight in gold: 16 zecchini for that of Maria Theresa and 12 zecchini that of the Prince of Liechtenstein⁴⁹. The other two, in silver, weighed 5 and ¼ ounces and 5 ounces respectively (ca. 148 g of silver). The description of the «Effetti del mortalmente ferito ed agonizzante Sig.r Giovanni Winckelmann»⁵⁰ allows their precise identification⁵¹.

The most precious, due both to the status of the donor and its intrinsic value (from the schedule estimated as 16 zecchini/ongari equal to ca. 55 g of gold), was a medal struck in the imperial mint of Vienna to mark the marriage between Maria Theresa and Francis III (1708-1765) celebrated in 1736. However, it has not been possible to access a physical specimen, held in a public or private collection⁵². It is therefore worthwhile proposing images of contemporary incisions in order to illustrate the link between the archival-legal and real data. The medal was engraved by Matteo Donner (1704-1756)⁵³: on the obverse was a bust of the Emperor with Golden fleece and the legend FRANCISCVS. III. D. G. DVX. LOT. BAR. REX. IEROSOL., at the base of the bust M. DONNER. The Empress was on the reverse, facing left, with the legend MARIA. THER. AVSTRIACA. REGIA. LOTHAR. DVCISSA, as reproduced in a famous volume dedicated to the medals of the reign of Maria Theresa with text in German and French in two columns, edited by her daughter Marie Antoinette then Queen of France (1755-1793) and the designer/engraver of xylography Carl Schütz (1745-1800)⁵⁴.

48 Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L'assassinio*, cit., p. 160-162.

49 Converted on the basis of an equivalence between zecchino/imperial ongaro they gave the sum of 4,160 carantanians (16x260) and 3,120 carantanians (12x260) respectively.

50 Trieste. Biblioteca Civica "A. Hortis". Archivio Diplomatico, ms «E3 and ms 12 C3. A narrative reconstruction, even if broadly based on documents, is in P. Bonifacio, *Il delitto Winckelmann. La tragica morte del fondatore dell'archeologi moderna*, Milano, Metamorfosi Editore, 2014.

51 The medals were described in Vidulli Torlo, *Un atroce misfatto*, cit., thanks to the identification and bibliographical research by Giovanni Paoletti of Numismatica Paoletti in Trieste. Relevant to the iconography of the cenotaph but not to the coins that were in the possession of Winckelmann: K. Ehling, *Zu den Münzen an Winckelmanns Grabmal in Triest*, in: "Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte", 68 (2018), pp. 435-443.

52 For similar medals, but in other metals (silver and bronze), cf <<https://pro.coinarchives.com/w/results.php?search=semper+constans+liechtenstein+e+s=1e+upcoming=0e+results=3000>>.

53 L. Forrer, s.v. *Donner, Mathias*, in: *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, London, Spink & Son, 1904, pp. 607-608. This engraver, in: V. Fanti, *Descrizione completa di tutto ciò che ritrovasi nella Galleria di pittura e scultura di sua Altezza Giuseppe Wenceslao del S.R.I. Principe Regnante della casa di Lichtenstein*, Vienna, 1767, p. 108, is defined «medagliere di Camera di S.M. l'Imperadrice Regina».

54 For information on his notoriety in Vienna as landscape painter of monuments and city views, cf <[https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl_Sch%C3%BCtz_\(Kupferstecher\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl_Sch%C3%BCtz_(Kupferstecher))>. Site consulted on 24 February 2019.



IV.

Auf eben dieselbe Vermählung,

IV.

Autre médaille qui parut pour le
même sujet.

Schau- und Denkmünzen, welche unter der glorwürdigen Regierung der Kaiserin Königin Maria Theresia geprägt worden sind. Médailles frappées sous le règne glorieux de l'Impératrice-Reine-Marie-Thérèse, Schütz, Carl und Maria Anna, Erzherzogin von Oesterreich, Wien 1782, p. 6, IV.

The same medal is also known thanks to a subsequent design, with a variant in the legend on the reverse: MARIA.THER.AVSTRIACA.REGIA.LOT.BAR.DVCISSA



The two silver medals are also imperial, again struck in the imperial mint of Vienna and engraved by French Jacques Roettiers de la Tour (1707-1784), at the time one of the most famous and celebrated goldsmiths-medallists in the service of the King of France⁵⁵. With chiseller's skill, inspired by classical models with a rococo reinterpretation, he depicted the heir to the throne Joseph II (1741-1790) in imperial style (crowned and armoured bust) with the Golden fleece accompanied by the legend JOSEPHUS II D: G: R: JMP S: AUG: G: HIER: R: CORREG: At the base of the armour: ROETTIERS F.

The reverse figures a female allegory of justice and abundance⁵⁶ with scientific instruments, casks and packages in the foreground, and a farmer, a military contingent and a building under construction in the background accompanied by the legend PAX ET IUCUNDITAS POPULORUM, in the exergue: INITIA JM-PERII AVG:, celebrated the economic vitality ensured by peace in the empire.

55 L. Forrer, s.v. Roettiers de la Tour, James (IV), in: *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, V, London, Spink & Son, 1912, pp.159-161; Y. Carlier, *Sculpture et orfèvrerie à Paris au XVIIIe siècle: Jacques et Jacques-Nicolas Roëttiers*, in: "Revue de l'Art", 105 (1994), pp. 61-69.

56 In Roman imperial iconography they are the characters typical of the *Aequitas* and *Moneta*.



The gift of these three specimens can be easily explained by the tradition of sovereigns gifting commemorative medals to their guests, at that time almost the only *medium* for carrying away the portrait of a known person or an authority, especially of such high importance⁵⁷. The fourth medal is instead asymmetric because it refers to a personage not immediately involved in the meeting between Winckelmann, Maria Theresa and von Kaunitz. It had been commissioned from the medallist Franz Andreas Schega (1711-1787), at that time the most famous engraver of portraits on medals⁵⁸. Following the baroque style, he created a portrait of Prince Joseph Wenzel Lorenz von Liechtenstein (1696-1772), a prominent figure in the Austrian artillery. On the obverse, the Prince appears in military style, with the Golden fleece and legend IOS. WENC. D.G.S.R.I. PR. DE LIECHTENSTEIN OPP & CARN.DUX.COM.RITT., at the base of the bust F.A. SCHEGA. The images on the reverse are rather complex. A diamond (a shining stone referable to the family name) is placed on an anvil, in its turn resting on a table, a square and a circumference. It is surmounted by two chiseller's hammers suitable for shaping the uncut stone. Radially, in the upper part, is written SEMPER CONSTANS; in the exergue the date: MDCCLVIII. Examples of this were struck in gold, silver and copper⁵⁹. One in the most precious metal was therefore gifted to Winckelmann. In the same year 1758, again by the engraver Schega, another series was produced in gold, silver and bronze with a different reverse, in this case a bit more realistic but united by the theme of the diamond, anvil and hammer. The image shows the diamond on the anvil placed

57 This still happens for guests who visit the head of the Catholic Church: they almost always receive gifts of medals with a portrait of the pope: cf G. Alteri, *Summorum Romanorum Pontificum Historia numismatibus recensitis illustrata*, Roma, Città del Vaticano - Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2004, pp. 5-12.

58 L. Forrer, *Schega Franz Andreas*, in: *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, V, London, 1912, pp. 377-379; E. Beckenbauer, *Franz Andreas Schega. Weitere Nachträge*, in: "Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte", 45 (1995), pp. 181-197.

59 J.-P. Divo, *Die Münzen und Medaillen der Fürstern von Liechtenstein*, Zurich, Hess-Divo, 2000, pp. 63-64, nos. 64-66.

on a square stone plinth surmounted to the right by a hand with a hammer. The curved legend reads: VIRTUTE ELVDITVR ICTVS⁶⁰.

Regarding this iconographic choice, its idiosyncrasy with respect to the other commemorative medals of Joseph Wenzel Lorenz von Liechtenstein is worth mentioning. Indeed, in coherence with his political-military role, in particular to promote the artillery, a specific series of medals in gold, silver and bronze were struck in 1773. For the obverse the engraving by Schega was reused; the reverse was instead entrusted to Anton Wideman (1724-1772)⁶¹, who chose a monumental composition with a bust of the personage commanding arms, armour, canons and flags and, at the base, on five lines: M. THERESIA. AVG/RESTITVTORI. REI. ARMAMENTARIAE/ BELLI. PACISQ. ARTIBVS. INLVSTRI/AMICO. PATRIAE. ET SVO/MDCCLXXII⁶².

Unlike the other gold medals discussed here for our analysis, there appear to be no known or accessible specimens, at least as far as I am aware. The catalogue of Jean-Paul Divo does not propose an image/photograph of an example held in a public or private collection, whereas, after its issue, this medal “perhaps” reached the Imperial Coin Cabinet in Vienna, but it is also known as being the probable cause of the murder of Winckelmann at Trieste⁶³.

Diese Goldmedaille gelangte vermutlich unmittelbar nach der Ausgabe in das Kaiserliche Münzkabinett in Wien. – Genau diese Medaille der Kaiserlichen Münzsammlung gab Anlass zu einem recht tragischen Geschehen, nachdem sie die Kaiserin Maria Theresia zusammen mit einer weiteren Goldmedaille des Kaisers Joseph II. dem bekannten Altertumsforscher Johann Joachim Winckelmann im Jahre 1768 in Wien überreicht hatte. In Triest, wo Winckelmann auf die Einschiffung nach Venedig wartete, erfuhr der Zimmernachbar des Gasthofes, ein gewisser Francesco Arcangeli, von den beiden Goldmedaillen. Habgier führte zur Mordtat an den Altertumsforscher, der noch sterbend zu Protokoll geben konnte: „Jener Verräter, der hier im Nebenzimmer einkehrte, machte sich mit mir bekannt und stellte sich, als wäre er mein Freund; ihn ließ ich einige große silberne und zwei goldene Schaumünzen sehen und unter diesen eine große mit dem Bildnisse des Fürsten von Liechtenstein, die mir die Kaiserin zu Schönbrunn schenkte“. Über den weiteren Verbleib dieser Goldmedaille ist nichts bekannt⁶⁴.

Despite a thorough search of collectors and public medal collections, no specimen of this gold medal could be found. For example, it is not in the holdings of the Vienna Coin Cabinet⁶⁵ and the only other report appears in an old auction

60 Divo, *Die Münzen und Medaillen*, cit., p. 65, nos. 68-70.

61 L. Forrer, s.v. *Widemann (also Wiedemann)*, in: *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, VI, London, Spink & Son, 1916, pp. 467-470.

62 Divo, *Die Münzen und Medaillen*, cit., p. 66-67, no. 71. Gold medal with the value of 20 ducats.

63 Divo, *Die Münzen und Medaillen*, cit., p. 63.

64 Divo, *Die Münzen und Medaillen*, cit., p. 63.

65 I thank Dr. Heinz Winter of the Vienna Coin Cabinet, who wrote to me on 7 February 2018: “I am sorry. We do not have this medal in our holdings. And I am sorry: I don’t know where such a medal can be in other collections”.

catalogue of 1842 in which coins and medals are listed put up for sale at Klagenfurt by Dr. Aloys Traunfellner⁶⁶. As it was impossible to have a copy to reproduce, it was decided to illustrate it by a hypothetical reconstruction through digital elaboration of the images: the equivalent bronze medal (fig. 2) was turned into a gold colour (fig. 3).



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

A possible iconographic source for the reverse is found in an old repertory of images taken from the vast production of emblems and symbols used by princes and sovereigns of the second half of the 16th century⁶⁷. In this a diamond is designed, in the shape of a pyramid, with the titling «semper adamas» accompanied by the explanation that it is an indestructible stone because it is resistant to fire and modification but also that the desired shape can be obtained with a hammer, which resists the hardness of the diamond (fig. 4)⁶⁸.

66 *Catalogue des Monnaies & Médailles de feu Mr. Aloys Traunfellner*, 11 Avril 1842, Vienne, 1841, p. 207, no. 1096. I owe Hadrien Rambach for this report, whom I thank.

67 A. B. De Boodt, *Symbola varia diversorum principum. Cum facili isagoge D. Anselmi De Boodt Brugensis Sac. Cæs. Maj. Aulæ Medici*, III, Praga, 1603.

68 De Boodt, *Symbola varia diversorum principum*, cit., pp.150-152.



Fig. 4 From: Anselme Boece De Boodt, *Symbola varia diversorum principum. Cum facili isagoge D. Anselmi De Boodt Brugensis Sac. Cæs. Maj. Aulæ Medici, III*, Prague 1603, p. 150.

Although the shining stone/diamond can be connected, as mentioned, to the von Liechtenstein family name, the composition of the medal includes symbolic elements worthy of some additional examination, shown below via a visual segmentation.



These are, from top to bottom, a table support, a square, a circumference, an anvil, the shining diamond, two hammers and the semi-circular legend SEMPER CONSTANS. Beyond the iconographic reference (fig. 4) confirmed by the epigraphic analogy SEMPER ADAMAS/SEMPER CONSTANS, an interpretation of the symbolic value of each single element of the set was attempted because, as is well known, during the 18th century a symbolism of the esoteric-chemist type was often used. Regarding this, an expert opinion follows, requested without giving the reasons.

«[...] as to the significance of the design of the medal [...] it comes from the alchemic symbolism which was much in vogue at that time [1758, and throughout the 18th century], converging with that of the Freemasons. Both have numerous symbols in common. Not knowing the personage and his context, and thus dwelling only on an analysis of the individual objects, it appears to me that:

1. the table below is the “binary, expression of the dualism that is born from the one. It reminds me of the prophetess, who said the one becomes two, the two three and by means of the third the fourth makes unity”;
2. the square could represent the quaternary, the four elements mentioned above, fundamental to nature and life;
3. the circle usually represents the sky, but better the divine where there is no origin or end;
4. the anvil surmounted by hammers are a symbol of labour “semper constans”;
5. the fire is the purifying element but also the light of the energy necessary for forging, especially of ourselves;
6. the small faceted ball could be the philosopher’s stone or VITRIOL⁶⁹. Not more or less than the realization of the individual project: be it immortality, wisdom, or the aim of our acts in general»⁷⁰.

That this symbolism was then assumed in the Masonic iconography is proved by its use in a coat of arms of Bavarian Lodges of the mid-18th century⁷¹.

69 If in the obscure alchemy the term *vitriol* (from medieval Latin *vitriolum*) refers to various vitreous materials, the acronym V.I.T.R.I.O.L. then indicates the process towards self-awareness and in the Freemasonry the esoteric code that permits initiation to be attained.

70 I am referring to Silvio Rusconi, whom I warmly thank for his courteous response to my questions. He is an expert on the symbolism of the ancient and accepted Scottish Rite (Landmarks of 1717), followed today in Italy by the Masons of the Gran Loggia d’Italia ALAM (Antichi Liberi Accettati Muratori). The letter, reproduced here almost in its entirety, is in my archive with the date 16 February 2018. On the significance of some of these symbols, in particular the hammer and of the words in the form of a starry vault cf also C. Bonvecchio, *Il simbolismo e la Libera Muratoria*, in: M. Rizzardini & A. Vento (eds.), *All’Oriente d’Italia. Le fondamenta segrete del rapporto fra Stato e Massoneria*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubettino Editore, 2013, pp. 129-159.

71 The images are taken from <www.freimaurer-wike.de>. Site consulted on 26 February 2018. On the spread of the Masonry, in particular of the Illuminati, cf G. Paolucci, *Illuminismo segreto. Storia culturale degli Illuminati*, Acireale-Roma, Bonanno Editore, 2016.



Is this description/interpretation, obviously deduced on the basis of experience, sufficient to trace the medal and therefore its buyer back to the Viennese Esoteric-Masonic environment of that period? The answer appears to be negative, but what is related assumes greater value if it is taken into account that Joseph Wenzel Lorenz von Liechtenstein was one of the most authoritative exponents of the army and in particular of the artillery and that around the mid-18th century affiliation to the emerging Masonry in Vienna, happened in the military. But there is more in confirmation of these last observations.

The creation of the first Viennese Lodges probably dates to 1742-1743⁷². Among these was the Lodge *Aux trois canons*⁷³, founded on 17 September 1742⁷⁴, to which many army officers, nobles, and even eminent functionaries of the state, including the powerful Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz were affiliated⁷⁵. Among the brotherhood, whose names are known via accessible sources, were the Counts Starhemberg, Wallenstein, Windischgrätz. Karl Borromäus von Liechtenstein (1730-1789)⁷⁶, Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf (1721-1780)⁷⁷ step-brother of the Count Karl Johann Christian Graf von Zinzendorf (1739-1813), a member of the Viennese court and from 1776 governor of the port of Trieste, who was vital to its growth⁷⁸. They were all Freemasons, even if it is not clear that they belonged to the same Lodge, but most of all the well-known Angelo Soliman (?-1796)⁷⁹, venerable African of the Lodge *Zur Wahren Eintracht*⁸⁰, a member of the household of Johann Georg Christian Lobkowitz (1696-1755)⁸¹. This latter, commander of the imperial army in Italy and governor of the Duchy of Milan from 1743 to 1745, ceded the supreme command of the Austrian forces in Italy in 1745 to his peer and comrade-in-arms Josef Wenzel von Liechtenstein. The association between the two must have been very close because, on his death in 1755, Lobkowitz entrusted Angelo Soliman, his protégé and Mason, to that von Liechtenstein for whom the above-mentioned medal of 1758 with the esoteric-alembic symbol-

72 The first page of *The founding charter of the first Lodges in Vienna 1742* (credits from: freimaurer-wiki.de. Site consulted 10 January 2018) was inspired by *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons for the Use of the Lodges*, London, 1723 (consulted in the Philadelphia 1734 edition, a reprint of the original by James). This extraordinary founding document is also reproduced in R. Lamer, *Freimaurer in Österreich. Weg und Schicksal der "Königlichen Kunst" 1742-2001*, Innsbruck-Wien, Studien-Verlag, 2001, p. 52. I am indebted to Antonio Trampus for some bibliographical references: I express my acknowledgement to him.

73 <https://freimaurer-wiki.de/index.php/Aux_Trois_Canons>, in which space is dedicated to the interpretation "trois canons", with reference to the military but also to the apexes of a triangle, while recognizing that a correct decoding of the name would be found in the historical context of the foundation. Site consulted 24 February 2018. Lamer, *Freimaurer in Österreich*, cit., p. 53.

74 *Die Freimaurer in Österreich: zur Geistesgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Museum Schloss Rosenau bei Zwettl. [Hrsg. Verein Waldviertel-Museum, Schloss Rosenau bei Zwettl], s.l., 1975, p. 51; Lamer, *Freimaurer in Österreich*, cit.

75 Lamer, *Freimaurer in Österreich*, cit., p. 53.

76 Lamer, *Freimaurer in Österreich*, cit., p. 72.

77 *Die Freimaurer in Österreich: zur Geistesgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, cit., pp. 47-48.

78 G. Klingenstein, E. Faber & A. Trampus, *Europäische Aufklärung zwischen Wien und Triest: Die Tagebücher des Gouverneurs Karl Graf von Zinzendorf 1776-1782*, Vienna, Böhlau Verlag, 2009.

79 *Die Freimaurer in Österreich: zur Geistesgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, cit., pp. 69-70.

80 M. Neri, *Angelo Soliman. Il primo Venerabile africano*, in: "Hiram" 1 (2004), pp. 81-89: <http://www.grandeoriente.it/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/HIRAM_2004_01.pdf>.

81 <https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Georg_Christian_von_Lobkowitz>. Site consulted on 19 March 2019.

ism was engraved and struck. A Masonic connection is reinforced in the person of the previously mentioned Niclaus Hamilton, who was also affiliated to the Viennese Lodge *Aux trois canons*⁸². Married to Anna Maria von Zinzendorf, almost certainly of the family of the Zinzendorf Viennese Masons and therefore of Karl von Zinzendorf governor of the port of Trieste between 1776 and 1782⁸³, as well as various family titles or linked to his role in the imperial administration, he could claim that of Ruler of Liechtenstein. It is evident that this latter honour connected him to the highest aristocracy with equally strong ties to the incipient diffusion of Masonic obedience, especially among the nobles at that time inclined towards mercantile activities or the assumption of responsibilities in the army or administrative apparatus of the State. The creation of a first nucleus of Masonry affiliates probably linked to the obedience of the Lodge *Aux trois canons* is in fact ascribed to Hamilton during his stay in Trieste until 1764⁸⁴.

Among all these acquaintances, professional ties, family and probably also human associations, possible connections can be guessed at between von Liechtenstein and von Kaunitz (Freemason), who chose to give Winckelmann that exact medal and not others, among the many certainly available at court because struck in the imperial mint⁸⁵? This inference leads to another question, i.e. the reason for such a gift, so strongly structured in terms of hierarchy and also symbolic in relation to the Masonic importance of the precious metals, gold and silver, directly linked to the prestige of the authority: gold for the two reigning powers (Maria Theresa at Vienna, Josef Wenzel in the principality of Liechtenstein), silver for Joseph II, heir to the throne. The scholar Winckelmann, while being marginally interested in numismatics, did not possess a true collection of old coins and there is no sign that he was interested in collecting medals⁸⁶. The

82 Baker, *Niclaus Hamilton*, cit., p. 11.

83 A. Trampus, *Autobiografia e costruzione della memoria: Karl von Zinzendorf (1739-1813), la sua vita e il suo diario*, in: R. Pasta, *Scritture dell'io fra pubblico e privato*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2009, pp. 207-224; Idem, *Karl von Zinzendorf tra Maria Teresa e Giuseppe II*, in: "Quaderni Giuliani di Storia", 13 (1993), pp. 45-55.

84 A. Trampus, *Die Freimaurerei und die Einheit Italiens*. In *150 Jahre Italien. Themen, Wege, offene Fragen*, Wien, Praesens Verlag, 2014, pp. 213-226. Idem, *La massoneria nell'età moderna*. 1, Roma, Editori Laterza, 2001.

85 That the official engraving of commemorative medals was common at the Viennese court is evinced from the repertory *Schau- und Denkmünzen, welche unter der glorwürdigen Regierung der Kaiserin Königin Maria Theresia geprägt worden sind. Médailles frappées sous le règne glorieux de l'Impératrice-Reine-Marie-Thérèse*, Schütz, Carl und Maria Anna, Erzherzogin von Oesterreich, Wien, 1782, in the already mentioned volume by Marie Antoinette, daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa. Cf <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_Nn7Q4M8OSq8C/page/n13>. Site consulted on 12 February 2018.

86 de Callatay, *Winckelmann et les monnaies antiques*, cit. For example, errors can be cited in distinguishing the coins that he proposed as real/false (the false identification of a tetradrachm of Antigone was clamorous, in: G. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, I, Roma, a spese dell'autore, 1767, p. 44, fig. 41e ss., p. 44 and ss. and even more so the attribution to an issue of

gift for a collection does not thus appear sustainable. It is more convincing that it would be an iconographic set with the aim of accreditation towards a recipient in Rome and/or Trieste as confirmation or proof of the credibility of the sender of some message. On this subject, in the trial minutes the testimony emerged of a 'sealed box for Cardinal Albani'. Furthermore, Winckelmann not only decided the shortest itinerary to reach Rome, but on arrival at Trieste his search for a boat rental to Ancona became one of his anxieties, enough to engage Arcangeli and above all exhibit the medals, even proposing to display them at the Osteria Granda. Why this contradiction between not having identified himself and the ostentatious exhibition of these four objects? Perhaps an explanation lies in the need for a rapid and safe journey relying on someone at Trieste to help him, who might be found through local Masonic connections, as suggested at the Viennese court by Kaunitz himself. The news of the medals, irrefutable proof of the authoritativeness of the donors through their images, especially that of Liechtenstein, once made known at the Osteria Granda would have facilitated meetings with those who would be able to understand the message. Regarding this, as previously mentioned, a Masonic Lodge was being formed at Trieste during those years⁸⁷. In the absence of a Temple, the meetings all took place in taverns or inns, "around the carpet", as evinced from the *List of Lodges*, containing information on the times and places of *Tornate/Communications*⁸⁸. It may be supposed that it was also organized in this way in Trieste, perhaps even at the Osteria Granda⁸⁹, in an incipient Masonic brotherhood led by Niclaus Hamilton, but after his departure in 1764, in 1768 not yet or no longer well organized with a master of reference for continuity and relations with Vienna.

But there are other data that are worthy of additional mention: the relationship between Arcangeli, who turned up in Trieste not exactly in the precarious

the Augustan Age with 'portrait of Virgil', a *rectius* quattrino of Mantova, minted by Frederick I (1478-1484) and by Frederick II (1519-1540), well-known in the currency exchange tables of the 18th century). Some numismatics scholars at the end of the 18th century wrote of him sarcastically: «Il ajoute avec une prudence consommée et avec une rare pénétration, qu'il n'existe aucune connoissance des Médailles hors de la ville de Rome. Mais un apprentif d'Islande, très peu versé dans cette science auroit pu dire à M. WINCKELMANN que cette Médaille a été battue en seizième siècle à Mantoue...»: cf J. Pinkerton, *Dissertations sur la rareté, les différentes grandeurs et la contrefaction des Médailles antiques*, for Jean Godefoi Lipsius, Dresden, Frères Walter, 1795, p. 53.

87 L. G. Manenti, *Massoneria e società occulte a Trieste*, in: Rizzardini e Vento, *All'Oriente d'Italia*, cit., pp. 227-257, in part. p. 228: «Qui [a Trieste] una prima Loggia clandestina venne costituita nel 1765, mentre quella regolare denominata "Alla Concordia" fu promossa nove anni dopo dall'ufficiale austriaco Thomas von Welz». After that the Walloon François Joseph Emmanuel Baraux (1750-1789) stood out, about whom cf A. Trampus, *Un commerciante di Anversa distintosi a Trieste: F.E.J. Baraux (1750-1829)*, in: "Quaderni della Società di Minerva", 16 (1984), pp. 1-36.

88 *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum, being the transaction of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge no 2076 London*, XXXVI, London, Morgante, 1923, pp. 140-152, where 'An Engraved List of Edge for 1728' appears.

89 It is written in L. Veronese Jr., *Iniziativa sanitarie del '700. Il forte Kressich. La massoneria a Trieste*, Trieste, Luglio Editore, 2010, p. 34: "The first meeting-place of the Trieste Masons was the Casinò di San Pietro, located in the Locanda Grande in Piazza Grande nowadays Unità d'Italia".

conditions he hinted at in his statement to father Bosizio whom he visited more than once⁹⁰. In 1768 director of the Trieste college, the Jesuit had played an essential role in freeing Arcangeli from prison after a conviction for the robbery of around 500/600 ongari-gold coins from Count Cataldi of Vienna where he had been employed as a cook⁹¹. Indeed, as soon as he arrived in Trieste from Venice, on 30 May 1768 he appealed to the Jesuit for help, almost begging for financial support to pay his inn rental. Arcangeli asked him for “three or four imperial florins”, on the Trieste market quoted at an exchange of 60 carantanians each, therefore the equivalent of slightly less than 1 ongaro/zecchino (1 ongaro = 260 carantanians; 4 imperial florins x 60 = 240 carantanians). On the evening of 3 June he received 11 petizze. At the exchange of 1 petizza=17 carantanians, a sum equal to 187 carantanians: not what he had asked for, but neither much less⁹². But it is a strange handout because the killer, when replying to the investigator as to whether he had money, the first time confessed that when he had reached Trieste «aveva seco 5 zecchini, 2 o 3 sibicensi ⁹³[petizze]», on a subsequent occasion «8 zecchini; de quali, cinque n’avesse lasciati in una Borsa posta entro la saccoccia al di dentro della velata [---] ed uno ne facesse cambiare dall’oste Fran.co, che per tal cambio li dasse 15 petizze»⁹⁴. Arcangeli therefore had the wherewithal necessary to search for work in the port city, at that time at the beginning of its growth. Why then turn to the Jesuit? And how should his observations on Winckelmann to the investigating judge be interpreted, recalling that while they walked in the search for a boat to hire

«[---] Suponendo, che detto Sig. Winckelmann fosse di Religione Luterana ovvero Ebraica, e per conseguenza di poco decoro, [---] io non intendevo per non averlo mai veduto andare alla messa, e per non aver mai voluto entrare in chiesa, da me invitato alla benedizione; per aver osservato che passando meco mecco avanti alla chiesa, ove v’era l’Esposizione del Venerabile, io mi cavavo il cappello, e lui non le lo levava [---]?»

90 Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L’assassinio*, cit., p. 214. Cf anche *Gesuiti a Trieste*, Trieste, MGS Press, 2008. As far as I know, no prosopographic research has been conducted on this person, who was probably from Gorizia. It can be supposed that he belonged to the administrative structure of the Jesuits as he does not appear in C. Sommervogel (ed.), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, I-II, Bruxelles/Paris, Éditions Auguste Picard, 1890-1891. Another Jesuit with the same surname, and perhaps from the same Gorizia family, active between Trieste and the Austrian regions of the empire, was Giovanni Giuseppe Bosizio (30 April 1809, Gorizia - 5 February 1896, Kalocsa), known also as Atanasio Bosizio.

91 Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L’assassinio*, cit., pp. 163-164.

92 Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L’assassinio*, cit., p. 287.

93 Vernacularization of Siebzechner (17) this is another name for the petizza that was worth exactly 17 carantanians.

94 Trieste. Biblioteca Civica “A. Hortis”. Archivio Diplomatico, ms α E3, document n. 9: «si rileva da una Lettera statagli trovata nela sacoccia della velata opera del med.mo conoscente della Pater-nità Sua m.to Reverenda; vien pertanto ricercata d’informare questo Tri.ble, come e da quando lo conosca, se abbia avuto occasione di parlare con esso lui qui in Trieste, ed in caso di sì, per qual incontro, e quando»; Pagnini & Bartolini (eds.), *L’assassinio*, cit., p. 294.

Would such a detailed analysis of religious behaviour have been spontaneous in a thief, in a self-styled cook in search of fortune, or was it suggested to him to examine the unknown person who exhibited gold and silver medals from the Viennese court following precise behavioural indicators, to evaluate the singularity? Yet the scrupulous investigation to ascertain all the responsibilities did not regard, or did not seem to want to deal with the role of the Jesuit Bosizio. The clergyman was not interrogated and at the request of the criminal judge Domenico Sacchi responded with a letter of 5 July 1768, without submitting any contradiction with Arcangeli⁹⁵. In the letter Bosizio declared that he met Arcangeli several times in the prisons of Vienna, and that in the former year, so in 1767, he was visited by him in Trieste, suggesting him to return to Venice, from where he wrote many times. Moreover, he stated that he was visited again by him on the 3rd of July to apply for a loan of three or four florins «per pagar all’osteria una piccolo partita, che gli restava, e poi il nolo della barca fino a Venezia». In order to obtain such loan he even offered his wedding ring, and Bosizio gave him «undici petizze»⁹⁶.

The investigatory gap was not missed by Alexander von Stoll, who in his annotations to the German edition of the trial minutes observed that from the dossier it is understood that the court had - unfortunately - waived a confrontation of the killer with the Jesuit priest and rector Bosizio, even if this would have been not only desirable for the procedure, but almost indispensable⁹⁷.

Yet the relationship between Winckelmann, his journey to Prussia, his sudden return to Rome after the meeting with Maria Theresa and von Kaunitz, the four medals and in particular that with SEMPER CONSTANS, and the conspicuous amount of money were interconnected, thus appearing worthy of the discussion proposed here. If aimed at the search for a contact to speed up his return to Rome, the exhibiting of the portraits of the sovereigns and Prince of Liechtenstein on the medals was a failure. In addition, the news of having to consign a ‘sealed box’ to Cardinal Albani, as stated by the innkeeper, did not obtain the hoped for success. The role of the Jesuit Bosizio remains unexplained, also because in the same

95 Pagnini e Bartolini (eds.), *L’assassinio*, cit., pp. 285-287. An elaboration would have been enlightening because one of the thorniest questions of European geopolitics in those years regarded the role and destiny of the Jesuit Order: A. Trampus, *Jésuites*, in: *Dictionnaire de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2014, pp. 133-136; A. Trampus, *La sociabilité culturelle des Jésuites austro-trichiens avant et après la dissolution de 1773: académies, loges maçonniques et le discours sur la liberté de l’homme*, in: W. Berelowitch, M. Porret (eds.), *Réseaux de l’esprit en Europe des Lumières au XIXe siècle*.1, Genève, Droz, 2009, pp. 149-166; Idem, *L’Illuminismo e la soppressione*, in: *Gesuiti a Trieste*, cit., pp. 147-166; Idem, *I gesuiti austriaci dopo la soppressione della Compagnia: una comunità dispersa?* in: “Annali di Ca’ Foscari”, 35 (1996), pp. 383-433.

96 Trieste. Biblioteca Civica “A. Hortis”. Archivio Diplomatico, ms aE3, document n. 10.

97 Cf C. Pagnini (Hrsg.), *Mordakte Winckelmann: die Originalakten des Kriminalprozesses gegen den Mörder Johann Joachim Winckelmanns (Triest 1768), aufgefunden und im Wortlaut des Originals in Triest 1964*. Übersetzt und kommentiert von Heinrich Alexander Stoll, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1965, p. 156 [cf Pagnini 1964].

year 1768 a *Bericht des Patres S.J. zu Triest über den Tod Winckelmanns*⁹⁸ reached the Jesuits of Vienna, certainly written by an eye witness of the capital punishment inflicted on Arcangeli, but also an awareness that

«Reducem Vienna Clarissimum Virum Joannem Winckelmann Pontificiarum Antiquitatum Praefectum, sagacissimum totius antiquitatis scrutatorem et interpretem [...] fraudibus dextre adeo circumvenerat, ut vir a suo candore hominem mensus, familiariter eo uti, itineris rationem omnem ei exponere, sua cum eo conferre, Lysimachos et radiantes Daricos, aureorum vim magnam, quibus nempe muneribus vir doctissimus ab Augusta cumulatus erat, ostendere inciperet, nescius sane in ejus se incidisse manus, cui aurum novum perinde ac vetus, si aurum modo esset, ingentem cupiditatem proliceret».

How could the writer of the report hypothesize that Winckelmann would have displayed gold coins, even defining them as lysimachians and radiated darics⁹⁹, and consider them as coming from the Empress? How is it possible to sustain that the killer

«Armatus Winckelmanni cubiculum subit, multa pro consuetudine de itinere, [...], visendorum rursus, praegrandum illorum nummorum non ob aurum, sed imparesam eisdem Augustae effigem, injectam sibi cupiditatem commemorat»,

that is to say he would have been driven to the crime not by the gold but by a medal with the effigy of the Empress? The scholarly reference to lysimachians and radiated darics¹⁰⁰ to define the valuable coins possessed by Winckelmann put into relation with the medals with the effigy of the Empress. The different chronology would not have escaped the Jesuit (who else if not Bosizio?); yet perhaps this strange temporal confusion might confirm a closer link between Arcangeli and his old liberator whom he would have told about the medals, the 'sealed box' for Cardinal Albani, perhaps even the coins. There is no documentary proof, but the evidence is obvious and deducible from the account in Latin, sent to Vienna

98 W. Rehm (ed.), *Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Briefe*, IV, Berlin, De Gruyter, 1957, pp. 414-415 e pp. 558-559 for the relative archival and bibliographical sources.

99 The interpretation that can be read in de Callataÿ, *Winckelmann*, cit., p. 555-556 appears very strange.

100 This must be a reference to the gold coins of Lysimachos. Less clear and today indefinable is the expression "radiated darics". Although the Persian gold darics are obviously well-known, there is nothing convincing about the use of the adjective "radiated". The conjecture advanced in de Callataÿ, *Winckelmann*, cit., p. 555 that Maria Theresa would have taken those valuable old coins from the known find of 40,000 stateri of Lysimachos, dating to the mid-16th century and discovered along the river Strei (the Roman *Sargetia*) in Mureş (cf IGCH 670; lastly A. Cavagna, *Gli alleati di Bruto in Dacia e i 'Koson' d'oro*, in: T. M. Lucchelli e F. Rohr Vio, *VIRI MILITARES. Rappresentazione e propaganda tra Repubblica e Principato*, Trieste, EUT, 2015, pp. 91-113, p. 101), appears somewhat strange because it does not take into account the scholarly language of the time in defining the gold coins as old and most of all that, if this really did happen, the "lysimachians and radiated darics" would have been found in W's well-organized and protected pockets.

almost at the same time as the execution of the death sentence. It didn't have the appearance of a funerary commemoration, but just a report from someone who had personally followed the affair of what had happened with Winckelmann and Arcangeli¹⁰¹. Everyone, not only at the time of the murder and trial but also afterwards concentrated on the medals, confused them with the coins, did not know or did not want to question their value and especially their function.



Finally, little or almost no attention has been paid to the relationship between the list of coin values drawn up for the investigation at the scene of the crime and that drawn up by the notary Antonio dell'Argento to be sent to Vienna, to von Kaunitz, in which various discrepancies emerge. Above all, should be investigated the meticulous note of documents «Abbozzi di lettere, carte scritte, e non scritte n. 18», the memories concerning the recipients of various payments made before living Rome, the various sealed boxes destined in particular to Cardinal Albani, to de Brunatti, Secretary of Legation in Rome, the letters to Baron Stosch and the "German" ones without name and specific address or signed by «un certo Moussin» or those received from Carlo ErzzKinch (sic!), from Duke Giorgio of Madleburgh (sic!), the travel itineraries and the full list of addresses of various cities. All this information can be inferred from the copies of the documentation sent in great haste by the inquisitors of Trieste to Vienna, and from there to Rome, in particular to Cardinal Albani who gave confirmation of receipt by signing anonymous answers written by a secretary¹⁰². It is at least conceivable that some data or information might emerge that could provide a more convincing explanation for the reason for his sudden return to Rome, via Trieste-Ancona, after the meeting with von Kaunitz and the empress. And maybe even the cause of his violent death. The documents kept in Trieste say nothing about such numerous letters and notes, which were certainly read by the inquisitors and judges. In drawing up their acts they were rather precise about the coins to the point of specifying their value at the exchange rate with the unit of account in force at that time in Trieste, on the engraved gems or other personal effects in gold or precious and especially on the medals, for which they provided description and value in gold coins. For all the other numerous documents, they limited to compile anonymous lists. And

101 de Callatay, *Winckelmann*, cit., p. 555 considers it a « texte composé par le père jésuite pour la messe de funéraires de Winckelmann ». As to the funeral of the then almost unknown Winckelmann at Trieste, de Rossetti reports, *Il sepolcro di Winckelman*, cit, p. 115: «Dopo la giuridica ispezione della spoglia mortale di Winckelmann essa fu consegnata il giorno 9 giugno (fog. 8) al sagrestano della chiesa di s. Sebastiano, Valentino Perusich, ch'era al un tempo becchino, perché dopo averne ricevuto l'ordine dal magistrato lo sotterrasse. In detto giorno fu quindi portato il cadavere senza alcuna pompa nella chiesa cattedrale di s. Giusto, e deposto nella comune sepoltura d'una delle confraternite che a quell'epoca esistevano»: therefore a funeral without pomp. It seems more correct to stay with the definition of *Bericht* rather than the funeral address.

102 On all this unpublished documentation, except my mistake, see the voluminous file in Trieste. Biblioteca Civica "A. Hortis". Archivio Diplomatico, ms. 12 C3.

even that seems inconsistent with the investigative action. As mentioned, they were only concerned to verify the relations between Arcangeli and the Jesuit, but without insistence, without investigation, for example, on the letter in which the murderer quotes the Jesuit Bosisio signing it with a false identity, not Arcangeli but: “Giuseppe Rocchard [rectius Racchelli?]”¹⁰³. From what emerged and certainly known to them from the reading of the Winckelmann documents, no reference. Silence. The medals seemed to be a solid and concrete motive of the crime.

To the investigators the robbery reason appeared the most plausible because the objective of the attempted robbery – the two medals in gold and two in silver with portraits of the Empress and her son Joseph II – had a symbolic rather than sales value: the medals were the representation of the imperial power. Who would have been able to establish their true value over and above their gold and silver content? Everything consisted of the four commemorative objects; regrettably their possessor was murdered, but the criminal arrested. Stopping at the four medals would have closed the affair in a convincing way.

In this paper there is no claim to advance any new hypotheses, only the intention to relate the money and medal documentation to the context of 1768, allowing – it is hoped – documentary proof to emerge free of ideologies or narrations *agréables pour l'esprit*.

¹⁰³ Trieste. Biblioteca Civica “A. Hortis”. Archivio Diplomatico, ms αE3, document nr. 2.