

JAANIKA ANDERSON

Reception of Ancient Art:
the Cast Collections of the University
of Tartu Art Museum
in the Historical, Ideological and
Academic Context of Europe
(1803–1918)



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INTRODUCTION

The Greeks had been the first to systematically discover their world and to classify what they found there. The word ‘museum’ comes from the Greek *mou-seion*, which means the sanctuary of Muses. This is to say, a place presided over by the various Muses, each with her own responsibility for the arts and sciences. Famous *mouseia* in antiquity were the great libraries of Pergamum and Alexandria, nurtured in the Hellenistic kingdoms of the Attalids and the Ptolemies. There copies of all the great works of classical literature were deposited amidst displays of artworks reflecting the learning contained in them. Therefore, at Pergamum were to be found busts of poets, dramatists and thinkers, including images of figures who, like Homer, had lived before the age of naturalistic art and of whom portrait types had to be invented (Jenkins 2003: 168–169). In this thesis, the museum is studied as a form of the reception of ancient art.

Collections of sculptures existed already in ancient times, but they were not museums in the modern sense. Apparently, the largest ancient sculpture collection excavated is the sculpture collection of *Villa dei Papiri* in Herculaneum. The sculptures had been amassed and installed over a period of time, ranging from perhaps Late Republican times through the Julio-Claudian period. The objects are uneven in quality and occasionally repetitious. The collection as a whole is indicative of a wide range of tastes and standards on the part of the collectors (Mattusch, Lie 2004: 15).

From the Renaissance to the present day, ancient Greek and Roman art has been consistently held in high regard. The collections of ancient art emerged and courts of statues were founded in 16th century Italy. The great collections of original works and bronze copies could not be offered by many people, but plaster casts¹ were less expensive and at least one private collection of casts is known. Italian painter, writer and historian, Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), tells of the Italian sculptor Leone Leoni (1509–1590), whose cast collection, begun before 1550 in Milan, he considered to be remarkable (Haskell, Penny 2006: 16). The casts are the second important aspect in this work and are looked at from the standpoint of the reception of antiquity.

It was an ideal in the Age of Enlightenment to give a person a broad education in which art had a very special impact. Some functions of religion were taken over by art, and museums were seen as special temples of aesthetics which, at the end of the 18th and the first decades of the 19th century, resulted in a boom in new galleries and museums. In addition to public museums, art collections were established at universities because an essential component of education in the Age of Enlightenment was art education, which developed good taste and taught to people to understand beauty (Kukk *et al* 2006: 9). At

¹ A cast is made by mechanically moulding an existing plastic work of art or model. Two procedures are necessary in order to make a cast. First to shape the mould through casting the model or the original; second, filling the mould with the preferred material (Kader 2006: 722). The casts of sculptures, gems and coins are made mainly of plaster and sulphur mass.

the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, the importance of the humanities in the education system increased. In addition to private collections, public museums started to be established and these took on an important role in education. This trend emerged also in Tartu, as the University of Tartu Art Museum started to establish its own cast collection in 1803 (Utter 1975: 71).

The present work examines the development of the University Tartu Art Museum as visual teaching material and its academic output during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Today a museum is defined by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) as a non-profit permanent institution in service of society and its development open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.² The definition of museum last adopted in 2007 during the 21st conference in Vienna was largely applicable in relation to the period and aspects treated in this thesis.

The terminology, objects, aims, methods and organisation of the dissertation

In order to study the history and reception of ancient art, the history of European culture should also be studied. The thesis *Reception of Ancient Art: The Cast Collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum in European Historical, Ideological and Academic Context (1803–1918)* is written on the basis of the sculpture, gem and coin cast collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum, but contextualized in the process of the dissemination of cultural ideas and scientific questions in Europe.³

The **key term** in the study is ‘cast’, which denotes a figure achieved by cast moulding.⁴ The other main terms occurring in this research are ‘cast collection’ and ‘university museum’ or ‘university collection’. A cast is the replica made of a liquid fast setting substance. The most common materials for making a cast or casting, are plaster, sulphur, sealing wax and wax (Mayers 1897: 44–45). The liquid material is poured into a mould taken from the original object and the cast is taken out of the mould after the liquid has set as a solid. It makes no

² <http://icom.museum/definition.html> [accessed 23 June 2014].

³ The sculpture collection consists of 474 objects. Otherwise not all the sculptures in the collections are plaster casts from ancient art. The collection includes some original sculptures from Estonian artists. The other nuance is the sculpture casts contains also some plaster cameos that rather could be counted into the gem cast collection. The coin casts collection consists of 2987 objects divided into three collections or editions. The number of gem casts collections is more than 17,000 and the objects are divided into editions. A number of casts are entered into the Public Portal of Estonian Museums www.muis.ee [accessed 24 June 2014].

⁴ *Abguss* in German, *le moulage* in French, *valand* in Estonian.

substantial difference what kind of material is used for moulding. The resulting cast is an exact copy of the model and cannot be confused with a copy freely produced from the model. The reason copies and casts were often confused lies in the nature of the sculptural art itself. In the case of a marble sculpture, it is easy to distinguish a stone copy, a cast copy made using a freely created mould, and a cast produced using a mould taken directly from the original. However, some sculptural materials, such as bronze and lead, require a casting for both the original and its reproduction (Kreem 2005: 44–46). The term ‘cast collection’ refers to a collection of casts that has been organised according to some general principles. The University of Tartu Art Museum has cast collections of Greek and Roman sculptures, ancient coins and ancient and modern gems. A university museum or collection is an institution established by a university and brings together material or audio-visual objects with scientific or cultural value for the purpose of researching, studying or as museal value (Weber 2011: 84).

Collections of casts are still important components for almost all institutes of archaeology in universities. These research and study collections are equal to the collections of ancient originals, libraries and other collections (Bauer 2002: 117). The collection of the plaster casts at the University of Tartu in the European context is an interesting study **object** because of its location, position and situation. Tartu (previously in German known as Dorpat and in Russian as *Yuryev*) is far from Greece and Italy, the cradle of antiquity. The re-opened university started its activity after a period of warfare in 1802⁵ by order of the Russian Emperor Alexander I⁶ following the ideas of Enlightenment in the fields of education and scientific life⁷ (Tohvri 2009: 9).

In 1803, the University of Tartu Art Museum was founded, which has one of the oldest plaster cast collections founded for teaching and studying among European universities. As provided by the university statutes, the director of the museum had to be a professor of eloquence, classical languages and literature, art history and aesthetics (Kukk, *et al.* 2006: 10). The directors of the art

⁵ In Tartu the university was opened already in 1632. The institution was called then *Academia Dorpatensis* and as parallel name was *Academia Gustaviana* after the Swedish King Gustav II Adolphus (1594–1632), who signed the founding documents of academia. The students had to take lectures in Latin language like elsewhere in European universities at the same time. Activity of the Tartu University was interrupted by the Great Northern War in 1710. The Great Northern War (1700–1721) was held for supremacy on the Baltic Sea. The war between Sweden and Russia was ended with the Treaty of Nystad/Uusikaupunki in 1721 and Sweden had to give up Estonia, Livonia and some other areas to Russia.

⁶ About history of the University of Tartu see Piirimäe, H., 1982. *Tartu Ülikooli Ajalugu*. I. Tallinn: Valgus; Siilivask, K., 1982. *Tartu Ülikooli Ajalugu*. II. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat; Siilivask, K., Palamets, H., 1982. *Tartu Ülikooli Ajalugu*. III. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat; Siilivask, K., 1985. *History of Tartu University 1632–1982*. Tallinn: Perioodika.

⁷ Legally the university belonged to the Russia, that determined the scientific relations with Russia, mainly with St. Petersburg’s academic and scientific institutions. Yet the nation of professors was mainly German and that favoured the connections with the European famous scientific centres. 1802–1825 were 83% of professors of German origin in the University of Tartu (Siilivask 1982: 57).

museum were interested in new archaeological findings from the centres of ancient cultures as well as being aware of general developments in the museums of Europe, especially Germany. The development of the University of Tartu Art Museum was inspired much by the cast museums in Göttingen and Bonn. Art objects for the museum were purchased through the mediation of art dealers from the plaster cast shops of Germany, France and Russia.

Finally, this introduction should also point out those aspects that are not covered in the present thesis. The University of Tartu Art Museum over more than two hundred years has amassed different collections such as engravings, paintings, drawings, icons, sculptures, photographs and original ancient objects.⁸ These collections shall not be discussed in this thesis because in this case the subject is the plaster cast collection as a typical phenomenon of the era. The fate of the different collections, including the ancient originals,⁹ is complicated and needs special investigation. During the World War I, a large and valuable part of the collection was evacuated into Russia. Today these artefacts are in the museum of Voronezh (a city in the Voronezh Oblast, Russia).¹⁰ In addition to purchases, the collection of the University of Tartu has objects obtained through donations. But neither is there room for such a legal discussion in the thesis, where the main point is the reception of ancient art through the plaster cast collection of the university.¹¹ Moreover, the cast collections were not evacuated because the sculptures are large and fragile, and the casts were obviously not thought to be valuable enough to transport over the long distances.

Consequently, **the aim** of the thesis is to identify the context of the plaster cast collection of the University of Tartu within the tradition of plaster collections in Europe, analyse the contents of the local cast collection and finally find out how the cast collection was used in academic life. There are many plaster cast collections in Europe and across the world, but it is impossible and unnecessary

⁸ See more about the collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum <http://www.kunstimuuseum.ut.ee/> [accessed 26 October 2014].

⁹ E.g. the part of collection evacuated into Russia during the I World War is partly published Kukk, I., Hindikainen, A., Pšenitsõna, J., Vilkov, A., 2006. *Dorpat–Yuryev–Tartu and Voronež: The Fate of the University Collection. Catalogue*. Tartu: Ilmamaa; old clay tablets are studied and published by Sahk, I. 2004. Vanad kirjad savil ja paberil. *Horisont* 2, 24–25.

¹⁰ 1914 burst out the I World War and arose the question about evacuation of the Tartu University. In autumn 1915 and winter 1916 were evacuated original art objects as Egyptian, Greeks and Roman antiquities, paintings, engravings and drawings into Russia. On the 2nd February 1920 was contracted Russian-Estonian Tartu Peace Treaty and a part of engravings and drawings were reevacuated (Utter 1975: 74).

¹¹ Read about evacuation problems Laansalu, A. (ed.), 2001. *International Restitution Conference. Estonian–Russian Co-operation in Museology: The History and the Disposition of an Art Collection Established by Professor Morgenstern at Tartu University in 1803. 15. and 16. September 2001 Tartu, Estonia*. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

to compare the Tartu collection with all of these in this thesis.¹² To fulfil the aim of defining the idea of the plaster cast collection of the University of Tartu Art Museum in the European academic context, many cast collections are mentioned, but only the collections from four regions are examined closely. Firstly, the German collections, Göttingen and Bonn, are observed as exemplars for our collections of sculpture, gem and coin casts made after ancient originals. Secondly, the collection in St. Petersburg is offered as an overview of a cast collection in Russia, focusing on scientific connections. Then, the Oxford plaster collection is reviewed, providing an example built up on quite different principles from the German and Estonian collection. This sample illustrates that collections of a similar structure could be developed in different ways.¹³ This section is concluded by looking at the cast collection at the University of Helsinki, which offers interesting material for comparison because this was not used as an example for the collection in Tartu, but was nevertheless founded on the same basis.

The more general aim of this thesis is to explore the reception of classical art based on our understanding of the reception of classical literature, which has a longer history in academia and is referred to as Reception Theory or Reception Studies. Research that explores the reception of classical art from this point of view has been modest because the basic tasks of identifying, attributing and cataloguing physical objects have been the dominant tasks in art history. Yet the survival of objects from the past to the present, more tangible and concrete than in the case of literary works, together with the multifarious and intractable physical changes that objects undergo, ought to place reception at the forefront of the art historian's concerns (Prette John 2006: 228). The main idea is that the past is fixed but the present is a moving platform, and so our perspective on the

¹² See for the plaster cast collections in the world Lourenço, M. C., 2005. *Between two worlds. The distinct nature and contemporary significance of university museums and collections in Europe*. Thèse de doctorate, Histoire des Techniques, Muséologie. Conservatoire national des arts et métiers, École doctorale technologique et professionnelle Paris (unpublished PhD thesis, available online <http://webpages.fc.ul.pt/~mclourenco/> [accessed 15 June 2013]), the homepage of International Association for the Conservation and the Promotion of Plaster Cast Collections. <http://www.plastercastcollection.org/en/database.php> [accessed 24 June 2014]. See also for archaeological and related collections at the German, Austrian and Swiss universities in Weber 2013: 645–657 and Müller 2013: 659–661.

¹³ The English parallel is not surprising here. We know from the research of Hilka Hiiop how the English art of reception of Classical Art spread throughout Estonian manor architecture and landscape design in the second half of 18th century. On the one hand, the influences did not arrive in the Baltic area directly from the British Isle, but via the court in St Petersburg. In 1779 the Scottish architect Charles Cameron were invited to St Petersburg, where he supervised the design of Tsarskoje Selo and the Pavlovski Palace, which introduced the Adam style – neoclassical style of interior design and architecture. On the other hand, the local manor lords travelled extensively and were familiar with new European fashion and tastes. Hiiop alleged, that the influence of Antiquity was thus a mediated, rather than a direct experience in the Estonian manor architecture (Hiiop 2011/2012: 229–230).

past, in ways that we cannot grasp from within that perspective, is always shifting (Wood 2012: 164). Or, as Brockliss *et al.* write, that a viewpoint oscillating between antiquity and other periods allows us to consider not only how the classics can illuminate the other periods, but also how the reception of antiquity can teach us more about the ancient world itself (2012: 3).

In terms of research **methodology**, the approach taken by Eric Fernie was the starting point for this thesis. Art objects can be treated, among other things, as conveyers of aesthetic and intellectual pleasure, as abstract form, as social products, and as expressions of culture and ideology. Fernie writes about four different approaches to the art subject: 1) investigating available written documents to provide information on the authenticity, date, technique, provenance, affiliation and purpose of the object in question; 2) investigating objects using visual techniques such as stylistic analysis, again to assess the authenticity, date, technique, provenance, affiliation and purpose of the object; 3) investigating the social context to which the object belongs, including an examination of the conditions of its production and reception; and 4) constructing or selecting systems to relate the object to types of large-scale historical developments, including an assessment of the relevance of ideologies and theories of art (Fernie 2003: 327).

Therefore, in my research I use different methods to conduct my analysis. The cast collection of the University of Tartu Art Museum will be viewed in the light of the ideologies disseminated at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century and in doing so contextual analysis will be applied. An historical-analytical approach and autopsy is relevant for studying the local cast collection. The third approach, typological analysis, is used to explore the reception of the collection.

In practice, the contextual analysis and historical-analytical approach, on the one hand means the consideration of previous research. Different studies and publications have been made about plaster cast collections in the world, but these are mainly written as chronological histories or catalogues. Quite a number of these publications are complicated to find and acquire because they have been published by universities in their annals, academic collections or in other issues of local importance. The same problem occurs when trying to find information about the University of Tartu Art Museum's plaster cast collection: the main source of information is short articles in the local publications about certain periods of the history of the art museum or individuals connected with the museum written in Estonian.¹⁴ Seldom could comprehensive approaches to museum collections be found (e.g. Kukk, *et al.* 2006).

On the other hand, the analysis of the contents of the local cast collection refers to the systematic autopsy of the entire collection of plaster cast objects in the university of Tartu Art Museum, including sculptures, gems and coins. The results of the autopsy are made available in the Appendix of the present thesis, where the plaster casts from the collection of the Tartu University Art Museum

¹⁴ See more about literature in the section on historiography.

are described using characteristics such as the date, dimensions, owners, manufacturer, and if possible, method of acquisition.

Finally, to find out how the cast collection was used in academic life, a typological analysis has been chosen, as only some typical cases from 19th century Tartu that demonstrate how the reception of ancient art took place through the plaster cast collection can be presented. This method is required to help us find the rationale for the existence of the cast collection at Tartu University, and ultimately, the academic output of the collection.

The thesis has the following parts: introduction, main discussion, summary, bibliography, index and three appendices. The main discussion consists of three chapters and the text is organized under subtitles according to the content.

The first chapter is dedicated to the preconditions of establishing the plaster cast collections. This discusses how the plaster casts were made in ancient times, who and why the first plaster cast collections were needed and how the objects from Classical Antiquity were collected in the Middle Ages and rediscovered in the Renaissance and Modern Era, and how new trends emerged in casting and collecting during the 18th and 19th centuries. Finally, a short overview of similar university collections in Europe is presented as background information.

The second chapter focuses on the cast collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum: how the cast collections were developed and acquired in different periods of the 19th century and according to what principles under the direction of different individuals and the emergence of new ideas. This section provides a comprehensive discussion of the gem and coin casts as well as an analysis of the sculpture casts.

The third chapter aims to find out how the cast collections were used for academic purposes in the University of Tartu. It is quite sure that the cast collection was not a museum in the contemporary and traditional meaning. It remained a non-public institution for a long time and provided illustrative material for students in their lectures and inspiration for the scientific works of professors.

Historiography, bibliographical sources and previous research on this theme

In conducting research on the theme *The Reception of Ancient Art: the Cast Collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum in the Historical, Ideological and Academic Context in Europe (1803–1918)*, different keywords emerge already in the title. According to these key-phrases and keywords, the bibliographical sources needed for the research can be grouped thematically: University of Tartu Art Museum; the cast collection of the University of Tartu Art Museum; European cast collections as the academic context and systemic background; reception and ancient art.

The University of Tartu Art Museum is the main institution in this study. In this section different publications about history of the museum are used. The newest and the first, with parallel texts in Estonian and English, is by Inge Kukk *et al.*, 2006 (*200 Years of the Art Museum of the University of Tartu: Selected Catalogue*, Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus). The publication contains an overview of all the art collections in the museum and some historical background about the local situation. An important article about the museum's history was written much earlier by Niina Raid, 1968, and contains archival references (Tartu ülikooli muuseumi ajaloost 1803–1917. *Kunst* 3). Some information about the University of Tartu Art Museum and other European universities collections can be found in English in a doctoral thesis by Marta C. Lourenço, 2005 (*Between two worlds. The distinct nature and contemporary significance of university museums and collections in Europe*, Thèse de doctorate, Histoire des Techniques, Muséologie. Conservatoire national des arts et métiers, École doctorale technologique et professionnelle. Paris).

In 1990, Niina Raid also published an article about Ludwig Mercklin, the director of the University of Tartu Art Museum, who established the basis for the systematic collection of plaster casts made after ancient sculptures (Ludwig Mercklin. *Akadeemia*, 10). The directors of the museum were also employed as professors in the University of Tartu and were connected with different universities or scientific organisations mainly in Germany and St. Petersburg before or after their time at Tartu. Details of their academic life can be found in articles written in German by Epp Tamm and Hain Tankler, 2004 (Die Klassischen Philologen an der Universität Tartu (Dorpat, Jurjew) und ihre Kontakte zu St Petersburg. *Hyperboreus. Studia Classica*, Vol. 10, Fasc. 1–2, (Bibliotheca Classica Petropolitana)), and Anne Lill, 1989 (Karl Morgenstern als Student im Seminarium Philologicum Halense. *Konferenz zur 200. Wiederkehr der Gründung des Seminarium Philologicum Halense durch Friedrich August Wolf*. Ed by von J. Ebert, H.-D. Zimmermann. Halle: Martin Luther Universität). Another short overview is written in Estonian by Laidi Laiverik, 2003 about G. Loeschcke, director of the art museum, who continued his career in Bonn (Georg Loeschcke Tartus ja Bonnis. *Muuseum* 1 (14)).

The cast collection of the University of Tartu is the main object of the research. The accession register of casts is an important source preserved in the University of Tartu Art Museum; it is a handwritten accession-book initiated by K. Morgenstern in the 19th century – *Verzeichniss des Museum der Kunst der Kaiserl. Universität zu Dorpat angefertigt von dessen ersten Sämmler und Director Karl Morgenstern. Dritter Band. Gemälde und Handzeichnungen, Daktyliothek; Arbeiten in Mosaik, Elfenbeine & in Marmor und Alabaster; Gypsabgüsse; Ägyptische, Griechische und andere Alterthümer*. Regrettably, information about the objects is sporadically scarce. Some handwritten notes from Morgenstern about acquiring the objects are preserved in the University of Tartu Library.

A few examples of the casts are presented in the above-mentioned catalogue compiled by Kukk *et al.*, 2006. Some catalogues have been published about the

casts of sculptures in the collection. The first and detailed catalogue from 1913 is written in Russian by museum director Ernst Felsberg (*Гипсовые слепки*. Юрьев: Типография К. Маттисена). In 1969, Õie Utter published methodical instructions, but in essence it is a catalogue with descriptions of the casts exhibited in the museum.

A couple of descriptive articles about the casts of gems and coins in the Tartu University collection with a historical background are written by Laidi Laiverik, 1996 (Mündivalandid Tartu Ülikooli Klassikalise Muinasteaduse Muuseumi kollektsoonis, *Muuseum*, 2), and 1998 (Pilk gemmivalandite kogule. *Muuseum*, 5). Jaanika Tiisvend [*nunc* Anderson], 2006 as written about the gem cast collections (Tommaso Cadese gemmivalandite kogu Tartu Ülikooli Kunstimuuseumis. *Muuseum*, 2), and 2008 (Collection of gem casts – an encyclopaedia or a beautiful picture? *Akadeemia*, 1). The former is a historical and thematic overview of the collection *Impronte Gemmarie*. The latter handles different types of gem cast collections in the University of Tartu. Jaanika Anderson has studied the first years of the cast collections of Tartu University more closely in 2011/12 (Enchantment of the casts – Karl Morgenstern at the University of Tartu Museum (1803–1837). *Baltic Journal of Art History*). The most recent study about the casts is from 2013 – the bachelor thesis by Airi-Kairi Kaasik (*Lord Elgini marmorid Tartu Ülikooli kunstimuuseumis*. University of Tartu, Faculty of Philosophy, Institute of History and Archaeology, Department of Art History).¹⁵

The articles about the cast collections at the University of Tartu are written by the curators or directors of the art museum. There are no monographs about museum, only articles mainly in Estonian written in a rather descriptive style about single sections of the cast collection. An integrated approach to the formation of the cast collections in their entirety – casts of sculptures, gems and coins – is missing. A systematic comparison with other similar cast collections in European universities would highlight the value of the cast collection of the University of Tartu Art Museum and define its place in the European academic context.

The plaster cast collections of European Universities form the academic context and background system for defining the University of Tartu cast collection. Some important sources in this field include publications by European university collections. Some of the most important sources include Klaus Fittschen, 1990 (*Verzeichnis der Gipsabgüsse des Archäologischen Instituts der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen: Bestand 1767–1989*, Göttingen: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)¹⁶ and Donna Kurtz, 2000 (*The Reception of Classical Art in Britain: An Oxford story of plaster casts from the Antique*, Oxford: Archaeopress (Studies in the History of Collections)). Both publications consist of a historical overview of the collection and detailed catalogue

¹⁵ Electronically is available in www.dspace.utlib.ee [accessed 24 June 2014].

¹⁶ The catalogued objects are electronically available www.viamus.de [accessed 26 September 2012].

of the casts. The cast museum of Bonn has published a catalogue and some relevant articles: Johannes Bauer, Wilfred Geominy, 2000 (*Gips nicht mehr. Abgüsse als letzte Zeugen antiker Kunst*, Bonn: Koellen-Druck). About formation of plaster cast collections in Berlin have written by Nele Schröder and Lorenz Winckler-Horaček, 2012 (. . . von gestern bis morgen . . . ; zur Geschichte der Berliner Gipsabguss-Sammlung(en). Rahden/Westf.: Leidorf). Johannes Bauer wrote an article about plaster cast museums, where the University of Tartu Art Museum is also mentioned, 2002 (Gipsabguss-sammlungen an deutschsprachigen Universitäten. *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte Stuttgart* 5, 117–131). Another important publication project by Hermann von Helmholtz-Zentrum für Kulturtechnik and Humboldt-Universität is managed by Cornelia Weber. The website *University Collections of Germany* maps the different kinds of collections at universities in Germany, including the collections of plaster casts.¹⁷ Very recent publication that discusses different historical and modern aspect of plaster cast collections is edited by Florian M. Müller, 2013 (*Archäologische Universitätsmuseen und -sammlungen im Spannungsfeld von Forschung, Lehre und Öffentlichkeit*. Wien, Berlin: LIT Verlag (Archäologie: Forschung und Wissenschaft. Band 4)).

To define ‘academic context’ or how the plaster casts were used in the study process and research environment, we can examine printed plans of the lectures from 1802–1918 of the lectures *Anzeige der Vorlesungen, welche auf der Kayserlichen Akademie zu Dorpat . . . gehalten werden*. Dorpat: Mattiesen. Some manuscripts and notes about lectures on ancient art history by the directors of the art museum are also preserved in the library of Tartu University.

In this thesis, **reception** and **ancient art** are the principal keywords beside **the cast collection of the University of Tartu**. It is strange that reception theory has made so little impact on the historical study of the visual arts. Many details and aspects of reception and ancient art are found in Haskell and Penny, 2006 (*Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press). One of the most important publications about the history and reception of gem cast collections is edited by Valentine Kockel and Daniel Graepler, 2006 (*Dactyliotheken. Götter & Caesaren aus der Schublade*. München: Biering & Brinkmann). This presents many gem cast editions from Germany, mentions some gem cast editions across Europe (also some editions in Tartu) and the articles open new aspects of reception. One thorough publication that examines ancient gems and their afterlife including editing plaster cast collections is written by Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, 2007 (*Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter).

To explore this topic, different catalogues of gem cast collections are used, where the topic of each cast is listed. Exactly how the gem casts were selected is also a question of reception, as is how consistency of content and the appearance of the collection is considered.

¹⁷ <http://www.universitaetssammlungen.de> [accessed 24 June 2014].

The process of this research follows ideologies disseminated during the 18th and 19th centuries and which directly affected the founding of the cast collections. The most important idea was Enlightenment and well-educated people. Likewise, J. J. Winckelmann's publication, which explored new aspects of Greek and Roman art was also important, as were subsequent treatments of his work, for example, by Alex Potts, 2000 (*Flesh and the Ideal. Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press). Ancient art is the inception material for researching objects. The greatest volume of casts of sculptures, gems and coins has been created from ancient art objects, and so relevant literature that explores this field has been used.

PART I. Preconditions and Background

I.1 Casting and Collecting in Antiquity ¹⁸

As is known today, the casting of sculptures after original ancient sculptures began much earlier than the modern scientific institutions were created in Europe – in ancient times. In Classical Antiquity, the copying of works of art was born out of fascination. We owe our knowledge of ancient Greek culture to the Romans who produced copies of Greek sculptures. Due to this fascination we have the idea of Greek sculpture; for example, many of their bronze sculptures have reached to the present day through Roman marble copies. The replacement value of a copy has not been compared with the conveying of its ideological and artistic value (Levin 2005: 9–15).

The materials of plastic art production and reproduction in antiquity were stone, clay, terracotta, faience, wood, metals and various minerals. The technical properties of plaster or calcium sulphate make it particularly suitable for copying three-dimensional artworks with great accuracy. The material is easy to handle when wet, and when poured into a mould it flows easily into the corners and hardens quickly. In addition, the material seems to have been fairly easily available and hence cheap to use (Frederiksen 2010: 13–14).

Writing in the first century AD, Pliny the Elder thought plaster was first employed in the fourth century BC, during the reign of Alexander the Great, to mould from the face to create realistic portraits, but we know that it had been employed much earlier.¹⁹ A number of details about the provenance, properties and uses of plaster can be learned from Theophrastos (c 371–c 287 BC), writing at the turn of the fourth to the third century BC. His treatise *On Stones* has a section on γύψος (64–69), from which we learn that *gypsos* existed in large quantities in Cyprus, and that in Phoenicia and Syria it was made from burning

¹⁸ The term *antiquity* originated as a borrowing from the French adjective *antique*. It came to designate a historical period that since 18th century is synonymous with the German substantive ‘Altertum’ (ancient times) that had been used for centuries to denote Greco-Roman Antiquity. Already in the Latin of the Early Middle Ages *antiquus* or *antiquitas* could denote the period of Greco-Roman Antiquity (Kuhlman 2006: 167–168). Antiquity is defined as any period before the Middle Ages.

¹⁹ Plinius Secundus (23–79 AD) *Historia Naturalis* 35.153:

Homini autem imaginem gypso e facie ipsa primus omnium expressit ceraque in eam formam gypsi infusa emendare instituit Lysistratus Sicyonius, frater Lysippi, de quo diximus. Hic et similitudines reddere instituit; ante eum quam pulcherrimas facere studebant. Idem et de signis effigies exprimeren invenit, crecivit res in tantum, ut nulla signa statuave sine argilla fierent. Quo apparet antiquiorem hanc fuisse scientiam quam fundendi aeris.

The first person who modelled a likeness in plaster of a human being from the living face itself, and established the method of pouring wax into this plaster mould and then making final corrections on the wax cast, was Lysistratus of Sicyon, the brother of Lysippus of whom we have spoken. Indeed he introduced the practice of giving likeness, the object aimed at previously having been to make as handsome a face as possible.

The same artist also invented taking casts from statues, and this method advanced to such an extent that no figures or statues were made without a clay model. This shows that the knowledge of modelling in clay was older than that of casting bronze (Rackham 1952: 372–373).

stone, for example, marble. Theophrastos informs us of how *gypsos* behaves when pulverized and mixed with water. It is clear that what he was described is the mineral gypsum, and the process by which it can be turned into what we would call plaster. In some instances the term *gypsos*, or its Latin equivalent *gypsum*, are used to denote specifically a cast in that material (Caley, Richards 1956: 29–30). The Egyptians, for example, had employed it for death masks from the third millennium BC, and there is evidence from later periods of its use in Egypt by sculptors (Kurtz 2000: 2).

Frederiksen divides ancient plaster casts into three categories. Firstly, casts were used at various stages of the production of sculpture in other arguably more durable materials such as marble or bronze. Secondly, they were used as copies for the purpose of transferring three-dimensional images from one place to another. Finally, they served as artworks in their own right (2010: 15). It is known from numerous finds and references in Roman literature that marble copies of certain original Greek portraits of Greek men of letters were standard equipment in Roman villa-libraries. For those to whom the marble copies were unavailable, plaster casts may have been an economically viable alternative. It should be no surprise that hardly any plaster casts from such private Roman contexts have survived because of the fragility of plaster and its sensitivity to water (Frederiksen 2010: 24).

The role of plaster casts in ancient Greek and Roman sculpture production was absolutely central. This is a reasonably sound assumption in the case of Greek sculpture, and in the Roman period there is also strong material and circumstantial evidence (Frederiksen 2010: 18). Celebrated statues had been copied in antiquity by taking moulds made using plaster. Ancient practices are best known from the Roman period, when demand for copies of Greek sculptures was so great that replicating factories were established in Italy. The remains of one discovered 1954 at Baiae, near Naples, included fragments of plaster casts of many Greek statues, which have been highly regarded from the Hellenistic period to the present day. This find consisted of more than 400 casts of parts of at least thirty different statues including some of the well-known Classical and Hellenistic Greek works (Landwehr 1985; Kurtz 2000: 1; Frederiksen 2010: 19–20).

The business of casts could presumably deliver a production line of greatest hits, as well as select variations on classical themes for the discerning eye (Beard, Henderson 2001: 102). Christa Landwehr has identified fragments of eleven statues, among them Harmodios, the Sciarra, Mattei and Sosiskles Amazons, the Athena Velletri, the Aphrodite Borghese and Eirene carrying Ploutos.²⁰ The identifications prove beyond doubt that the Baiae plaster fragments are the remnants of casts of famous Greek bronze masterpieces of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. It is safe to assume that the casts belonged to an

²⁰ The fragments were examined and the face of Aristogeiton was noticed in 1960s by Gisela Richter. Richter, G. M. A., 1970. An Aristogeiton from Baiae. *American Journal of Archeology*, 74, 296–297.

important atelier and that they were used to create true-to-scale marble copies (Landwehr 2010: 36).

The Baiae casts were used as models from which marble copies were carved for wealthy Romans. This process, crucial for an understanding of the relationship between Greek originals and Roman copies, was previously only known through written sources and the visual evidence of the Roman marble themselves. It seems logical to assume that a number of such workshop collections of casts existed throughout the Roman world, and that at least sometimes Roman marble statues were copied from such casts rather than from other copies made in marble. Casts would have much easier to transport than marble statues. The casts taken from the original marbles were more accurate copies than those of marble made using measuring points (Frederiksen 2010: 20–21).

There would have been no massive spread of Greek art into the Roman world without casts (Frederiksen 2010: 26). For example, most of the sculptures from the *Villa dei Papiri* are in the Classical style, and many of them are reproductions of famous Greek statues or portraits of famous Greek men. Others are reproductions of the heads of well-known Classical statues and a few are in the Archaic style. Only three heads may be the portraits of men living at the time (Mattusch, Lie 2004: 20). It can be assumed that in many cases these bronze and marble sculptures are copies made after Greek originals.

In ancient times, the sculptural works were always closely bound up with their surrounding context, which could be a landscape and garden, architecture or artefact, furniture or objects in practical use. Sculptures were used predominantly in the vicinity of votive offerings, in honouring people and furnishing rooms (Uggeri 2010: 134). Art collections were assembled 2,400 years ago at *Lyceum* in Athens and at the *Museion* in Alexandria (Lourenço 2005: 3). Like the museum, there was also the gallery of paintings in the Propylaea of the Acropolis of Athens. The temples full of votive offerings were also museums, but these places were not always visited peacefully – Roman soldiers looted the places of worships and took the art objects to Rome as spoil (Sinn 2007: 47). Unfortunately, many of the original ancient marble and bronze sculptures have not survived, but we do know of them through later Roman copies.

In conclusion, the idea and practice of the reproduction of art objects in antiquity was a precondition for modern casting and collecting of ancient art, and thanks to the preserved ancient sculptures we can produce and use plaster cast collections for aesthetic enjoyment and study. There is no doubt that the Roman marble copies after Greek bronze or marble sculptures are as valuable as the original Greek artworks. The Roman copies are especially important because in many cases the Greek examples have not been preserved.

1.2 Developments in collecting and casting ancient art in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times

1.2.1 The Middle Ages (5th–13th century)

Interest in Classical Antiquity was never completely lost during the centuries of the Middle Ages. In the West, and particularly in Italy, the great Latin classics never ceased to be studied in schools and cherished by individuals with a bent for letters. It is true that writers like Tacitus and Lucretius, Propertius and Catullus, just to give a few leading examples, fell quickly into oblivion after the Carolingian age²¹, only to re-appear again with the rise of humanism. Virgil and Cicero, Ovid and Lucan, Persius and Juvenal, Horace and Terence, Seneca and Valerius Maximus, Livy and Statius, and the list is by no means complete, were always read. Even after the fall of the Roman Empire, the idea of Rome as ‘caput mundi’ never faded in the West (Weiss 1969: 1; Schupp 2006: 680–681).

But how much was the ancient art esteemed in all its forms and how was the attitude expressed over the centuries? In this chapter I will look at how attitudes towards ancient art have changed since the end of the age of Classical Antiquity. Excavating, valuation, collecting, preserving and also copying are the main ways in which these art objects have survived to the present times. Tracking the history of original works of ancient art helps us explain why the plaster casts were valued in Early Modern times.

It has not been possible to ignore the ancient heritage in Rome in any era, including the early and high Middle Ages. Local people used the remnants of ancient buildings continuously and integrated them in the construction of new buildings or as stone quarry for new building material. It did not occur to anyone that the ruins need protection (Giuliani 2006: 677). Ancient buildings were incorporated into churches, residential or defensive complexes, while inscriptions, sculptures and fragments were used as booty, and jewels and coins were fashioned into decorative items and cult objects. Until the discovery of Pompeii in 1748, Rome remained the central stage for significant finds of classical works of art (Walther 2006: 143–145).

Around 500, the Ostrogothic government of Italy, with its capital in Ravenna, had an active policy of preserving and restoring ancient official buildings in Rome. Theodoric the Great (454–526), the King of Ostrogoths made a decree that the materials of buildings in an irretrievably ruinous condition should be transferred from other places to his new capital, Ravenna.²² Architecture and political power were very consciously connected – the importation of Roman material to embellish Ravenna had the dimension of propaganda and the

²¹ Carolingian Empire (800–888) was the realm of the Franks under the Carolingian dynasty in the Middle Ages. It was the first great conception of a young Europe (Fichtenau 2000: xv).

²² The re-use of earlier building material or decorative sculpture of new monuments is called spolia.

legitimation of power, in addition to the practical aspect of procuring building material easily (Hansen 2003: 157).

A subsequent famous example of collecting and long-distance transport of material is provided by Charlemagne (742–814), the founder of the Carolingian empire. When building his Palatine Chapel in Aachen, he imported Italian columns and marbles. Whole series of bronze sculptures were gathered, mainly from Ravenna, in an effort to make Aachen a reflection of Rome, where a group of famous sculptures had been assembled at the Lateran as signs and symbols of the city and heritage of the Roman Empire. There was the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius and a replica of the *Lupa* referring to the mythical foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus. Such re-use was common also in the case of ancient gemstones.²³ For example, the Lothar Cross from the middle of the ninth century is decorated partly with small-scale gem spolia as well as the precious Augustus cameo (Hansen 2003: 157–166; Schupp 2006).

Ancient art objects were often re-used as spolia, but in the visual arts of the Carolingian period, Classical Antiquity provided less of a model than Late Christian Antiquity. There was a thoroughly critical attitude towards the temptations of the works of art of Classical Antiquity, caused by their strong aesthetic attraction (Schupp 2006: 681–682).

That some interest in ancient monuments remained alive is not surprising, just as it is not surprising that even smaller antiquities, such as coins, ivories or engraved gems, were continually sought during the Middle Ages. The antiques preserved in the treasuries of cathedrals were kept there because their materials or their craftsmanship was considered precious, not because they were ancient. The Latin classics were considered above all as repositories of unusual information or moral teaching or as collections of fine phrases, suitable for quotation or insertion into one's own writings. They were certainly not seen as the expressions of a great civilization. Roman remains were employed as building materials, or as architectural models. Statues and sarcophagi were used again, while smaller antiquities were often employed for various purposes. Roman cinerary urns were frequently turned into small stoups for holy water or could even be provided with a fresh inscription. Engraved gems went to adorn crowns and diadems, crosses, reliquaries and book covers (Weiss 1969: 2–3). In the Middle Ages, the estimation of gems is seen by their insertion in precious Christian reliquaries, but this esteem was not always accompanied by good judgment. For the gems are often of poor quality and this also applies to the majority of the gems produced at that time (Richter 2006: xix-xxi).

The antique statues were often traded in the High Middle Ages. The Roman stone cutters, besides digging for models and materials valuable to their craft,

²³ Small scale images cut into gemstones, whether in relief (cameo) or below the surface (intaglio), are known as engraved gems. Usually, they fit into the palm of the hand and many are as small as a thumbnail (Rudoe 2003: 132). The intaglio and cameo gems are executed in stones much harder than marble. The precious and semi-precious stones are so hard that they require a diamond to cut them (Billing 1867: 3).

also sold ancient statuary. More than one piece of antique sculpture has reached us with the name of one of these craftsmen engraved upon it. A famous instance is that of Henry of Blois (1098/9–1171), Bishop of Winchester, who, while in Rome in about the middle of the 12th century, acquired an impressive amount of ancient marbles and statuary, defending such purchases by saying that he was removing these old statues in order to prevent the Romans from worshipping them again thereby renewing the cult of such idols as they already served spiritually because of their innate and accursed avarice (Weiss 1969: 9).

Finally, it could be said that there was not any need or interest in casting and plaster cast collections during the Middle Ages; only original ancient objects were collected. Ancient art objects were collected and in some cases the marbles and gems were re-used because of their valuable material not for aesthetic purposes or as works of famous masters. Collecting ancient statuary and gems and keeping them in churches also made it possible to remove ancient objects of worship from the sight of the people.

I.2.2 Renaissance humanism and Early Modern Times (14th–18th century)

The Early Modern period began after the end of the Middle Ages, about 1500, and lasted roughly to 1800,²⁴ although the chronological limits of the period are open to debate. During this period a lot of changes took place in science, society and people's thinking. The Renaissance was one of the particular facets of the Early Modern times. The Renaissance was a cultural movement that began in Italy in the Late Middle Ages and spread across Europe roughly from the 14th to the 17th century.²⁵ Speaking of Europe as a whole, it is not possible to date the Renaissance unambiguously as it spread gradually through literature, art and science. There was economic development and the retreat of medieval theology. During this period there was a rediscovery of antiquity and the fully developed person, which was thought to exist in antiquity, became an ideal.

One of the most important features of the Renaissance was the emergence of **humanism** – defined in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* as an attitude of mind attaching prime importance to human beings and human values (2002: 138). The humanist movement in the early Renaissance started with the exciting rediscovery of classical Greek and Roman literature. Renaissance humanism is traceable to the 14th century Italian poet Petrarch (1304–1374), whose scholarship and enthusiasm for classical Latin writings gave great impetus to a movement that eventually spread from Italy to all of Western Europe. Petrarch was not only the restorer of classical scholarship, he was also the initiator of a

²⁴ For example see for periodization in Greyerz 2008: 4–23; Burke: 2009: xiii–xvi.

²⁵ The ideas and forms of Renaissance arrived to the Northern-Europe in the beginning of 16th century. About the spread of the Renaissance see e.g. Burke, P., 1998. *The European Renaissance: Centers and Peripheries*. Oxford, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

new approach in antiquarian studies: Roberto Weiss has called him the grandfather of Roman archaeology (Weiss 1969: 30).

During the Renaissance, **the collecting** of relics from classical times flourished for a variety of reasons. Some people were attracted by their appearance; some saw them as the remains of a great age; some liked to be surrounded by them in order to study them more thoroughly, or because they were needed as models and sources of aesthetic inspiration. There was also the fact that the ownership of choice antique pieces, whether marbles, bronzes, pottery, or engraved gems, endowed one with particular status and prestige and emphasized one's wealth (Weiss 1969: 180).

Around the **14th century**, contemporary **coin collecting** and appreciation began because people have valued coins ever since they have been minted because of their material value. The artistic value of coins was a later phenomenon. Coin collecting was by no means the monopoly of princes and great prelates. People in the age of the Renaissance felt a fascination for ancient Greek and Roman coins. This was in part because they were tangible and handy relics of an age so much admired by the humanists, but also because so many of them bore the effigies of those great rulers whose names filled the history books. Ancient coins had already been collected, imitated and used as historical evidence before the 15th century. But during this century interest in them assumed hitherto unknown proportions. The antiquarian collection of the Italian Renaissance humanist, Niccolò Niccoli (1364–1437), included an impressive number of ancient coins. Among the many who secured ancient coins for Niccoli, there was Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439), whose interest appears to have been mainly in Greek coins and who is known to have obtained lead casts of pieces when unable to obtain the originals. The greatest Renaissance collections of coins were assembled by princes. The Medici in Florence, the Aragonese in Naples, the Este in Ferrara, the Gonzaga in Mantua as well as other Italian rulers, assembled impressive coin collections (Weiss 1969: 167-169).

Coins, of course, so abundant, so informative – naming and depicting figures known to all – formed the most common early collections. Gems and **gem collections** followed in popularity, partly because of the talismanic value of the stones themselves. They were, in turn, the precursor to collections of statues. Gems were collected as art, like statuary, and were not “proofs of history” that gave coins their appeal. The physical quality of gems governed their history after antiquity. Principally carved from hard, semiprecious stones – chalcedony, agates, jasper, cornelian – they were extremely durable and subject to less damage than were marble or bronze. Their small size also helped them survive the vicissitudes of collapsing buildings, pillage, and destruction better than larger works. Many were found broken of course, and were restored. Many, moreover were never buried or lost, but had been prized since antiquity (Marvin 2008: 72).

The exhibition of sculptures in suburban and rural Roman villas dates from ancient times. This early practice was revived at the beginning of the

Renaissance (Paul 2012b: 9–14). In the Renaissance, enthusiasm for Greek and Roman art was combined with critical faculties and not only were ancient gems ardently collected for their aesthetic value, but a spirited output of contemporary work was thereby stimulated (Richter 2006: xix-xxi). At the same time, gems were easy to move and, from an early date, collected throughout Europe. In modern museums, both life-sized and miniature antiquities are displayed in the same environment to the same public under the same conditions. When gems were collected in the Early Modern period, however, they were housed very differently and shown to different audiences under different circumstances. The experience of seeing statuary was hardly comparable with seeing gems (Marvin 2008: 69). Gems were kept in closed cases, which were themselves among the most sumptuous examples of cabinet-making in Early Modern court circles. Instead of furnishing public spaces, gems in their cabinets were kept in specially equipped and decorated rooms, so that viewing them was a rarefied, intimate experience. Private collections of all sorts were expected to be open to visitors with appropriate credentials. Well-dressed, well-spoken travellers did not always need letters of introduction (Marvin 2008: 70).

Humanists wanted to learn all they could about ancient Greece and Rome. In addition to coins and gems, art connoisseurs searched for examples of ancient sculptures, paintings and the other arts (Stiebing 1993: 145). At first, the rich upper class collected small objects like coins and little bronze statuettes and gems in the spirit of early humanism. About **collecting the ancient marble and bronze statues, architectural elements and reliefs** we can talk **of the beginning of the 15th century**, because only a few classical statues were known before this time (Kurtz 2000: 17). On the whole, noble collectors acquired ancient sculptures not as isolated individual works but in sets, as appropriate decorations for the country villas and city houses where they entertained guests and transacted business. Like splendid furniture, plates, and landscaping, antique statues were the props and scenery of the princely life (Marvin 2008: 69). However, the manner of presenting such objects was still undeveloped: they were placed right next to each other without following any principle or coherence (Giuliani 2006: 678).

Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459),²⁶ who acted on behalf of the Papacy between 1404 and 1453, was one of the earliest collectors of ancient statues, inscriptions and coins²⁷ (Kurtz 2000: 17). The study of ancient sculptures had long engaged the attention of Poggio, and he eagerly took advantage of every opportunity to recover and copy the lost writers of antiquity. At the time of the

²⁶ About the life of Poggio Bracciolini read Krantz, F., 1987. Between Bruni and Machiavelli: history, law and historicism in Poggio Bracciolini. In: Mack, P., Jacob, M. C. (eds), 2002. *Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe. Essays in Honour of H. G. Koenigsberger*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 119–153; Shepherd, W., 1802. *The life of Poggio Bracciolini*. Liverpool: J. M'Creery.

²⁷ The early collectors had ties to each other. Niccolò Niccoli was a close friend to Cosimo de Medici (1389–1464) and Poggio Bracciolini had served as the guide of Medici to the Roman antiquities at least one occasion (Hooper-Greenhill 2003: 61).

Italian Renaissance, relatively few ancient paintings had survived from among the major art forms. It was therefore classical architecture and sculpture which had the most influence on the development of Western taste during and after the Renaissance period (McNutt 1990: 158).

By the middle of the 15th century, the Roman antiquities had already been the object of study for nearly a century and of indiscriminate admiration for much longer. During the 15th century sculptors started to model their works on surviving examples of ancient Roman statues, and architects incorporated classical elements into their designs. The antiquity business became brisk and lucrative as nobles sought ancient works of art to decorate their palaces. Unfortunately, this passion for classical beauty often resulted in the further destruction of ancient monuments (Stiebing 1993: 145).

The knowledge of Greek antiquity began rather later. It is often held that the 'rediscovery' of Greece came in the 18th and 19th centuries. Yet the first western traveller who looked at Greek antiquities with a really appreciative and sensitive eye was Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1386–c. 1430), a Florentine priest. His immediate and by far greater successor was the traveller and diplomat, archaeologist and linguist Ciriaco of Ancona (1391–1455). During the fourth decade of the 15th century, Ciriaco travelled into Dalmatia and Epirus, continental Greece and Morea, Chios, Rhodes and Cypros, Asia Minor and Egypt, which gave him the opportunity to see several monuments of the ancient world. Ciriaco made a unique contribution to archaeological science not only by saving the text of countless inscriptions, but also through his drawings, measurements and descriptions of buildings, statues, monuments and other antiquities from all over a substantial part of the Greek world (Weiss 1969: 135–139; Setton 1997: 71). The Turkish conquest of Byzantine lands put an end to antiquarians in Greek territories for about a century – the curtain fell over Greek archaeological studies in the 1470s. If little was known about Greek architectural remains, even less was known about Greek sculpture. From the Renaissance onwards, the West was full of alleged Greek pieces, but very few of them happened to be genuine. In the West, Greek sculptures were as a rule either Hellenistic copies or Roman imitations (Weiss 1969: 131). Over time, the desire to have and to record Greek art objects grew.

The 16th century began with the accidental recovery in 1506 of the sculpture Laocoon, immediately recognizable as a work admired by Pliny, which created a sensation and spurred on a hunt throughout Italy for more masterworks. Ancient works of art found eager purchasers from the moment they were uncovered, and demand always exceeded supply. Of the two categories of luxury collectible, gems were distributed widely across Europe, whereas sculptures were slow to leave Italy (Marvin 2008: 68–69).

The local demand for statuary was more and more insatiable. Cardinals and noble families filled the gardens and courts of their palaces with original fragments of statues, busts, and reliefs. One of the first to do so may well have been the Cardinal Prospero Colonna (c. 1410–1463). Famous Italian collections were those of the Gonzaga in Mantua and the Este in Ferrara. In the 1500s,

Francis I (1494–1547) of France was collecting Roman statues and Roman copies of Greek, as did especially Louis XIV (1638–1715) as part of a French claim to be the new Rome. A great collection of bronze copies was formed at Fontainebleau (marble of Versailles). Emperors in the Holy Roman Empire from Maximilian I (1493–1519) onward maintained antiquarian collections at their courts in Vienna, Innsbruck and Prague. In 1570, the dukes of Bavaria established the only museum of antiquity outside Italy in their residence in Munich. In England, in addition to the collection of King Charles I (1625–1649), the collections of the diplomat Thomas Howard and 2nd Earl of Arundel (1585–1646) were world-famous. The 17th century saw the rapid spread of antiquarian collections north of the Alps as well, where they soon became an integral part of royal representations. By 1550, there were 380 collections in Italy alone, 200 in the Low Countries, 200 in France and 175 in Germany (Shanks 1996: 53; Walther 2006: 145; Boschung 2006: 156–167). High demand created a market for plaster casts.

The earliest known Renaissance **collection of plaster casts** from antiquity was probably formed in Padua, in the first half of the 15th century, by the artist Francesco Squarcione (1397– c. 1468), who is said to have acquired casts of classical sculpture, which he used to train his students (Kurtz 2000: 2). In the 15th century, the casts were introduced merely as models for new art objects in the style of the Renaissance. Although small casts (e.g. of ancient portraits) occasionally appeared in the ‘art cabinets’ of scholars or high-ranking personages, such as bishop Ludovico Gonzaga (1489–1582) in Mantua, the encyclopaedic scholar Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547) in Augsburg or the legal scholar Marco Mantova Benavides (1489–1582) in Padua, this was no homage rendered to the objects’ artistic value, but an allusion to the owner’s culture. Similar phenomena are already attested in antiquity, although casts then bore the stigma of an inferior surrogate: those who could not afford a first-class self-representation (i.e. a bronze or marble sculpture), and therefore, had recourse to cheaper reproductions, exposed themselves to ridicule.²⁸ Even before the Papacy created a public museum in Rome (1472) and a Statue Court within the Vatican itself (1503), artists in northern Italy are said to have taken moulds from antique sculptures and to have used casts to train their apprentices (Kurtz 2000: 123).

The first notable art collections, which were based primarily on copies, started to emerge in the second half of the 16th century, and their founders were often simply the wealthiest rulers or aristocrats. The aim of the collections of authorities was prestige: it was a way to exhibit the external splendour of the ruler of the state because only a few could afford the luxury to acquire and preserve the works of art. Comprehensive collections were only affordable for limited few because the casting and transporting of large sculptures was

²⁸ Juvenal *Saturae* 2.4–5:

*indocti primum, quamquam plena omnia gypso,
Chrysiippi invenias;*

In the first place, they are unlearned persons, though you may find their houses crammed with plaster casts of Chrysiippus (Ramsay 1990).

extremely expensive. These art collections became a model of quality for subsequent collections (Haskell, Penny 2006: 16). The prestige derived from access to ‘first class’ ancient sculptures was the motivating force for the emergence of the second generation of cast collections, beginning in the 16th century. The fact that the acquisition of casts or authorization to produce moulds was extremely expensive and complicated, even becoming the subject of diplomatic negotiation, underlines the importance of casts and cast collections as court or princely prestige objects (Kader 2006: 723–724).

The taking of plaster casts from an original was an essential step in spreading world-wide appreciation of the most esteemed antique statues, and, although the practice had later become habitual, it was an extremely expensive business in the middle of the 16th century requiring exceptional skills and presumably, elaborate negotiations. Each figure had first to be covered with a liquid ‘release agent’, whose composition is unknown, and then with a mosaic of quickly drying wet plaster – quite large areas over the flat surfaces of the back, but smaller areas were necessary to register the curling of hair or elaborate folds of drapery. After carefully detaching, these plaster sections had to be re-fitted together and themselves enveloped in a further coating of plaster. The technique itself had been known in antiquity and seems to have been revived in Italy by the early 15th century (Haskell, Penny 2006: 3–4). Since the Renaissance, plaster and sulphur were used for gem casts, as Giorgio Vasari already wrote in 1568 (Knüppel 2009: 31).

Shortly before 1540, Francis I (1494–1547), the King of France, became interested in classical statuary, and sent his court artist Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570) to Rome to draw famous works of art and possibly to buy them (Haskell, Penny 2006: 2). Primaticcio’s journey to Rome, however, had much larger and more far-reaching consequences: in Rome the artist supervised the taking of moulds from the most famous antique statues. He started to take moulds directly from the originals. So, the royal palace of Fontainebleau was filled with bronze casts made after ancient originals (Haskell, Penny 2006: 5), Bronze copies, however, were extremely expensive. A significantly cheaper option was plaster casting. In the middle of the 16th century, in addition to heads of state, minor royals, aristocrats and other wealthy individuals began to acquire the plaster casts. The same form was used repeatedly for casting. In the following century, King Charles I of England (1600–1649) as well as the Spanish King Philip IV (1605–1665) acquired an art collection of ancient sculptures: both purchased bronze as well as plaster casts (Haskell, Penny 2006: 31–35).

In 1666, the French Academy was founded in Rome by decree of the French King Louis XIV (1638–1715). The purpose of the Academy was to provide French artists with the environment the Romans had enjoyed for centuries. The students, in addition to other academic work, had to make reproductions of marble or plaster casts after ancient sculptures (Haskell, Penny 2006: 37–38). Because the copies had a decorative purpose it was not enough to merely imitate the originals: the academy students were required to change the original

so that it would fit into their new environment. Most of the copies, however, were cast in France and the *formatori* or casters had not seen the original sculptures with their own eye, and so the end result could differ greatly from the original (Haskell, Penny 2006: 40–42). Although, the art collection of Louis XIV was one way to present the brilliance and grandeur of royal power, another important aspect was the fact that establishing the French Academy in Rome (founded 1666) was a prerequisite of the collection. Copying and drawing ancient art was part of the learning process, which in the 18th century, soon became a component of academic art education everywhere (Haskell, Penny 2006: 17).

1.2.2.1 Antiquarianism

Antiquarianism is the phenomenon that is associated with collecting, and is expressed through the collection of objects as well as through the writings. Although antiquarianism dates back to antiquity,²⁹ it had an important role in the medieval and early modern times. Already in Cicero's (106–43 BC) treatise "Brutus" there is a quotation about Varro as an *investigator antiquitatis* – a person who is able to explore the history of all aspects of antiquity.³⁰ Antiquarianism is a branch of scholarship that flourished in Europe, particularly from the 15th to the 18th centuries, devoted to the appreciation and classification of relics, monuments and old texts (Ritter 1986: 13–14; Schnapp 2010: 43–64). This can be regarded as a step towards the pre-scientific endeavour of the creation of public collections.

A person interested in antiquities was called an 'antiquary' in English from the 16th to the mid of 18th century. The label 'antiquarian' has come to describe those primarily involved in collecting facts relevant to particular interest, without establishing a framework linking those interests. Antiquaries were like archaeologists in that they concentrated on the material evidence and used inductive and empirical methods, and also like social historians in that they were interested in all aspects of the past, but unlike either archaeologists or social historians they were not interested in the relationship between the objects and history. Instead, pre-modern antiquarianism pursued a philological framework, as it was expected to help reach a better understanding of the work of classical authors. Information derived from those authors helped, in turn, to identify ancient objects (Ferne 2003: 324).

²⁹ Major antiquarian Latin writers with surviving works are Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BC), Pliny the Elder (23–79 AD), Aulus Gellius (ca 125–180 AD) and Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius (5th c). The Greek writers of the Roman era were Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus (46–120 AD) and Athenaeus (2nd–3rd c), who dealt with antiquarian material.

³⁰ Cicero. Brutus XV, 60: *his enim consulibus, ut in veteribus commentariis scriptum est, Naevius est mortuus; quamquam Varro noster diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis putat in hoc erratum vitamque Naevi producit longius.* – for in the consulship of those two. As early records show, Naevius died; though our friend Varro, with his thoroughness of investigation into early history, thinks this date is erroneous and makes the life of Naevius somewhat longer (Hendrickson 1988: 59–61).

The flowering time of antiquarianism was the Renaissance, when humanist scholars started to critically assess ancient texts. Textual criticism provided a perspective for studying the antiquities – coins, gems and other archaeological remains. As the soil in Europe was mined for its antiquities, the proceeds were distributed to modern collectors in a fairly straightforward way. The most expensive categories – life-size statuary and carved gems as well as some exceptionally fine and well-preserved small bronzes – became the province of the very rich. Objects of daily life and smaller, less spectacular works of art went to antiquarians. Coins were collected by all, magnificent gold and silver by the rich and the rest by antiquarians. The fortunes of different kinds of antiquities were determined by their price. Reasonably priced objects collected by antiquarians became evidence; expensive objects collected by the rich became works of art. The one testified to the life of the ancients, the other to the fine taste of cultivated grandees (Marvin 2008:56).

Antiquarianism, however, was resolutely synchronic, not diachronic. Its approach was anthropological not historical, its categories topical not developmental. Antiquarianism owed its anthropological, synchronic qualities to its Renaissance origins. It began in ‘cabinets of curiosities’, the *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*. These Renaissance collectors aimed to display the wonders of the world in miniature on their shelves and in their drawers in order to illustrate the marvels that nature and man had produced. No respectable *Wunderkammer* was without its fistful of ancient coins and broken artefacts dispersed among the seashells, fossils, dried plants and animal skeletons. Today, it seems an incongruous juxtaposition. In the Renaissance, however, the arrangement was logical (Marvin 2008: 57).

The antiquities that only the very rich could afford – monumental statuary and gems – met a different fate from the artefacts catalogued by antiquarians.³¹ During the Middle Ages, the gems had been used for the decoration of sacred objects and zealously collected since the Renaissance. In the seventeenth century, the engraved stones of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans were the main focus of early antiquarian archaeology. In 1601, Abraham Gorlaeus, a scholar from Antwerp, produced the first systematic publication on ancient ring stones³² (Graepler 2010: 437). During the 18th century, gems were held in high regard not only as works of art but also for the knowledge they provided about the ancient world (Rudoe 2003: 132).

³¹ The volumes of philological, documentary, archaeological and numismatic antiquities and so on increased vastly in the 18th century. It was primarily the religious tradition of ‘antiquarian’ or ‘erudite’ history which focused on the recovery and preservation of the entire range of primary records of the past (Wright 2004: 208).

³² Gorlaeus, A., 1601?. *Abrahami Gorlaei, Antverpiani, Dactyliotheca seu Annulorum sigillarium quorum apud priscos tam Graecos quam Romanos usus. E ferro, aere, argento et auro promptuarium*. Leiden, 1601?. The title of the book was derived from a Greek term that Plinius used for such collections (*Naturalis Historia* 1.37.6): *Dactyliotheca*.

Some antiquarians are connected with founding museums. One of the most famous antiquaries is the Englishman Elias Ashmole (1617–1692)³³, who gifted a collection that included antiquities, books, manuscripts, prints, coins and medals to the University of Oxford in 1677 on the condition that a house will be built to make them available to the public. The Ashmolean museum was completed in 1683 and is considered to be the first truly public museum in Europe.³⁴ Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753) was an Irish physician and collector who bequeathed his collection of books, manuscripts, prints, drawings, flora, fauna, medals, coins, seals, cameos and curiosities to the United Kingdom in 1753. The collection was opened to the public as the British Museum in 1759.³⁵

In the later centuries, antiquarian interests changed and European antiquarians became interested in the past of their own nations. By the middle of the nineteenth century, archaeological excavations were being undertaken in Africa, Asia, America and various parts of Europe in effort to obtain antiquities and learn more about the past (Stiebing 1993: 23). In the 19th century, antiquarianism was given a great impetus by the growth of archaeology as a scientific discipline, manifested in the founding of archaeological societies in the 1840s (Ferne 2003: 13).

1.3 Casting and collecting ancient art in the Enlightenment and the Modern period (17th–19th century)

1.3.1 Scientific, cultural and social preconditions for the spread of plaster cast collections

In the second half of the 18th century, the Age of Enlightenment was an era when the belief in traditional religious principles and the church diminished, and more rational thinking, philosophy, democracy, human rights and science was appreciated. This new recognition of the intellectual power of scientific knowledge was not merely a matter of 18th century intellectuals waking up to an obvious, previously recognized, truth (Henry 2004: 10). The Enlightenment has often been viewed as a philosophic movement operating in an intellectual climate. The High Enlightenment can be summed up in the following terms: the emergence of the idea of progress, of clearly articulated plans for the future, of

³³ See more about Elias Ashmole as freemason and avid collector in Stavish, M., 2007. *Freemasonry: Rituals, Symbols & History of the Secret Society*. Woodbury: Llewellyn Publications, 7–9.

³⁴ A book about the life of Elias Ashmole was written by himself and William Lilly and published in 1774. *The Lives of those Eminent Antiquaries Elias Ashmole and Mr. William Lilly*. London. About the beginning of the Ashmolean museum, see Kurtz, D., 2000. *The Reception of Classical Art in Britain. An Oxford story of plaster casts from the Antique*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 47–48.

³⁵ About Sir Hans Sloane read McGregor, A., 1994. *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary Founding Father of the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press.

public education and of an enlightened public sphere, of a secular understanding of the stages of human history, and of a science of humankind (Fitzpatrick 2004b: 159–162).

The Enlightenment as an independent phenomenon occurred in the second half of the 17th century. The Enlightenment based on humanism and early modern rationalism, sought the release of the human being from mental dependence and ignorance. The ideal of the Enlightenment was an independent individual who serves his community and is guided by common sense. The goals of the Enlightenment led the change in the political-social order towards a humanising of the general way of life. The Enlightenment was not a dominating force in the beginning. The last decades of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century is spoken of as the early Enlightenment, which was carried on primarily in the narrow community of scholars (Jürjo 2011: 17).

One way of viewing the Enlightenment is to see it as a movement which originated in the leading protestant countries of Europe, England and the United Provinces, spilling over into neighbouring countries, and moving decisively into France during the reign of Duke of Orléans, Philippe I (1640–1701). Almost all the leading figures in Early Enlightenment thought were English, Dutch or lived for some time in England or the United Provinces (Fitzpatrick 2004a: 81). The Early Enlightenment in Germany was not a unified movement. Although launched at the University of Halle, founded in 1694, with Christian Thomasius (1655–1728), its impetus came from all directions, and its dissemination throughout the Holy Roman Empire brought it to a variety of milieux: urban bourgeois, universities of different traditions and confessions, and small states and their courts. The German intellectual scene of the 18th century was marked by different types: there were pietists, scholarly sceptics, courtly secular gallants, prolific polymaths, erudite merchants and millenarian ministers, cunning schoolmasters and young, adventurous globe-trotters (Mulsow 2004: 117).

In the 18th century, peace had largely returned to Europe. New demands were placed on the classical past in part as a result of the triumph of the values of the Enlightenment, which involved a more direct communication with the world of Greece and Rome. A new stress was placed on the physical recovery of the past, and this stimulated the emerging field of classical archaeology (Dyson 2006: 1).

1.3.1.1 Modern archaeology

Archaeology, the study of human activity in the past, developed out of the antiquarianism that spread in the 16th and 17th century in Europe and evolved as a systematic discipline during the 19th century.³⁶ Archaeologists no longer

³⁶ The history of early modern archaeology is fragmentary. During the Renaissance, the artists Raphael (1483–1520) and Michelangelo (1475–1564) descended into Nero's *Domus Aurea* in Rome to study the classical frescoes. The architect, painter and antiquarian Pirro

dig to find outstanding objects, but to discover the whole history of the place to determine the conditions in which people lived in the old days (Giuliani 2006: 693). The discipline involves survey, excavation and analysis of data collected to learn more about the material past.

The interest in the rediscovery of Graeco-Roman civilization and classical culture began, however, already in the late Middle Ages. Italian humanist and antiquarian Ciriacus of Ancona (1391–c 1455) travelled throughout Greece and recorded his findings of antiquities. In essence, up to the 18th century excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum, the search for historical artefacts and works of art involved foraging (Bod 2013: 322). Institutionalized and academic archaeology as a discipline did not exist in the early Modern era. In 1865, the French doctor and antiquarian Jacob Spon (1647–1685) used the term archaeography to mean the universal description of antiquities. He divided the antiquities into individual sciences: numismatics, inscriptions, statues, architecture, glyptics, reliefs, handwriting, pottery and other objects (Wiwjorra 2010: 29). The principles of classical archaeology, the systematic and scientific archaeological investigation of the civilizations of Ancient Greece and Rome, developed during the first three-quarters of the 19th century. By the end of the 19th, century it became an accepted and respected discipline (Stiebing 1993; Dyson 2006: 85).

One of the most important features in classical archaeology during the 19th century was the emergence of Greece at archaeological centre stage.³⁷ In Greece, extensive archaeological work began during the Greek war of independence against Turkey, in the period the European capitals the first major museums were founded. At the start of the century Greece represented a still little-known and rarely studied archaeological culture. Heightened archaeological interest in Greece was reinforced by three cultural movements within Europe: Hellenism, Neoclassicism and Romanticism (Dyson 2006: 65).

The archaeological excavations were much earlier in Italy than in Greece. The excavations of Herculaneum began in 1738 and in Pompeii in 1748³⁸ and the excavations were conducted also in other places in Italy.³⁹ In 1829, France

Ligorio (1510–1583) identified and analysed the remains of the *Villa Hadriana* in Tivoli (Bod 2013: 322).

³⁷ Today, there are nineteen foreign archaeological institutes in Greece. Some of the oldest ones are the German Archaeological Institute in Athens that was founded in 1874, the American School of Classical Studies in Athens founded in 1881, the British School in Athens founded in 1886, the Austrian Archaeological Institute of Athens founded in 1889 and the Italian School of Archaeology in Athens founded in 1909.

³⁸ Italian archaeologist Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823–1896) superintended the excavations in Pompeii 1860–1875. His excavations helped to preserve the city. He introduced a book, where the results and processes of the excavations were recorded daily. In the excavations he used a new system: to excavate the houses he used the system of covering the houses from the top down, instead of uncovering the streets first. This was better way to preserve the discovered objects (Sandys 1908: 246; Kuhlmann, Schneider 2012: xxxiv).

³⁹ Scottish painter, excavator and antiquities dealer Gavin Hamilton (1723–1798) undertook the excavations at Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli 1769–1771, and after that in different places

sent forces to aid the Greeks in their fight. With them went also a contingent of scholars, who explored the Peloponnesus, describing and drawing whatever ancient remains could be found. At Olympia they uncovered fragments of metopes from the Temple of Zeus.⁴⁰ At Epidaurus they discovered and excavated a portion of the ancient theatre.⁴¹ Meanwhile, in Athens the Greeks themselves became active in archaeology. Greek archaeologists removed the Turkish buildings and renovations from the Acropolis. They also excavated some buried fragments of the Parthenon frieze, and cleared the remains of the Nike Temple, Propylaea, and Erechtheum.⁴² Considerably important was the founding of the Greek Archaeological Society in 1837. Since then, all excavations in Greece were placed under government regulation. But expeditions from other nations did not cease (Stiebing 1994: 123).

A German expedition to excavate in Olympia began in 1875.⁴³ It was some measure of the competition with France, which had mounted a short-lived and unsuccessful campaign at Olympia in 1828. Behind the desire to excavate Olympia were romantic ideals about life, freedom, ancient religion, art, learning, morals, gymnastics and athletics. Art in fact was the prime mover, the strongest motive in excavating at Olympia. They expected to find statues of athletic victors made by the eminent artists whose names were known in ancient literature. With this expectation, the German mission, after declaring that all finds should belong to Greece, won the right to make casts and moulds from every object within five years of its discovery (Connor 1989: 189–190).

The second important feature of archaeology until around the 1870s was that archaeological field techniques were rudimentary: the focus was on the retrieval of highly esteemed singular finds, while other categories were ignored. This can be described as the antiquarian method of excavating. Only by the end of the 19th century was a more methodological archaeological framework for excavations introduced. The archaeological sites were now excavated systematically and the actual retrieval of finds was all embracing, at least in theory and intention (Siapkak, Sjögren 2014: 15-16).

In this formative period of archaeology, the value of different groups of finds varied more than in the earlier centuries. The excavating finds of architectural ensembles or sculptures, particularly free-standing statues, were given their own unique high status. Sculpture became the embodiment of character formation

around Rome. A letter from Hamilton to English collector Charles Townley (1837–1805) written about the excavations at Monte Cagnolo in Rome in 1771 is preserved in the British Museum. <http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights.aspx> [accessed 06 February 2014].

⁴⁰ The Temple of Zeus in Olympia is a classical Greek temple in the Doric order built between 472 and 455 BC.

⁴¹ A theater designed in the 4th century BC.

⁴² Perikles (495–429 BC) was a Greek statesman, orator and general of Athens, who coordinated the construction of those famous buildings at the Acropolis of Athens.

⁴³ German architect and archaeologist Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853–1940) introduced stratigraphy in German excavations at Olympia. That became a new method and model copied in other excavations around the Mediterranean (Siapkak, Sjögren 2014: 16).

and good taste in the spirit of classicism (Uggeri 2010: 137). Secondly, on the basis of the archaeological excavations and existing sculptures/materials, establishing whether individual works were canonical began to be carried out by dealers, critics or museum directors. We can discover from reading ancient texts what value the ancient Greeks attached to their sculptures, but it would not necessarily be the same as the value placed on them in the 19th century and today (Perry, Cunningham 1999: 46).

Quite in parallel with the foundation of modern archaeology, the institutional organisation of classical archaeology was established. From one perspective, the informal community of 18th century antiquarians had been given institutional form by such organisations as the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* in 1829⁴⁴ for the purpose of studying monuments of ancient art, epigraphy and topography and publicising the results of the research.⁴⁵ The founders of that society were Eduard Gerhard (1795–1867)⁴⁶, Theodor Panofka (1800–1858)⁴⁷, Otto Magnus von Stackelberg (1786–1837)⁴⁸ and August Kestner (1777–1853)⁴⁹. It took some time before the other similar societies were founded in other European countries and in America.⁵⁰ There was, however, a discrepancy between the systematic fieldwork and the publication of the finds and results. Publications of archaeological excavations continued to focus on material cultures of exemplary quality (Siapkas, Sjögren 2014: 16). The Royal Archaeology Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (RAI) was established in 1844. It was primarily devoted to the publication of *the Archaeological Journal*, but today its interests span all aspects of the archaeological, architectural and

⁴⁴ Later it was renamed the German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsches Archeologisches Institute*) <http://www.dainst.org> [accessed 4 February 2014].

⁴⁵ The society combined the three faces of contemporary archaeology: the aesthetics of Winckelmann, the new scholarly philology, and the tradition of the learned travellers and collectors (Dyson 2006: 32). For instance, the volumes of Tommaso Cades gem-cast collection *Impronte Gemmarie* were the first major publication project of the newly established *Istituto de Corrispondenza Archeologica* (Graepler 2010: 442). In the introduction of the catalogue accompanied with *Impronte Gemmarie* are named the persons, the members of the *Istituto*, who are responsible for correctness of the information and for antiquity of the gem casts (Cades 1829, 1835).

⁴⁶ 1837 Gerhard was appointed as archaeologist at Royal Museum of Berlin, in 1844 he became the member of the Academy of Sciences and professor in Berlin University.

⁴⁷ 1836 Panofka moved to work at Royal Museum of Berlin and was appointed the curator of ancient vase collection.

⁴⁸ Von Stackelberg was archaeologist, as well as writer, painter and art historian. He was Baltic German and born in Estonia, in Tallinn. See cf. 2.2.1. <http://www.von-stackelberg.de> [accessed 15 February 2014].

⁴⁹ Kestner was German diplomat and art collector.

⁵⁰ 1837 was founded the Archaeological Society of Athens with the aim of encouraging the archaeological excavations, maintenance, care and exhibiting of antiquities in Greece. www.archetai.gr [accessed 6 February 2014]. 1845 was established The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. 1879 was founded the Archaeological Institute of America for furthering and directing archaeological and artistic investigation and research. www.archaeological.org [accessed 6 February 2014].

landscape history of the British Isles.⁵¹ The Archaeological Institute of America (AIA), founded in 1879, is North America's oldest and largest organization devoted to the world of archaeology.⁵²

From the other perspective, classical archaeology was also established as a university subject. At universities in the beginning of the 19th century, archaeology was part of philology, but later began to be taught independently (Kuhlmann, Schneider 2012: xxxiii). The University of Göttingen was the leader in the teaching of archaeology. Since 1763, Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812) was professor of poetry and eloquence as well as library director. From 1767, in addition to the hitherto customary lectures on ancient authors and antiquities, he regularly offered lectures on archaeology and fine arts. To support these lectures, he began to build a collection of plaster casts from well-known ancient sculptures. With the help of these plaster casts, the listeners had to acquire the perception of the real size and form of the original ancient sculptures (Weber 2011: 95). During the 19th century, archaeology lectures were held in Göttingen by Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840) and Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784–1868).⁵³

From Göttingen, the idea of an independent professorship and later of a department of archaeology moved to the other German universities. Welcker moved from Göttingen to Bonn. Otto Jahn (1813–1869) was initially professor of archaeology at the University of Greifswald and later at the University of Bonn. At the University of Munich, Heinrich Brunn (1822–1894)⁵⁴ held the position of archaeology professor for nearly thirty years. Another well-known archaeology professor that is necessary to mention is Adolf Furtwängler (1853–1907), who was the student of Brunn in Munich. After his short professorship at the University of Bonn, for some time he held the professorship in Berlin, and after that he took over Brunn's professorship in Munich in 1891. In Leipzig, the professorship of classical archaeology was held by Joannes Overbeck (1826–1895) for thirty seven years⁵⁵ (Sandys 1908: 213–227).

In England, the study of classical archaeology was fostered by the foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in 1879 and the British School of Archaeology in Athens in 1883 and in Rome in 1901 (Sandys 1908: 447). The rise of classical archaeology as a university subject in England took place much later than in Germany. Especially remarkable is the fact that

⁵¹ <http://www.royalarchinst.org> [accessed 17 February 2014].

⁵² <http://www.archaeological.org> [accessed 17 February 2014].

⁵³ Welcker received a chair in the University of Bonn, where he established the museum and library. In Bonn he published an explanatory catalogue of the Museum of Casts (Sandys 1908: 217).

⁵⁴ In 1869 Brunn established cast collection by the chair of the classical archaeology, but the collection of 2398 casts was destroyed by bomb attack in 1944. <http://www.plastercastcollection.org> [accessed 15 february 2014].

⁵⁵ Overbeck developed the plaster casts collection of university. The collection still exists as a part of the museum of antiquities by the institute of classical archaeology. <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/antik/index.php> [accessed 15 February 2014].

the role of casts in teaching classical archaeology was not adopted in England until the end of the 19th century. In England, casts confirmed the status of the gentleman scholar. Decorating country houses and gardens, they demonstrated that the owner had made the Grand Tour and had brought home an expensive souvenir (Kurtz 2000: 132).

In America, classical archaeology (along with art history) was introduced as an undergraduate subject at Harvard University by Charles Eliot Norton (1828–1908) by the 1880s (Dyson 1998: 95). This took place quite before the Archaeological Institute of America founded the American Schools of Classical Studies in Athens in 1881 and in Rome in 1895 (Sandys 1908: 469).

1.3.1.2 The rise of Hellenism

For a long time ancient Greece was viewed as one component of a whole referred to as “antiquity” – a period largely dominated by Rome. It only acquired individuality and autonomy during the 18th century, in a complex process fuelled by the growing fascination with antiquity and the curiosity aroused by the discovery of Greek artefacts. Compared to Rome, ancient Greece was poorly known (Grell 2003: 49).

Looking at Europe as a whole, the rise of Hellenism can be seen as part of one of the great secular shifts of cultural history (Jenkyns 2007: 167). Hellenism is most often associated with Germany and England in the 18th and the 19th century. In Germany the preeminent figure of the movement was the art historian and the aesthetic theoretician J. J. Winckelmann and the other major figures were philosophers Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), translator and philosopher August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767–1845), philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854) and poet Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805). Their English counterparts included the poets John Keats (1795–1821), Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) and Lord Byron (1788–1824).

They all may have felt that Hellenism was something of a symbol or ideal: classical Greek civilization was seen as the best realisation of one of the recurrent spiritual or cultural impulses of mankind (Jenkyns 2007: 168). They turned to Greece as a model of ideal beauty, transcendent philosophy and democratic politics. In art and architecture, the Greek influence was seen at the beginning of the 19th century because of the archaeological discoveries in the 18th century, and this changed the appearance of buildings in Continental Europe and in England. Hellenism also influenced fashion, interior design, not to mention painting and sculpture, which are important in terms of this thesis. In art Hellenists focused on Graeco-Roman traditions as seen in Roman copies of Greek works such as the Laocoon, discovered in Rome during the Renaissance (Palmer 2011: 113).

Germany had the leading role in the diffusion of Hellenism in 19th century Europe. Philhellenism was not a private passion but an institutionally generated and preserved cultural trope. It had an elitist normative aesthetic and an ascetic

scholarly ethos. But unlike most humanists, German philhellenes did not like to emphasize their independence on a long tradition of scholarly erudition or to acknowledge the intermediary function of Rome. This is only one of the many ironies of German philhellenism that it owes only some of its greatest debts to Latin writers and Roman copies of Greek statuary, to Italian humanists and French philosophers. Access to things Greek was almost always mediated by the wider culture of Latin learning. The Germans wished to see themselves as re-discoverers of a lost arcadia and as the pioneers of a new kind of pedagogy (Marchand 2003: 4).

In 1800, the German influence on British art and literary culture was still pretty slight – insignificant at least when set beside the influence of France, Italy or even the Low Countries – and not to be compared with the influence of the civilization of the ancient world – the Greeks, the Romans and the Jews. By 1900, however, the German influence had become important. The 19th century is the great century of German influence in Britain; it is also the great century of Hellenism; and there is an interrelationship between these two sources of influence (Jenkyns 2007: 167). People may feel that Hellenism is something of a symbol or ideal: classical Greek civilization is seen as the best realisation of one of the recurrent spiritual or cultural impulses of mankind. If we stop looking at Hellenism as a European phenomenon, and think more parochially in British terms, the picture is rather different and more haphazard. The British story should begin with architecture because before 1800 there is not much sign of a new Hellenism elsewhere (Jenkyns 2007: 168).

If the Hellenic impulse in Germany seems predominantly ideological, in Britain it seems predominantly archaeological. The central role was played by members of the Society of Dilettanty, founded in 1734 as a dining club for aristocrats who had been on the Grand Tour (Boschung 2006: 163). The society had a scholarly and artistic bias. Its focus became increasingly Hellenic when it sponsored an expedition by architects James Stuart (1713–1788) and Nicholas Revett (1720–1804) to Greece in 1750–1753. The drawings by Stuart and Revett were the first accurate, measured and systematic record of the principal monuments in Athens. The drawings were to be engraved and published with explanatory texts in four volumes entitled *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762. This Greek project made a Greek revival in architecture possible and had a profound influence on the rising Greek taste in contemporary architecture. They also gave the world its first indication of the sculptures later to become known as the Elgin marbles (Jenkins 2003: 173; Szegedy-Maszak 2005: 332; Jenkyns 2007: 168–169).

Hellenism spread from Europe to the United States and Germany played an important role in this process. By the time of the Civil War, in 1861–1865, many American classicists had studied in Germany and the trend accelerated even after the Civil War (Dyson 1998: 26). The Americans drew closer to the enthusiasm for Greece through Germany and travelling in Europe. With the establishment of the Archaeological Institute of America, the *American Journal of Archaeology* (published since 1885), and the American School of Classical

Studies in Athens (founded 1881), they had placed themselves on the same level as colleagues in Germany and France and ahead of scholars in England (Dyson 1998: 60). In addition to the development of the scientific aspect, Hellenism and the New World's desire for old culture is clearly visible in American architecture (Richard 2009: 34).

1.3.1.3 J. J. Winckelmann and the establishing of art history

Although Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) is known as ‘the father of archaeology’⁵⁶, he is also known as ‘the father of modern art history’ (Mansfield 2002: 1). He did not have many predecessors on the field of art history. We could talk about Giorgio Vasari, the Florentine painter, architect, art collector and writer, who is known as the first art historian since the time of Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historiae* before 79 AD (Cheney 2007: 1). Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of Artists* was first published in 1550, and subsequently in 1568.⁵⁷ The publication of Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art (Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums)* in 1764 created the conditions that made it possible to believe that virtually all Roman ideal statues were direct copies of the lost Greek works.

Winckelmann was born in Prussia from a poor background and studied theology and medicine at Halle and Jena. He first became acquainted with Greek art in the 1740s, when he worked as a librarian in Dresden. In Dresden he studied plenty of ancient gemstones, coins and figurines (Marchand 2003: 10). He was also familiar with the plaster casts because his friend, German painter Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–1779), had plaster cast collection in Dresden.⁵⁸

His interest in the classical world caused him to move to Italy and even to convert to Catholicism. In Rome, under the patronage of Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1696–1779), one of the humanist clerics of the day, he became Prefect

⁵⁶ For his catalogues of antique gems and for the control which he introduced into the conduct at excavations. In addition, Winckelmann began to shift the focus of classical archaeological research from Rome to Greece (Dyson 2006: 4).

⁵⁷ *The Lives of Artists* by the Italian artist, pupil of Michelangelo and one of the most prolific artists of the 16th century, Giorgio Vasari, published in 1550 with an expanded edition in 1568 (three times as long as the first edition; one of the expanded areas was the discussion of ancient art), was the first text on the visual arts extensive and consistent enough to be called a proper history. Vasari set out ground rules for the history of art as a discipline that were to be followed for at least two centuries. The chief elements of his approach can be grouped under the headings of connoisseurship and humanism, both of which accord a central role to genius and the achievements of the individual painter, sculptor or architect. He paid almost no attention to the historical and social context of what he was writing about (Ferne 2003: 11).

⁵⁸ In 1783 the Mengs collection of 833 plaster casts was purchased by Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden. Today there are about 4700 plaster casts in the sculpture collection of Dresden. Until the year 2002 the collection was on the public display in the basement of Albertinum and constituted a unique type of museum arranged in chronological order. <http://www.skd.museum/en/museums-institutions/albertinum/skulpturensammlung/> [accessed 3 March 2014].

of Pontifical Antiquities and Professor of Greek at the Vatican Library. Winckelmann had at his disposal one of the best private collections of antiquities in Rome and was the resident savant at one of the most brilliant cultural gathering places in the city. From the Greek works he did see in Rome in person, there were only the few monuments, largely Roman copies of free-standing, post-Periclean Greek art. He had no narrow familiarity with original Greek sculpture as he never went to Greece.

Working in Rome, Winckelmann traced in the sculptures he knew there for the development of Greek style. Observing Roman copies of lost Greek works, he described the rise and fall of Greek art from its rigid, archaic origins, through the full blown beauty of the classical style which he associated with the sculptures of Praxiteles, to the decline of Greek taste in what he called the Macedonian (Hellenistic) period. He divided the Greek history of art into four periods that constitute his taxonomic division:

- The straight and hard lines of the archaic period – the Older Style;
- The grand and square sculptures of the 5th century BC – the high Style;
- The sculptures with flowering beauty and idealized naturalism in the 4th century BC – the Beautiful Style;
- Lastly he identified an era characterized by its imitative and decadent copying of nature – the Style of the Imitators.

This model for the study of Greek art had considerable influence and was to be adopted as standard by subsequent generations of Hellenists (Jenkins 2003: 173–174). In addition, most of Winckelmann's identifications of the subjects of individual sculptures as well as their dating in his chronological model continue to be accepted.

Besides the first coherent account of the rise and supremacy of Greek art, Winckelmann, in his influential work *The History of Ancient*, gave instructions about a scientific methodology of art history that had a far-reaching impact on the artistic and literary culture of the Enlightenment. The first major innovation in Winckelmann's method was his development of cultural history – the use of all relevant sources of information to place the arts in the context of the cultures that produced them (Ferne 2003: 12). Besides the usage of his considerable knowledge of Greek literature, he placed the history of art in the context of climate, politics, the habits of thought and other aspects of society that broadly defines culture (Ferne 2003: 86). Yet he also includes knowledge about the art of Egypt, Etruria and of the Near East (Edwards 1999: 78; Ferne 2003: 68; Haskell, Penny 2006: 101; Winckelmann, Potts 2006).

As the second major innovation in Winckelmann's method, we could mention that he was the first scholar to write a history of art rather than histories of individual artists, and as such he stands at the head of the German tradition, which since then has virtually defined the discipline. Above all, Winckelmann seemed to provide a model for writing a history of art that would move beyond mere chronology to offer an understanding of the very nature of art itself.

Many readers were deeply impressed by Winckelmann's stylistic categories and chronological sensitivity (Beard, Henderson 2001: 68–69; Syson 2003: 120;

Haskell, Penny 2006: 101). The system, which he provided for periodizing and systematizing ancient art, became the principal method in the following centuries and is still in use today.⁵⁹ Although in his art history, he understood the ancient Greek nude sculptures as the highest expression of human civilisation (Dyson 2006: 2; Edwards 1999: 78), his conception also opened the possibility of a valuation of the meaning of objects apart from their aesthetic value (Marchand 2003: 10).

Winckelmann's eloquent articulation of the cultural and aesthetic value of studying the ancient Greeks, his adumbration of a new method (style analysis) for studying ancient artworks, and his provision of a model of cultural-historical development in terms of a succession of period styles influenced both the public and intra-disciplinary self-image of German classical studies long into the 20th century (Harloe 2013: xvi). In summary, Winckelmann's work revolutionized and gave a new impetus to art historical and archaeological studies (Winckelmann, Potts 2006: 1–4). His writings opened up the Classical world to a wider audience.

Depending on whether one focuses on art-historical scholarship itself or the institutions of researching and teaching art history, one may wish to begin the history of art history with Winckelmann's *The History of Ancient*. Yet the institutional structures of the formation of academic art history begins only in 1799 in Göttingen, where the first professor of the history of art, Johann Dominik Fiorillo, curator of the art collection of the University of Göttingen, taught art history as well as drawing. There were a number of chairs of art history that predated the founding of institutes in German, Austrian and Swiss universities during the 19th century (Schoell-Glass 2012: 336).

1.3.1.4 Travelling and the Grand Tour

The Grand Tour was an educational trip to Western and Southern European countries undertaken mainly by wealthy young men between the years 1660–1840. The tour was supposed to be a finishing school for young men from a good family, who spent one to three years abroad between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. Here they were to acquire sagacity, good taste, foreign languages and the easy manners that constituted the polite men of the world (Mori 2009: 117).

Before and in addition to the Grand Tour, other educational forms of travel were known, like the peregrinatio academica (study travels), which began in European universities in the 11th and 12th centuries and the trips extended outside the local regions in 13th century.⁶⁰ Peregrinatio academica was formed by humanists as a reputable undertaking, and this kind of trip was widely

⁵⁹ Such systematization was applied also in the museum exhibitions.

⁶⁰ For the definition of *peregrinatio academica* see e.g. Eliasson 1992; Irrgang 2001: 39–43.

reflected in the scholarly literature as *Bildungsreise*.⁶¹ From the 16th to 18th century, travelling to visit art collections, professors and artists was normal because of the importance of art education (Tering 2008: 437–439).

With the development of art history and new archaeological finds, antiquity became a symbol of greatness and perfection. The Grand Tour provided the opportunity to see specific art works of the Renaissance and the cultural legacy of antiquity. The most elite Europeans, particularly outside Italy, first became acquainted with the ancient world through Greek and especially Latin writings. After a university education wealthy, French, British, German, Scandinavian and American students embarked on an extended tour of Europe and gathered artworks for their future homes while establishing intellectual and business contacts (Palmer 2011: 7). For many of the same elites, their first encounter with the most famous work of ancient art would have been only second-hand, through casts, copies and sets of prints that had been in circulation since the Renaissance. Such visual sources within a classical education provided a major impetus for the Grand Tour (Paul 2012b: 12–13).

In the 18th century, Grand Tourists visited places that were considered the most important cultural centres in Europe – Rome, Florence, Naples, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Venice and Paris, but only a few visited southern Italy and even fewer Greece, which was still under the Turkish rule. The valued destination was Rome, the source of many antiquities, where the picture changed in the course of 18th century. For example, on the initiatives of the Popes, the Capitoline Museum came into being in 1734 and the *Museo Pio-Clementino* in the Vatican in 1769 (Boschung 2006: 163–164). However, the new tourist industry extending from Italy across Europe and beyond included visits to Spain, Greece, Turkey and Egypt (Palmer 2011: 8).

Most of the young Grand Tourists never returned to the Mediterranean. The Grand Tour not only provided liberal education, but allowed the opportunity to buy things they otherwise did not have at home. They returned with different art objects and books that began to decorate their cabinets, libraries and dining rooms. Memories and souvenirs of the journeys left their imprint and shaped the young men's cultural outlook for the rest of their lives (Dyson 2006: 5).

The private collections that Grand Tourists visited in Rome played a key role in developing an international taste for ancient sculptures and greatly influenced how sculptures were exhibited in the first public museums (Paul 2012b: 1–15). The Roman collections were widely visited by grand-tourists, who, taking their impressions back home helped to disseminate the standards (Paul 2012b: 15). Later these great private art collections of early modern Europe formed influential models for the first public art museums of the 18th and early 19th centuries.

The Grand Tour and the purchasing of antique art were not so accessible to German princes and aristocrats, who were precisely the ones who set the trend

⁶¹ See more about Early Modern development of rich and manifold travelling literature Stagl 1983; Huber-Rebenich and Ludwig 2007.

for the establishment of collections of antique works of art and casts in Germany from the 1760s onwards. As a region, central Germany was largely cut off from the acquisition and direct reception of antique art due to its fragmentation into very small princedoms with their meagre financial assets. Only a few representatives were able to purchase antique art directly from the Roman art market⁶². As a result, this region of Germany offered a promising market for imaginative producers and distributors of cheaper plaster casts of inferior quality. From the end of the 1760s to about 1794, this region not only experienced the sudden appearance of travelling Italian plaster cast dealers and the foundation of princely collections, galleries and museums, but also the rise of fierce competition among local dealers and manufacturers (Schreiter 2010: 123–124).

In England from the beginning of the 18th century onwards sculpture in plaster was often to be found in large collections. Several British travellers started collecting works of art during their journeys on their Grand Tour through Europe and especially Italy. Often they continued buying after they returned home. When British travellers visited Rome in the 18th century they could meet with fellow countrymen. In the second half of the 18th century, British residents in Italy worked as *ciceroni* – tour guides, and *antiquarii* – the art dealers who also undertook archaeological excavations (Bremer 2012: 59–60). This made it easier for them to acquire knowledge as well as ancient objects.

The collecting mania associated with the Grand Tour helped establish the international antiquities market and laid the foundations of many great collections north of the Alps (Dyson 2006: xii). This also applies to the cast collections. Yet until the second half of the 18th century, when plaster casts became more widely available, prints and engravings were the principal means of learning about classical sculpture. In the early 18th century, the situation for acquiring the casts began to change – it was not so complicated and expensive anymore. The copies of famous statues could be acquired from *formatori* – the individuals who made the moulds and casts, who established workshops in Florence to meet the demand of the Grand Tourists (Kurtz 2000: 123).

1.3.2 The main trends in casting and collecting

During the 18th and 19th century new trends in the casting and collecting of ancient art emerged. At the beginning of the Enlightenment, collecting ancient heritage for private collections intensified. In addition, in the 19th century the **comprehensive collecting** for public collections (museums) also began. This

⁶² In the middle of the 18th century changed the economic situation and many Roman nobility families had to put to the market their old antique art collections. Thus Rome quickly became an international center for art market. However, the art market of Rome was not only for foreigners, but the famous art objects were bought by the city council and the Pope, in order to prevent the export of art from the country (Giuliani 2006: 687).

was supported by the **massive manufacturing of casts in different places in Europe**, and from the beginning of the 19th century followed an age of the **expansion of cast collections** in Europe and in the USA.⁶³ In the **exhibiting of collections**, in addition to traditional venues such as libraries, private galleries and so on, a new level opened up with the opening of museums, including university museums.

1.3.2.1 Comprehensive collecting: opening of private collections and the founding of public museums

During the Age of Enlightenment comprehensive collecting of ancient heritage began. As the 18th century had been the era of the private collectors, the 19th century was an age of the founding of public collections in European museums, which is sometimes described as the mass musealization of our heritage. Some of the private collections were donated to institutions making them available to the public. The purpose of this chapter is to describe how some of the main tendencies that spread during the 18th and 19th centuries contributed to the opening of museums.

Collecting and enjoying art has long been an elite pastime. By the 18th century an international network of critics and dealers, artists and collectors formed the infrastructure of an elite art world bound together by social contacts and shared discourses. Increase in wealth and education in the 18th century produced a concomitant expansion of the public for art, as reflected in the growth of the art market and the advent of public exhibitions and museums. Public sales and auctions became an early venue for an art-hungry public, and dealers used new marketing strategies – shop windows, newspaper advertisements, sale catalogues – to seduce the moneyed classes into the pleasures and social advantages of collecting (McClellan 2008: 157).

So we can say that the most significant innovation in 18th century Europe was the gradual opening of royal princely galleries to an increasingly broad cross section of the public. In the middle decades of the 18th century, private and princely collections in London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Florence, Stockholm, Vienna, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Kassel, and elsewhere opened to the public with varying degrees of liberality. Many collections were

⁶³ Museums with their collections of casts would civilize and refine a “raw” American public, would tame “the barbarian” and enhance the lives of not only the educated middle class, but also “the laborer” and “the mechanic”, who would directly apply, to their work, lessons in ideal beauty learned at the museum. “Cast culture” as Alan Wallach calls the phenomenon, arose in the United States in a society in which education remained identified, as in Europe, with the study of Greek and Latin, and classical literature and classical art were generally viewed as the unshakeable foundations of learning and taste. For these didactic purposes the casts were as good as, and in some respect better than, originals. With casts the museum could present the entire canon of antique sculpture. But in 1880s and 1890s the cast collections remained unexpectedly in the background and began the cult of originals (Wallach 1998: 46–50).

relocated or reinstalled according to the scholarly standards by newly hired curators. Those curators published catalogues making the collections accessible to educated readers (McClellan 2008: 158–159).

In addition to the opening of private collections, by the end of the 18th century the foundation of a public museum tradition had been laid and many of the great classical art museums had come into existence. Most of the major art museums traced their real or spiritual origins to the collecting impulses of the Renaissance; the oldest were the products of papal patronage – the Capitoline Museum (1734)⁶⁴ and the *Museo Pio-Clementino* in the Vatican (1769)⁶⁵, both in Rome (Dyson 2006: 133). The establishment of the British Museum in 1759 and the Louvre as a national museum in Paris in 1793 established the basis for a new model of antiquities collections. In the following years, similarly ambitious national museums came into being in many countries (Boschung 2006: 163–164).

During the 19th century public museums of art became standard features of all larger cities throughout Europe and the United States. Usually civic, state, or national establishments, they were most commonly of a type that has come to be characterized as ‘encyclopaedic’, ‘universal’ or ‘universal survey’ museums. The staffs of these early museums were small by comparison with those today. At the top of the developing hierarchy was the director, who often functioned as a curator, custodian or even the keeper (Paul 2012a: vii–xxi).

From the very beginning, the different purpose of the public museums in comparison with private collections evolved. On the one hand, the educational side of the museum was emphasised, on the other hand the museum was an intellectual sanctuary. Since the 19th century museums have been loci for construction of national identity and cultures. In addition, public museums differed from the private collections in that their main purpose was to study systematically, systemize and make collections available (Meyer, Savoy 2014: 1–2; McClellan 2008: 13–52).

In the ideology and structure of museums at the turn of 18th and 19th century a paradigmatic shift took place. In putting the museum collections together, the historical value of objects was more important than their uniqueness or beauty, as was the case in the curiosity cabinets and private collections. Museum collections were based on broader ideologies and gene-

⁶⁴ This new museum exhibited its objects primarily by size: the statues were in the long gallery, the busts were exhibited by the substantive criteria in the halls, for example as the hall of emperors, the hall of philosophers (Giuliani 2006: 687–688).

⁶⁵ The decisive criterion for the exhibiting the works of art in the halls was their size, to some extent, decorative impressiveness and in some extent the themes. This kind of exhibiting practice was traditional but not the only one anymore in the end of the 18th century. 1764 was published *The History of Ancient Art* by J. J. Winckelmann, where he depicted the art history of ancient Greece as the process of formal changes. Every style and the work of art itself became a form of language. This theory allowed placing almost all the pieces of art into the queue of as regards their development, which was implementable in the museum exposition (Giuliani 2006: 691).

realizations than the objects in the cabinets of curiosities, where the stories of each single object prevailed. What mattered was the total amount of objects in the collection as well the quality of these objects (Raisma 2008; Meyer, Savoy 2014).

The new ideology was accompanied by the dream of the perfect collection. Museums dreamed of their own perfect collection. Many can yearn for the perfection of a collection, but it is only possible for great monarchs and mighty empires.⁶⁶ The most important task of a museum was to impart the idea of the art. The Glyptothek in Munich (1816–1830) and the *Altes Museum* in Berlin (1825–1828) adopted Enlightenment idealism to support a stance of aesthetic transcendence, holding themselves out as bastions of high culture in an era of burgeoning materialism. Even as the activities of the modern museum gradually assumed an extroverted pedagogical role that underscored its newfound social obligations, echoes of the Enlightenment’s quest for knowledge continued to reverberate throughout the 19th century (Lee 2003: 449–450).

Until the early years of the 19th century, museums added to their collections mainly by purchasing works from established collections or by obtaining pieces recently excavated in Italy. Almost all these works were Roman, mainly presumed to be copies of Greek originals. Now two major acquisitions of classical art by European museums, the Aegina marbles acquired by the Munich Glyptothek (opened 1830) and Elgin marbles purchased for the British Museum in 1816, opened up the world of genuine Greek art and highlighted the emergence of new stars in the museum world. The history of the acquisition, treatment and “afterlife” of these two sets of marble statues says a great deal about collecting, museums and archaeological ideology in the early 19th century (Dyson 2006: 133–134).

In the background of the idea of the ideal museum, one way forward was to found plaster cast museums. Of course, on the one hand, plaster sculpture is unable to compete with original ancient art. On the other hand, an ideal and comprehensive museum collection could never exist through original works, but it could exist partially through the copies. A comprehensive experience of the arts can also be provided via copies (Raid 1968: 36).

The founding of museums of copies began because they made it possible to provide a perfect overview of some topic or epoch. Through copies museums can offer an art experience that is otherwise not possible in reality. Nobody can collect all the ancient originals, but copies make it possible to construct the ‘perfect’ collection (cf Raisma 2008: 93–105).

The founder and first director of the Royal Cast Collection in Copenhagen, Julius Lange (1838–1896), had stated his view of the relationship between originals and copies in his lecture at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts in 1873. He admits the advantages of the original works. He says that marble and

⁶⁶ Example of that kind of dreamed museum is *Musée Napoléon* dedicated to Napoleon Bonaparte. 1793 was opened *Musée Français* in Louvre and renamed 1803 as *Musée Napoléon*.

bronze are not only more durable but far more beautiful materials than plaster, but plaster reproduces the plastic form that embodies the work of art's spiritual significance with undiminished originality in its totality as well as in the details. Lange also stated that the cast collections are even richer than the greatest extant collections of originals, because in them it is possible to represent all the best examples from the best collections (Moltesen, Zahle 2012: 227).

The Victoria and Albert Museum (originally known as the South Kensington Museum) was at the forefront of this enthusiasm for collecting plaster cast reproductions in Great Britain. The practical need for plaster casts was seen by Henry Cole (1808–1882), the museum's first director, who saw the great educational benefits in amassing a comprehensive collection of casts. In 1867, Cole encouraged fifteen European princes to sign up to an agreement that would establish a formal procedure for the exchange of casts between European museums.⁶⁷ The plaster casts and the possibilities these provided were considered in many countries from Europe to America (Wallach 1998; Siapka, Sjögren 2014).

The use of casts extended beyond the great museums and research departments to smaller archaeological worlds. Even for small local museums and university archaeological departments casts were vital teaching and learning tools. The patenting in 1844 of a process whereby casts could be produced at reduced scale⁶⁸ allowed an even wider diffusion of these images (Dyson 2006: 168). Many collections were unable to acquire large statues because of the quandary of the rooms and due to the high transportation costs. Like the private collection, public museums began to collect different kinds of ancient art: in addition to sculptures, details of architecture, coins, gems, vases and other things that archaeological excavations brought to the light were all collected.

1.3.2.2 Massive manufacturing of casts

The original sculptures, gems and coins were the sources, and casting was the method to publish those sources scientifically. The casts were remarkable objects for illustrating historical and cultural events and periods. The same purpose was fulfilled by the original art objects, but the availability of the originals and the casts was incomparable. Casts of the best examples of ancient art had to be in every academy because not every artist had the opportunity to visit all the big and famous collections in Europe. In addition, the cast

⁶⁷ Convention for Promoting universally Reproductions of Works of Art for the Benefit of Museum of All Countries (Lochman 2013: 612–613).

⁶⁸ Benjamin Cheverton (1794–1876) was an artist who designed a reducing machine with the assistance of the engineer John Isaac Hawkins (1772–1855). The machine, first made around 1828 and patented in 1844, made it possible to create small scale replicas of sculptures. Cheverton demonstrated his reducing machine at the Great Exhibition in 1851 and won a gold medal for his copy of Theseus from the Elgin collection in the British Museum. <http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk> [accessed 17 February 2014].

collections in the universities became like a standard for teaching art history and archaeology.

In order to satisfy the needs of the many collections in the 19th century, **casting workshops** were established at a large number of museums. The demand for casting, however, was such that the museum workshop began producing castings of sculptures located in other museums as well. Sometimes casts were made after the original, in the worse case from a mould taken from a cast. As a result of the uncontrolled casting processes, the authors of the first casts⁶⁹ started to mark their publications to emphasise the quality (Kreem 2005: 44–46).

Moulds had been taken from large statues and copies made from at least as early as the 16th century. The earliest impressions are from gems owned by German diplomat, antiquary and collector Baron Philipp von Stosch (1691–1757). Early in the 18th century von Stosch had tried to find a substance that could make moulds, take impressions, and replicate the engraving on the small gemstones. He learned about the manufacture of a special glass paste that enabled moulds to be fired at a high temperature from his personal physician, Wilhelm Homberg (1652–1715), the Duc d'Orleans and another famous gem collector. The Greeks had known how to make glass copies of gems, and Renaissance collectors Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), Thomas Howard and 21st Earl of Arundel (1585–1646) had made copies in wax or plaster, and knowledge of engraved gems and cameos usually spread through engravings and drawings (Kurtz 2000: 333–334).

Taking the casts from gems and coins was a fairly time-consuming and labour-intensive process. It was introduced and illustrated experimentally, for example, at the meeting of the Numismatic Society in London in 1838. The process was described very precisely and published later in the society's yearbook.⁷⁰ Casting the coins and gems was not a secret process, the principles of which would only be told to the elected members of society. The materials used for making casts of gems were sulphur mass, which is easy to melt, sealing wax used in the postal service and glass paste, expensive and similar material to the original gems. In the middle of 18th century, casts made of plaster and materials similar to the plaster were popular.⁷¹ Experiments were also conducted with other materials such as *papier-mache*⁷², and René François Goullon (1757–1839) in Weimar Confectioner distributed enthusiasm for the gems by making casts from sugar-paste⁷³ (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 280–281). The casts of coins and gems were valued because of the historical information they held, but also

⁶⁹ In German *Original-Abguss* vs *Abguss*.

⁷⁰ *Proceedings of the Numismatic Society 1837–1838*, London, 1838: Moyes and Barclay, 188–194.

⁷¹ So-called Lippert mass invented by Ph. D. Lippert is similar in appearance to plaster.

⁷² In the University of Tartu Art Museum is the collection made of paper-mass *Timm's mythologischer Charthyl-Gemmen*.

⁷³ Goullon named his sugar-gems as *Bonbonnières à la Romaine* (Goullon 1792: xxi).

for their beauty and aesthetic value. In 1829, a handbook was published even for young women, containing instructions of how to take moulds from the original coins and gems to make beautiful plaster and sulphur casts applicable as ornamentations.⁷⁴

By the 1850s, the copying of works of art had become a lucrative business all over Europe. In producing the sculpture casts, piece-moulds were used – individual moulds of each part of an original object. These moulds could be re-used so multiple copies of the same cast could be made.⁷⁵ The great demand for casts generated a reproduction industry. It was possible by the late 19th century to build a cast collection that included copies of most of the major surviving works of Greek and Roman art.

Commercial production and distribution of casts was centred in Germany, but important firms were located in other centres. For years the British Museum maintained its own cast production facilities, while by the 1870s Napoleon Martinelli was operating an important cast shops in Athens. Not only standard works could be acquired but also new discoveries, which were rapidly added to the list of casts available (Dyson 2006: 169–170). The casts were offered by famous moulding firms in the 19th century, like *Atelier de Moulage* of the Louvre in Paris, the *Berliner Gipsformerei* and so on. Domenico Brucciani (1815–1880) made casts for the British Museum in London. But there were also large private entrepreneurs like August Gerber in Cologne and the Caproni Brothers in Boston. The fact is that making the casts was bound with certain privileges that were assigned personally (Schreiter 2012: 18–19).

Here some workshops and manufacturers are given, whose plaster casts were available in Europe as well as in America.⁷⁶ Some of these will also be discussed in subsequent sections of this thesis in the context of the University of Tartu Art Museum:

- G. Geiler, Formator an der Königlich Akademie der Künste, Munich;
- Formerei der Königlichen Museen, Berlin⁷⁷;
- Professor Dr. Heinrich Brunn, Munich;
- Residenzschloss Museum, Darmstadt;
- Gustav Eichler, Behrenstrasse 27, Berlin;
- Formerei des Königliche Albertinums, Dresden⁷⁸;
- August Gerber, Cologne;
- Th. Massler, 67 Hagen Str., Hanover;
- G. Leers, Cologne (?);

⁷⁴ *The Young Lady's Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuit*, London: Vizetelly, Branston, and Co, 1829, 459–464.

⁷⁵ <http://www.vam.ac.uk> [accessed 17 February 2014].

⁷⁶ The Special Committee on Casts of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Metropolitan Museum of Art. Tentative lists of objects desirable for collection of casts, sculptural and architectural intended to illustrate the history of plastic art*. New York, 1891.

⁷⁷ Königliche Museen zu Berlin, 1893. *Verzeichniss der in der Formerei der Königlichen Museen käuflichen Gipsabgüsse*. Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Reichsdr.

⁷⁸ Hettener, H. 1881. *Das Königliche Museum der Gypsabgüsse zu Dresden*. Dresden: E. Blochmann & Sohn.

- Joseph Keittmayr (moulder for Bavarian National Museum), Hildegardstrasse 12, Munich;
- J. Mozet, Conservatorium der Antikensammlung der Königl. technischen Hochschule, Munich.
- H. Boschen, Oldenburg;
- Friedrich Kusthardt, Hildesheim;
- J. Rothermundt, Kunstanstalt, Lange Grasse 30, Nuremberg;
- Farmer and Brindley, Royal Architectural Museum, London;
- Domenico Brucciani & Co., Russell Street, Covent Garden, London⁷⁹;
- Augustus Ready, British Museum, Great Russell Street, London;
- The South Kensington Museum, London;
- Eugène Arrondelle, Chef du Moulage, Musée du Louvre, Paris;
- École des Beaux-Arts, Paris;
- L. Mathivet, Union Centrale des Arts Decoratifs, Paris;
- Musée de Sculpture Compré, Trocadéro, J. Pousadoux et Fils, 45, Rue Monsieur-le-Prince, Paris,⁸⁰
- Michele Gerardi, 87 Via Sistina, Rome;
- The Christian Museum in the Lateran Palace, Rome;
- Cesare Malpieri, 54 Via del Corso, Rome;
- Leopoldo Malpieri, Rome;
- Filippo Mercatali, 90 Piazza Sta. Francesca a Ripa, Rome;
- Giacomo Como, architect, Venice;
- Oronzo Lelli, 95 Corso dei Tintori, Florence;
- La Direzione del Museo Nazionale, Naples;
- Antonio di Paoli, S. Trovaso, Calle delle Cento Pietre 1202, Venice;
- Eduardo Pierotti, 3 Via Filangeri, Milan;
- K. K. Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, Vienna;
- Wilhelm Sturm, jr., Acad. Bildhauer, K. K. Kunsthistorisches Hofmuseum, Vienna;
- The Royal Museum, Lisbon;
- Maria Maritnelli, Athens;
- Guidotto Brothers, O'Rugh Museum, Christiania, Norway;
- Jean Jeladon, Cairo;
- Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;
- V. Steffensen, Royal Museum, Copenhagen;
- F. Soltzenberg, Roermond, Holland.

We can also see in this list how interest in casts and cast manufacturing grew quickly in America. In 1891, the Metropolitan Museum of Art put together lists of desirable objects for a collection of casts in order to illustrate the history of the plastic arts. This list was published with ordering data where possible,

⁷⁹ D. Brucciani & Co, 1889. *Catalogue of Casts for Schools*. London: Galleria delle Bell Arti.

⁸⁰ The above named workshops were able to manufacture the cast of ancient sculptures as well as Egyptian, Chaldean, Assyrian, Persian, Medieval and Renaissance sculptures. Certainly it is not the complete list of plaster casters, but however this gives a valuable overview of possibilities for acquiring the casts in Europe.

including the location of the original object, the plaster workshop or master and the price.

By 1794, the first comprehensive illustrated catalogue of all the casts of antique and modern sculptures had already been published by the Leipzig art dealer Carl Christian Heinrich Rost (1742–1798) *Abgüsse antiker und moderner Statuen, Figuren, Büsten, Basreliefs über die besten Originale geformt in der Rostischen Kunsthandlung zu Leipzig*. Leipzig, 1794.⁸¹ It listed fifty-four full-scale statues and seventy-five busts as well as numerous small-scale copies and “study pieces” such as single hands, feet, monuments and reliefs available in his shop. This catalogue was neither the first to be published by Rost, nor the only one in circulation in the cities and courts of central Germany at the end of the 18th century, but in terms of its comprehensiveness it exceeded any comparable work, including earlier catalogues by Rost himself. The great variety of high-quality plaster casts on offer is impressive even today. If Rost was able to offer such a large number of allegedly good casts at that time, he must have had very good sources (Schreiter 2010: 121–123).

The massive manufacturing of casts guaranteed the dissemination of ancient art from the centres of the ancient world to the periphery, to Northern and Eastern Europe, Russia, USA and so on.

I.3.2.3 Exhibiting the collections: libraries, galleries in private houses, exhibitions in public museums, dactyliothecae

The idea of displaying the sculptures (or copies of original sculptures) in private and later in public libraries was not new. This practice goes back to classical antiquity, where libraries had developed out of the annexed porticoes of sanctuaries that were rich in statuary.⁸² The Age of Enlightenment produced some of the most splendid and ornate libraries ever built. This was the culmination of a long and dynamic process in which the relationship between books and sculptures was continuously redefined. Britain perhaps pioneered the fashion for reintroducing the display of ancient marbles in the library space, just as it led the way in the vogue for ancient sculptures in general. Most secular libraries during the 18th and 19th centuries contained sculpture of some sort: portraits of famous ancients or contemporaries, and increasingly, specimens of

⁸¹ Analogue catalogues were published also later. For example, by the sculpture cast collection in Dresden the casts were also made for sale. In the catalogue are given the measures of the statues, the locations of the original sculptures when possible and the prices of the casts. For additional fee was possible to order toning of the casts and removing the plaster seams on the plaster cast surface that occur with using the molds made of pieces. Customer must pay for the transportation and packaging. *Verzeichnis der Verkäuflichen Gipsabgüsse aus der Formerei der Staatl. Skulpturensammlung zu Dresden*. Dresden, 1925.

⁸² Casson, L., 2007. *Bibliotheken in der Antike*. Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler, 2002: passim; Sinn 2007: 46–47.

antique sculpture in the form of originals or copies such as casts.⁸³ It was a European phenomenon, and visitors to any library in Britain, France, Germany or any other country would have encountered familiar principles of decoration (Oppen 2003: 58–59). However, the art in the libraries remained limited and thematically selective because of the space and main purpose of the library.

Public libraries were not the only places for exhibiting ancient sculptures or casts. Wealthy families enjoyed the feeling of antiquities in their houses and gardens. The collections assembled by English lords in the 18th century were housed and displayed in their homes. Sometimes they knew how to present their own collections, but more often they sought advice from architects or from fellow collectors. Plaster replicas filled the gaps in an existing decorative scheme or were used to build up a collection thematically (Bremer 2012: 63).

Within the framework of this thesis it is most important to view how the casts were exhibited in the museums during the 19th century. Although the plaster cast museums were a Pan-European phenomenon no universal concept or fundamental theory exists for how the objects were exhibited during the 18th and 19th century.⁸⁴ However, some principles and trends that recur in various cast museums are evident, and some of the museums were used as examples for others. This depends significantly on the house and its rooms, but usually casts are organised and exhibited in a chronological-stylistic system. Many cast collections have moved several times, some have specially built houses and in some cases a custom-designed interior. Two exemplary cases are discussed below: the early period of the Göttingen cast collection and the cast collection at the *Neues Museum* in Berlin.

First we should mention the cast collection at Göttingen, which was established in 1767. Professor Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812) acquired the Dactyliotheek of Lippert and some plaster casts in his first year (1767) in Göttingen. All the casts were accommodated in the library that was located in

⁸³ The monastery libraries were, however, decorated with wooden sculptures, stucco and paintings on Christian topics, not with marble originals or casts of antique sculpture. See more in Lehmann, E., 1996. *Die Bibliotheksräume der Deutschen Klöster in der Zeit des Barock*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1–2.

⁸⁴ The unifying feature of the first exhibitions of ancient sculptures was the lack of arrangements. In the 15th century, there collectors had not any system for exhibiting the sculptures. For the other types of ancient finds, for example, the coins, the scientists had developed some suitable form of systematization and presentation. Ancient sculpture had the lack of systematic exposition up to the middle of the 18th century. Thus, the collector was dependent on his own aesthetic perception. In the palace of cardinal Andrea della Valle (1463–1534) the exhibition of ancient sculptures and reliefs followed the symmetry and the recurrence of orderly arrangement. The objects were reduced to design elements, and had not the value of the works of art. Very different was the exhibition of ancient sculptures in the villa Belvedere in Vatican. There were brought together all the pieces of ancient art work around the dominant group of Laocoon, which Pliny praised in his Natural history. Focusing on the few excellent art works gave this collection a completely different nature as had the Palazzo della Valle. Belvedere exposition affected the European princely courts to collect antiquities (Giuliani 2006: 679–683).

the old *Paulinerkirche*. Because an organised cast market did not yet exist, the following purchases made by Heyne depended on opportunities. He purchased the Laocoon, the Fighter of Borghese, Apollo of Belvedere and Venus of Medici, the group of Silen and the Dionysus-boy for the library's cast collection, and these were used in lectures by Heyne. Because the casts were used as learning material, not merely to decorate the library, not only portrait busts were purchased. The cast collection as well as the collection of ancient originals grew quickly and was moved to the aula-building in the first half of 19th century. The collection was moved to its current location in 1912 (Graepler 2012: 275–278).

The *Neues Museum* in Berlin was built in 1843–1855 (located to the north of the *Altes Museum* on Museum Island), and the collection of plaster casts was exhibited in the stair hall and the first floor of the building. These calm white plaster casts were given colourful flooring and decorative wall-paintings as a background in this new building. The halls were named after the exhibited masterpieces, for example Apollo-Saal, Niobiden-Saal, Bacchus-Saal, as well as after periods, like *Römischer Saal* and *Griechischer Saal*. In 1855, the Roman Hall was quite empty with its 64 casts, but after two years the hall was completed – the casts on the bright-tone cavity were grouped around the columns similar to the original sculptures in the Old Museum.⁸⁵

The turning point in exhibiting ideology was 1868. The new director Karl Bötticher (1806–1889) organized the previously chronologically presented cast collection according to content by forming circles of gods, what he considered to be clear and instructive. His gods-based reorganization of the statues was later discarded and the systematic order using the best examples of ancient sculptures, was restored (Platz-Horster 2012: 57–68).

Not only was the methodology of exhibiting of sculptural casts intensively developed in the 18th and 19th centuries, but from the middle of the 18th century a new way of exhibiting the smallest antiquities – gem casts, the so-called *Dactyliothecae*, was invented. It was a new thematically organised packaging of the casts, produced professionally. This was suitable for the art collections of wealthy households or just for education through the cut iconography of the gods and heroes. *Dactyliothecae* had to be in every good library and art collection (Andraschke, Ruisinger 2007: 230).

Dactyliothecae were quite different in their appearance. The gem casts could be packed in regular book-like boxes, but also into very large book-like boxes, which usually contained drawers with gem casts. But these could also be like a commode with drawers or like framed pictures with the casts glued inside and covered with glass. The number of casts in an edition could vary from a few dozen to several thousand. In addition, the material used also varied: plaster,

⁸⁵ For rich photo material about historical exhibiting the casts in Berlin and other collections in Germany see Schröder, Nele; Winckler-Horaček, Lorenz, 2012. . . . *von gestern bis morgen . . . ; zur Geschichte der Berliner Gipsabguss-Sammlung(en)*. Rahden/Westf.: Leidorf.

coloured plaster, grey or red sulphur mass or paper mass. The collections also varied in terms of content and the date of the original gems. Quite often the gem casts are grouped by theme and historical period inside the collections.⁸⁶

The bourgeoisie and nobility, universities and schools, artists and writers possessed and used these collections of ancient and contemporary glyptic art (Knüppel 2009: 345). They became typical sources of information during the Enlightenment and Neoclassical period. Marjorie Trusted has written that the cast collections are like encyclopaedia, a visual library of art, conceived in an era when illustrated art books were rare, while foreign travel was expensive and difficult for most students (Trusted 2012: 355).

In the early 19th century, a general crisis in glyptic studies emerged triggered by several scholars claiming that nearly all 'ancient' gems and cameos were modern forgeries (Zazoff 1983: 186–190). This general suspicion, but also the waning of Neoclassical tastes caused a decline in the production of dactylithecae from 1850 (Graepler 2010: 440).

I.4 Cast collections in European universities and art academies

Today, university collections can include physical and audio-visual objects, scientific and cultural collections including living organisms and objects related to the history of the university and memorial facilities, which are used especially in teaching and research and to fulfil museum function (Weber 2011: 84). The university collections can be divided roughly into three types: the collections for medicine, science and cultural studies. Plaster cast collections as art objects belong to the last category.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ The casts of coins were packed quite similarly to the casts of gems using book-like boxes as well as commodes with drawers. The coin casts were grouped in those collections chronologically and regionally.

⁸⁷ From the typological point of view university art collections represent a large diversity. M. Lourenço encountered in her dissertation five major types of art collection. Besides the sculpture cast collections, there also existed other types of university art collections:

1. Art collections related to the history of the university (portraits and busts of rectors and professors, paintings and drawings of buildings, etc.). The works have documental value for the university's history;
2. Decorative art collections displayed in cabinets and public areas to provide a proper environment for learning. Art collections are among the oldest collections in universities and when the history of art emerged as a field of study in the 19th century, many purely decorative collections were reorganised for teaching purposes;
3. Teaching art collections associated with the history of art, archaeology or fine arts. There are three sub-categories: a) collections representative of a given period in the history of art; b) collections of casts also used in the teaching of classical archaeology; c) reference collections for techniques and materials;
4. Art collections resulting from works of art made by students or professors;
5. Art collections to support research in distinct fields, for example the drawings and sculptures or other art works done by psychiatric patients (Lourenço 2005: 40–41). She

As we saw above, the collections of antiquities continued to grow and became public museums in the 18th and 19th centuries. The casting of ancient sculptures, gems and coins became a large-scale manufacturing industry. Casts were also made available to universities and they could found their own collections for use in the study process. It can be assumed that a lot of similar collections were founded by universities.

Understanding the foundation of university museums and collections means taking into consideration their academic context (Lourenço 2005: 46). Several European countries founded new universities and implemented higher education reforms in existing universities that stimulated the establishment of collections and museums.⁸⁸ Scientific advancement throughout the 18th and early 19th century increased the quantity and quality of collection-based research. Nineteenth century science placed collections at the very heart of research. During the 19th century, the history of art, archaeology, anthropology and other humanities obtained a scientific and institutional identity of their own, and collections of antiquities and art acquired a different meaning. Universities that already had arts and humanities collections assembled them in newly created museums (Lourenço 2005: 66–67).

When we talk about the formation of university collections and their use we must keep in mind the specific characteristics of the individuals involved. Cornelia Weber has closely studied the different university museums and collections in Germany.⁸⁹ She claims that the history of the collections includes the views of the people that are the driving forces behind the collections. This shows that the history of the collections often took on the face of certain personalities (Weber 2011: 84).

It has also been said about university collections that their objects are selected as sources of information rather than for aesthetic or other reasons (Lourenço 2005: 9). In university cast collections the aesthetic value and visual effect of each piece definitely adds to the purely technical aspects. Every single cast is an example of the artistry of the period, and the whole collection helps to visualize the development of Greek and Roman art on a timeline.

The first research and university collections were opened already in the 18th century. These primarily contained ancient sculptures, inscriptions and coins. The University of Leiden obtained a considerable gallery of statues in 1743.

categorised the sculpture cast collections under the teaching collection – collections that were originally organised to support collection-based teaching along with other type of collections (2005: 34–41).

⁸⁸ In Berlin, the university was founded in 1810. The foundation concept, which Wilhelm von Humboldt had put forward, made the university the “mother of all modern universities”. This concept envisaged a “*Universitas litterarum*” which would achieve a unity of teaching and research and provide students with an all-round humanist education. This concept spread throughout the world and gave rise to the foundation of many universities of the same type over the following 150 years. http://www.hu-berlin.de/ueberblick-en/history/huben_html [accessed 17 January 2014].

⁸⁹ <http://www.universitaetssammlungen.de> [accessed 18 February 2014].

Twelve years later, in 1755, the University of Oxford received 112 statues, busts and reliefs from the collection of the Earl of Arundel. Then followed the University of Göttingen, where Christian Gottlob Heyne⁹⁰ bought plaster casts of ancient sculptures in 1767 (Boschung 2000: 13–14). These first university museums reflect the more general development of acquiring casts for public enjoyment and instruction⁹¹ (Gazi 1998: 87). But the majority of university museums of arts and humanities were founded between 1800 and the 1930s, just like the majority of the university museums of natural history and medicine (Lourenço 2005: 68).

The chairs of classical archaeology were established and equipped, and casts became the embodiments of the didactic programme (Kader 2006: 725; Bauer 2012: 273). Since about the 1960s, there has been a revival of the value of casts and cast collections in science, public collections and art. Especially in the universities, the cast collections have been rebuilt (Kader 2006: 726).

In what follows, we will look closely at some of the ideas and initiators of plaster cast museums in different universities and the cast collections to offer some points of comparison with the collection in the University of Tartu Art Museum. For this case study the author has made her own choice of collections from Germany as an exemplar for the cast collection at the University of Tartu. The other three cases depend more on geographical location: an example from Great Britain (overseas country); an example from Finland (a neighbouring country); an example from Russia (a neighbouring country).

1.4.1 Cast collections in German universities

The chances of acquiring casts were better for those countries that had the right to carry out excavations. For example, Germany began an excavating expedition to Olympia in 1875. The German mission won the right to make casts and moulds from every object within five years of its discovery, although all the finds remained the property of Greece (Connor 1989: 189–190).

In Germany, an impressive academic heritage has been preserved. Many German universities have 20 to 30 university museums with all kinds of

⁹⁰ Heyne (1729–1812) was one who laid the foundations for the development of a modern study of antiquity. In 1753 he received a subordinate post as copyist in the library of the Saxon Minister of State, Heinrich, count von Brühl (1700–1763), in Dresden. There he first became acquainted with the evidence of ancient art as a complement to the literary tradition and there he met also J. J. Winckelmann. Heyne's importance in the history of scholarship lies in his having replaced an antiquarian polyhistorism, as it had hitherto been practiced, with the conception of the study of antiquity that aimed at a universal reconstruction of the literary, historical, and cultural life of the ancient world and also brought the knowledge thereby gained into relation with the present (Schindel 1990: 176).

⁹¹ Schreiter has written about the establishment of cast museums as national ventures. In doing so, a comparative approach was implemented, and specially evaluative comparisons of ordering criteria, which took precedence over the presentation of art works as an aesthetic experience (2014: 43).

collections, including plaster cast collections (Lourenço 2005: 114; Berchtold 1987). In Germany, cast collections flourished in the universities, and even today they have often been preserved.⁹² They are now used for teaching archaeology rather than as a means of instructing the public and artists in the aesthetics of the glorious Greek age (Connor 1989: 203).

Earlier, cast collections were mainly for training in art academies, as in the 18th century in Düsseldorf. But in the 19th century the centre of gravity for cast collections was concentrated in German universities (e.g. Göttingen, Berlin, Bonn, Heidelberg, Marburg, Tübingen, Leipzig etc.).⁹³ By the 1860s, almost all German-speaking universities had their own plaster cast collections.⁹⁴ The International Association for the Conservation and the Promotion of Plaster Cast Collections, which provides an overview of the history of each collection, the founding year and the number of the objects, have registered 38 German plaster cast collections.⁹⁵ *Humboldt Universität zu Berlin* has initiated a project that is mapping the plaster cast collections in Europe and different aspects connected with collecting, casting and exhibiting.⁹⁶

The plaster cast collection of the University of Göttingen (founded 1767, approx. 1,670⁹⁷ casts)

The University of Göttingen, founded in 1737 by George II, King of Great Britain and Ireland, soon became one of the leading educational institutions in the Age of Enlightenment. The University of Göttingen was a pioneer in connecting research and teaching. Throughout the 19th century, most German universities had significant collections of casts used mainly for the teaching of classical archaeology. The earliest of such collections, the first collection of casts in Europe, was created at the University of Göttingen (Gazi 1998: 87; Dyson 2006: 1).

Göttingen collected the casts of ancient sculptures due to the professor of poetry and rhetoric Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812), who is considered to be the real founder of archaeology as “a university subject”. Since that time, archaeology was included in university teaching (Weber 2011: 95). In his

⁹² Although, it could happen that the casts got damaged. The plaster cast collection of Berlin was destroyed during and after World War II and reconstructed in 1970s (Schröder, Winkler-Horaček 2012).

⁹³ For other European plaster cast collections see International Association for the Conservation and the Promotion of Plaster Cast Collection. <http://www.plastercastcollection.org/en/index.php> [accessed 26 June 2014].

⁹⁴ Including the University of Tartu, which was a German-speaking university in the 19th century, the art museum with its cast collection was founded in 1803.

⁹⁵ <http://www.plastercastcollection.org> [accessed 19 January 2014].

⁹⁶ <http://wiki.hu-berlin.de/formatori/Kategorie:Abguss-Sammlung> [accessed 19 January 2014].

⁹⁷ The number of casts in the collection here and afterward is taken from the webpage of the International Association for the Conservation and the Promotion of Plaster Cast Collection <http://www.plastercastcollection.org/en/index.php> [accessed 26 June 2014].

classical philology lectures, Heyne (professor 1763–1812) also covered ancient history, geography, mythology and philosophy. He was convinced that learning ancient culture is an important factor in shaping a person (Tering 1985a: 563–564).

In 1767, Heyne purchased the first casts after classical sculptures for the university and in the following years he acquired more plaster casts from the Ferrari brothers, who travelled around Germany, and from the art-dealer Rost in Leipzig⁹⁸ (Graepler 2010: 435). His fundamental concept was to form a teaching collection. He used those as illustrative material in his regular archaeology lectures. The casts were arranged in the rooms of the university library, of which Heyne was director until 1763. By the beginning of the 19th century there were already 60 casts in the collection (Connor 1989: 203; Fittschen 1990: 9–17; Bauer 2002: 118). The collection of gem casts was also founded in 1763 (Weber 2011: 95).

Although there was not a clear concept for acquiring the casts, under the leadership of Heyne some famous casts were purchased: Eros Contocelle, the big woman from Herculaneum, the Borghese warrior, Antinous, Laocoon (without the sons), Apollo Belvedere, Satyr with krupezion, Venus of Medici⁹⁹ (Fittschen 1990: 10). During the first year fifteen diminished sculptures were added to charge and Heyne also acquired seventeen plaster busts; for example, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Vitellius, Vespasianus, Scipio Africanus and Drusus (Boehringer 1981: 277–278). Collecting Roman busts was commenced at Göttingen at the very beginning of the creation of the museum.

Under the direction of Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840), the collection at Göttingen was considerably enlarged. This was mainly thanks to King of Great Britain and Ireland George IV (1762–1830), who donated a substantial set of casts from the Elgin Marbles in 1829. During the following decades the collection kept growing. With nearly 2000 objects, it is now among the largest of its kind in Germany (Graepler 2010: 436). It is still used for research and educational purpose.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ The Ferrari brothers were the first dealers who systematically sold casts of sculptures from Italian collections in Germany. After the Ferrari brothers retired and went back to Italy in 1777, the art dealer C. Ch. H. Rost from Leipzig became dominant in the market for the casts (Sedlarz 2012: 33).

⁹⁹ Same casts (except Antinous) are also in the collection of the University of Tartu Art Museum: the torso of Eros Contocelle (KMM S 53), the woman from Herculaneum (KMM S 118), the Borghese warrior (KMM S 65), Laocoon with the sons (KMM S 60), Apollo Belvedere (KMM S 83), Satyr with krupezion (KMM S 85), Venus Medici (KMM S 84). For easier identification the inventory numbers of the objects are given in brackets in the collection of the University of Tartu Art museum. These numbers were added to the objects during the 20th century. The acronym “KMM” refers to the previous name of the museum “Klassikale Muinasteaduste Muuseum” (Classical Museum of Antiquity Sciences) and “S” refers to the collection of sculptures.

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.viamus.de> [accessed 30 September 2011].

Until recently one part of the collection of the university of Göttingen that had been highly appreciated during Heyne and Müller's time received little attention: impressions and casts of ancient gems and cameos (Graepler 2010: 436). But it is evident that original gems are not easily accessible, shut away in private collections, and even in museums often locked away in a safe rather than displayed. Collections of impressions, gathered over centuries, have assembled research material for the study of both technique and iconography (Wagner, Seidmann 2010: 452).

The University of Göttingen has catalogued its cast collection and studied and published the history of its collections.¹⁰¹ The catalogue of the plaster cast collection is also published on the website www.viamus.de, where it is also possible to find the history of the collection and different educational materials about ancient life. Today, the museum is used for teaching and researching and is shown regularly to the public. The museum also has its own workshop for restoring and casting.

Plaster cast collection of ancient sculptures at the Free University of Berlin (founded in 1696, approx. 1, 280 casts)

The plaster cast collection of Berlin has a long and complicated history. The collection of casts of classical sculpture was called to life in 1696 as the Academy of Arts by Friedrich III – Elector of Brandenburg, later King of Prussia Frederick I (1657–1713). We can find a recently re-published engraving from 1701 that shows that the five-year old collection was used for instruction. There are a few famous pieces recognizable such as Laocoon, the Fighter of Borghese, the Venus Medici and the Farnese Heracles¹⁰² (Borbein 1997; Schreiter 2012: 20). The collection of casts grew rapidly. The inventory book for 1789/1790 recorded just over 1,500 casts, of which, however, only about 60 were plaster sculptures and the rest were the casts of gems and medals (Sedlarz 2012: 29).

A cast museum was planned in Berlin in the *Altes Museum* (opened in 1830), which was supposed to bring together the scattered royal art collections and make them available to the public, and new casts were purchased that could be exhibited there. As early as 1822, Berlin had a cast of a significant new find, the Venus de Milo, which was discovered in 1820 and brought to Paris in 1821. In 1843, a selection of plaster casts was exhibited in the *Altes Museum* to complement the original collections.

In 1855, the *Neues Museum* was opened; the collection of plaster casts was exhibited in the stair hall and the first floor of the building. The last third of the

¹⁰¹ Fittschen, K., 1990. *Verzeichnis der Gipsabgüsse des Archäologischen Instituts der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen: Bestand 1767–1989*. Göttingen: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.

¹⁰² *Aktsaal der Kunst-Academie zu Berlin*. Engraving after Augustin Terwesten (from: Lorenz Beger, *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus Selectus III* [1701] 217) Published: <http://www.digitalsculpture.org/casts/borbein> [accessed 26 February 2014].

19th century was filled with new discoveries of sculpture; for example, from Pergamon and Olympia, and casts arrived at the museum quickly. Platz-Horster has studied the rooms and the exposition of that period thoroughly (2012: 57–68).

After the relocation of the casts to the Friedrich-Wilhelms University, Unter den Linden, in 1921, the re-opening of the collection was carried out in 24 rooms of the west wing of the university building. By that time, the collection of casts consisted of 2,500 objects. As a result of World War II, the collection of casts was almost completely destroyed. In cooperation with the Free University, the National Museums of Prussian Cultural Heritage and the Senator for Cultural Affairs, the collection has been reconstructed. Today it contains about 1,600 plaster casts of Greek and Roman sculptures.¹⁰³

Recently, in 2012, Nele Schröder and Lorenz Winkler-Horaček published an historical overview . . . *von gestern bis morgen . . . Zur Geschichte der Berliner Gipsabguss-Sammlung(en)*. Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH. This also treats aspects of the production, collecting and exhibiting of the casts and overviews of other cast collections in Berlin and in Germany. Furthermore, it deals with the modern opportunities for exploring the casts.¹⁰⁴

The plaster cast collection of the Academic Art Museum of Bonn in the University of Bonn (founded in 1820, 2,173 casts)

The academic art museum of Bonn is one of the first museums designated as an “art museum” in a German university. The first casts at the *Akademisches Kunstmuseum Bonn* arrived in 1820 from the Louvre. By 1827, 189 casts had been written up in the collection accession-book, and in 1841 there were already 499 casts and by 1844 the number of casts had grown to 614 (Bauer 2002: 119).

In 1827, archaeologist Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784–1868), the first director of museum 1818–1854, had already stressed in a guide-book for the *Akademisches Kunstmuseum zu Bonn*¹⁰⁵ the prime importance of casts for educating the young in the choicest works of antiquity. The institute of archaeology together with its library and collection of antiquities had the broad aim of completing humanist studies by adding the study of the entire area of ancient life to the study of language and literature (Connor 1989: 190). Archaeologist Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz (1839–1911) was director of the museum for 1870–1889 and used the collection as a place for his lectures and the casts were the centre of his research.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ <http://www.abguss-sammlung-berlin.de> [accessed 18 February 2014].

¹⁰⁴ See more for modern aspects and project of plaster cast collection of the Free University of Berlin in Fendt, Stürmer, Winkler-Horaček 2013: 45–85.

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.antikensammlung.uni-bonn.de> [accessed 18 february 2014].

¹⁰⁶ See more for history of museum in Geominy 2013: 129–141.

The accession book of casts for 1870–1989 was published by Wilfred Geominy in 1989, as was a catalogue for an exhibition with plenty of photographic material by Johannes Bauer and Wilfred Geominy in 2000.¹⁰⁷

1.4.2 Academic cast collections in St. Petersburg, Oxford, Helsinki

The plaster cast collection of the Russian Academy of Fine Arts Museum in St. Petersburg (founded in 1788, approx. 500 casts)

The public, political, educational and scientific life of Russia activated in the 18th and 19th centuries in the capital city St. Petersburg. Many academic institutions were established; for example, Academy of Sciences (1725), Academy of Fine Arts (1755), Pedagogical Institute (1804), which was the basis for the establishing of the University of St. Petersburg in 1819 (Klement 1983: 3). The Russian Academy of Fine Arts Museum is a unique art collection not only in Russia but the world. It was established in the middle of the 18th century (1757) at the same time as the Academy of Fine Arts.

The Academy of Fine Arts holds drawings, engravings and paintings of Russian and Western European masters as well as casts of antique and Western European sculptures, which served as models for the “plaster heads” and “plaster figures” drawing classes. The collection of the cast department is unique in its completeness, selection methods and excellent quality of performance. They were made by Italian masters at the end of the 18th century into the beginning of 19th century and are moulded using the casts made from the original works. These replicas very precisely reproduce all the plastic peculiarities of the original works. Replicating “antiques” was an obligatory aspect in the studies of painters at all stages of their qualifications.

At the beginning of the 20th century, this unique collection of casts was stored in accordance with the historic and chronological principles. The exhibition comprises approximately 600 monuments for the period from the 3,000 BC till the second half of the 18th century.¹⁰⁸

The art academy collection consists not only of sculptures. The President of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts and Russian school reformer Ivan Betskoy (1704–1795)¹⁰⁹ assembled an impressive collection of copies from famous

¹⁰⁷ Geominy, W., 1989. *Das Akademische Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn unter der Direktion von Reinhard Kekulé*. Amsterdam: Verlag B. R. Grüner; Bauer, J.; Geominy, W., 2000. *Gips nicht mehr. Abgüsse als letzte Zeugen antiker Kunst*. Bonn, Koellen-Druck.

¹⁰⁸ Information about the Russian Academy of Fine Arts Museum via internet eng.nimrah.ru [accessed 18 October 2012].

¹⁰⁹ Betskoy had received good education abroad and became the major proponent of Empress Catherine II's (1729–1796) policies in educational sphere. The teaching approach based on physical punishment was criticised by Betskoy. In the 1760s, he along with Empress Catherine II created a closed system of schools for children from all social stratum, excluding serf peasants (Gorlova, Andersen 2009: 228).

carved gems which he bequeathed to the Academy in 1795.¹¹⁰ Betskoy was highly appreciative of the educational value of such a collection. He has said that the gem cabinet contains many benefits for the education of young people: it brings to mind the main features of mythology, they learn the names of great people, exemplary monarchs, proper citizens and artists of renown, who were friends, lawgivers and philanthropists, and they will also know the monuments erected to their glory. After finishing their studies at the academy, as young people travel and see the collections of original art in Europe, they will not be so greatly embarrassed and ashamed as Betskoy had been before acquiring this knowledge (Dmitrieva 2013: 81).

Another four Russian plaster cast collections have joined the organisation *International Association for the Conservation and the Promotion of Plaster Cast Collections*.¹¹¹ Compared with Germany, the figure is quite modest, but the significance of those collections is not less. In St. Petersburg the casts of sculptures and gems were also produced as we can find in the second part of the present thesis.

The Ashmolean Cast gallery, the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Oxford (founded in 1884, approx. 600 casts)

In Britain the collecting of casts began later than it did on the continent and its development followed somewhat different lines, in no small part due to the growing importance of the Country House during the years of the Grand Tour (Kurtz 2000: 132). The Ashmolean¹¹² collection of plaster casts is one of the oldest and best preserved in Britain. Its history begins almost two hundred years ago, when plaster casts of ancient Greek and Roman statues could be found in several parts of Oxford University. Although the oldest casts in the university date from the 1750s, until the early 1880s the number of plaster casts was small in Oxford.

In the late 19th century, the collection at Oxford was similar to those in many European academies of art. It began to be transformed in 1883 following the model of Sidney Colvin (1845–1927), the first director of the Fitzwilliam, which had been applied at Cambridge two years earlier. This man was responsible for adding to the number of casts with specially selected examples of Greek and Roman sculpture. In particular, he made sure to include some of the newest archaeological discoveries among the purchases. The plaster casts were part of a process through which new finds were disseminated.¹¹³ At

¹¹⁰ In 1923 Betskoy's dactyliothea with 2,110 items was transferred to the Department of Glyptics of the State Hermitage, and in 1929, after this department was closed, to the Department of Classical Antiquity. See for the formation of the collection of gem impressions in the State Hermitage Museum (Dmitrieva 2013: 77–85).

¹¹¹ <http://www.plastercastcollection.org> [accessed 18 February 2014].

¹¹² The Ashmolean Museum is the world's first university museum founded on the basis of curiosity collection that Elias Ashmole (1617–1692) gave Oxford University in 1677.

¹¹³ In 1879, art and archaeology had become part of the Classics degree at Cambridge University. <http://www.classics.cam.ac.uk> [accessed 18 February 2014].

Oxford an initiative developed to form a Cast Committee to raise funds and order casts from Greek originals. The casts were and still are important and used for teaching because they give an impression of the scale and three-dimensional qualities that no photograph can convey.

The greater part of nearly a thousand casts in Oxford today was acquired by the university during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first of twentieth (Kurtz 2000). The plaster cast collection is part of the Ashmolean museum, with which it shares a web-page.¹¹⁴ The Ashmolean cast collection is catalogued and systemised electronically on the University of Oxford web-site – Classical Art Research Centre and the Beazley Archive.¹¹⁵

In the *International Association for the Conservation and the Promotion of Plaster Cast Collections* we can find thirteen plaster collections from Great Britain: belonging to universities, art colleges and the previously private Sir John Soane's Museum.¹¹⁶ One of the leading museums for casts in England is the Cast Court of the Victoria and Albert Museum (founded in 1873), which unlike the university museums, also had an active reproduction department for selling copies (Gazi 1998: 87).

The plaster cast collection of the Department of Art History at the University of Helsinki (founded in 1873, 137 casts)

The cast collection at Helsinki University (founded 1828 after the perishing of the University of Turku in fire) is many years younger than the one in Tartu and the number of casts is significantly smaller (Klinge 1989). The first systematic efforts to acquire a sculpture collection for the university were undertaken by art historian and Romanist Professor Carl Gustaf Estlander (1834–1910) in 1869, when appropriate facilities had been designated in the Arpeanum building. The collection in Tartu and Helsinki were both guided by German collections, but it was not known whether Tartu and Helsinki had any contact with each other.

Professor Estlander felt that in order to understand art, aesthetics and history, personal contact had to be established with art from around the world. The collection was modelled after similar collections maintained by a number of European universities. The first purchases were made in France in 1871 with the assistance of Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), who was the teacher of the Art Room of the Department of Art History at the time (Heinämiies 2003: 125).

In 1873, a sculpture exhibition was opened in the recently completed Arpeanum building at the Imperial Alexander University, which housed laboratory and museum facilities. The public was treated to a presentation of the university's new collection of classical sculptures. The plaster collection was to consist of works deemed characteristic of classical sculpture. These were to include apt examples of classical art and copies of well-preserved sculptures. All trends, schools and masterpieces, reproductions of well-known monuments,

¹¹⁴ <http://www.ashmolean.org/departments/castgallery/about> [accessed 21 March 2013].

¹¹⁵ <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 28 January 2014].

¹¹⁶ <http://www.soane.org/> [accessed 18 February 2014].

divinities and prominent historical persons, and portraits of emperors and philosophers were to be included in the collection.

The first purchases were followed by a lull. The next acquisitions were not made until the late 1880s by the first Finnish Professor of art history Johan Jakob Tikkanen (1857–1930). The purchase of Renaissance plaster sculptures was based on trust in Professor Tikkanen's expertise. The objective was to obtain a representative and versatile collection that could be used in the instruction of art history. The collection now contains 75 copies of sculptures from the classical period, 52 copies from the Renaissance period, and three early Christian and two Asian copies.¹¹⁷

In addition to the collection's educational significance, it also had a certain status value. The acquisition of the sculpture collection was a concrete manifestation of the discipline of art history striving to achieve the same status in Finland that it had already asserted at universities in the other countries, especially in Germany (Heinämiö 2003: 125).

1.4.3 Cast collections in drawing academies

The first art academy dates back to the 16th century, founded by Cosimo I Medici (1519–1574) in Florence in 1563. In the Netherlands, drawing from plaster casts dates back to informal practices during the 16th century (Rheeden 2001: 215). Many new art academies were founded in the middle of the 17th century. In what follows we will look at the role of plaster casts in art academies because this is another important and practical output of casts.

The entity of art academies differs from other academies, although the purpose of all academies is educational. The fundamental difference between art academies and natural science academies or academies of history was their primary pedagogical purpose. The art academies were rather like training grounds for young artists. Their curricula were largely modelled on that of the Medici Academy in the 16th century. Students began their apprenticeship by copying simple prints, then progressed to drawing casts of ancient sculptures before they could move on to life drawing (Marvin 2008: 35).

As the collections of public and university museums were oriented towards the collecting of different kinds of casts (sculptures, reproductions of ancient coins, gems and silverware etc.), the collections at drawing academies were more oriented towards the education of artists and architects and included only casts of architectural elements (Connor 1989: 187).

The role of plaster casts in the education of artists has been viewed differently at different times. Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) stressed how essential it was in the 17th century for young art students to copy from casts

¹¹⁷ Pictorial index of the sculpture collection of the Department of Art History of the University of Helsinki <http://www.helsinki.fi/taidehistoria/tietoa/kokoelmat/Kipsit/Veistokuva/VeistoEn.htm> [accessed 24 April 2013].

taken from "all the most beautiful statues, bas-reliefs and busts of antiquity" before learning to draw from nature (Haskell, Penny 2006: 37). Francesca Valli, who has written about the history of the *Galleria delle Statue* of Brera Academy in Milan, founded in 1776 by the ruler Maria Theresa of Austria, claims that plaster casts were not meant to be substitutes for marble sculptures or common copies. It was as if they were meant to represent ancient statues perfectly – or their most perfect parts – as temporal and ideal examples (Valli 2012: 257).

In the German-speaking world, the Academy of Berlin was the oldest and for a long time the largest plaster cast collection. The Academy of Berlin acquired a collection of plaster casts made after ancient sculptures that served the studies of artists at the academy from the late 17th century under Frederick I, subsequently the king of Prussia (Schreier 2012: 19). In 1707, Düsseldorf's Electoral Prince Johann Wilhelm started compiling a plaster cast collection, and in 1767, the *Antikensaal* was established at Mannheim Academy (Schreier 2010: 125).

In England, cast collecting was associated more strongly with training in art and design and with the education of public taste than it was with instruction in archaeology (Gazi 1998: 87). This tradition in art education was challenged in the 19th century by the practical demands of applied art: the aim of drawing plaster casts was no longer to "learn the human figure in aid of history painting", but to learn plaster fragments of ornamental sculpture and architecture as part of a practice that became part of the regular curriculum. Later, in the 1920s, the drawing of plaster casts rapidly decreased in importance (Rheeden 2001: 215).

In North American drawing academies, the usefulness of plaster casts was introduced in at the very beginning of the 19th century, when the New York Academy of Fine Arts (1802) and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia (1805) were opened, but already began to decline at the end of 19th century. By the end of the 19th century, the nude model was more or less taken for granted in art academies. Thomas Eakins, an assistant professor of painting and anatomy at Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, who disliked drawing from plaster casts had declared: "At best, they are only imitations, and an imitation of imitations cannot have so much life as an imitation of nature itself" (McNutt 1990: 165). However, for centuries European and American artists learned their trade by drawing and redrawing sculptures (Beard, Henderson 2001: 83). The casts were a very practical tool in this system.

1.4.4 Some aspects of the value of plaster cast collections today

The plaster cast collections in universities and art academies are in many cases hundred of years old. The modern museum tradition began in universities with the founding of the Ashmolean Museum in 1683 by Oxford University. This was the first public museum, which was created for educational reasons. Today, the collections of universities reflect their national identity as well as the whole

world. Therefore, the university museums have two main functions: to explore and develop academic collections and heritage and make them available as a basis of research, and to teach students, and popularize science and academic heritage through exhibitions, events and publications (Raisma 2012: 10–11).

If we talk about the plaster cast museums, the question arises of the value and importance of these copies of ancient sculptures. Archaeologist Christof Boehringer became the first full-time curator of the plaster cast collection at the Archaeology Institute of the University of Göttingen in 1967. He has explored the increasing importance of the plaster cast museums today and formulated the practical worth of casts and their aesthetic quality. He points out a number of reasons why it is important to preserve the collections of plaster casts with care:

- 1) When parts of a figure, such as head and body, are separated into different museums due to historical events, they can be united through casting.
- 2) Certainly the ancient figures were not white like plaster casts and originals in the museums. Only the casts give us the opportunity to experiment with colours to imagine the ancient sculptures as they were in their own time.¹¹⁸
- 3) Casts are indispensable for documenting losses and protecting endangered originals.
- 4) In temporary exhibitions it is reasonable to exhibit plaster casts because the original sculptures are irreplaceable and often comprised by transport.
- 5) Plaster is quite an inexpensive material, but quite unstable and breakable. On the other hand, a broken cast is quite easily replaced, when the mould is available (Boehringer 2001: 68–72).

The plaster cast collections have been long despised and the general awareness of casts fell during the first decades of the 20th century when they became the epitome of dusty academicism. The material of casts, the plaster, was named as dead and the casts itself were called even “white ghosts” (Długańczyk 2013: 28). Today, cast collections are being re-valued and the casts are not in competition with photos, because they add important aspects to the view (Geominy 2013: 132). In recent years history of collections is being studied and published eagerly, opportunities for the reception of ancient art are seen in cast collections and the casts are used for education in different ways (lectures, exhibitions).

I.5 Concluding remarks

As the previous analysis concludes, the reception of ancient art has been a complex process of casting and collecting (and imitating) original artwork since antiquity. Over time this multi-faceted process has changed only in principle depending on the function of the casting and collecting and what was preferred and what receded into the background.

¹¹⁸ For the theory and studies about colouring ancient sculptures see Brinkmann, V.; Wünsche, R., 2004. *Gods in Colour. Painted Sculpture of Classical Antiquity*. München: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek.

In Classical Antiquity, collecting and copying artworks was born out of fascination. In addition to collecting original art, casting was only a technical tool used to get exact marble and bronze copies of valuable sculptures. The reproduction of the art object at that time became a precondition for modern casting and collecting of ancient art. Thanks to the preserved ancient sculptures we can produce and use plaster cast collections for aesthetic enjoyment and pedagogical purposes in academies and universities.

Interest in material remains from antiquity never faded during the Middle Ages, but there was no need for or interest in plaster cast collections. Only original ancient objects were collected and sometimes even recycled. Ancient buildings were incorporated into churches, residential or defensive complexes, while inscriptions, sculptures and fragments were used as booty, and jewels and coins were fashioned into decorative items and cult objects. We can say that an attitude even emerged that prevented the wider reception of ancient art.

During the Renaissance and Early Modern times ancient sculptures, coins and gems were collected eagerly by wealthy people and the demand for statuary was insatiable. Cardinals and noble families filled the gardens and courts of their palaces with original artefacts for representative reasons and casts of ancient portraits even occasionally appeared in the 'art cabinets' of scholars or high-ranking personages. But casts bore the stigma of being inferior surrogates: those who could not afford a bronze or marble sculpture, therefore had recourse to cheaper reproductions.

At the beginning of the Age of Enlightenment collecting of ancient heritage into private collections intensified and the most significant innovation in 18th century Europe was the gradual opening of royal and princely galleries to the public. During the 18th and 19th centuries new trends in casting and collecting ancient art emerged against the background of the idea of the "ideal" museum. Therefore, the demand and a favourable opportunity for opening museums of plaster casts emerged.

In order to satisfy the needs of the many collections in the 19th century, the casting from ancient sculptures, gems and coins became a large-scale industry. Casts were also made available to universities and they could found their own collections for use in the study process.

The mass manufacture of casts guaranteed the dissemination of ancient art from the centres of the ancient world to the periphery – to Northern and Eastern Europe, Russia and the USA. Casting was more highly appreciated than ever before. Collecting and casting became more tightly connected: collecting casts was more appreciated and collecting original artworks as well as plaster casts was subordinated to pedagogical and aesthetic functions.

PART II. Collecting and exhibiting casts in the University of Tartu Art Museum 1803–1918

2.1 Main developments of interaction with the antiquities in Estonia before the Enlightenment: visual and literary evidence

There is no evidence that any collecting of original ancient art (coins, gems, sculptures, vases etc.) occurred in Estonia (in the European Christian cultural space from the 13th century) before the Enlightenment.¹¹⁹ Similarly, nothing is known about casting and the collecting of casts. Until the 18th century, attitudes towards the antiquities were at a more exploratory stage: the theoretical knowledge of the antiquities was obtained from books, by studying abroad at universities or by artists and from the experiences and thrills collected travelling around Europe. The new knowledge found an output in the creative reception (visual arts and literary activity) of ancient mythology, literature and history.¹²⁰

The reception of antiquity arose in connection with the development of urban culture in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times, primarily in the larger cities (Tallinn, Tartu, Narva). Interest in antiquities arose because of the awareness and competence of the citizens had increased. The understanding of art was affected mainly by experience and education acquired from books and travelling. Today more attention has been paid to the investigation of the developments of art that took place in Tallinn.¹²¹ So, some exemplary features from Tallinn can be treated here to show how elements of antiquity spread.

Using ancient history for didactic purposes already began in the Late Middle Ages in the interiors of homes and public buildings in Tallinn. One of the earliest examples is from 1435: the legend of Aristotle and Phyllis was depicted on the bench of the Tallinn town council.¹²² The wooden relief that depicts the

¹¹⁹For the life of art in Estonia see Keevallik 1993, Loodus *et al.* 2002, Maiste 2007.

¹²⁰ The data from the 14th century are mainly based on the cultural study of Tallinn (Reval). There are no public buildings (except churches) from the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age preserved in Tartu (Dorpat) because of the great fire in 1775. In Narva three public buildings are mentioned in the Middle Ages (the town hall, weighing house and guildhall), but there is no information about their elements of antiquity (Kodres, Russow 2005: 91–92).

¹²¹ About the architecture, furnishing and decorating of dwellings in Tallinn in the Early Modern Times see in Kodres, K., 2014. *Esitledes iseend. Tallinlane ja tema eramu varausajal*. Tallinn: TLÜ Kirjastus. (Acta Universitatis Tallinnensis).

¹²² Such images are exciting sources for the reception of antiquity today. Descriptions and references on the images and figures inspired from antiquity in the city of Tallinn can be seen in Kodres 2014. The great philosopher Aristotle did allegorical service in this story as an example of the dangers of lust, particularly lust in old age. The pupil of Aristotle, Alexander the Great, fell in love with beautiful Phyllis. Aristotle endeavoured repeatedly to convince his pupil to resist the demands of passion. But one morning Aristotle himself saw Phyllis and immediately fell in love. He declared his passion to Phyllis and Phyllis told him

legend of Virgil (a representation of Virgil in a basket motif) on the bench of the church of the Holy Ghost in Tallinn is from 1530 or later (Sakk 2014: 72).

In the Early Modern Times, motifs of ancient origin were not frequent, especially in light of the current data available. Initially, items from antiquity penetrated interiors in the form of individual architectural elements, decor and pictorial motifs. Later we can speak about rooms that were designed using iconography based on antiquity. Rare representations of antique motifs may not reflect the former reality (Kodres 2014: 214).

During the first centuries of the Early Modern era, “Vitruvianism” spread to Estonia. According to *De Architectura libri decem*, a publication by Roman architect Vitruvius (born c. 70–80, died after 115), dwellings were dealt with in third place after the temple and public buildings. In addition, the architectural appearance of dwellings had to be appropriate for the social status of its owner. These new ideas came to Estonia via peripatetic guild masters, with illustrated treatises and “books of pillars” and architectural pattern books (Kodres 2005: 100). During the 16th century different of books of art and architecture were acquired by local people. Inventories confirm the presence of theoretical architecture and art books in private libraries in 17th century Tallinn including inter alia the works of Plinius and Vitruvius.¹²³ In general, however, the citizens of Tallinn had few art books, although this situation improved in the 18th century¹²⁴ (Kangropool, Kodres 2005: 40–41).

Not many buildings have survived from the pre-Enlightenment where we can see elements of ancient times. However, there were some ancient architectural features and details in dwellings from the Early Modern period. The system of orders in architecture recommended in Italian treatises also started to be followed in Northern Europe in the 16th century. This followed a hierarchy whereby the Corinthian order and the composite order were appropriate in sacral buildings and the Doric or Ionic orders were suitable in public buildings (Kodres, Ehasalu 2005: 70). At the end of the 16th century, such columns of windows in the *all’antica* style started to be made and used in dwellings in Tallinn (Kodres 2005: 141). These orders were still used a century

that he could only prove his love by putting on a saddle and bridle, and allowing her to ride on his back. Alexander saw his teacher humiliated (Brumble 1998: 38).

¹²³ Beside the churches, the libraries existed much earlier. For example, the foundation of the Oleviste church library in Tallinn was established in 1552 and the books for Niguliste church are mentioned in 1466. In the library of Oleviste some editions of ancient authors were also represented such as Publius Ovidius Naso *Metamorphoses. Ouidii quindecim Metamorphoseos libri diligentius recogniti cum familiaribus com[m]entariis nec no[n] textus difficilis in explanatione familiari interpretatio[n]e de nouo insertis*, per Iohannem deuer dellay, Venundatur Lugdunii [Lyon]: a Stephano Gueynard, impressus per . . . Johannes de Vingle, 1506 and Marcus Tullius Cicero *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolae familiares. Pauli Manutii annotationes breues in margine adscriptae*. Antverpiae: ex officina Christopherei Plantani, 1577 (Valk-Falk 2002: 74–86).

¹²⁴ See, for example, the analysis of the library belonging to Tallinn citizen Justus Johannes Riesenkampf (1690–1755) Tarvas 2011: 213–225. About the libraries in Tallinn and Pärnu in 18th century see Pullat 2009.

later – the building of the Town Hall pharmacy in Tallinn (first named in 1422)¹²⁵ was supplemented with window columns in the Ionic order in the 17th century (Kodres, Ehasalu 2005: 83).

The addition of ancient details to the medieval town hall buildings can be mentioned as the second trend in architecture, which in Northern Europe started in the second quarter of the 16th century. The Town Hall of Tallinn stayed in its original form (powerful arches and a tower) until the beginning of the Early Modern Times, but the building was regularly updated with new additions. The carved wooden frieze in the hall of the Town Hall is one of the most valuable works of art in Estonia from the 17th century. The frieze was carved by Elert Thiele from Copenhagen and Joachim Armbrust from Stockholm. The frieze depicts the four cardinal virtues from antiquity *Temperantia*, *Prudentia*, *Fortitudo* and *Justitia*, and the three theological virtues *Fides*, *Spes* and *Caritas*. On the wall opposite to the wooden relief are the figures of Muses – Polyhymnia, Calliope, Terpsichore, Urania, Erato, Clio, Euterpe, Thaleia and Melpomene.¹²⁶ The fact that the city council of Tallinn chose the virtues and the Muses of the arts and sciences on the frieze was quite usual in the 17th century.¹²⁷

In the middle of the 17th century, a new town hall was built for Narva. This included a hall in the lower court, where the signs of the zodiac were painted on the ceiling with the sky as a background. The twelve signs of the zodiac, sun, moon and other planets originated from the plan of the 2nd century astrologer Antiochos of Athens, and became popular during the Renaissance (Kodres, Ehasalu 2005: 95).

In the 17th and 18th centuries, paintings of ancient and Christian topics were ordered for the public rooms of dwellings (Kodres, Russow 2005: 152–161). The construction of Kadriorg Palace (*Catherinenthal*), a Baroque palace for Catherine I (1684–1727) of Russia, was commenced in 1718. The painting of the ceiling in the main hall of the palace was finished in 1746. This painting represents the well-known story of the goddess Artemis and the Hunter Actaeon

¹²⁵ In this house was established the most considerable private collection in Estonia, collection of pharmacist Johann VIII Burchard (1776–1838). There were side by side local antiquities, ethnographic materials, items from Greece and Rome and nature items. Today, his collection builds the oldest part of the collection of Estonian History Museum (Peets 2002: 61–70).

¹²⁶ See more about the cult of Muses in the Reformation era in Ludwig, W., 2001. *Musenkult und Gottesdienst – Evangelischer Humanismus der Reformationzeit*. In: Ludwig, W., ed. *Die Muses im Reformationszeitalter*. Leipzig, 9–50 (Schriften der Stiftung Luthergedenkstätten in Sachsen-Anhalt, 1) or the Estonian translation Ludwig, W., 2013. *Muusade kultus – reformatsioonijastu evangeelne humanism*. In: Kaju, K., comp. *Kroonikast kantaadini. Muusade kunstid kesk- ja varauusaegsel Eesti- ja Liivimaal*. Tartu: Eesti Ajaloarhiiv, 93–136. (Acta et Commentationes Archivi Historici Estoniae 20 (27)).

¹²⁷ Greek muses were the daughters of the god Zeus and the Titan Mnemosyne. The Muses symbolized the innovative view of the world in the Renaissance, which had the components knowledge, creativity and inspiration (Kodres, Ehasalu 2005a: 70–79).

from Ovid's (43 BC – 17 AD) narrative poem *Metamorphoses*.¹²⁸ The painting here symbolized the victory of Peter the Great (1672–1725) over Charles XII (1682–1712) in the Great Northern War. An engraving on the same topic made after a painting by Rembrandt was used as the model for this ceiling painting (Kuuskemaa 2005: 273).

Motifs of antiquity are also represented in the applied arts. For example, the master of Narva (1664–1697), Ludolf Zander, made the silver goblet, which has a strain in the form of a Roman soldier with shield (Mänd 2002: 88). Such a strain-figure, Roman soldier, was also used by other masters such as Johann Heinrich Ruhe, the master of Tallinn (1742–1755) (Mänd 2002: 92). But the strain could also be shaped as a woman – goddess Artemis or Flora (Mänd 2002: 160).

As a new development in addition to the creative reception of antiquity, collecting artistic objects as well as other kinds of objects also began in Estonia, influenced by the revival of ancient traditions, humanist ideas and the spread of the human centred worldview, which loosened the link between art and religion. The European tradition of collecting art began already in the 14th century. The first systematic art collections north of the Alps only emerged in the 16th century. During the 17th century the number of private collections grew rapidly. In particular, the private collections of the bourgeoisie grew based on examples from the nobility and princely art collections. The tradition of collecting art reached peripheral regions like Estonia after some delay. During the 17th century, interest in private collecting in Tallinn increased. The dwellings of citizens now contained paintings, engravings, maps, commemorative medals and statuettes, as can be seen from the property lists. There were, however, not any outstanding private art collections in Tallinn during the Swedish period (Ehasalu 2007: 211–213). During the 17th and 18th centuries, objects for curiosity cabinets were also collected: coins, wax figures, wooden carvings and some exotic items. Therefore, all kinds of interesting objects from history, nature and art were collected in Estonia (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 26). It is possible that those collections included random material from the antiquities. However, it is important to underline that there were no ancient manuscripts or copies of them in the early collections in Estonia.¹²⁹

In the 17th century, the Swedish government of Estonia and Livonia raised the level of education regarding the antiquities. The University of Tartu, *Academia Gustaviana*, was opened in 1632, and a professorship of history and antiquities was established for the first time in the Baltic region in the faculty of

¹²⁸ Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.165–205.

¹²⁹ Situating in the periphery of written culture means that flourishing in the centre reaches the farthest outposts only considerably later and to a lesser degree or in many occasions never at all. Probably some Virgil, Terence, Cato, and some others were known in Estonian schools in the Middle Ages as in the rest of the Europe, and more educated ones may have been acquainted with further authors but the actual direct evidence is still extremely scarce (Kolk 2002: 94–95).

philosophy.¹³⁰ Friedrich Menius (1593/1594–1659) was the first professor of history and antiquities (Hiio, Piirimäe 2007: 58–61). Menius lived the life of an itinerant academic adventurer that led him all over the Baltic Sea region. His professorship did not result in the collecting of antiquities in the material sense, but only in his literary creations (Donecker 2011: 31–59).

We may even speak about Menius as a literary antiquary, but at least once his antiquarianism found a visual output, when he used very rare and learned motifs in his books, where the images of the antique emerged visually. The period of humanist printer's marks was already over in Europe, but he created a new humanist printer's mark in Tartu for himself and the first printer for *Academia Gustaviana*, Jakob Becker, and this was used from 1632 to 1635. This reflects the reception of very seldom and fragmentary known topics from ancient mythology and literature as well as of high humanist appreciation of book culture.¹³¹ The printer's mark depicts a cave, symbolizing the book, peeking Mercury, recognizable by the winged hat and staff and the smith Vulcanus with his apron and tongs as the participants in book production. The concept behind the picture – *antrum Mercurii* – is explicable with the motto *Difficile, at possibile penetrandum*, which is a loan from a collection of proverbs, *Adagiorum Sylloge, juxta locos etiam disposita* by Gilbert Cousin (Viiding 2014). After Menius' shameful flight from Tartu in 1636, the printer's mark was forgotten and the professorship was unfilled.¹³² Only in 1643, was the new professor, Andreas Sandhagen, found, now renamed the professor of history and politics without antiquities.¹³³

During regional late-humanism¹³⁴ in the 17th century, the reception of antiquity left intense traces in literature rather than in art: the following example of European humanism in local Latin poetry appears in the fascination with

¹³⁰ The faculty of philosophy largely emphasised the teaching of classical languages. Skills in latin were required for admission to university because the teaching was in Latin. In addition Old Greek was taught. The teaching of ancient languages was at a high level in Tartu (Hiio, Piirimäe 2007: 58; Päll 2010).

¹³¹ Plautus *Aulularia* 359; *Vespa Iudicium coci et pistoris iudice Vulcano* (Buecheler, Riese, eds. *Anthologia Latina*, 199). The last text was first time edited only 1590 in Paris by Petrus Pithoeus.

¹³² Menius fled from Tartu to Saaremaa, which was under the rule of Denmark, when he was accused of bigamy (Tering 1994: 283; Hiio, Piirimäe 2007: 60).

¹³³ See more about the teaching of history in *Academia Gustaviana* Tänava, M., 1981. *Ajaloo õpetamisest ja uurimisest Academia Gustaviana's. Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*, 10, 15–25 (15–16); Laidla, J., 2010. *Methodology of History in Academia Gustaviana. Ajalooline Ajakiri* 3/4 (133/134), 347–366.

¹³⁴ Humanistic scholars and teachers saw education as a moral preparation. The most effective way to transform the human morals was considered to be reading canonical works, especially poetry, prose and history. Examples of morality in ancient literature were supposed to help them to find the way, and the knowledge of ancient rhetoric had to prepare the people for virtuous and wise communication. As elsewhere in Europe, Latin humanism was formed on the basis of ancient models the high culture in Estonia and Livonia. The system of values of the humanist culture spread later in national cultures and provided the basis for modern civil society and its culture (Viiding 2013: 159–206).

ancient mythology, which is more prevalent in the centres of education like Tallinn and Tartu, and less common in other locations.¹³⁵ Today, about 2,100 Latin occasional poems, that means 33,000 Latin verses, is known in Tartu solely from the period 1632–1656 (Viiding *et al.* 2007: 15). Ludolph Joachim Busse, a student of *Academia Gustaviana*, wrote in his propempticon in 1638: “Oo Tartu, the city dedicated to the Muses”.¹³⁶ A representative selection of occasional poetry written during the 17th century in Tartu has been published with commentaries. This clearly shows that a typical humanist selection of ancient authors as well as mythology was well known among educated people: the poetry by Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Pindar, Theokritos, the comedies of Plautus, the prose of Cicero, Seneca, Tacitus, Livy etc; Apollo and Muses, Helikon, Pindos, Heracles and so on (Viiding *et al.* 2007).

Apparently, the spread of motifs from ancient times in local literature was supported by the opening of the university, teaching classical languages and reading classical texts. The mass of written and printed material and sources preserved today could suggest that the knowledge of ancient art, mythology and history among the local people since the 1630s, due to the establishing of local printing offices, was more expressed in literary activities than in artistic creativity or collecting.

2.2 The Baltic Enlightenment

The Enlightenment is considered to be the most important spiritual movement in Europe after the Reformation. The classical definition of Enlightenment was presented by German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), who defined the Enlightenment as when a person exits his self-inflicted underage; that is, the development of the mental and social ownership of the person. The Enlightenment reached Estonia from protestant Germany through theological rationalism (Laur 2003: 238).

The Early Enlightenment in Estonia was connected to the Swedish University of Tartu/Pärnu, especially in the years 1690–1710. General thought had moved toward rationalism and critical thinking, represented here especially in the influences of René Descartes and Isaac Newton.¹³⁷ In education scientific

¹³⁵ About literary life in Tallinn see in Klöker, M., 2005. *Das literarische Leben in Reval in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (1600–1657)*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag; for the ancient mythology, history and literature as models pp. 524–536. (Frühe Neuzeit. Band 112). See in Estonian Klöker, M., 2014. *Tallinna kirjanduselu 17. sajandi esimesel poolel 1600–1657. Haridusinstituut ja juhuluuletamine*. Tallinn: Teaduste Akadeemia kirjastus (translated by K. Viiding).

¹³⁶ *O ergo Dorpat, Urbs addictissima Musis . . .* (Viiding, *et al.* 2007: 280–281).

¹³⁷ See more on the ideas of Newton and Descartes in Estonia Tering, A. (ed.), 1996. *Descartes ja tema ideede jõudmine Baltimaale 17. sajandil ja 18. sajandi algul: René Descartes'i 400. sünniaastapäevale pühendatud näitus Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogus, aprill–juuni 1996 = Descartes und der Eingang seiner Ideen in die Schwedischen Ostseeprovinzen Estland und Livland im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert: Ausstellung aus*

explanations were valued. Collections were supposed to support this line of thinking.¹³⁸ Yet the early Enlightenment spread here not independently, but in symbiosis with pietism. Religious piety was a temporary ally for the Early Enlightenment in the German cultural space (Jürjo 2011: 17). The early Enlightenment in the Baltic countries was cut short by the Great Northern War (1700–1721), which resulted with demographic catastrophe and economic misery. The university, which was the main institution bearing the ideas of the early Enlightenment in Estonia, was closed in 1710. We can only speak again about the Enlightenment in the Baltic countries from 1740, and even then without the university as it was only re-opened in Tartu in 1802.

In the second half of the 18th century, the Enlightenment changed to become the most important cultural, educational and scientific discourse in the Baltic countries. Baltic Enlightenment was absolutely different in the background of the rest of European Enlightenment. The Enlightenment of the elite and popular Enlightenment (*Volksaufklärung*) took place in the temporal phase shift in Europe, but in the Baltic countries both were held at the same time (1760–1830/40), and totally isolated from each other in ethnic, social and linguistic terms (Taterka 2014: 26–27). Introducing the theoretical base of the Enlightenment to the wide audience was modest in churches since it proved difficult. Enlightened clerics changed thoughts with foreign literary people and published writings for educated people (Võsa 2014: 114).

Although the Baltic provinces had belonged administratively and politically to Russia since 1721 (until 1918), the trends and lines of the German Enlightenment continued to spread. The Baltic Enlightenment arrived through the immigration of German intellectuals, especially pastors and home teachers, Baltic intellectuals who had studied in German universities as well as through

Anlass des 400. Jubiläums von René Descartes in der Universitätsbibliothek Tartu von April bis Juni 1996. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu; Lumiste, Ü., 1981. Sven Dimberg – Newtoni õpetuse varane propageerija Tartu Ülikoolis 1690. aastail. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi* XI. Tartu: Tartu Riiklik Ülikool, 26–53. Friedenthal, M., 2010. Senses and Perception in seventeenth-century *Academia Gustaviana* and *Gustavo-Carolina*. *Ajalooline Ajakiri* 3/4 (133/134), 323–346.

¹³⁸ As the Swedish King Gustav II Adolphus founded the University of Tartu in 1632 (*Academia Gustaviana* 1632–1656), there was not yet specialized departments. Study collections except the library are not known from that period. In 1690, the university was reopened as *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (1690–1710) – by that time empirical research made great strides in Sweden. In Tartu post-mortems were started (1699 moved university in Pärnu) and an observatory and botanical garden were planned, but the turbulent times thwarted these plans. At the end of the 17th century, Elias Brenner who worked in the Royal Library of Stockholm donated old coins and medals to the university, but the fate of the collection is unknown (Rauch 1945: 373–374). The university ended its activity in 1710 in Pärnu because of the capitulation of the city in front of the Russian troops, and the library and archive of university were evacuated to Sweden. Therefore, the research collections at Tartu from the Swedish time have not been preserved (Leppik, Mägi 2009: 811).

books and magazines.¹³⁹ The Enlightenment in Russia played a relatively minor role in the Germany-oriented Baltic Enlightenment movement because it was mainly the Baltic-Germans that were enthusiastic about the ideas of the Enlightenment and they had cultural contacts with Europe. They also became the enlighteners of the local people (Jürjo 2006). Influence of the Enlightenment increased interest in archeology and history, which led also to an upsurge of research of local history in the Baltic provinces (Kuldna 2002: 9).

As in Germany, where the Enlightenment was closely connected to the reading societies and Freemasonry – these spread among the same social class and often the same people attended these organisations; therefore, the Baltic Enlightenment is also closely linked to the history of the book and Freemasonry.¹⁴⁰ In the second half of the 18th century, many Masonic Lodges existed in the Baltic towns. In Prussia, Livonia and Courland the business of books seems to be closely associated with Freemasonry. For example, in Tallinn the Masonic Lodge was founded in 1773 and some years later, in 1779, a small library was established (Jürjo 2011: 176–177).

The best-known enlightened author and the one with the largest output was the pastor August Wilhelm Hupel (1737–1819).¹⁴¹ The mentality of the Enlightenment and favourable attitudes towards the peasants can be seen in the works of Hupel. Hupel valued literature, art and education. His writing reflects a shift in the perception of common aesthetics and the arts, which resulted in art being placed within the sphere of mental activity. Hupel refers to examples of good taste like new manors and parks, art collections and the artistic pursuits of the Baltic Germans¹⁴² (Keevallik, *et al.* 2000: 19–24; Loodus, *et al.* 2002: 29). However, he also considered art a manifestation of luxury, and argues that Greece owes all its famous works of art to the desire for luxury.¹⁴³ This is not a case of art writing; however, it is literature presenting the principles of the Enlightenment where the ideology of art has its own place.

The French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic wars, the rise of German classical philosophy, the emergence of romanticism and the beginning of a national movement are the political and cultural events in Western and Central Europe that mark out the end of the classical Enlightenment. Such a

¹³⁹ Many of the Baltic Germans studied at universities in Germany and brought back intellectual ambitions. Favoured were the universities of Jena and Halle, as well as the University of Königsberg (Jürjo 2011: 63).

¹⁴⁰ See more about the Freemasonry in Estonia in Tohvri, E., 2008. About the Expression of Masonic Ideas in the Estonian Architecture Scene in the late 18th century and early 19th Centuries. *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi*, 1–2 (17), 56–86.

¹⁴¹ A. W. Hupel was a German who arrived in Riga in 1757 and became a pastor in Põltsamaa parish in 1764. He was an active man, who had a favourable attitude towards the Latvian and Estonian peasants (Keevallik 1991: 26–27). In addition, he was a prolific writer. Read more about A. W. Hupel and his Enlightenment views in Jürjo 2006.

¹⁴² Hupel, A. W. 1787. Der in Lief- und Estland zunehmende gute Geschmack. *Nordische Miscellaneen*. 13–14. Stück. Riga, 489–502.

¹⁴³ Hupel, A. W., 1781. Der Luxus in unseren Nordländern. *Nordische Miscellaneen*. 3. Stück. Riga, 113–135.

sudden transition did not occur in the Baltic countries, but the Enlightenment had a longer-term impact in the provinces. In the first decades of the 19th century, we can still speak about the epoch of the late Enlightenment, with the re-opening of the University of Tartu in 1802 as the highlight of the whole period (Jürjo 2011: 23).

2.2.1 The impact of the Enlightenment on Estonian art life

In the first third of the 19th century under the influence of the Enlightenment, art life started to evolve in Estonia more rapidly. Artists got rid of the guilds and a number of new art institutions were established – art exhibitions, museums, art literature, non-guild art education (Keevallik, *et al.* 2002: 42). In the Early Enlightenment in the Baltic States (1680–1730) the Baroque style was typical,¹⁴⁴ with the emergence of the new style in the Enlightenment, Neoclassicism began in the Baltic States around 1780–1800, and remained prevalent until 1850. In the construction of manors, classicism started to be implemented in the early 19th century. Other types of art besides architecture had been quite marginal in Estonia in the 18th century.

The first art exhibition took place in Tallinn in 1788 (in Riga the first art exhibition was in 1820 and in Helsinki in 1845), where engravings were exhibited by Italian engraver Francesco Bartolozzi (1727–1815) after the paintings of Raphael, Titian, Guido Reni, Rubens, Anthony van Dyck, Rembrandt and the paintings of Flemish, Dutch and German masters. The beginning of art life in Tartu was more modest than in Tallinn, although even there artists and art merchants were active and art education was given. In Tartu the first exhibition of local artists took place in 1835 (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 15). By that time the Drawing School at the University of Tartu, which had started working 1803, had been in business more than thirty years.¹⁴⁵ Artist Karl August Senff (1770–1838) became the first teacher at the drawing school (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 15–16). The activity of art institutions could be one of the reasons why the people had greater interest in art and they learnt more about art.

The subject of this thesis, the art collection of the University of Tartu, was not the first and only collection in Estonia. In the second half of the 18th century, the ideas of the Enlightenment spread all over Estonia and this shifted the aesthetic and historical aspects to the forefront of collecting art (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 26). During the same period, the first art collections owned by wealthy landlords were also initiated.¹⁴⁶ The best known of them was the art

¹⁴⁴ The Baroque in architecture lasted even longer, to the end of the 18th century.

¹⁴⁵ See 2.3.1.3.2.

¹⁴⁶ Economic growth contributed to the founding of art collections at the end of the 18th century, and at the same time, increased the economic opportunities to buy art objects as well as to acquire an art education and information. Wealthy people travelled and visited large public art collections. The artefacts were mainly purchased from Germany, Italy and

collection owned by the Lipharts family at Raadi (*Ratshof*) manor near Tartu, the collection belonging to privy counselor Bluhm in Tallinn, the collection owned by von Stackelberg in Vääna (*Fähna, Faehna*) manor and the collections of Piira (*Piera*) and Muuga (*Münkenhof*) manors. The collections at Keila-Joa (*Schloss Fall*), Sangaste (*Sagnitz*) and the other manors¹⁴⁷ were less known (Kreem 2005: 33). The main difficulty in investigating art collections, including sculpture and plaster cast collections in 19th century manors is the lack of lists¹⁴⁸ (Kreem 2005: 34). Within the frames of this work, the art collections owned by Estonian landlord's of the 19th century cannot be seen in their entirety or in detail. Even if we were to deal with all the plaster casts collected for private collections, we do not have enough pages in this thesis. Therefore, to get an idea of the kinds of artworks that were obtained, a brief look at some exemplary collections that contain ancient art objects or plaster casts made after ancient sculptures is possible.

The beginning of collecting works of art means consciously monitoring and investigating the contemporary cultural legacy of past civilizations; in other words, ancient art became a hobby among the local landlords and intellectuals (Raisma 1999: 125). The art collection at Vääna manor was founded by the Dücker family in 1774 and continued through a marriage to the von Stackelberg family. Peter Friedrich von Dücker (1754–1774) is believed to be the founder of that art collection, so it was quite an early one in Estonia. He purchased most of his art objects from foreign trips. When he was very young he travelled in Italy and acquired 140 valuable paintings, engravings, gems, coins and other objects. The expansion of the art collection in Vääna was continued by O. M. von Stackelberg, who was interested in art, classical archaeology and who travelled in Germany, France, Italy, Greece, England and The Netherlands.¹⁴⁹ He acquired different art objects in his travels and planned to bring these to Vääna manor to awaken the artistic minds of his compatriots. Unfortunately, he died and his art collection stayed in Dresden. His friends organized the cataloguing of the collection: Theodor Panofka dealt with the vases, Jablonsky described the Egyptian antiquities, the academic councillor of the Dresden Art Academy, H.

France, but the art market in St. Petersburg was a considerable place for art purchases in the end of the 18th century (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 26).

¹⁴⁷ The collections of older art in the Estonian Art museum largely originated from the basis of the 19th century well-educated and culture-loving Baltic German collections (Kreem 2005: 33).

¹⁴⁸ However, there is the list for the art collections of Carl Timoleon von Neff (1804–1877), Baltic German artist and landlord of Piira and Muuga manor: *Katalog der Kunstgegenstände in Piira*. Reval, 1890; *Katalog der Kunstgegenstände in Münkenhof*. Reval, 1889.

¹⁴⁹ The desire for antiques and classics could be seen from some voluminous travelogues by Baltic Germans. About the travels to Italy of the German dramatist August von Kotzebue (1761–1819) see Keevallik, J., 1991. *Eesti kunstikontaktid läbi sajandite*. Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia, 26–27. Baltic German writer and poet Elisabeth von der Recke (1754–1833) wrote a travelogue typical of the era mentioned by Ekkehard Stärk in his article *Die Überwindung der Phlegräischen Felder*. In: Dihle, et al., eds. *Antike und Abendland*. Band 40. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994, 137–152.

Hase organised the coin collection, the antiquities and manuscripts were organized by E. Gerhard and paintings and drawings by G. F. Waagen. The art objects were put to auction, but the family managed to stop it and brought some objects such as engravings, paintings and some Egyptian antiquities to Vääna manor (Keevallik 1990: 155–157; Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 30–31).

Baltic German landlords loved to order busts of their family members for their art collection. Some wealthy landlords could afford to commission sculptures from Rome, and also from St. Petersburg. In addition to portraits of family members, there were also a few old original works and plaster casts made after original ancient sculptures in these private collections. The desire to have the works of famous masters in their home was characteristic of art collectors of the 19th century. They brought art masterpieces from the metropolises almost to the edge of the world (Kreem 2005: 39). In the Liphart collection were many plaster casts made after ancient sculptures. In the catalogue of their art collection there were such casts as the Head of a Horse, the Venus de Milo, Zeus of Otricoli, the Boy with a Thorn and Juno of Ludovis (Krüger 1889: 1). In addition, there were two antique torsos at Raadi manor¹⁵⁰ (Grass 1906: 76).

The artist and landlord Neff acquired the first plaster casts for Piira manor – Apollino, Amor Capitolinus, Faun, Eros and Psyche – in 1851. A little bit later new marble, bronze, terracotta and further plaster sculptures arrived in Piira. Neff brought a reduced copy of the sculpture of the Dying Gaul in greenish mineral serpentine from Rome in 1854. The same material was also used to make the group of Laocoon, probably purchased from St. Petersburg (Kreem 2004: 45). There were also two very famous sculptures made of zinc – Apollo of Belvedere and Artemis of Versailles, and from 1873 these were exhibited in front of the manor house (Hein 2004: 15–17). Apollo of Belvedere seems to be one of the most popular park sculptures in Estonian manors (Kreem 2004: 45).

The Neff sculpture collection contained more than seventy sculptures, but these were divided between two manors.¹⁵¹ There were ancient and modern sculptures at Piira as well as at Muuga manor. There were marble, bronze and plaster sculptures as well as originals and copies at both manors (Kreem 2004: 43–44).

Neff himself drafted the preliminary plans for the construction of Muuga manor. He consulted with his counterparts in the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts, with whom he shared common ideals of art and the desire for the Italian.

¹⁵⁰ The catalogue for the the art collection at Raadi manor is being prepared by Inge Kukk *et al.*

¹⁵¹ Neff's sculpture collection is described by his daughter Mary Grünewaldt, who published *Skizzen und Bilder aus dem Leben Carl Timoleons von Neff* in 1887 (translation into Estonian *Visandeid ja pilte Carl Timoleon von Neffi elust*. Tartu: Greif, 2007). The sculpture collections at Piira and Muuga were closely related. In 1928, ninety-one art works went to auction, including twenty three marble, bronze and plaster sculptures. After World War I eighteen sculptures which did not go to auction were given to the Estonian Art Museum (Kreem 2004: 44).

They saw a kind of a universal formula in the Antique and the Renaissance. It is possible to trace hints of the *Glyptothek* of München and *Neues Museum* in Berlin in the architecture of Muuga manor. This manor house was designed to be filled with art objects like a museum¹⁵² (Hein 2004: 19–24). The Muuga manor catalogue listed casts of the Discobolus of Myron and another athlete with a discus, probably cast in St. Petersburg (Katalog 1889: 5; Kreem 2004: 46). In addition, there were some marble copies made after ancient sculptures such as Zeus of Otricoli, the Crouching Aphrodite¹⁵³ and the Venus de Milo. The same statue was also in the Liphart family manor at Raadi, the Berg family manor at Sangaste, as was the Apollo Belvedere in the collections of the Neff, Liphart, Stackelberg, Nolcken (the castle of Alatskivi, *Schloss Allatzkiwwi*) and Wahl families (the manor of Pänurme, *Assik*) (Kreem 2005: 39).

The fascination with masterpieces can be seen in the creation of the sculpture collections because the same forms found their way into various collections. The lack of imagination on the part of the Estonian collectors, their impersonality and the scarcity of funds can be seen in the acquisition of such famous copies and casts, that did not enable participation in the international art market. However, such a collection of copies of famous sculptures is seen as tool for capital investment (Kreem 2005: 40).

In addition to the copies of the sculptures and plaster casts, the flavour of the antique is also reflected on the wall-paintings of the rooms of the manor houses. For example, the walls of the hall at Lohu (*Loal*) manor, belonging to Otto Wilhelm von Krusenstern (1740–1820), were covered with *grisaille*-painting¹⁵⁴ in 1791. The love story of Pyramus and Thisbe, borrowed from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,¹⁵⁵ was depicted on the slab of the wall (Maiste 2007: 392–394). In 1836, the lord at Suure-Kõpu (*Gross-Köppo*) manor¹⁵⁶, Alexander von Stryk, decided to build a new manor. The interior of the manor was decorated with Pompeian style murals – a copy was installed there of paintings found from the villa of Cicero. The paintings depict the story of a fight that took place between the Amazons and Centaurs known in Greek mythology (Maiste 2007: 486; Hiiop 2011/2012: 243–247).

In addition to the collecting of art and decorating houses, interest in art history also increased in the middle of the 18th century. The books of J. J. Winckelmann and other authors that popularized ancient art spread widely

¹⁵² Preserved items from the art collection at Muuga manor were given to the Estonian Art Museum between 1946–1948 (Abel 2004: 78).

¹⁵³ The Crouching Aphrodite was also represented in the von Stackelberg collection at Vääna manor (Kreem 2004: 46).

¹⁵⁴ *Grisaille* is a term describing a type of painting, entirely monochrome or near-monochrome, usually in shades of gray.

¹⁵⁵ Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.55–166.

¹⁵⁶ Hilikka Hiiop has treated the different wall-paintings in Estonian manor-houses in The footsteps of classical antiquity. Influences of the antique in Estonian manor murals. *Baltic Journal of Art History*. Autumn 2011, spring 2012, 225–252.

(Keevallik 1993: 15–16).¹⁵⁷ They involved the new observation of art objects. Written sources provide an important place for direct observation of artworks. Writing on art history was based on methodical and repetitive visual inspection. The results of the survey were fixed in written and visual form.

In the first third of the 19th century the first art scholar emerged in Estonia. Otto Magnus von Stackelberg (1787–1837) was a researcher of antiquities as well as an artist. He had a considerable role in the discovery, publishing and interpreting of ancient art. In 1810–1814, he attended a discovery trip to mainland Greece and Asia Minor as a draftsman with the Danes, Germans and English. In 1812, the Apollo temple in Bassae was found, and von Stackelberg attended the process of the excavations. Many years later, in 1826, he published the material, text and pictures he had collected and researched during and after the excavations.¹⁵⁸ In 1814, Morgenstern personally made the acquaintance of von Stackelberg in Tallinn and obtained from him some information about the works he held in Greece. He had a chance to see the drawings von Stackelberg had completed. Morgenstern also wrote an article¹⁵⁹ about von Stackelberg's trips and drawings, which was the initial introduction of von Stackelberg's activities in Estonia (Keevallik, *et al.* 2000: 72). In response to the book on von Stackelberg, some laudatory reviews were offered by his contemporaries: historian and archaeologist of Greek and Roman architecture Aloys Hirt (1759–1837), archaeologist and specialist in art mythology Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840) and the founder of the science of comparative mythology Georg Friedrich Creuzer (1771–1858) (Keevallik 2000: 81).

In 1837 von Stackelberg published another illustrated book about finds in the field of grave-buildings and the funeral cult in Ancient Greece.¹⁶⁰ Von Stackelberg was directly related to the investigation of new discoveries in ancient art. He systematized and interpreted the new materials in terms of art history (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 42–45; Keevallik 2007: 77–82). One hundred years after von Stackelberg's birth, the professor of classical philology and archaeology at the University of Tartu, Georg Loeschke (1852–1915) wrote about his drawings, which were studied throughout Europe to understand the wistful beauty of the Attic grave reliefs. Likewise, von Stackelberg created a

¹⁵⁷ The lists of book properties of Estonian literati and common people, edited in the last decade (Pullat 2009, Tarvas 2011, Kaju 2014 etc), confirm this widely. E.g. in Pärnu the merchant Diedrich Johann Burmester (1735–1791) had J. J. Winckelmann's book *Send-Schreiben von den Herculanischen Entdeckungen an den Reichs Grafen von Bruehl*. Dresden, 1762 in his loaning library (Kaju 2014: 446).

¹⁵⁸ Stackelberg, O. M. von, 1826. *Der Apollotempel zu Bassae in Arcadien und die daselbst ausgegrabenen Bildwerke*. Rom, [sine loco].

¹⁵⁹ Morgenstern K., 1815. Stackelberg's Reise durch Griechenland und einen Theil Kleinasiens. Zeichnungen desselben. Ein Gemäldegallerie zu Reval. *Dörptische Beyträge für Freunde der Philosophie, Litteratur und Kunst*. Jg. 1814 Zweyte Hälfte. Dorpat: K. Morgenstern, M. G. Grenzius; Leipzig: in Comm. bey P. G. Kummer, 454–458.

¹⁶⁰ Stackelberg, O. M. von, 1837. *Die Gräber der Hellen*. Berlin: G. Reimer.

yard stick to distinguish between imported Greek pottery found in among Italian vases.¹⁶¹

The establishment of Russian rule in Estonia and Livonia did not isolate the Baltics from the rest of Europe. The Baltics became cultural passage connecting St. Petersburg to Central Europe. The Baltic German culture went through a complex lifestyle change in the second half of the 18th century: new trends in intellectual life spread quickly from Germany to the Baltics. In the Baltic cultural space Riga was administrative centre. Tallinn had much more modest functions in Baltic cultural space because of its geographical position. However, Tallinn was at the forefront as the only major town where the citizenry and the town nobility had the necessary resources for cultural entertainment, such as theatre and music and for buying visual art objects in the area of Estonia (Laur 2014: 7–16; Heinmaa 2014: 193–222; Tarvas 2014: 331–323). With improvements in art education, opportunities to travel and the spread of books, ancient art typically became valued in line with the trends of the Enlightenment. Originals from antiquity, as well as copies and casts were obtained, appreciated and collected and exhibited in newly build Neoclassical town houses and manors, as is seen in the example of several manor houses (e.g. in Õisu (*Oiseküll*) near Viljandi (*Fellin*)).¹⁶²

2.2.2 Reopening the University of Tartu in the spirit of the Enlightenment

The re-opened University of Tartu (1802) during its first years of existence became the most important institution of the Late Enlightenment¹⁶³. The reopening of the University of Tartu after an almost 100-year interruption coincided with the relocation of the main research centres in the Europe. In the middle of the 17th century, the most intensive progress in science was in Italy, followed by England and France. During the first decades of the 19th century, the focus of scientific developments shifted to Germany. Teaching was no longer the only output of universities, they became leading scientific institutions. Furthermore, the German language became the international language of science and that resulted in German science being affiliated with higher education institutions across Europe and Russia. German universities produced more academic staff than could be locally employed. Many German

¹⁶¹ Loeschcke, G., 1889. Otto Magnus von Stackelberg, geb. 25. Juli 1787, gest. 27. März 1837. *Neue Dörptsche Zeitung*, 1887, 25. Juli.

¹⁶² For the history and architecture with the rich picture material of Õisu Manor see Hein 2013.

¹⁶³ For the characteristics of the epoch of the Late Enlightenment in the Baltic provinces see Jürjo 2011: 23. Before the re-establishment of the University of Tartu was not seen real Enlightenment trends in Tartu at all. Yet there was hidden intellectual life in Tartu as has written Bosse (2014: 157).

graduates found a teaching post and a challenge in the Baltic States and Russia in the second half of the 18th century (Siilivask 1982: 32–33).

Education and research in Germany had a particularly strong impact locally due to the Baltic geography, the ethnic composition of the intelligentsia and the historical development of the uniqueness of this region. In the 18th century, the philosophy of the Enlightenment spread in the Baltic States as well as in Russia, and this became the one of the key factors in educational and scientific progress (Siilivask 1982: 31). The issue of reopening the University of Tartu was raised with varying degrees of success throughout the 18th century, but the last push to re-open the university was given by Paul I (1754–1801) with the ordinance in 1798, which banned the subordinates of Russia to study in Western European universities. There was a fear that Republican ideas, which had become widespread after the French Revolution, could be transferred to Russia (Siilivask 1982: 33; Hiio, Piirimäe 2007: 109; Tohvri 2009: 80).

The representatives of the Baltic Enlightenment¹⁶⁴ found that education and science are suitable forces for organizing society (Jürjo 2011). One particularly enlightened individual was Georges-Frédéric (in German: Georg Friedrich) Parrot (1767–1852) (Siilivask 1982: 31). He had studied in Stuttgart and was appointed as the first secretary of science in the Livonian Public Welfare and Economic Society (*Livländische gemeinnützige und ökonomische Sozietät*) founded in 1796 in Riga, for the promotion of science and new ideas in management.¹⁶⁵ As Tartu University was re-founded by order of the enlightened Emperor Alexander I in 1802, as the only German-language and Lutheran university in the Russian Empire, Parrot was initially appointed to the Department of Pure and Applied Mathematics, but after defending his doctoral dissertation in 1802, he was appointed to the Department of Physics. Due to his extraordinary energy and versatility, he became the first rector of the Imperial University of Dorpat (the University of Tartu), and then an academic at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg in 1826.¹⁶⁶

As previously, under the name *Academia Gustaviana* (opened in 1632), the university was re-opened with four faculties: philosophy¹⁶⁷, medicine, law and

¹⁶⁴ The impact of Enlightenment in Baltic provinces extended to the second decade of the century (Tohvri 2014: 108).

¹⁶⁵ About the first statute of the Livonian Public Welfare and Economic Society, which was drafted by Parrot, its ideological sources and symbolism of the antiquity motifs, see Tohvri, E., 2013. Liivimaa Üldkasuliku ja Ökonoomilise Sotsieteedi esimene põhikiri ning selle ideelised allikad. In: Leppik, L., ed. *Teadusinnovatsiooni tee praktikasse*. Tartu Ülikooli ajaloomuuseum, 11–30. (Tartu Ülikooli Ajaloo küsimusi XLI).

¹⁶⁶ Czar Alexander I of Russia visited Tartu two times, in 1802 and 1804. In 1802, Parrot gave an enlightened speech in French in honour of the Czar's visit. The emperor enjoyed the speech so much that later Parrot had possibility to go directly to the emperor or the newly created Ministry of Public Education in St. Petersburg to discuss issues related to the University of Tartu. The wife of Alexander I, Empress Elizabeth Alexeievna visited Tartu in 1810 (Anders 2012: 22).

¹⁶⁷ In the faculty of philosophy was the professorship of the arts, aesthetics, Latin, and Greek languages and antiquities – one among thirteen professorships.

theology.¹⁶⁸ One of the primary tasks for the re-opened University of Tartu was to develop insignia for the institution. New universities had to be especially careful to choose symbols that create a strong and dignified self-image. It is likely that the example for developing the university's main seal was taken from the University of Göttingen, because a large portion of the members of the Board of Governors of the University of Tartu had acquired their education at the University of Göttingen. The Minerva motif, which is on the main seal of the University of Tartu is also on the statute (designed in 1802), the coat of arms and the seal of the University of Göttingen. Minerva is presented as the carrier of ancient culture, which leads to the tradition of continuity and ensures academic freedom. The motif of Minerva supported the union of sciences and freemasonry because there were many professors at the University of Göttingen. Likewise, several professors at the University of Tartu belonged to the freemasons (Bauermann 1987: 47; Tohvri 2009: 93 – 96).

University required the statute and the University Council formed a committee of professors to develop it: G. Fr. Parrot¹⁶⁹, the professor of classical philology, rhetoric, aesthetics, and the history of literature and art, **Johann Karl Simon Morgenstern** (1770–1852)¹⁷⁰, the professor of Russian philology, Grigori Glinka (1776–1818), the professor of law, Johann Ludwig Müthel (1764–1812), and the professor of theology, Hermann Leopold Böhlendorff (1773–1828). By April **1803**, the Statute of the University was ready and listed supplementary learning institutions as follows: the office of natural history, the office of physical instruments, the collection required for teaching engineering and military science, the observatory, the botanical gardens and **the art museum** (Hiio 2007: 152). The first director of the University of Tartu Art Museum was Morgenstern.¹⁷¹

The creation of the art museum was influenced by the large proportion of humanities (especially antiques) in the education system. The teaching needed exemplary materials and these could be provided by the museum funds. The museum had an important task in shaping the general education level of students (Siilivask 1982: 73). The entire campus was to be supported by the

¹⁶⁸See more about *Academia Gustaviana* in Hiio, T., Piirimäe, H. (eds.), 2007. *Universitas Tartuensis 1632–2007*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 15–105.

¹⁶⁹ In 1802, Parrot was elected Vice-Rector of the University and around him concentrated an enlightenment-minded group of professors in the group of "The Church of Ephesus": J. Ph. G. von Ewers, G. F. Poschmann, M. E. Styx, G. B. Jäsche, J. L. Müthel, D. G. Balk, G. A. Germann, J. K. S. Morgenstern, J. W. Krause, A. C. Gaspari (Hiio, Piirimäe 2007: 114).

¹⁷⁰ Morgenstern is considered to be another outstanding figure besides G. Fr. Parrot in the process of establishing Tartu university (Siilivask 1982: 55). Wilhelm Süß (1882–1969), professor of classical philology in the University of Tartu from 1923, has written in his monograph about Morgenstern as a multifaceted man – neo-humanist, enlightener, bibliophile, esthete, philanthropist, scholar, teacher, initiator and leader of different activities and socially active person (Süß 1928). See more about Morgenstern as teacher and scholar in Kaju 2003: 67–76.

¹⁷¹ The old name of the city of Tartu was Dorpat. Therefore, the museum was originally called *Museum der Kunst der Universität zu Dorpat*.

library, Manege, a dance hall and a bathing establishment (Siilivask 1982: 43–44).

The buildings from the university during the Swedish era had not been preserved and could not be used for the newly re-opened university. The development of the university as a new space in the city became a huge and important challenge as was the legal-institutional development of the re-opened university. A building committee was formed in 1803, which was managed by the Johann Wilhelm Krause (1757–1828), who had studied in the University of Leipzig 1778–1781, had served in the army and participated in the American Revolutionary War 1781–1783. In 1784, he came to Livonia and worked as a home teacher.¹⁷² In Livonia, the architect Krause introduced new ideas and options in architecture as something of a favour. His first steps in the field were made in manor house architecture at the end of the 18th century.¹⁷³ His work as an architect was preceded by lengthy experience as a draughtsman¹⁷⁴: his drawings include mythological plots and later architectural elements, ruins and buildings. His output – drawings and later architectural works – reflects the change in the reception of antiquity in the 18th century. Although generally it can be said that Krause moved along the main trends of the era, and he was fascinated more by Roman than Greek art, this was not absolute. Rather, he vacillated between the two models (Raisma 1999: 113–151).

¹⁷² J. W. Krause was home teacher also by the Count Ludwig August Mellin (1754–1835), a Baltic German politician and cartographer. In 1798, Mellin published the first professional atlas of Livonia (the area now divided between Estonia and Latvia), for which Krause made contribution and drew the vignettes for illustrating the edition: *Atlas von Lief- und Ehistland, oder von den beyden Gouvernemen-tern u. Herzogthümern Lief- und Ehistland, und der Provinz Oesel*. Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch.

¹⁷³ About the architecture of manors in Livland see Lancmanis, I., 2002. Gutsarchitectur in Livland. In: Maiste, J.; Polli, K.; Raisma, M., eds. *Johann Wilhelm Krause (1757–1828). Arhitektina Liivimaal. Kataloog 2*. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 137–235.

¹⁷⁴ His images had an important place in the local cultural sphere. He started drawing at the end of the 18th century (1785–1798) on immensely popular allegorical topics, where were joined the ideas of Rococo and Enlightenment. His pictures formed a part in the collecting, handling and investigation of the ancient and other distant cultures. His second largest interest was antiquity as expressed in his drawings. Antiquities, columns, capitals – these can be found in two-thirds of Krause's images depicting the distant countries. In his pictures, he wanders in Athens, Rome, Sicily, Italy and the Middle East. Directly "classical Greek" motifs are rarely found in his drawings. Instead of classical canons of beauty he has found more specific forms of the antiquities, which reflect the regional characteristics. In his case is particularly important the understanding of spirit of antiquity (Raisma 1999: 113–151). The most magnificent and most Roman spirited of the works were the artworks completed in 1808–1810, which are bound together in one portfolio *Krause, J. W. 15 Getuschte Handzeichnungen* and stored in the art collection of the University of Tartu Library (ÜR 8976–8990).



Illustration 1. The main building of the University of Tartu in 1860ies (ÜAMF 345:20).

In 1803, Krause was appointed professor of architecture, civil engineering and agriculture. He also became the architect of university buildings and head of the building process. The first buildings that were designed and built were the anatomical theatre, a library and the main building, in which rooms were given to the art museum on completion (Siilivask 1982: 49). (Illustration 1) When Krause arrived in the Baltic States, the pursuit of education, science, recreation and art became highly fashionable: the Baltic nobility was represented in German universities as well as Roman lounges. Thanks to Krause's experience, he was perceived as providing valuable links with Europe, and he was quickly accepted. The main building of the University of Tartu can be considered Krause's lifetime achievement and the complex of the buildings of the university is one of the pillars of Estonia's visual culture (Hiiop, Maiste, Raisma, Polli 1999: 11–18). He assembled all his experience and expertise collected over decades in the architecture of the university. His ideas achieved material form with the construction of the university's Main Buildings – in pure Doric style, he realized the ideals of the era (Maiste 1999: 153–181; Maiste 2007: 442–359).

Tartu became the birthplace of a new culture and philosophy. The idea to build a temple in the spirit of the Enlightenment was brought here by Parrot, Morgenstern and Krause. The University of Tartu became the embodiment of the spirit of aesthetic thought in the Baltic countries. Alongside the universities of Karlsruhe and Helsinki, the University of Tartu was one of the few universities in Europe, founded on the principles of classicism, which holds an important place in international art culture (Hiiop, Maiste, Raisma, Polli 1999: 11–12).

2.3 Karl Morgenstern and the idea of Universalmuseum ¹⁷⁵

The University of Tartu Art Museum was first mentioned on the 7th of April in 1803 in connection with assigning the initial capital of 8,000 rubles. The museum's actual birthday was held on the 2nd of September 1803, when the statute of the university appeared in print¹⁷⁶ (Siilivask 1982: 73). The museum was headed between 1803–1837 by Johann Karl Simon Morgenstern (1770–1852).¹⁷⁷ It was probably Morgenstern that prepared the section of the university statute relating to the museum (the museum did not have its own statute) and formulated a working programme for the museum for the first third of the century. Morgenstern defined the functions of the museum in the statutes as follows: *all artworks should be purchased, which are useful in the classroom, to collect everything that is useful for teaching, to gather everything, which is remarkable, beautiful, or in any way important and characteristic*. Therefore, the structure of the museum developed like an art museum collection (Siilivask 1982: 73).

In the programme of the museum and the practical activities of the developing the museum Morgenstern combined his knowledge as a classical philologist, the ideas of the Enlightenment¹⁷⁸ and those that spread via the Freemasons and acquaintanceships from the Masonic Lodges as well as his views on art and art collections, and his pedagogical vocation and experience obtained previously and in the time he worked for the art museum in Tartu.

¹⁷⁵ The concept of universality is embodied in the origin of public museum. They were formed from private, often noble, and even royal collections, and were often the result of partnership of benefactors and the state. Many of these collections were highly eclectic both in their subject and geographical origin, a tradition that can be traced back to the European Renaissance, but which took on new meaning as the spirit of the Enlightenment emerged. They were by then no longer collections of curiosities but well-ordered, classified, assemblages from many parts of the world (Lewis 2006: 379; Groys 2008: 23–42).

¹⁷⁶ *Statuten der kaiserlichen Universität zu Dorpat, Sept. 15.1803*. Dorpat: Gedruckt bey Michael Gerhard Grenzius, 1803.

¹⁷⁷ He was born in Magdeburg and educated in Germany, descended from a doctor's family that loved art. Morgenstern studied at the University of Halle 1788–1794, where he devoted his time to studying philosophy and philology. He habilitated there and was appointed professor extraordinarius in 1797 (Szemethy 2010: 406–407). His most significant work academically was published in Halle, the *Commentationes tres de Platonis republica* in 1794. Neschke-Hentschke, A., has written about Morgenstern's commentary in 1990. Carl Morgenstern. *De Platonis republica commentationes tres, Halae 1794: Der erste moderne Kommentar zu Platos „Staat“*. *Antike und Abendland: Beiträge zum Verständnis der Griechen und Römer und ihres Nachlebens*. Bd. XXXIV. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 152–162. The article is translated into Estonian in *Akadeemia* 1/1993, 107–124. After Morgenstern had proven himself as an academic teacher in Danzig for four years he was appointed professor of rhetorics, classical philology, aesthetics and the history of literature and art at the University of Tartu, which had been re-opened by Czar Alexander I in 1802. Officially, Morgenstern worked as professor 1802–1833, but *de facto* still gave lectures in 1836 (Tamm, Tankler 2004: 23–26).

¹⁷⁸ About Morgenstern and his Enlightenment ideas see Kudu 1970: 5–17.

Morgenstern was a well-educated man. He studied in the cathedral school of Magdeburg in 1780–1788, where he first became interested in Horace and Cicero. He had grown up in the spirit of the Late German Enlightenment and was strongly influenced by the early romanticists and the Weimar classics. In 1788–1794, he went to the University of Halle, where he studied **philosophy** under Johann August Eberhard (1739–1809), attended lectures on logic, metaphysics, physics, mathematics, general grammar, archaeology, English and enhanced his drawing skills, but above all he was a student of **classical philology** under Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) (Thraemer 1885: 231–233).

Wolf was a classical German scholar who helped to give birth to the modern specialized university, and is considered the founder of the scientific study of classical antiquity.¹⁷⁹ Wolf (professor in Halle 1783–1806) raised philology to an independent branch of research, and his intense lectures inspired a generation of students and played an important role in the formation of the views of Morgenstern. Wolf embodied the transition from the aesthetic estimation of antiquity (neo-Humanism) to historical science (Positivism). He was likewise a symbol of the transition from the men of universal minds (Winckelmann, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1720–1789), Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832)), to the pure philologists Philipp August Böckh (1785–1867), August Immanuel Bekker (1785–1871), Moritz Hermann Eduard Meier (1796–1855), Karl Ottfried Müller (1797–1840), Karl Lachmann (1793–1851)). Wolf himself embodies both; he expanded the frontiers of *Altertumswissenschaft* (Funke 1990: 523). Morgenstern rather stayed closer to the aesthetic estimation of antiquity in his teaching. Wolf often reminded Morgenstern that he should concentrate on great philology and be a significant philologist (Süss 1928: 257). Here we can see that Wolf was in some sense disappointed in Morgenstern.

Morgenstern was appointed an extraordinary professor of **philosophy** in Halle for 1797–1798. He was a young and promising scholar who had already published a series of papers, when he wrote his thought-out research plan (Plan zu künftigen Werken von mir – K. M) in 1797.¹⁸⁰ It is a remarkable fact that

¹⁷⁹ The birth of classical philology is celebrated as an independent science in 1787, when Wolf founded the seminar of philology in Halle, where the education and study of ancient languages achieved independence separating it from theology. Morgenstern studied along side Wolf and in fact was at the birth of classical philology. In Tartu Morgenstern tried to implement the knowledge and ideas he had acquired in Halle. In the teaching of classical languages and culture the University of Tartu was one of the first universities to use the term "classical philology" thanks to Morgenstern. He maintained contact with key universities in Germany, and so we can say that the beginning of classical philology at Tartu was internationally at a dignified level and was informed about the latest developments in the humanities in Europe (Lill 1996: 6–7, Lill 2003: 10). For K. Morgenstern's student time in Halle see Lill 1989, 113–118.

¹⁸⁰ However, the plan did not materialize fully, because he was invited to Tartu (1802), where his responsibilities differed significantly from those he had in the university of Halle

Morgenstern's research activities were oriented along the lines of culture and the Enlightenment already at this early age. As a 25-year-old scholar, Morgenstern planned to publish an elegant small-format book *Handbook for the development of young people's taste*. During his lifetime he turned to that idea again and again, but unfortunately it was never realized (Šahhovskaja 1996: 3–5). He was appointed professor of eloquence and poetry at the Athenaeum in Gdansk (Danzig) (1798–1802), but left this position out of frustration with the pedagogic routine that it thrust upon him. In 1802 Morgenstern reached Tartu and reinvented himself as a universal humanist in the 18th century mould, not only lecturing, but also founding the museum and library (Boes 2012: 2).

Freemasonry certainly played a role in Morgenstern's life, broadening his relationships and being helpful in obtaining artworks and books for the art museum and library of the university as well as for his own collections.¹⁸¹ Morgenstern has confessed that he belonged, as did Wolf, to the lodge of freemasonry *Zu der drei Degen* (founded in 1765 under the lodge of Berlin *Zu der drei Weltkugeln*), while he was studying at the University of Halle. There he obtained the second degree of freemasonry. Morgenstern had also been a guest and took part in the activity of the Berlin lodge *Royal York zur Freundschaft*.¹⁸² During his period at Tartu, he did not participate in the activity of any lodge (Süss 1928: 210). Likewise, most of his fellow book publishers belonged to the rows of freemasonry (Tohvri 2009: 97). Morgenstern apparently knew freemasons from other fields of activity and he met these again later in his life (e.g. art merchants and scholars). With careful observation, the symbols of Freemasonry – Square and Compasses – can be seen on the *Ex Libris* of Morgenstern. The need that accompanied him his entire life, to search for contacts and interact with famous personalities, probably originates from this time.

and Danzig. In Tartu he had to deal with many administrative tasks and the focus of research shifted.

¹⁸¹ Freemasonry can be considered a phenomenon of the 18th century – it was directly related to the Enlightenment and turned out to be an intellectually supranational cosmopolitan movement. During the early years of the Grand Lodge of England, James Anderson, a Presbyterian minister, was asked to write a history of Masonry and in doing so outline its rules and principles. The result was his *Book of Constitutions*, which was published in 1723 (Stavish 2007: 11). For history of freemasons and connections with ancient times see Anderson, J. A. M.; Franklin, B., 1934. *The Constitution of Free-Masons. Containing the History, Charges, Regulations, & c. of that most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity*. Philadelphia. Because many enlighteners belonged to the masonic lodges, without understanding the principles of this movement, the understanding of the Enlightenment concept is incomplete (Tohvri 2009: 39–40).

¹⁸² See more for different lodges of freemasonry Hyneman, L., 1860. *World's Masonic Register: containing the name, number, location, and time of meeting of every masonic lodge in the world, as far as known*. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Morgenstern's abundant correspondence shows his willingness to communicate and maintain relationships in Europe.¹⁸³ It was also a prerequisite for buying new art objects, as well as the purchase of books in general.¹⁸⁴ Therefore, by communicating with different people he received new information about scientific achievements and about the art and book market. Morgenstern had the most extensive correspondence with Germany. He exchanged very many letters with Karl August Böttiger (1760–1835), the classicist, archaeologist and director of Dresden antiquity museum¹⁸⁵ (Bernotas 1996: 15). He also had some correspondence with Russia, where he mainly had contacts in St. Petersburg. He also wrote to Italy and France, although these contacts were mostly related with his trip to Italy (1808–1810), when he also visited Switzerland and France¹⁸⁶ (Bernotas 1996: 17). In addition, we can find in his correspondence some letters from Poland, Austria, England and even from Finland and Sweden¹⁸⁷ (Bernotas 1996: 18).

Morgenstern based the practical organization of the museum on his views on art and his art collection.¹⁸⁸ His ideas about art and art history followed (Baltic) German cultural exemplars such as O. M. von Stackelberg.¹⁸⁹ As in Germany, Neoclassicism and Romanticism were intertwined; Morgenstern followed a preference of both in his art collecting principles. His collector's range extended from Greek and Roman coins to contemporary German painting. Morgenstern was even more interested in modern art. He was not only focused on the study of original artworks, but also turned his attention to the reproductive arts for critical observation. In his collecting activity for the museum, Morgenstern followed the same principle of comprehensiveness and universality. He collected all the art objects that could be useful in the study process, but also those that were outstanding or special in their categories.

Sometimes Morgenstern intervened in art discussions with his own articles.¹⁹⁰ His writings on the art of Western Europe were not in general illustrated with pictures, but he always referred to reproductive engravings. As an exception, visual material is published in one of Morgenstern's article, which

¹⁸³ In 1790–1851 Morgenstern had comprehensive correspondence with about 700 persons. 1802–1839, during his active period in Tartu about 3,000 private letters were addressed to him and he himself wrote about 2,000 letters. There are also letter drafts that have never been to the clean copy and were not sent. Only in the 1840s did Morgenstern create a system in his papers (Rand 2011: 71).

¹⁸⁴ Morgenstern had his own private library, of which the most valuable part is reviewed by Schmidt 1996: 13–14.

¹⁸⁵ Böttiger as Morgenstern was freemasons. He belonged in the lodge *Zum goldnen Apfel* in Dresden (Lenning 1822: 47).

¹⁸⁶ About the Morgenstern's trip to France has written summary Nurk 1996: 27–30.

¹⁸⁷ The correspondence of Morgenstern is preserved in University of Tartu Library in the department of manuscripts and rare books (F 3, Mrg, University of Tartu Library).

¹⁸⁸ His art collection is reviewed by Kukk 1996: 24–26.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. 2.2.1.

¹⁹⁰ Morgenstern, K., 1822. *Ueber Rafael Santio's Verklärung*. Dorpat, Leipzig: P. G. Kummer.

was written about the Abraxas gem.¹⁹¹ Friedrich Ludwig Maydell (1795–1846) made a wood engraving for the illustration of the article¹⁹² (Keevallik 2007: 82–84).

Morgenstern's universality was not only reflected in the establishment of the collections of the art museum, but the same aptitude is also seen in his philological activity.¹⁹³ In addition, his activity as director of the university library was also acclaimed as extensive, and the professors and students of the 19th century had access to high-level scientific literature.¹⁹⁴ When he laid the foundation for the museum collections in 1803, he had broadly educated people in mind, according to the ideal of the Age of Enlightenment. Broad collections had to offer an overview of the art of different nations from a wide temporal perspective to facilitate and fulfil the purpose of education – the teaching of classical philology and art history. He established the foundation for different collections: engravings, coins, including ancient coins, medals, random art objects, gems, sculptures and books, drawing and paintings (Siilivask 1982: 73; Kukk etc 2006: 9). Parallel to the collections mentioned here, Morgenstern started to establish the collection of casts of sculptures, gems and also casts of ancient coins. The collection of casts made after antique objects was established as with other collections in order to provide a visual resource for teaching art history.

In the field of reception studies, the term 'self-fashioning' is introduced to refer to those individuals who used the classics to project an image of themselves (Brockliss *et al.* 2012: 7–8). This tendency can also be seen in the activity of Morgenstern. The art museum very much became the face of Morgenstern – expressed his ideas, contacts and preferences. The museum at the beginning of the 19th century was comparable to an encyclopaedia: one of the goals of 'encyclopedic' museums was to create perfectly universal collections (Raisma 2012: 16). Undoubtedly, this idea provided the inspiration for the director of the university's art museum, who established in his way an encyclopaedic art museum or universal museum¹⁹⁵, with varied collections covering art, archaeology, numismatics and others.

¹⁹¹ Morgenstern, K., 1843. *Erklärungsversuch einer Abraxas-gemme*. Dorpat, Leipzig.

¹⁹² Cf. 3.1.1.

¹⁹³ During his period at Tartu the texts and authors he published and edited were comprehensive in temporal, geographical sense and palaeographical aspect. Morgenstern worked with Latin texts from the time of Cicero to the 18th century, his interest extended from Herculaneum and Pompei to the Early Modern Netherlands and he read papyrus as well as paper sources. Though Morgenstern published only excerpts from different authors, the fact remains that none of the later classical philologists of Tartu University edited such temporally and geographically large-scale material as he (Viiding 2003: 54).

¹⁹⁴ Characteristically, Morgenstern complained that he did not systematically acquire for the library the publications that reflected the activities of the University of Tartu, books and pamphlets published in Tartu and periodicals (Jaanson 1996: 10–12).

¹⁹⁵ For more on the universal museum see Paolucci, A., 2002. *Great Museum of Europe: the dream of the universal museum*. Milan: Skira.

2.3.1 General directions of collecting 1803–1837

Morgenstern started buying artefacts for the University of Tartu Art Museum in 1803, when a budget of as much as 1,300 rubles was allocated to some extent proceeding from the dimensions of the rooms: between 1803–1809 the museum was situated in Morgenstern's private apartment. The budget gave Morgenstern – even in comparison to other university collections – a good starting position for establishing the art collection. The largest of the budgets allocated to the collections of university was, for example, the library's budget (5,000 rubles), the second largest was the budget for the physics collection (1,500 rubles), and the third position was held by the art museum. All other collections received much less (Ewers 1827: xii).

The general trends for collecting at the University of Tartu Art Museum for 1803–1837 can be observed from different sources. One of the most important sources is the art museum's three-part accession book, of which the most important part is the third: *Verzeichniss des Museums der Kunst der Kaiserl. Universität zu Dorpat angefertigt von dessen ersten Sämmler und Director Karl Morgenstern. Dritter Band. Gemälde und Handzeichnungen, Daktyliothek; Arbeiten in Mosaik, Elfenbeine & in Marmor und Alabaster; Gypsabgüsse; Ägyptische, Griechische und andere Alterthümer von Metall, Stein, neuere Kunstarbeiten.*¹⁹⁶ The book was set up by Morgenstern in 1808 as dated on the title page¹⁹⁷ to register the objects acquired for the museum.¹⁹⁸ In addition, the yearbook, published in 1834, provides accurate information about the sizes and types of different collections in the museum.¹⁹⁹

In 1833, Morgenstern summarized the art museum collection on the basis of data from the previous year for that yearbook. We can see different collections there and data such as the number of items and the value of each collection. According to the figures, coins and coin casts, gem casts and prints were clearly the most popular collectibles. The present number of art books, paintings, drawings, sculpture casts, antiquities and ethnographic objects was significantly smaller. But talking about spending, it is clear that the largest sums were paid for coins and prints (see Table 1).

¹⁹⁶ The other two parts are *Verzeichniss des Museums der Kunst der Kaiserl. Universität zu Dorpat angefertigt von dessen erstem Sammler und Director dieser öffentlichen Anstalt, Karl Morgenstern.* Dorpat, 1808. (N 150, s. 13, University of Tartu Art Museum). *Verzeichniss des Museums der Kunst der Kaiserl. Universität zu Dorpat angefertigt von dessen erstem Sammler und Director Karl Morgenstern. Zweiter Band. Münzen.* Dorpat, im Jul. 1808 (N. 150, s. 14, University of Tartu Art Museum).

¹⁹⁷ Opening the accession-book was probably related to moving to the university's new main building in 1809. The collections needed systemizing before leaving Morgenstern's own apartment, where the collections were housed temporarily, because the university had no buildings at the beginning of its activity.

¹⁹⁸ Although there is written on the title page *Dorpat, im Julius 1808. Fortgesetzt bis in den Mai 1837* (until the retirement of Morgenstern) the entries and remarks are written also by the successors, the directors L. Preller, L. Mercklin, L. Schwabe and others.

¹⁹⁹ *Dorpater Jahrbücher für Litteratur, Statistik und Kunst* . . . Bd. 3, 1834, 71–76.

The largest collection was that of coins and medals with 5,198 items in 1832. Among those ancient Greek and Roman, Byzantine, oriental, medieval and modern coins were gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron and tin. There is also a set of Stieglitz sulphur casts of ancient Greek and Roman coins. By 1833, the coin collection increased significantly: six silver and platinum coins were purchased and 1,473 sulphur casts of Mionnet.²⁰⁰ There were 5,205 coins and medals in total, because the 1,818 casts purchased from Stieglitz and new casts from Mionnet were each considered as one.²⁰¹ In the Stieglitz Cabinet there were originally 516 coin casts and in the Mionnet 1,473 casts, as was stated above; therefore, the actual number of coins and coin casts would have to have been 7,193. That means 25,000 rubles was spent on all those coins and casts.

The collection of gems and gem casts was almost as plentiful as that of coins and coin casts. Acquiring gems was several times cheaper than buying coins and prints. The reason for this is that among the collections of coins there were undoubtedly more original items than in the collection of gems, which predominantly contained casts. The collection of plaster sculptures was really small compared with the other collections that contained casts. But proportionally these plaster casts were expensive because of their size, complex manufacture and difficulty in transporting them.²⁰²

The collections of drawings, paintings, antiquities and ethnographic objects were quite small in 1833. The collection of prints was more extensive and arranged according to the school of paintings and into major subject areas such as portraits, history and landscapes²⁰³ (Utter 1969: 3). But of course these collections did not include any casts, which are the focus of interest in this thesis.

The objects were acquired for the art museum mainly as purchases. Collections were also supplemented with gifts. For example, landlord Otto Magnus von Richter (1755–1826) donated Egyptian antiquities, admiral Adam Johann von Krusenstern (1770–1846) gave some ethnographic objects, and some plaster sculptures were acquired from landlord Reinhold Andreas von Stackelberg (1797–1869). Morgenstern communicated with art dealers, book-

²⁰⁰ The price of the Mionnet collection with the transport costs was 661 rubles and 40 copecks (*Dorpater Jahrbücher* 1834: 72).

²⁰¹ The casts of Stieglitz and Mionnet were packed in boxes in that way formed each one whole.

²⁰² The casts of sculptures were large and these could easily be broken in transport. Cf. 1.3.2.2.

²⁰³ As the University of Tartu was created in the spirit of the Enlightenment and to support, after all, studying in the university, the interest in the ancient times was self-evident as well as the collecting. Yet the museum purchased also the engravings that reflected the ancient themes to illustrate the study of classical philology and history of Greece and Rome. Today, the collection of engravings purchased by Morgenstern for the art museum is located in the University of Tartu Library. For more about the historical imagery in the academic art collection see Kreem, T.-M., 2012. Ajaloopildid akadeemilises kunstikogus 19. sajandi esimesel poolel. In: Leppik, L., (ed.) *Akadeemilise pärandi mõte*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo muuseum, 68–92. (Tartu Ülikooli Ajaloo küsimusi XXXX).

shops and specialists in Germany, St. Petersburg and other places, and this could be seen from his voluminous correspondence preserved in the University of Tartu Library.²⁰⁴ Some names appear repeatedly among the names of correspondents: German-Russian linguist and historian Friedrich von Adelung (1768–1843), who sold Morgenstern inter alia gem casts; art dealer Carl Christian Heinrich Rost from Leipzig intermediated all kinds of artefacts; Rudolf Weigel (1804–1867) was another art dealer from Leipzig; bookseller Paul Gotthelf Kummer (1750–1835) from Leipzig; he wrote on different themes to the Russian archaeologist and philologist Heinrich Karl Ernst von Köhler (1765–1838)²⁰⁵ and among other things he was involved in the procurement of gem casts; and artist Gilles-Antoine Demarteau (1750–1802) figures in connection with engravings. This is only a selection of the people with whom Morgenstern communicated. Gem cast collections as well as coin casts could be acquired directly from manufacturers or art dealers. The manufacturers and art dealers used advertisements in newspapers and journals to ensure the success of their business (Knüppel 2009: 43).

The development of the collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum was influenced by its peculiar position: on the one hand, it was a Russian Imperial University, on the other hand, German doctrines existed there and the professorship which was related to Western Europe. Therefore, we can see that objects were purchased and donated from both east and west. The same principle can be seen in the other collections of the University of Tartu.

²⁰⁴ *Belege und Notizen für das Museum der Kaiserl. Universität zu Dorpat vom ersten Anfang desselben im J. 1803 bis zum Jul. 180* (F 3, Mrg 522).

²⁰⁵ Heinrich Karl Ernst von Köhler (1765–1838) city councillor of St. Petersburg, member of the imperial academy of sciences for Greek and Roman literature and antiquities, director of the first section of the Hermitage as imperial librarian and first supervisor of the imperial gem cabinet and the imperial collection of coins and medals as Morgenstern has written, *Heinrich Karl Ernst von Köhler zur Erinnerung der Verewigten*, St. Petersburg 1839: Kaiserlichen Academie der Wissenschaft, S. 2. Morgenstern exchanged correspondence with Köhler on different themes, survived in the University of Tartu Library, F 3, Mrg CCCXLII, v 15, pp 2–17.

TABLE 1. The size and value of the collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum in 1833. On the basis of *Dorpater Jahrbücher* (1834).²⁰⁶

	Collection	Number of items in 1832	Number of items in 1833	Total price
1.	Collection of coins and coin casts <i>Münzsammlung</i>	5,198	7,193	25,000 rubles
2.	Collection of painting <i>Gemäldesammlung</i>	47	47	10,400 rubles
3.	Collection of drawings <i>Sammlung von Handzeichnungen</i>	92	94	4,700 rubles
4.	Collection of engravings and woodcut, lithographs ²⁰⁷ <i>Sammlung von Kupferstichen, Holzschnitten und Lithographien</i>	1,985 528	1,998 543	22,360 rubles
5.	Art books <i>Kupferwerke und artistische Bücher</i>	558	586	12,050 rubles
6.	Collection of gems and casts of glass, sulphur and plaster <i>Daktyliothek</i>	4,666	4,667	4,820 rubles
7.	Collection of plaster casts <i>Sammlung von Gipsabgüssen</i>	21	21	1,101 rubles
8.	Collection of Egyptian, Greek and other antiquities <i>Aegyptische, Griechische und andere Alterthümer von Metall und Stein, auch neuere Kunstarbeiten in Mosaik, Elfenbein, Marmor, Alabaster, Bronze</i>	95	95	3,060 rubles
9.	Ethnographical collection <i>Ethnographische Sammlung</i>	60	63	1,400 rubles
	Total	13,158	15,307	84,890

²⁰⁶ Compare with the first report (1844) of collections of the Museum of Estonian Literary Society: 1. Antiquities of homeland contained *inter alia* a piece of Egyptian papyrus and some unspecified plaster casts, casts of medals and collection of coins where were represented Russian copper coins as well as old Roman bronze coins; 2. Artworks of homeland; 3. Collection of natural history. The collection of antiquities of homeland (Kuldna 2002: 12).

²⁰⁷ The number of lithographs is shown separately.

2.3.1.1 Collecting gem casts

The University of Tartu Art Museum has an abundant collection of gem casts made after ancient as well as modern gems.²⁰⁸ There is also a very modest and random selection of original gems²⁰⁹ that was evacuated to Voronezh with other original objects in 1915. The main part of the gem and gem cast collection was acquired in the first decades of the art museum under the direction of Karl Morgenstern.²¹⁰ Travelling around Germany, Italy and France, Morgenstern could visit cabinets of coins, which hosted then and host even today in addition to the coins also medals and gems.²¹¹ Morgenstern was not interested in only original coins and gems, but also in casts.²¹² The favourable price of gem casts made it possible to acquire these for the art collection of Tartu University.

The heyday for producing and acquiring gem cast collections in Europe was the end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century²¹³ as can be seen in the catalogue of the Kockel-Graepler publication (2006: 152–202).

²⁰⁸ Today, there are many cast collections of gems in private hands and in universities and museums. The cast collections of gems are not only a remarkable phenomenon in the history of the reception of the antique, but also an important basis for education and research. In these collections are many casts whose originals are missing today. The cast in this case is the only testimony of the picture of the original gem (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 287).

²⁰⁹ Several engraved gems were donated by landlord O. M. von Richter. In the accession book of the museum is named a book-like box with the title *Gemmae*, which contained cameos with the head of Mercury in four-layer sardonyx, the head of a woman in agate, half-figure of Cleopatra in chalcedony, a nude figure with a bath-robe, a sitting figure of woman, a judgement of Salomon with six figures in onyx and a kneeling male figure in jaspis. In addition, Richter gave the museum 25 ancient Egyptian scarabs among the heritage of his son in 1819 (Hindikainen *et al.* 2006: 73–77). In 1820 he donated a chalcedony gem with Arabic inscription and three years later an Egyptian iron ring with a figure. In the accession book of the museum two pictures of busts on mussel shells are also named (Verzeichniss III, 103–105). In this accession book a special section was made for intaglios, which the museum acquired a few of. Even in those few cases the material is not named in every case. A cornelian item was purchased by Wilhelm von Blanckenhagen (1761–1840) from Rome in 1821, another was purchased by Dr. Pizatti in St. Petersburg in 1833. Twelve intaglios in a book-like box were donated in 1834 (Verzeichniss III, 107). The accession-book also lists some pastes: six glass pastes in different colours from the Tassie collection and two items more (Verzeichniss III, 111).

²¹⁰ Morgenstern's private art collection included a number of original modern gems (Catalogus 1868: 7).

²¹¹ See for example Maaskant-Kleibrink, M., 1978. Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet, The Hague: The Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Collections. Hague: Govt. Pub. Office.

²¹² See for travels of Morgenstern Kukk, I., 2007. Kunstireisid ja kogumine Karl Morgensterni ajal. *Tartu Ülikooli Ajaloo Küsimusi* XXXVI, 90–102.

²¹³ Until the late 18th century gems and cameos were among the most important media for the reception of antiquity. Gems were highly prized since antiquity, these are comparable to the best of the sculptures and more painstakingly detailed than vase painting or coinage. In the story of the survival of the arts of classical antiquity, gems take a special place since they are almost all complete and in exactly the condition in which they left the engraver's hands, something which is true for hardly any piece of classical sculpture (Wagner, Seidmann 2010: 451).

Morgenstern managed to establish a very interesting and considerable collection within the short period at the beginning of the 19th century. Only very few gem cast items (as well as coin casts) were acquired after Morgenstern's retirement. While the activity of Morgenstern was in accordance with the trends in Europe, the later acquisitions could be described as epigonic endeavour to fill the gaps.²¹⁴ As a result of efforts in the first half of the century, the Art Museum had the impressive number of about 17,000 gem casts in more than twenty very differently formed and acquired collections by the 1860s.

In general, the gem casts were admired because of their beautiful and detailed pictures, diverse circle of topics²¹⁵ and as a bonus the casts were usually packed in beautiful wooden commodes or cheaper and more available cardboard boxes. The gem casts themselves are usually made of white or coloured plaster, brownish-grey or red sulphur and colourful glass pastes. In the collection at Tartu we can see all types of gem cast collections represented: the gem casts here are mainly packed in wooden boxes as well as in cardboard boxes or combined cardboard and wood book-like boxes. The proportion of plaster casts were estimated to be slightly greater than the casts in grey red and sulphur in Tartu.

The gem cast collection at Tartu can be classified in two main directions – didactic collections and souvenir collections. The former are those collections purchased for the museum to illustrate lectures and develop artistic taste among the students, providing images of ancient rulers, history, mythology, as well as of everyday life. We can also distinguish the large encyclopaedic collections, in which a wide range of topics is represented and themes are arranged, for example, in different drawers, while moderate volumes that were more modestly packed were referred to as school publications.

Second, the souvenir collections include the artworks of modern artists that are reproduced as gems or gems cut by modern stone-cutters. This kind of gem cast collection provides the option of introducing art and the works of modern stone-cutters in a simple way: these are like little art-books one can bring as a souvenir; the collection can provide at the same time aesthetic enjoyment and art knowledge. The later named collections are mainly from Morgenstern's

²¹⁴ The following section examines the three units of those gem cast collections that were acquired after the retirement of Morgenstern but not belonging to his heritage to give the complete picture about the collection: a part of *Impronte Gemmarie* of Tommaso Cades (KMM GE 4), the collection of the Royal Museum of Berlin (KMM GE 18); Giovanni Liberotti *Impronte. Opere Scelte* (KMM GE 7). There are only very few later acquisitions and it is important to give the data of the complete picture about the collection here.

²¹⁵ Gem researchers appreciate casts as invaluable research tools: images can be studied more easily in a crisp cast than on the original stone, in particular where the original is very translucent or mottled. Impressions were made from a variety of materials: plaster, often mixed to a secret recipe by manufacturers specializing in gems, sulphurs in various colours, glass and even metal (Wagner, Seidmann 2010: 451).

private collection, and were only donated²¹⁶ to the art museum in 1852 because such collections fulfilled their purposes better under private ownership.²¹⁷ The souvenir collections sometimes performed a role in the interior decoration. The encyclopaedic collections could also be used for the same purpose because these are sometimes also visually very attractive. Therefore, the gem cast collections can simultaneously fulfil several different goals and objectives. Finally, we can say that even after the bequest of Morgenstern the character of the University of Tartu Art Museum gem cast collections was didactic. Even the souvenir gem cast collections can be applied to educational purposes when necessary.²¹⁸

2.3.1.1.1 Encyclopaedic and didactic gem cast collections

‘Encyclopaedism’ has been used by historians to denote a cluster of activities that includes a passion for the systematic classification of knowledge, large-scale collection projects in fields such as history, languages and natural history and comprehensive coverage of particular disciplines (Yeo 2004: 350).²¹⁹ Accordingly, encyclopaedism is applicable also in the systematization of gem casts. In this way, the casts are organized by epoch and themes, and the gem cast collections able to fulfil didactic roles. But the didactic editions of gem

²¹⁶ About the testament of Morgenstern see *Das Inland. Eine Wochenschrift für Liv-, Ehst- und Kurland Geschichte, Geographie, Statistik und Literatur. Ein und zwanzigster Jahrgang.* Dorpat: Druck von Heinrich Laakmann, 1856, 435.

²¹⁷ Gems were put to use in the service of the self-presentation of their owners. To be interested in classical antiquity testified to a gentlemanly education and intellectual interest; to be an art patron showed refined sensibilities, and only a nobleman’s income could support the collecting of gems or monumental sculptures (Wagner, Seidmann 2010: 451). The gem cast collections could be similarly used in the service of self-presentation.

²¹⁸ Helge C. Knüppel has made a division of the gem cast collections based on function, authors, concepts and objects: Encyclopedic collections (Philipp Daniel Lippert 1767, Francesco Maria Dolce 1772, James Tassie 1791); Mythological collections (Anton Ernst Klausung, Johann Ferdinand Roth, Wilhelm Albrecht Tiemann, Martin Krause); *Œuvre-Daktyliotheken* – gem casts with the works of one stone cutter (Giovanni Pichler, Nathaniel Marchant); Big collections (cf. collection of Tommaso Cades with 75 book-like boxes contain more than 8000 gem casts); Private collections – compilation and arrangement of the gem casts, and often the appearance of the whole collection is based on individual concept of the person; Collections as scientific publications in the form of archaeological research; collections as art volumes (2009: 61–166).

²¹⁹ The concept of ‘encyclopaedia’ was held a pre-modern one, dating back to Graeco-Roman culture. The word was owed to Quintilian, who in the 1st century AD wrote: *Nunc de ceteribus artibus quibus instituendos priusquam rhetoric tradantur pueros existimo strictim subiungam, ut efficiatur orbis ille doctrinae, quem Graeci encyclion pedian uocant.* (*Institutio Oratoria* 1.10.1). Actually the term ‘encyclopaedia’ first appears in the late 15th century, because of misreading the texts, where in fact the two-word Greek phrase *encyclios pedia* was used, meaning ‘general education’ (König, Woolf 2013: 1). The concept was extremely influential as an educational ideal in the ancient Western world, and came to inform the notion of the seven liberal arts, or the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, that passed into the medieval university curriculum. Encyclopaedic work reached a high point in the late Middle Ages (Yeo 2004: 350).

casts do not necessarily have to be large in size. At first we take a look at large and voluminous editions in the order they were obtained, and some small-scale and compact gem cast collections at the University of Tartu Art Museum during the period of Morgenstern, both applicable for the purpose of studying the ancient times.

One of the first or the very first gem cast collection at the University of Tartu Art Museum is a **collection made of red sulphur mass** (KMM GE 1)²²⁰ that contains about 3002 gem casts from Ph. D. Lippert's collection *Daktyliothek* and ancient and modern gem casts from the State Hermitage imperial collection in St. Petersburg (Illustration 2). The casts were formed under the control of the supervisor of the gem collection Heinrich Karl Ernst von Köhler (1765–1838).²²¹ The collection was purchased from city councillor Friedrich von Adelung in St. Petersburg at an unknown time, but since this is the first entry in the accession-book under the heading *Daktyliotheks*, it can be assumed that this was the first gem cast collection obtained for the University of Tartu Art Museum (Verz. III, 139).

The collection is preserved in thirty marbled cardboard boxes. The casts are glued on the greenish bottom of each box, which is bordered with golden-edged cardboard. In each box there are about one hundred casts, and a total of 3,002 items. Although the collection looks cheap and modest in appearance, in terms of content, it is rich and diverse and makes it possible to visualize topics related to antiquity.



Illustration 2. A box with red sulphur gem casts (KMM GE 1: 600-699).

²²⁰ About the formation of asset number see footnote 98.

²²¹ Köhler devoted most of his time to the study of ancient gems. His collected papers on archaeological topics were edited for the Academy of Sciences in six volumes by Ludolf Stephani in 1850–1853 (Sandys 1908: 390).

Despite the fact that the sulphur casts are in pretty good condition, the collection looks quite shabby. Cardboard boxes are not as stable as wooden boxes and they have not remained unchanged during two centuries.

One of the most outstanding encyclopaedic gem cast collections at the university art museum is the **gem cast collection of Baron Philipp von Stosch** (KMM GE 3) (Illustration 3). Von Stosch (1691–1757) became known as an art collector. Passion for collecting captivated him when he studied theology and archaeology at the University of Frankfurt. The activities of von Stosch in Rome and Florence²²² mark an important step towards a more academic approach to the study of gems. He accumulated the largest private collection of gems of his time. In 1724, he published his impressive *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*²²³ (P. & H. Zazoff 1983: 1–67). Von Stosch specialised as an intaglio collector. On his journey to England and France he established the foundation for a collection of gems. He completed the collection with casts everywhere he travelled (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 274). He visited Paris in 1713 and studied how to make glass paste in the *Laboratorium*²²⁴ of the Duke of Orléans. Hereupon he started to complete the gaps in his gem cast collection using glass paste²²⁵ (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 281).

Von Stosch possessed more than 3,400 intaglios as well as 28,000 gem casts when he died in 1757. By that time he had spent almost four decades in Rome and Florence as an agent of the Dutch and English crowns (Harloe 2013: 79). A part of the Stosch collection was purchased by Frederick II (1712–1786) in 1764. After World War II, the collection of gems previously owned by Stosch was relocated to the Royal Museum (*Königliches Museum*) in Berlin. The glass pastes were relocated to the History Museum in Moscow. A total of 28,000 gem impressions collected by von Stosch were acquired by James Tassie for making his own casts (Weber 1995: 27; Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 275; Graepler 2010: 437).

²²² Stosch was a founder of Masonic Lodge of Florence in 1733.

²²³ This work established Stosch as the greatest authority of his day on the subject of ancient gems, which were then being collected by many of his contemporaries. He not only worked on the identification of the gems, but he seems to have been the discoverer, as early as 1714, of the fact that carved gems were signed. He learned how to make impressions of gems and to recognize imitations and forgeries (MacKay Quynn 1941: 335–336).

²²⁴ Duke of Orléans Philippe II (1674–1723) established *Laboratorium* in Palays Royal where he followed up his knowledge as natural scientist (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 281).

²²⁵ Von Stosch was assisted by his servant Christian Dehn (1697–1770), who attended him also in Florence, but turned back to Rome in 1739 and opened his own trade with 2,500 gem casts (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 282).



Illustration 3. Mahogany boxes of Baron Philipp von Stosch gem cast collection (KMM GE 3).

The University of Tartu Art Museum obtained the von Stosch edition of Carl Gottlieb Reinhardt from 1826²²⁶ (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 284). Morgenstern purchased the collection with the printed catalogue by German numismatic Heinrich Eduard Bolzental (1796–1870) in 1827 for 217 thalers.²²⁷ This collection consists of five mahogany chest-like boxes with five drawers in each. The casts are made of white plaster and packed in cardboard with a golden edge. In Stosch's collection there are 3,467 gem casts glued to the bottom of drawers covered with blue paper.²²⁸ The themes of the gems are extremely varied: Greek and Roman mythology, religion and history, the Trojan war, tableware, symbols, animals, ships, etc. In Sixteen gems of unknown date

²²⁶ C. G. Reinhardt abandoned cast production because the days of the glory of gem casts were over and sold his “Pasten der Stoschischen Gemmensammlung” in 1837 to Gustav Eichler (1801–1877), the publisher in Berlin. Apparently Eichler also purchased the glass forms and in 1841 established his own “G. Eichler’s Kunstanstalt für plastische Arbeiten. Unter den Linden 27”. Eichler released also some smaller series of casts: modern portraits, reformers, royal Prussian houses, famous poets, natural scientists (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 285). Likewise he reproduced the casts from ancient sculptures. Some of the sculpture casts in the University of Tartu Art Museum were ordered from Eichler.

²²⁷ The Academic Art Museum in Bonn purchased the collection at 194 thalers (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 284).

²²⁸ This is not the only type of published Stosch collection. The National Coin collection in Munich and the Archaeological Institute of Göttingen have different editions: the first one has seven simple book-like boxes with the casts made of sulphur mass; the second has a box with gilded frame and covered with glass (Kockel, Graepler 2006: 174–177).

exploring the cult of the God of fertility Priapos have been removed from drawers (Kukk, *et al* 2006: 106–107). Because this collection was used in lectures, obscenities were apparently removed after the purchase – traces of glue can be seen in the drawers.²²⁹

The gem casts in the von Stosch collection are divided into classes according to J. J. Winckelmann's classification. Philipp von Stosch wanted his young compatriot Winckelmann to write the catalogue for his gems. The catalogue *Description des Pierres Gravées du feu Baron de Stosch dédiée a son Eminence Monseigneur le Cardinal Alexandre Albani par M. l'Abbé Winckelmann Bibliothecaire de son Eminence* was published 1760 in Florence. The catalogue originated from the handwritten catalogue by von Stosch and Winckelmann's system which made divisions in classes according to themes was applied (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 274).

The catalogue makes it easier to use the cast collection for scientific purposes and for study. The first class contains the Egyptian gems. The first section of this class consists of gems with hieroglyphs, the second class are gems with Isis and Osiris, the third section are gems with Harpocrates, the fourth section are gems with Anubis and Canopus. The second class contains gems with the subject of Greek, Etruscan and Roman mythology. The third class contains gems with historical mythology, such as the Trojan War. The fourth class is about ancient history. The fifth class contains games, feasts and vases. There are ships in the sixth class and animals in the seventh class. The eighth class contains gems with Abraxas and also modern gems. Almost all classes also have multiple subdivisions (cf Winckelmann 1760). This kind of systematizing shows the encyclopaedic character of the collection and with the catalogue it is easily used for didactic purposes.

The von Stosch collection in Tartu is in good condition: the commode-like mahogany boxes are in good condition and the gem casts are clear, white and intact. There are no traces that indicate excessive use.

An aspect of novelty in Tartu can be seen in the following collection, since the collection was based on scholarly co-operation. Making the gem cast collection ***Impronte Gemmarie of Tommaso Cades***²³⁰ (KMM GE 4) open to the public was initiated by organized scientific activity. In April 1829, a group of scholars founded the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (ICA) in order to research and make known monuments of ancient art, epigraphy and topography in Rome.

²²⁹ With the advent of Christianity in the late Roman Empire the expurgation of classical texts began to develop. The rise of secular education and bourgeoisie gentility in the post Renaissance period provides the further reason for the expurgation of classical texts: the major target was obscenity 'to protect' male youth in the case of school editions or in translations where a female readership was in prospect (Harrison, Stray 2012: 1–7). Read more about erotic themes in the gem cast collections in Kockel 2006: 14–149.

²³⁰ Tommaso Cades (1772 or 1775–about 1850) was born into the family of stone-carver Alessandro Cades (1734–1809) and made casts of coins, gold reliefs and wax portraits. He became famous primarily as a gem caster.

The society combined the three faces of contemporary archaeology: the aesthetics of Winckelmann, the new scholarly philology and the tradition of learned travellers and collectors (Dyson 2006: 32). Cades was the person who was entrusted to make the casts for the *ICA*.

In 1831, according to an order from the *ICA* and under their control, Cades started make the gem cast collection *Impronte Gemmarie dell'Istituto* publicly available for sale.²³¹ Two volumes were released in 1831, the third and fourth volume were released in 1834, and the fifth and sixth volume in 1839. With the editions of casts, catalogues with the data on the original gems, such as content description and the material, were also published. While there were many fakes among the original ancient gem-stones, each gem was controlled by specialists before publishing. In charge of authenticity were archaeologist Eduard Gerhard (1795–1867), art historian August Kestner (1777–1853) and Cades himself (Kockel, Graepler 2006: 177–178). Catalogue entries about each cast describes the image and states the material of the original gem (Cades 1829, 1835). After the death of Cades, the seventh volume of the casts was released by German classical archaeologist Wolfgang Helbig (1839–1915) and the gem-cutter M. Odelli in 1868 (H. & P. Zazoff 1983: 194–195). Each volume consists of one hundred casts, for this reason the volume is called a *centuria*. The editions by Cades were the last large collections of casts made in Europe (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 284–285).

Impronte of gemmarie at the University of Tartu Art Museum consists of six simple two-sided book-like marbled cardboard boxes. The gem casts, glued into the box covered with dark blue paper, are made of white plaster and bordered with gold-edged cardboard. Each box contains one hundred casts and are called *centuria* (Kukk *et al* 2006: 108–109). Morgenstern purchased 1837 volumes 1–4 of Cades *Impronete Gemmarie dell'Istituto* released by *Archäologischen Gesellschaft*²³² in Rome for the University of Tartu Art Museum through the intermediation of the art merchant Rudolf Weigel in Leipzig. The fifth and sixth volumes were brought by local landlord Karl Eduard von Liphart in 1857 from Rome (Verz. III, 144). At this time the director of the art Museum was Ludwig Mercklin (1851–1863), and he also systematically acquired plaster casts of ancient sculptures. The seventh volume of the collection is missing because it was only released ten years later, in 1868.²³³ These gem casts are reliable study material because their antiquity has been verified by a special institution – the

²³¹ Simultaneously, T. Cades released another extensive collection *Collezione Cades*, 1831–1868, which consists of 8,000 ancient and modern plaster gem casts packed in 78 boxes. The original gem-stones of these casts are in many European museums (Cades 1835: 1; H. & P. Zazoff 1983: 195). In addition to the complete edition, T. Cades also sold the selected collections and special editions under certain topics such as Etruscan scarabs, gems with the signature of the cameo cutter or portraits of famous individuals (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 285).

²³² The volumes of *Impronte Gemmarie* were the first major publication project of the newly established *Istituto de Corrispondenza Archeologica* (Graepler 2010: 442).

²³³ The archaeology institute of Göttingen has also acquired only the first six volumes of that collection (Kockel, Graepler 2006: 177–178).

Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica (ICA); therefore, the edition is classified as scientific²³⁴ (Knüppel 2009: 111–116). The covers of all six boxes of the edition in Tartu are a little bit threadbare as are the leathery corners of the covers. The gem casts, however, are preserved well: white, clean and unbroken.

The *Daktyliothek*²³⁵ of Philipp Daniel Lippert (1702–1785)²³⁶ is the most dignified in appearance and one of the largest in terms of content among the gem cast collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum (KMM GE 14) (Illustration 4). Lippert laid the foundation for the tradition and for the first time made available an organised and encyclopedic cast collection from original gems collected from many different cabinets all over Europe. Lippert never travelled abroad, but provided the gem casts after original gems from museums and private collections all over Europe (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 282). His collection is also observed as an attempt to produce a universal library of impressions taken from original gems in most European collections. Winckelmann was one of many European correspondents who helped Lippert by sending him casts of the finest gems encountered during their travels, and Lippert boasted that his dactyliothea contained representations that were more precise than any printed work (Harloe 2013: 79). Lippert's cast collection served scientific purposes (Andraschke, Ruisinger 2007: 230).

Lippert started publishing the gem casts in 1753 with about 1,000 casts under the Latin title *Gemmarum anaglyphicarum et diaglyphicarum ex praecipuis Europae Museis selectarum ectypa M(ilia)*.²³⁷ In 1767, he released the two-volume edition of *Dactyliotheck: Mythologisches Tausend, Historisches Tausend* (Kockel, Graepler 2006: 69–77). G. K. Nagler in his biographic lexicon has described Lippert's *Dactyliotheck* as a magazine full of ideas for artists and as the adornment of collections (1839a: 548–549). Lippert acquired his substantial knowledge about ancient authors and art works as an autodidact (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 283). In 1767, he published his own description of the

²³⁴ Since the original gems of these casts have passed scientific control by *ICA* and the ancient origin of those is confirmed, the collection has been taken as an example to investigate the motifs and themes of depicting the Greek hero Hercules in ancient times by Anu Allikas-Hallikas (Allikas-Hallikas 2001).

²³⁵ The spelling of the title is different in the case of different editions: after 1753 published *Dactyliothecae Universalis Chilias sive Scrinium Milliarium Primum/ Secundum/Tertium; Philipp Daniel Lippert. Dactyliotheck. Mythologisches und historisches Tausend; 1805 Lipperts Daktyliothek neu Herausgegeben von G. B. Rabenstein in Dresden. Mythologisches und historisches Tausend.*

²³⁶ Lippert worked in his youth at the Meißen porcelain factory and later as a supervisor of the antique collection at the art Academy of Dresden.

²³⁷ The next editions in the lifetime of Ph. D. Lippert are: *Dactyliotheck, das ist Sammlung geschnittener Steine der alten aus denen vornehmsten Museis in Europa zum Nutzen der Schönen Künste und Künstler in zwey tausend Abdrücken ediret von Phil. Dan. Lippert. Erstes Mythologisches Tausend. Zweytes Historisches Tausend*, (Leipzig, 1767); Ph. D. Lippert, *Supplement zu Philipp Daniel Lipperts Dacktyliothek bestehend in Tausend und Neun und Vierzig Abdrücken*. Leipzig, 1776.

gem casts: *Dactyliothec erstes Mythologisches und zweytes Historisches Tausend*. Leipzig. He edited his gem impressions in three fixed series of 1000 pieces each. The commentary volumes accompanying each series were written in Latin to stress the claim of erudition.²³⁸ For the storage of impressions Lippert created a new type of container. These were designed like huge folios, which could be opened at the back to give access to 19 drawers containing the gem impressions (Graepler 2010: 438).



Illustration 4. *Dactyliothek* of Philipp Daniel Lippert (KMM GE 14).

²³⁸ Lippert is compared with his contemporary Christian Dehn (1700–1770), who produced gem casts with the aim to satisfy the artistic enjoyments of a predominantly aristocratic clientele, while Lippert pursued a decidedly didactic concept. He believed that the study of antiquity could restore “good taste” (Graepler 2010: 438). He wished to provide the artists of his time with “the best models of art”, with the intention of “leading them to the perception of genuine beauty of nature and art” (Lippert 1767: III). Following his didactic goal, Lippert did not comply with his customers’ wishes as Dehn had.

Lippert's monumental edition was not forgotten even after his death and was issued by Gottlob Benjamin Rabenstein in 1805 as the *Daktyliothek*.²³⁹ This edition was purchased for the University of Tartu Art Museum in 1832.²⁴⁰ All 3,150 casts are made of what is referred to as Lippert mass²⁴¹, packed in cardboard with a golden edge and collected into large leather-bound book-like boxes with drawers. Not many Lippert editions released by Rabenstein are known to exist: one is in the University of Tartu Art Museum, one is in the university of Erlangen-Nürnberg (Kockel, Graepler 2006: 76–77, Andraschke, Ruisinger 2007: 230); and another *Daktyliothek* is in the national museum of Arhangelskoe in the oblast of Moscow.²⁴² The casts are divided in this collection into three volumes according to themes: I *Mythologisches Tausend* (gods, heroes, inhuman creatures, rituals); II *Historisches Tausend* (Greek rulers, philosophers, poets, Roman emperors and their family members, wars, games); III *Supplement* (casts added to the collection later). Director Morgestern has written in the accession book that a printed three-volume catalogue also came with the purchase, which can no longer be found (Verz. III, 144).

Lippert's gem cast collection is in Tartu in good condition: the casts are clean and intact, the leather of the boxes was a little bit threadbare, but was conserved in 2007–2008 and the boxes were packed in acid-free cardboard boxes for preservation.

As mentioned above, von Stosch sold his antique gem collection to the Imperial Museum of Berlin in 1764. The casts made after a selection from the gem **collection of the Royal Museum of Berlin** (KMM GE 18) were purchased from Berlin for the University of Tartu by director Preller in 1843 (Illustration 5), and this was one of the last purchases of gem cast collections²⁴³ (Verz. III, 112). The collection is packed in two chest-like wooden boxes with drawers. There are eight drawers in the first and six in the second box. This contains 971 white plaster casts packed in golden-edged cardboard and glued to the bottom of the drawers that are again covered with blue paper as in the collection previously described (KMM GE 3). The collection was released by Martin Krause²⁴⁴ and a partial hand-written list also belong to the collection –

²³⁹ G. B. Rabenstein worked in antique cabinets and by art merchant in Dresden, where he died in 1816 (Nagler 1842: 183).

²⁴⁰ In comparison, Chr. G. Heyne acquired the earlier editions from 1753, *Dactylithecae Universalis Chalias sive Scrinium Milliarum Primum/Secundum/Tertium*, for the library of Göttingen University in 1763 and *Supplementum zu Philipp Daniel Lipperts Daktyliothek* in 1776.

²⁴¹ So-called Lippert mass, which is a white, humidity proof and breakable mass, was elaborated by Ph. D. Lippert and the ingredients were secret.

²⁴² Information got via e-mail and illustrated with photographs of the *Daktyliothek*, sent kindly by Elena Sokolova from the museum of Arhangelskoe (14.04.2009).

²⁴³ It is the only gem cast collection acquired by Preller for the art museum.

²⁴⁴ M. Krause is named as “Galleriediener 1. Classe und academischer Künstler im königl. Antiquarium des Königl. Museums zu Berlin” as is written inside the last drawer of that collection. He has also released the *Dactylitheca* with 50 gems from the collection of the

Nachträge. Gallerie Diener I-ter Klasse beim Königl. Museum zu Berlin, akad. Künstler empfiehlt sich zur Anfertigung von Glaspästen, Abdrücken in Gyps u Schwefel etc. Here the system of classes is followed; oval gem casts refer to the beginning of the new theme.



Illustration 5. Commode of the gem cast collection of the Royal Museum of Berlin (KMM GE 18) and a detail.

The collection in Tartu Art Museum is in generally quite good condition: only the keys of the commodes are lost and the details of the corners of the boxes

Royal Museum of Berlin for schools (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 285). Krause was associated with publishing coin casts in the Royal Museum of Berlin. Cf. 2.3.1.2.3.

have been detached. The gem casts themselves are clear, white and intact, except the last one. It is possible that its drawer has fallen and the casts have become detached from the drawer and two of them are completely broken.²⁴⁵

The following shall discuss much smaller collections than the encyclopaedic editions described above. These smaller collections are rather intended for use in school and give selected information rather than comprehensive knowledge.²⁴⁶ *Mythologische Daktyliothek für Schulen* (KMM GE 16) is a didactic gem cast collection (Illustration 6) compiled by professor of antiquities and philosophy in Leipzig, **Anton Ernst Klausing** (1729–1803). The collection was released in 1781 by Ch. H. Rost in Leipzig (Verz. III, 142). The actual title of the collection is *Versuche einer mythologischen Dactyliotheek für Schulen, oder Einleitung in die griechische und römische Götterlehre zur Erläuterung der klassischen Schriftsteller, und Denkmäler der Kunst auf antiken geschnittenen Steinen*, as it is named in the list of supporting material for schools (Schaaf 1837: 24). Knüppel has classified the collection as a mythological collection, because this contains examples of Greek and Roman mythological figures and scenes (2009: 71–74).



Illustration 6. Book-like box of *Mythologische Daktyliothek für Schulen* with red sulphur gem casts (KMM GE 16).

²⁴⁵ There is a small hand-written paper that lets us know the casts were broken already in 1954.

²⁴⁶ According to the following collections is the sad fact that the exact time and place of the acquisition is unknown.

The book-like box with ninety casts made of red sulphur mass was purchased by Morgenstern. The casts are unglued in that box. The collection itself looks really quite wretched: the box is threadbare, the knobs for the drawers are lost²⁴⁷, the panel for closing the box does not fit in front of the drawers and drawers have been replaced and the new drawers do not fit perfectly into the box. The edition is in very used condition, which raises the question whether it was used so much in lectures or was it previously used by somebody else, since the year the collection was released was several years before the establishment of the art museum.

Next we take a look to the *Timm's mythologische Charthyl-Gemmen* (KMM GE 9) (Illustration 7), which is functionally, thematically and in terms of the number of casts, similar to the previously dealt with Klausung collection, but completely different in appearance. The correct title of the edition is *Dactyliothek von 100 Stück mythologischer Charthyl-Gemmen* of Wilhelm Albrecht Tiemann. This very simple but ingeniously published collection contains 72 casts made of paper mass and packed in three cardboard boxes.²⁴⁸ There were originally 89 casts packed in the book-like cardboard box as writes Morgenstern in the accession-book. On the reverse little printed papers have been glued with information about the subject depicted on the casts and the number of the cast (Verz. III, 142). Tiemann's edition is a good and compact set of ancient gods and other mythological characters (Knüppel 2009: 77–79).

This edition is very special in terms of its material. Its preservation in Tartu is relatively good, if we ignore the fact that the wrapper box is missing and the paper casts are a little bit dirty and dusty, but it is rather because of the age and storage conditions than due to depreciation.

²⁴⁷ Usually, the knobs of the drawers of the gem cast collections are made of ivory (KMMM GE 3, KMM GE 18) or metal (KMM GE 5, KMM GE 8).

²⁴⁸ For the use of the technique of paper mass see Knüppel 2009: 35–38.



Illustration 7. Gem impressions made of paper mass in *Dactyliothek von 100 Stück mythologischer Charthyl-Gemmen* of Wilhelm Albrecht Tiemann (KMM GE 9).

The third small collection in the museum that is appropriate for didactic purposes, for example, in literature and philosophy lectures, is in two drawers with sixteen modern portraits made of **ancient authors and philosophers** (KMM GE 5). The collection was acquired by Morgenstern, but the further information about the acquisition of the collection is missing. Once again the wrapper box is missing for those light green drawers with metal knobs. That is clearly the reason for the worn-out appearance of the drawers.

Another systematic collection is the box that contains pictures of reformers and is named *Reformateurs* (KMM GE 8). It is actually a cast collection of 24 medals that are formalized like all the gem casts. The original medals were double-sided and the casts are made from both sides. Hence the collection contains 48 red sulphur casts glued into the drawers of a leather-bound book-like box (Verz. III, 142). This box is quite threadbare.

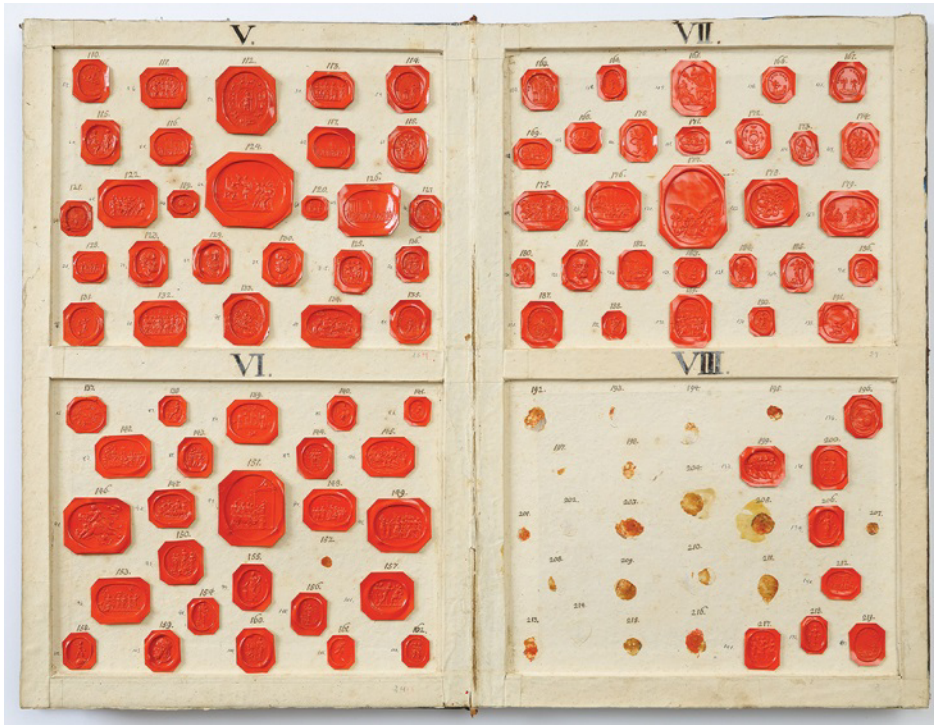


Illustration 8. Gem impressions made of sealing wax in the Höckner collection (KMM GE 10).

There is one more book-like gem cast collection – **the collection of Carl Wilhelm Höckner** (KMM GE 10) (Illustration 8), which was acquired by Morgenstern, and contains replicas of ancient and modern gems made of red sealing wax. The collection includes 352 replicas glued on several pages of a wooden leather-bound book-like box. Originally there were 429 items, but Morgenstern purchased the collection with a hand-written catalogue in its current condition at a book-auction organised by Bock²⁴⁹ in Tartu. Inside the box is written likely the name of the previous owner and the date of the acquisition – ‘C. W. Höckner 1771’²⁵⁰ (Verz. III, 143). It is the only gem collection that contains impressions made of sealing wax and purchased from

²⁴⁹ It is not known who was more particularly Bock, man mentioned in the art museum’s accession-book.

²⁵⁰ Carl Wilhelm Höckner (1749–1820) studied art in his youth and learned to cut in steel from his father. In 1776, he was employed as a chamber musician in Dresden, but he also made some commemorative coins as a hobby. His father had the same name, Carl Wilhelm Höckner (1720–1786), from 1741 he was a seal-cutter in the Electorate of Saxony (Bernhart 1920: 208, 228). In this case no certainty exists as to which of the two is marked on the box of the collection.

the local market. The collection is useable as didactic material to introduce ancient themes.

The box itself is in satisfactory condition, but 77 impressions are missing as can be concluded based on the traces of the glue and torn paper on the empty places.

The following collections have probably been acquired for didactic purposes but we have very little information about them. The accession-book contains an entry that in 1825 and 1827 that collections have been purchased with more than 3,000 casts in thirty wooden boxes stacked up. There are red-coloured sulphur casts, yellowish, blue and white plaster casts that have not been glued into their boxes, which means they have not been classified. The collections were provided by city councillor Köhler in St. Petersburg (Verz. III, 140). Since the casts have not been glued in place, they are in a state of disarray in the boxes. Another collection in plywood boxes contains 432 white selenite casts with black edges glued into the boxes. Probably are these **mythological, historical and religious casts** made by Giovanni Pichler (1734–1791).²⁵¹ One more collection could be attributed to Pichler – known as the **Roman collection** (*Römische Sammlung von Abdrücken antiker und moderner Gemmen in weisser Scagliuola*) and Morgestern acquired these eighteen plywood boxes with 1,252 Egyptian, Etruscan, Roman, Greek and modern casts for his private collection, which he later bequeathed to the art museum²⁵² (*Catalogus* 1868: 8).

2.3.1.1.2 Gem cast collections as souvenirs

The types of souvenir cast collections represented in the art museum are thanks to donations because these were preferred in private collections. These collections are in the minority compared to encyclopaedic and didactic collections. However, this modest selection provides the pictures from different type of editions.

The seeds sown by Lippert and Winkelmann developed in an unexpected direction: instead of ancient works, an increasing number of modern gems ‘in the style of the ancients’ entered the collections. More and more Neo-classical gem-cutters began to publish dactyliothecae with impressions of their own work. For tourists in Rome, on the other hand, comprehensive dactyliothecae

²⁵¹ In Pichler’s family the art of gem cutting was transmitted from father to sons. Austrian carver Antonio (Johann Anton) Pichler (1697–1779) had studied gem cutting in Naples and worked in Rome in the 1700s copying ancient gems. Likewise his two sons became famous gem cutters. Giovanni (1734–1791) had ancient gems as models to his own works. He was a very valued master and eventually his gems were falsified and issued and even his signature was falsified. Giovanni formed much his half-brother Luigi (1773–1854). He worked mainly in Rome and 1818 became a Professor of the Viennese Academy. Luigi was the most renowned: he received commissions from the Vatican and the French and Austrian courts to carve both classical and contemporary subjects (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 295).

²⁵² Collections mentioned in this section need organizing, numbering and further scientific analysis.

with images of famous sites in Rome were published. Marchant specializes, to a far greater extent than any of his contemporaries, in copying ancient sculptures in his intaglios (Seidmann 1987: 9). Even works by contemporary sculptors like Canova or Thorvaldsen and paintings became popular motifs for such ‘souvenir dactyliothecae’ (Graepler 2010: 439).

In the 18th century ‘fictitious books’ of collections of gems usually had numbered lists of their 50 or 100 casts glued within covers, but these proved to be nothing more than one-word titles – the names of famous statues, which every visitor to Rome and Florence on the Grand Tour sought to view. Here they are reproduced as heads or figures by contemporary engravers. The impressions in the boxes from the same gems are repeated over and over again without the engraver’s name listed or shown as a signature (Seidmann 1987: 8).

Framed pictures are a special kind of souvenir gem cast collection. In the University of Tartu Art Museum are two such collections. These gem cast collections could be used as decorative elements in the interior. It was possible to hang framed boxes of casts on the wall as pictures.²⁵³ The University of Tartu Art Museum has obtained both collections of this type from the private collection of Morgenstern (Catalogus 1868: 8). The first is by Nathaniel Marchant²⁵⁴ (KMM GE 13), and the second by Luigi Pichler²⁵⁵ (KMM GE 15) (Illustration 9). These framed collections are very simple and similar in packaging. Marchant’s box contains 50 casts and Pichler’s 49 casts glued to the bottom. The boxes are covered with glass and framed. Labels with the names of the authors, accordingly “Marchant” and “Luigi Pichler” have been added to both boxes (Anderson 2009: 107). Although the collections look special, they are both rather modest in their packaging.

²⁵³ Particularly magnificent was the exhibition of the first edition of Lippert’s *Dactyliotheca*. Eight large framed showcases were exhibited on the walls of the castle in Meiningen (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 286).

²⁵⁴ Englishman Nathaniel Marchant (1739–1816) was one of the most famous and ambitious engravers. He was a resident of Rome for 16 years (1773–1789). Later he set out for Rome that was not only the hub of the trade in ancient gems, but the principal market place for modern engravers who established their workshops (Seidmann 1987: 8). Marchant specialized, to a far greater extent than any of his contemporaries, in copying ancient sculptures on his intaglios (Seidmann 1987: 9). During his residence in Rome he specialised in reproducing antique statues on gems for wealthy travellers, and when he returned to England he sold impressions of these intaglios (Nagler 1839b: 302; Haskell, Penny 2006: 98). Marchant’s ambition was to perfect his art by studying at the source, rather than in casts or engravings. The famous sculptures of the Ancients, which current taste and his own inclination induced him to copy. All these images of ancient sculptures are neither more nor less than very refined and skilfully made souvenirs (Seidmann 1987: 1–105).

²⁵⁵ Famous modern stone-cutters were the Italian brothers Giovanni (1734–1791), Giuseppe (1760–1820) and Luigi Pichler (1773–1854). Already their father Antonio Pichler (1697–1779) was a stone-cutter.



Illustration 9. Plaster casts of gems in framed box made after original gems carved by Nathaniel Marchant (KMM GE 13) and Luigi Pichler (KMM GE 15), donation from Karl Morgenstern's private collection.

Pichler has also added his signature to most of his gem stones. The letters of the signature are cut in the Greek alphabet and they vary to some extent: Π Ι Χ Λ Ε Ρ; Λ. Π Ι Χ Λ Ε Ρ; Λ. Π. Likewise we can see signatures on the gems of Marchant. He has used Greek letters as well as Latin letters: MARCHANT; MAPXANT. In some cases he has also added the place the gem-stone was cut: MARCHANT F[ECIT] ROMAE.²⁵⁶

In addition to Marchant's framed gem collection, Morgenstern also purchased for the museum another collection of gem casts originally engraved by Nathaniel Marchant from *Rostische Kunsthandlung*²⁵⁷ in Leipzig – **100 Impressions** (KMM GE 12). The collection has the form of a book with wooden covers. The casts are glued under the glass inside the book.

²⁵⁶ About the original gem-stones of N. Marchant and L. Pichler in the collection of the British Museum see Rudoe (1996: 201–202).

²⁵⁷ The art trade of Carl Christian Heinrich Rost published the sale-catalogues where one can find the paintings, drawings, engravings, sulphur and glass casts of the gems, cork-models of ancient architecture, emulations of ancient figures in biscuit china Meissen and furniture (Kockel 2000: 39).

A printed catalogue published in 1792 in London also belonged to the collection: *Catalogue of one hundred impressions from Gems, engraved by Nathaniel Marchant* (Verz. III, 141). Artists also sold pastes and impressions from their own stones. Marchant, as well as Pichler before him, issued a collection of his impressions for sale by subscription in 1792, after the originals had been dispersed among many patrons and in several countries (Seidmann 1987: 8). When he returned from Rome to England, he had the satisfaction of selling many sets of his '100 finest gems' in cast form. The originals had long been sold to connoisseurs.²⁵⁸ Such 'souvenir' casts were necessarily hidden away in the boxes; they can also be found mounted in rectangular or oval glazed frames, elegantly arranged in symmetrical patterns, and sometimes instead of common white plaster, in the form of shiny black sulphur casts (Wagner, Seidmann 2010: 460).

The gem cast collection is in a satisfactory condition – the covers are a bit worn-out, but the gem casts are in good condition because they were placed under glass.

About the middle of the 19th century, new motifs arose on gems: the copies of the works of famous contemporaries such as Antonio Canova (1757–1822) and Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844) (Zwierlein–Diehl 2007: 296). Pietro Bracci (1700–1773) released *Opera copiata da marmi di Thorvaldsen* (KMM GE 6). Two boxes made of plywood are placed on each other and contain 27 plaster cast gems. This collection was acquired by the museum from Morgenstern's private art collection (*Catalogus* 1868: 8). Quite a similar edition with 27 plaster gems was released by stone-cutter Giovanni Liberotti: *Impronte. Opere Scelte* (KMM GE 7). In this case, white plaster gem casts are packed into two-sided book-like boxes.²⁵⁹ On the inner side of the covers are the lists of the casts.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ As the high regard for gem-engraving waned and family collections were dispersed in the century following Marchant's death, most of his stones disappeared from view. Some may now be cherished simply as jewels, others wait the further cataloguing of post-classical gems in museum ownership. Fortunately, however, contemporaries multiplied his gems in casts and copies. In this form they were reproduced many times for those souvenir boxes of plaster popular with returning travellers well into the nineteenth century. They remain a memento of Marchant's wholehearted devotion to the monuments of Rome and a remarkable testimony to neo-classical taste (Seidmann 1987: 29).

²⁵⁹ This is only one part of the larger series released at the beginning of the 19th century. In the series *Liberotti Impronte* the collections of the Vatican, the Capitoline Museum, the Farnese Gallery, Palazzo Barberini, Villa Borghese and other private collections in Rome, Florence, Naples, Milan, Paris, Dresden and Copenhagen were published. In total, 18 book-like boxes with more than five hundred gem casts were published.
<http://www.baumanrarebooks.com> [accessed 5 May 2014].

²⁶⁰ The collection is the last accession among the gem cast collections in Tartu University. The entry is made into the accession-book on 24 July 1979, but further details about accession documents are missing. The previous owner was Estonian architect K. Merilaid.

According to the classification of Knüppel, these two editions are art volumes. In these kinds of collections ancient reliefs, Renaissance frescoes, modern sculptures and baroque paintings were represented. Every edition provided an overview of famous artworks from a museum or by an artist (Knüppel 2009: 119).

There is one more gem cast collection from the heritage of Morgenstern that could be classified as a souvenir collection (KMM GE 17). It is a commode-type mahogany box with four drawers. On the bottom of every drawer are glued white plaster gems. According to the catalogue of Morgenstern's art collection the collection has 108 gem casts edited by Reinhardt²⁶¹ (Catalogus 1868: 8).²⁶² The drawers contain casts, which are already familiar from other collections: a selection of well-known artworks, emperors, empresses and mythological scenes. According to the signatures it can be said that at least some of them have been engraved by one of the Pichlers.

The collection has been really well preserved and is in good condition. The hand-written catalogue of Reinhardt belonged to the collection, but this can no longer be found today.

2.3.1.2 Collecting of coin casts

The University of Tartu Art Museum has a modest selection of Greek and Roman coins but a large collection of coin casts. The reason for collecting coins as part of the university collection is definitely the aesthetic value of the pictures and their informative value, while in private collections they are one form of investment.²⁶³ It is almost impossible to have all the coins from history in one collection. This is why casts of coins from original collections began to be made. The Art Museum has 2,987 Greek and Roman coin casts in three collections: the Mionnet collection and the Stieglitz collection were purchased

²⁶¹ Cf. the edition of the gem casts collection of Baron Philipp von Stosch (KMM GE 3).

²⁶² Let it be said here that Morgenstern's private collection of gem casts was not confined to these above mentioned collections. In his art catalogue 68 plaster casts made after gems in the Art History museum of Vienna (*Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien*) produced by somebody Patholin are listed. Behind the casts in several cases paper is glued with the names of the objects depicted on the casts after the publication of Joseph Eckhel, 1788. *Eckhel Choix des pierres gravees du Cabinet impérial des antiques représentées en XL. planches décrites et expliquées par M. L'Abbé Eckhel*. Vienna: Joseph Nobel Dekurzbeke (Catalogus 1868: 8–10). These casts are not placed in special boxes and therefore are unarranged. The collection needs numbering, organising, special investigation and comparison with the Vienna collection as do several other gem casts in the University of Tartu Art Museum, which until now have not been studied, systematized and their origin identified. It is likely that the unexplored and unarranged gem casts contain items from the heritage of Morgenstern.

²⁶³ The collections of casts were mainly ordered from professionals who were known and trusted in the museums, where they took the mould from original objects (Anderson 2015: xx–xx).

by Morgenstern; the third collection was purchased by Mercklin from the Royal Museums of Berlin some decades later (cf. Laiverik 1996: 14; Kukk, *et al* 2006: 95).

2.3.1.2.1 The Stieglitz coin cast collection

The first coin cast collection in the art museum was **the Stieglitz collection** (KMM Nv 3).²⁶⁴ This collection consists of five wooden boxes with drawers. The collection was purchased from Leipzig in 1818²⁶⁵ and contains 450 grey-coloured sulphur casts of Greek and Roman coins (Kukk, *et al.* 2006: 100–110). The Stieglitz collection was accompanied by a printed booklet as can be read from the museum's accession-book: *Collectio Nummorum Graecorum Romanorumque ad Artis Historiam illustrandam Instructa*. K. Morgenstern also noted that the cast collection was packed in a pine cabinet, which was exhibited on a table near the stove in the first room of the museum.

The Stieglitz Cabinet included 516 coins, but some of the casts, approximately twenty pieces of the collection brought to Estonia, were broken during transportation as is recorded in the accession-book by Morgenstern. Part of the collection was probably broken later, because today 66 casts are missing from the complete collection. The damaged shipment from Leipzig was witnessed by the local policeman, Gessinsky²⁶⁶, when it was opened in the office of the university library in 1818.

Shortly before Morgenstern's retirement in 1837, he tried to obtain new coin casts to replace the broken ones for the sake of the completeness of the collection, but received the answer that the collector had died some time ago.²⁶⁷

The wooden commode with five drawers has the casts arranged in two layers with a paperboard tray in every drawer. The commode is in a satisfactory albeit used condition today – it is worn-out but intact, the trays are dusty and dirty.

2.3.1.2.2 The Mionnet coin cast collection

The collection of coin casts increased significantly in 1833,²⁶⁸ when **the Mionnet collection** was purchased.²⁶⁹ The collection consists of two leather-

²⁶⁴ Christian Ludwig Stieglitz (1756–1836) was a German lawyer, art researcher and drawing artist. He published extensive research results in history and archaeology. After his death, a catalogue of his Greek coins was published as *Catalogus nummorum veterum Graecorum quos ad artis historiam illustrandam colligebat olim et notis suis illustrabat Christ. Ludov. Stieglitz* (1837).

²⁶⁵ Next year, 1819, the course of numismatics was supplemented to the lecture plan. See about lectures held by Morgenstern cf. 3.1.1.

²⁶⁶ Christoph August Gessinsky (1755–1831) was the Polish policeman in Tartu 1808–1831 (Anders 2012: 19).

²⁶⁷ *Verzeichniss des Museums der Kunst der Kaiserl. Universität zu Dorpat 1808–1837*, II, 153. (University of Tartu Art Museum, N 150, s 14).

²⁶⁸ For comparison, the art museum of the institute of archaeology in Göttingen acquired the collection of Mionnet in 1829. www.viamus.de [accessed 13 June 2014].

²⁶⁹ Théodore Edme Mionnet (1770–1842) was a French coin collector. He worked in the National Library of France where he had been employed since 1800 in the department of

bound wooden book-like boxes with mahogany drawers, named *Medailles Romaines* (KMM Nv 1) and *Medailles Grecques* (KMM Nv 2) (Blum 1834: 72). (Illustration 10)



Illustration 10. Coin cast collections of Thodor Edmée Mionnet *Medailles Romaines* (KMM Nv 1) and *Medailles Grecques* (KMM Nv 2).

Each drawer is covered with a green silk hand-made cover to keep away the dust. The collection was purchased from St. Petersburg through the mediation of Heinrich Karl Ernst von Köhler. In the accession-book of coins, Morgenstern has written that the Mionnet collection contains casts of original ancient Greek and Roman coins; according to the printed catalogue, there were 1,474 casts, but the collection arrived from St. Petersburg without casts numbered 439 and 833.²⁷⁰ According to this entry, it is known that the number of coin casts used to

coin collection. In Tartu, the fragment of Mionnet's letter where he proudly announces that he was elected a member of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences is preserved (Sch 1970).

²⁷⁰ *Verzeichniss* II, 157.

be greater than it is today, as the smaller box contains 164 and the larger 1,293 brownish sulphur coin casts of original Roman and Greek coins.²⁷¹

In Morgenstern's handwritten notes about the museum's *Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Münzen und Münzpasten, Daktyliothek, Verschiedene Gegenstände der Natur und der Kunst, Gypsbildwerke*, it is noted that some of the Mionnet's coin casts were broken when they were moved from the old university house.²⁷² The second entry is seen in the *Catalogus Mss. et bibliothecae Carol. Morgenstern*, which states that Morgenstern had purchased the selection *Medailles Grecques* also in 1809 from Mionnet's store in Paris for his private collection.²⁷³ There are three trays from that collection in the catalogue of his private collection (Catalogue 1868: 2).

Mionnet's coin cast collection is in good condition: the casts are clean and intact, the leather of the boxes was a little bit threadbare, but was conserved in 2007–2008 and the boxes were packed in acid-free cardboard boxes for preservation.

2.3.1.2.3 Collection of the Royal Museums of Berlin and unknown collections

The third coin cast collection at the University of Tartu Art Museum is **the Collection of the Royal Museums of Berlin** (KMM Nv 4) with 484 sulphur casts of coins. The collection was obtained via Friedrich Wilhelm Eduard Gerhard (1795-1867) and was manufactured by Martin Krause, the gallery servant of the museum of Berlin. The numbering of the casts in the collection is based on the catalogue published by Moritz Eduard Pinder, 1851 – *Die antiken Münzen: Geschichte und Übersicht der Sammlung nebst erklärender Beschreibung einer Auswahl von Münzen*. Berlin: Königliche Museen (Verz. II, 162). Therefore, we can say that the collection was purchased after 1851.

The Berlin collection has obviously been in a kind of commode but only the trays have been preserved. Apparently the collection was arranged later, after it had been obtained. The little cavities in the black trays are in many cases

²⁷¹ Mionnet has catalogued the coins in *Description des médailles antiques, grecques et romaines*. Vol. 1–17. Paris, 1806–1830. Director Preller has mentioned that he used this catalogue (cf. 3.2.2), but those do not exist in the University of Tartu Library today. Five volumes are preserved in Tallinn University Academic Library. Feedlot catalogues are belonged to the count Sergei Dimitrievich Sheremetev, whose family was owner of Haaslava (*Haselau*) manor near Tartu. None of the Sheremetevs have not lived longer period in Haaslava, they lived in Moscow and St. Petersburg (Uustalu 2009: 5–6). Estonian Constituent Assembly adopted a law on the 10th of October in 1919 to expropriate estates and the manor lands in the Republic of Estonia. Sheremetev's family had to receive compensation for expropriated Haaslava mansion after the law of the of 1926.

They did not take the compensation because they hoped seriously that a large and indivisible state of Russian czar will soon be restored and the family of Sheremetev can go back to their manor (Kirm 2014). Probably therefore remained their property including books in Haaslava and reached to the library.

²⁷² Mscr, Mrg. 525, p. 57.

²⁷³ *Catalogus* (note 33 above), *Supplementum* p. 2.

divided using wooden matches to create the place for two casts in one cavity. It has been written in the accession-book that there were 912 coin casts in the collection at the point of purchase (Verz. II, 162). Maybe there were originally more trays with cavities for each cast. The collection contains coins from ancient Egypt, Persia, Syria, Cyrenaica, Sidon, Rome and other places.

Collections KMM Nv 6 with 293 casts and KMM Nv 7 with 259 casts are quite similar in formation. The first case contains dark blue trays with yellow cavities and coin casts inside, and the other case contains blue trays with blue cavities with coins inside, but one tray is exceptionally yellow. Any specifying information and the origin of the collection is not known and on observing, the collection could be described as being in disorder. It is possible that coin casts from different collections have been mixed, maybe including also casts from the abovementioned Berlin collection (KMM Nv 4). In addition, a small collection KMM Nv 5 has been formed with 44 casts that could be from a different collection, perhaps this was formed at the end of the 20th century while describing the casts. It is possible, the disorder is the result of moving, because the coin casts are not fixed on the trays.

It is important to mention the fact that in the Morgenstern's posthumously published art collection catalogue in addition to the abovementioned Mionnet coin casts, 89 sulphur casts of Greek coins sent to him by Köhler are also listed (Catalogus 1868: 3–4). These casts evidently form a part of collections KMM Nv 5–KMM Nv 7.

This subject needs more thorough investigation and comparison to find out the origin of each coin cast and affiliation with the known collections, but this does not match the present theme and nor does it fit within the volume of this dissertation.

2.3.1.3 Collecting sculpture casts

The sculpture cast collection at the University of Tartu was founded three years after the opening of the museum. There were only the few plaster casts of sculptures acquired during Morgenstern's time, although he would have liked to have had a broader collection of examples. There were two ways he could get plaster sculptures: purchasing them himself or by accepting donations.

The first two entries in the accession book at the art museum²⁷⁴ are the Venus Medici²⁷⁵ and Apollino (KMM S 1)²⁷⁶ cast in Tartu by the master Bertolini from Lucca, a province of Florence, in 1806. He came from Riga and

²⁷⁴ *Verzeichniss des Museum der Kunst der Kaiserl. Universität zu Dorpat angefertigt von dessen ersten Sämmler und Director Karl Morgenstern. Dritter Band. Gemälde und Handzeichnungen, Daktyliothek; Arbeiten in Mosaik, Elfenbeine & in Marmor und Alabaster; Gypsabgüsse; Ägyptische, Griechische und andere Alterthümer*, (Dorpat, 1808).

²⁷⁵ It is unsure whether this if the Venus de Medici preserved in the collection as KMM S 84, because in the list of plaster sculptures of Mercklin the Venus de Medici is also listed, see cf. 2.4.1.

²⁷⁶ About the history of the original Apollino see Haskell, Penny 2006: 146–148.

lived temporarily in Tartu. Bertolini also cast some smaller sculptures: Apollo of Vatican, Ceres, Hora and two Muses (Verz. III, 367). Morgenstern acquired a little modern Hebe, a woman figure with a dove, a Venus Medici and Antinous,²⁷⁷ Amor and Psyche after Canova (KMM S 355), the group of two lovers/Dionysus and Ariadne (KMM S 361) after Thorvaldsen. Bertolini made these casts at a low price.²⁷⁸

The other casts acquired by Morgenstern included a life-size Hebe (KMM S 387) and a Vestal virgin in 1818. A torso identified as a Belvedere torso²⁷⁹ (KMM S 2), a crouching Aphrodite²⁸⁰ (KMM S 4), Hermes of Vatican, known also as Belvedere Antinous²⁸¹ (KMM S 5) and the torso of the Kephissos (KMM S 6) were all received as gifts from the local landlord of Elistvere (*Ellistfer*), Reinhold Andreas von Stackelberg in 1827. The last four casts went to pieces in transport from Italy and were fixed “so well as possible by the plaster-worker Giuseppe Tamplini from Lucca²⁸² under the control of the director of the museum” as Morgenstern wrote (Verz. III, 366).

In addition to casts of ancient sculptures, casts inspired by the antique, some modern plaster figures and reliefs were also acquired. All the modern plaster casts Morgenstern received for the collection do not exist any more in the museum because in 1858 the commission set up in the university decided to collect only objects of ancient art and gave away other types of art (Kukk *et al.* 2006: 22–23).

Although Morgenstern’s success in acquiring plaster sculptures was modest, this was not due to any lack of effort on his part as can be seen from his report about the museum activities in the *Dorpater Jahrbuch für Litteratur, Statistik und Kunst, besonders Russland*. He wrote about the collections of the art museum in the chapter “Museum der Kunst in Dorpat. Beitrag zum Generalbericht der Universität Dorpat für das Jahr 1833”. Morgenstern mentions that he had repeatedly proposed, without success, to buy an assortment of plaster casts of ancient originals now located in Göttingen, Bonn, Breslau and other universities, where classical archaeology was taught. He was advised to buy the

²⁷⁷ If the inventory number is not given, the fate of the cast is unknown.

²⁷⁸ *Belege und Notizen für das Museum der Kaiserl. Universität zu Dorpat vom ersten Anfang desselben im J. 1803 bis zum Jul.1808.* (F 3, Mrg 522, 12 University of Tartu Library).

²⁷⁹ For original Belvedere torso see Haskell, Penny 2006: 311–314.

²⁸⁰ The Aphrodite, broken today, seems to be made after the modern replica. Marvin writes that not only were modern creations mixed in with antiquities. The Uffizi held a marble copy of the Laocoon and a bronze version of the Venus de Medici, the original of which was in another room (2008: 93).

²⁸¹ See for original Belvedere Antinous Haskell, Penny 2006: 141–143.

²⁸² Peter Malone mentions that most of the Italians who moved to London as *formatori di gesso* came also from the area of north Lucca, the place notable for the emigration of workers skilled in cast making. In London they found employment as workers or even owners of firms, moved sideways into related trades, returned to Italy or went elsewhere in the world (2010: 165–166).

casts from the Art Academy of St. Petersburg using the savings of money of the university (Morgenstern 1834: 71–76).

Most likely, it was due to a lack of money that they did not purchase the plaster casts.²⁸³ Under Morgenstern, the university had paid 1,101 rubles for 21 casts, while the price for 4,666 gem casts had been 4420 rubles. There were 21 plaster casts of statues, statue fragments and busts by the end of 1833, and a total of 13,319 artefacts in the museum.

2.3.1.3.1 Sculpture casts in the University Library

In a small provincial town like Tartu, a good library was one of the most important prerequisites for the success of scientific work. The first books were purchased in 1800, two years before the reopening of the university. In 1802 Morgenstern became the first director of the library and stayed in this position for 37 years (until 1839); at the same time, he was the director of the university's art museum (1803–1837). In 1806, the library moved²⁸⁴ to Toome hill, into the rebuilt old cathedral and Morgenstern decorated the spacious rooms with plaster sculptures (Siilivask 1982: 71–72), as was common in secular libraries elsewhere in European public and university libraries²⁸⁵ (Ormisson-Lahe 2011: 109).

In contrast to the museum, the university library halls were decorated with plaster casts immediately after completion to create an atmosphere of learning and support the academic mentality. In 1805, Morgenstern travelled to St. Petersburg to visit the Art Academy and choose plaster casts for the library. In 1807 the casts reached the library. In the list of selected statues were Apollo Musagetes, the nine Muses and busts of Newton, Voltaire, Homer, Euripides, Sokrates, Plato, Demosthenes, Horace, Theokritos, Cicero, Virgil, Marcus Aurelius, Sophokles and Herodotos, and owls.²⁸⁶ In addition, we can find the busts of the emperor Alexander I made of marble as well another made of plaster in the library inventories.²⁸⁷ Here it is seen that the concurrency between plaster sculptures of the art museum and library only existed in regard to the Muses. Even in their case we cannot be sure which was the form of the Muses at the art museum because their location is not known.

Thanks to the university's report from 1827, we know how the statues were arranged in the library. The report describes the upper hall of the library – the marble bust of Alexander I was in the middle of the hall and around this marble

²⁸³ For new aspects of the public displaying of nudity see Plath 2014: 283–310. It could have been that the predominant nudity of the sculpture casts was an aspect contradicting the society's general ethical principles in Enlightenment. Writings on sexual enlightenment and pedagogy became increasingly talkative still during the 19th century (Plath 2014: 292).

²⁸⁴ For the library purchased books were collected to Lai Street 30 (Siilivask 1982: 49).

²⁸⁵ Before coming to Tartu Morgenstern had definitely seen a number of libraries decorated with sculptures and plaster casts. For example, in 1797 he visited Göttingen and, *inter alia*, its decorated university library (Süss 1928: 90–91).

²⁸⁶ EAA.402.5.33, p. 41.

²⁸⁷ EAA.402.5.33, p. 89.

bust are the plaster casts of Apollo Musagetes, Muse Urania, and the ancient Muses found from Tivoli on the sides. There is also the cast of Athena and different plaster busts for decoration in the upper hall.²⁸⁸

The purpose of the casts was to create an environment for studying in the library. Exhibiting the busts in the library was a widespread and ancient tradition, of which Morgenstern was very proud in the university library (Süss 1928: 178). But he was not understood by the local people, as the memoirs of the librarian Emil Anders indicate. The librarian Anders writes in his memoirs of a funny story. urator Karl Christoph von Lieven²⁸⁹ (1767–1844) visited the university's library during his tenure and thought that soon there will not be enough space for the books. The office clerk of the library, Johann Theodor Anton Leibnitz, answered Lieven: "I already gave advice to director Morgenstern that he would let the dolls (he referred to the plaster casts of beautiful muses from Vatican, the talented jewellery in the middle hall of the library) be taken out, painted green and to put up on Toome Hill" (Anders 2012: 89). Notwithstanding the lack of space, the statues remained in the library. In 1981 the library was moved to a new building, but the plaster casts remained and were handed over to the University of Tartu History Museum²⁹⁰, that started its activity in 1976 and continued in the cathedral.

2.3.1.3.2 Plaster casts in the Drawing School of the University of Tartu

In parallel with the university Art Museum, the drawing school of the university was established in 1803. Karl August Senff (1770–1838)²⁹¹, an alumnus of Dresden Art Academy, started as the drawing teacher. The ability to draw was necessary, for example, for doctors and botanists, and for young people who were preparing to become teachers. Some students began in the drawing school, acquired some basic skills and after that went to the art academies. Senff introduced the learning process, where he used mainly specimen pages and plaster figures. Likewise, the students went to the university's Art Museum to draw plaster casts (Siilivask 1982: 73–74).

However, the drawing school had its own plaster cast collection for practicing the drawing of figures. More information about the essence of that cast collection can be found from the accession book of the drawing school, where entries are made in handwritten form by different drawing teachers for 1810–1892.²⁹² It lists 57 casts, of which the earlier are mainly acquisitions of

²⁸⁸ Ewers, G., 1827. Die kaiserliche Universität zu Dorpat: fünfundzwanzig Jahre nach ihrer Gründung. Dorpat, 21.

²⁸⁹ Von Lieven was the educational curator in the district of Tartu 1817–1828.

²⁹⁰ Since 2014 the name of this institution is University of Tartu Museum.

²⁹¹ K. A. Senff was a Baltic German painter and graphic artist. He participated actively in the artistic life of Tartu. Most of the 19th century Baltic German artists became the first artistic studies under the guidance of Senff. Empress Elizabeth Alexeievna met Senff on her visit to Tartu in 1810. It brought some fame to Senff and new orders for paintings from local nobles (Anders 2012: 23).

²⁹² *Schnurbuch der Zeichenanstalt in Dorpat*. Dorpat, 1810–1892 (F 4, n 1, s 737).

plaster casts of ancient sculptures such as Zeus, Alexander the Great, Antinous, Ajax, Apollo, Heracles, Laocoon, Niobe, Bacchante, Aphrodite, Faun, Eros, Fighter, Hermes, Athlete and Atlas. In light of the purpose of the drawing school, which was to teach drawing, the selection of statues was intended to represent the different types and shapes of the human figure: Athlete and the goddess Venus represents the ideal, Laocoon and the Fighter are in motion and their faces reflect emotions, Alexander the Great is an example of a portrait, and so on.²⁹³

In 1823, even a gem cast collection was acquired containing 319 items.²⁹⁴ The end of the list also includes modern casts like the busts of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). In addition, some anatomical casts are listed.²⁹⁵

The drawing department existed at the University of Tartu from 1803 to 1893. In 1898, the art collections of the drawing school were given to the university library (Kukk, Preem 2002: 9).

2.4 Desire for perfection: Ludwig Mercklin, Ludwig Schwabe and Georg Loeschcke

Karl Morgenstern retired from the art museum in 1837 and left abundant art collections to the university as we saw above. In the middle and in the second half of the 19th century the collection continued to grow, but none of his German successors²⁹⁶ contributed so much to increasing the collection of the art

²⁹³ At the same time the idea to assemble the plaster casts collection prevailed in the art museum, since it would represent the best examples of ancient art from different periods. Cf. 2.4.1. In the library of the university were exhibited mainly the busts of famous ancient authors and other persons to create an inspiring academic atmosphere. Cf. 2.3.1.3.1.

²⁹⁴ The gem cast collection is preserved in the University of Tartu Library today (Ki 76).

²⁹⁵ *Schnurbuch*, 1810–1892, 78–82.

²⁹⁶ The other directors of the University of Tartu Art Museum in the 19th century were as follows: 1837–1839 **Karl Ludwig Blum**; 1839–1843 **Ludwig Preller** (1809–1861), who was also professor of classical philology (1838–1842); 1846–1850 **Ludolf Eduard Stephani** (1816–1887), was the professor of classical philology (1845–1850), but his main interest was art history; 1850–1851 **Karl Friedrich Keil**; 1851–1863 **Heinrich Eugen Ludwig Mercklin** (1816–1863), had studied in the University of Tartu and has proceeded as private lecturer (1840–1851) and professor of classical philology (1851–1863); 1864–1872 **Ludwig Georg Franz Friedrich Schwabe** (1835–1908), was professor in Tartu 1863–1872 and thereafter for a long time in Tübingen (1878–1908); 1872–1873 **Leo Karl Heinrich Mayer** (1830–1910), from 1865 was professor of comparative philology in Tartu and 1898 accepted a chair in Göttingen University; 1873–1879 **Hermann Eugen Adolf Petersen** (1836–1919), was professor in Tartu 1873–1879, as long as he directed the museum, after that he moved to Prague and stayed longer in Rome, where he led *Kaiserliche Deutsche Archäologische Institut* 1887–1905; 1879–1889 **Georg Loeschcke** (1852–1915), was professor of classical philology and archaeology in the University of Tartu 1879–1889, he was long-time friend of the archaeologist Adolf Furtwängler (1853–1907), whom he visited at the Leipzig museum of plaster casts in 1870s. In the second semester of 1889 and the first

museum during the next period until the end of the 19th century. On the other hand, they lost the opportunity to purchase everything which seemed appropriate for the profile of the museum as it was during the era of Morgenstern. In 1858, all the principles of collecting were analysed and it was decided to pay more attention to antique art, which at that time was one of the basic trends in art studies. Then the University of Tartu Art Museum belonged to the Chair of Classical philology and nearer to the classical languages.

In 1868, the engravings, drawings and paintings of the museum were placed at the disposal of the drawing school. These art objects did not have so much importance in the study process as in the first half of the 19th century because of the development of photography. But the museum did not stay empty because the personal interest of the directors and specialization of the museum initiated the collecting of ancient vases as a new stream. But even before acquiring ancient vases they started to systematically buy plaster casts of ancient sculptures first from Europe and then also from Russia. The plaster casts of the most outstanding Greek and Roman sculptures were ordered from casting workshops by different museums; for example, from the master Antonio Vanni in Frankfurt am Main, from the Louvre, the Imperial Museum of Berlin, the Museum of Olympia, the Hermitage and so on.

semester of 1890 was the director **Ludwig Mendelssohn**, professor of classical philology and Greek and Roman antiquities.

In the 1890s russification began and it was forbidden to invite lecturers from Germany. The following directors of the museum were from neighboring countries: 1890–1907 **Woldemar (Vladimir) Justus Konstantin Malmberg** (1860–1921) was professor of classical philology and archaeology in the University of Tartu 1890–1907, in 1907 he moved to Moscow and started in the university as professor of art theory and art history; 1907–1911 **Mihhail Nikititsh Krasheninnikov** (1865–1929), professor of classical philology in the University of Tartu 1896–1918; 1911–1918 **Johann Ernst Theodor Felsberg** (1866–1928), studied in the University of Tartu and thereafter was private lecturer 1905–1910 and professor 1910–1918, worked two years in the university of Voronezh and in 1920 returned to his homeland Latvia and started in the university of Riga.

On 1 December 1919 Tartu University of the Republic of Estonia was opened. Between 1919–1923 the museum was subordinated to the Institute of Classical Antiquities and was headed by Professor **Johan Bergman** (1864–1951), later he became a member of the Swedish senate; between 1923–1924 the institute and museum were headed by Professor **Wilhelm Süß** (1882–1968), he continued in the universities of Giessen and Breslau; between 1934–1944 the institute and museum were headed by Extraordinary Professor Estonian **Pärtel Haliste** (1890–1944).

Between 1944–1989 the Tartu State University was in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, where from 1944–1954 the museum was headed by the Head of the Department of Classical Philology, Docent **Karl Reitav** (1897–1961); 1954–1961 the museum was subordinated to the Department of Western European Literature; and 1961–1986 the art historian **Õie Utter** (1930–2010) headed the art museum.

The University of Tartu exists from 1989. For 1987–1995 Professor of Ethnology **Jüri Linnus** (1926–1995) headed the museum; 1995–1999 geographer **Anu Laansalu** headed the art museum; 1999–2013 art historian **Inge Kukk** was director of art museum (Tamm, Tankler 2004: 31–51; Kukk, *et al.* 2006: 22–25).

So we can state that there had been a change in paradigm in the development of the Art Museum and the change had been carried out at the university level. The universal art museum with its diverse collections founded by Morgenstern started to move towards the creation of a specialized art museum – focus was placed to plaster casts made after the best examples of ancient sculptures. The purpose was to create an ideal collection of ancient Greek sculptures for teaching students, instead of a universal museum. In addition, attention must be paid to miniature casts such as the gem and coin casts, which had already been eagerly collected by Morgenstern. Because the heyday of casting coins and gems was over by the middle of the 19th century, it was more difficult to acquire these than at the beginning of the 19th century. That is the reason why coin and gem casts were no longer a point of interest for the museum, although the existing items remained in the art museum as valuable artefacts from Antiquity.²⁹⁷

2.4.1 The rise of interest in casts of sculptures

Ludwig Mercklin²⁹⁸ obtained the position of director of the art museum in 1851 after a 15-year period during which the museum directors changed quite often. He began to manage the art objects collected by Morgenstern. Pretty soon he was faced with a huge acquisition – the art museum received its donation from Morgenstern in 1853. The donation consisted of 3,000 different art objects, including drawings, prints, paintings, coins and more than 1,500 casts of modern and antique gems already mentioned above (Raid 1968: 35). Mercklin exhibited the gem casts as a separate department. New cabinets were ordered for the 5,856 coins and medals, and one portion of them was laid out under glass. Due to the continually increasing collections the museum was soon suffering from a lack of space.²⁹⁹ The museum could no longer accommodate all its collections in its premises on the second floor of the main building, next to the festive hall.

New rooms were sought for the art museum and the building of the new wings for the main building opened a favourable opportunity, and the museum was given new rooms there. In connection with the relocation of the collections and the expansion of the museum, a critical assessment was necessary because

²⁹⁷ Cf. 2.3.1.1.

²⁹⁸ Mercklin was born in Riga and obtained his education and knowledge of Latin and Greek at the gymnasium of Riga. In 1835 he came to Tartu and started as the student of the pedagogical-philological seminar. In 1844 Mercklin received his doctoral degree at the University of Tartu with his Latin thesis *De Corneliae, P. F. Gracchorum matris vita, moribus et epistolis commentatio*. In the same year he acquired the position of budgetary assistant professor in the University of Tartu (Raid 1990: 2141–2150). He was supposed to be acquainted with Morgenstern during his student years and in the art museum he was faced with the collecting activity of Morgenstern everywhere.

²⁹⁹ Morgenstern's heritage was exhibited in the special part of the museum to commemorate the long standing director (Siilivask 1982: 113).

over the years a lot of valuable objects as well as some quite random items had been collected (Siilivask 1982: 113–114).

Dealing with these museum issues was tackled at the university level in 1858 and the curator of the university, Georg Friedrich von Bradke, convened the commission. The commission, which was to define the profile of the art museum, relations with other collections of the university and to establish the purchasing principles, included Ludwig Mercklin, Karl Ernst von Liphart, A. Tobien, Christian Friedrich Neue and Carl Albert Rathlef. Current art collections were distributed according to the decision of the commission on the basis of teaching profile. Morgenstern's successors as the museum director were all classical philologists who held suitable lectures with the museums profile. General artistic education, as previously delivered by Morgenstern, was no longer continued.³⁰⁰ In 1868, engravings and drawings (items collected by Morgenstern) were given away to the Drawing School of the University of Tartu as were the paintings in 1872 (Siilivask 1982: 114).

The commission decided to start paying more attention to antique art, which at the same time was one of the basic trends in studies.³⁰¹ By that time only few plaster sculptures for art museum had been acquired, although these were considered to be the most valuable teaching aids for archaeology and art history (Raid 1968: 35). In 1856, Mercklin proposed to keep the surplus money the museum had been assigned with the budget in order to buy larger and more expensive plaster casts (Raid 1990: 2146). He had seen such plaster cast collections on his journey to Europe in 1846. In the middle of the 19th century the attention to the collecting of plaster casts of ancient sculptures emerged and many such collections arose quickly in Europe.

Nothing was purchased immediately because Mercklin himself was interested in going abroad to choose the best materials, sculpture casts, for illustrating lectures. The commission enabled him to go to Europe to buy new plaster casts of ancient sculptures. The commission made a list of forty plaster casts that were sought and advised him to buy for the university art museum. The list is composed mainly of the most recognizable and most outstanding antique works of art, which were considered important examples for students of archaeology and art history, such as the Laocoon group, Dying Gaul, the head of Niobe, the Discus thrower of Myron and the sculptures and reliefs of the Parthenon temple.³⁰² Mercklin applied four months vacation in 1859 to make a

³⁰⁰ For more of the lecture-plan see chapter 3.1.1.

³⁰¹ During the following years changes were made elsewhere in the university. In 1865 a new statute was introduced where classical philology and related subjects were divided: the department of Classical Philology and Archaeology, the department of Classical Philology and literary history. Among them other sciences related with antiquities were distributed. In 1875 the department of Classical Philology and Greek and Roman antiquities was also separated (Hiio *et al.* 2007: 182).

³⁰² *Briefwechsel mit dem Direktor des Kunstmuseums, dem Kurator des Dorpater Lehrbezirks u.a. über die Anschaffung von Büchern und Gypsabgrüssen der Statuten, den Zweck und Zustand dieses Museums u.a.* EAA.402.5.528, p. 18.

scientific journey in 1860 to Germany, England, France and Northern Italy because that was where the largest collections of ancient art as well the casting workshops were located (Raid 1990: 2147). In the history of the university's art museum collecting activity Mercklin was an important person after Morgenstern and his collecting activity. The era of Mercklin can be characterised as the founding of the collection of ancient art, especially the plaster casts made after ancient sculptures.

Mercklin ordered plaster casts of the most important antique objects from the masters of plaster casting in Europe and the museum casting workshops; for example, the master Antonio Vanni in Frankfurt am Main, from Dresden, the Louvre, the Royal Museum of Berlin, the Museum of Olympia and so on. The plaster casts sometimes have a certificate of origin in the form of a little oval metal plate.³⁰³ Brief information about the plaster sculptures was entered into the accession book started by Morgenstern already in 1808 and continued by his successors (Verz III). The information in the accession-book is really scant and often the dates when the casts were acquired has been omitted. The only way we can identify when the sculpture casts are acquired on the basis of this accession-book, is by identifying which director made the entry on the basis of the handwriting. Fortunately, the later director Felsberg had written in his catalogue of plaster casts how many and which figures every director had obtained (Felsberg 1913, see chapter 2.5.2). The casts in the accession-book are listed in groups on the basis of size and type as is written below.³⁰⁴

The groups: the Laocoon group³⁰⁵ (KMM S 60).

The statues: the Prayer (KMM S 10), the Roman or Marcellus (KMM S 11), Artemis Colonna (KMM S 31), the girl from Tivoli (KMM S 33), Milo Venus³⁰⁶ (KMM S 61), the boy with the discus (KMM S 62), Hermes putting on the sandal (KMM S 63)³⁰⁷, Marcellus or Roman (KMM S 64), the Borghese warrior³⁰⁸ (KMM S 65), the Silen with Dionysus-child³⁰⁹ (KMM S 66), Spinario³¹⁰ (KMM S 67), the warrior from the east pediment of Aphaia temple (KMM S 68), the Apollo Belvedere³¹¹ (KMM S 83), Venus Medici³¹²

³⁰³ MAISON DE L'EMPEREUR MUSÉES IMPERIAUX; ANTONIO VANNI AM FRANKFURT A.M.

³⁰⁴ The pictures of plaster casts of the sculptures are available in the public portal of Estonian museums www.muis.ee.

³⁰⁵ The Laocoon group was most expensive purchase from this journey. Its price was 300 silver rubles (Raid 1990: 2148). See for original Laocoon group in Haskell, Penny 2006: 243–247.

³⁰⁶ See for original Milo Venus in Haskell, Penny 2006: 328–330.

³⁰⁷ See for original Hermes in Haskell, Penny 2006: 182–184.

³⁰⁸ See for original Borghese warrior in Haskell, Penny 2006: 221–224.

³⁰⁹ See for original Silen with Dionysus-child in Haskell, Penny 2006: 307.

³¹⁰ See for original Spinario in Haskell, Penny 2006: 308–310.

³¹¹ See for original Apollo Belvedere in Haskell, Penny 2006: 148–151.

³¹² See for original Venus Medici in Haskell, Penny 2006: 325–328.

(KMM S 84), the Satyr with krupezion³¹³ (KMM S 85), the sleeping Satyr or Barberini Faun³¹⁴ (KMM S 86). (Illustration 11)



Illustration 11. Interior of the University of Tartu Art Museum in 1898 (ÜAMF 88: 70).

The statuettes: Maenad (KMM S 9), Athena (KMM S 51), Amazon on the horse (KMM S 52), Heracles with the deer (KMM S 47), the dancing Faun (KMM S 48)³¹⁵, Athena (KMM S 51), Amazon on the horse (KMM S 52), the lion from Khorsabad (KMM S 69).

³¹³ See for original Satyr with krupezion in Haskell, Penny 2006: 205–207.

³¹⁴ See for original Barberini Faun in Haskell, Penny 2006: 202–205.

³¹⁵ See for original dancing Faun in Haskell, Penny 2006: 208–209.

Torsos: Psyche from Capua (KMM S 12), Aphrodite Medici (KMM S 13), Aphrodite Medici (KMM S 34), Marsyas³¹⁶ (KMM S 35), Aphrodite (KMM S 36), Eros Contocelle (KMM S 53), Aesop (KMM S 54).

Vases: the Warwick vase with masks (KMM S 59), the vase of Sosibios (KMM S 82).

Busts and herms: Zeus Otricoli (KMM S 14), Aphrodite Melos³¹⁷ (KMM S 15), Hermes with petasos (KMM S 16), Aphrodite Arles (KMM S 17), Antinous Bacchus (KMM S 18), Ares Borghese (KMM S 19), herm of Plato (KMM S 20), double-herm of Sophokles and Euripides (KMM S 21), double-herm of Aristophanes and Menander (KMM S 22), Zeus Trophonios (KMM S 23), head of woman from Parthenon (KMM S 29), an Egyptian bust (KMM S 30), horse head from the pediment of Parthenon (KMM S 32), Pharaoh Tuthmosis Chebron (KMM S 37), Dionysus-child (KMM S 38), Alexander the Great (KMM S 39), Scipio Africanus (KMM S 40), Caesar (KMM S 41), Tiberius (KMM S 42), Traianus (KMM S 43), Marcus Aurelius (KMM S 44), Dionysus with beard (KMM S 49), Sappho (KMM S 50), Asclepius (KMM S 55), Homer (KMM S 56), Medusa Rondanini (KMM S 57), Satyr (KMM S 58), Apollo from Piombino (KMM S 70), Laocoon (KMM S 71), Antinous (KMM S 72), Dionysus with the wreath (KMM S 73), Hera Barberini (KMM S 90), Roman (KMM S 91).

Reliefs: Persian (KMM S 8)³¹⁸, Maenad (KMM S 24), Heracles with deer (KMM S 25), the procession of the gods (KMM S 26), Nike (KMM S 27), Paramythia (KMM S 28), frieze of Parthenon (KMM S 45, KMM S 311–324)³¹⁹, Assyrian barelief (KMM S 46), metope from Selinunte, Perseus and Medusa (KMM S 74) and metope from Selinunte, Heracles and Cecrops (KMM S 325)³²⁰, relief from Assos (KMM S 75), metope from Parthenon, Centaur and girl (KMM S 76), relief from Olympia, Heracles (KMM S 77), metope from Olympia, Athena (KMM S 326), the faceplate of the throne with reliefs from Samothrake (KMM S 78), Artemis, Apollo, Nike (KMM S 79), relief with Harpyia from Xanthos (KMM S 80), relief with woman (KMM S 81), Zeus, Aphrodite and kore (KMM S 87), six Maenads (KMM S 88), the scene of cult (KMM S 89).

Mercklin obtained very different casts from little statuettes to the huge Laocoon group and between these there were busts, torsos, vases and many reliefs. Mostly the statues were from the classical period. There were a large number of heads and busts. Among them the works from the Parthenon can be found as well as the gods, writers, Roman emperors and others. Mercklin ordered the

³¹⁶ See for original Marsyas in Haskell, Penny 2006: 262–263.

³¹⁷ See for original Aphrodite Melos in Haskell, Penny 2006: 328–330.

³¹⁸ The relief was gifted by Prof. Ludolf Stephani in 1851 (Felsberg 1913: iii).

³¹⁹ In Felsberg's catalogue all these reliefs from the Parthenon were under inventory number "45" (1913: x). Today they are counted as different objects and each one has its own inventory number.

³²⁰ In Felsberg, these two metops were under the one number (1913: x). Today they are counted as two objects and have different inventory numbers.

greatest number of Parthenon artworks – a total of 15 relief plates of the Parthenon frieze were added to the museum.

The plaster casts travelled to the museum by land and by sea over an extended period, 1860–1862. To avoid overloading spaces Mercklin gave away items that were inappropriate for the new profile³²¹ (Raid 1990: 2148). The knowledge and experience received from Europe was useful in organising the art museum. With the help of the university architect Karl Rathaus (1805–1872), Mercklin set the plaster casts on wooden plinths and fixed the reliefs to the wall. Further information on the principles of exhibiting the casts is not known, but it is assumed that it followed chronology and styles.

After the installation of the plaster casts the museum entered a new epoch – in 1862 the museum was open at certain hours for people outside the university interested in ancient art (Raid 1968: 35). In 1861/1862 academic year Mercklin read numerous lectures related to art history: ancient mythology, explanations of the art museum, ethnography, history of Greek antiquities.³²² Students of philology had to introduce themselves to the museum outside their lectures. In 1863, Eugen Mecklenburg, a student of the philosophy faculty, was taken on as an assistant to introduce, look after and organize the collections of the Art Museum³²³ (Siilivask 1982: 114; Raid 1990: 2149). The assistant apparently eased Mercklin's workload since his health was not so good anymore.

In sum Mercklin purchased about one hundred casts, and after his death in 1863 the sculpture cast collection contained already almost 100 objects.³²⁴ Mercklin's successor was Ludwig Schwabe (1863–1872) who acquired about forty plaster casts for the collection (in collection signatures numbers 92–128). The cast collection also increased during the next years. Subsequent directors Eugen Petersen (1873–1879) purchased almost thirty (numbers 129–155) and Georg Loeschke (1879–1889) added about a hundred casts (numbers 156–255) to the collection.

³²¹ For example, Mercklin gave two Egyptian child-mummies, a mummy of an ibis and a dog, donated by O. M. von Richter in 1819, to the Anatomical Theatre of the university. The mummies stayed there for a long time and were returned to the art museum in the 1980s. It is possible, the mummies would be evacuated to Russia along with the art objects than they had been in the art museum. See more about evacuated objects in Hindikainen *et al.* 2006.

³²² See for lectures in chapter 3.1 ff.

³²³ In 1807 the first keeper of the museum collection was employed in the Natural History cabinet of the University of Tartu – inspector Ernst Marcus Ulprecht (1770–1831). The first collection opened to the public was a collection of natural sciences: as early as in 1803, in the lecture plan of the second semester was suggested to interested people to contact with Professor Gottfried Albrecht Germann (1773–1809), who introduced these collections (*Vorlesungen* 1803 II). Generally, it is considered to be the oldest museum of the University of Tartu Art Museum (Siilivask 1982: 73). Due to lack of space the collection was still opened to the public in the newly built main building in the second semester of 1810 (*Vorlesungen* 1810 II).

³²⁴ In addition to the list above, Mercklin acquired the reliefs and some other sculptures listed in his manuscript report *An ein hochverordnetes Conseil der Universität Dorpat. Reisebericht des Professor L. Mercklin.*

2.4.1.1 Mercklin and his journeys

Mercklin made two journeys during his time at the University of Tartu. The first lasted four months and the trip took him to Italy and Germany. He travelled in 1846 because of his poor health as well as scientific interest. The trip was essential for educating himself: he visited museums, libraries and acquainted himself with antiquities (Raid 1990: 2143–2144). After returning, Mercklin made career in the university. In 1851, he was appointed to extraordinary professor of eloquence, classical philology, aesthetics and art history. In 1852, he became an ordinary professor and started his activity at the University of Tartu Art Museum, where he stayed as director until 1863 (Raid 1990: 2145).

In 1858, the commission, which was formed to define the Art Museum's future developments, made the decision to collect the best examples of ancient art as mentioned above. In 1860, the council of the university decided to start working towards this end and sent Mercklin to Europe to order casts after famous Greek sculptures (Utter 1969: 3). Mercklin organised the trip to Germany, France, England and Northern Italy to choose the casts for the museum collection in order to use them in lectures (Raid 1990: 2147). About his trip, Mercklin wrote a report *Reisebericht 1860* that provides thorough information about the places he visited and the casts he ordered.³²⁵

Mercklin informs us that he had made a request for a vacation already on 19 December 1859 to make a trip to acquire the necessary archaeological teaching tools for the art museum, to visit art collections and libraries and communicate with specialist scholars. His journey took place from 10 June to 1 December 1860. He visited Germany, England and France, and went to Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig and Kissingen, where he stayed for a month because his health, then to Würzburg, Hamburg, Nürnberg and Munich, where he visited the highlands of Bayer and Salzburg, acquainted himself on his way with Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Bonn, Cologne, then moved on to Belgium and crossed the channel to reach London. He left London after three weeks and went to Antwerp, Kassel, Göttingen and Braunschweig, where the gathering of philologists took place. He proceeded to Magdeburg, Leipzig and participated in the 50th anniversary of the University of Berlin. Then he went back to Magdeburg, Braunschweig, Hanover, returned to Cologne and moved through Belgium to Paris, where he spent a month. After that he made a round trip and came from Cologne to Koblenz, Giessen, Marburg, Gotha, Weimar, Leipzig, Berlin and finally reached Marienburg. In all the places mentioned he stayed for a shorter or longer time as he says himself. No doubt he saw and learned very much on this trip and obtained inspiration and knowledge for the museum in Tartu (Mercklin 1860: 2–3).

Mercklin in broad terms shared the archaeological collections he had visited to find the best examples of Greek sculpture. Sometimes obtaining them was

³²⁵ Manuscript of *An ein hochverordnetes Conseil der Universität Dorpat. Reisebericht des Professor L. Mercklin* is in the Library of Tartu University, collections of rare books, manuscripts, photographs and works of art (F 55, n 1, s 51).

not as easy as it would seem. Mercklin writes about the complications that may occur: sometimes it was impossible to get some casts because their owners did not allow moulds to be made and older moulds were either over exploited or lost; sometimes it was not easy and sometimes impossible to know where existing plaster casts have been obtained. Mercklin has heard with his own ears, as he has written, in Bonn, one of the first archaeologists, Otto Jahn (1813–1869), saying that he is unable to obtain a cast for the collection in Bonn that was previously purchased for the museum in Kiel, because the provenance of the statue is no longer known.³²⁶ Mercklin mentions briefly also the value of photographs. Neither in London nor in Paris did he find unglued photographs, only those are useful – single sheets of photographs of antiques. Only in Berlin did the art dealer Bellair offer a small selection of photographs of local ancient originals, from which Mercklin purchased three one examples. In Paris he had already seen architectural photographs, but he decided these were not at the moment the most urgent necessity (Mercklin 1868: 4–7).

Mercklin visited many museums to see original art works because his previous stay (1846) in Germany, Austria and Italy was fourteen years ago and he not managed a proper visit to some minor German museums and almost everywhere museums had amassed a considerable amount of new material. He visited Paris and London for the first time and the Berlin Museum twice. He mentions that Eduard Gerhard in Berlin³²⁷, Samuel Birch in London³²⁸, and Adrien de Longpérier in Paris introduced him to their museums. He writes about being with Gerhard several times in the splendid rooms of the Berlin Museum, with Longpérier in the halls of the Louvre and received from them instructive communication on many items in their collections.

Plaster casts had special value for Mercklin. Such casts had been disseminated across Germany and could be found in Berlin and Dresden, and in addition to the major museums, also in places where the opportunity to purchase originals was missing. His special interest was plaster cast collections in university towns. Almost every German university had its own plaster cast collection for teaching archaeology, of which Bonn was the most important, but the smaller universities also had good cast collections. Mercklin visited university museums in Bonn, Leipzig, Giessen, Göttingen and Würzburg. Further he visited the Städelsche art museum in Frankfurt am Main, the collection in Hanover, and the more recent art in the Schlettersche museum in Leipzig and the collection of models owned by Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler in Munich³²⁹. In those collections Mercklin observed the arrangement,

³²⁶ In 1855–1861, Jahn and Friedrich Wilhelm Ritschl (1806–1876) were the heads of the Academic Art Museum in Bonn. From 1861 to 1869 Jahn was the director of the museum and the period is described as an intensive expansion of collections (Bauer, Geominy 2000: 21–22). Cf. 1.4.1.

³²⁷ In 1837 Gerhard was appointed as an archaeologist within the Royal Museum of Berlin. Cf. 2.3.1.2.3 about the role of Gerhard.

³²⁸ Birch (1813–1885) was a British Egyptologist and antiquary.

³²⁹ Schwanthaler (1802–1848) was a German sculptor.

installation and provenance of individual pieces. He claims to have procured the printed catalogues of collections in Berlin, Dresden, Bonn and Leipzig.

One of the purposes of his journey was to visit art dealers. He recorded the current prices of plaster casts so he could order the casts himself for the University of Tartu Art Museum by long distance. Mercklin ordered plaster casts from the Royal Museums of Berlin, purchased from Eichler and Prof. Zahn in Berlin, from the art dealer Antonio Vanni in Frankfurt am Main³³⁰, the art dealer Togniarelli in Stuttgart, from the Louvre and the British Museum. New casts arrived first from Berlin, the others reached Tartu in the following year.

Mercklin had the chance to meet representatives of his profession on his journey. In Braunschweig he had a meeting and in Berlin he met philologists, orientalist and school teachers at the university's jubilee. He made contact with them and even visited some of their homes. In Berlin, he participated in a meeting at the archaeology society where he presented his paper about the inscriptions of the Cypselus box.³³¹ He also had a meeting at the Institute of France.

Based on the above written facts, Mercklin concludes that all the essential aims of his trip, for the Art Museum and him personally were achieved and he was satisfied. Finally, Mercklin listed 78 plaster casts formed in sections according to the type of cast: Nature (sculptures), Torsos, Busts, Masks, Reliefs and Vases (Mercklin 1860: 10–13).

It was important for Mercklin to meet with representatives and experts in his profession. Many years had passed since his last journey, and during that time great changes in the science and archaeology had taken place. During his trip Mercklin visited libraries as well as plaster cast collections in the universities in Germany. He created personal contacts with plaster workshops to facilitate ordering the casts (Raid 1968: 35; Raid 1990: 2147). As the result of the journey and later orders the collection acquired almost one hundred new casts from Germany, England, France and Italy during the period 1851–1863. Between 1860–1862 about fifty large boxes with plaster casts arrived at the museum (Raid 1968: 36).

³³⁰ For plaster casts sold by Antonio Vanni see: *Neuestes Preisverzeichniss der vorzüglichsten Gyps-Abgüsse über antike und moderne Gegenstände zu haben bei Antonio Vanni, in Frankfurt am Main*. Frankfurt am Main: Mahlau & Waldschmidt, 1868.

³³¹ Cypselus was the tyrant of Corinth (657–628 BC). The Cypselus-box is a chest of cedar-wood decorated with figures in ivory, gold, and wood, exhibited at Olympia in the temple of Hera. It is said to have been the one in which the infant Cypselus was hidden, and afterwards to have been dedicated by either Cypselus or his son Periander. Nothing of this famous chest survives, but long description of the decorations by Pausanias III suggests that they were in the style of contemporary painted pottery, i.e. that of the 7th to 6th century BC. (Oxford Index – <http://oxfordindex.oup.com/> [accessed 04.06.2014]. Read more about the chest of Cypselus in Frazer, J. G. (ed., transl.), 1898. *Pausanias' Description of Greece. Volume 3: Commentary on Books II–IV*. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 600–618 (Cambridge Library Collection).

2.4.2 Pompeian interiors and ancient ceramics – Ludwig Schwabe's innovation

After the death of Mercklin, Prof. Ludwig Schwabe (1835–1908) was appointed to the position of museum director in 1863.³³² Schwabe has written in his memoirs that he found a decent collection of plaster casts of ancient sculptures in Tartu. He decided to further increase the collection of casts. He has also mentioned a very good library of ancient art in the art museum. In his view 700 rubles was a sufficient budget for the museum for a year (Schwabe 1915: 236; Schwabe 1986: 243).

Schwabe proceeded along the lines of a classical museum. Initially, he preserved all the different objects, but in 1868 paintings, drawings and engravings, were given away followed in 1869 by ethnographic objects and occasional gifts. This was part of the process that began already with the convening the commission for assessing the art museum's collections in the 1858. The profile of the museum became clearer and obviously classical. In addition, more space was needed for the plaster sculptures ordered by Mercklin and those that continued to arrive year by year, 1864–1872, and so Schwabe had to find places for these casts in the rooms of museum (Raid 1968: 37).

A critical overview of the collections was definitely a condition of moving into the new rooms, in 1809 the main building of university was finished. The museum moved into the new beautiful neo-classical style building, engineered by Krause, and stayed in its rooms until 1868. That was the year when the second phase of building activity was finished and the main building got its new wings designed by Rathaus (Maiste *et al.* 2003). Schwabe has written that the room next to the festive hall was too small. He managed to move the museum to the first floor in the east wing. There was a lot of space to exhibit the casts more beautifully and more effectively (Schwabe 1986: 243).

Under the leadership of Schwabe, a local painter master F. Redlin had specially created Pompeian style murals for the museum in the rooms of the exposition to create an impressive background for the white plaster sculptures (Siilivask 1982: 114). These Pompeian-style murals followed the volume by Wilhelm Zahn, where the murals discovered in Pompei are printed in full colour.³³³ It was the perfect interior for exhibiting the plaster sculptures and these unique rooms are still used by the university's art museum (Kukk 2002:

³³² Schwabe was born in Giessen. He studied classical philology and archaeology in the universities of Göttingen and Giessen and received his doctorate in 1857 in Giessen. In 1863, he became associate professor in Giessen and then moved to the University of Tartu and became the professor of classical philology. From the year of 1872 he became the professor of classical philology and chair of classical archaeology at the University of Tübingen, where he preferred to deal more with archaeology. In the University of Tartu Art Museum Prof. Schwabe, in addition to the casts, also concentrated on collecting Greek and Roman ceramics.

³³³ Zahn, W., *Die schönsten Ornamente aus dem merkwürdigsten Gemälde Pompeji, Herculaneum und Stabiae nach den an Ort und Stelle gemachten Original-Zeichnungen*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Band 1 1828/1829, Band 2 1842/1844, Band 3, 1852/1859.

21–23; 2003: 112–120). In addition, it was the first interior designed for a museum in Estonia.

Schwabe began upgrading the collection of ancient ceramics, purchasing the majority of that collection. In addition, he tried to purchase the best examples he could find and which his purse allowed. In 1871, he acquired five ancient oil-lamps and about fifty small vases.³³⁴ In the same year, Schwabe purchased 19 vases from Naples and Capua through classical archaeologist Wolfgang Helbig, the secretary of the Institute of Roman Archaeology. In 1872, he purchased another six vessels from Cerveteri, once again with the assistance of Helbig. Among these ceramics there were remarkable specimens of black-and-red-figured Greek and Southern-Italian vases, some of them even had inscriptions (Siilivask 1982: 145; Hindikainen *et al.* 2006).

Schwabe's activity aimed at increasing the cast collection is reflected in the following plaster casts he acquired. He indicates in his memoirs that because all the major places from which casts could be ordered were far from Tartu the price rose due to the cost of transport (Schwabe 1986: 243). We can identify some of the sculptures he acquired for the art museum through his handwriting in the accession-book, but the catalogue prepared by Felsberg provides more information (1913).

The groups: Niobe with the daughter³³⁵ (KMM S 93).

The statues: Artemis Versailles³³⁶ (KMM S 100), Apollo on the omphalos (KMM S 101), the Discus-thrower³³⁷ (KMM S 102), Sophokles (KMM S 105), Athena Giustiniani³³⁸ (KMM S 106), Eirene with Ploutos (KMM S 107), Capitoline Venus³³⁹ (KMM S 114), the dying Gaul (KMM S 115), the dying Amazon (KMM S 116), the dying Persian (KMM S 117), the woman from Herculaneum (KMM S 118), Apollo of Tenea (KMM S 119), Harmodios (KMM S 122), Aristogeiton (KMM S 123), the Doryphoros (KMM S 129), Amazon (KMM S 130), Demeter of Knidos (KMM S 131).

The statuettes: Athena Lenormant (KMM S 94), Roman (KMM S 103), Apollo (KMM S 128).

Busts: Hera Ludovisi (KMM S 92), Dying Alexander³⁴⁰ (KMM S 113).

³³⁴ These were not the first ceramics in the art museum. Morgenstern already acquired many vases, but these were donations. Baltic German politician and economist Gustav Reinhold Georg von Rennekampff (1784–1869) donated an ancient *oinochoe* in honour of the University of Tartu's anniversary. In 1831, 48 ancient clay vessels were donated to the museum obviously by German mathematician, professor in the University of Tartu, Johann Christian Martin Bartels (1769–1836). Another donation was received in 1862 (the time of Mercklin) from medical doctor Georg Adolf Dietrich von Rauch (1789–1864) (Hindikainen 2006: 84).

³³⁵ See for original Niobe with daughter in Haskell, Penny 2006: 274–279.

³³⁶ See for original Versailles Artemis in Haskell, Penny 2006: 196–198.

³³⁷ See for original Discus Thrower in Haskell, Penny 2006: 199–201

³³⁸ See for original Athena Giustiniani in Haskell, Penny 2006: 269–271.

³³⁹ See for original Capitoline Venus in Haskell, Penny 2006: 318–320.

³⁴⁰ See for original Dying Alexander in Haskell, Penny 2006: 134–136.

Reliefs: grave stele with Aristion (KMM S 95), gate of Lions from Mycenae³⁴¹ (KMM S 99), the base of the tripod (KMM S 120), grave stele of Alxenor from Orchomenos (KMM S 124), the basis with reliefs (KMM S 125), grave stele from Spart (KMM S 126), grave stele of Hegeso (KMM S 127).

Varia: the capital of the temple Erechteion (KMM S 96), the fragment of Ionian capital (KMM S 97), the fragment of the capital from Eleusis (KMM S 98), the model of Acropolis, by Eduard von Launitz (KMM S 104), leg of candelabrum from Pompei (KMM S 108), lamp with Silen from Pompei (KMM S 109) and lamp with a bat from Pompei (KMM S 327)³⁴², elk-shaped rhyton from Pompei (KMM S 110), askos from Pompei (KMM S 111), the cup with reliefs (KMM S 112), a part of an ornament (KMM S 121, KMM S 329)³⁴³.

Schwabe's love of Pompei is clearly visible. He initiated the Pompeian interior design in the art museum and ordered some objects of applied art found in Pompei. In other respects, he continued collecting plaster casts as had Mercklin in his era. Mercklin had already selected artworks from all the different periods – archaic, classical and Roman – and therefore, Schwabe also took on Hellenistic sculptures to move towards a comprehensive collection of casts. The number of casts obtained by Schwabe is significantly smaller compared with Mercklin. In particular, a smaller number of reliefs and thematic differences compared with Mercklin. Schwabe purchased grave steles with a couple of exceptions, while Mercklin acquired reliefs from different temples. Schwabe filled a gap with those grave steles.

2.4.3 The casts of temple sculptures and the latest finds. Systematic growth of the cast collection – Eugen Petersen and Georg Loeschcke

The successor to Schwabe was Leo Meyer in the years 1872–1873. As a German and a comparative philologist, the antiquities were not in his point of interest. When Eugen Petersen arrived in Tartu, Meyer was released from the obligation of museum management.³⁴⁴ Petersen stayed in art museum for six

³⁴¹ The relief of Lions fell into Lake Peipus when it was being transported by sleigh over the ice at the end of the winter. The heavy weight caused the fragile ice to break and it required a great effort to save the cast. Ugly yellow stains from the water reminded people of the forced swim for a long time (Schwabe 1915: 36; Süss 1928: 178, Schwabe 1986: 243).

³⁴² In Felsberg, these two lamps were under the one number (1913: xi). Today they are counted as two objects and have different inventory numbers.

³⁴³ In Felsberg, these two ornaments were under the one number (1913: xii). Today they are counted as two objects and have different inventory numbers.

³⁴⁴ Eugen Petersen was born on 16 August 1836 in Heiligenhafen on the Baltic Sea that was under Danish rule. Prussia took over Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, after which Petersen became a Prussian citizen. After studying at gymnasium he studied classical philology in Kiel and later in Bonn, where his teachers were Fr. G. Welcker, Fr. Ritschl, O. Jahn. In 1873–1879 Petersen held a professorship of classical philology in Tartu. In 1879–1886 he

years and was busy with his lectures and preparing publications.³⁴⁵ He went in the footsteps of his predecessors and gave the museum over to Georg Loeschcke without conceptual changes, but with a few new casts that complemented the collection especially in terms of the sculptures from different temples.

Petersen obtained the following casts:

Statues: Doryphoros (KMM S 129), wounded Amazon (KMM S 130), Demeter of Knidos (KMM S 131), Aphrodite and Dione from the east pediment of Parthenon temple (KMM S 136), caryatid from the temple of Erechteion (KMM S 137), Dionysus from the east pediment of Parthenon temple (KMM S 139), Anadumenos Farnese (KMM S 140), Kyniskos (KMM S 146), Nike Paionios (KMM S 147), the boy from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus of Olympia (KMM S 148), the seer from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus of Olympia (KMM S 149), the lying woman from the east pediment of the temple of Samothrake (KMM S 150), the standing woman from the temple of Samothrake (KMM S 151).

Busts: the herm of Pherekydes (KMM S 132), Cicero (KMM S 133), German woman (KMM S 135), Mausolos (KMM S 138), Augustus Castellani (KMM S 142), the fragment of the head of Nemesis (KMM S 143), Capranese athlete (KMM S 144), Hera Castellani (KMM S 145), the head of the lion from the temple of Samothrake (KMM S 152), the head of the lion from the temple of Zeus from Olympia (KMM S 154), Zeus (KMM S 155).

Reliefs: the retribution of Orestes, relief from the sarcophagus (KMM S 134), the grave stele with the head of man (KMM S 141), the metope of the temple of Zeus from Olympia, Athena, Heracles and Atlas (KMM S 153).

Georg Loeschcke came to the museum in 1879 and stayed for ten years³⁴⁶. He was very well informed about the new finds of sculptures. His evaluation,

taught classical archaeology at the Karl-Ferdinand University in Prague. In 1886–1887 he was the first secretary of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, after which he held the same post at the German Archaeological Institute in Rome (Blanck 2001: 254–255).

³⁴⁵ In 1873, immediately after his arrival in Tartu, Petersen published his famous work about the sculptures of Phidias (490–430 BC), *Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

³⁴⁶ Loeschcke was a German archaeologist born in Pening. He studied archaeology in Leipzig and continued his education in the university of Bonn. He participated in a study trip in Greece and Italy under the German Archaeology Institute in 1877–1878. After the trip, he published a book about Mycenaean pottery with Furtwängler in 1879: *Mykenische Thongefässe, Festschrift zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens des deutschen archäologischen Institutes in Rom im Auftrage des Institutes in Athen*. Berlin: A. Asher. In 1886, during his professorship in Tartu he published another important study about Mycenaean pottery with Furtwängler *Mykenische Vasen: vorhellenistische Thongefässe aus dem Gebiete des Mittelmeeres Atlas*. Berlin: A. Asher. In 1887 was he appointed the first secretary of the German Archaeology Institute in Athens. In 1889 G. Loeschcke became professor in Bonn and director of the *Akademisches Kunstmuseum*. He was active in excavations and regarded originals more highly than casts. As a result he began to deal with pottery in a systematic way (Connor 1989: 192). Previously Loeschcke had collected antique ceramics for the museum for University of Tartu Art Museum (Kukk *et al.* 2006: 12–13). In 1912 he became

systemization and versatile art collecting was practical for teaching and studying. Individual works of ancient art had been admired since the Renaissance, and this was the reason to collect ancient art. However, Loeschcke was interested in the meaning of the work in the historical context. Philological and historical sources and critical analysis were important for him to obtain the true picture of the history of Greek art (Laiverik 2003: 11).

Despite a small budget, Loeschcke succeeded in increasing the collection of plaster sculptures by a hundred casts during his period (Raid 1968: 38). Loeschcke continued supplementing the collections in line with the progress of the excavations and archaeological works. New finds from the Temple of Zeus of Olympia arrived quickly in Tartu.³⁴⁷

For example, Nike of Paionios was excavated in 1875 and Hermes with infant Dionysus in 1877 in Olympia and plaster casts from both sculptures arrived in Tartu already in 1879. Later Loeschcke ordered some missing parts of Hermes, like the right leg (KMM S 191) and the head of Dionysus (KMM S 192), that were excavated shortly after the body of the statue.³⁴⁸ Likewise the original marble sculpture of Nike of Paionios received some excavated additions that are missing from the museum's cast. For that reason the sculptures in Olympia and the plaster casts in Tartu are different, the latter are like a documentation of condition at the moment of the find (Laiverik 2003: 11).

A more accurate overview of the purchases of plaster casts made by Loeschcke can be seen in the accession-book, but more exactly in Felsberg's catalogue (1913). His rich acquisition can be grouped as started already in the accession-book:

The statues: Hermes with Dionysus-child³⁴⁹ (KMM S 156) (Illustration 12), Narcissus (KMM S 163), the Nymph of the spring (KMM S 164), Apoxyomenos (KMM S 169), Apollo Mantua (KMM S 236), Gabii Artemis (KMM S 255).

The statuettes: statuette of the woman (KMM S 171), kore (KMM S 193), Artemis (KMM S 194), the herm of Hekate (KMM S 214), Ploutos (KMM S 215), Pan (KMM S 229), Apollo (KMM S 230), Poseidon (KMM S 231), the warrior (KMM S 232), satyr from Pergamon (KMM S 245), the young man (KMM S 246), Athena Promachos (KMM S 247).

the professor of classical archaeology at the University of Berlin. See for his activity with plaster cast collection in Berlin Fendt, Stürmer, Winkler-Horaček 2013: 56–58.

³⁴⁷ In addition to the plaster casts, Loeschcke acquired the geometric style ancient ceramics at an auction in Paris in 1888. He purchased about 30 vessels through German archaeologist Adolf Furtwängler. The purchase contained mainly the vessels in geometric style and the fragments of the vessels made in Mycenaean style (Hindikainen *et al.* 2006: 82).

³⁴⁸ The plaster cast of Hermes with Dionysus-child (KMM S 156) is a little bit different to the marble original that is in the Archaeological Museum of Olympia – the new findings are integrated with the sculpture, but missing still from the cast of art museum.

³⁴⁹ See for original Hermes with Dionysus-child in Beard, Henderson 2001: 100–102.

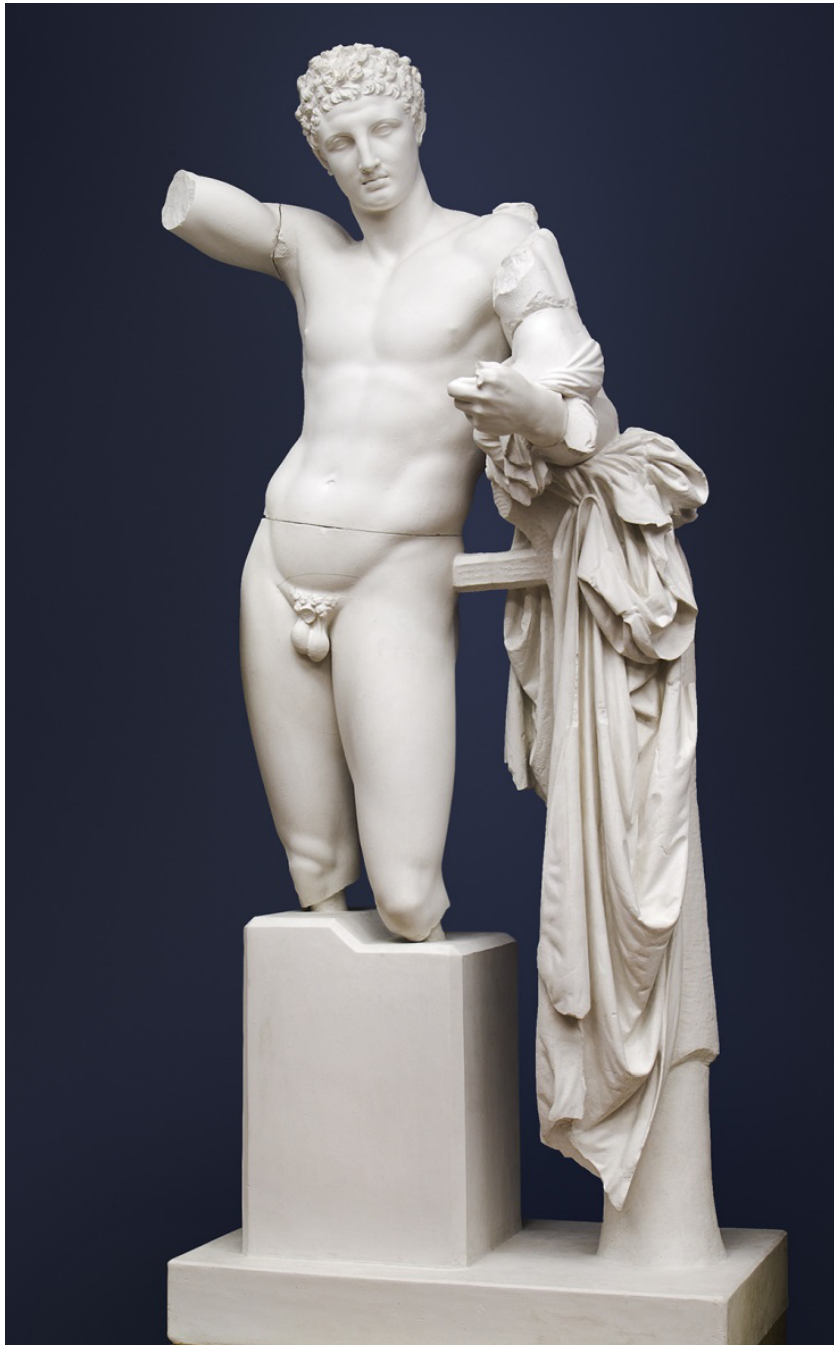


Illustration 12. Hermes with Dionysus-child (KMM S 156) found in 1877, purchased for Tartu collection in 1879.

Busts: the bust of Hermes (KMM S 161), the bust of Dionysus (KMM S 162), Menelaos (KMM S 165), Perikles (KMM S 166), the head of the woman from Pergamon (KMM S 167), Diadumenos (KMM S 168), the archaic head from Kythera (KMM S 173), Asclepius (KMM S 174), the head of Athena from the east pediment of the temple of Athena from Acropolis (KMM S 175), the head of the woman (KMM S 176), Doryphoros (KMM S 177), the head of Dionysus (KMM S 192), Heracles from the west metope of the temple of Zeus from Olympia (KMM S 196), Apollo from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia (KMM S 197), Centaur from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia (KMM S 198), the Lapith from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia (KMM S 199), girl from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia (KMM S 200), the old woman from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia (KMM S 201), Deidameia from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia (KMM S 202), Hera (KMM S 203), Aphrodite (KMM S 204), the athlete (KMM S 205), the pugilist (KMM S 206), the head with helmet from Olympia (KMM S 207), Zeus (KMM S 208), Zeus (KMM S 209), the woman from Bauron (KMM S 216), Soranzo Eros (KMM S 223), the bust of Klytie (KMM S 224)³⁵⁰, Artemis Gabii (KMM S 225), the head of man (KMM S 228) head of the woman (KMM S 233), Eubuleus (KMM S 234)³⁵¹, Poseidon Chiaramonti (KMM S 235)³⁵², Hera Farnese (KMM S 237), the bust of the athlete (KMM S 238), Apollo (KMM S 239), head of Heracles (KMM S 241), Apollo Steinhäuser (KMM S 242), Aphrodite (KMM S 243), head of the young man (KMM S 244), the bust of woman (KMM S 250).

Torsos: the torso of the man (KMM S 170), torso of the man from Acropolis (KMM S 172).

Reliefs: relief (KMM S 157), the relief with niobids (KMM S 158), the woman on the chariot (KMM S 159), Nike binding the sandal (KMM S 160), Athena (KMM S 178), the birth of Erichonius (KMM S 179), the hunt of Kalydon (KMM S 180), Athena and Heracles (KMM S 181), the grave stele of Giustiniani (KMM S 182), the agreement between Athens and Kerkyra (KMM S 183), the fragment of relief with the man (KMM S 184), the warriors leaving the battle (KMM S 185), the grave stele of Malthaka (KMM S 186), the grave stele of Glaukias and Eubule (KMM S 187), the grave stele of Pyrrhios and Thettale (KMM S 188), grave stele (KMM S 189), the grave stele with the men (KMM S 190), Klytios from the altar of Pergamon (KMM S 211), Heracles and Telephos from the altar of Pergamon (KMM S 212),

³⁵⁰ A gift from students (Felsberg 1913: vi).

³⁵¹ A gift from architect August Reinberg (1860–1908) from Riga (Felsberg 1913: vi). He had contact with Estonia through his work. Reinberg has designed the former building of bank of the Credit Society of the Estonian Knighthood (Tallinn, Estonia pst 11) and manor house of Mooste (Moisekatz). www.eestipank.ee [accessed 10.08.2014].

³⁵² A gift from German economist Prof. Heinrich Dietzel (1857–1935) who worked in the University of Tartu from 1885 to 1890 (Felsberg 1913: vi).

the sleeping erinnys (KMM S 213), the man and the woman (KMM S 217), Psyche and Eros (KMM S 218), the grave stele from Chrysapha (KMM S 219), the relief with Athena of adornment (KMM S 226), the grave stele of Philostrate (KMM S 227), Dionysus visits the poet (KMM S 240), Orpheus and Eurydike (KMM S 251), the grave stele with the standing man (KMM S 252), the grave stele of Telesias (KMM S 253), Athena with the sitting man (KMM S 254).

Varia: the right foot of Hermes (KMM S 191), the model of the pediment of treasury from Megara (KMM S 210), the model of the east pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia (KMM S 220),³⁵³ the model of the east pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia (KMM S 221),³⁵⁴ the platter with reliefs (KMM S 222), the basis of the mirror with the statuette of Aphrodite (KMM S 248), the plan of the city Athens (KMM S 249)³⁵⁵.

Loeschcke's selection of plaster casts was almost as plentiful as was Mercklin's. He carefully filled the gaps and achieved a perfectly systematic cast collection. Although he mostly acquired casts of sculptures from the classical era, he succeeded in enriching the collection. He purchased an outstanding number of reliefs, especially grave steles and the busts of gods and athletes. He has also significantly improved the collection of sculptures of the Zeus temple of Olympia. Loeschcke obtained very few life-size statues, unlike Petersen, who purchased fewer statues compared with Mercklin and Loeschcke, but these were mainly life-size and very well known and valued then and today.

2.5 Collecting and Publishing: Woldemar Malmberg, Ernst Felsberg

The processes associated with the modernization of society, government policy in outlying areas and transformed foreign policy, did not leave the educational organization of the Russian Empire intact at the end of the 19th century and early 20th century. Radical changes also took place in universities, including the University of Tartu. Until 1889³⁵⁶ the University of Tartu had broad internal

³⁵³ This model of the east pediment was reconstructed by Malmberg (Felsberg 1913: 29–30).

³⁵⁴ Loeschcke has written about the sculpture group of the west and east pediment of the temple of Olympian Zeus, see Loeschcke 1885, 1887.

³⁵⁵ The gift from inspector of the Riga State Gymnasium Karl Dannenberg (1832–1892) (Felsberg 1913: vi).

³⁵⁶ The deployment of the Russian language in schools and authorities of the Baltic provinces began many years earlier. Already in 1828 the order was given to begin to teach Russian history and geography in the Russian language. However, the decision did not produce any permanent results (Kiverik 2010: 14). In schools the inner gestio and correspondence was changed into the Russian language in the early 1890s (Kiverik 2010: 36). At first Russian language was reorganized in the faculty of law in the University of Tartu (1889), and the new professorship devoted more to the history of Russian statehood and law. By 1895 the faculties of history and linguistics, mathematics and physics and the

autonomy and relative freedom of action, which now began to crumble as a result of the restructuring of higher education (Tannberg, Woodsworth 2010: 5). The control of study and research, administration and students was imposed until the beginning of World War I. This was possible and exacerbated thanks to the Russian language being imposed as the language of administration and study. With the Russification the composition of the teaching staff changed (Tamul 2010: 73). So we can say that it was not a coincidence that the next directors of the art museum were not Germans, as previously, but came from nearby regions – Russia and Latvia – and spoke Russian.³⁵⁷ The first director of the time of russification was from 1890 Prof. Woldemar Malmberg,³⁵⁸ and four years after Malmberg had left³⁵⁹, Prof. Ernst Felsberg (1866–1928)³⁶⁰ became the director of the art museum in 1911.

2.5.1 The latest acquisitions of sculpture casts

During the time of director Malmberg the museum obtained more than forty casts. Casts numbered KMM S 277–291 were given to museum by the university's drawing department: the bust of the wine pouring Satyr (KMM S 277), the head of Aphrodite Medici (KMM S 278), the bust of Eros (KMM S 279), the head of the young man (KMM S 280)³⁶¹, the bust of Zeus (KMM S 281), the head of Hermes (KMM S 282), the bust of young man (KMM S 283), the bust of Serapis (KMM S 284), the procession of gods, relief (KMM S 285),

faculty of medicine were switched to the Russian language. The Lutheran faculty of theology stayed as the only German-speaking faculty (Tamul 2010: 73).

³⁵⁷ For more on the ethnic composition of the staff of the University of Tartu 1889–1918 see Siilivask 1982: 267–277.

³⁵⁸ Malmberg (1860–1921) was born in Moscow. He graduated from the University of Kazan in 1884 as an art historian; he studied at the University of St. Petersburg to become a professors (1884–1887). He began lecturing as an assistant professor (1888–1889) in the University of Kazan. In 1890 he became a professor and the director of the art museum in the University of Tartu and in 1907–1921 worked as professor in the University of Moscow. In 1913 he became the director of the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts. He was a member of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society in St Petersburg, the Society of History and Antiquities in Odessa, the Associate Member of the Imperial Archaeological Commission and the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin, Rome and Athens (Gamaliya 2011: 345).

³⁵⁹ In 1907–1911, Krasheninnikov, professor of classical philology, held the position of director of the art museum. Krasheninnikov received his higher education at the University of St. Petersburg. He specialized in Roman literature. He was director of the art museum in 1907–1911, but he was a philologist by his nature and preparation and his period in museum did not bring any changes in the museum. After the evacuation to Russia, he worked in the university of Voronezh until 1928.

³⁶⁰ Felsberg was Latvian. He graduated from the University of Tartu in 1901 and moved to study at the University of St. Petersburg. In 1910 Felsberg finished his master thesis and in 1911 obtained the professorship and the post of director of the art museum in the University of Tartu. In 1918, Felsberg was evacuated to Russia, in the Voronezh oblast, where he was director for a short time in the art museum. Later was he active in the university of Latvia.

³⁶¹ Broken in 1910 (Felsberg 1913: xix).

the bust of the muse Melpomene (KMM S 286), the head of the muse Polyhymnia (KMM S 287), the bust of the muse Thaleia (KMM S 288), the head of young Satyr (KMM S 289), the bust of Apollo Belvedere (KMM S 290) and the bust of young man (KMM S 291).³⁶²

The head of Asclepius (KMM S 292), Hygieia (KMM S 293) and a boy (KMM S 294) were given as a gift by the Museum of Imperial archaeological commission, a little relief of Athena made after the golden coronet in the collection of the Hermitage (KMM S 301) was a gift from baltic German classical archaeologist and numismatic Eugen Pridik (1865–1935), and a relief of Aphrodite with Eros (KMM S 302) was also a gift (Felsberg 1913: vi).

Another section of the casts was acquired by Malmberg himself:

Groups: Ildefonso group, Castor and Pollyx (KMM S 260)³⁶³, Dionysus with Eros (KMM S 262).

Statues: Aischines (KMM S 261), Gaul³⁶⁴ (KMM S 268), Eros with the bow (KMM S 270).

Statuettes: model of Iris from the east pediment of Parthenon (KMM S 258)³⁶⁵.

Busts: the wounded warrior, from the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea (KMM S 256, KMM S 257), Roma (KMM S 259), Niobe (KMM S 263), Dionysus (KMM S 264), the herm of Sokrates (KMM S 265), the niobid (KMM S 266), Aristophanes or Pseudo-Seneca (KMM S267), Asclepius (KMM S 269), the head of the man (KMM S 271), Athena Giustiniani (KMM S 272), Caracalla (KMM S 273)³⁶⁶, Roman/Pompeius/Caesar (KMM S 274), Heracles Farnese (KMM S 275)³⁶⁷, Lucius Verus (KMM S 276), the bust of young man (KMM S 291), the bust of young man (KMM S 296), charyatid (KMM S 297), the head of man (KMM S 298), the head of man (KMM S 299), the bust of Artemis (KMM S 300).

Reliefs: the grave stele of Philostratus (KMM S 295), relief of Athena from a golden adornment (KMM S 301), relief with Aphrodite and Psyche (KMM S 302).

Malmberg's purchases focused on busts and heads. It is possible that the rooms in the wing of the main building started to be too small for large casts. Malmberg also added some more busts of the Roman Emperors to the collection. One plausible reason for this was not the general cult of the Russian emperors in the light of the russification, but that these busts rather filled gaps in the art of portraiture and were seen as historical pictures. Still he continued ordering classical Greek statues as can be seen in the list.

Most of the casts ordered during the 19th century were cast in Central and Western Europe, mainly at the Royal Museum of Berlin. At the end of the 19th

³⁶² Cf. 2.3.1.3.2.

³⁶³ See for original Castor and Pollux in Haskell, Penny 2006: 173–174.

³⁶⁴ See for original Gaul in Haskell, Penny 2006: 282–284.

³⁶⁵ Reduced copy of Iris, restored after instruction of Loeschcke (Felsberg 1913: 51–52).

³⁶⁶ See for original Cracalla in Haskell, Penny 2006: 172–173.

³⁶⁷ See for original Barberini Faun in Haskell, Penny 2006: 229–232.

century and the beginning of the 20th century, casts were also ordered from the art institutions of St. Petersburg. This relates to the endeavour to change the spirit of the university: the focus was shifted from Germany to Russia.³⁶⁸

The role of professor Felsberg in enlarging the cast collection was modest; he only purchased five plaster sculptures (Felsberg 1913: vi; Raid 1968: 38). He obtained three busts and two reliefs: the heads of Aphrodite (KMM S 303), Athena Lemnia (KMM S 304) and Hypnos (KMM S 305), and the reliefs of Parthenon with Poseidon, Apollo and Artemis (KMM S 306) and Heracles and Theseus (KMM S 307). As can be seen, there was still gaps among the casts of the Parthenon frieze, and Felsberg succeeded in filling one of these. Felsberg's main achievements were the cataloguing of the plaster cast sculptures and undoubtedly he was occupied with the packing of the art collection of the museum, which was evacuated to Russia because of World War I.³⁶⁹

2.5.2 Cataloguing the sculpture casts

Instead of collecting, professor Felsberg is distinguished *a fortiori* with his publishing activity. He issued a catalogue of all the plaster casts of Tartu University Art Museum in 1913, *Гипсовые слепки (The Plaster Casts)*. It is the most elaborate catalogue of the Tartu University Art Museum published so far. Felsberg described 307 plaster casts and the origin of the original sculptures, the scientific bibliography is given and a few notes about the way the casts were received, providing information on the detection of the originals, dating, attribution and restoration. The publication does not contain any photographs or drawings. Typically during the period of russification, the catalogue was issued in Russian.³⁷⁰ This catalogue has scientific value: it provides a comprehensive overview of the status of the sculpture cast collection; from today's point of view, we can see the organizing impact of the catalogue, because the handwritten accession-book contains irregular information and is difficult to use.

According to the preface to the catalogue, written by museum director Ernst Felsberg, the Art Museum of Tartu University held third place in Russia in 1913 with its collection of plaster casts of sculptures. First place was held by the Museum of Alexander III in Moscow and second place belonged to the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg (Felsberg 1913: v–vi). Therefore, the publishing of the cast collection in the catalogue had wider significance in the Russian Empire.

³⁶⁸ Malmberg came off to acquire different ancient objects, like vases, glass vessels and terracotas he purchased from the descendants of poetess and translator Helene von Engelhardt (1850–1910) found from Kerch (Hindikainen *et al.* 2006: 82).

³⁶⁹ See more about the evacuation in chapter 2.5.3

³⁷⁰ For an annotation and the example of the text see Keevallik, Loodus, Viirjoja 2006: 157–158.

2.5.3 The fate of the casts in World War I: too breakable for evacuation

By the beginning of the 20th century the University of Tartu Art Museum had an outstanding collection of ancient art. On 22 September 1915,³⁷¹ the first part of the property of the University of Tartu was evacuated to Nizhnii Novgorod in the Russian hinterland by train because of the threat of World War I.³⁷² Egyptian antiquities from the art museum, original bronze and marble sculptures, ancient vases, medals, coins and paintings, manuscripts, rare books, archives and engravings from the university library were placed in 13 wagons.³⁷³ The plaster casts of the university of Tartu Art Museum were left in Tartu because of their large dimensions and because they were easily breakable (Kukk *et al.* 2006: 15). (Illustration 13) The train reached Nizhnii Novgorod on 2 October. The rooms designated for the University of Tartu were given to the Polytechnic Institute Riga and after some searching were afforded rooms in relatively good conditions in the cereal storage (Tamul 2010: 104).

During the period of the evacuation activity, there were two directors of the art museum. Professor M. Krasheninnikov (1865–1929) was head of the art museum for 1907–1911. By the time of the evacuation, he was active as professor of classical philology (1896–1918). In 1916, the professors divided into three – some did not want to evacuate at all, while others wanted to go to Perm (a Russian city near the Ural mountains) and a third part preferred to relocate to Yekaterinoslav (today Dnipropetrovsk, the fourth largest city in Ukraine). Krasheninnikov, who did not see sufficient potential to develop the university in the region, was also against Perm (Tamul 2010: 1079). Although Krasheninnikov was against the evacuation of the university to Russia³⁷⁴, in 1918 he was a member of the commission convened to liquidate the university. The task of the commission was to put an end to the administration of the university and prepare to leave for the university's final destination at Voronezh (Tamul 2010: 122).

³⁷¹ Already in 1914 the Ministry of Public Education of Russia submitted a letter about the evacuation of the art of the subordinate institutions of the ministry in the threat of war. The University of Tartu started to draw up a list of assets just in case, and began to seek refuge options for the university (Tamul 2010: 99–100).

³⁷² Next loads of wagons with the property of university were sent to Perm in 1816 and Voronezh in 1917–1918. In Perm were sent 40 wagons with the property of university including the collections of the museum of zoology (Tamul 2010: 99–123).

³⁷³ The train contained a total of 756 boxes, which contained inter alia medical equipment from clinics and herbariums from botanical gardens (Tamul 2010: 104).

³⁷⁴ Krasheninnikov did not want to evacuate to Russia. When in 1915 the questions of the guard and heating of empty buildings were discussed, he wanted to stay and promised to guard the archive of the history and linguistics departments and other resources (Tamul 2010: 101).



Illustration 13. Interior of the University of Tartu Art Museum in 1898 (ÜAMF 87: 30).

The other museum director active during the period of the evacuation was Felsberg, who supported the evacuation in the vote held in 1917 (Tamul 2010: 115). After several years of confusion and preparation for the evacuation, five special trains left Tartu on 17 July and 31 August 1918. The trains contained 39 professors, including Krashennnikov and Felsberg, 45 lecturers, 43 employees of the university and 800 students (Tamul 2010: 122).

A large number of the university's property and inventory, including collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum, awaited people in the hinterland of Russia, where it moved later to Voronezh. Ancient vases and sculptures, Egyptian antiquities, coins, medals and paintings are still in Russia, in the Voronezh oblast,³⁷⁵ where a new university was established in 1918, and four years later the Voronezh State University Museum of Antiquities and Fine Arts was founded, and in 1933, the Art museum of Voronezh Oblast was established and

³⁷⁵ The 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty was signed by the Estonian Republic and Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and article 12 requires Russia to return to Estonia the property of the University of Tartu, including the art collection. In 1921 Russia returned the engravings and drawing collection to the University of Tartu (Hindikainen *et al.* 2006: 375–377).

merged the art collections of the Art museum of Voronezh University and the Local History Museum of the Voronezh Oblast³⁷⁶ (Kukk *et al.* 2006: 16).

The University of Tartu Art Museum continued its work in 1919³⁷⁷ when the university of Tartu of the Republic of Estonia was re-instituted. Museum was affiliated to the Institute of Classical Antiquities at the Faculty of Philosophy and the head of the museum was a professor of classical philology, at least until the existence of a department of classical philology in 1954 (cf the list of professors footnote 296). The museum, which had lost its independent status, was not further developed and was rather additional burden beside the teaching classical philology and creating a specialised library. The museum regained independence in 1961 (Kukk 2006: 19).

2.6 Bequeathed by the Lipharts – some aspects of the cast collections after 1918

Although collecting the casts for the University Art Museum stopped before World War I, the catalogue published by Felsberg (1866–1928) does not inspect the whole plaster cast collection as it is seen today. The collection grew significantly in the 1930s, when the university received the art collection of the Lipharts family as a gift, the Baltic-German estate owners of Raadi (*Ratshof*) manor in Tartu.³⁷⁸ The estate owner Karl Eduard von Liphart (1808–1891), who was born in the Vana-Kuuste (*Alt-Kusthof*) manor in Estonia and brought up on the ideas of Enlightenment, laid the foundation for the one of the largest art collections in 19th century Estonia.³⁷⁹

Five generations of Liphart family had collected European art: paintings, marble and bronze sculptures, vessels, precious porcelain, crystal and glass,

³⁷⁶ The Kramskoy Museum of Fine Arts in Voronezh <http://www.kramskoi.vzh.ru/> [accessed 17.07.2014].

³⁷⁷ Since the 1920s, the importance of the University of Tartu Art Museum began to decline, because people could see art also in the Estonian National Museum (opened at Raadi Manor in 1922) and in the Art Museum of Tartu (opened in 1940) and in Tallinn was established Art Museum of Estonia (1919).

³⁷⁸ About the Lipharts art collection read in Keevallik 1988: 12–21, Vaga 1988: 22–25, Keevallik 1993: 17–24.

The Lipharts art collection was quite well-known and was opened via his library for the Professors of Tartu University on Saturdays. The family left Estonia in 1917 and carried away the majority of their property and collections (Utter 1979: 126–133).

³⁷⁹ K. E. von Liphart was an art collector, scientist and medical doctor. His influence in the art and culture-loving atmosphere at Raadi was much more enduring. After studies at several German universities, travel in Europe and a number of years spent living in Italy – which helped him acquire his great art expertise – he returned home in 1844. He was interested primarily in older Italian paintings and he put a large part of his wealth into the acquisition of a collection of copper engravings of which a large part is now in the University of Tartu Art Museum (Rosenberg 2010: 31). For more about him as an art expert and collector see Keevallik 1988: 12–21.

grand furniture from different centuries, many plaster casts after ancient sculptures, hundreds of drawings, engravings and woodcuts (Thomson 1985: 34). There were many sculptures as well as casts exhibited at Raadi manor, as we can see from historical photographs of Raadi manor (Thomson 1985; Siimets, *et al.*: 2010). There we can see the Venus de Milo in the music room. Venus Medici, the head of Athena and Psyche of Capua are seen in the interior of the library, and Silen with infant Dionysus, Borghese Fighter, colossal head of Juno Ludovisi, Hebe and boxer Kreugas of Canova, statuette of Goethe, torsos of Aphrodite and some others in the rooms of the manor.

In 1920, 16 wagon loads with art treasures belonging to the Lipharts departed from the manor of Raadi and Estonia (Rosenberg 2010: 31). By this time, the Lipharts collection was partly damaged as documents preserved in Estonian Historical Archives confirm.³⁸⁰ We will never find out about the objects that were actually destroyed, but we can be sure that a part of the collection was evacuated before the beginning of World War I. The lists written in 1920, when part of the Liphart collection was bequeathed to the University of Tartu, do not contain all the art objects (Kreem 2005: 32–47).



Illustration 14. Portrait-cameo of Tiberius (KMM S 450) and back-side inscription, donated by von Lipharts.

³⁸⁰ EAA.1163.1.158. p. 7, 21.

The Lipharts bequeathed more than a thousand art objects (paintings, sculptures, graphic art³⁸¹, drawings, porcelain and furniture of artistic value), a library of several thousand volumes in addition to the palace and the lands to the University of Tartu in 1920, in order to obtain permission to export their art collection³⁸² (Rosenberg 2010: 31). Among other gifts were plaster casts made after sculptures. The University of Tartu had no precise plan for those, and in 1921, the Estonian National Museum asked to deposit them as part of the Raadi collection. In 1922, Tartu University decided to accept the proposal of the Estonian National Museum and deposited the Lipharts bequest (Utter 1979: 126–133). Although there was also talk of founding a museum for the university's historical art collection at Raadi manor, the university did not have the finances for the removal of the older part of it from the university's main building. The university gave over the art collection bequeathed by the Lipharts to the Estonian National Museum. On 13 May 1923, the Estonian National Museum was opened in the main building at Raadi manor (Suuder 1981: 144–153) – 64 sculpture casts were returned to the university museum in the 1930s and complemented the existing collection of sculptural casts.

The Lipharts donation enriched the collection of plaster sculptures. Some marvellous examples of this acquisition are the head of Niobid (KMM S 360), the head of the laughing Satyr (KMM S 354) and dying Alexander³⁸³ (KMM S 362). In addition, it is worth pointing out plaster casts of cameos among the bequest.³⁸⁴ These Roman cameos are mainly portraits of emperors (e.g. portrait of Tiberius³⁸⁵ (KMM S 450) (Illustration 14), *Gemma Augustea*³⁸⁶ (KMM S

³⁸¹ The prints donated by the Lipharts are in the University of Tartu Art Museum today. In 1961 rector Feodor Klement decided to organize the university's art collections, took away the collections from the Chair of art history and the Lipharts graphic art collections were given to the Art Museum (Hiio, *et al.* 2007: 559).

³⁸² For documentation and correspondence about bestowal of Lipharts see EAA.1163. 1.157, p. 22, 23, 33.

³⁸³ See for original of the dying Alexander Haskell, Penny 2006: 134–136.

³⁸⁴ The gems called cameos are themselves bas reliefs, carved out of the substance of the stone. Cameos are usually cut on stones like onyx, sardonyx and so on, which consist of at least two strata or layers of different colours. The bas relief of every cameo is on a ground of a different colour, or at least a different shade. Usually the one layer is white from which the figure, face or whatever the subject may be is cut. The other layer could be black, brown, red and some other colour or translucent and colourless. When the stone consists of more than two layers, the white is in the middle, part of the upper coloured layer is employed for some accessory, such as the wreath of leaves, or flowers, or some part of the dress, or a variety of other objects (Billing 1867: 10 – 11).

³⁸⁵ Original cameo of the portrait bust of Claudius (h 14,5 cm) is made of chalcedony in the first half of the 1st century and located in the Art History Museum of Vienna.

³⁸⁶ Original cameo *Gemma Augustea* is cut from double-layered onyx (h 19 cm) in the beginning of the 1st century and located in the Art History Museum of Vienna. See more about original *Gemma Augustea* in Beard, Henderson 2001: 195–197.

457)).³⁸⁷ There were no cameos of that type in the collection before, although there were already thousands of gem casts purchased at the beginning of 19th century.³⁸⁸ In addition to the new type of objects, the portrait cameos are an important supplement to the modest portrait collection for visualising the development of Roman portraiture.

2.7 Concluding remarks on the cast collection

At present, there are more than 17,000 items in the University of Tartu Art Museum, including ancient and modern cast gems in sulphur and plaster and about 3,000 sulphur replicas of ancient coins. These small objects were collected mainly to fulfil didactic purposes as were the sculpture casts in the sculpture collection, which contains about 470 objects. Approximately 350 of these plaster casts are made after Greek and Roman sculptures, reliefs and statuettes that were originally made of marble, bronze or limestone. In the sculpture collection are also included a number of plaster cameos, which because of their size and appearance, are like small reliefs.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Morgenstern started vigorously and consciously to acquire gem casts. He saw in these a way to educate students. The selection of the gem casts in the University of Tartu art museum is outstanding. There are encyclopaedic collections on different themes from antiquity as well as modest school collections with a smaller number of casts.

Definitely, the gem cast collection would not be as versatile as it is today without the donation of Morgenstern. In the middle of the 19th century from his private collection came to the museum some souvenir collections, which are dealt with as art volumes. In connection with this gem cast collection the essential further investigation is necessary to find out the origin of approximately one thousand gem casts.

The second voluminous collection of casts is the coin cast collection. One part of this is well known, but the remainder has only been investigated in respect to the coins themselves, but the compiler of the collection and the origin of the coins is still unknown. And again, here is an opportunity and a necessity for further investigation.

The tradition of obtaining sculpture casts made after ancient sculptures is the longest in the university of Tartu Art Museum. Collecting was started by Morgenstern in 1806, when he acquired the first sculpture casts from the master

³⁸⁷ These cameos are quite large compared with the little gems studied above in chapter 2.3.1.1.1 and 2.3.1.1.2. Obviously because of their size these came into the sculpture collections in the 20th century.

³⁸⁸ The Gonzaga cameo (KMM S 469) and the cameo with Constantinus and Tyche (KMM S 455) are obtained from the private art collection of Morgenstern (Catalogus 1868: 8). The original Gonzaga cameo (h 15,7 cm) is made of three-layered sardonyx in the 3rd century BC and located in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg as is the cameo with Constantinus and Tyche.

Bertolini in Tartu. Some of the casts in the beginning were also gifted by local landlords; however, in general, the number of sculpture casts remained very modest due to the lack of money and space, and in Morgenstern's time, the selection was rather unsystematic.

The situation changed completely about 20 years after Morgenstern's retirement, in the middle of the 19th century. While Morgenstern had collected very different art objects and preferred artworks that were beautiful, favourable and instructive for students, from 1858 onwards the aim of achieving a universal art museum was changed in favour of a museum of ancient art, in particular plaster casts of sculptures.

Mercklin started to lead the museum and renewed the ideals for its collecting activity. He visited Europe and selected the best examples for a systematic plaster cast collection. A large proportion of the art objects that Morgenstern had collected were now, in light of the plaster cast museum, incompatible with the concept of the art museum and items were given away to the drawing school and the library. Therefore, the museum obtained some space to accommodate larger and also smaller casts.

Mercklin's successors also contributed to the development of systematic collection. The most significant collectors were Schwabe, Loeschcke and Malmberg. Schwabe and Loeschcke also obtained ancient ceramics that were later, in 1915, evacuated to Russia. Malmberg and Felsberg set out to publish on the basis of the collections, and this will be explored in the third part of this thesis.

Talking about the choice of sculpture casts, we can say that different mythological Greek figures such as deities, heroes and creatures prevailed. The second group consists of human figures that cannot be identified as historical persons or mythological figures. For example, we can see here sculptures and busts of athletes.³⁸⁹ During the 19th century, excavations in Greece were conducted and many artworks known through the work of ancient authors were found. All these were desired for university collections.

Furthermore, we can talk about groups of historical persons, including Roman politicians and emperors³⁹⁰, likewise we find Greek statesmen and authors.³⁹¹ Although this part is quite modest some famous rulers and writers are represented. A part of this group includes grave steles dedicated to certain individuals.³⁹²

³⁸⁹ For example, Discus thrower (KMM S 102), Doryphoros (KMM S 129), Apoxyomenos (KMM S 169).

³⁹⁰ Gaius Julius Caesar (KMM S 41, KMM S 309), Augustus (KMM S 142), Cicero (KMM S 133).

³⁹¹ Pericles (KMM S 166), Sappho (KMM S 50), the double herm of Sophocles and Euripides (KMM S 21).

³⁹² Grave steles of Aristion (KMM S 95) and Hegeso (KMM S 127).

The smallest group is formed of applied art, animal-figures and others. This group of objects do not have human form: vases, animals etc.³⁹³ Schwabe, who instigated changes to the interior design of the art museum and organized Pompeian murals for the museum, ordered some casts of vessels found in Pompeian excavations.

By the 19th century, copying had become a mechanical task thanks to improved pointing machines and industrialised conditions (Haskell, Penny 2006: 123). This made it easy to reproduce copies in different sizes. The collection of the University of Tartu Art Museum also includes some reduced copies of original sculptures.³⁹⁴ This ability to vary the sizes of the copies was one new aspect of the casting business. These took considerably less space, which is often a problem for museums. In addition, instead of a full figure, sometimes only the bust – the head and shoulders of the figure – was ordered, and such examples can be found in the University of Tartu Art Museum.³⁹⁵

In conclusion, it can be said that the cast collection at the University of Tartu has been collected consciously. The shift in paradigm from aiming to establish a universal art collection to the more narrow museum of antiquities has supported the development of a diverse museum collection.

³⁹³ The vase of Warwick (KMM S 59), Sosibios (KMM S 82) and lion-shaped weight from Khorsabad (KMM S 69).

³⁹⁴ The nymph of the spring (KMM S 164), Iris (KMM S 258).

³⁹⁵ The bust of Aphrodite Melos (KMM S15), the bust of Apollo from Piombino (KMM S70), the bust of Barberini Faun (KMM S86), the bust of Hermes (KMM S161), the bust of Soranzo Eros (KMM S223), the head of the Venus Medici (KMM S278), the head of Polyhymnia (KMM S287), the head of Laocoon (KMM S71) and the bust of Belvedere Apollo (KMM S290).

PART III. Academic life: cast collections in the study process and publications

In the 19th century, there was intense interest in subjects associated with Classical Antiquity at the University of Tartu. Among philological subjects Greek and Latin language and literature took priority. Arts subjects offered support in creating a holistic picture of ancient times. The need for these subjects stems from their centrality in senior secondary school. These subjects were part of the faculty of philosophy, until it was changed in 1850 to the faculty of history and languages.

For teaching classical philology, the professorship of elocution, aesthetics, Latin and Greek language and antiquities was founded in 1802. In 1813, the name was specified even further by adding more subjects as follows: professorship of elocution, ancient languages, philology, aesthetics, literature and art history. Karl Morgenstern became a professor and at the same time director of the art museum. Despite the heavy workload as director of the university's library and art museum, Morgenstern read and taught many subjects during his professorship (1802–1836): from practical Latin for student doctors to ancient numismatics (Hiio *et al.* 2007: 182). He laid the foundation for most of the lectures, which were read many years later by his successors as the professors of classical philology and directors of the art museum: Ludwig Preller (1838–1843), Ludolf Stephani (1846–1850),³⁹⁶ and Ludwig Mercklin (1851–1863) (cf. Table 2). Only in the last third of the 19th century and early 20th century did Morgenstern's model of universal professor and director of art museum in the same person change, as instead of one professorship for Classics and Art History several professorships were established. Therefore, the museum directors Ludwig Schwabe, Eugen Petersen, Georg Loeschke, Woldemar Malmberg and Ernst Felsberg could only focus their interests as professors on ancient art from the 1860s.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ Stephani's education was varied: he had studied at the University of Leipzig, 1839–1840 an intern at the art collection of Dresden and Berlin, 1841–1842 studied in the art school of Leipzig, 1843–1845 travelled in Greece, Italy and Asia Minor. Stephani worked in Tartu for a short time and spent his later life in St. Petersburg, where he was a member of the Academy of Sciences and worked in the Hermitage museum.

³⁹⁷ The professorship of elocution, aesthetics, Greek and Latin language and antiquities was founded in 1802; in 1813 it was changed to professorship of elocution, ancient languages, philology, aesthetics and history of literature and art; the Department of history of literature, classical philology and pedagogy was founded in 1820; in 1865 the name of department of classical philology was changed, the new departments were the Department of classical philology and archaeology and the Department of classical philology and history of literature (Siilivask 1982: 173–175).

Table 2. Directors of the University of Tartu Art Museum and the topics read in their lectures.³⁹⁸

	Morgen-Stern	Preller	Stephani	Mercklin	Schwabe	Petersen	Loeschke	Malmberg	Felsberg
Introduction of art museum/sculpture casts	X				X	X	X	X	X
Antiquities	X	X	X	X	X			X	X
Archaeology and art history ³⁹⁹	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Numismatics	X		X	X					
Mythology	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Geography and topography		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Aesthetics	X	X	X	X					

The multitude of official duties in such a varied professorship that included being director of the art museum suggests that using the assets of the University of Tartu Art Museum, including the cast collection, may have been intense and varied in the 19th century. In addition, the cast collections had great potential for use in lectures. Numismatics was a valued science that covered many aspects of ancient times: coins illustrated history, had philological and literary value, illustrated ancient religion and were the part of the history of art (Medd 1865). Glyptic art the engraved gems was a major luxury art form in the ancient times, and the iconography of gems is similar to that of coins, though more varied and provided even more material from ancient times. Ancient sculptures were used to depict the history, mythology and rulers of the ancient times. Although, different measures, these three types of art were similar because of the information they could provide about antiquity.

Therefore, the main questions explored in this chapter involve how much the University of Tartu Art Museum and especially its cast collections could be used in the teaching, studying and research process and exactly how this was done. To some extent this is reflected in the lecture plans of the university.⁴⁰⁰ In

³⁹⁸ The linguistic or philological disciplines, in which text was not a subject of research, are not included in Table 2 and Table 3.

³⁹⁹ The term archaeology is not included in the titles of lectures given by Petersen and Felsberg. See more in ch. 3.1.2.

⁴⁰⁰ *Anzeige der Vorlesungen, welche auf der Kayserlichen Akademie zu Dorpat ... gehalten werden.* Tartu: Mattiesen, 1802–1918.

addition to these plans, the lecture notes by students as well as their seminar work⁴⁰¹ provide some information about the themes dealt with during courses at the University of Tartu.⁴⁰² To see how the cast collection was used in research, publications by museum directors can be used. The memoirs of academics have also been systematically consulted in order to answer both questions.

3.1 The role of the cast collection in the process of studying and teaching ancient art and *Altertumswissenschaften*: the ideal of excellent education through visualization

As the first director of the Art Museum, Morgenstern pointed out in the statutes of the Tartu University that an encyclopaedic museum was not planned as an abstract corpus of art objects, but had, after all, immense pedagogical importance. Influenced by the ideology of the Enlightenment, Morgenstern believed in the paramount importance of education. He valued self-education relying upon noble models, good literature and art (Morgenstern 1805; Kukk 2001: 99–100). He especially placed his hope in the study of the ancient world, ancient literature and art (Keevallik 1993: 93).

One of Morgenstern's goals was to bring a similar intellectual atmosphere as he had become accustomed to seeing in Europe, in German universities, to the University of Tartu.⁴⁰³ Education in the humanities, based on classical languages Greek and Latin was a prerequisite for defining themselves as intellectuals (Lill 1996: 6). Morgenstern's teacher in Halle, Friedrich August Wolf, had already pointed out that the recovery of the spirit of Greece requires precise, historical interpretation of texts.⁴⁰⁴ He enjoined his students not to ignore the contribution that knowledge of the sub-field of epigraphy and numismatics could bring to the construction of the ancient world. The exact knowledge of the Greek language was not sufficient for an understanding of the poems of antiquity, in regard to the talent and genius of their authors. The science of antiquities (*Altertumswissenschaft*) encompassed twenty-four

⁴⁰¹ Several tens of seminar works by the students who studied at the University of Tartu in 1824–1836 are preserved in the Estonian History Archives. These are about several topics in connection with the antiquities: literature, traditions, everyday life, mythology (EAA.402.10.25–35).

⁴⁰² Few lecture materials belonging to lecturers are preserved from the 19th century, because all museum directors except Morgenstern and Mercklin left Tartu for other universities and their lecture materials with this information are missing.

⁴⁰³ Unfortunately, it is not known how many of Morgenstern's contemporaries were familiar with the art museum because exact data are missing. In lecture plans there were directions to turn to Morgenstern if you had a desire to see the museum (Raid 1970: 68). Estonian nation, within which Morgenstern lived, remained strange for him. He did not find it even necessary to obtain books for the library in the Estonian language (Vigel 1962: 98).

⁴⁰⁴ Cf.2.3.

disciplines for Wolf, from grammar to geography. Knowledge of all the disciplines was theoretically necessary to help decipher the evidence provided by a text. Wolf differentiated “first class” disciplines, such as linguistic, metrics and grammar, and “second class”, including numismatics, history, geography, art history and several kinds of archaeology (Wolf 1833: 41–43; Marchand 2003: 21).

In the footsteps of his teacher, Morgenstern, as professor of classical philology, aesthetics, literature and art history at Tartu, developed *Altertumswissenschaft* extensively. Philology only became the starting point and a tool for Morgenstern, but his goals were much broader than research or the teaching of one science (Mercklin 1853: 18). He held lectures on many ancient authors⁴⁰⁵, taught Latin style,⁴⁰⁶ aesthetics⁴⁰⁷, art history and classical archaeology (cf. Table 2 and 3). To provide an excellent education in the humanities, the visualization of the topics treated in the lectures of Classical languages, literature, philosophy, archaeology, art and history became *conditio sine qua non* for Morgenstern. Only such illustrated lectures could, in the broader sense, contribute to educating a versatile human in the fashion of the Age of Enlightenment.

While Morgenstern was studying at Halle, there was not yet such a cast collection as he later established later at the University of Tartu.⁴⁰⁸ Morgenstern

⁴⁰⁵ In the first year after re-opening (1803), Morgenstern held lectures on literature, he read Homer’s *Iliad* (also in 1811, 1818, 1819). During the following years he dealt with very different classical authors in his lectures, for example *The Dialogues* (1805, 1806), *Symposium* (1812, 1818), *Politeia* (1813, 1814, 1815, 1823, 1824), *Protagoras and Gorgias* (1821), *On the Soul* (1817), *Apology of Socrates* and *Charmides* (1820), *Phaedrus* of Plato (1822), *Catiline Orations* of Cicero (1805, 1811, 1817), *Historia* of Herodotos (1804), the history of literature generally (1807), *Symposium* of Xenophon (1807), *Ars Poetica* of Horace (1817, 1821), *Satires* and *Epistles* of Horace (1804, 1815, 1818, 1820, 1821, 1827), *Oedipus the King* of Sophocles (1816, 1826), *Phoenissae* of Euripides (1827), Lukianos (1808), characteristics of Greek and Roman classics and *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian (1810, 1814, 1816, 1817, 1819), practice of Latin language (1810, 1811, 1819), encyclopaedy and methodology of classical philology (1818, 1826) (*Anzeige der Vorlesungen* 1802–1837).

⁴⁰⁶ Theory and practice of Latin style (1811, 1812, 1813, 1818).

⁴⁰⁷ The lecture on aesthetics was in the lecture-plan of Morgenstern almost every year and the lecture was held five hours per week after Christian Wilhem Snell. *Lehrbuch der Kritik des Geschmacks, mit beständiger Rücksicht auf die Kantische Kritik der ästhetischen Urtheilskraft*. Leipzig: 1795. About art historians, German Johann Dominik Fiorillo (1748–1821) and Italian Luigi Lanzi (1732–1810) are named, who influenced the development of aesthetics (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 40).

⁴⁰⁸ Only with the establishment of the Department of Classical Archaeology at the University of Halle in 1845 did the construction of the collection of antiquities begin. In particular, the professors Ludwig Ross (1806–1859), Alexander Conze (1831–1914) and Heinrich Heydemann (1842–1889) had over a few decades created through purchases and donations an extensive collection. The collection of plaster casts of ancient sculptures and reliefs during the time of Carl Robert (1850–1922) filled three large and four smaller exhibition rooms. Because of the reduction of the exhibition space in 1928 and 1956, a larger part of the collection is now housed in storerooms in the attic. In addition to the museum rooms, the casts are also exhibited in the foyer and the library area. With about 1,000 casts the

had surpassed his teacher Wolf with this step – the establishment of the art museum created a convenient basis for the visualization of the teaching process in the special room(s) with three-dimensional objects. In 1797, Morgenstern visited Göttingen to see the museum and library of the university.⁴⁰⁹ Before arriving in Tartu he had probably got the inspiration for establishing a museum with casts just from this short visit. Since Morgenstern did not have a direct example of how to use the cast collections in teaching from his university studies in Halle, the beginning of this decade was a kind of pedagogical search for him.⁴¹⁰

3.1.1 Special lectures about and around the casts

If we take a systematic look at the commented plan of lectures on art history and the auxiliary disciplines of *Altertumswissenschaften* held by the directors of the art museum during the 19th century (cf. Table 3), we can see that special lectures that focused on all types of casts or some group of them were held rather seldom. There were three types of cast collection at the art museum, but as was seen above in chapters 2.3–2.5, the collections were not obtained at the same time. Miniature casts, gems and coins were purchased during the first half of the 19th century, while the invasion of the sculpture casts began from the 1860s. In general, the collecting order of the different types of casts determined the order of their usage in the teaching process. All the collections at the museum (incl. casts) were only treated together once, in the 19th century, in 1810 as the Introduction to the Art Museum (cf Table 3 lectures highlighted in majuscules). In the following table (Table 3), the lectures are divided into seven groups: introduction to the art museum, archaeology and art history,⁴¹¹ antiquities, numismatics, mythology, geography and topography, and aesthetics to demonstrate the part of casts collection in the lectures about different topics connected with the ancient world. At the time, it was not self-evident to use illustrative materials in archaeology lectures as Morgenstern did (Raid 1970: 69).

collection of Robertinum, named after Carl Robert, is one of the largest collections in Germany today. <http://museum.altertum.uni-halle.de/> [accessed 20.08.2014]

⁴⁰⁹ Morgenstern visited Göttingen 21.–25.10. and 18.11–5.12.1797 as a young scientist, 5.–7.01.1809 during his European trip, and in 1837 took part in the anniversary celebrations of the Göttingen University (Tering 1985b: 619–620). About the casts collection in Göttingen cf. 1.4.1.

⁴¹⁰ Morgenstern tried to illustrate the lectures of art with art objects. Thanks to his teaching methods and the fame of his lectures, interest in the fine arts in the circles at Dorpat increased (Mercklin 1853: 18; Süß 1928: 172–173; Kaju 2003:68–70).

⁴¹¹ It is complicated to distinguish the exact scope of the treatment of archaeology and art in the courses. Organising this group in Table 3 was based on the use of the word archaeology in the title of the lecture, assuming that art history and other topics reflected in the title were spoken of in respect to archaeology.

Table 3. Lectures on art history and auxiliary disciplines of *Altertumswissenschaften* held by directors of the art museum. On the basis of *Anzeige der Vorlesungen, welche auf der Kayserlichen Akademie zu Dorpat . . . gehalten werden* (1802–1918). The lectures held in the museum based on data presented in the lecture plan, are marked with an asterisk “*”.

Introduction of art museum*		
INTRODUCTION OF ART MUSEUM ⁴¹²	1810 ⁴¹³	Morgenstern
EXPLANATIONS OF SCULPTURES IN ART MUSEUM	1866; 1867; 1869; 1870; 1872	Schwabe
	1877; 1878	Petersen
	1885	Loeschke
	1892; 1896; 1899; 1901; 1907	Malmberg
	1910; 1911	Felsberg
Archaeology and art history		
Archaeology	1805*; 1830	Morgenstern
	1839	Peller
	1846; 1847	Stephani
Archaeology: GLYPTIC, painting, architecture	1805*	Morgenstern
Archaeology: public museum	1810*	Morgenstern
Archaeology: the most outstanding museum collections of ancient art in Europe, HISTORY OF GLYPTICS, paintings, architecture	1810*	Morgenstern
Archaeology: Phidias, GLYPTICS, paintings and architecture	1813*	Morgenstern
Archaeology: history of ancient art	1813*; 1817; 1824; 1825; 1834	Morgenstern
	1857; 1861	Mercklin
Archaeology: history of Italian art, archaeology of Egypt, Syria, Persia, India, Mexico	1835	Morgenstern
Introduction to the studium of philology and archaeology	1883	Loeschke
Seminar of archaeology	1872	Schwabe
Practice and interpretation archaeology	1880; 1883; 1885; 1886; 1888	Loeschke
	1891; 1892	Malmberg
Pompeii	1885	Loeschke
THEORY OF VISUAL ARTS	1812, 1821	Morgenstern
Art history	1839; 1843	Preller
	1894; 1895; 1896; 1900	Malmberg
	1916	Felsberg

⁴¹² Here and hereinafter I have grouped the lecture plans on the basis of a variety of the names of courses to show that it is often difficult to draw a precise boundary between the subjects. The elements of art history were contained in the lectures of archaeology and aesthetics, as well as in the lectures on antiquities, numismatics and geography.

⁴¹³ The year does not reflect the number of courses held in this year, because the courses on the same topic could be held a couple of times during the same number of years, but in different semesters. Years are given here to monitor the change of the topics of the lectures over time and to demonstrate the dynamics of the topics of the lectures.

History of ancient art	1850	Stephani
	1854; 1858; 1862	Mercklin
	1865; 1867; 1871	Schwabe
	1892; 1897; 1898; 1900; 1902; 1907	Malmberg
	1910; 1911; 1912; 1913; 1914; 1915; 1916; 1917; 1918	Felsberg
History of Greek art	1874; 1877	Petersen
	1881; 1884; 1887	Loeschcke
	1890; 1899	Malmberg
History of Greek vase painting	1889	Loeschcke
	1911; 1914; 1915	Felsberg
Selection of ancient art works	1848; 1850	Stephani
	1851; 1852; 1853	Mercklin
Ancient architecture	1826	Morgenstern
Ancient paintings and architecture	1825	Morgenstern
	1873	Schwabe
History of Greek sculpture and painting	1865	Schwabe
History of ancient art after Plinius	1864; 1867	Schwabe
	1892; 1894; 1895	Malmberg
Antiquities		
Roman antiquities	1804; 1822; 1824; 1828; 1832; 1833; 1835	Morgenstern
	1840	Preller
	1844; 1851; 1855; 1863	Mercklin
	1867	Schwabe
	1908	Felsberg
Greek antiquities	1806; 1827; 1829; 1834; 1842; 1843;	Morgenstern
	1842; 1843; 1846	Preller
	1846; 1854; 1857	Mercklin
	1899	Malmberg
Greek and Roman antiquities	1806	Morgenstern
	1849	Stephani
	1852; 1856; 1860; 1861; 1862	Mercklin
	1891; 1901; 1902; 1905; 1906; 1907	Malmberg
	1912; 1914; 1917; 1918	Felsberg
Antiquities of Athens	1806	Morgenstern
Antiquities in Russia, practicum	1895; 1901	Malmberg

Numismatics		
ANCIENT NUMISMATICS	1819*; 1821*; 1828*; 1829*; 1833*; 1835*	Morgenstern
	1849	Stephani
	1849, 1855; 1859	Mercklin
Mythology		
Mythology	1847; 1850	Stephani
	1853	Mercklin
	1877	Petersen
Greek and Roman mythology	1844; 1858	Mercklin
Greek mythology	1875; 1979	Petersen
Mythology in art	1831	Morgenstern
	1850	Stephani
	1854; 1859	Mercklin
	1882	Loeschcke
	1891; 1897; 1903; 1907	Malmberg
	1913	Felsberg
Greek art mythology	1877; 1885	Petersen
Mythology and religion	1840	Preller
Geography, topography		
Ancient geography and ethnography	1841	Preller
	1853; 1857, 1861	Mercklin
	1869	Schwabe
Geography of classical antiquities	1848	Stephani
	1847	Preller
Greek geography and topography	1876	Petersen
Topography of Greece	1882	Loeschcke
Topography of Athens	1887	Loeschcke
History and topography after Pausanias	1882	Loeschcke
Pausanias, I book	1846; 1848	Stephani
Pausanias, description of Greece	1891	Malmberg
	1914; 1915	Felsberg
Pausanias: description of Acropolis	1887	Loeschcke
Pausanias	1884	Loeschcke
	1897	Malmberg
Aesthetics		
Aesthetics	1804; 1805; 1806; 1808; 1820; 1810; 1812; 1815; 1816; 1817; 1819; 1822; 1831; 1832; 1835	Morgenstern
	1841	Preller
	1848	Stephani
	1845; 1851; 1856; 1860	Mercklin
	1897	Malmberg

3.1.1.1 General introduction to the Art Museum

An introduction course for students about the art museum only ever took place once (1810) in the history of the museum. These lectures had a long prehistory and depended on a number of things coinciding – Morgenstern's trip to Europe and visits to art collections, the enthusiasm about quickly amassing the collections and the new rooms for the museum in the university's main building.

In 1809, Morgenstern made a trip to Europe, where he visited many museums and collections in Germany and France, Switzerland and Italy. On his return, he published his notes about the trip.⁴¹⁴ He certainly obtained impressions and new knowledge from the European museums for what he was trying to transmit to the students in Tartu. The input from that trip he applied to two kinds of lectures: in 1810 he held a course on archaeology, where in addition to the history of glyptics, painting and architecture, he also dealt with the most spectacular collections of ancient art in European museums.⁴¹⁵ He delivered these lectures in the art museum as is written in the lecture plan.

Driven by new experiences and emotions, Morgenstern made an introduction to the University of Tartu Art Museum for all those students who were interested in the same year. There were enough artworks in the collection to demonstrate to a wider circle. A general introduction to the art museum could only contain a small introduction to the casts, because since the first years of its activity very few casts were obtained,⁴¹⁶ and the main focus was the collecting of engravings.⁴¹⁷

The general introduction to the Art Museum in 1810 also depended on the spatial possibilities of the museum. Until 1809, the museum was crammed into Morgenstern's private apartment. Even then the museum was already in use: in the first half of 1805, Morgenstern first mentioned in the lecture plan that he held classes there introducing the archaeology of art with the use of the museum under his supervision, three times a week – Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays at 6–7 in the evening.⁴¹⁸ Yet in 1809 the university's main building was completed, and the art museum moved from Morgenstern's apartment into the

⁴¹⁴ Morgenstern, K. *Karl Morgenstern's Reise in Italien im J. 1809. Auszüge aus den Tagebüchern und Papieren eines Reisenden* (Dorpat, Leipzig: P. G. Kummer, 1811–1813). The book consists of letters, lists of art objects and descriptions of art and cultural objects he had seen on his trip. The first part of the book deals with Naples, the second part Florence and the third part Milan and other cities. The descriptions in the book are not in chronological order, but are written from the notes taken during the trip, and with the help of literature later in Tartu. The ideal trip for Morgenstern was educational, with an enlightening character that required thorough preparation. He tried to provide the reader of his book with diverse and detailed information (Keevallik, Loodus, Viirjoja 2000: 106–109).

⁴¹⁵ Cf. 2.3.1.1.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. 2.3.1.1.–2.3.1.3.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. 2.3.1.

⁴¹⁸ *Einleitung in die archäologie der kunst mit Benutzung des unter seiner Aufsicht stehenden Museums, 3 Mal wöchentlich, Montags, Dienstags u. Donnerstags von 6–7 Abends* (Vorlesungen 1805).

new rooms in the university's main building. The rooms were on the second floor by the festive hall. The change definitely made visiting the museum more comfortable, because from then on it was possible to ask Morgenstern to show the museum rooms even outside lecture hours.⁴¹⁹ Therefore, the general introduction to the Art Museum belonged to an idealistic programme of art education in the broader sense.

For some reason Morgenstern did not repeat the course any more. Either it was too difficult a task to make generalizations from such diverse collections, or there were not enough people interested in art, this is unknown. Also subsequent directors did not make such a general introduction to the museum anymore, but provided explanations about the sculpture casts in the museum as Schwabe instigated in 1866 (Cf. Table 3).

One of Morgenstern's pedagogical steps was the opening of the art museum at certain times for enthusiasts outside the university.⁴²⁰ This made it possible to increase the popularity of the museum and improve people's education and taste in art. Therefore, Morgenstern actively searched for ways to use the art museum in the teaching-process to prove the necessity of the newly established institution and to earn the sympathy of a wider circle.

3.1.1.2 The teaching of numismatics

The heyday of the use of the numismatic collection of the art museum in lectures was undoubtedly while Morgenstern was the director. The lectures on coins were added to the lecture plan quite late, in 1819 (cf. Table 3). By that time, Morgenstern had obtained Stiglitz's coin cast collection (KMM Nv 3)⁴²¹ for the museum and to some extent original ancient coins.⁴²² Morgenstern

⁴¹⁹ See for the opening hours of the museum in the new building of university in *Vorlesungen* 1810, 5.

⁴²⁰ The University of Tartu Art Museum was established especially for the students, but it was also introduced to guests of the university. Because Morgenstern himself was busy with many duties, a librarian Emil Aleksander Lorenz Anders (1806–1887), was asked to introduce the art museum. This extra task was performed probably at the end of the 1820s and in the 1830s. Anders described himself to be pretty adept at this soon (Anders 2012: 97).

⁴²¹ Cf. 2.3.1.2.1.

⁴²² Original coins are listed in the *Verzeichniss des Museums der Kunst der Kaiserl. Universität zu Dorpat angefertigt von dessen ersten Sammler und Director Karl Morgenstern. Zweiter Band. Münze*. Dorpat, 1808. Morgenstern catalogued 62 original coins from the collection of art museum in the lecture plan of one semester in 1817 and in 1818 the following numbers from 63 to 150 were published. *Praelectiones Semestres, In Caesarea Universitate Litteraria, Quae Dorpati Constituta Est, A Calendis Aug. Anni MDCCCXVII Habendae Indicuntur A Rectore Et Senatv Academico. Inest Enumeratio Nummorum Familiarum Romanorum, Qvi in Myseo Academico Servantur*. Partic. I. Dorpat: ex officinal academica Mich. Gerh. Grenzii, 1817; *Praelectiones Semestres, In Caesarea Universitate Litteraria, Quae Dorpati Constituta Est, A. D. V. Aug. Anni MDCCCXVIII Habendae Indicuntur A Rectore Et Senatu Academico. Inest Enumeratio Numorum Familiarum*

devoted one hour per week during the semester for the introduction of ancient numismatics, and the lecture plan points out that this was carried out in the art museum. He saw many themes in coins that were worth explaining to the students. Morgenstern has written about the coins and what can be studied through them in the foreword to the lecture plan. He wrote that via coins ancient history, law, sacred and secular rites, mythology, grammar, iconography and liberal arts can be studied.⁴²³

A couple of years later (1821) lectures on numismatics came once more, but this time Morgenstern had two hours per week to talk about the collection of ancient coins and coin casts in the art museum. Although the coin cast collection had not been upgraded meanwhile, in 1828, Morgenstern again lectured on ancient numismatics three hours per week after the Austrian Jesuit priest and numismatist Joseph Hilarius Eckhel (1737–1798). In 1833, Mionnet's huge collection of coin casts (KMM Nv 1, KMM Nv 2) was acquired for the art museum.⁴²⁴ After a pause, this acquisition seems again to have provided the impetus to hold numismatic lectures in 1833 and 1835, just before Morgenstern's retirement.

Unfortunately, Morgenstern's lectures on numismatics were not highlighted by his students, but some of his overview courses and lectures on ancient authors were. The following is the opinion of one of Morgenstern's students, which manifests very clearly the character of his lectures. Emil Anders, who studied under Morgenstern in the 1820s, has written about Morgenstern's lectures: *I was personally attracted by Professor Morgenstern's lectures on antiquities, archaeology and aesthetics, Plato and Horace. Within three years, I listened to him and got the greatest enthusiasm and also thanks to my diligence and the semester examinations I became acquainted with him. I soon got used to his garrulousness. He was a very erudite man and could present a lot of new things in his lectures in a stylish way showing the large engravings with archaeological content. Thanks to him I was fascinated in classical Antiquity* (Anders 2012: 84).

Ludwig Mercklin, who was a student of the University of Tartu 1835–1839⁴²⁵, has written notes from the numismatics lectures delivered by Morgenstern.⁴²⁶ Mercklin himself delivered lectures in Greek and Roman numismatics a couple of times (1855, 1859). In his lectures he used the publications of Eckhel and Mionnet. The latter was used already by Morgenstern's successor Stephani

Romanarum, Qui In Museo Academico Servantur. Part. II. Dorpat: ex officina academica J. C. Schünmanni, 1818.

⁴²³ ... *de hac nummorum classe cum praedico: facile quivis intelliget, quanta illi subsidia ad historia, iuris veteris, rituum sacrorum profanorumque, mythologiae, grammaticae, iconologiae, variaequae eruditionis persectiorem intelligentiam, quin ad artium etiam liberalium maiora incrementa conserant* (Morgenstern 1817: v).

⁴²⁴ Cf. 2.3.1.2.2.

⁴²⁵ About the students of the University of Tartu see *Album Academicum* 1867.

⁴²⁶ *Alte Numismatik*. 1835 (F 18, s 2).

in 1849, because Mionnet's coin cast collection (KMM Nv 1, KMM Nv 2) had been obtained for the museum in 1833.⁴²⁷

There was no other good reason for discontinuing the lectures in numismatics after Mercklin, except the strong change in the approach to collecting.⁴²⁸ The art museum concentrated on collecting plaster casts of ancient sculptures, which were thought to be the best devices for teaching ancient art (Anderson 2011: 345).

3.1.1.3 The teaching of glyptic art

Morgenstern began to establish the University of Tartu Art Museum in 1803 and immediately started to purchase collections of gem casts for their very rich visual material.⁴²⁹ One might expect that active teaching also began immediately on the basis of the gem casts. The reality, however, is different.

Once again we can see the affect of Morgenstern's travels in Europe, where he broadened his horizons and gathered experiences.⁴³⁰ In 1810, after his travels in Europe, he delivered lectures in archaeology where talked about the most outstanding museum collections of ancient art in Europe, and where he had seen also large amounts of gems as well as gem cast collections. In the context of this lecture he also dealt with the history of glyptics along side the history of painting and architecture. He had actually organised similar lectures already before his trip in 1805,⁴³¹ but then he dealt only with glyptics, painting and architecture, without any explanations of European museums. By 1813 he had also integrated into the same format of the lecture an overview of the works of Pheidias. He devoted 3–4 hours per week for this cycle of lectures.⁴³²

Archaeology lectures with such titles did not continued after Morgenstern, and therefore, how much time the subsequent professors dedicated to glyptic art in the context of the history of ancient art is not known. We would not have even known about the use of the gem cast collections in lectures if the lecture notes from art history lectures delivered by Mercklin in the Estonian History Museum in 1854 had not survived (Illustration 15). In the section on sources of

⁴²⁷ Cf. 2.3.1.2.2.

⁴²⁸ Although lectures on numismatics in the University of Tartu were not held anymore, it does not mean that coins were not dealt with anywhere at all. E.g. Schwabe held a public lecture on coins many years later in Tübingen (Schwabe 1905).

⁴²⁹ Cf. 2.3.1.1.1; 2.3.1.1.2.

⁴³⁰ Cf. 3.1.1.1.

⁴³¹ These lectures were held in the art museum which was in the hall of Morgenstern's appartement at this time.

⁴³² Unfortunately, it is not known what publication Morgenstern used as a basis for his talks on glyptic art. He used K. O. Müller's handbook of art archaeology (1830) later in his lectures of art history (see fn 442), but this had not yet been published. Although there is a chapter about artworks made of precious stones, and the examples taken from cast collections, there is no information that any of museum directors lectured on glyptic art on the basis of that publication later.

ancient art, gems are named and in addition the gem cast collection of Cades and Lippert is indicated, but there is no reference to the existence of these collections in the University of Tartu Art Museum (Berting 1854: 7).⁴³³

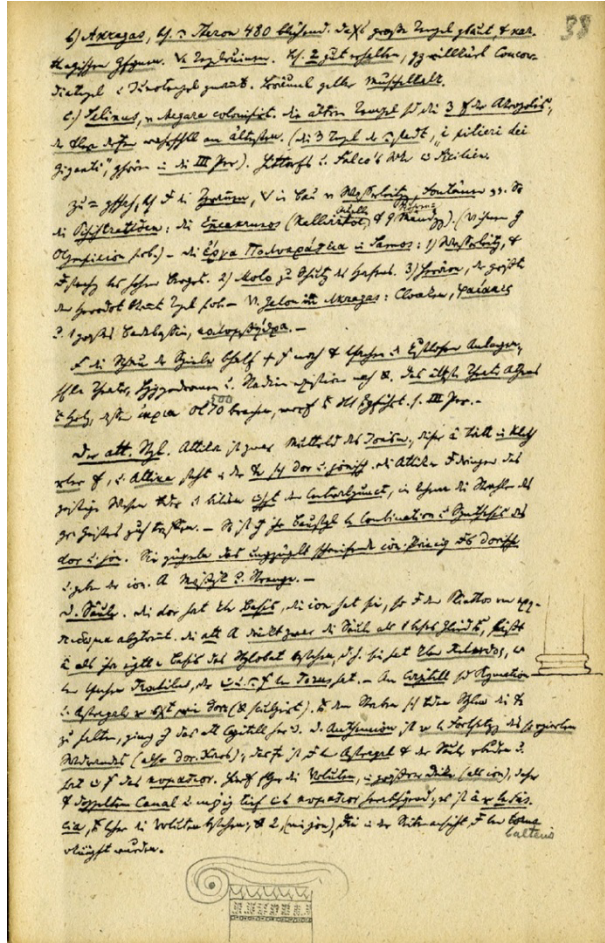


Illustration 15. Lecture notes of student Alexander Berting. *Die Geschichte der alten Kunst. Exzerpt aus den Vorträgen von Prof. L. Mercklin. Dorpat, 1854 (AM.51.1.5.).*

⁴³³Alexander Berting (1832–1903) was a student of philology at the University of Tartu in 1851–1854, later inspector and schoolmaster in Tallinn (*Album Academicum* 1867: 251). His notes from the lecture of the history of ancient art held by Mercklin cover 78 pages and are well-structured: starting with the art of Egypt, Phoenicia, West-Asia, Asia Minor, Etruria, continuing with Greek art, divided into periods and in every period architecture, sculpture and painting are dealt with separately. Even the relationship of the original art work and the copy is shortly mentioned (p 7 recto). The notes are illustrated with some pencil drawings of architecture. *Die Geschichte der alten Kunst. Exzerpt aus den Vorträgen von Prof. L. Mercklin. Dorpat. 1854 (AM.51.1.5.).*

Considering that Morgenstern had purchased such an excellent collection of gem casts for the art museum, the volume of lectures on glyptics was rather limited. Although a few gem cast collections were obtained after Morgenstern, lectures on glyptic art were no longer taken into the lecture plan.

3.1.1.4 The teaching of ancient sculptures

Although Morgenstern already made an introduction to the art museum for those interested in 1810 (cf. 3.1.1.1), by that time the museum had obtained only some casts of sculptures and it was mostly possible to introduce other types of art. In 1833, he emphasized the importance of the sculpture casts for studies,⁴³⁴ yet no special course about the sculpture casts of the museum took place during his time.

After a long break in 1866, in the time of director Schwabe,⁴³⁵ a special introduction to the museum was started again in the form of tours of the museum, focusing on the plaster cast sculptures. By that time the casts ordered by Mercklin during his travels to Europe⁴³⁶ had arrived as had casts purchased by Schwabe himself.⁴³⁷ Therefore, there was a considerable number of casts made after ancient Greek sculptures to introduce. On Saturdays Schwabe spoke on the sculptures in the art museum for an hour to students from all faculties (1866, 1870, 1872), but there was also a kind of lecture on selected works of art in the art museum (1867, 1869). Subsequent directors followed the same line, but there were more and more casts in different styles – archaic, classical and Hellenistic – to use as examples for illustrating art history.

The lecture was apparently successful in the museum environment because in the decades that followed it was held several times. Petersen (1875, 1877) and Loeschcke (1883, 1885) gave explanations of the plaster casts in the art museum a couple of times and this course was continued by Malmberg (1892, 1896, 1899, 1901, 1907) and Felsberg (1910, 1911).

⁴³⁴ Cf. 2.3.1.3.

⁴³⁵ During his seventeen semesters in Tartu, he gave several dozen courses, seminars and a series of exercise classes. He dealt with his lecture on Greek and Roman authors (Catullus, Cicero and Pliny the Elder, Plautus, Theokritos, Thukydides, Aeschylus and Euripides), organized philological internships and gave lectures on the methodology of encyclopaedia and classical philology. Schwabe has written in his memories: . . . *However, I attached particular weight to art history lectures and other similar. I dealt with both the Greek and Roman art history as a whole and in parts (sculpture, architecture) in detail, explained selectively ancient sculptures, or lectured on sculptures of the Art Museum to students from all the faculties, highlighted art historical paragraphs from the Natural history of Plinius, presented the Roman topography, and finally made the archaeological demonstrations and internships* (Schwabe 1986: 240–241). See more memoirs by Schwabe from his period in Tartu in Schwabe 1915.

⁴³⁶ Cf. 2.4.1.

⁴³⁷ Cf. 2.4.2.

Besides ordinary lectures, Schwabe, who stands out with several innovations, held a number of public art presentations at the university. On 24 December 1866, in the festive hall of the university he delivered a lecture on Greece and Greek culture on the northern coast of the Black Sea⁴³⁸, which was printed in the journal *Baltische Monatschrift*.⁴³⁹ Schwabe wrote in his memoirs about public presentations for the charitable purposes of the Support Society of Tartu (*Dorpat'er Hilfsverein*): two lectures on the Acropolis of Athens and another two on the Niobe group of sculptures (Schwabe 1986: 244), casts of which he obtained for the museum just before the presentations.⁴⁴⁰

3.1.2 Lectures on ancient art and material culture in the rooms of the museum or with a visit to the museum

Excluding the general introduction to the museum and a few lectures held in the museum focusing on special groups in the cast collection, there is no clear evidence of how systematically and with which methodology the cast collections of the museum were used in the study process. Examining the lecture plan of the university we can see that already Morgenstern had organised lectures on art and archaeology since 1805; the remark *Held in the Art Museum* is included in the lecture plan (in Table 3 such lectures are signified with an asterisk *). We can only guess that the environment of the art museum means also illustrating these lectures with the casts from his own collections.

The lecture plan of the university (1802–1918) indicates that the first systematic series of lectures held in the museum rooms is connected to subjects on ancient art and antiquities in the context of archaeology.⁴⁴¹ Morgenstern delivered lectures on art archaeology six times (1805–1813) in the museum, and these could have been successfully carried out by his successors in the rooms of art museum. Morgenstern started with archaeology lectures⁴⁴² in 1805 and just

⁴³⁸ Preller has talked on the importance of the Black Sea for trade and traffic in the old world for Kaiser Nikolai's coronation day in the festive hall of the university in 1842 (Stieda 1927: 307).

⁴³⁹ Die Griechen und die griechische Kunst am Nordgestade des schwarzen Meeres. Akademische Festrede, gehalten am 12. (24.) December 1866 in Dorpat. *Baltische Monatschrift*. Bd. 15. Riga: Livl. Gouv. Typogr., 1867, 181–208.

⁴⁴⁰ The group of Niobe (KMM S 93) and the model of Acropolis (KMM S 104). The texts of this public lectures seemed to be unpublished.

⁴⁴¹ It is complicated to distinguish the exact scope of the treatment of archaeology and art in the course. Looking at Müller's handbook of art archaeology, on which Morgenstern and his successors based their lectures, there could be seen a range of topics related and intertwined with each other (Müller 1830). Organising this group in Table 3 was based on the use of the word archaeology in the title of the lecture, assuming that art history and other topics reflected in the title were spoken of in respect to archaeology.

⁴⁴² The handbook of art archaeology written by K. O. Müller was used as referenced material in the lectures about ancient art read by Morgenstern as well as by his successors Preller, Stephani and Mercklin (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 46). There are different editions preserved in the University of Tartu Library: *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*. Breslau: im Verlag

before his retirement those lectures included mention of Egyptian, Syrian, Persian, Indian and Mexican art. After him, Stephani spoke on art archaeology (1846, 1847).

A seminar work, written in 1824 by pharmacy student (1824–1825) Peter Ludwig Bornwasser (*Album Academicum* 1867: 1823), based on Morgenstern's lectures on art archaeology, was preserved with the title *De artibus praecipue de sculptura veterum Graecorum. Ex praelectionibus C. Morgensternii*.⁴⁴³ From this manuscript we can see that Morgenstern took material for his lectures from ancient sources. He used ancient authors, who had written about the arts (Herodotos, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Athenaeus, Plutarch, Pausanias, Philostratus the Elder and Younger, Pliny the Elder⁴⁴⁴). The seminar work deals with ancient sculptures that are evaluated by ancient authors. He did not relate the sculptures with those in European museums, and mentions also sculpture casts. Morgenstern's approach to ancient texts is thus still more focused.⁴⁴⁵

In 1812, Morgenstern held lectures in the museum on the theory of the visual arts. It is not known for certain how much time was devoted to ancient art or the reception of ancient art during these lectures. The lecture plan contains the remark that the course was particularly for those who had previously attended the course on aesthetics (*Vorlesungen* 1812, II: 5).⁴⁴⁶ In the second case (1821),

der von Joseph Max, 1830 (delivered from the chair of art history with the temple of Karl Eduard von Liphart); *Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst*. Stuttgart: Heitz, 1878. In addition is in the library an edition of art works of Phidias: K. O. Müller. C. Odofr. Muelleri *De Phidiae Vita Et Operibus Commentationes Tres ... : Cum Tabula Aere Expressa ...* Gottingae: Typis Dieterichianis, 1827 (with *ex libris* of Morgenstern).

⁴⁴³ EAA.402.10.25–35, p 142–149.

⁴⁴⁴ Bornwasser, p. 144 verso.

⁴⁴⁵ The centrality of the text remained as main line in the publications of the museum directors and professors. In his archaeology lectures Schwabe started to treat the paragraphs of art from Plinius *Naturalis Historia* (1864, 1867) in the art lectures, as did also Malmberg later (1892, 1894, 1895). Malmberg was another man who based his lectures on the ancient author. He used Vitruvius' work of *About Architecture (De architectura)* (1892) in his architecture lecture. Malmberg was first and foremost an art historian and he also taught his speciality (Hiio *et al.* 2007: 182–183).

⁴⁴⁶ The lectures on aesthetics occur in the lecture plan in the first half of the 19th century. The lectures were divided between four professors: Morgenstern (1804–1806, 1808, 1810, 1812, 1815–1817, 1819, 1822, 1831, 1832, 1835), Preller (1841), Stephani (1848) and Mercklin (1845, 1851, 1856, 1860). The programme of aesthetics was quite intensive: Morgenstern always spoke five hours per week and compiled the lectures on aesthetics after the book of Christian Wilhelm Snell *Lehrbuch der Kritik des Geschmacks, mit ständiger Rücksicht auf die Kantische Kritik der ästhetischen Urtheilskraft* (Leipzig 1795). Mercklin reduced the number of hours to four or even three. Although in the lecture plan is indicated that in 1851 Mercklin lectured on aesthetics from the aspects of ancient art is not known how much and how often these lectures referred to ancient art, but to some extent it was done. Like the lectures on numismatics, the lectures on aesthetics also ended by 1860. Once again, the paradigm shift obviously played a role: focusing on the collecting of plaster casts and the history of ancient art.

it is written that the paintings and not the casts of the art museum will be under observation (*Vorlesungen* 1821, I: 4).

In addition to these six aforementioned lectures on art archaeology (1805–1813) and the theory of the visual arts in the 1820s, which were all held in the museum, the art museum had visual material for many more topics and lectures. For example, one semester in 1885, professor Loeschcke lectured on Pompeii two hours per week. The walls of the art museum were painted in the Pompeii style, and several casts in the collection were made after ancient antiquities found from Pompeii, and finally there were voluminous publications by Zahn (1828/1829, 1842/1844, 1852/1859).⁴⁴⁷ Yet no evidence of the use of museum pieces in the teaching process has been found until now. In 1889, Loeschcke initiated lectures on the history of Greek vase painting. By that time had museum had a considerable collection of ancient vases. Loeschcke had authorised Adolf Furtwängler to buy 30 ceramic vases, lamps and fragments of those objects for the art museum from an auction in Paris, and these became an effective addition to the collection of ancient originals (Laiverik 2003: 11). Felsberg (1911, 1914, 1915), who had published a catalogue with Malmberg about the most beautiful ancient vases and also terracottas in the collection of the art museum in 1910, also spoke on the vases.⁴⁴⁸ During these courses, visits to the art museum could be assumed, yet not attested. The third group of lectures on material culture, for which the museum had remarkable collections, were lectures on antiquities initiated by Morgenstern in 1804⁴⁴⁹ and 1806,⁴⁵⁰ and continued by all of his successors except Loeschcke and Malmberg. Greek and Roman antiquities were discussed in separate lectures, but there were sometimes also complex courses (Cf. Table 3). The topics in those lectures were quite different, extensive and much material was dealt with because the lectures were from four to five hours per week. For example, there were lectures on “Roman antiquities or the history of the state constitution, religion, customs and the life of the Romans” (1804), “Greek antiquities or the history of the state constitution, religion, customs and the life of the Greeks” (1806), “Roman antiquities: historical descriptions of the constitution and administration of Rome, religion, warfare, customs and private life” (1814), “Greek private and state antiquities” (1854), “Roman private and state antiquities” (1855) and “Sacral antiquities from Greece and Rome” (1852). In these lectures the focus seems to be everyday life.⁴⁵¹ One new quite different topic, classical antiquities

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. 2.4.2.

⁴⁴⁸ Woldemar Malmberg, Ernst Felsberg. *Античные вазы и терракотты*. Юрьев: Маттисен, 1910. There are listed 228 objects about twenty of which are terracottas and the rest are vases from different periods, like Cyprian, Corinthian and Attic vases. The publication is illustrated with photos.

⁴⁴⁹ In that lecture he followed the publication of Johann Leonhardt Meyer. *Meyer's Lehrbuch der Röm. Alterthümer*. Erlangen: Walther, 1797.

⁴⁵⁰ 1806 special lectures about antiquities of Athens.

⁴⁵¹ Sixteen seminar works made in the lectures of Morgenstern are preserved. There are dealt very different topics from literature to everyday and state life (EAA.402. 10.25–35).

of southern Russia, was dealt with by Malmberg in 1895 and 1901, after he had taken part in an expedition and archaeological works to southern Russia in 1892 (Gamaliya 2011: 347). It was certainly possible to use the collections of the art museum in these lectures; the gem casts could provide rich illustration for this topic as could the coins.

The last two groups of lectures, for which the museum and its casts could provide auxiliary material, are mythology, geography and topography. Mythology is an important subject for understanding ancient literature and art. The courses were carried out not earlier than 1831 by Morgenstern. Probably they dealt with the question of mythology in the context of earlier lectures. The courses in mythology have been given different names in the lecture plan. Preller put mythology and religion together in one lecture. For example, Mercklin spoke on Greek and Roman mythology (1858), mythology in art (1853, 1859) and just mythology (1853), while Petersen concentrated only on Greek art mythology (1875, 1879) and Greek mythology (1877, 1885).

Looking at the lecture plan in detail shows that art topics were also dealt with in the lectures on geography and topography, and necessary illustrative material, for example, should be found from the plaster cast collection of the art museum. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of whether the professor visited the museum with the students during the lectures. All the directors spoke on geography and topography except Morgenstern and Felsberg. Topography, geography and also ancient art were, however, predominantly taught on the basis of *Descriptions of Greece (Periplus)* written by the Greek traveller and geographer Pausanias (2nd century AD). The first book in that travelogue was initially used by Stephani (1846, 1848). Loeschcke had, lectured on the topography of Greece in 1887 and in same year he used the travelogue of Pausanias to describe the Acropolis, and Malmberg (1891, 1897) and Felsberg (1914, 1915) used the work of Pausanias to describe Greece.

In the last decades of the 19th century, in the University of Tartu, as in other universities, new tools and methods emerged for illustrating subjects. Professor Malmberg showed photographs and drawings during his lectures. For larger audiences he insisted on using the magic lantern (*laterna magica*, image projector) at least during his demonstration in Moscow after leaving Tartu, as was done by German art historian and writer Hermann Grimm (1828–1901) in Berlin and Adolf Furtwängler in Munich (Gamaliya 2011: 348).⁴⁵² New visual technologies changed how plaster cast sculptures were used – from being used as a direct source, many alternative ways of accessing the material in lectures were adopted.

⁴⁵² *Laterna Magica* was an early type of image projector developed in the 17th century and used to the early 20th century for educational and entertainment purposes (Ward 2008: 351). In the collection of the University of Tartu Museum there is one *laterna magica* (ÜAM 890:9 Aj) previously used in the Institute of Physical Chemistry at the University of Tartu at the turn of the 19th and 20th century. It is unknown whether this kind of projector was also used in the lectures of art history.

3.2 Directors of art museum and publishing ancient art

Previously, courses in and around ancient art and that implemented the cast collections in teaching were observed from 1803 to 1918. Although the variety of different lectures on ancient art was wide, traces of the use of cast collections were rather scarce. In addition, the scope of topics the art museum directors published on in their scientific works was extensive. Yet not all of these publications were written during their period in Tartu: some of them had several publications already before arriving in Tartu, others left Tartu and proceeded as mature scholars publishing their research. They published on ancient art, but the topics of archaeology and mythology were also preferred, and philological works were also published. Next, the themes and art works preferred by the directors of the art museum in their publications will be explored. In the context of this work it is the most important to identify whether their research work also took place throughout the implementation of the cast collections.

3.2.1 General trends in publishing

The research topics of the directors of the art museum were diverse, but the greatest percentage was dedicated to ancient art. Only the activity of Morgenstern is clearly distinguishable as exceptionally outstanding due to the abundance of topics he pursued and the lack of topics related to ancient art.⁴⁵³ After his trip to Europe, Morgenstern published a book on the art and cultural objects he had seen and visited (Morgenstern 1811–1813). He wrote introductions to the museums and collections, which also include passages about art where he tries to give to the reader diverse and detailed information via thorough descriptions (Keevallik, Loodus, Viiroja 2000: 106–109).

About the gems or gem casts, which Morgenstern was keen to purchase for the museum in so many boxes, he has not written more than one article, and even this was not about the objects in the University of Tartu Art Museum. He wrote about ancient art in relation to an Abraxas-gem⁴⁵⁴ that belonged to the Kurland Association of Literature and Art. The Abraxas-gem (found allegedly in a field in Livland) originated from Alexandria and was dated back to the 4th century BC. Morgenstern has described the images, given a philosophical interpretation of the gem⁴⁵⁵ and designated its function as an amulet and seal

⁴⁵³ See more about his comprehensive activity in ch. 2.3.

⁴⁵⁴ A vast number of engraved stones are in existence, to which the name “Abraxas-stones” has long been given. Abraxas-stones are among the most noted talismans, engraved with the word “Abraxas” on them. There exist Abraxas-stones with different images: only the image of Abraxas (usually a figure with shield, a sword or sceptre, a cock’s head, a serpent’s tail) or Abraxas combined with different symbolic figures (Stewart 1998: 363).

⁴⁵⁵ Philosophical themes were known to Morgenstern. He had published *De Platonis republica commentationes tres*. Halle: Hemmerde, 1794 that was one of his most valued publications and named as the first modern commentary of *Politeia* (Neschke-Hentschke

(Morgenstern 1843). He did not compare the gem with the materials in the University of Tartu Art Museum and did not even mention that the museum had several casts of Abraxas-gems.⁴⁵⁶ Clearly, however, Morgenstern's approach in these works is rather encyclopaedic and enlightening, and not analytical. Unfortunately, gems and gem cast related topics were not touched upon by any of the subsequent directors.

The cataloguing of ancient coins was started by Morgenstern with the Roman coins obtained for the art museum between 1803–1818. That line was continued by Ludwig Preller, who worked in Tartu for four years (1838–1842). During his stay in Tartu, he did not publish much, but he catalogued the Greek coins in the art museum using the coin cast collection as reference material.⁴⁵⁷ His chief works were rather about ancient mythology than about ancient art,⁴⁵⁸ and Preller diligently contributed to the classical encyclopaedia *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*⁴⁵⁹ whilst in Tartu, the first volume of which was published in 1839. His articles were not, however, so much about ancient art as about mythology (e.g. Delphi and Dionysia) (Preller 1927: 374). After Morgenstern and Preller, interest in coins and gems completely disappeared from the publications of museum directors, who focused on sculpture.

The successor to Preller was Ludolf Stephani, who stayed in Tartu for five years (1845–1850) and spent the rest of his life in St. Petersburg. His activity as a researcher was productive, but during his period in Tartu he only published on the history of Attic art and his research into Greek inscriptions.⁴⁶⁰ In these works, he did not deal with casts, but relied on the originals. He was very productive later in St. Petersburg, where he published almost every year on ancient art, collections and classical archaeology in Russia.

The new trend in publishing activity among museum directors was initiated by Ludwig Mercklin, first director of the art museum, who had already studied at the University of Tartu (1835–1839). In 1854, he made the first attempt to describe an ancient sculpture from the collection of the University of Tartu Art

1993: 107–108). Fragments of his commentary (pp 23–35 and 50–53) have been translated even into Estonian by M. Lepajõe (Morgenstern 1993: 97–106).

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. KMM GE 1: 507, KMM GE 1: 544, KMM GE 1: 713, KMM GE 1: 2219; KMM GE 1: 2520; KMM GE 3: 103; KMM GE 3: 104; KMM GE 3: 111 etc. For further information see Estonian Museums Public Portal www.muis.ee [accessed 04.09.2014]. Morgenstern had probably studied the gem casts he purchased for art museum closely, because there are several Abraxas-gems. Although an Abraxas-gem is easily recognizable, it requires an adept eye to determine the people, objects and symbols on the gems.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. 3.2.1.

⁴⁵⁸ Preller, L., 1854. *Griechische Mythologie*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung; 1858. *Römische Mythologie*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

⁴⁵⁹ Preller has mentioned his articles of *Realencyclopädie* in his diary. He wrote articles about “Delphi” and “Dionysia” and he wrote that he had succeeded in those (Preller 1927: 374).

⁴⁶⁰ Stephani, L., 1846. Studien zur attischen Kunstgeschichte. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*. Neue Folge, 4. Jahrg. 1–39; Stephani, L., 1848–1850. *Titulorum Graecorum*. I–V. Dorpat: Schünmann.

Museum at a scientific level, when he published an illustrated article on Aphrodite Nemesis with sandal.⁴⁶¹ In the activity of Mercklin, we can already see a tendency from the modern age – the abandonment of universality and the movement toward specialization (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 46–47).

From the very beginning of the 19th century, the directors of museum and professors of the chair of classical philology and archaeology were responsible for preparing the university programmes.⁴⁶² Ludwig Schwabe, professor of the chair and director of the museum in 1863–1872, followed this tradition and between 1868 and 1870 published many short studies about ancient art, especially Greek sculpture⁴⁶³. In his *Observationes archaeologicae* he was interested in archetypes, iconography, the question of authorship and he also made source critical comments (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 52). In essence, Schwabe worked with sculptures as text-based critic with manuscripts: he tried to mention all the known copies, to relate those to each other, to identify archetypes or the oldest and most original works. He did not appreciate plaster casts as serious sources for research because all the details that original sculptures have are not visible,⁴⁶⁴ although in those programmes he mainly wrote about the sculptures he himself had ordered for the art museum as plaster casts.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶¹ Mercklin, L., 1854. *Aphrodite Nemesis mit dem Sandalen. Griechisches Erzbild mit Dorpater Kunstmuseums*. Dorpat: I. C. Schuemann, C. Mattiesen. Aphrodite with sandal was at the University of Tartu Art Museum in 1819–1915. It was donated to the museum by Otto Magnus von Richter, whose son Otto Friedrich von Richter purchased the statuette from Damascus in 1815 (Morgenstern 1821: 464–468).

⁴⁶² The coin catalogues of Morgenstern (1818, 1819) and Preller (1842, 1843) were also published with programmes.

⁴⁶³ Schwabe, L., 1868. *Observationum archaeologicarum particula I (De cupidinis arcum tendentis atque de Harmodii et Aristogitonis statu)*. Dorpat: C. Mattiesen; *Observationum archaeologicarum particula II (III De Niobidis IIII De Apolline in omphalo V De Polycliti Doryphoro VI De Aristee et Papias centauris VII De Parthenone)*. Dorpat: C. Mattiesen, 1870.

⁴⁶⁴ He points to the imperfection of the plaster casts a couple of times, first talking about the Niobe group (*Qui enim statuam illam curiose examinaverit inveniet in latere eius dextro vel, ut accuratius loquar, in inguinum parte dextra laterali foramen parvulum, gypso nunc oblitum, . . .*) (Schwabe 1870: 2) and secondly speaking about the position of the spear of the Doryphoros (*Praterea Friederichsius exemplo gypseo berlinensi fretus in latere sinistro occipitii doryphori neapolitani reliquias quasdam esse adminiculi adnotavit, quo hastam summam fultam esse conicit. . . . Contra in exemplo neapolitano, in basi, quae antiqua est, ibi ubi hasta terram tangat necesse est foramen nunc gypso oblitum videre licet: et plane idem in exemplare vaticano observatur*) (Schwabe 1870:15–16).

⁴⁶⁵ Niobe with the daughter (KMM S 93), Apollo on the omphalos (KMM S 101), Harmodios (KMM S 122), Aristogeiton (KMM S 123), the Doryphoros (KMM S 129). Schwabe wrote about the art museum's plaster cast of Apollo because he considered it to be necessary to explain the position of the Apollo figure on the top of omphalos-shape base. He himself did not believe it was the original way of exhibiting the ancient sculpture, but he followed the authorities (Schwabe 1870: 11). Cf. 2.4.2.

Petersen, who through his writings had a Europe-wide reputation as a researcher of Pheidias, was professor of classical philology and archaeology for 1873–1879.⁴⁶⁶ He published on most of his research after leaving Tartu. However, the publishing and teaching activities of Petersen and his successor Loeschcke lifted the study of ancient art at the University of Tartu to a European level (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 54; Keevallik 1993: 144).

Loeschcke was a very productive researcher whose circle of interests was wider compared with Petersen. As a scientist, he was interested in sculpture and ceramics in particular, and was in contact with the eminent specialists of his time (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 53). Loeschcke stayed in Tartu for ten years (1879–1889) and during that time he published several studies on the history of ancient art and sculptures,⁴⁶⁷ but also on topography.⁴⁶⁸ While working in Tartu, Loeschcke published eight university programmes about ancient art.⁴⁶⁹

The most important of his university programmes were writings about the pediment groups of the temple of Zeus in Olympia, which found feedback in German specialist literature⁴⁷⁰ (Keevallik, Loodus, Viiraja 2006: 219). Excavations provided new material and methods for the reconstruction of the placement of sculptures in the pediments of the temple. Loeschcke does not offer new opportunities for the arrangement of the east pediments of the temple; he generally agrees with German archaeologist Ernst Curtius (1814–1896), however, his interpretation that the old men were augurs is important (Keevallik *et al.* 2006: 219–220). About the west pediment, he agreed with German archaeologist and curator of the sculpture collection at Albertinum of Dresden, Georg Treu's (1843–1921) reconstruction. He added an iconographic note about the characters of the centaureomachy in which he interprets the older women as

⁴⁶⁶ Petersen, E., 1873. *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia*. Berlin: Weidmann.

⁴⁶⁷ Loeschcke, G., 1879. *De basi quadam prope Spartam reperta observationes archaeologicae*. Dorpat: Schnakenburg; *Aus der Unterwelt*. Dorpat: Schnakenburg, 1888; *Die westliche Giebelgruppe am Zeustempel zu Olympia*. Dorpat: C. Mattiesen, 1887; *Boreas und Oreithya am Kypselokasten*. Dorpat: Mattiesen, 1886; *Die östliche Giebelgruppe am Zeustempel zu Olympia*. Dorpat: Schnakenburg, 1885.

⁴⁶⁸ Loeschcke, G., 1883. *Die Enneakrunosepisode bei Pausanias. Ein Beitrag zur Topographie und Geschichte Athens: de Pausaniae descriptione urbis Athenarum quaestiones*. Dorpat: Schnakenburg, 1883; *Vermutungen zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte und zur Topographie Athens*. Dorpat: Schnakenburg, 1884.

⁴⁶⁹ In his Tartu period, Loeschcke was especially interested in Greek sculpture and ceramics. He also cooperated with recognized German archaeologists such as Adolf Furtwängler (1853–1907). Furtwängler, A.; Loeschcke, G. (eds), 1879. *Mykenische Thongefässe: Festschrift zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Institutes in Rom im Auftrage des Institutes in Athen*. Berlin: Asher.

⁴⁷⁰ Both, in the aspects of the investigation of the temple of Olympian Zeus and classical archaeology as a science the excavations conducted by German Archaeological Institute at Olympia in the years 1875–1881 played an important role.

mother centaur figures. These interpretations have survived until today (Keevallik *et al.* 2006: 222–223).⁴⁷¹

But once again, it must be admitted that neither Petersen nor Loeschcke used the cast collections of the art museum as source material in their works. Although they wrote about the objects that were available in the museum, they anyway based their work on the original object.⁴⁷²

The last directors of the period covered in this thesis, Malmberg and Felsberg, also engaged in publishing and cataloguing collections. The trend for cataloguing that began with the coin catalogues by Morgenstern and Preller, reached back to the catalogue as a form of publishing at the beginning of the 20th century. Malmberg continued the trend started by Mercklin, publishing ancient originals from the collection of the art museum⁴⁷³. Malmberg's interest in cast collection is expressed in the publication about Belvedere torso, where he used – first and last time in the history of Art Museum – the cast of museum for observation and analysis (Malmberg 1907).⁴⁷⁴

Felsberg wrote the last publication about the ancient original, a red-figured ancient vase, before evacuating into Russia in 1915.⁴⁷⁵ He handled also casts collection of sculptures – he drew up the catalogue. The catalogue contains all the plaster sculptures that were acquired before 1913, it means there is not reflected the Lipharts's donation.⁴⁷⁶ Nevertheless, it is a valuable publication which contains the descriptions of sculptures, the references on literature and accession data if possible.⁴⁷⁷ Symbolically it summarized the whole century long sculpture cast collecting in Tartu.⁴⁷⁸ After general evacuation of the

⁴⁷¹ See for annotation, text examples and commentaries on the articles in Keevallik, Loodus, Viirjoja 2006: 218–225.

⁴⁷² The basis with reliefs (KMM S 125), the model of the east pediment of the temple of Zeus in Olympia (KMM S 220), the model of the east pediment of the temple of Zeus in Olympia (KMM S 221).

⁴⁷³ See footnote 442 for ancient vases and terracottas of the art museum published by Malmberg, Felsberg in 1910; Malmberg, Felsberg wrote about original sculptures in *Античные мраморы и бронзы: оригиналы Музея изящных искусств при императорском Юрьевском университете*. Юрьев: Маттисен, 1911; Malmberg, W., 1911. *Оригиналы Музея изящных искусств при Императорском Юрьевском университете*. Вып. I-II. Юрьев: s.p.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. 3.2.2.

⁴⁷⁵ Felsberg, E., 1915. *Одна краснофигурная чаша Музея Изыщных Искусств при Императорском Юрьевском Университете*. Jurjev: K. Mattisen.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf 2.6.

⁴⁷⁷ Felsberg, E., 1913. *Гипсовые слепки Музея изящных искусств при Императорском Юрьевском университете*. Jurjev: K. Mattisen, 1913.

⁴⁷⁸ Felsberg's activity in connection with plaster casts, however, did not reach the end. After the evacuation to Voronezh, he went to Riga. There he founded a similar plaster cast collection as he had curated in Tartu. The cast collection of the University of Latvia was unfortunately closed in 1957. Felsberg deserved the honour of being the first professional Latvian art historian (Ranka 2004: 16). The casts are listed, but are preserved in the department of foreign art of Latvian National Museum of Art. Information got via e-mail,

University of Tartu, he stayed for five years in Voronezh (1915–1920). He was Professor of Art History and Theory and director of the university's art Museum in Voronezh. He also gave lectures at the conservatoire and the teachers' college and headed the art department of the provincial museum. His publishing activity proceeded in the University of Latvia, where he became the first rector of the University of Latvia.⁴⁷⁹

None of the museum directors wrote his main work during the period of Tartu. In their researches can be found only very few hints to the cast collections. Finally it should be noted that the cast collections were used in research only in a few cases.

3.2.1.1 Ludwig Preller *Nummorum Graecorum Recensus I–II*

Ludwig Preller (1839–1843) stayed in Tartu for a short time but only some of his literary activity was from this time. In 1842–1843 he published a two-volume book about Greek coins in Tartu.⁴⁸⁰ In this case, instead of the Preller catalogue of original ancient Greek coins from the local collection, he uses the coin casts from the collection of Mionnet to determine the original coins.⁴⁸¹ This is one proof that the cast collection was not only useful for teaching, but since it was organized and systematized, and accompanied by catalogues, could be successfully used as reliable reference material and as a model to compile one's own coin catalogue. Preller mentioned in the introduction to his catalogue that he intends to refer to the corresponding numbers used by Mionnet.⁴⁸² He had used the catalogues of Mionnet⁴⁸³ for the descriptions as well, as he probably observed the sulphur casts in the museum collection.⁴⁸⁴

There are 382 Greek coins listed in two parts of the catalogues together; 150 of those are described in the first part (Preller 1842). For example, coin number 47 is described as the head of Philip II of Macedon (382–336 BC) joined with the Greco-Egyptian god Serapis. On the other side of the coin was depicted the

sent kindly by Zane Lūse, collection manager of the Art Museum „Riga Bourse” (07.01.2015).

⁴⁷⁹ See for Felsberg's bibliography in Ranka 2004: 77–98.

⁴⁸⁰ Preller, L., 1843. *Nummorum Graecorum, qui in Museo academico asservantur recensus. Specimen 1.* Dorpat: Schönmann, 1842, 3–27; *Nummorum Graecorum, qui in Museo academico asservantur recensus. Specimen 2.* Dorpat: Schönmann, 1843, 3–25.

⁴⁸¹ Preller could use the Mionnet collection in 1842 thanks to Morgenstern's initiative, who already in 1818 wrote in his catalogue of original Roman coins how much the coin cast collections of Mionnet and Stieglitz were needed for the museum (Morgenstern 1818: 12). Morgenstern has acted in this direction, and in same year (1818) purchased for art museum the collection of Stieglitz coin casts (KMM Nv 3). Mionnet's collections (KMM Nv 1, KMM Nv 2) were acquired in 1833. Cf. 2.3.1.2.1 and 2.3.1.2.2.

⁴⁸² *Modulorum numeri ad Mionnet mensuras referendi* (Preller 1842: 5).

⁴⁸³ The catalogues of Th. E. Mionnet were published between the years of 1806–1830 in 17 volumes *Description des médailles antiques, grecques et romaines*. In the University of Tartu Library are not any of those catalogues, possibly evacuated into Russia in 1915.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. 2.3.1.2.2.

goddess Nike. Preller has added in this case that Mionnet has described the coin similarly.⁴⁸⁵ Similar references can be seen throughout the two volumes. One interesting case where the catalogue of coins was used is seen by the description of coins 53 and 54. Preller checked from Mionnet's catalogue to determine whether coins 53 and 54 are originals or forgeries (Preller 1842: 12). Two coins, numbering 114 and 115, are described as Boeotian. Preller mentions that he would like to compare the description with one by Mionnet, but he did not have the third part of the catalogue.⁴⁸⁶

Finally, there is an extra case in the catalogue. While all the ancient coin originals made of gold, silver or copper are described, the coins of Bactria, numbers 253–259, are named as sulphur casts (*ectypa*) (Preller 1843: 19). Obviously, they reached the museum with original coins, which is why they are not shut out because of their worthless material.

Mionnet's coin cast collection was probably the most cited cast collection in the scientific works of the art museum director. In addition to intensive use by Preller, his predecessor Morgenstern felt a shortage in that collection.

3.2.1.2 Woldemar Malmberg: Der Torso von Belvedere: zur Frage seiner Ergänzung und Deutung

As in the case of Preller, the cast collection as a whole along with its catalogue functioned for Woldemar Malmberg as a reference work and a structural model for the author's own publication, since one special cast was the main source and object of his research.

As an art historian Malmberg was mainly interested in Greek sculptures, thus continuing the research directions of Petersen and Loeschcke. Malmberg's work on the metopes of the Ancient Greek temples and research in the field of decorative sculpture was defended by him as his master thesis and published in 1892. In 1904, in Moscow, Malmberg defended his doctoral thesis on Ancient Greek pediment compositions, in which he noted that the marble figures of the pediments were painted in ancient times with a predominance of red colour and stood out against a dark blue or light blue background.

Malmberg published an article⁴⁸⁷ on the sculpture called Belvedere torso in 1907,⁴⁸⁸ whose plaster cast (KMM S 2) was one of the very first in the art

⁴⁸⁵ *Similem describit Mionnet* Suppl. II p. 205 (Preller 1842: 12).

⁴⁸⁶ *De simili exemplo frustra consului Mionnetum, quantum ego eius opus inspicere poteram; nam Descriptionis Vol III non ad manum erat* (Preller 1842: 23). Today there is not any volume of the catalogue *Description des médailles antiques, grecques et romaines* in the University of Tartu Library. Only in the University of Tallinn Academic Library are five volumes of the catalogue.

⁴⁸⁷ Malmberg, W., 1907. *Der Torso von Belvedere: zur Frage seiner Ergänzung und Deutung*. Dorpat: 1907.

⁴⁸⁸ The original marble sculpture was recorded in the collection Cardinal Colona by Ciriacus of Ancona already in the 1430s. 1499–1500 the torso was described as “a nude body without arms and neck, than which I have never seen a better work in stone” in *Prospettivo*

museum in Tartu (Illustration 16).⁴⁸⁹ The sculpture dates from the 1st century BC and is signed by the Athenian sculptor Apollonius, an artist of the neo-Attic school. The torso was already highly esteemed in the early 16th century and significant by the fact that the torso was left unrestored. Probably the earliest copy of the torso was small-scale and somewhat restored and could be dated back to the 1530s. A fine somewhat later terracotta version can be seen in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Sculptors Pietro Francavilla (1548–1615) and François Duquesnoy (1597–1643) have been recorded as having made small replicas of this kind in the 16th and 17th centuries. In the 18th century, painter and printmaker William Hogarth (1697–1764) mentioned that almost every maker of plaster figures has a cast of that small copy of the famous trunk of a body. The copies of the torso were more frequently found in art academies like the French Academy in Rome and the Royal Academy in London than in princely collections (Haskell, Penny 2006: 313)

The identity of the figure has been the subject of various interpretations through the centuries. The most favoured hypothesis presently identifies the statue as the Greek hero Ajax, son of Telamon, in the act of contemplating his suicide.⁴⁹⁰ The animal skin spread over the stone seat was commonly thought to be lion's skin until the end of 19th century. Since it is the skin of panther the figure is more closely related to Dionysus, a Satyr, Marsyas, Polyphemus, Philoktetes and Prometheus or a mythical athlete – the boxer Amykos (O'Neill 1982: 64). The earliest accounts all agreed that the figure's anatomy and the animal skin on which he sat proved that he had been a Heracles. Winckelmann believed that the statue had originally shown Heracles resting after all his labours (Haskell, Penny 2006: 313). By contrast, Malmberg reached the conclusion in his article that the torso belonged to Skiron, a Greek bandit killed by the hero Theseus (Malmberg 1907: 9).⁴⁹¹

Milanese. With the creation of the Museo Pio-Clementino in the 1770s it was placed in the newly designed round vestibule. After the Treaty of Tolentino (1797) it reached Paris in the triumphal procession of 1798 and was displayed in the antiquities section of Musée Central des Arts. The torso did not stay there for long, and was moved back to Rome and displayed again in Vatican Museum in 1816 (Haskell, Penny 2006: 311–312).

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. 2.3.1.3.

⁴⁹⁰ Vatican Museums – <http://www.museivaticani.va/> [accessed 30.08.2014].

⁴⁹¹ Malmberg's transdisciplinary approach was introduced by Jaanika Anderson in the Autumn School of the University of Tartu's Department of Art History on 16th of October 2014 in Tartu (Polli 2014: 200).



Illustration 16. Plaster cast of Belvedere torso (KMM S 2).

Malmberg started to introduce the problem of which mythological character the Belvedere torso depicts on the basis of contemporaneous scientific literature (1907: 3–4). Malmberg had not seen the original sculpture in the Pio Clementino Museum in the Vatican and quite at the beginning of his activity in Tartu he compared the plaster cast sculpture with the reconstruction of Carl Hasse⁴⁹² which he had known previously. He counts the names of several people he brought to the art museum to look at the torso. There were archaeologists and anatomists, and broad-minded scientists from the University of Tartu: Professor August Rauber (1841–1917),⁴⁹³ Richard Jakob Weinberg (1867–1927)⁴⁹⁴ and Karl Duhmberg (1862–1931)⁴⁹⁵ (Malmberg 1907: 5–6).

Subsequent discussions by Malmberg concentrate on the musculature of the sculpture. His arguments result from direct observation of the museum's plaster cast, and he does not rely on ancient texts or on the secondary literature of his time. Malmberg had photographed the cast but on the photograph, which is added to the publication, the muscles are not as clear as on the actual plaster cast. Therefore, he juxtaposes a photograph of the cast with an illustration from the Sauers Lexicon. In his mind, photography was not yet a sufficient research tool for sculpture; the three-dimensional plaster cast was more appropriate for observations and making conclusions. After describing the torso's musculature, he compares the position of the body with similar figures found on painted vases. Finally, Malmberg assumes that the torso belongs to the Skiron and probably formed a sculptural group with the hero Theseus (Malmberg 1907: 8–12).⁴⁹⁶

Quite soon after the publication of Malmberg's article, the German classical archaeologist specializing in the investigation of Greek and Roman sculptures, Walther Amelung (1865–1927), wrote about the torso of the man in his publication on Vatican sculptures (Amelung 1908: 9–20). Although Amelung did not agree with Malmberg, the Belvedere torso could belong to Skiron. In an endnote, he mentioned that a supplementary and important proposal on the Belvedere torso had been published by Malmberg (1908: 754–755). Amelung suggests that the torso belongs rather to a younger man than to the elderly highwayman Skiron. Malmberg did not enter into the main discussion of the

⁴⁹² Hasse, C., 1887. *Wiederherstellung antiker Bildwerke*. Jena: G. Fischer.

⁴⁹³ Rauber was German, became professor of anatomy in Tartu in 1886 and started anatomy collection of the University of Tartu in 1890. The collection was opened in the old anatomicum for medical students as well as for students from other faculties and even for citizens. Such anatomical collections also existed in Europe, but this served only the purpose of study, nor was it open to the public.

⁴⁹⁴ Weinberg was an anatomist, private associated professor in the University of Tartu 1903–1906, previously, in 1894 defended his dissertation on the brain gyri of Estonians in Tartu supervised by Rauber. See more about Weinberg's activity in Kalling, *Heapost* 2013: 84–114.

⁴⁹⁵ Duhmberg was director of archaeology museum of Kertsch in 1891–1901, later worked in the archaeology cabinet of the University of Tartu.

⁴⁹⁶ See more for the myth of the Skiron and Theseus in the art and literature in Ely 1888: 27–281.

theme because his work was published just before Amelung's work. His research at least entered the international discussion via Amelung's endnote.

Malmberg did not only write the aforementioned article on the basis of museum collections. But the remaining sources were by nature rather catalogues than scientific treatments (about ancient vases and terracottas, marble and bronze sculptures in the collection of the museum of art, with Felsberg⁴⁹⁷). He initiated as director of the art museum, researching and publishing on the collection of antiquities. He was the first researcher of ancient art in Tartu who dealt with art history as a key aspect, and classical philology and archaeology began to recede as disciplines⁴⁹⁸ (Loodus, Keevallik 1990: 62). Malmberg's publication about the torso of Belvedere remained the only publication by the museum directors, which was based primarily on the sculpture cast collection.

3.3 Concluding remarks

In the 19th century, subjects associated with Classical Antiquity had considerable importance in the lecture plans of the faculty of philosophy at the University of Tartu. A large proportion of lectures were about philological subjects, but subjects related to ancient material culture such as art and antiquities, but also the mythology, geography and topography of ancient times, received a lot of attention. Based on the purpose of this thesis, it is important to examine how actively the cast collection of the art museum was used in the teaching process. The results, reached on the basis of available data, could not ascertain exactly whether and when the cast collection was used in lectures. Certainly it could be argued that plaster cast sculptures were introduced in special lectures held for interested students from different faculties. The coin cast collections were shown beside original coins in lectures on numismatics, and the gem casts were presented in archaeology lectures by Morgenstern (Table 3). It was possible that collections were shown in other lectures where topics related to ancient times were dealt with.

The directors of the art museum were recognized scholars. The range of topics they wrote about was diverse. Although they mainly concentrated on ancient art, there can also be found publications on topography and mythology. Their publications on ancient art could be divided into two parts: firstly, the history of art, and secondly, selected objects from among ancient artworks. It would be expected that the cast collections were used because of their availability as a source of material for the researches or as reference material, but the casts did not find much further use in the scientific field. Yet there were a couple of exceptions: Preller used the catalogue of Mionnet's coin casts as reference material in the catalogue of original ancient coins (Preller 1842, 1843); for Malmberg, the plaster cast of the sculpture of the Belvedere torso

⁴⁹⁷ Malmberg, Felsberg: 1910; Malmberg, Felsberg: 1911.

⁴⁹⁸ Malmberg 1911.

was the main source for his research, especially in terms of the anatomical observation of the sculpture.

It would be expected that the cast collections were implemented more effectively into the service of teaching and research. However, it must be considered that the collection was still quite a new one, and it took time to learn to exploit its potential. Obviously, in the early 19th century, after Malmberg and Felsberg published several parts of the collection of ancient originals, there was a greater tendency to make use of the collections.

SUMMARY

Reception of Ancient Art: the Cast Collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum in the Historical, Ideological and Academic Context of Europe (1803–1918)

This doctoral dissertation focuses on one area of the University of Tartu Art Museum, namely the cast collections, their formation, development and use in the pedagogical and scientific spheres in the 19th century. This is the first time that all three sub-collections of casts from the first Estonian public museum and one of the earliest museums of this university have been studied in unison. These include the casts made of plaster or sulphur mass of antique sculptures, gems and coins. There were about 20,300 casts in the museum's cast collections at the end of the period under observation – the proportion of gem casts was the largest (approx. 17,000 casts), these were followed by coin casts (approx. 3,000 casts), and the smallest in number but largest in size was the sculpture cast collection (approx. 300 casts). Although from the historical perspective, the cast collection was established simultaneously with the university art museum's collection of originals, researching only the cast collections enables us to study the casts as a specific form of the reception of ancient art in greater depth.

The first aim of the dissertation was to determine which factors initiated the creation and development of Tartu's cast collection. For this purpose, the University of Tartu Art Museum's cast collection has been placed into the historical, ideological and academic contexts of Europe and Estonia. The other main research question related to the reception of this cast collection in academic teaching and scientific research. On the basis of the data available to the author of this dissertation, such a complex research on other European university museum cast collections from that period has not been conducted before.

In consideration of these research questions, this dissertation did not aim to analyse single casts, since the amount of casts is immense and most of the originals have been published in various catalogues throughout the centuries. Although a part of Tartu's gem cast collection has not been systematically studied or attributed, this was not a separate goal of this research either. However, it has to be mentioned that during the course of the research for this dissertation, quite a few collections of gem casts were assessed or the data on sculpture casts re-evaluated. In addition, the relationship between Estonia's private art collections and the cast collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum is not discussed. Also, the scope of this dissertation did not enable to draw comparisons with various European cast collections in detail – in order to establish the context, some general features of selected collections have been presented.

The contextualisation and typologising of the cast collection of the University of Tartu Art Museum enables us to draw the following conclusions:

1. The dissemination and collecting of casts made on the basis of objects of ancient art was a fairly late stage in the reception of ancient art in Estonia and Livonia, and was in opposition with the preceding manner of reception in terms of its ideas as well as function. On the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, the reception of ancient art had started in the (late) Middle Ages and became more intensive in the Early Modern period (16th–17th century), affected by humanism, as single examples and in specific spheres of art (e.g. in the communal buildings of the cityscape), but at that time the focus was mainly on the free reproduction of ancient works or the topics and motifs that occurred in them in new works. The authentic reproduction of ancient art or the collecting or exhibiting of originals or casts was spread in this area in the early reception phase. The reception of ancient art in the pre-cast sphere of art is thus similar to what took place in literature, where creative attempts to imitate and emulate (*imitatio liberalis*) the lauded authors (*auctores probati*) and their work dominated, but collecting or reproducing true to the original were not yet manifested (e.g. in Early Modern Estonia, no compendiums were published regarding antique motifs, myths or characters that appeared in literary works). The copying of ancient examples in the pre-cast period mainly had the function to illustrate the sophistication of the author of the piece or the person who ordered the work, but being close to the original was not given any attention before the spread of casts.

Becoming aware of the casts so late and collecting them as a part of the reception of ancient art was thus what differentiated Estonia from the motherlands of ancient cultures, where the collecting, exhibiting as well as making of plaster copies and casts of the famous works of art in order to facilitate the copying had already begun in Classical Antiquity. There were differences also with the larger European countries where starting from the Renaissance, when the antiquary process started, many private collections, art academies as well as public museums had been created, in which the casts also had a considerable role to play.

2. The increase in the awareness of ancient art and its replication with the help of casts in Europe extended to Classical Antiquity, whereas the tradition to collect and exhibit it in museums had started with exclusive individual examples only at the end of the 16th century, as university museums for the purposes of studying and research were established only at the very end of the 18th century. These two phenomena (the casts and museums), however, only reached Estonia simultaneously, at the beginning of the 19th century. From the long established tradition of interaction with the casts in Europe, many earlier stages were skipped: the antique technical-practical approach to casts, the Middle Ages interruption in the production and appreciation of casts, the humanist antiquary of the Renaissance and the Early Modern period. When collecting casts at the university's art museum started at the beginning of the 19th century, however, in terms of contemporary Europe, a very new ready-

made model was thus adopted, which was especially well-known in Göttingen, Germany. Yet, the cast collections of private people in manor houses and urban dwellings resembled the manner of handling casts that was spread in Europe already in the Early Modern period. When looking at the art collections that were located in manors, it becomes evident that it was still not very important that the work of art must be based directly on the original; in other words, they did not obtain only the casts that were made on the basis of authentic antique originals, but items were valued rather due to the material, and marble copies of antique statues (as well as of contemporary sculptures) were ordered from masters.

3. The interest in authentic ancient art, and in relation to that, also in casts started in Estonia first and foremost thanks to the Enlightenment, especially the spread of the ideas about education at the turn of the 18th/19th century. Rationalism, first and foremost, has been considered the dominant idea of the Enlightenment ideology that spread to Estonia from Germany. However, in the context of the Baltics, especially in the late Enlightenment of the early 19th century, rationalism and the ideas of the Enlightenment mixed with other intellectual currents, especially Freemasonry which esteemed Classical Antiquity as well as educating people. Among the faculty members of the re-established University of Tartu, a high concentration of Freemasons can be noted. In the first years of the university, many professors and members of academic staff were Freemasons, among whom also the first director of the art museum, the director of the library and the Professor of Classical Philology, Aesthetics and Rhetoric, Johann Karl Simon Morgenstern. Therefore, behind the creation of Tartu's cast collection and its development in the first decades, we can see the rationalism of the Enlightenment intertwined with the influence of the Freemasonry movement, mainly mediated by Morgenstern. As far as it is known, the creation and use of the cast collection in the 19th century did not achieve the purposes of popular Enlightenment (*Volksaufklärung*) even once; that is, the strand of the movement that dealt with educating the rural inhabitants. There is no evidence of the Estonian people interacting with the cast collection of the university's museum.

4. If we consider the adding of new items when analysing the development of the cast collection, the whole period of 1803–1918 could be referred to as the period of the development of Tartu's cast collection. In a process that lasted more than a century, we can clearly differentiate three stages affected by different paradigms: in the first half of the century, the art museum was guided by a universal period affected by the ideas of the Enlightenment and Freemasonry, when besides ancient art and casts various art forms were collected. In the middle of the 19th century, the perfectionist period began when a specialisation in ancient art came about, including the collection of sculpture casts. After this phase, the museum had an art collection that was typical of universities, as there were many such collections already in Göttingen and many other German universities and elsewhere in Europe. We can call the third phase the systemising stage where, in addition to collecting, publishing the collections

in catalogues and special editions also became a priority. The changes in paradigm were formed on the basis of the general European context, e.g. as influenced by the opening of grand central museums and university museums elsewhere in Europe, not on the example of any specific museums.

The year 1913 could be considered the end of the period of the formation of Tartu's cast collection as then the last casts arrived at the museum. The later rare additions to the cast collection were received as chance donations or as bequests (the most notable are the plaster sculptures given by the Liphart family, these reached the art museum in the 1930s), not as the result of a deliberated commission. In the 20th century, the main direction was preserving the cast collection, exhibiting it and conducting scientific research on it. Such a development was also caused by the fact that in 1915, in relation to the approaching front of the First World War, the original art collections were evacuated to Russia. These have still not been returned to the museum.

5. The cast collection of the university's art museum developed in stages in the aspect of cast types. In the first decades of the museum, small casts, such as gem and coin casts, were collected. During the first years of the museum, Morgenstern purchased large (the collections consisted of thousands of casts) gem cast collections that had an encyclopaedic concept, such as the collections of Philipp von Stosch, Philipp Daniel Lippert's *Daktyliothek* and T. Cades's *Impronte Gemmaria*, which represented various antique topics in their systematic approach. At the same time, he did not turn down school editions, which were cheaper and usually focused on mythological topics and contained a small selection (approx. 50–100) of gem casts related to one topic. Simultaneously with the collections that were acquired for the museum, Morgenstern also supplemented his own art collection with gem casts, which reached the art museum as Morgenstern's bequest in 1853. Thanks to this donation, the museum's collection was increased with other kinds of gem cast collections. In these collections, the predominant gem casts were those onto which various antique and also contemporary artworks had been reproduced, e.g. Apollo Belvedere, Antonio Canova's "Amor and Psyche" and Bertel Thorvaldsen's "Night" and "Day" that had mainly been produced by stone carvers such as Pichlers or N. Marchant.

The collecting of coin casts was also initiated by Morgenstern, who saw in these a supplementary and systematised opportunity besides using original coins. As the first collection of coin casts, he bought Christian Ludwig Stieglitz's coin cast collection in 1818, and as another well-known collection, Théodore Edme Mionnet's coin casts can be mentioned, acquired in 1833.

In the first half of the century, the proportion of sculpture casts in the cast collection of the art museum had become minimal, although Morgenstern mentioned in 1833 that he had repeatedly made the suggestion to acquire a selection of sculpture casts for the museum, similar to those in the universities in Göttingen, Bonn and others. Although there were no cast workshops in Tartu, he was able to acquire 21 sculpture casts for the museum, which were predominantly presents from Reinhold Andreas von Stackelberg, the local

Elistvere manor landlord, and some purchased from the master Bertolini, who came from Lucca but for a time made casts in Tartu. However, Morgenstern made well deliberated purchases of sculpture casts for the university's library in order to create an academic atmosphere there, it was a common practice to do so in libraries in Europe.

The collection of sculpture casts peaked in the second half of the 19th century, when it was decided at the university's art museum to focus only on collecting ancient art. Mercklin was the first to make a deliberate purchase of sculpture casts (1860) for the museum, which was supposed to set the cornerstone for a systemised collection reflecting the history of ancient art. From this point onwards, the efforts of the museum directors can be seen to systematically add to the collection of sculpture casts, acquiring casts characterising the archaic, classical as well as Hellenistic styles of sculptures, busts and reliefs, and obtaining casts of newly found sculptures (e.g. Hermes of Praxiteles, Nike of Paionios). After approximately 50 years, a sculpture cast collection had been created which was then continuously supplemented. The relatively large and comprehensive collection needed a catalogue to increase the efficiency of its use, and to create a scientific basis. This was published by Felsberg in 1913, which to date is the most complete catalogue of this cast collection.

6. Although the University of Tartu Art Museum cast collection belonged to the university as a state institution, in its development and usage throughout the century the key roles were played by the museum directors as individuals with their knowledge, experience, proactivity and interest. The cast collection of the art museum depended on the directors' preferences, knowledgeability and contacts in acquiring the casts. The succession of the museum directors often brought about changes in the priorities of the museum and shifts in the paradigm were more easily implemented. This line of development makes the University of Tartu Art Museum and its cast collection similar to the according collections of other European universities. The museum's first director Morgenstern concentrated on collecting and established the basis for various forms of art collection that could have been of use in teaching and developing taste in art. Morgenstern set off on a journey carried by the ideals of the Enlightenment, but this process was later shaped by an equal contribution from his successors.

The transition from the Enlightenment paradigm was comparatively slow and Professor Ludwig Preller continued work in this spirit through 1838–42. Only at the end of the 1850s, when Professor Ludwig Mercklin was the director, did a substantial change take place in the art museum: they started to collect ancient art only, and to systematically purchase plaster casts that were made on the basis of antique sculptures. The development of the arts and classical archaeology as well as classical philology as disciplines with a specific independent methodology and accompanying field-specific specialisation enabled to acknowledge the cast collection scientifically and to consider it a scientific collection. However, with the specialisation of collections, the desire

for aesthetics and beauty that characterised the first years of the museum did not disappear because now the scientific request for authenticity contributed to creating an exhibition both enjoyable and ideal. Under the leadership of Professor Ludwig Schwabe (museum director 1863–1872), the focus shifted to exhibiting, and he had the walls of the art museum painted in the Pompeian style (following W. Zahn's albums, 1828–1859), which form an excellent background for the white plaster casts even today. Professor Georg Loeschcke (director 1879–1889) supplemented the collection of the art museum with plaster casts of completely new findings and as a renowned archaeologist he contributed to the collection of antique vases.

Although at the end of the 19th century as well as in the 20th century new plaster casts were still ordered for the museum, in the years preceding the First World War, the systematic publishing of the collections began. The catalogues compiled by Professor Woldemar Malmberg and Ernst Felsberg about the ancient originals as well as the plaster cast collection contain structured information and are relevant also today. Therefore, it can be said that the Russification that started in the last decade of the 19th century did not have any directly negative effects on the art museum or its cast collection. Because travelling to Europe was restricted, the focus shifted to studying the existing collection thoroughly. By that time, the museum had a considerable library of art books, which also enabled to conduct research locally.

7. The historical-political and social situations of the 19th century made the continuous growth of Tartu's cast collection possible: the period 1803–1914 was a time without external aggressive interruptions or wars that made it possible directly to increase, arrange and use the collection according to trends, visions and abilities. At that time, there were no setbacks in the development of the art museum, neither were there any standstills. This made it possible to easily and successfully adopt the changes occurring in European museums that had started at the end of the 18th century and continued in full momentum also in the 19th century.

The situation at the University of Tartu under the influence of two different cultures – politically a part of the Russian Empire and in terms of education and art ideals in the German cultural scape – had a rather positive effect on the formation of the cast collection. The financial support from the Russian Empire granted steady growth for the cast collection, in addition it helped the shift from collecting small casts to collecting casts of large sculptures, for example, and in terms of science and aesthetics to move to elitist exhibiting opportunities in the second half of the century. The German staff that came to Tartu, and also to the art museum, were educated and had a wide horizon because the overproduction of intellectuals there made it difficult for them to find employment in their homeland. Together with the constant movement of the work force, they brought the knowledge and experience that they had gathered in other European university museums to Estonia, which they then applied in their work developing Tartu's cast collection.

8. Academic travels throughout the 19th century had a very important role in the development and supplementation of Tartu's cast collection. All of the directors who were in charge of the art museum for a longer period of time travelled to Europe during their term of office or already before that, to leading art museums but also to the cast collections in universities: Morgenstern travelled to Germany, France, Switzerland and Italy, Mercklin went to Germany, Belgium, Britain and France; Schwabe was in Germany, France, Italy, Britain and Russia; Loeschcke had the chance to go to Greece and Italy; Malmberg had been in Russia. In addition to information moving via these institutions of memory, getting to know the developments taking place elsewhere in the world helped to introduce the museum's work and needs to the administration of the University of Tartu. The other practical result gained from the travels of the museum directors, who were also teaching at the university, was the growth in the general level of education – even if it was impossible to order all of the casts of the ancient pieces of art seen on their travels, the ideas gathered found practical application in their lectures.

9. The cast collection of the University of Tartu Art Museum was already used in teaching in the first years after the museum's founding. Initially, the gem and coin casts were used in lectures; in the second half of the century the focus was on the introduction of plaster casts made on the basis of antique sculptures. When teaching in Tartu, Morgenstern brought together all the things he had learned, seen and experienced in Germany. On the one hand, as a student of the Friedrich August Wolf, Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Halle, he was familiar with the idea of the necessity of “second class” sciences (art history, classical archaeology, topography and geography) in order to understand the “first class” sciences, i.e. philological subjects. On the other hand, unlike for his teacher, for Morgenstern the “second class sciences” did not remain solely an idea, but he planned to start visualising them in his lectures with the help of the cast museum. As his role model, he looked to Christian Gottlob Heyne, the Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Göttingen, who had established a cast museum at their university in 1767 and had started using it for teaching classical archaeology, numismatics and other subjects.

On the basis of the materials that have been preserved and found, it has to be stated that Morgenstern's idea was relatively new and idealistic in the whole German cultural space, and the practical application of the idea on his course did not go very smoothly. It turned out that using the casts in teaching was not too effective because probably he had little methodological experience in applying these to courses and the earlier, text-centred teaching methodology was deeply rooted. Nevertheless, the first and last decades of the 19th century were more intensive periods for the use of the museum in teaching because in the intervening decades the rearrangement of the museum demanded much attention and work: the focus shifted to collecting ancient art, setting up new rooms and placing the arriving plaster sculptures on exhibition.

10. In comparison to using Tartu's cast collection in teaching, its role in scientific research was even smaller, however. There were only a small number of publications published on the basis of the cast collection. The coin collection was used by Preller when compiling the museum's catalogue of original coins. The casts and their catalogue served as scientific materials for comparison in order to determine the original coins. From among the sculpture casts, Malmberg chose the Belvedere Torso as a subject for analysis in 1907, and proposed a new interpretation. In doing so, he observed the plaster cast that was located in the art museum and also invited representatives from other fields to come and see it; for example, anatomy experts, to combine the results of anatomic observation with his knowledge of antique mythology and literature in his interpretation. The scientific publications on casts reached a peak with Felsberg's (1913) systematic descriptive catalogue about every single sculpture cast found in the museum. In general, in Tartu as in other European universities, the plaster casts were considered to be of little value for scientific research, and secondary due to the minute details of the original and the restorations no longer being observable in the casts.

In short, there is little evidence of how the cast collection was used for teaching and scientific research. The results are not far-reaching; nevertheless, they map some of the changes in the curricula and publication choices during the century.

During the course of studying the University of Tartu Art Museum cast collections in depth, several potential aspects for future research appeared. Studying the academic output of the cast collections and their application in teaching and publishing created a foundation on the basis of which studying and comparing the academic output of other similar cast collections could be continued. One of the nearest research topics could be formation the cast collection existed in Riga. The cast collection of University of Latvia was founded by Felsberg after leaving Tartu and was probably the only cast collection, which got inspiration at least partly from the cast collection of the University of Tartu Art Museum. At the same time, it is possible to find new starting points for entirely new perspectives from this research. For example, a hypothesis could be set not only about the moral effect of collecting and exhibiting sculpture casts, but also about using them for teaching. Could it have been that the public display of nudity might have been in contradiction with the education ideals and ethics of the Enlightenment and have affected the moral sense of the youth? Could it have been that the predominant nudity of the sculpture casts was an aspect contradicting society's general ethical principles, which could have brought about the fact that in the first decades of the century, few sculpture casts reached the University of Tartu Art Museum and the focus was on coin and gem casts? The example of Philipp von Stosch's gem collection seems to support the morality-based censorship idea, since from among the gem casts, those with 'inappropriate' pictures have been removed. Ordering casts of sculptures started only in the middle of the century when the

collection was not taken so much as an aesthetic entity but rather as scientific material to be researched and taught.

In conclusion, the reception of authentic ancient art on a wider scale in Estonia in the 19th century was made possible solely thanks to the casts reaching Estonia because the proportion of original works in this area was very little and other modern means for visualising ancient art (e.g. photography) were not in use yet. The plaster cast collection of the University of Tartu Art Museum is not an entirely typical cast collection of the 19th century. During its initial stages the university's art museum focused on the collecting of small form casts, something that was already a thing of the past by the time of the acquisitions made in the middle of the 19th century.

SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Antiikkunsti retseptsioon: Tartu ülikooli kunstimuuseumi valandikogu Euroopa ajaloolises, ideoloogilises ja akadeemilises kontekstis (1803–1918)

Käesoleva doktoritöö teemaks on Tartu ülikooli kunstimuuseumi ühe osa, valandikogu kujunemine, areng ning kasutamine pedagoogilises ja teadussfääris 19. sajandil. Esimest korda on koos vaadeldud selle Eesti ala esimese avaliku muuseumi ning sinse ülikooli ühe varaseima muuseumi kõiki kolme valandite allkogu, s.t nii antiikskulptuuride, -gemmide kui ka -müntide järgi kipsist ja väävelmassist loodud valandeid. Vaadeldava perioodi lõpuks oli neid muuseumi koondatud ligi 20 300: suurim oli gemmivalandite osakaal (u 17 000), neile järgnesid mündivalandid (u 3000) ning arvult väikseim, kuid mõõtmete poolest suurim oli skulptuurivalandite kogu (u 300). Ehkki ajalooliselt kujunes valandikogu samal ajal koos ülikooli kunstimuuseumi originaalide koguga, võimaldab üksnes valandikogule keskenduv vaatlus üksikasjalikumalt uurida seda kui antiikkunsti retseptsiooni spetsiifilist vormi.

Töö esimene ülesanne on välja selgitada, millistest mõjuteguritest lähtudes Tartu valandikogu loodi ja arendati. Selleks on Tartu ülikooli kunstimuuseumi valandikogu paigutatud Euroopa ja Eesti ajaloolisesse, ideoloogilisse ja akadeemilisse konteksti. Teine suurem uurimisküsimus puudutab selle valandikogu retseptsiooni akadeemilises õppetöös ja teadustegevuses. Käesoleva dissertatsiooni autorile kättesaadavate andmete järgi ei ole teiste tollaste Euroopa ülikoolimuuseumide valandikogusid sel viisil komplekselt uuritud.

Nendest uurimisküsimustest lähtudes ei seatud käesoleva töö ülesandeks üksikvalandite analüüsi, lisaks on neid arvult väga palju ning suurem osa originaalidest on sajandite vältel eri kataloogides publitseeritud. Kuigi osa Tartu gemmivalandite kogust on süstemaatiliselt läbi töötamata ja atribueerimata, ei olnud ka see antud uurimistöö eesmärk. Ent tööprotsessi käigus määrati nii mõnigi gemmivalandite kogu või hinnati ümber skulptuurivalandi andmed. Samuti ei käsitleta Eesti erakunstikogude ja Tartu ülikooli kunstimuuseumi valandikogude suhet ning käesoleva töö maht ei võimalda ka üksikasjalikku võrdlust Euroopa erinevate valandikogudega – konteksti loomiseks on töös esitatud valitud kogude üldjooned.

Tartu ülikooli kunstimuuseumi valandikogu kontekstualiseerimine ja tüpologiseerimine lubab teha järgmisi järeldusi.

1. Antiikkunsti objektidest tehtud valandite levik ja kollektioneerimine oli võrdlemisi hiline aste antiikkunsti retseptsioonis Eesti- ja Liivimaal ning vastandus nii oma ideelt kui ka funktsioonilt varasemale retseptsiooniviisile. Läänemere idakaldal oli antiikkunsti retseptsioon alanud (hilisel) keskajal ning intensiivistunud humanistlikest ideedest kantud varauusajal (16.–17. sajand) kindlates kunstivaldkondades (nt linnaruumi ühiskondlikes hoonetes), kuid keskendus tollal veel peamiselt antiikteoste või nendes esinevate teemade ja

motiivide vabale jälgendamisele. Antiikkunsti autentne reprodutseerimine ega ka kogumine ja eksponeerimine originaalide või valanditena polnud varases retseptioonifaasis siinmail veel levinud. Valandite-eelne antiigiretseptioon kunstis on seega sarnane kirjanduses toimunud, kus domineeris samuti heakskiidetud autorite (*auctores probati*) ja teoste loominguline jälgendamis- ja ületamispuud (*imitatio liberalis*), kuid ei kolleksioneeritud veel ega reprodutseeritud originaaltruult (nt ei avaldatud varauusaegsel Eesti alal ühtki kompendiumit kirjandusteostes esinevate antiikmotiivide, -müütide, -tegelaste jne kohta). Antiikeeskujude jälgendamisel oli valandite-eelsel perioodil peamiselt teose autori või tellija õpetatust illustreeriv funktsioon ning originaalilähedusele veel tähelepanu ei pööratud.

Valandite hiline teadvustamine ja kolleksioneerimine antiikkunsti retseptiooni osana eristas Eesti ala seega nii antiikkultuuri emamaadest, kus kunsti-teoste kogumine, eksponeerimine ja kuulsamatest taiestest kipskoopiate ja -vormide valmistamine oli alanud juba antiikajal, kui ka suurtest Euroopa maadest, kuhu oli renessansiajal alanud antikvaarse protsessi tulemusena rajatud hulganisti erakollektsioone, kunstiakadeemiaid ning avalikke muuseume, kus oli arvestatav roll kanda ka valanditel.

2. Antiikkunsti teadvustamine ja paljundamine valandite abil ulatus Euroopas antiikaega, samas kui selle kogumise ja muuseumides eksponeerimise traditsioon oli eksklusiivsete üksiknäidetega alanud alles 16. sajandil ning õppe- ja teadustööks rajatud ülikoolimuuseumideni jõuti alles 18. sajandi lõpul. Eesti alale jõudsid need kaks nähtust (valandid ja muuseumid) aga ühel ajal 19. sajandi alguses. Euroopa pikaajalisest valanditega suhestumise traditsioonist jäid siin läbimata paljud varasemad etapid: antiikaegne tehnilis-praktiline lähenemine valanditele, keskaegne katkestus valandite tootmises ja hindamises, renessansi- ja varauusaegne humanistlik antikvaarsus. Valandite kogumisega just ülikooli kunstimuuseumisse võeti 19. sajandi algul üle tollases Euroopas, eeskätt Saksamaalt Göttingenist tuntud uudne valmismudel. Seevastu eraisikute kogud maamõisates ja linnamajades jälgendasid Euroopas juba varauusajast levinud viisi valanditega ümberkäimisel. Mõisate kunstikogusid vaadates jääb silma, et neis ei peetud endiselt kuigi oluliseks taiese originaaltruudust, st ei hangitud ainult antiikoriginaali järgi valmistatud valandeid, vaid objekte väärtustati sageli pigem materjali tõttu ning meistritelt telliti just antiikkujude (nagu ka kaasaegsete skulptuuride) marmorkoopiaid.

3. Huvi autentse antiikkunsti ja sellega seoses ka valandite vastu algas Eesti alal eelkõige tänu valgustuse, sh eriti haridusideede levikule 18/19. sajandi vahetusel. Saksamaalt Eesti alale levinud valgustusideoloogia dominandiks on peetud eelkõige ratsionalismi. Ent Balti valgustuses, eriti just 19. sajandi alguse hilisvalgustuses, segunesid ratsionalistlikud valgustusideed teiste vaimsete vooludega, eeskätt vabamüürlusega, mis väärtustas nii antiikaega kui ka rahva harimist. Taasasutatud Tartu ülikooli isikkoosseisus võib täheldada suurt vabamüürlaste kontsentratsiooni, nende ridadesse kuulus ülikooli algusaastail hulk professoreid ja õppejõude, teiste seas ka kunstimuuseumi esimene direktor, raamatukogu direktor ning klassikalise filoloogia, kunstiajaloo, esteetika ja

kõnekunsti professor Johann Karl Simon Morgenstern. Nii võib Tartu valandikogu tekke ja avakümnendite arengu taga näha valgustuslikku ratsionalismi põimituna vabamüürluse mõjuga. Vabamüürlik suhtlusvõrgustik hõlbustas Morgensternil kogusid luua ja täiendada. Valandikogu loomine ja selle kasutamine ei jõudnud 19. sajandil teadaolevalt kordagi rahvalalgustuse, s.o maa põliselanikkonna harimiseks mõeldud liikumise vaatevälja. Puuduvad iga-sugused tõendid eestlaste suhestumise kohta ülikooli muuseumi valandikoguga.

4. Kui lähtuda Tartu valandikogu arengu analüüsimisel uute objektide lisandumisest, võib kogu perioodi 1803–1918 nimetada selle kujunemise ajaks. Enam kui sajandi kestnud protsessis võime eristada selgelt kolme, eri paradigmat mõjutatud etappi: esimesel poolsajandil valitses kunstimuuseumis valgustus- ja vabamüürlike ideede mõjul universaalne periood, mil antiikkunsti ja valandite kõrval koguti väga erinevaid kunstiliike. 19. sajandi keskel sai antiikkunsti, sh skulptuurivalandite kogumisele spetsialiseerumisega alguse perfektsionismiperiood, millega astuti ülikoolide tüüpiliste kunstikogude hulka, nagu neid leidis Göttingenis, paljude teiste Saksamaa ülikoolide juures ja ka mujal Euroopas. Kolmandana võib nimetada süstematiseerimise etappi, kus kogumise kõrval muutus oluliseks kogude publitseerimine kataloogide ja erikäsitluste näol. Siinsed paradigmuuutused vormusid Euroopa üldise konteksti, nt Euroopa suurte keskmuseumide ja ülikoolimuuseumide avamise mõjul, mitte mõne konkreetse muuseumi eeskujul.

Tartu valandikogu väljakujunemise lõpuks võib pidada 1913. aastat, mil muuseumisse jõudsid viimased valandid. Hilisemad harvad lisandused on saadud juhuslike annetuste või pärandusena (märkimisväärseimad on perekond Lipharti kingitud kipsskulptuurid, mis jõudsid kunstimuuseumisse 1930. aastail), mitte teadliku tellimusena. 20. sajandil oli põhitähelepanu suunatud valandikogu säilitamisele, eksponeerimisele ning teaduslikule analüüsimisele. Sellise arengu põhjustas ka asjaolu, et seoses läheneva rindegaga Esimese maailmasõja ajal 1915. aastal Venemaale evakueeritud originaalkunsti kogusid ei ole siiani muuseumile tagastatud.

5. Ülikooli kunstimuuseumi valandikogu arenes etapiti ka valandiliike silmas pidades. Muuseumi esimestel aastakümnetel koguti peamiselt väikevorme, nagu gemmi- ja mündivalandid. Karl Morgenstern ostis muuseumi esimestel aastatel suuri, tuhandetest valanditest koosnevaid entsüklopeedilise kontseptsiooniga kogusid, nagu Philipp von Stoschi oma, Philipp Daniel Lipperti *Daktyliothek* ja Tommaso Cadese *Impronte Gemmaria*, mis oma süsteemsuses kajastasid väga erinevaid antiigiteemasid. Samas ei põlanud ta ära ka soodsama hinnaga nn kooliväljaandeid, mis keskendusid tavaliselt mütoloozilistele teemadele ja sisaldasid väikest valikut (u 50–100) teemaga seotud gemmivalandeid. Kõrvuti muuseumile hangitud kogudega täiendas Morgenstern ka enda kunstikogu gemmivalanditega ja need jõudsid kunstimuuseumisse tema pärandina 1853. aastal. Tänu sellele annetusele täienes muuseumi kogu teist laadi kollektsioonidega – neis olid peamiselt gemmivalandid, millel olid reprodutseeritud erinevad antiikaja ja kaasaegsed kunstiteosed, nt Belvedere Apollon, Antonio

Canova „Amor ja Psyche“ ning Bertel Thorvaldseni „Öö“ ja „Päev“, mille autoreiks olid peamiselt kivilõikajad Luigi Pichleri või Nathaniel Marchant.

Mündivalandite kogumise algatas samuti Karl Morgenstern, kes nägi neis täiendavat ja süstematiseeritud infoallikat originaalmüntide kasutamise kõrval. Esimese mündivalandite kollektsioonina ostis ta 1818. aastal Christian Ludwig Stieglitzi kogu, teise tuntud kollektsioonina võib nimetada 1833. aastal hangitud Théodore Edme Mionnet mündivalandeid.

19. sajandi esimesel poolel jäi skulptuurivalandite osakaal kunstimuseumis väga tagasihoidlikuks, kuigi Karl Morgenstern mainib 1833. aastal, et ta on korduvalt teinud ettepaneku hankida muuseumile valik sulptuurivalandeid, nagu on näiteks Göttingeni, Bonni ja teiste ülikoolide juures. Kuigi Tartus valanditöökoda ei olnud, suutis Morgenstern muuseumile hankida 21 kipsskulptuuri, mis olid peamiselt kingitused kohalikult Elistvere mõisnikult Reinhold Andreas von Stackelbergilt, ja mõned ostud Tartus ajutiselt valandeid valmistanud Lucca meistritlt Bertolinilt. Seevastu ülikooli raamatukogule ostis Morgenstern läbimõeldud valiku skulptuurivalandeid, et luua seal sobiv akadeemiline õhkkond, nagu oli tavaks ka Euroopa raamatukogudes.

Skulptuurivalandite kogumise kõrgaeg saabus 19. sajandi teisel poolel, mil ülikooli kunstimuseumis otsustati keskenduda ainult antiikkunsti kogumisele. Heinrich Eugen Ludwig Mercklin oli esimene, kes ostis 1860. aastal muuseumile plaanitult skulptuurivalandeid, mis pidid panema aluse süsteemsele, antiikkunsti ajalugu kajastavale kollektsioonile. Siit alates võib näha muuseumijuhtide pingutusi skulptuurivalandite kogu täiendamisel, sest osteti nii arhailist, klassikalist kui ka hellenistlikku kunsti iseloomustavaid valandeid skulptuuridest, büstidest ja reljeefidest ning hangiti ka vastleitud skulptuuride valandeid (nt Praxitelese Hermes, Paioniose Nike). Ligikaudu viiekümne aasta jooksul loodi võrdlemisi suur skulptuurivalandite kogu, mis vajas paremaks kasutamiseks ja teadusliku aluse loomiseks kataloogi. Selle andis välja Ernst Felsberg 1913. aastal ja see on tänaseni selle valandikogu kõige terviklikum kataloog.

6. Kuigi Tartu ülikooli kunstimuseumi valandikogu kuulus ülikooli kui riikliku institutsiooni juurde, oli muuseumidirektoritel kui üksikisikutel oma teadmiste, kogemuste, ettevõtlikkuse ja huvidega selle kujunemisel ja kasutamisel kogu sajandi vältel võtmeroll. Kunstimuseumi valandikogu täiendamine sõltus nende eelistustest, teadmistest ja kontaktidest. Muuseumijuhatajate vahetumisega kaasnesid paljudel juhtudel muutused muuseumi prioriteetides ning paradigmvahetused olid kergemini sisseviidavad. Selles osas sarnaneb Tartu ülikooli kunstimuseum ja selle valandikogu teiste Euroopa ülikoolide samalaadsetele kogudele. Muuseumi esimene direktor Karl Morgenstern keskendus kollektsioneerimisele ja pani aluse eri tüüpi kunstikogudele, millest võis olla abi õppetöös ja kunstimaitse kujundamisel. Valgustusajastu universaalhariduse ülimumlikust rollist kantud ideedega kujundas Morgenstern muuseumi avakümnendite kogumis- ja eksponeerimispõhimõtted, kuid järgmiste direktorite panus sellesse protsessi oli samaväärne.

Üleminek valgustusparadigmalt perfektsionismile oli võrdlemisi aeglane ning ka professor Ludwig Preller jätkas 1838–1842 tööd veel vanas vaimus.

Alles 1850. aastate lõpus, professor Ludwig Mercklini ajal, toimus kunstimuuseumis põhimõtteline muutus: hakati koguma ainult antiikkunsti ning süstemaatiliselt ostma antiikskulptuuride järgi valmistatud kipsvalandeid. Kunstiteaduse ja klassikalise arheoloogia, aga ka klassikalise filoloogia kui iseseisvate, kindlate meetoditega distsipliinide areng ning sellega kaasneval erialane spetsialiseerumine võimaldas valandikogu teadvustada teaduslikult ning käsitada seda teaduskoguna. Ent kogude spetsialiseerumisega ei kadunud muuseumi algusaastate ihalus esteetika ja ilu järele – nüüd panustati nauditava ja ideaalse ekspositsiooni loomisesse teadusliku autentsusetaotlusega. Professor Ludwig Schwabe (muuseumi direktor aastail 1863–1872) juhtimisel keskenduti eksponeerimisele ja lasti kunstimuuseumi seinad maalida Pompei stiilis (eeskujuks Wilhelm Zahni albumid, 1828–1859), mis on tänaseni suurepärase taust valgetele kipsvalanditele. Professor Georg Loeschcke (direktor aastail 1879–1889) täiendas kunstimuuseumi kogu täiesti uute leidude kipsvalanditega ning tunnustatud arheoloogina panustas ta antiikvaaside kogumisse.

Kuigi 19. sajandi lõpus ja ka 20. sajandi algul telliti muuseumile endiselt uusi kipsvalandeid, hakati Esimesele maailmasõjale eelnenud aastatel kogusid süstemaatiliselt publitseerima. Professor Malmbergi ja Felsbergi koostatud kataloogid nii antiikoriginaalide kui ka kipsivalandite kogu kohta sisaldavad korrastatud informatsiooni ja on tänapäevalgi asjakohased. Kuna 19. sajandi lõpukümnendil alanud venestusajal oli reisimine Euroopasse piiratud, siis keskenduti olemasoleva kogu läbitöötamisele. Selleks ajaks oli muuseumil ka arvestatav kunstiraamatute kogu, mis võimaldas teha uurimistööd kohapeal. Seega võib öelda, et venestusaeg ei mõjunud kunstimuuseumile ega ka selle valandikogule halvasti.

7. Tartu valandikogu järjepideva arengu tagas 19. sajandi ajaloolis-poliitiline ja sotsiaalne situatsioon: ajavahemik 1803–1914 oli väliste agressiivsete katkestuste ja sõdadeta periood, mis võimaldas kogu suurendada, korraldada ja kasutada vastavalt trendidele, nägemusele ja võimetele. Sel ajal ei olnud kunstimuuseumi arengus tagasiminekuid ega tekkinud seisakuid. See võimaldas Euroopa muuseumide maastikul 18. sajandi lõpus alanud ja 19. sajandil hoogsalt jätkunud muutused kiiresti ja edukalt üle võtta.

Tartu ülikooli asend kahe erineva kultuuri mõjusfääris, poliitiliselt Vene impeeriumi koosseisus ning haridus- ja kunstiideaalidelt saksa kultuuriruumis, mõjus valandikogu kujunemisele pigem positiivselt. Vene impeeriumi rahaline toetus tagas valandikogu stabiilse kasvu, võimaldas väikevormide kõrval koguda suuri skulptuurivalandeid ning luua teaduslikult ja esteetiliselt elitaarsed eksponeerimisvõimalused 19. sajandi teisel poolel. Saksamaalt tuli Tartusse, sealhulgas kunstimuuseumisse, haritud ja laia silmaringiga tööjõudu, sest sealne haritlaste üleproduktioon ei võimaldanud neil kodumaal tööd leida. Nad tõid Tartusse saabudes endaga kaasa teistest Euroopa ülikoolimuuseumidest saadud teadmised ja kogemused, mida rakendasid oma töös Tartu valandikogu kujundamisel.

8. Tartu valandikogu väljakujundamisel ja täiendamisel olid 19. sajandil väga oluliseks teguriks akadeemilised reisid. Kõik kunstimuuseumi pikemat

aega juhtinud direktorid võtsid oma ametiaja jooksul või juba enne seda ette välisreise Euroopa juhtivatesse kunstimuseumidesse, aga ka ülikoolide valandimuseumidesse: Morgenstern reisis Saksamaale, Prantsusmaale, Šveitsi ja Itaaliasse; Mercklin käis Saksamaal, Belgias, Inglismaal ja Prantsusmaal; Ludwig Schawabe reisis Saksamaal, Prantsusmaal, Itaalias, Inglismaal ja ka Venemaal; Loeschkel oli võimalus käia Kreekas ja Itaalias; Malmberg oli rännanud ringi Venemaal. Lisaks infovahetusele aitas mujal maailmas toimunud arengute tundmaõppimine muuseumi tööd ja vajadusi Tartus ülikooli juhtkonnale tutvustada. Õppejõududest muuseumidirektorite reisirid andsid teisegi praktilise väljundi üldharidusliku taseme tõusu näol – isegi kui ei saadud Tartusse tellida kõikide nähtud antiikkunstiteoste valandeid, leidsid kogutud ideed rakenduse ülikooli loengutes.

9. Tartu ülikooli kunstimuseumi valandikogu hakati õppetöös kasutama juba muuseumi esimestel aastatel. Esmalt kasutati loengutes gemmi- ja mündivalandeid, sajandi teisel poolel keskenduti antiikskulptuuride järgi valmistatud kipsvalandite tutvustamisele. Karl Morgenstern ühendas Tartus õpetades selle, mida ta oli Saksamaal õppinud, näinud ja kogenud. Ühelt poolt oli ta Halle ülikooli klassikalise filoloogia professori Friedrich August Wolfi õpilasena tuttav ideega „teise klassi“ teaduste (kunstiajalugu, klassikaline arheoloogia, topograafia ja geograafia) vajalikkusest, et mõista „esimese klassi“ teadusi ehk filoloogilisi aineid. Erinevalt oma õpetajast ei jäänud Morgensterni jaoks „teise klassi teadused“ pelgaks ideeks, vaid ta plaanis neid loengutes valandite abil visualiseerima hakata, võttes eeskujuks Göttingeni klassikalise filoloogia professori Christian Gottlob Heyne, kes oli 1767. aastal rajanud sealse ülikooli valandimuseumi ja hakanud seda kasutama klassikalise arheoloogia, numismaatika jt ainete õpetamisel.

Säilinud materjalide põhjal peab nentima, et Karl Morgensterni idee oli kogu saksa kultuuriruumis võrdlemisi uudne ja idealistlik, kuid idee rakendamine praktilisse õppesse ei läinud nii ladasalt. Valandite kasutamine õppetöös ei osutunud väga tõhusaks, sest tõenäoliselt nappis metoodilisi kogemusi ning varasem, tekstikeskne õpetamismetoodika oli väga sügavalt juurdunud. 19. sajandi algus- ja lõpukümnenditel kasutati muuseumi kogusid õppetöös siiski intensiivselt, seevastu vahepealsel ajal sajandi keskel oli suurt tähelepanu ja tööd nõudnud muuseumi reorganiseerimine: koguti antiikkunsti, seati sisse uued ruumid ning saabuvad kipsskulptuurid paigutati ekspositsiooni.

10. Tartu valandikogu tähtsus teadustöös jäi võrreldes kogu kasutamisega õppetöös veelgi tagasihoidlikumaks. Selle baasil avaldati ainult üksikuid publikatsioone. Mündivalandite kogu kasutas Ludwig Preller muuseumi originaalmüntide kataloogi koostamisel. Valandid ja nende kataloog olid talle teaduslikuks võrdlusmaterjaliks, et määrata originaalmüntide päritolu ja need dateerida. Skulptuurivalandite seast valis Malmberg 1907. aastal analüüsi aluseks Belvedere torso ning pakkus selle kohta välja uue tõlgenduse. Seejuures vaatles ta kunstimuseumis asuvat kipsvalandit ja kutsus seda vaatama ka teiste erialade esindajaid, nt anatoomi, et ühendada oma interpretatsiooniga anatoomilise vaatluse tulemused antiikmütoloogia ja -kirjanduse alaste teadmistega. Valandite

kohta avaldatud teaduspublikatsioonid tipnesid Felsbergi (1913) süstemaatilise deskriptiivse kataloogiga kõigi muuseumis leiduvate skulptuurivalandite kohta. Üldiselt peeti Tartus nagu mujalgi Euroopa ülikoolides kipsvalandeid teadustöö jaoks väheväärtuslikuks ja sekundaarseks, sest originaali pisidetailid ja restaureeringud ei olnud valandil enam vaadeldavad.

Selle kohta, kuidas valandikogu rakendati õppe- ja teadustöö teenistusse, pole palju tõendeid. Tulemused on küll napid, kuid näitavad siiski mõningasi sajandi vältel toimunud muutusi õppekavas ja publitseerimisvalikutes.

Tartu ülikooli kunstimuuseumi valandikogu süvauurimise käigus kerkis üles mitmeid teemasid järgimiste uurimuste jaoks. Valandikogu akadeemilise väljundi (õppetegevus, publitseerimine) uurimine andis tugipunkti, millest lähtudes saab jätkata teiste samalaadsete kogude akadeemilise väljundi uurimist ja võrdlemist. Samas võib uurimistööst leida lähtepunkte sootuks uutele vaatenurkadele. Näiteks võib küsida skulptuurivalandite kogumise ja eksponeerimise, aga ka nende järgi õpetamise moraalse mõju kohta. Kas avalikult vaatamiseks väljapandud alastus võis olla vastuolus valgustusaja haridusideaalide ja eetikaga ning mõjuda noorsoo kõlblusele? Kas skulptuurivalandite valdav alastus kui ühiskonna üldiste eetikapõhimõtetega vastuolus olev aspekt võis tingida selle, et Tartu ülikooli kunstimuuseumisse ei jõudnud sajandi alguskümnenditel kuigi palju skulptuurivalandeid ja piirduti vaid mündi- ja gemmivalanditega? Teatava kõlblustsensuuri ideed näib toetavat Philipp von Stoschi gemmikogu, kust on eemaldatud sobimatute piltidega valandid. Skulptuurivalandite telliminegi Tartusse algas just sajandi keskel, kui kogusse ei suhtunud enam niivõrd kui esteetilisse väärtusesse, vaid pigem kui teaduslikku uurimis- ja õpetamis- materjali.

Eesti alal sai antiikkunsti massilisem retseptisioon 19. sajandi algul võimalikuks ainult tänu valandite tulekule, sest originaaltööde hulk oli regioonis väga väike ja teisi moodsaid antiikkunsti visualiseerimise võimalusi, nt fotograafiat, ei olnud veel kasutusele võetud. Tartu ülikooli kunstimuuseumi valandikogu ei ole läbinisti tüüpiline 19. sajandi ülikooli valandikogu, kuna muuseumi algfaasis keskenduti väikevormide kogumisele – see etapp jäi 19. sajandi keskel rajatud kogudel läbimata.

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Appendix I. Collection of sculptures and sculpture cast⁴⁹⁹

Apollino⁵⁰⁰

KMM S 1

Casted by master Bertolini in Tartu, obtained 1806

Plaster. 155 x 50 x 60

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC, Uffizi (229)⁵⁰¹, Florence

Felsberg 1913: 113/1; Verzeichniss III: 365

Belvedere torso (Illustration 16)

KMM S 2

Casted in Rome, donated by Reinhold Andreas von Stackelberg in 1827

Plaster. 150 x 75 x 90

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the Vatican Museums (1192), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 128–129/2; Verzeichniss III: 365

Venus Anadyomene

KMM S 3

Casted in Rome, donated by Reinhold Andreas von Stackelberg in 1827

Plaster. 145 x 40 x 47

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC, the Vatican Museums, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 116/3

Croching Aphrodite

KMM S 4 (broken in 2005)

Donated by Reinhold Andreas von Stackelberg in 1827

Plaster. 80 x 40 x 45

Original: unknown

Felsberg 1913: 134/4; Verzeichniss III: 365

Hermes / Belvedere Antinous

KMM S 5

Casted in Rome, donated by Reinhold Andreas von Stackelberg in 1827

Plaster. 210 x 80 x 65

Original: marble, 3 century BC, the Vatican Museums (907), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 86–87/5; Verzeichniss III: 366

⁴⁹⁹ For the sake of completeness all the sculptures and sculpture casts of the University of Tartu Art Museum that belong to so-called sculpture (S) collection are listed as coming inventory numbers. Therefore, towards the end can be find the in addition to the casts also original sculptures of Estonian artists.

⁵⁰⁰ In the entry of sculpture are given the following data if possible: name of the work, inventory number of the sculpture or sculpture cast, where and when is obtained, material and dimensions (cm), data about original art-work and references to literature.

⁵⁰¹ If possible, is given the inventory number of original sculpture. Several inventory numbers were found from the database of Göttingen cast collection www.viamus.de [accessed 13 October 2014] and from the websites of museums.

Torso of Kephisos from the east pediment of Parthenon temple

KMM S 6

Donated by Reinhold Andreas von Stackelberg in 1827

Plaster. 80 x 45 x 30

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

Felsberg 1913: 52–53/6; Verzeichniss III: 366

Torso of Aphrodite

KMM S 7

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 53 x 27 x 21

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Vienna

Felsberg vii; Verzeichniss III: 344

Head of Persian, relief

KMM S 8

Donated by L. Stephani in 1851

Plaster. 49 x 47 x 10

Original: unknown

Felsberg 1913: iii

Statuette of Maenad

KMM S 9

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 31 x 13 x 10

Original: 1 century BC, Albertinum (133), Dresden

Felsberg 1913: 153–154/9; Verzeichniss III: 372

Praying boy

KMM S 10

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 135 x 35 x 25

Original: bronze, 3 century BC, the State Museums, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 107/10; Verzeichniss III: 340

Marcellus

KMM S 11

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 190 x 70 x 50

Original: marble, 20 BC, Louvre (MR 315), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 146/11

Psyche of Capua

KMM S 12

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 94 x 33 x 37

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (6019), Naples

Felsberg 1913: 91–92/12; Verzeichniss III: 344

Venus Medici

KMM S 13

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 78 x 27 x 20

Original: marble, 1–2 century, Kassel

Felsberg 1913: vii

Bust of Otricoli Zeus

KMM S 14

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. H 103

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Vatican Museums (257), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 98–99/14; Verzeichniss III: 346

Bust of Aphrodite Melos

KMM S 15

Plaster. H 78

Original: marble, 2 century BC, Louvre (sculpture LL 299), Paris

Felsberg 1913: Verzeichniss III: 346

Bust of Hermes

KMM S 16

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. H 42

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Lansdowne House, London

Felsberg 1913: 100/16; Verzeichniss III: 346

Bust of Aphrodite Arles

KMM S 17

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. H 68

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Louvre (439), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 80–81/17; Verzeichniss III: 346

Bust of Antinous Bacchus

KMM S 18

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. H 85

Original: marble, 2 century

Felsberg 1913: 147/18; Verzeichniss III: 346

Bust of Ares Borghese

KMM S 19

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. H 85

Original: marble, 1–2 century AD, Louvre (MR 65), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 57/19; Verzeichniss III: 346

Herm of Plato

KMM S 20

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. H 48

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Vatican Museums, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 58/20; Verzeichniss III: 346

Double-herm of Sophokles and Euripides

KMM S 21

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. H 28

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the Academic Art Museum (Sk 2), Bonn

Felsberg 1913: 108/21; Verzeichniss III: 347

Double-herm of Aristophanes and Menandros

KMM S 22

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. H 29

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC, the Academic Art Museum (3), Bonn

Felsberg 1913: 108/22; Verzeichniss III: 347

Zeus Talleyrand

KMM S 23

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. H 45

Original: marble, 2 century BC, Louvre, Paris

Felsberg 1913: 142/23; Verzeichniss III: 346

Maenad, relief

KMM S 24

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 70 x 36 x 7

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the British Museum, London

Felsberg 1913: 137–138/24; Verzeichniss III: 349

Heracles with a deer

KMM S 25

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 64 x 34 x 4

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC, the British Museum (2207), London

Felsberg 1913: 140–141/25; Verzeichniss III: 349

Procession of the gods, relief

KMM S 26

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 28 x 83 x 5

Original: unknown

Felsberg 1913: 141/26; Verzeichniss III: 349

Nike, relief

KMM S 27

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 29 x 22 x 2

Original: marble, 3 century BC

Felsberg 1913: 144/27; Verzeichniss III: 349

Lid of the mirror with Aphrodite and Anchises

KMM S 28

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 22 x 23 x 4

Original: bronze, 4 century BC, the British Museum (287), London

Felsberg 1913: 138–139/28; Verzeichniss III: 349

Head of the woman from Parthenon

KMM S 29

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 55

Original: marble, 5–4 century BC, private collection, Paris

Felsberg 1913: 47, 50–51/29; Verzeichniss III: 347

Bust of the pharaoh, relief

KMM S 30

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 12 x 11 x 5

Original: 2000 BC, unknown

Felsberg viii; Verzeichniss III: 346

Artemis Colonna

KMM S 31

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 180 x 90 x 80

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the State Museums (59), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 59/31; Verzeichniss III: 340

Head of the horse of Selene from the east pediment of the Parthenon temple

KMM S 32

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 80 x 45 x 35

Original: marble, 438–432 BC, the British Museum (303 O), London

Felsberg 1913: 47, 50/32; Verzeichniss III: 347

Girl from Tivoli

KMM S 33

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin⁵⁰²

Plaster. 205 x 70 x 50

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 86/33

⁵⁰² Today named as Berlin State Museums (*Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*).

Torso of Aphrodite Medici

KMM S 34

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 110 x 38 x 24

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC, Albertinum, Dresden

Felsberg 1913: 116/34; Verzeichniss III: 344

Torso of Marsyas

KMM S 35

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 109 x 45 x 36

Original: marble, 5–4 century BC, the State Museums (213), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 118/35; Verzeichniss III: 344

Torso of Aphrodite

KMM S 36

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 40 x 35

Original: marble, 1 century BC, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 36/116

Bust of the pharaoh Thuthmosis Chebron II

KMM S 37

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 55

Original: 1512-1504 BC, Torino

Felsberg 1913: viii; Verzeichniss III: 346

Head of the Dionysus-child with the ox head

KMM S 38

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 35

Original: marble, Antico Rosso, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 149/38; Verzeichniss III: 346

Herm of Alexander the Great

KMM S 39

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 60

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC, the State Museums, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 103/39; Verzeichniss III: 347

Bust of Scipio Africanus Maior (235-183 BC)

KMM S 40

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 72

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the State Museums (SK 334), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 149–150/40; Verzeichniss III: 347

Bust of Gaius Iulius Caesar (100-44 BC)

KMM S 41

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 58

Original: marble, after 44 BC, the Vatican Museums (713), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 150–151/41; Verzeichniss III: 347

Bust of Tiberius (42 BC-37 AD)

KMM S 42

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 65

Original: marble, 42 BC-37 AD, the State Museums (SK 345), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 151/42; Verzeichniss III: 347

Bust of Traianus (53-117 AD)

KMM S 43

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 68

Original: marble, 1–2 century, the Capitoline Museums, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 151/43; Verzeichniss III: 347

Bust of Marcus Aureliuse (121-180 AD)

KMM S 44

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 68

Original: marble, 2 century, the State Museums (Sk 373), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 152/44; Verzeichniss III: 347

Horsemen, relief from the west frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 45

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 105 x 130 x 15

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 42/45

Assyrian barelief

KMM S 46

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 245 x 215 x 20

Original: alabaster, 9 century BC, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: ix; Verzeichniss III: 349

Heracles with the deer

KMM S 47

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 60 x 58 x 50

Original: bronze, 4 century BC, the Regional Archaeological Museum, Palermo

Felsberg 1913: 118/47; Verzeichniss III: 342

Dancing Faun

KMM S 48

Casted by master A. Vanni Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 80 x 27 x 35

Original: bronze, the 2nd century BC, the National Museum of Archaeological (5002), Naples

Kukk *et al.* 2006: 54–55; Felsberg 1913: 117/48; Verzeichniss III: 342

Bust of Dionysus

KMM S 49

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. H 60

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (5618), Naples

Felsberg 1913: 76/49; Verzeichniss III: 346

Bust of Sappho

KMM S 50

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Coloured plaster. H 54

Original: bronze, 1 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (4896), Naples

Felsberg 1913: 76–77/50; Verzeichniss III: 347

Statuette of Athena

KMM S 51

Bought in 1861

Plaster. 36 x 19 x 15

Original: bronze, 1 century BC, the National Museum, Torino

Felsberg 1913: 38/51; Verzeichniss III: 342

Amazon on the horse

KMM S 52

Casted by master A. Vanni Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 55 x 43 x 18

Original: bronze, 5 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 39/52; Verzeichniss III: 342

Torso of Eros Contocelle

KMM S 53

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 87 x 35 x 26

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Vatican Museums (796), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 84–85/53; Verzeichniss III: 344

Aisopos

KMM S 54

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 35 x 57 x 28

Original: marble, 2 century, Villa Albani (964), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 109/54; Verzeichniss III: 344

Herm of Askelpios

KMM S 55

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. H 68

Original: marble, 5 century, Villa Albani, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 59/55; Verzeichniss III: 346

Head of Homer Farnese

KMM S 56

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. H 60

Original: marble, 2 century BC (6023), the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 109/56; Verzeichniss III: 346

Head of Medusa Rondanini

KMM S 57

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. H 52

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Glyptothek (252), Munich

Felsberg 1913: 59–60/57; Verzeichniss III: 346

Head of Satyr

KMM S 58

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. H 43

Original: Munich

Felsberg 1913: ix; Verzeichniss III: 347

Vase with masks

KMM S 59

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 69 x 109 x 71

Original: 1–2 century, Palazzo Lante, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 139/59; Verzeichniss III: 351

Laocoon group

KMM S 60

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 220 x 163 x 80

Original: 25 AD, the Vatican Museums (105), Rome

Kukk *et al.* 2006: 56–57; Felsberg 1913: 131–132/60

Melose Aphrodite

KMM S 61

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 215 x 70 x 70

Original: marble, 2 century BC, Louvre (LL 299), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 127–128/61; Verzeichniss III: 340

Young man with discus

KMM S 62

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 175 x 90 x 60

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Vatican Museums, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 56–57/62; Verzeichniss III: 340

Hermes putting on the sandal

KMM S 63

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 165 x 90 x 50

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Louvre (MR 238), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 103–104/103; Verzeichniss III: 340

Marcellus or Roman

KMM S 64

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 190 x 70 x 50

Original: marble, 20 BC, Louvre (MR 315), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 146/64; Verzeichniss III: 340

Borghese warrior

KMM S 65

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 170 x 140 x 100

Original: marble, 2 century BC, Paris (MR 224), Louvre

Felsberg 1913: 132–133/65; Verzeichniss III: 340

Silen with Dionysus-child

KMM S 66

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 205 x 80 x 70

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Louvre (MR 346), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 104–105/66; Verzeichniss III: 340

Spinario

KMM S 67

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 80 x 60 x 40

Original: bronze, 1 century BC, the Capitoline Museums, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 35–36/67; Verzeichniss III: 340

Warrior from the east pediment of Aphaia temple

KMM S 68

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 135 x 120 x 60

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Glyptothek (76), Munich

Felsberg 1913: 18/68; Verzeichniss III: 340

Lion-shaped weight from Khorsabad

KMM S 69

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 41 x 28 x 16

Original: bronze, 9–8 century BC, Louvre, Paris

Felsberg 1913: 1/69; Verzeichniss III: 342

Bust of Apollo from Piombino

KMM S 70

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. H 45

Original: bronze, 5 century BC, Louvre (sculpture Br 2), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 11/70; Verzeichniss III: 347

Head of Laocoon

KMM S 71

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. H 67

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the Vatican Museums (1059.1064), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 154/71; Verzeichniss III: 347; Mscr: Mrg. 525, 92

Bust of Antinous

KMM S 72

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. H 85

Original: marble, 1 century, the Vatican Museums, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 147/72; Verzeichniss III: 347

Herm of Dionysus

KMM S 73

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. H 48

Original: marble, 1 century, Louvre, Paris?

Felsberg 1913: 135/73; Verzeichniss III: 347

Athena, Perseus and Medusa, a metope from the temple Selinunte

KMM S 74

Casted in Louvre, bought in the 1860s

Plaster. 147 x 108 x 25

Original: excavated from Selinunte, limestone, 530-510 BC, the Regional Archaeological Museum (3920 B), Palermo

Kukk *et al.* 2006: 40-41; Felsberg 1913: 4/74; Verzeichniss III: 349

Relief from the temple Assos

KMM S 75

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 300 x 80 x 25

Original: sandstone, 6 century BC, Louvre (2829), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 4/75; Verzeichniss III: 349

Centaur with the woman, the metope from the south side of the temple Parthenon

KMM S 76

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 150 x 130 x 40

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Louvre (LL 87) Paris

Felsberg 1913: 41–42/76; Verzeichniss III: 349

Fighting Heracles and Cretan bull, the metope of the temple Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 77

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 115 x 135 x 25

Original: marble, 5 BC, Louvre (MA 716), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 28–29/77; Verzeichniss III: 350

Plate of the throne from Samothrake, relief

KMM S 78

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 40 x 45 x 2

Original: marble, 6 century BC, Louvre (Ma 697), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 10/78; Verzeichniss III: 350

Artemis, Apollo and Nike, relief

KMM S 79

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 50 x 65 x 8

Original: marble, 1 century, Louvre (MR 746), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 144/79

Relief from the monument of harpy eagles from Xanthos

KMM S 80

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 106 x 56 x 7

Original: limestone, 5 century, the British Museum (94), London

Felsberg 1913: 15–16/80; Verzeichniss III: 350

Woman, relief

KMM S81

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 38 x 32 x 35

Original: marble, 2–1 century BC, Louvre, Paris

Felsberg 1913: 138/81; Verzeichniss III: 81

Vase of Sosibios

KMM S82

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 80 x 40 x 40

Original: marble, 1 century BC, Louvre (MR 987), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 143–144/82; Verzeichniss III: 351

Apollo Belvedere

KMM S 83

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 227 x 140 x 40

Original: marble, 330–320 BC, the Vatican Museums (1015), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 94–95/83; Verzeichniss III: 340

Venus Medici

KMM S 84

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 160 x 45 x 43

Original: marble, 1 century BC, Uffizi (224), Florence

Felsberg 1913: 115/84; Verzeichniss III: 340

Satyr with kroupezion

KMM S 85

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 150 x 90 x 45

Original: marble, 2 century BC, Uffizi (220), Florence

Felsberg 1913: 134/85; Verzeichniss III: 341

Sleeping Satyr / Barberini faun

KMM S 86

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 85 x 75 x 35

Original: marble, 3 century BC, the Glyptothek (sculpture FW 218), Munich

Felsberg 1913: 117/86; Verzeichniss III: 341

Zeus, Aphrodite and the woman, relief

KMM S 87

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 57 x 58 x 5

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Louvre, Paris

Felsberg 1913: 87; Verzeichniss III: 350

Maenads, relief

KMM S 88

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 18 x 57 x 3

Original: marble, 1 century BC

Felsberg 1913: x; Verzeichniss III: 350

Scene of the cult, relief

KMM S 89

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 42,5 x 40,5 x 5,5

Original: marble, 5–4 century BC, Louvre (LP 2650), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 61/89

Head of Hera Barberini

KMM S 90

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. H 76

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Vatican Museums, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 60/90; Verzeichniss III: 346

Bust of Roman

KMM S 91

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 65

Original: marble, 1 century, the National Archaeological Museum (6141), Naples

Felsberg 1913: 109/91

Juno Ludovisi

KMM S 92

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 152 x 65 x 50

Original: marble, 1 century, the Museum of Baths (8631), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 99/92; Verzeichniss III: 348

Niobe with the daughter

KMM S 93

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 235 x 140 x 195

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Uffizi (294), Florence

Felsberg 1913: 92–93/93

Athena Lenormant

KMM S 94

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 40 x 23 x 14

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (128), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 53–54/94; Verzeichniss III: 342

Grave stele of Aristion

KMM S 95

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 180 x 42 x 7

Original: marble, 510 BC, the National Archaeological Museum (29), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 11/95; Verzeichniss III: 350

Capital from temple of Erechteion

KMM S 96

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 35 x 65 x 30

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Athens

Felsberg 1913: xi

Fragment of ionic capital

KMM S 97

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 20 x 30 x 25

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Athens

Felsberg 1913: xi

Fragment of capital from the propylaea in Eleusis

KMM S 98

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 22 x 15 x 11

Original: marble, 5 century BC

Felsberg 1913: xi

Mycenaen Lion Gate, relief

KMM S 99

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 309 x 325 x 30

Original: limestone, about 13 century BC, Mycenae

Felsberg 1913: 1-2/99; Verzeichniss III: 350

Artemis Versailles

KMM S 100

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 210 x 125 x 40

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Louvre (MR 152), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 96–97/100; Verzeichniss III: 341

Apollo standing on the omphalos

KMM S 101

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 225 x 60 x 60

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (Apollo 45, omphalos 46), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 25/101; Verzeichniss III: 341

Discus thrower

KMM S 102

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 170 x 95 x 50

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Museum of the Baths (56039/126371), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 26/102; Verzeichniss III: 341

Roman

KMM S 103

Casted by Eduard v. Launitz in Frankfurt

Plaster. 35 x 13 x 3

Original: 1 century

Felsberg 1913: 151/103; Verzeichniss III: 342

Model of the acropolis of Athens

KMM S 104

Casted by Eduard v. Launitz

Plaster. 110 x 70 x 25

Felsberg 1913: xi/104; Verzeichniss III: 351

Sophokles Lateran

KMM S 105

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 200 x 80 x 60

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Vatican Museums (9973), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 101/105; Verzeichniss III: 341

Athena Giustiniani

KMM S 106

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 220 x 90 x 60

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Vatican Museums (2263), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 77–78/106; Verzeichniss III: 341

Eirene with Ploutos

KMM S 107

Casted in the Academy of the Art in the Munich

Plaster. 218 x 95 x 75

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Glyptothek (219), Munich

Felsberg 1913: 73–74/107; Verzeichniss III: 341

Leg of the candelabrum

KMM S 108

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 26 x 26

Original: bronze, 1 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg xi; Verzeichniss III: 351

Lamp with silen from Pompei

KMM S 109

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 20 x 21 x 28

Original: Original: bronze, 1 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 140/109; Verzeichniss III: 351

Elk-shaped rhyton from Pompei

KMM S 110

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 19 x 14 x 14

Original: bronze, 3–2 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 139–140/110; Verzeichniss III: 351

Askos from Pompei

KMM S 111

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 20 x 21 x 12

Original: bronze, 3–1 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 140/111; Verzeichniss III: 351

Cup with reliefs

KMM S 112

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 25 x 16 x 13

Original: bronze, 3–1 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 138/112; Verzeichniss III: 351

Head of dying Alexander

KMM S 113

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. H 84

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC, Uffizi (336), Florence

Felsberg 1913: 125/

113; Verzeichniss III: 348

Capitoline Venus

KMM S 114

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 188 x 60 x 55

Original: marble, 4–3 century BC, the Capitoline Museums (409), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 114–115/114; Verzeichniss III: 341

Dying Gaul

KMM S 115

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 80 x 115 x 35

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 121/115; Verzeichniss III: 341

Dying Amazon

KMM S 116

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 25 x 120 x 60

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (6012), Naples

Felsberg 1913: 121–122/116; Verzeichniss III: 341

Dying Persian

KMM S 117

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 27 x 95 x 55

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (6014), Naples

Felsberg 1913: 122/117; Verzeichniss III: 341

Woman from Herculaneum

KMM S 118

Casted by master Lehmann in Dresden

Plaster. 220 x 85 x 60

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Sculpture Collection (H 326), Dresden

Felsberg 1913: 85–86/118; Verzeichniss III: 341

Apollo of Tenea / kouros

KMM S 119

Casted by master Lehmann in Dresden

Plaster. 160 x 33 x 38

Original: marble, 550–530 BC, Glyptothek (168), Munich

Kukk *et al.* 2006: 38–39; Felsberg 1913: 8/119; Verzeichniss III: 341**Basis of the tripod**

KMM S 120

Casted by master Lehmann in Dresden

Plaster. 160 x 33 x 38

Original: 2–1 century BC, Albertinum, Dresden

Felsberg 1913: 142–143/120; Verzeichniss III: 350

Ornament

KMM S 121

Casted by master Lehmann in Dresden

Plaster. 10 x 42 x 6

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Albertinum, Dresden

Felsberg 1913: xii

Harmodios from the group of tyrannicides

KMM S 122

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin, bought in 1870

Plaster. 210 x 120 x 60

Original: marble, 447/446 BC, National Museum of Archaeological (6009), Naples

Kukk *et al.* 2006: 44–45; Felsberg 1913: 19–20/122**Aristogeiton from the group of tyrannicides**

KMM S 123

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 195 x 135 x 60

Original: marble, 447/446 BC, National Museum of Archaeological (6010), Naples;

Prado (the head 78 E), Madrid

Kukk *et al.* 2006: 44–45; Felsberg 1913: 19–20/122**Grave stele of Alxenor from Orchomenos**

KMM S 124

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 195 x 62 x 100

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (39), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 23/124; Verzeichniss III: 350

Base with reliefs of Menelaos and Helena

KMM S 125

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 62 x 42 x 25

Original: marble, 6 century BC, the Archaeological Museum (1), Sparta
Felsberg 1913: 5/125**Grave stele from Sparta**

KMM S 126

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 40 x 35 x 5

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum (13), Sparta
Felsberg 1913: 7/126; Verzeichniss III: 126**Grave stele of Hegeso**

KMM S 127

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin, bought in 1870

Plaster. 150 x 90 x 15

Original: marble, 410–400 BC, the National Archaeological Museum (3624), Athens
Kukk *et al.* 2006: 50–51; Felsberg 1913: 70–71/127; Verzeichniss III: 350**Statuette of Apollo**

KMM S 128

Casted in the State Hermitage

Plaster. 13 x 3 x 2

Original: 6 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Peterburg
Felsberg 1913: xii; Verzeichniss III: 342**Spear-Bearer / Doryphoros**

KMM S 129

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin, bought 1872

Plaster. 210 x 50 x 50

Original: marble copy, about 450 BC, the National Archaeological Museum (6011),
NaplesKukk *et al.* 2006: 46–47; Felsberg 1913: 61–62/129; Verzeichniss III: 341**Wounded Amazon**

KMM S 130

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 200 x 60 x 70

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the State Museums (K 176), Berlin
Felsberg 1913: 63–64/130; Verzeichniss III: 341**Demeter from Knidos**

KMM S 131

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 150 x 75 x 80

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the British Museum (1300), London
Felsberg 1913: 87–88/131; Verzeichniss III: 341

Herm Pherekydes

KMM S 132

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 55

Original: marble, 477/476 BC, Museum Prado, Madrid

Felsberg 1913: 20/132; Verzeichniss III: 348

Bust of Cicero (106–43 BC)

KMM S 133

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 66

Original: marble, 1 century BC, Prado (F 81), Madrid

Felsberg 1913: 150/133; Verzeichniss III: 348

Retribution of Orestes, relief from the sarcophagus

KMM S 134

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 58 x 224 x 10

Original: marble, 2–1 century BC, the Vatican Museums, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 137/134

Bust of the German woman

KMM S 135

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 63

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the State Hermitage (A 323), St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: 149/135; Verzeichniss III: 348

Aphrodite and Dione from the east pediment of temple Parthenon

KMM S 136

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. 230 x 120 x 90

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum (330 L/M), London

Felsberg 1913: 47, 49–50/136

Caryatid from the temple Erechteion

KMM S 137

Casted in the British Museum

Kops. 205 x 60 x 60

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum (407), London

Felsberg 1913: 66–67/137; Verzeichniss III: 341

Head of Mausolos

KMM S 138

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. H 62

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the British Museum (1000), London

Felsberg 1913: 94/138; Verzeichniss III: 348

Dionysus from the east pediment of temple Parthenon

KMM S 139

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. 125 x 175 x 90

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum (303 D), London

Felsberg 1913: 47–49/139; Verzeichniss III: 341

Anadumenos Farnese

KMM S 140

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. 155 x 48 x 40

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum (501), London

Felsberg 1913: 37/140; Verzeichniss III: 341

Grave stele with the head of man

KMM S 141

Plaster. 49 x 47 x 10

Original: marble, 6–5 century, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 17/141

Head of Augustus (63 BC–14 AD)

KMM S 142

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. H 50

Original: marble, 1 century BC–1 century AD, the British Museum (1876), London

Felsberg 1913: 151/142; Verzeichniss III: 348

Fragment of the head of Nemesis

KMM S 143

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. 37 x 32

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum (306), London

Felsberg 1913: 57–58/143; Verzeichniss III: 348

Head of Capranese

KMM S 144

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. H 63

Original: marble, 5. century BC, the British Museum, London

Felsberg 1913: 26/144; Verzeichniss III: 348

Head of Hera Castellani

KMM S 145

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. H 65

Original: marble, 19 century, the British Museum (504), London

Felsberg 1913: 145/143; Verzeichniss III: 348

Kyniskos

KMM S 146

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. 150 x 50 x 45

Original: marble, 5. century BC, the British Museum, London

Felsberg 1913: 64–65/146; Verzeichniss III: 341

Nike of Paionios

KMM S 147

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 225 x 100 x 110

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum (46-48), Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 54–56/147; Laiverik 2003: 10–12; Verzeichniss III: 341

Boy from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 148

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 90 x 65

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 28, 30–31/148; Verzeichniss III: 341

Seer from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 149

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 130 x 55 x 100

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 28/149; Verzeichniss III: 341

Lying woman from the east pediment of the temple from Samothrake

KMM S 150

Casted in Vienna

Plaster. 85 x 58 x 30

Original: marble, 3 century BC, the Museum of Art History, Vienna

Felsberg 1913: 118–119/150; Verzeichniss III: 341

Standing woman from the temple from Samothrake

KMM S 151

Casted in Vienna

Plaster. 110 x 40 x 35

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the Museum of Art History (I 680), Vienna

Felsberg 1913: 119/151; Verzeichniss III: 341

Head of the lion

KMM S 152

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 18 x 38 x 17

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Museum of Art History, Vienna

Felsberg 1913: 72–73/152

Athena, Heracles and Atlas, metope of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 153

Casted at the Archaeological Museum of Olympia, bought in the 2nd half of the 19th century

Plaster. 160 x 60 x 30

Original: marble, 470–460 BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Kukk *et al.* 2006: 42–43; Felsberg 1913: 28, 29/153; Verzeichniss III: 350

Head of the lion from the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 154

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 45

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 34/154; Verzeichniss III: 352

Head of Zeus

KMM S 155

Plaster. H 68

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: 135/155; Verzeichniss III: 348

Hermes with the infant Dionysus (Illustration 12)

KMM S 156

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin, bought in 1879

Plaster. 225 x 100 x 60

Original: marble, 340–330 BC, the Archaeological Museum (17), Olympia

Kukk *et al.* 2006: 52–53; Laiverik 2003: 10–12; Felsberg 1913: 78–80/156;

Relief

KMM S 157

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 86 x 35 x 25

Original: bronze, 6 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (6444), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 2/157

Niobids, relief

KMM S 158

Plaster. 85 x 50 x 5

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: 38/158

Woman on the chariot, relief

KMM S 159

Plaster. 120 x 110 x 10

Original: marble, 6 century BC, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 13/159

Nike binding the sandal, relief

KMM S 160

Plaster. 97 x 55 x 17

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Acropolis Museum (973), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 67–68/160

Bust of Hermes

KMM S 161

Plaster. H 77

Original: marble, 4 century, the Archaeological Museum (sculpture 17), Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 78–80/161

Bust of Dionysus

KMM S 162

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 75

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Capitoline Museums, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 119–120/162

Narcissus

KMM S 163

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 115 x 40 x 25

Original: bronze, 3 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 120–121/163

Nymph of the Spring

KMM S 164

Plaster. 67 x 18 x 28

Original: marble, the 1st–2nd century AD, the Castle of Tegel, Berlin

Kukk *et al.* 2006: 58–60; Felsberg 1913: 130–131/164

Bust of Menelaos

KMM S 165

Plaster. 80 x 55 x 36

Original: marble, 3–2 century BC, the Vatican Museums (694), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 107–108/165

Bust of Perikles

KMM S 166

Plaster. H 65

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum (549), London

Felsberg 1913: 73/166

Head of the woman from Pergamon

KMM S 167

Plaster. H 50

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the State Museums, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 126/167

Bust of Diadumenos

KMM S 168

Plaster. H 50

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the National Art Collections (6), Kassel

Felsberg 1913: 37/168

Apoxyomenos

KMM S 169

Plaster. 205 x 67 x 110

Original: marble, roman, 4 century BC, the Vatican Museums (1185), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 102/169

Torso of a man

KMM S 170

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 88 x 40 x 20

Original: marble, 1 century, the State Museums, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 34–35/170

Statuette of the woman

KMM S 171

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 13 x 5 x 3

Original: bronze, 5 century BC, the State Museums, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 17/171

Torso of the man from Acropolis

KMM S 172

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 87 x 27 x 27

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Acropolis Museum, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 21/172

Archaic head from Kythera

KMM S 173

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 25

Original: bronze, 6 century BC, the State Museums, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 10/173

Head of Aklepios

KMM S 174

Plaster. H 70

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the British Museum (550), London

Felsberg 1913: 88–89/174

Head of Athena from the east pediment of the temple of Athena from Acropolis

KMM S 175

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 42

Original: marble, 6 century BC, the Acropolis Museum (631 A), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 12/175

Head of the woman

KMM S 176

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 21

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Glyptothek, Munich

Felsberg 1913: 100/176

Head of doryphoros

KMM S 177

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 50

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Smyrna

Felsberg 1913: 63/177

Athena, relief

KMM S 178

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 23 x 20 x 5

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the State Museums, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 38–39/178

Birth of Erichthonius, relief

KMM S 179

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 11 x 14 x 2

Original: terracotta, 5 century BC, the State Museums (6281), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 22/179

Hunt of Kalydon, relief

KMM S 180

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 21 x 30 x 3

Original: terracotta, 5 century BC, the State Museums (TS 57 85), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 22/180

Athena and Heracles, relief

KMM S 181

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 52 x 42 x 7

Original: marble, 6 century BC, the Capitoline Museums, Roma

Felsberg 1913: 144/181

Grave stele of Giustiniani

KMM S 182

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 140 x 40 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the State Museums (SK 1482), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 68–69/182

Agreement between Athens and Kerkyra

KMM S 183

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 35 x 45 x 4

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 75–76/183

Fragment of relief with the man

KMM S 184

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 40 x 63 x 8

Original: marble, 6 century BC, the Acropolis Museum (1343), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 13/184

Warriors leaving the battle, relief

KMM S 185

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 50 x 80 x 7

Original: marble, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 145/185

Grave stele of Malthaka

KMM S 186

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 70 x 30 x 3

Original: marble, 5–4 century BC, the Museum (21), Piraeus

Felsberg 1913: 70/186

Grave stele of Glaukias and Eubule

KMM S 187

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 55 x 25 x 4

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (1117), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 69/187

Grave stele of Pyrrhias and Thettale

KMM S 188

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 65 x 45 x 5

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (997), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 72/188

Grave stele

KMM S 189 (lost)

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 63 x 53 x 10

Original: marble

Grave stele with the men

KMM S 190

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 109 x 46 x 5

Original: marmor, 5. saj eKr, the National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Felsberg 1913: xv

Right foot of Hermes

KMM S 191

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 50,5 x 18,5 x 7

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 78–80/191

The head of Dionysus

KMM S 192

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 15

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Archaeological Museum (sculpture 17), Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 78–80/192

Kore

KMM S 193

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 53 x 15 x 10

Original: marble, 6 century BC, the Archaeological Museum (4–5), Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 7/8

Statuette of Artemis

KMM S 194

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 41 x 7 x 5

Original: bronze, 6 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 16/194

Statuette of Aphrodite

KMM S 195

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 22 x 6 x 5

Original: bronze, 6 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 3/195

Head of Heracles from the west metope of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 196

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 56

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 28/196

Head of Apollo from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 197

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 68

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 28, 32/197

Head of Centaur from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 198

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 73

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 28, 32/198

Head of lapith from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 199

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 60

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 28, 32–33/199

Head of the girl from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 200

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 58

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 28, 33/200

The head of the old woman from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 201

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 50

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 28, 33/201

Head of Deidameia from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 202

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 55

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 28, 32/202

Head of Hera

KMM S 203

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 53

Original: limestone, 6 century BC, the Archaeological Museum (1), Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 7/203

Head of Aphrodite

KMM S 204

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 22

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 114/204

Head of athlete

KMM S 205

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 39

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 93/205

Head of the pugilist

KMM S 206

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 45

Original: bronze, 4 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (X 6439), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 104/206

Head with helmet from Olympia

KMM S 207

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 40

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 15/207

Head of Zeus

KMM S 208

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 28

Original: bronze, 6 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (6440), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 9/208

Head of Zeus

KMM S 209

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 30,5

Original: terracotta, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 10/209

Model of the pediment of treasury from Megara

KMM S 210

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 80 x 36 x 27

Original: marble, 6 century BC, the Archaeological Museum, Olympia

Felsberg 1913: 14/210

Klytios from the altar of Pergamon, relief

KMM S 211

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 120 x 65 x 40

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the State Museums (10, 1), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 124/211

Heracles and Telephos from the altar of Pergamon, relief

KMM S 212

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 108 x 80 x 23

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the State Museums (12), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 125–126/212

Head of the sleeping Erinnys, relief

KMM S 213

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 60 x 45 x 20

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC, the Museum of Baths, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 129–130/213

Herm of Hekate

KMM S 214

Plaster. 39 x 12 x 12

Original: marble, 6-5 century, the National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 139/214

Small Ploutos

KMM S 215

Plaster. 70 x 40 x 35

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Glyptothek (the group), Munich; the National Archaeological Museum (Ploutos), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 75/215

Head of woman from Bauron

KMM S 216

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 17

Original: 5–4 century BC, collection of Adolf Furtwängler

Felsberg 1913: xvi

Man and the woman, relief

KMM S 217

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 15 x 12 x 6

Original: unknown

Felsberg 1913: xvi

Psyche and Eros, relief

KMM S 218

Casted by master Lehmann n Dresden

Plaster. 19 x 19 x 5

Original: bronze, 3-1 century BC, the Museum of Antique (7606), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 135–136/218

Grave stele from Chrysapha, (Hades and Persephone

KMM S 219

Plaster. 95 x 60 x 10

Original: marble, 540–530 BC, the State Museums (731), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 2/222

Model of the east pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 220

Diminished figures casted in Berlin, reconstruction made by Malmberg in Tartu

Felsberg 1913: 29–30/220

Model of the west pediment of the temple of Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 221

Diminished figures casted in Berlin, reconstruction made by Malmberg in Tartu

Felsberg 1913: 31/221

Platter with reliefs

KMM S 222

Plaster. H 19

Original: bronze, 7-6 century BC, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 2/222

Bust of Soranzo Eros / Hyakinthos

KMM S 223

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. H 50

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the State Hermitage (sculpture A 192), St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: 34/223

Bust of Klytie

KMM S 224

Received as the gift from the students

Plaster. H 70

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the British Museum (1874), London

Felsberg 1913: 148–149/224

Bust of Artemis Gabii

KMM S 225

Casted in the Art Academy of Munich

Plaster. H 60

Original: marble, 3–2 century BC, the Glyptothek (214), Munich

Felsberg 1913: 141–142/225

Athena, the relief of adornment

KMM S 226

Casted in the the State Hermitage

Plaster. H 8

Original: gold, 4 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: 54/226

Grave stele of Philostrate

KMM S 227

Casted in the State Hermitage

Plaster. 40,5 x 41,5 x 5

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: 68/227

Head of the man

KMM S 228

Marble statue was donated by Bartels in 1831

Plaster. H 43

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Art Museum (before 1915 was in the University of Tartu Art Museum), Voronezh

Felsberg 1913: 71–72/228

Statuette of Pan

KMM S 229

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 34 x 16 x 8

Original: bronze, 4 century BC, Louvre, Paris

Felsberg 1913: 63/229

Statuette of Apollo

KMM S 230

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. 17 x 7 x 6

Original: bronze, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

Felsberg 1913: 14/230

Statuette of Poseidon

KMM S 231

Casted in the Art Academy of Munich

Plaster. 19 x 10 x 6

Original: bronze, 4 century BC, Munich

Felsberg 1913: 78/231

Warrior

KMM S 232

Plaster. 19 x 13 x 5

Original: bronze, 3 century BC, the National Library (3562), Paris

Felsberg 1913: xvii

Head of the woman

KMM S 233

Plaster. H 25

Original: marble, 2–1 century BC

Felsberg 1913: xvii

Bust of Eubuleus

KMM S 234

Donated by architect A. Reinberg from Riga

Plaster. H 67

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (181), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 97–98/234

Bust of Poseidon Chiaramonti

KMM S 235

The gift from Prof. Dietzeli

Plaster. H 65

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Vatican Museums (1270), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 105–106/235

Apollo Mantua

KMM S 236

Plaster. 155 x 65 x 40

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 23/236

Bust of Hera Farnese

KMM S 237

Plaster. H 68

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (6005), Naples

Felsberg 1913: 24/237

Bust of athlete

KMM S 238

Plaster. H 65

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the County Museum of Merseyside, Liverpool

Felsberg 1913: 27/238

Head of Apollo

KMM S 239

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. H 50

Original: marble, 3–2 century BC, the British Museum, London

Felsberg 1913: 113–114/239

Dionysus visits the poet, relief

KMM S 240

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 80 x 125 x 10

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 136–137/240

Head of Heracles

KMM S 241

Plaster. H 47

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC, Sinj, Dalmatia

Felsberg 1913: 139/241

Head of Apollo Steinhäuser

KMM S 242

Plaster. H 65

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Art Museum (205/P 1), Basel

Felsberg 1913: 96/242

Head of the woman or Aphrodite

KMM S 243

Plaster. H 23

Original: marble, the British Museum, London

Felsberg 1913: xviii

Head of the young man

KMM S 244

Plaster. H 42

Original: terracotta, unknown

Felsberg 1913: xviii

Statuette of Satyr

KMM S 245

Plaster. 20 x 10 x 6

Original: bronze, 2 century BC, Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 126–127/245

Statuette of the young man

KMM S 246

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin in 1882

Plaster. 21 x 8 x 6

Original: bronze, the National Museum (Chr VIII 823), Copenhagen

Felsberg 1913: xviii

Statuette of Athena Promachos

KMM S 247

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 17 x 10 x 6

Original: bronze, 6 century BC, the Collection of Antique (Misc. 6218), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: 15/247

Basis of the mirror with the statuette of Aphrodite

KMM S 248

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 18 x 8 x 3

Original: bronze, 5 century BC, the National Museum, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 18/248

Plan of the city Athens

KMM S 249

Donated by Max Beth and Hugo Dannenberg, made in 1880

Wood, plaster. 55 x 57 x 7

Felsberg 1913: xviii

Bust of the woman

KMM S 250

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. H 49

Originaal: unknown, Lille

Felsberg 1913: xviii

Orpheuse and Eurydike, relief

KMM S 251

Plaster. 105 x 93 x 20

Original: marble, 2 century, Villa Albani (1031), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 39–40/251

Grave stele with the standing man

KMM S 252

Plaster. 140 x 50 x 15

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 71/252

Grave stele of Telesias

KMM S 253

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 80 x 45 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (898), Athens

Felsberg 1913: 69/253

Ahena with the sitting man, the fragment of relief

KMM S 254

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 60 x 40 x 5

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Athens

Felsberg 1913: xviii

Artemis Gabii

KMM S 255

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 180 x 55 x 45

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Louvre (MR 154), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 84/255

Head of the wounded warrior, from the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea

KMM S 256

Casted in Dresden in 1893

Plaster. H 38

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 89–90/256

Head of the wounded warrior, from the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea

KMM S 257

1873 casted in Dresden

Plaster. H 46

Original: Skopas, marble, 4 century BC, Athens

Felsberg 1913: 90–91/257

Reconstruction of Irise

KMM S 258

1883 casted after instruction of Loeschke in Tartu

Plaster. 70 x 45 x 30

Original: marble. 5 century BC

Felsberg 1913: 47, 51–52/258

Head of goddess Roma

KMM S 259

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 82

Original: marble, 2 century BC, Louvre (MA 547), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 147/259

Ildefonso group, Castor and Pollyx

KMM S 260

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. 155 x 100 x 40

Original: marble, 1 century, Prado (28 E), Madrid

Felsberg 1913: 145–146/260

Aischines

KMM S 261

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. 205 x 100 x 60

Original: marble, 3–2 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (6018), Naples

Felsberg 1913: 110/261

Dionysus with Eros

KMM S 262

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. 245 x 135 x 65

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 83–84/263

Bust of Niobe

KMM S 263

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 55

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Uffizi, Florence

Felsberg 1913: xviii

Bust of Dionysus

KMM S 264

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 83

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Vatican Museums (734), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 82–83/264

Herm of Sokrates

KMM S 265

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 55

Original: marble, unknown

Felsberg 1913: xviii

Bust of Niobid

KMM S 266

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 65

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Uffizi (293), Florence

Felsberg 1913: 93/266

Head of Aristophanes / Pseudo-Seneca

KMM S 267

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 40

Original: bronze, 3–2 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum (5616), Naples

Felsberg 1913: 110–111/267

Ludovisi Gaul / The Galatian suicide

KMM S 268

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. 200 x 120 x 100

Original: marble, 3 century BC, the Museum Baths, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 122–124/268

Bust of Asklepoios

KMM S 269

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 78

Original: marble, 5–4 century BC, Louvre (639), Paris

Felsberg 1913: 65–66/269

Eros with the bow

KMM S 270

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. 125 x 85 x 45 Plaster

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Montauban, France

Felsberg 1913: 106–107/270

Head of man with the helmet

KMM S 271

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 67

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: 111/271

Bust of Athena Giustiniani

KMM S 272

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 87

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Vatican Museums (sculpture 2223), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 77/272

Bust of Caracalla (188–217)

KMM S 273

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 65

Original: marble, 212–217, the National Archaeological Museum (6033), Naples

Felsberg 1913: 152–153/273

Bust of Roman

KMM S 274

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 75

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the Museum of Torlonia, Rome

Felsberg 1913: xix

Bust of Heracles Farnese

KMM S 275

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 95

Original: marble, 1–2 century, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 133–134/275

Bust of Lucius Verus (130 - 161/169)

KMM S 276

Ordered by Malmberg from the Academia of Arts of St Petersburg in 1896

Plaster. H 87

Original: marble, 2 century, Louvre, Paris

Felsberg 1913: 152/276

Bust of wine pouring Satyr

KMM S 277

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 47

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Albertinum, Dresden

Felsberg 1913: 81/277

Head of Aphrodite Medici

KMM S 278

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 40

Original: marble, 2–1 century BC, Uffizi (sculpture 224), Florence

Felsberg 115/278

Bust of Eros

KMM S 279

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 52

Original: marble, 4–3 century BC, the Capitoline Museums, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 106/279

Head of young man

KMM S 280 (is broken from 1910)

Received from the drawing cabinet of university, the gift from L. Stephani

Plaster. 49 x 47 x 10

Original: 4 century BC

Felsberg 1913: xix

Bust of Zeus

KMM S 281

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 50

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: 100/281

Head of Hermes

KMM S 282

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 44

Original: 4 century BC

Felsberg 1913: xix

Bust of young man

KMM S 283

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 40

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the Capitoline Museums, Rome

Felsberg 1913: 147–148/283

Bust of Serapis

KMM S 284

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 87

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Vatican Museums (549), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 112/284

Procession of gods, relief

KMM S 285

Casted in Berlin by master G. Eichler

Plaster. 28 x 85 x 5

Original: marble, 2 century BC

Felsberg 1913: 107/285

Bust of muse Melpomene

KMM S 286

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 62

Original: marble, the Vatican Museums (299), Rome

Felsberg 1913: xix

Head of muse Polyhymnia

KMM S 287

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 38

Original: marble, roman copy from the greek original, 2 century BC, the Collection of Antique (sculpture Sk 211), Berlin

Felsberg 1913: xix

Head of muse Thaleia

KMM S 288

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 42

Original: marble, the Vatican Museums (295), Rome

Felsberg 1913: xix

Head of young Satyr

KMM S 289

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 42

Original: marble, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: 154/289

Bust of Apollo Belvedere

KMM S 290

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 55

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Vatican Museums (1015), Rome

Felsberg 1913: 94/290

Bust of the young man

KMM S 291

Received from the drawing cabinet of university

Plaster. H 53

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Felsberg 1913: 100–101/291

Head of Asclepius

KMM S 292

Received as the gift from the Imperial Archaeological Commission

Plaster. H 20

Original: marble, 3 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: xx

Head of Hygieia

KMM S 293

Received as the gift from the Imperial Archaeological Commission

Plaster. H 20

Original: marble, 3 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: xx

Head of the boy

KMM S 294

Received as the gift from the Imperial Archaeological Commission

Plaster. H 8,5

Original: unknown

Felsberg 1913: xx

Grave stele of Philostratus

KMM S 295

Malmberg ordered from the State Hermitage in 1906

Plaster. 47 x 37 x 10

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: 68/295

Bust of young man

KMM S 296

Malmberg ordered from the State Hermitage in 1906

Plaster. H 63

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Felsberg 1913: 65/296

Bust of caryatid

KMM S 297

Malmberg ordered from the State Hermitage in 1906

Plaster. H 72

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg
Felsberg 1913: 67/297

Head of man

KMM S 298

Malmberg ordered from the State Hermitage in 1906

Plaster. H 42

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg
Felsberg 1913: 27/298

Bust of young man

KMM S 299

Malmberg ordered from the State Hermitage in 1906

Plaster. H 47

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg
Felsberg 1913: 65/299

Bust of Artemis

KMM S 300

Malmberg ordered from the State Hermitage in 1906

Plaster. H 60

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg
Felsberg 1913: 89/300

Athena, relief of the adornment

KMM S 301

Casted in the State Hermitage, received as the gift by E. M. Pridik in 1906

Plaster. H 7

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg
Felsberg 1913: 54/301

Aphrodite and Psyche, relief

KMM S 302

Received as the gift by E. von Steiki in 1907

Plaster. 12,5 x 11,5

Original: bronze, 3–1 century BC, the State Museums (Misc. 7806), Berlin
Felsberg 1913: xx

Head of Aphrodite Knidos

KMM S 303

Casted in Sculpture Museum of Köln by August Gerber in 1906

Plaster. H 60

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Louvre (MA 561), Paris
Felsberg 1913: 81–82/303

Head of Athena Lemnia

KMM S 304

Casted in Sculpture Museum of Köln by August Gerber in 1906

Patinated plaster. H 67

Original: bronze, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum (G 6090), Bologna
Felsberg 1913: 36/304

Head of Hypnos

KMM S 305

Casted in Sculpture Museum of Köln by August Gerber in 1906

Patinated plaster. H 28

Original: bronze, 4–3 century BC, the British Museum (B 267), London
Felsberg 1913: 112–113/305

Poseidon, Apollo and Artemis, part of the eastern frieze of the Parthenon in Athens

KMM S 306

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 100 x 8

Original: marble, 440 BC, the Acropolis Museum (856.1144.1158.1226), Athens
Kukk *et al.* 2006: 48–49; Felsberg 1913: 42–47/306

Heracles, Peirithoos and Theseus, relief

KMM S 307

Obtained by Felsberg

Plaster. 115 x 105 x 15

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Academic Art Museum (1210), Bonn
Felsberg 1913: 40–41/307

Bust of Euripides

KMM S 308

Casted in Sculpture Museum of Köln by August Gerber in 1906

Plaster. H 62

Original: marble, 350–300 BC, the National Archaeological Museum (6135), Naples

Head of Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44 BC)

KMM S 309

Casted in the British Museum

Plaster. H 40

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the British Museum, London

Nike, relief

KMM S 310

Casted by master G. Eichler in Berlin

Plaster. 29 x 22 x 2

Original: marble, 3 century BC

Two horsemen, relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 311

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 102 x 100 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Acropolis Museum, Athens

The girls with jugs, relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 312

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 105 x 90 x 7

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Acropolis Museum, Athens

Two girls and two men, relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 313

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 107 x 105 x 15

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Acropolis Museum, Athens

Relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 314

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 98 x 15

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Louvre, Paris

Relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 314

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 90 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Louvre, Paris

Relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 315

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 90 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Louvre, Paris

Relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 316

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 98 x 105 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

Hermes and Dionysus, relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 317

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 90 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

Demeter and Ares, relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 318

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 99 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

Zeus, Hera and Nike, relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 319

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 99 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

The girls, relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 320

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 90 x 90 x 15

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

Relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 321

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 90 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

Athena and Hephaistos, relief from the the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 322

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 90 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

Eros, relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple

KMM S 323

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 103 x 11

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

Relief from the east frieze of Parthenon temple, fragment

KMM S 324

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 100 x 42 x 10

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Louvre, Paris

Heracles and Cecrops the metope of the temple Selinunte

KMM S 325

Casted in Louvre

Plaster. 125 x 107 x 25

Original: 6 century BC, the Regional Archaeological Museum, Palermo

Verzeichniss III: 349

Athena, the metope of the temple the Zeus from Olympia

KMM S 326

Plaster. 160 x 90 x 25

Original: marble, 5 century BC, Louvre (MA 717 A, MA 717 B, MA 717 C), Paris

Verzeichniss III: 349

Lamp with a bat from Pompei

KMM S 327

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 20 x 20 x 28

Original: 1 century BC

Verzeichniss III: 351

Cup with reliefs

KMM S 328

Casted by master A. Vanni in Frankfurt am Main

Plaster. 25 x 15 x 13

Original: 2–1 century BC, the National Archaeological Museum, Naples

Verzeichniss III: 351

Ornament

KMM S 329

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 90 x 42 x 6

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Dresden

Grave stele from Sparta

KMM S 330

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 40 x 35 x 5

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the Archaeological Museum (4), Sparta

Death of Niobids, relief

KMM S 331

Casted in the State Hermitage

Plaster. 130 x 55 x 10

Original: gold, 1 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Head of the young man from Acropolis

KMM S 332 (broken in 1910)

Plaster. H 43

Original: marble, 5 century BC

Ares and Aphrodite, relief

KMM S 333

Casted in the Royal Museums of Berlin

Plaster. 52 x 24 x 7

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the Capitoline Museums, Rome

Athena, relief from adornments

KMM S 334

Casted in the State Hermitage

Plaster. H 8

Original: gold, 4 century BC, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

Artemis

KMM S 335

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 118 x 25 x 20

Original: marble, 1 century BC, National Archaeological Museum (6008), Naples

Athena

KMM S 336

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 145 x 45 x 65

Original: marble, 1 century BC, Albertinum, Dresden

Iris from the east pediment of Parthenon

KMM S 337

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 180 x 110 x 80

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

Torso of Dionysus

KMM S 338

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 100 x 70 x 60

Original: Marble, 4–3 century BC

Lapith with centaur, south metope of Parthenon

KMM S 339

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 135 x 120 x 27

Original: marble, 5 century BC, the British Museum, London

Head of Athena

KMM S 340

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 87

Original: marble, 2 century, Louvre (sculpture MR 283), Paris

Maenad with the bull, relief

KMM S 341

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 60 x 60 x 15

Original: marble, 2 century BC, Uffizi, Florence

Agraulos, relief

KMM S 342

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 72 x 37 x 5

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the Vatican Museums, Rome

Agraulos, relief

KMM S 343

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 72 x 40 x 5

Original: marble, 2 century BC, the Vatican Museums, Rome

Vase

KMM S 344

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 20

Original: unknown

Vase

KMM S 345

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 65 x 20 x 40

Original: unknown

Bust of Aphrodite Knidos

KMM S 346

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 67

Original: marble, 4 century BC, the Vatican Museums, Rome

Wine pouring satyr

KMM S 347

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 150 x 50 x 48

Original: marble, 4 century BC, Albertinum, Dresden

Torso of the boy

KMM S 348

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 54 x 28 x 20

Original: marble, 4 century BC

Torso of the boy

KMM S 349

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 70 x 32 x 37

Original: marble

Torso of woman

KMM S 350

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 105 x 60 x 40

Original: marble, 1 century BC, the Castle Tegel, Berlin

Torso of Aphrodite

KMM S 351

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 78 x 28 x 25

Original: marble, 1–2 century, destroyed

Narcissus

KMM S 352

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 140 x 60 x 30

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC, the Vatican Museums, Rome

Bust of young man

KMM S 353

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 70

Original: marble, 4 century BC

Head of laughing satyr

KMM S 354

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 35

Original: marble, 2 century BC, Glyptoteque, Munich

Amor and Psyche

KMM S 355

Obtained during the first third on 19th century

Plaster. 65 x 65 x 40

Original: Antonio Canova, marble, 1793

Epigraph of satrap Attalos

KMM S 356

Plaster. 100 x 15 x 3

Original: marble, 3 century BC

Statuette of discus thrower

KMM S 357

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 34 x 6 x 13

Original: bronze, 3–1 century BC, Antique Collection (3012), Munich

Atlant

KMM S 358

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 90 x 35 x 40

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC

Goethe with the coat

KMM S 359

Plaster. 36 cm

Original: Christian Daniel Rauch, biscuit, 19th century, the State Museums, Berlin

Verzeichniss III: 382, Mscr: Mrg. 525, 92

Bust of Voltaire

KMM S 360

Bought in 1821 from R. Weigel in Leipzig

Basalt. 27,5

Original: J. Wedgwood, 18th century

Verzeichniss III: 325

Dionysus and Ariadne

KMM S 361

Obtained during in the first third of the 19th century

Plaster. 55 x 20 x 30

Original: Bertel Thorvaldsen, marble, 1798

Verzeichniss III: 369

Head of Alexander the Great

KMM S 362

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 48 x 26 x 36

Original: marble, 2–1 century BC

Head of Athena

KMM S 363

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 15

Original: unknown

Bust of the young man

KMM S 364

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 57

Original: marble, 3–1 century BC

Chariot race, relief

KMM S 366

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 50 x 37 x 4

Original: marble, 5 century BC

Relief with woman

KMM S 367

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 47 x 25 x 7

Original: marble, 4 century BC

Head of Amastris, Queen of Herakleia

KMM S 368

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 48

Original: Marble, 4 century BC, Foggi Art Museum, Harvard University (1905.7), Cambridge

Torso of the young man

KMM S 369

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 100

Original: marble, 4 century BC

Head of Niobid

KMM S 370

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 52

Original: marble, 4 century BC

Immanuel Kant's death mask

KMM S 371

Obtained during the first half of the 19th century

Plaster. H 23

Kukk *et al.* 2006: 62–63

Vestal virgin

KMM S 372

Obtained in 1818

Plaster. 170 x 64 x 50

Original: marble, 4 century BC

Verzeichniss III: 365

Jupiter-Serapis, relief

KMM S 373

Obtained in 1964

Plaster. 30,5 x 24 x 2

Original: 19th century

Head of the woman

KMM S 374

1980

Plaster. H 25

Original: 18th–19th century

Young men with wounded fighter

KMM S 375

Bronze. 100 x 107 x 40

Jaan Koort, 1939

Fighters

KMM S 376

Bronze. 77 x 63 x 30

Anton Starkopf, 1928

Portrait of Martin Luther, relief

KMM S 377

Copper. 14,7.

19th century

Last supper after Leonardo da Vinci, relief

KMM S 378

Copper. 11,5 x 13,5

19th century

Taking off from the cross, relief

KMM S 378

Copper. 13 x 9,3

19th century

Bust of the Roman Empress Faustina Junior

KMM S 380

Made by August Weizenberg in 1880s in Rome, bought 1957

Marble. 38

Original: marble, 145–147 AD, the Capitoline Museums (666), Rome

Kukk *et al.* 2006: 60–61

Christ

KMM S 381

Wood. 22 x 6 x 3

19th century

Fragment of a tomb stone from St. Mary's Church (Tartu)

KMM S 382

Limestone. 66 x 60 x 12

18th century

A man

KMM S 383

Patinated plaster. 51 x 10,5 x 10,5

Anton Starkopf, 1930ies

A woman

KMM S 384

Patinated plaster. 51 x 10,5 x 10,5

Anton Starkopf, 1930ies

Nymph

KMM S 385

Casted in Louvre

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Coloured plaster. 52 x 23 x 34

Original: unknown

Friedrich Heinrich Bidder (1810–1894), relief

KMM S 386

Wood, metal. 29 x 21,5; frame 50 x 41

End of the 19th century

Hebe

KMM S 387

Casted by master Bertolini in Tartus 1806

Plaster. 175 x 55 x 55

Original: unknown

Verzeichniss III: 365

Setu woman

KMM S 388

Obtained in 1978

Wood. 60 x 47 x 46

Renaldo Veeber, 1964

Memories

KMM S 389

Obtained in 1987

Chamotte. 65 x 65 x 50

Kalju Reitel, 1967

Weightlessness

KMM S 390

Obtained in 1978

Plaster. 89 x 114 x 57

Lembit Tolli, 1971

The first teacher

KMM S 391

Obtained in 1978

Chamotte. 84 x 80 x 45

Kalju Reitel, 1967

Mother with the child

KMM S 392

Obtained in 1978

Chamotte. 85 x 55 x 40

Linda Rosin, 1969

Portrait of Taras Shevtshenko

KMM S 393

Plaster. 86 x 52 x 44

1949-1951

Girl with flowers, relief

KMM S 394

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920, casted in Louvre 1830

Chamotte. 42 x 22 x 3

Original: 16th century, Louvre, Paris

Standing woman

KMM S 395

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920, made in Sevres' manufacture

Stone mass. 36,5

Original: Saint Jean, 18th century

Portrait of Konstantin Ramul

KMM S 396

Patinated plaster. 51 x 31 x 33

Roman Timotheus, 1982

Madonna with angels

KMM S 397 (broken)

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 130 x 67 x 17

Original: Lucca della Robbia, 15th century

Laughing boy

KMM S 398

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 40 x 11 x 29,5

Original: Desiderio da Settignano, 15th century, the Museum of Art History, Vienna

Cecilia Vecelli (Venelli)

KMM S 399

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Patinated plaster. 33 x 39 x 12

Original: Rossellini, 16th century

Head of the woman, relief

KMM S 400

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Coloured plaster. 24,2 x 7,5 x 19,5

Original: 13th–14th century

Portrait of Prof. Parrot, relief

KMM S 401

Obtained in 1978

Plaster. 90 x 55,5 x 3

Endel Taniloo, 1967

Head of cardinal

KMM S 402

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Coloured plaster. H 28

Bust of the boy

KMM S 403

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 34

Original: 15th century

Bust of Hans Heidemann

KMM S 404

Plaster. H 72

Ole Ehelaid, 1956

Madonna with a child

KMM S 405

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920, made in Sevres' manufacture

Stone mass. 53

Original: Henri Vallette, 1789–1800

Maria with a child

KMM S 406

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920, casted in Louvre

Plaster. 68 x 23 x 17

Original: 13th–4th century, cathedral of Reims

Herm of the Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831)

KMM S 407

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 58

Original: Ludwig Wilhelm Wichmann, marble, 1826 (destroyed in the II World War)

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Three Union 1813 (X)

KMM S 408

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1821

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Defence of the People 1812 (I)

KMM S 409

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1816

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. La Fère Chapenoise 1814 (XVIII)

KMM S 410

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1829

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Rodomõsl (II)

KMM S 411

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1814

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Napoleon's escape behind the Nemen 1812 (VII)

KMM S 412

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1820

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. The battle of Kulm 1813, (XII)

KMM S 413

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1823

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Release of Moscow (III)

KMM S 414

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1819

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Fighting in upland of Katzbach 1813 (XI)

KMM S 415

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1822

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Battle near Arcis sur Aube 1814 (XVII)

KMM S 416

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1829

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Sbjugation of Parisi 1814

KMM S 417

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1833

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Battle of Borodina (II)

KMM S 418

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1816

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. The first step of Alexander across the border of Russia 1813 (VIII)

KMM S 419

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1820

Verzeichniss III: 326

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Battle near Brienne 1814 (XVI)

KMM S 420

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1824

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Battle near Little Jaroslavets (IV)

KMM S 421

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1817–1819

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Release of Berlin 1813 (IX)

KMM S 422

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1820–1821

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Crossing the Rhine 1813 (XV)

KMM S 423

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1824–1825

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Battle of Leipzig 1813 (XIII)

KMM S 424

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1823

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Bottle near Berezina 1819 (VI)

KMM S 425

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1819

Verzeichniss III: 327

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Realise of Amsterdam 1813 (XIV)

KMM S 426

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1824–1825

Verzeichniss III: 327

Head of the old man

KMM S 427

Obtained in 1981

Imitation of black granite. H 40

Jaan Koort, 1917–1918

Bhe bust of N. A. Nekrassov

KMM S 428

Obtained in 1982

Marble. H 82

1948–1951

Commemorative medal of Patriotic War. Battle near Krasnõi 1812 (V)

KMM S 429

Bought from St. Petersburg in 1820-1839

Alabaster. D 22

Original: Fyodor Tolstoy, wax on stone plate, 1817–1819

Verzeichniss III: 327

Maria with Jesus child

KMM S 430 (broken)

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 115 x 88 x 18

Original: Desidero de Settignano, 15th century

Battle of centaurs, relief

KMM S 431

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 78 x 89

Original: Michelangelo, marble, 1490–1492, Casa Buonarroti, Florence

Alone

KMM S 432

Obtained in 1983

Painted plaster. 109 x 40 x 20

Aime Jürjo, 1966

Earth is calling

KMM S 433

Obtained in 1983

Epoxy. 136 x 70 x 30

Kaljo Reitel, 1967

Peruvian communist

KMM S 434

Obtained in 1983

Painted plaster. 43 x 28 x 20

Jaan Vares, 1970

Forgotten zithra (Jürka)

KMM S 435

Obtained in 1983

Painted plaster. 64 x 40 x 41

Ülo Õun, 1971

Montage

KMM S 436

Obtained in 1983

Plastic. 116 x 38 x 55

Erich Tali, 1978

A moment for rest

KMM S 437

Obtained in 1983

Plaster. 114 x 35 x 45

Ernst Kirss, 1968

Nix with the herd boys

KMM S 438

Obtained in 1983

Painted epoxy. 33 x 39 x 18

Enn Roos, 1976

Northern Virgin

KMM S 439

Obtained in 1983

Chamotte. 40 x 30 x 26

Aulin Rimm, 1981

Adam and Eve

KMM S 440

Obtained in 1983

Paired plaster. 42 x 53,5 x 19

Mare Mikof, 1973

Composition of polyhedron

KMM S 441

Aluminium, iron. 83 x 106 x 106

Erik-Arno Uustalu, 1970

Casting mould

KMM S 442 (lost)

Plaster. D 37

19th–20th century

Head of the woman

KMM S 443

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 24

Original: Benedetto da Majano, 15th century

Head of the old woman, the part of the relief

KMM S 444

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. H 13

Original: 13th–14th century

Madonna, relief

KMM S 445 (broken)

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 81 x 82

Original: Michelangelo, marble, 16th century

Half-figure of youngster

KMM S 446

Plaster. H 35

Menelaos with dead Patroklos, relief

KMM S 447

Plaster. H 12,5

Original: 5th century BC

Holy family with Angel

KMM S 448

Alabaster. 15,3 x 23,5

Original: 1811

Portraits of famous men, relief

KMM S 449

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 16,5 x 12,5 x 3

19th century

Portrait of Tiberius, cameo (Illustration 14)

KMM S 450

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 15,5 x 11

Original: 1st century AD, the Museum of Art History (IX a 23), Vienna

Head of Christ, fragment

KMM S 451

Plaster. 10 x 6 x 5

School of Athens, relief

KMM S 452

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 19,3 x 13

Original: casted in 1736

Eagle, cameo

KMM S 453

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. D 22,5

Original: 27 BC, the Museum of Art History, Vienna

Eagle, cameo

KMM S 454

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 10,2 x 11

Original: unknown

Constantinus and Tyche, cameo

KMM S 455

Gift from Dr. Schardius

Plaster. 19 x 13

Original: sardonyx, 4 century AD, the State Hermitage, St Petersburg

F 3 Mrg. 525, p 73

Relief with Egyptian motifs

KMM S 456

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 7,4 x 9,5 x 1,2

Original: about 2000 BC

Gemma Augustea, cameo

KMM S 457

1818 obtained from Vienna, donated by K. Morgenstern

Plaster. 22,8 x 18,5

Original: saronyx, 10 AD, the Museum of Art History (IX a 79), Vienna

A. S. Puškin

KMM S 458

Donated by the Regional Council of St. Petersburg in 1983

Terracotta. 30 x 11,5 x 23

Aslanov, 1982–1983

Night, cameo

KMM S 459

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. D 12,8

Original: Bertel Thorvaldsen, 1814–1815

Day, cameo

KMM S 460

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 12,7

Original: Bertel Thorvaldsen, 1814-1815

Horn of plenty, cameo

KMM S 461

Plaster. 12,5 x 13,5

Original: sardonyx, 1 century BC, the Museum of Art History (IX a 63), Vienna

Lion, cameo

KMM S 462

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 9 x 10,5

Original: onyx, 1 century BC, the Museum of Art History, Vienna

Augustus, cameo

KMM S 463

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. D 13

Original: chalcedon, 1 century

Kybele, cameo

KMM S 464

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 9,8 x 7,4

Original: sardonyx, 1–2 century, the Museum of Art History, Vienna

Livia, cameo

KMM S 465

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 8,2 x 7,5

Original: sardonyx, 1-2 century, the Museum of Art History (IX a 95), Vienna

Ptolemaios II and Arsinoe, cameo

KMM S 466

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 11,8 x 12

Original: sardonyx, 3 century BC, the Museum of Art History (AS IX a 81), Vienna

Portrait of Augustus, cameo

KMM S 467

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. D 12

Original: 1st century

Composition with Neptunus, cameo

KMM S 468

Bequeathed by the Lipharts in 1920

Plaster. 7,2 x 9

Original: 13rd century, the Museum of Art History, Vienna

Cameo of Gonzaga (Ptolemaios II and Arsinoe)

KMM S 469

Donated by Dr. Schardius (archivist in St. Petersburg Scientific Academy)

Plaster. 12 x 16,5

Original: sardonyx, 3rd century BC, the State Hermitage (Z 291), St Petersburg

Mscr: Mrg. 525, p 73

Apple of Newton, relief

KMM S 470

Bronze, wooden frame. 62 x 27

1967

Portrait of Prof. Parrot, relief

KMM S 471

Obtained in 1978

Plaster. 90 x 55.5 x 3.5

Endel Taniloo, 1978

Christ on the Cross, the relief

KMM S 472

Obtained in 1985

Alabaster plaster, metal frame. 30,6 x 23,2

E. Cassier, 19th century

Two dead birds, the detail from relief

KMM S 473

The gift from L. Alling

Beech. 36 x 11 x 7

Bust of Ludvig Puusepp

KMM S 474

Obtained in 1985

Chamotte. H 68

Endel Taniloo, 1983

Sack race

KMM S 475

Plaster. H 130

Ahti Seppet, 1985

Portrait of K. Dehio, relief

KMM S 476

Bronze. H 43

1996 handed over by the clinic of the University of Tartu

Constanze Elisabeth Marguerite von Wetter-Rosenthal, 1913

Bust of Lucator

KMM S 477

Donated by former student during the first third of the 19th century

Plaster. 34

Original: unknown

Mscr: Mrg. 525, p 87

Bust of Belvedere Apollo

KMM S 478

Donated in 1983

Plaster. H 28

Original: marble

Head of Alexander Erbach

KMM S 479

1998, gifted by the University of Göttingen, casted by E. Funk in 1982

Plaster. H 32

Original: marble, 330 BC, Fürstliche Sammlungen (Castle Erbach 642), Erbach

Head of Queen Nofretete

KMM S 480

Donated in 2006

Plaster. H 25,5

Original: unknown

Appendix 2. Collections of gem casts

Collection of red sulphur casts⁵⁰³ (Illustration 2)

KMM GE 1

Purchased from St. Petersburg

Thirty cardboard boxes. 38 x 25,5 x 2,4

3002 red sulphur casts

Verzeichniss III: 139

Gem casts

KMM GE 2

57 brownish sulphur casts

Carl Gottlieb Reinhardt. Collection of Baron Philipp von Stosch (Illustration 3)

KMM GE 3

Purchased in 1826

Five mahogany commode-type boxes. 46 x 26,3 x 11,8.

3467 white plaster casts

Anderson 2011: 330–348; Anderson 2009: 101–119; Kukk *et al.* 2006: 106–107;

Verzeichniss III: 112

Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica. **Impronte Gemmarie dell'Instituto**

KMM GE 4

Centuriae 1–4 are purchased in 1837 from art-dealer Rudolf Weigel in Leipzig;

centuriae 5–6 are purchased in 1857

Six cardboard book-like boxes. 35,5 x 21 x 5,5

600 white plaster cast

Anderson 2011: 330–348; Anderson 2009: 101–119; Tiisvend 2006: 30–31; Kukk

et al. 2006: 108–109; Verzeichniss III: 144

Ancient authors and philosophers

KMM GE 5

Two green drawers. 21,1 x 12,5 x 1,3

16 white plaster casts with brown figures

Pietro Bracci. **Opera copiata da marmi di Thorwaldsen**

KMM GE 6

Bequeathed by Morgenstern in 1853

Two plywood boxes. 25,5 x 16,7 x 5

27 white plaster casts

Anderson 2011: 330–348

⁵⁰³ In the entry of gem cast collection are given the following data if possible: name of the publisher or compiler, name of the collection, inventory number of the collection, where and when obtained, material and dimensions and how many gems casts collection contains.

Giovanni Liberotti. **Impronte. Opere Scelte**

KMM GE 7

Obtained in 1970ies

Cardboard book-like box. 25 x 16 x 4,5

27 white plaster casts

Reformateurs

KMM GE 8

Purchased in the beginning of 19th century

Wooden book-like box. 26,3 x 19,5 x 4,9

48 red sulphur casts

Verzeichniss III: 142

Wilhelm A. Tiemann. **Timm's mythologischer Charthyl-Gemmen/Dactyliothek von 100 Stück mythologischer Charthyl-Gemmen** (Illustration 7)

KMM GE 9

Purchased in 1837

Three cardboard boxes. 20,3 x 11,1 x 1,2

72 paper mass impressions

Anderson 2011: 330–348; Verzeichniss III: 142

Collection of Carl Wilhelm Höckner (Illustration 8)

KMM GE 10

Purchased in 1816

Wooden leather-bound book-like box. 43,5 x 28,3 x 5,5

352 red sealing wax casts

Verzeichniss III: 143

Portrait of Jonathan Swift

KMM GE 11

Yellow sulphur. 5,2 x 4,4

Nathaniel Marchant. **Marchant's gems**

KMM GE 12

Purchased in the first half of the 19th century from *Rostische Kunsthandlung* in Leipzig

Wooden book-like box. 38,5 x 25,4 x 4,5

100 white plaster cast

Anderson 2011: 330–348; Verzeichniss III: 141

Nathaniel Marchant. **Marchant** (Illustration 9)

KMM GE 13

Bequethed by Morgenstern in 1853

Wooden box covered with glass. 35,5 x 23,5 x 3

50 white plaster casts under glass

Anderson 2011: 330–348; *Catalogus mss.* 1868: 8; Mscr: Mrg. 525

Gottlieb Benjamin Rabenstein. **Philipp Daniel Lippert's Daktyliothek, Mythologisches Tausend, Historisches Tausend. Supplement** (Illustration 4)

KMM GE 14

Purchased in 1832

Three wooden leather-bound book-like boxes. 59 x 34 x 20

3150 white so-called Lippert mass casts

Anderson 2011: 330–348; Kukk *et al.* 2006: 104–105; Verzeichniss III: 144

Luigi Pichler. **Pichler** (Illustration 9)

KMM GE 15

Bequethed by Morgenstern in 1853

Wooden box covered with glass. 35,5 x 23,5 x 3

49 white plaster casts under glass

Anderson 2011: 330–348; *Catalogus mss.* 1868: 8; Mscr: Mrg. 525

Anton Ernst Klausung. **Versuche einer mythologischen Dactyliotheek für Schulen, oder Einleitung in die griechische und römische Götterlehre zur Erläuterung der klassischen Schriftsteller, und Denkmäler der Kunst auf antiken geschnittenen Steinen** (Illustration 6)

KMM GE 16

Purchased in the first half of the 19th century

Three drawers in wooden leather-bound box. 23,2 x 14,8 x 9,1

90 red sulphur casts

Carl Gottlieb Reinhardt. **Collection**

KMM GE 17

Bequethed by Morgenstern in 1853

Commode-type mahogany box. 26,6 x 17 x 9,1

108 white plaster casts

Anderson 2011: 330–348; *Catalogus mss.* 1868: 8

Martin Krause. **Collection of the Royal Museums of Berlin** (Illustration 5)

KMM GE 18

Purchased in 1843

Two wooden commode-type boxes. 39,5 x 28 x 23

971 white plaster casts

Verzeichniss III: 112

Giovanni Pichler. **Römische Sammlung von Abdrücken antike und moderner Gemmen in weisser Scagliuola**

KMM GE 19

Bequethed by Morgenstern in 1853

Eighteen plywood drawers. 29 x 22

1249 white plaster casts

Catalogus mss. 1868: 8; Mscr: Mrg 525

Giovanni Pichler. **Mythological, historical and religious gem casts**

KMM GE 20

Bequethed by Morgenstern in 1853

Seven plywood boxes. 32 x 20

432 white selenite casts.

Casts of ancient gems from Hermitage

KMM GE 21

Purchased in 1825 and 1827 from St. Petersburg

Fourteen wooden boxes. 35 x 25

3074 red sulphur casts and yellowish, blue plaster casts

Verzeichniss III: 140

Appendix 3. Collections of coin casts⁵⁰⁴

Théodore Edme Mionnet. *Medailles Romaines* (Illustration 10)

KMM Nv 1

Purchased in 1833

164 grey sulphur casts in wooden leather-bound book-like boxes. 34,5 x 43 x 24

Anderson 2011: 342; Blum 1834: 72

Théodore Edme Mionnet. *Medailles Grecques* (Illustration 10)

KMM Nv 2

Purchased in 1833

1293 grey sulphur casts in wooden leather-bound book-like boxes. 37 x 57,5 x 25

Anderson 2011: 342; Blum 1834: 72

Stieglitz coin cast collection

KMM Nv 3

Purchased in 1818 from Leipzig

Four drawers in wooden commode. 40 x 29,5 x 19

450 grey sulphur casts

Verz. II: 153

Collection of the Royal Museums of Berlin

KMM Nv 4

Fourteen boxes. 31,7 x 22,8 x 1,1

484 grey sulphur casts.

Verz. II: 162

Casts of ancient coins

KMM Nv 5

A box. 32 x 21,5 x 1,2

44 grey sulphur casts

Casts of ancient coins

KMM Nv 6

Nine boxes. 31,2 x 24 x 1,1

293 grey sulphur casts

Casts of ancient coins

KMM Nv 7

Seven boxes. 21,2 x 21,8 x 0,8

259 grey sulphur casts

⁵⁰⁴ In the entry of coin cast collection are given the following data if possible: name of the publisher or compiler, name of the collection, inventory number of the collection, where and when obtained, material and dimensions and how many gems casts collection contains.

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Anderson, Jaanika, 2015. Begs leave most respectfully to inform his Friends and Public that he has on sale the most extensive collection of casts in sulphur [...]. In: Jönsson, A., Vogt-Spira, G., eds. *Antike nach der Antike: Der Ostseeraum. Praktiken – Diskurse – Modellbildungen – Funktionalisierungen*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, x–x. (forthcoming)
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Valik publikatsioone:

Anderson, Jaanika, 2015. Begg leave most respectfully to inform his Friends and Public that he has on sale the most extensive collection of casts in sulphur [...]. In: Jönsson, A., Vogt-Spira, G., eds. *Antike nach der Antike: Der Ostseeraum. Praktiken – Diskurse – Modellbildungen – Funktionalisierungen*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, x–x. (ilmumas)

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