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Hieronymus Odam, engraved gems and antiquarianism

Abstract

This article is designed to recover and reconstruct the antiquarian, collecting, and documentary activities of Italian artist Hieronymus Odam (c. 1681–1740) in respect of engraved gems. Odam is primarily recognized as a painter, while his contribution to the development of antiquarianism and collecting of antiquities remains virtually unknown. Odam's speciality was intaglios and cameos. The recently discovered drawings of gems in the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków, the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin, and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, as well as archival sources—Odam's correspondence and two *dactyliothecae* (those of Pier Leone Ghezzi and James Tassie)—prove that he possessed a considerable number of engraved gems and was one of the experts in this particular field. But above all, Odam documented thousands of engraved gems, notably for Philipp von Stosch, in a very accurate and innovative way, straying from the traditional antiquarian approach. The co-operation between Odam and Stosch resulted in illustrations that were designed to show techniques of engraving and styles of the ancient masters, qualities that had not previously been addressed by antiquarians. In Odam's and Stosch's approach gems were treated as sources of evidence rather than as images useful for illustrating passages from ancient literature. Odam is a fine example illustrating the transformation of antiquarianism in the first half of the 18th century.*

Keywords: 18th-century, antiquarianism, engraved gems, Hieronymus Odam, Rome, visual documentation of antiquities

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Introduction

In the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century engraved gems, like coins, were some of the most sought-after commodities at the antiquarian art markets frequented by the European élites. Engraved gems were also often discussed by the representatives of the “Republic of Letters”.¹ The collectors of intaglios and cameos gained high social status by acquiring rare pieces, especially the ones signed by ancient masters. In general, this commercial facet of antiquarianism spurred the excavation of intaglios and cameos in Rome and the surrounding areas. It also stimulated discussions on engraved gems and consequently contributed to the rising importance of illustrations as a central aspect in the collection and processing of data on antiquities.² One of the most frustrating problems were inaccurate visual reproductions of antiquities circulating in contemporary books.

Engraved gems were at the very centre of this because of the considerable antiquarian interest triggered by their exceptionally rich, but often complex and challenging, iconogra-

¹ Engraved gems are precious and semi-precious gemstones with images incised in them (intaglios) or carved on their surface (cameos). They could be also made of glass from matrixes in antiquity, and those are called glass gems in contrast to “glass pastes”—reproductions of original gems made in the 18th century (*Note 12* below). The “Republic of Letters” was a self-proclaimed intellectual community of scholars and literary figures in the late 17th and 18th centuries in Europe, formed across national boundaries and communicating mostly through correspondence.

² On the importance of illustrations for the development of antiquarianism and early archaeological research, see Haskell 1993 (esp. 13–132) on general use of images, including illustrations; Schnapp 1997, 235–237; Burke 2003, 279–280, 291–296. On the development of antiquarianism and classical archaeology in general, see Momigliano 1950; Haskell & Penny 1981; Piggott 1989; Trigger 1996, 52–66, 97–113; Schnapp 1997, 179–324; Bickendorf 1998; Herklotz 1999, 151–306 (with more literature for Cassiano dal Pozzo and collections of drawings of antiquities); Kaufmann 2001; Burke 2003; Sloan 2003; Herklotz 2004; Miller 2013; 2014; Gould 2014; Williams 2017.

phy.³ Images on gems must be correctly interpreted and adequately illustrated if they are to be studied successfully and made available to a larger antiquarian community. The correct interpretation and illustration of gems was difficult due to the considerable artistic virtuosity behind their production, and their small size. Most antiquarians considered the motifs engraved on gemstones useful only for the illustration of passages from ancient literature and not as authentic sources of evidence to be used for the study of ancient gems or the past cultures that created them.⁴

Gems, like other antiquities at the time, were studied according to the popular philological method, which treated antiquities primarily as reflections of events, phenomena, customs, rituals, etc. described in ancient literary sources. For example, between 1707 and 1709, Domenico de' Rossi and Paolo Alessandro Maffei published *Gemme antiche figurate*, an overview in four volumes of 410 engraved gems from notable Italian collections.⁵ Their publications are clearly inspired by the work of Leonardo Agostini, published in the 17th century.⁶ Maffei's commentaries were more erudite than Agostini's, testifying to some development in the correct description of gems. However, the illustrations remained simple and unfaithful to the originals in many respects.⁷ Even notorious authorities such as the Florentine scholar Antonio Francesco Gori (1691–1757) were often criticized for the low quality of the engravings illustrating their books.⁸ It was only Philipp von Stosch's (1691–1757) book *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*, published in 1724, that for the first time offered outstanding visual reproductions of 70 carefully selected intaglios and cameos. Most of these illustrations were designed by Odam who, as we shall see, took the illustration of gems to an entirely new level.⁹

18th-century artists, with their many talents, could easily reproduce objects of the past. But the quality of their reproductions depended on their ability to observe the objects carefully. Odam could do that well, notably due to his "archaeological" experience. He participated in excavations at important

Roman sites, where he had direct access to freshly discovered antique materials, including gems. Thus, Odam could study gems in relation to their find-spots. However, Odam was also an antiquary, who traded with top collectors, including aristocrats. As such, he experienced the pressure of finding items that would attract potential buyers. Furthermore, Odam also collected antiquities for himself, notably engraved gems.

This article aims to demonstrate that, in order to create high-quality depictions of engraved gems, the artist not only needed artistic talent and careful direct observation of the objects, but also a genuine interest in, and considerable connoisseurship of, engraved gems. Odam had these qualities, and was therefore able to produce some of the best visual documentations of intaglios and cameos created in the 18th century. His advances in this field ultimately contributed substantially to the transformation of antiquarianism into more scientifically oriented archaeological research.¹⁰

In this article, rather than focusing on Odam's artistic production, I try to reconstruct his antiquarian, collecting, and documentary activities in terms of engraved gems. To this end, recently rediscovered archival and pictorial resources are used—drawings of gems in the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków, the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin, and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana¹¹—as well as Odam's correspondence and two *dactyliothecae*: those of Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674–1755) and James Tassie (1735–1799).¹² This gives the necessary

¹⁰ On the importance of direct observation as a method in antiquarian studies, see Momigliano 1950, 300.

¹¹ The Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków, inv. no. MNK XV Rr. 2500–4746 (drawings) and R. 24430–24451 (prints). The Kunstbibliothek in Berlin, inv. no. OS4270a—*Pierres gravees du roi avec figures*, vols. 1–6. These materials constitute two large parts of what was originally Stosch's *Paper Museum of Gems*—a large collection of documentary drawings of gems made for Stosch, and they are currently being studied, see Gołyźniak *et al.* forthcoming. The drawings in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana were drawn by Ghezzi and acquired by Pope Benedict XIV in 1747, see Cod. Ott. lat. 3100–3125; Guerrini 1971, 47; Dorati da Empoli 2008, 24–25.

¹² Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* and Tassie *Dactyliotheca*. On Ghezzi's *Dactyliotheca*, see Alteri 1987, 8–12. A manuscript in the Biblioteca Marucelliana, MS. A.24, fol. 639, informs that Odam possessed his own *museo*. It probably included a *dactyliotheca* of gem impressions. I would like to thank Paolo Turcis from the Biblioteca Marucelliana for his kind help in my research on this issue. It was common for gem collectors at the time to assemble impressions and casts of gems, which is best illustrated by the cases of Stosch, Strozzi, and Ghezzi (see below)—all close friends of Odam. The impressions and casts of gems were made of various materials (glass or sulphur pastes, plaster etc., which were preferred over, for instance, wax due to their higher durability) and they were taken from original gems or they replicated already existing casts and impressions. The *dactyliothecae* were greatly popularized in the 1730s and later mainly due to Stosch's manservant and collaborator in the production of gem casts and impressions, Christian Dehn. Dehn worked for Stosch first in Rome from at least 1728, then in Florence. In 1739 Dehn returned to Rome, establishing his own business in the Via Condotti, where he produced and sold gem impressions. His shop was later in the Via Babuino

³ Haskell & Penny 1981, 49–50.

⁴ On the problems with reading iconography of antiquities by antiquarians, see Burke 2003, 292.

⁵ The collections of Sabbatini, Buonarrotti, Strozzi, Borioni, Ficoroni, del Carpio, Albani, Piccolomini, Riccardi, Vanni, Ottoboni, Odam (*sic*), and so on.

⁶ Agostini 1657; 1669. For the critical evaluation of Agostini's books, see Furtwängler 1900, vol. 3, 405.

⁷ de' Rossi & Maffei 1707–1709; Furtwängler 1900, vol. 3, 405–406.

⁸ Gori 1731–1732; Kagan 2006, 82.

⁹ On Stosch, his collection of engraved gems, and his book, see Lewis 1967; Heringa 1976; Zazoff & Zazoff 1983, 3–67; Whiteley 1999; Hansson 2014 (with more literature); Gołyźniak *et al.* forthcoming. For a detailed description of the development of glyptic studies prior to Stosch, see Furtwängler 1900, vol. 3, 402–409; Zazoff & Zazoff 1983, 30–46; Lang 2017, 199–204; Gołyźniak *et al.* forthcoming.

background for understanding why Odam was so successful in faithful reproduction of engraved gems. An ancillary of the research is a reconstruction of a list of intaglios and cameos once owned by Odam, catalogued in the *Appendix*.

Odam and the learned circles of gem enthusiasts

Hieronymus Odam (in Italian Girolamo Odam), was a multi-talented Italian artist active in the Baroque epoch. His family was from Lorraine, yet he was born in Rome c. 1681.¹³ He trained first under Carlo Maratta (drawing and painting), Carlo Fontana (architecture), and later Pier Leone Ghezzi¹⁴ (drawing in pen and ink) as well as Domenico Marchi (painting and engraving).¹⁵ He was recognized and appreciated as a pastel portraitist and landscape artist, as well as wood-engraver, sculptor, and even architect and poet.¹⁶ He was a member of the Accademia dell'Arcadia, where he was known as *Dorindo Nonacrino*, and similarly to Ghezzi—or perhaps because of him—Odam was a recognized figure within the

circles of artists and musicians in Rome.¹⁷ Like Ghezzi, Odam was well versed not only in art but also literature, philosophy, and mathematics.¹⁸ He lived in a house close to the Chiesa Nuova, which is today better known as the Chiesa di Santa Maria in Vallicella in Rome.¹⁹ His works are not well known and remain uncatalogued.²⁰

The wide palette of Odam's interests resulted in his recognition not only within the artistic circle but also other social circles. One of them was the antiquarian community of Rome. According to Ghezzi's text beneath a portrait of Odam (*Fig. 1*), Odam was regarded a good connoisseur of antiquities, and he was closely connected to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni.²¹ An essential part of an antiquary's career in the first half of the 18th century was networking, which enabled access to cabinets often treasured in secrecy. Ottoboni, a grand-nephew of Pope Alexander VIII, was a great patron of arts and music, but also an avid collector of engraved gems.²² The connection between Odam and Ottoboni seems non-coincidental, and it fits into a much wider network as Odam was acquainted with a number of early archaeologists, artists, restorers, collectors, and dealers active mostly in Rome and Florence. Several persons within this learned circle were also interested in engraved gems:²³ for example, Odam was a friend of Leone Strozzi,²⁴ as well as Pietro Andrea Andreini,²⁵ two very important mem-

and finally in the Corso. He sold both small and large sets of gem impressions as souvenirs for grand tourists. His business flourished so well that his son-in-law Francesco Maria Dolce and later his grandson Federico Dolce continued production of the *dactyliothecae* long after Dehn's death in 1770. For more information on Dehn, see Furtwängler 1900, vol. 3, 416–417; Eggers 1926, 230; Zazoff & Zazoff 1983, 55–56; Pizzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 281–282; Dorati da Empoli 2008, 65, n. 45; Knüppel 2009, 67–69; Kagan 2010, 135; Hansson 2014, 17; Tassinari 2019, 245–249 (with more literature). On the phenomenon of production of *dactyliothecae* in general, see Haskell & Penny 1981, 98; Kockel & Graepler 2006; Knüppel 2009. As one can see in the *Appendix*, the *dactyliothecae* of Lippert, Dehn/Dolce, Cades, Paoletti or Vettori were also extensively used to establish gems owned by Odam. However, only Ghezzi and Tassie made it explicit that some of their impressions and casts were taken from Odam's gems. The rest are supplementary sources referred to in the relevant records.

¹³ The earliest source for Odam's biography seems to be Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi, but his account lacks much key information, such as dates of birth and death. See Orlandi 1733, 261.

¹⁴ Ghezzi was a friend of Odam's and they both co-operated with Stosch on his book *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* as well as other projects; see some general studies of Ghezzi's life and career with more detailed bibliography: Guerrini 1971, 7–15; Bodart 1976; Hiesinger & Percy 1980, 23, no. 12; Lo Bianco 1985 (esp. 11–100); 1999; 2010; Martinelli 1990; Kieven 1991; Gallo 1999, 834; Loisel Legrand 1999; Rostriolla 2001; Cazort & Percy 2004, no. 43; Dorati da Empoli 2008, 9–15; 2009; 2017; Coen & Fidanza 2011; Prosperi Valenti Rodinò 2014; Luigi 2015, 177–190; Witte 2018.

¹⁵ Füssli 1810, 475; Guerrini 1971, 41.

¹⁶ Lanzi 1809, 232; Füssli 1810, 475; Cazort & Percy 2004, no. 27. Odam sculpted a funerary monument of a poet, Alessandro Guidi, which is now in the St Onuphry Church in Rome, see Dorati da Empoli 2008, 64, n. 42. For some general works on Odam, see Orlandi 1733, 261; le Blanc 1854, 113; Clark 1962, 150–151; von Ruysschaert 1964–1965 and especially the recent evaluation by Guerrieri Borsoi 2009.

¹⁷ Guerrieri Borsoi 2009, 162.

¹⁸ Cazort & Percy 2004, no. 27.

¹⁹ de'Ficoroni 1730, 100; Dorati da Empoli 2008, 64, n. 41.

²⁰ Hiesinger & Percy 1980, 22, no. 11.

²¹ London, the British Museum, inv. no. 1871.0812.1047. The text under Ghezzi's drawing reads as follows: “S.[igno]r Cav.[alie]r Girolamo Odam, conoscitore bravo nelle Antichità, mà pretendeva molto di sap[er] disegnare mà non valeva niente, et era assai ampolloso, e poi si attaccò à fare il cor-teggiano dal S.[igno]r Card.[ina]le Piero ottoboni fatto dà me Cav.[alie]r Ghezzi 30 Agosto 1730”.

²² He possessed four signed gems that were published in von Stosch 1724, pls. XIII, LXV, LXVI, LXVII. For more information about the gem collection of Cardinal Ottoboni, see Justi 1872, 306; Scarisbrick 1987, 90–91; Matitti 1997, 207–214.

²³ Hiesinger & Percy 1980, 22–23, no. 11.

²⁴ Strozzi formed one of the greatest collections of gems in Rome, which included twelve gems signed by ancient masters published in von Stosch's book *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* (1724, pls. VII, XVIII, XX, XXIII, XVI, XXXII, XXXVII, XLIII, LII, LVIII, LXI, LXIII). The collection was stolen in 1746, although some of Strozzi's gems were later discovered in the Museo Kircheriano. At some point, Duke Pierre-Louis Jean Casimir de Blacas d'Aulps purchased a major part of the collection from an unknown source, which was subsequently inherited by Dukes Louis Charles Pierre Casimir de Blacas and Pierre Marie François Casimir de Blacas, and 951 gems were finally sold to the British Museum in November 1866. Strozzi also collected impressions of gems made in a sulphur paste: he assembled 7,000 such impressions, see de'Ficoroni 1744, 20, 50, 54; Justi 1872, 305; Reinach 1895, 37; Zazoff & Zazoff 1983, 20; Ubaldelli 2001, 79–80; Guerrieri Borsoi 2004, esp. 26–36, 163–178; Dorati da Empoli 2008, 129, n. 70; Coen & Fidanza 2011, 13.

²⁵ Andreini was an important collector of engraved gems. He assembled about 300 gems and just as Strozzi, he had a good number of gems signed



Fig. 1. Pier Leone Ghezzi, pen and brown ink, 192 × 142 mm. 30 August 1730. Portrait of Hieronymus Odam. London, the British Museum, inv. no. 1871,0812.1047. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

bers of that circle. Odam was close to the Albani family as well, within which Cardinal Alessandro Albani had a particular interest in intaglios and cameos.²⁶ Moreover, Odam advised Alessandro Gregorio Capponi on gems and helped him to acquire several pieces for his collection.²⁷

by ancient masters that were published by von Stosch in 1724 (pls. V, XXXV, XLV, XLVI, LIV). Andreini's collection was purchased *en bloc* by Gian Gastone de' Medici in Florence in 1729 from Andreini's heir. For more information on Andreini, see Justi 1871, 4–5; Quartino 1978, 317–318; Micheli 1986, 40; Battista 1993; Mozzillo 1993, 439–441; Zwierlein-Diehl 2005, 325; 2007, 279; Tassinari 2010, 96; Dodero 2019, 120–121.

²⁶ Cardinal Albani was the leading collector of his era but also the leading exploiter and exporter of antiquities outside Italy, see Guerrini 1971, 28–30; Hiesinger & Percy 1980, 22, no. 11; Haskell & Penny 1981, 63–65; Cazort & Percy 2004, no. 27; Dorati da Empoli 2008, 122, n. 12; Guerrieri Borsoi 2009, 168; Ridley 2017, 211–212; Borchia 2019.

²⁷ Ubaldelli 2001, 83–84.



Fig. 2. Pier Leone Ghezzi, drawing, pen and brown ink, 270 × 395 mm. 1725. Stosch and the antiquarians of Rome. Vienna, Albertina Museum, inv. no. 1265. © Vienna, The Albertina Museum, photograph in public domain.

But above all, Odam was a close collaborator of Philipp von Stosch—the most important collector, connoisseur, and scholar of gems in the first half of the 18th century—for whom he drew thousands of gems (see below). The best illustration of Odam's wide connections is the fact that he appears on a drawing by Ghezzi depicting a gathering of antiquarians in Stosch's house in 1725 which, apart from Odam, included the following figures: Marcoantonio Sabbatini,²⁸ Stosch, Francesco Valesio,²⁹ Francesco Andreoli,³⁰ Giusto Fontanini,³¹ Francesco de' Ficoroni,³² Eduard Vitry,³³ Francesco Palazzi,³⁴ Francesco Bianchini,³⁵ Francesco Grazini,³⁶ Luigi Ferdinando Marsili,³⁷ Strozzi, and Ghezzi himself (Fig. 2).³⁸

²⁸ On Sabbatini, see Justi 1871, 24; Zazoff & Zazoff 1983, 14 and esp. Ridley 2017, 240, n. 184 (with more literature).

²⁹ On Valesio, see Engelmann 1909, 333, n. 2; Zazoff & Zazoff 1983, 12–13; di Bruschetti 1985–1986, 8; Dorati da Empoli 2008, 69, n. 68; Hansson 2014, 20; Ridley 2015; 2017, 243, n. 251 (with more literature).

³⁰ Ridley 2017, 240.

³¹ Ridley 2017, 217, n. 51.

³² Justi 1872, 302; Zazoff & Zazoff 1983, 118–120; Scarisbrick 1987, 92; Gallo 1999, 830–831; Ubaldelli 2001, 91–92; Ridley 2017 (with full bibliography).

³³ Ridley 2017, 260, n. 70 (with more literature).

³⁴ Spier & Kagan 2000, 42–44, 55–61, 65–67; Ridley 2017, 235, n. 179 (with more literature).

³⁵ In 1697, Bianchini decided to write a true universal history of the world from its creation to the present day, using eclectic images of ancient statues, reliefs, and other artefacts as sources for illustrations of the early stages of history (Bianchini 1697). On Bianchini in general, including his approach to antiquity, see Sölch 2007; Heilbron 2022.

³⁶ Justi 1872, 301; Ridley 2017, 231, n. 160.

³⁷ Ridley 2017, 232, n. 169.

³⁸ Interestingly, Odam is absent from another such a gathering documented by Ghezzi in 1728, see Cod. Ott. lat. 3116, fol. 191 (dated

Antiquarian activities—dealing in engraved gems

As noted, Odam is known to have acted as agent for Capponi, helping him to buy gems. Odam also bought some gems from Capponi even as late as 1739. One such purchase was *App. No. 113, Fig. 3*.³⁹ In his letter to Gori dated 25 November 1739, Odam sent his drawing, description, and wax impression of that gem. Such testimonies are priceless for reconstruction of contacts between gem collectors at the time, but they are exceedingly rare. However, as we shall see, gem drawings recently discovered in Kraków, Berlin, and the Vatican prove that Odam was a dealer in intaglios and cameos on a rather significant scale. From one of Ghezzi's gem drawings now in the Vatican (*No. 76*), one learns that the original gem must have been in Odam's cabinet since at least 1736. From the archives related to Capponi one learns that Odam sold that particular gem to Capponi in 1738.⁴⁰ Odam drew for Stosch a red jasper intaglio from his own collection, *No. 14*. This was most likely prior to 1726 but certainly before 1732, because that year Gori published this intaglio in his *Museum Florentinum*, where it is presented as part of Francesco Vettori's cabinet.⁴¹ Vettori was an important collector of ancient marbles, gems, and coins and an accomplished scholar. Furthermore, he appears to have been one of Odam's regular clients.⁴² In the case of the carnelian intaglio *No. 1*, one deals with a similar situation. The intaglio, once owned by Odam, was drawn by Odam for Stosch. In 1732 that very same gem was published by Gori as already belonging to his collection.⁴³ There was a connection between Odam and Gori, which is also clear from their correspondence (see below).

The archives are also informative as regards Odam's importance as a dealer in engraved gems. For example, an important English collector connected to Odam was Henry Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle (see *Nos. 44* and *116*). Odam describes his relationship with Lord Carlisle in a letter sent to Gori on 14 June 1739: Odam states that he met Lord Carlisle for the first time in 1719 and that since then they had been friends.⁴⁴ Proof of that comes in the form of another letter addressed to



Fig. 3 (No. 113). Chalcedony intaglio, 13 × 16 mm, 1st century BC. Stylus with a case and inscription PILOCRATE. The National Museum in Kraków, inv. no. MNK IV-Ew-Zł-1719. © Photographic Studio of the National Museum in Kraków.

Gori (26 March 1740), where one learns that Odam became an agent to Lord Carlisle, who instructed Odam to buy at any cost the burnt sard signed by Aulos and showing Venus playing with Cupid (*Fig. 5*). This gem was at the time owned by Vettori (see below).⁴⁵

Furthermore, Odam would report to Gori on a regular basis on his own purchases, which helps to understand the importance of Odam's position in the art market for intaglios and cameos in Rome: for example, in a letter from 23 April 1740, Odam writes that the Duchessa Vedova from Siena came to his place so he could inspect her intaglios and cameos. At this occasion Odam purchased the six best pieces from the Duchess's collection, including an important and beautiful cameo with a portrait of Messalina.⁴⁶ Odam also planned to take part in the sale that followed the death of Ottoboni, during which he noted in particular a green chalcedony intaglio engraved with a portrait of Heliogabalus.⁴⁷ In letters from 7 February and 13 August 1740, Odam informs Gori that Rome had be-

10 October 1728). See, a discussion on these drawings in Zazoff & Zazoff 1983, 9–11, pls. 2–3.

³⁹ That gem was originally owned by Filippo Buonarroti in Florence, Capponi had it since 1728, and then Odam since 1738. The later owners remain unknown until the intaglio re-emerged in the Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński (1818–1889) collection and it is now preserved in the National Museum in Kraków, see Ubaldelli 2001, app. 2, no. 1b; Gołyźniak 2017, no. 215 (with full commentary).

⁴⁰ Ubaldelli 2001, 313–314, no. 261.

⁴¹ Gori 1731–1732, vol. 2, pl. 40.3.

⁴² Guerrini 1971, 44–45; Carpita 2012, 107.

⁴³ Gori 1731–1732, vol. 2, pl. 40.1.

⁴⁴ Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori, vol. BVII21, carte 12r–13r.

⁴⁵ Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori, vol. BVII21, carte 27r–29bis: “Milord Carlisle mi scrisse che averebbe comprato ad ogni prezzo la sua Venerabile col nome esso mi rispose che avendola pubblicata ex museo Victorio non pose a privarsene ...”. Regarding the gem itself, it is now kept in London, the British Museum, inv. no. 1913,0307.189, see Vettori 1739, 10–13; Tassie *Dactylionthea*, no. 6320; Dalton 1915, no. 643; Rudoc 2003, 138, fig. 122.

⁴⁶ Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori, vol. BVII21, carte 32r–33v.

⁴⁷ Letter from 21 May 1740. Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori, vol. BVII21, carte 38r–40r.



Fig. 4 (No. 59). Carnelian intaglio, 13 × 10 mm, late 1st century BC. Two young athletes wrestling, watched over by two old men, one with a stick and the second with a palm branch. A herm on the left side. Inscription I ΠΑ ΙΣ. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. GS-00256. © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

come greatly involved in a sort of *gemmomania*.⁴⁸ Ultimately, Odam must have developed an impressive network of contacts while acting as an agent to many more collectors. This is evidenced by one more interesting example—the gem here catalogued as No. 112. According to Bruschetti, this gem was donated to the Accademia Etrusca in Cortona by de’Rossi in 1761. De’Rossi had purchased it in Rome, most likely from Odam. Adolf Furtwängler ascribed this gem to Odam’s collection.⁴⁹

Furthermore, Odam was not only a collector and dealer in gems but a serious connoisseur with whom scholars tended to consult and discuss various aspects of glyptic art. Typically for the age of the “Republic of Letters,” the exchange of knowledge happened mostly through correspondence. Interestingly, in his letters to Gori, Odam often discusses gems and answers questions asked by Gori. For example, in his letter sent on 11 July 1739, Odam explains to Gori that the gem featuring Leander that Gori had sent him for consultation is not an Etruscan piece. In the same letter, Odam recalls his considerable experience obtained by drawing hundreds of gems. It is also made clear that Odam must have been particularly proud of possessing the black jasper intaglio with a satyr (Marsyas?) signed Nicolaus (No. 33, Fig. 22). Odam furthermore supposes that one of the gems from his collection representing Marsyas (No. 31 or 36?) is based on an ancient statuary prototype.⁵⁰ In another letter to Gori, Odam claims that his gem featuring a

horse rider (No. 61 or 62?) must originally have belonged to someone who kept it as a remembrance token of his victory in a race.⁵¹ In a letter sent to Gori on 7 September 1740, Odam comments on a cameo bearing the head of a mime belonging to Bellisario Ansidei, and also shares his observations on Augustan cameos in general.⁵² As one can see, Odam frequently discussed gems with Gori.⁵³ Sometimes Odam tried to figure out the meaning of individual pieces, such as the “Late Antique cameo” with an engraved letter A.⁵⁴ It is perhaps not a coincidence that the gems featuring Marsyas interested Odam, as one of his letters sent to Gori suggests, because Odam possessed at least three stones featuring this subject, including the one signed Nicolaus (Nos. 31–33).⁵⁵

Dealing with gems in the first half of the 18th century became a highly profitable business with the increasing inflow to Rome of grand tourists and the loosening of a ban on the export of antiquities (if one was appropriately connected, like Odam, with Stosch and the Albani family). The publication of Stosch’s book *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* in 1724 was a major stimulus for the market in engraved gems, especially the signed specimens and the ones bearing inscriptions. Since the Renaissance, the copying of ancient gems had been a well-established practice of all adepts of glyptic art, especially during their training period. Naturally, there were also cases when copies of ancient gems were sold as genuinely ancient pieces to uneducated visitors and inexperienced collectors. Sometimes, ancient gems were “improved,” usually with inscriptions, to make them more attractive to potential buyers. Among the gems once belonging to Odam, there is an interesting specimen—No. 59 (Fig. 4)—which later entered the cabinet of Baron Frederick de Thoms. On the documentary drawing made by Ghezzi (who states that it belonged to Odam), that very intaglio bears no inscription. Currently it has the Greek letters I ΠΑ ΙΣ added to it.⁵⁶ It seems improbable for Ghezzi to have omitted the inscription on his drawing. Could it be that Odam had the inscription added by an engraver to raise the value of the piece?

⁴⁸ Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori, vol. BVII21, carte 24r–26r.

⁴⁹ Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori, vol. BVII21, carte 51r–52r.

⁵⁰ Some further evidence for this comes from the following letters (all from Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori): Odam to Gori 15 June 1740, where Odam discusses a cameo with a mask of Silenus, vol. BVII21, carte 45r–46v. In a letter from 25 June 1740 Odam discusses a cameo presenting a mime, see vol. BVII21, carte 47r–48v. Engraved gems are also mentioned several more times, see a letter to Gori of unknown date, vol. BVII21, carte 45r–46v. A cameo from the Stanhope collection in Milan with a portrait of Messalina is discussed in a letter dated 30 April 1740, vol. BVII21, carte 34r–35r. Further letters including discussions on gems are vol. BVII21, carte 98r–100v, 101r–102v.

⁵¹ Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori, vol. BVII21, carte 68r–68v.

⁵² Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori, vol. BVII21, carte 93r–94r.

⁵³ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 256.

⁴⁸ Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori, vol. BVII21, carte 49r–50r, 61r–62r.

⁴⁹ Furtwängler 1900, vol. 1, pl. XLVI.24, vol. 2, 145; di Bruschetti 1985–1986, 61–62, no. 61.

⁵⁰ Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori, vol. BVII21, carte 16r–21v.



Fig. 5. Aulos, burnt sard intaglio, 21 × 18 mm, third quarter of the 1st century BC. Venus seated on a rock playing with Cupid with a rod, signature in Greek: AVAOC. The British Museum, London, inv. no. 1913,0307.189. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.



Fig. 6. Lorenz Natter, carnelian intaglio, 18 × 16 mm, c. 1735. Danae seated on a rock supporting herself with one hand, beneath the groundline inscription AVAOC. The British Museum, London, inv. no. 1867,0507.12. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Indeed, archival sources suggest that Odam commissioned copies of gems signed by ancient masters. Lorenz Natter, one of the most famous gem engravers of the 18th century, says that he copied a gem with Venus playing with Cupid signed by Aulos (Fig. 5)⁵⁷ on Odam's behalf. But on the copy the subject was turned into a Danae. The copy was indeed presented by Natter as signed by Aulos, as Natter copied the signature from the original gem very faithfully.⁵⁸ This must have happened shortly after Natter's arrival in Rome in 1735 when Odam was probably testing whether Natter was capable of faithful emulation of the techniques and style of the ancient engraver Aulos. It is crucial that Natter later sold the gem to Karl Maximilian, 6th Prince of Dietrichstein, as his own work, not as an ancient piece.⁵⁹ Natter's copy was long considered lost, but has been recently identified in the collection of the British Museum. It was acquired by the museum in 1867 from the collection of Louis Charles Pierre Casimir, Duc de Blacas d'Aulps, into which it must at some point have found its way (Fig. 6).

No definite answer can be given on the issue of whether Odam participated in the distribution of fraudulent gems or not. From the preserved corpus of his gems, all the information in his letters to Gori, and finally the case of commissioning Natter to copy a gem, it is clear that Odam's interest in gems went far beyond regular business and simple collecting. He must have been seriously involved in the study of ancient engraved gems. The large commissions from Stosch testify to that, and especially to Odam's considerable knowledge in mineralogy, as he was capable of correct identification of the gemstones (see below). Furthermore, according to Ghezzi, Odam would exchange with him glass pastes of gems.⁶⁰ From Odam's correspondence with Gori, it is clear that Odam became an important figure in Rome whom not only the most important collectors, but also scholars studying intaglios and cameos, would consult on a regular basis. Odam also belonged to the close circle of Stosch, who carefully studied the techniques of ancient gem engravers, trying to differentiate individual styles.⁶¹ Since Natter became a member of that very same cir-

⁵⁷ This gem is now in London, the British Museum, inv. no. 1913,0307.189, see Vettori 1739, 10–13; Tassie *Dactyliotheica*, no. 6320; Dalton 1915, no. 643; Rudoe 2003, 138. fig. 122.

⁵⁸ Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 300–302.

⁵⁹ Natter 1754, pl. XXVIII; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 300–302.

⁶⁰ For example, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 65: "Questo disegno e stato cavato da una pasta antica color di topazio da ... ed acta che mi fu donate dal Cav. Odam la quale ceramm ...".

⁶¹ On this issue, see Gołyźniak *et al.* forthcoming.

cle, one imagines that Odam, in order to correctly draw gems for Stosch, was concerned with techniques of ancient engravers too. Therefore, the mutual collaboration and copying of the above-mentioned intaglio by Aulos seems to have served educational rather than fraudulent purposes. After all, a few years later, Natter published his tremendously important treatise on the art of gem carving, where he explained the work, techniques, and styles of ancient and contemporary gem engravers and encouraged beginners to copy from the antique.⁶²

A sought-after illustrator

As discussed above, Odam was well connected within the circle of Roman antiquarians. Because of his considerable artistic talents combined with profound knowledge of antiquities, especially engraved gems, Odam was often employed by his peers to prepare illustrations for books, flyers, and other publications. In fact, Odam was employed for several major projects. For example, he made the preparatory drawings for the accompanying plates to Gori's work *Monumentum sive columbarium libertorum et servorum Liviae Augustae Et Caesarum: Romae Detectum in Via Appia*, published in Florence in 1727.⁶³ In the case of this publication, Odam's fascination with antiquity, and engraved gems in particular, is made clear by the fact that he depicted them when illustrating vignettes.⁶⁴ In 1729, Cardinal Melchior de Polignac organized a festival at Piazza Navona in Rome, in order to celebrate the birth of the son of the French king Louis XV. The illustrated volume *Carlo Magno: festa teatrale in occasione della nascita del Delfino* commemorates this occasion and Odam provided decorative drawings for the surrounds of the plates.⁶⁵ Furthermore, Odam illustrated Vettori's *Dissertatio glyptographica*, published in Rome in 1739.⁶⁶ Another project Odam contributed to was Ficoroni's *Le vestigia e rarità di Roma antica ricercate e spiegate*. The book was published by Ficoroni in 1744, but a few years earlier Odam had prepared an illustration of a red jasper intaglio which was included in the book.⁶⁷

⁶² Natter 1754.

⁶³ Gori 1727; Guerrieri Borsoi 2009, 168–170.

⁶⁴ For example, Gori 1727, pl. XXXV.

⁶⁵ Cazort & Percy 2004, no. 27.

⁶⁶ Vettori 1739; Guerrieri Borsoi 2009, 168–169.

⁶⁷ de Ficoroni 1744, 185. The intaglio depicts the busts of Pupienus (AD 238), Balbinus (AD 238), and Gordian III (AD 238–244) on one side and the Capitoline triad on the other. Odam's original drawing and its engraving are now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Cod. Capponi I 24, fols. 1–2, see Ubaldelli 2001, 55–56, n. 232. It is well possible that originally, this illustration was meant to be a flyer advertising the gem, and that Ficoroni later found the illustration useful for his book. Odam used to draw such flyers also for Stosch, see Gołyźniak *et al.* forthcoming. The original gem Odam reproduced was once in the Ficoroni collection and is now in the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich, see

Odam, Stosch, and the *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*

The most significant project Odam participated in was Stosch's book entitled *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*, published in 1724 in Amsterdam. As early as 1715, Odam began his collaboration with Stosch, for whom he drew gems, usually from their impressions, for this publication.⁶⁸ Carl Justi claims that Odam drew almost all the plates before they were transformed into engravings.⁶⁹ One finds further confirmation of this in Stosch's correspondence.⁷⁰ However, Stosch credits Odam not only with the preparation of many drawings but he also mentions that he would not have written the volume without Odam's encouragement and help. Indeed, there are other sources suggesting that Odam was an important advisor to Stosch on many signed gems.⁷¹ In any case, at some point Stosch must have lost control over the production of the plates for his book. He submitted drawings made by Odam, as well as by other artists, to Bernard Picart, the publisher in Amsterdam. However, Picart redrew all the illustrations on his own and made the final engravings.⁷² Despite that, the recent discovery of Odam's original drawings made for Stosch proves that it is Odam who should be accredited for making the most profound advance as regards faithful visual documentation of original gems—as illustrated in Stosch's book.⁷³

The recent archival research on the production of Stosch's *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* reveals that up to 1718 Odam most likely produced 60 out of the 70 preliminary drawings for the

AGDS I.3, no. 2459. Odam belonged to the circle of antiquarians tied to Ficoroni, see Ridley 2017, 240.

⁶⁸ Letter from Stosch to Fagel, 10 August 1715 (quoted in Heringa 1976, no. 23—Archives of the Fagel family, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, inv. 2028). In this letter, Stosch expresses his intention of writing a book on ancient signed gems, he writes that he collected glass pastes taken from original intaglios and cameos, and that he has employed Odam to draw them for the forthcoming book.

⁶⁹ Justi 1871, 28–29; 1872, 334.

⁷⁰ For example, in a letter from Stosch to Lord Carlisle, Stosch writes that the cameo with a bust of Phocion signed by Pyrgoteles was drawn by Odam for Stosch's book and that it was later engraved by Picart, see Scarisbrick 1987, 104.

⁷¹ von Stosch 1724, III. Strodtmann (1754, 26) makes it clear that Stosch consulted with Strozzi and Odam for his book.

⁷² On the production process of Stosch's book, see Heringa 1976; Zazoff & Zazoff 1983, 24–29; Whiteley 1999; Hansson 2014, 18–21 and esp. Gołyźniak *et al.* forthcoming.

⁷³ It is likely that Odam also designed the frames later used by Picart in Stosch's book. For the preliminary drawings for Stosch's book, Odam drew the gems inside earlier-prepared frames (all surviving examples suggest them to be made according to the same design) and wrote short texts on them in the caption fields, as evidenced in *Figs. 7 and 9*. No preparatory drawing of the frame itself survived, so his authorship is not certain in this matter. However, he used to design such frames, as evidenced by the design for a flyer (*Fig. 12* below), although usually in a much more elaborated form.

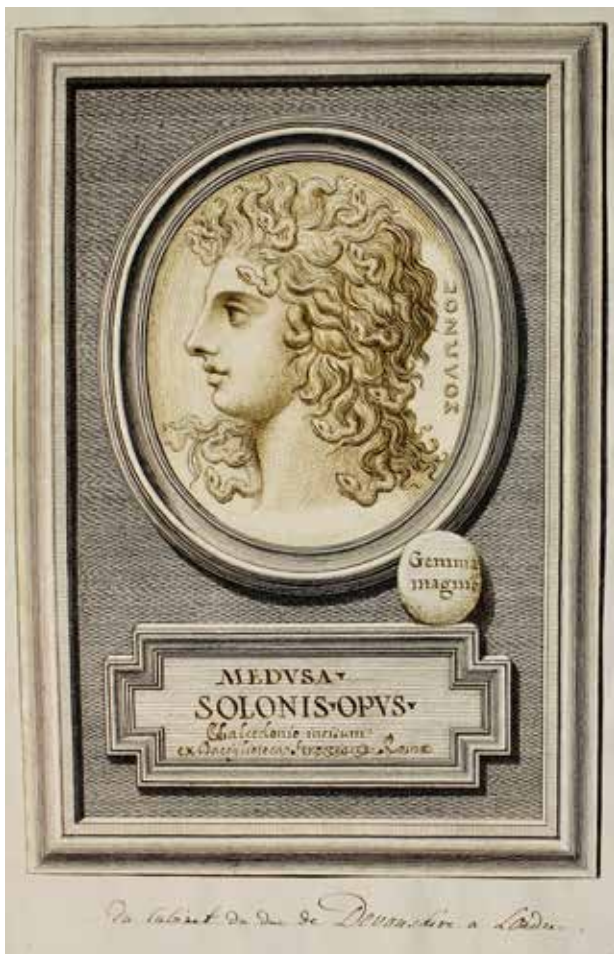


Fig. 7. Hieronymus Odam, pencil, silverpoint, and brown ink, 127 × 113 mm. 1715–1722. Head of Medusa, signature in Greek: ΣΟΛΩΝΟC. A preliminary drawing for Stosch 1724, pl. LXIII. The National Museum in Kraków, Collections of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. MNK XV Rr. 3742. Photograph by Paweł Gołyźniak.

book.⁷⁴ This is physically confirmed by the 55 drawings attributed to Odam and related to Stosch's project now dispersed between the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków and the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin.⁷⁵ They are made in pen and brown ink with a hatched background. The illustrations were first sketched with graphite, then silverpoint was used, and finally ink. These drawings reveal Odam's outstanding skills in terms of visual reproduction of the original intaglios and cameos as well as his considerable attention to detail and accuracy



Fig. 8. Solon, chalcedony intaglio, 30 × 25 mm, c. 50 BC. Head of Medusa, signature in Greek: ΣΟΛΩΝΟC. The British Museum, London, inv. no. 1867,0507.389. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

(Figs. 7–9, 11, 22). His depictions of gems are of greater quality than other illustrations that were published in the 17th and early 18th centuries. For example, the drawing of the famous Strozzi Medusa⁷⁶ illustrates that Odam did not follow the standard schematic, stiff, and dry execution. On contrary, he offers a lively and elaborate treatment using cross-hatching in the background imitating the curves and shadowing in the gemstone. The proportions of the head and neck of the Medusa are perfect and the facial elements as well as the hair with the many snakes intertwined are done with utmost care. The drawing was most likely made after an impression—in the illustration Medusa faces left instead of right—but it is strikingly close to the original gem (Figs. 7–8).

Picart, the publisher of Stosch's book, claimed that Odam's illustrations were unfaithful to the original gems and executed in bad style. Yet Odam's drawings prove to be of no lower standard than Picart's own works. This is well illustrated by a comparison of Odam's and Picart's drawings of a beryl intag-

⁷⁴ Guerrieri Borsoi 2004, 170–171. The rest was prepared by Ghezzi, Theodorus Netscher, and Anton Maria Zanetti.

⁷⁵ A detailed study of these drawings will be presented in Gołyźniak *et al.* forthcoming.

⁷⁶ A chalcedony intaglio signed by Solon (c. 50 BC) and discovered between c. 1700 and 1709 in a vineyard on the Caelian Hill in Rome. London, the British Museum, inv. no. 1867,0507.389 (once in the Albani, Strozzi, and Blacas collections), see Gołyźniak 2020, no. 8.11 (with earlier literature).



Fig. 9. Hieronymus Odam, pencil, silverpoint, and brown ink, 127 × 113 mm. 1715–1722. Head of Heracles with a club. Signature in Greek: ΓΝΑΙΟC. A preliminary drawing for Stosch 1724, pl. XXIII. The National Museum in Kraków, Collections of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. MNK XV Rr. 3521. Photograph by Paweł Gołyźniak.

lio featuring a head of Heracles (Figs. 9–11).⁷⁷ Both drawings are strikingly faithful to the original gem and they are almost identical.⁷⁸ The discovery of the drawings in Kraków and Berlin reveals that Picart's claims were unfair. Most likely Picart accused Odam of inaccuracy for entirely selfish reasons. As it would seem, Picart did not want to be recognized merely as publisher, but also as the illustrator of the book. Picart acknowledges Odam's preliminary work directly only in the case of ten plates,⁷⁹ but it is now evident that Odam produced



Fig. 10. Bernard Picart, red chalk, 121 × 100 mm, c. 1722–1723. Head of Heracles with a club. Signature in Greek: ΓΝΑΙΟC. A preliminary drawing for Stosch 1724, pl. XXIII. The Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Anthony Morris Clark, 1978, acc. no. 1978-70-383.

many more drawings for Stosch's book and that his work gave a direction of how the whole book should be illustrated. In this way Odam established an unprecedented quality of the images of gems, with great faithfulness to the originals.

It is clear that Odam's drawings of the gems selected by Stosch for his book were made according to highly set standards. Not only should the artistic virtuosity of the drawings of the gems be appreciated, but also Odam's efforts to show differences in the signatures and indicate all imperfections of the gems, such as chips and cracks. All of this was clearly done to meet the expectations of his commissioner, Stosch, who believed that each artist in antiquity developed his own style and that consequently, the gems should be drawn with the utmost care and close faithfulness to the originals.⁸⁰ Indeed, the

⁷⁷ Heracles is depicted with a club. The intaglio is signed by Gnaeus and dated to the third quarter of the 1st century BC. Now in London, the British Museum, inv. no. 1867,0507.318 (once in the Andreini, Strozzi, and Blacas collections).

⁷⁸ Odam's drawing is in the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków, inv. no. MNK XV Rr. 3521. Picart's drawing is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, acc. no. 1978-70-383.

⁷⁹ The plates are: von Stosch 1724, pls. XIV, XVII, XXI, XXVI, XXXII, XLII, XLIII, LVII, LX, LXVII. For a discussion on the plates in Stosch's book, see Heringa 1976 and especially Gołyźniak *et al.* forthcoming.

⁸⁰ This view is expressed by Stosch in his letter to Gijsbert Cuper sent from Rome on 8 August 1716: "Les empreintes des pierres gravees avec le nom des graveurs anciens (que j'ay ramassé avec une fatigue incroyable) en faisant ob-



Fig. 11. Gnaeus, beryl intaglio, 24 × 20 mm, third quarter of the 1st century BC. Head of Heracles with a club, signature in Greek: ΓΝΑΙΟC. The British Museum, London, inv. no. 1867,0507.318. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

antiquarian interest had initially focused mostly on subject matter and iconography, whereas formal and stylistic aspects became increasingly important as the 18th century drew on. The unprecedented quality of Odam's drawings, combined with Stosch's highly set standards regarding the importance of technique and style, was completely revolutionary at the time and it contributed considerably to the success of Stosch's book. In fact, the illustrations in Stosch's *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* are still regarded as the most faithful illustrations of gems before the age of photography.⁸¹

server exactement dans le dessin le caractère de l'ouvrage d'un chacun ... Dans les explication des gravures j'espère donner au public une idée non seulement des figures que les gemmes représentent, mais de la beauté de la sculpture en quoi diffère le style de l'un de celui de l'autre ouvrier. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, inv. 72H25 (quoted in Heringa 1976, 77, n. 41).

⁸¹ Furtwängler 1900, vol. 3, 409–410; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 279–280. On the reception of Stosch's book after its publication, see Golyźniak *et al.* forthcoming.



Fig. 12. Hieronymus Odam, pencil, silverpoint, and brown ink, 409 × 277 mm. 1715–1722. Head of Medusa, signature in Greek: ΣΟΛΩΝΟC. A preliminary drawing for a flyer project. The Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Anthony Morris Clark, 1978, acc. no. 1978-70-373.

In the early stages of his co-operation with Stosch Odam also produced a number of flyers, which were distributed in Rome among antiquarians interested in gems. The flyers were made in the same vein as his drawings for Stosch's book. One such flyer depicts the above-mentioned Strozzi Medusa (Fig. 12).⁸² Odam also made two known versions of engravings after this drawing, the earlier dated 1715 and the later 1717.⁸³ Both are very faithful to the original design in terms of style, and stipple is used to mimic silverpoint on Medusa's

⁸² The original drawing by Odam is preserved in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, acc. no. 1978-70-373. It entered the museum in 1978 as a bequest of Anthony Morris Clark, who in turn received it as a gift from Andrew Ciechanowiecki in 1975. The earlier provenance of this drawing is unknown, see Hiesinger & Percy 1980, 22–23, no. 11; Cazort & Percy 2004, no. 27; Guerrieri Borsoi 2004, 168.

⁸³ Both are now in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome, vol. 35.H.13. 1715 version: inv. no. 37319. 1717 version: inv. no. 37318 (Guerrieri Borsoi 2009, 168). The drawing in Philadelphia was made for the 1715 version. Cazort & Percy 2004, no. 27.



Fig. 13. Hieronymus Odam, pen and brown ink with grey wash, 240 × 250 mm, c. 1715. The so-called “Michelangelo’s seal” depicting a celebration or sacrifice in honour of Bacchus during the grape harvest. The National Museum in Kraków. Collections of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. MNK XV Rr. 2573. Photograph by Paweł Gołyźniak.

face which gives the profile an unusual and softly modelled appearance. Odam put his drawing into a wildly elaborated frame—a speciality of his, especially in the cases where the drawings were intended to be published as single items. The resulting prints were distributed by Stosch to other antiquarians like Pierre-Jean Mariette and they were greatly appreciated for their accuracy and skillful execution.⁸⁴ Another similar case is Odam’s drawing of a sardonyx intaglio set in ancient gold ring.⁸⁵ The drawing was certainly made for Stosch who likely owned the gem and sold or gave it to Henry Davenant, the British envoy extraordinary in Florence. Davenant came to Rome in 1722 to discuss diplomatic matters with Stosch. Odam set the drawing in an extraordinarily rich mount, simi-

lar the one used for the flyer depicting the Strozzi Medusa, suggesting its intended publication as a single print, even though no such print has yet been recorded.⁸⁶

Pictorial recording of intaglios and cameos for Stosch

The fruitful co-operation between Odam and Stosch in terms of visual reproduction of engraved gems was continued after the publication of the *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*. A very interesting piece of information regarding this is provided by Odam himself. In a letter to Gori from 1738, Odam writes that when Stosch came to Rome for the first time in 1715,

⁸⁴ Mariette 1750, vol. 1, 332.

⁸⁵ Drawing in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, acc. no. WA2014.49. Intaglio in the Devonshire collection at Chatsworth. The sardonyx intaglio depicts Diomedes ascending from an altar with the Palladion and a sword in his hands. The gem is signed by Gnaeus (ΓΝΑΙΟΥ). Gołyźniak 2020, no. 10.5 (with earlier literature).

⁸⁶ Odam’s drawings from Oxford and Philadelphia are signed, and they help to attribute the ones found in Kraków and Berlin to his hand with absolute certainty.



Fig. 14 (No. 13). Hieronymus Odam, pen and brown ink with grey wash, 170 × 139 mm, c. 1718–1726. Adonis wearing a short tunic and sandals or shin guards stands to the front with his javelin, his dog at his feet. The National Museum in Kraków. Collections of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. MNK XV Rr. 2552. Photograph by Paweł Gołyźniak.

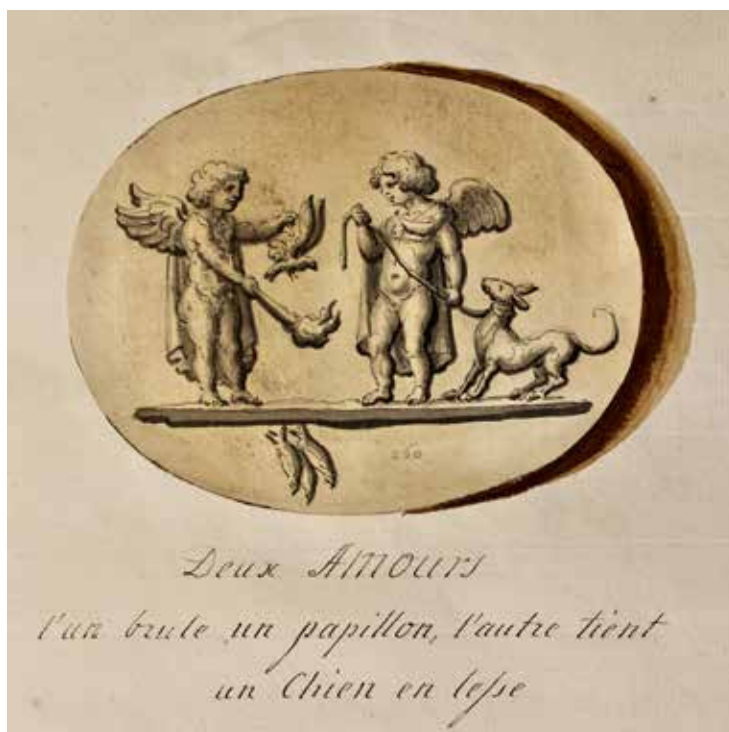


Fig. 15 (No. 23). Hieronymus Odam, pen and brown ink with grey wash, 115 × 162 mm, c. 1718–1726. Two Cupids in cloaks, one with a dog on a leash, the second with a dove and a burning torch in his hands. Below the groundline three fish. The National Museum in Kraków. Collections of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. MNK XV Rr. 4731. Photograph by Paweł Gołyźniak.

Odam had a chance to compare the impression of the famous so-called “Michelangelo’s seal” and a number of circulating prints of that gem (certainly those by Élisabeth Sophie Chéron). Because the prints proved to be inaccurate, Odam drew the gem anew. The exceptionally large drawing that Odam made is now in the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków (Fig. 13).⁸⁷ However, even more interesting is what Odam writes in his letter:

*Io poi ne feci un disegno esatto che è nelle mani del Baron Stosch siccome si ritrova fatti di mia mano due mila e settecento disegni di gemme che esso poi gli hà levato il gusto del suo carattere antico con farle ridisegnare da uno tedesco che vi hà posto il suo carattere ma questo sia detto con il mio sigillo di segretezza di amicizia.*⁸⁸

The number of 2,700 drawings of gems made for Stosch seems surprisingly high at first glance, but apparently Odam does not exaggerate in his letter to Gori as Justi confirms that exact number.⁸⁹ The serial production of gem drawings by Odam for Stosch is now physically confirmed by 1,933 drawings recently discovered in the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków (1,856 drawings) and the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin (77 examples) (Nos. 8, 13, 17, 23, Figs. 14–17). These drawings are

⁸⁷ The original carnelian intaglio engraved by Pier Maria Serbaldi da Pescia is now in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, inv. no. 58.2337. See Mariette 1750, vol. 2, no. XLVII; Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 4373; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 880. Stosch possessed a glass paste made after it which was once in Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 8833. See Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 1580, p. 255; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.1580 (with full bibliography). An interesting copy of that intaglio was once in the Marlborough collection, see Boardman *et al.* 2009, no. 735. The so-called “Michelangelo’s seal”, with its extraordinary subject matter, was often discussed in the 18th century, and was drawn also by Edmé Bouchardon, see Kopp 2017, 138–140, fig. 105.

⁸⁸ Letter from Odam to Gori, Rome, 21 December 1738, *Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori*, vol. BVII21, carte 8r–9v. I am grateful to Hadrien J. Rambach for referring me to this letter.

⁸⁹ Justi 1871, 29; 1872, 334.



Fig. 16 (No. 17). Hieronymus Odam, pen and brown ink with grey wash, 122 × 164 mm, c. 1718–1726. Cupid riding a chariot drawn by a horse to the right. The National Museum in Kraków. Collections of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. MNK XV Rr: 4593. Photograph by Paweł Gołyźniak.



Fig. 17 (No. 8). Hieronymus Odam, pen and brown ink with grey wash, 184 × 151 mm, c. 1718–1726, Mercury wearing petasus and a cloak runs to the left with caduceus and little Dionysus in his hands. The National Museum in Kraków. Collections of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. MNK XV Rr: 2747. Photograph by Paweł Gołyźniak.

of the same kind as the one reproducing the famous “Michelangelo’s seal” described above.⁹⁰ These drawings are of lower artistic quality than those produced for the *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* but their documentary value is still highly significant.

They are all made in pen and brown or dark grey ink with a grey wash. Occasionally, the artist drew the surface of the gem in the wash in a different colour (black, brown, marine blue, violet, red, and yellow), which reflects the layers of the gem in cases when the original was a cameo or a glass paste. Every single gem is considerably enlarged, usually to ten times its original size so that all details appearing on the gems are clear in full. Generally, the scale of the reproduced objects is taken into account, which means smaller stones are slightly less enlarged and vice versa, and their shapes are carefully drawn too. The state of preservation of individual gems is indicated, with chips and breaks drawn with a dotted line. Most of the drawings have (or originally had⁹¹) actual-size gem

drawings at the bottom-left side. This was primarily done to give a sense of the real dimensions of the intaglios and cameos reproduced. Odam also added information there on the type of gemstone or whether it was an intaglio, cameo, glass gem, or a glass paste. Even though this information is not always accurate, it is important to realize that Odam provided it, which demonstrates that his knowledge in the field of mineralogy was considerable. Another distinctive feature are the caption fields beneath the enlarged gems. These were intended to provide short texts specifying the gems’ subject matters.⁹² Last but not least, the drawings include provenance information (mentioning in which collection the object was kept at the time of its documentation), which appears below the caption field. In many cases the provenance information is labelled as of Odam’s own collection (cf. *Appendix*).

⁹⁰ A detailed discussion on these drawings will be presented in Gołyźniak *et al.* forthcoming.

⁹¹ The drawings bought by Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski in 1800 in Florence were transferred by his mother Izabela Czartoryska on to new paper, which sometimes resulted in a loss of some original matter, such

as the actual-size gem drawing or original comment added beneath the drawing. These were usually directly rewritten or replaced by one Czartoryska had written herself (paraphrasing original text).

⁹² The references to Winckelmann’s 1760 catalogue usually appear there unless in the bottom of the enlarged gem too (Figs. 9, 11). These were added later, some perhaps considerably later, and they are not a part of the original design.



Fig. 18. Hieronymus Odam, pen and brown ink with grey wash, 179 × 143 mm, c. 1718–1726. Assyrian priest making a sacrifice at an altar in front of him, sun disc above. The National Museum in Kraków: Collections of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. MNK XV Rr. 4272. Photograph by Paweł Gołyźniak.



Fig. 19. Chalcedony Neo-Babylonian seal, 27 × 15 mm, 8th century BC. Assyrian priest making a sacrifice at an altar in front of him, sun disc above. Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, inv. no. VA 769. © Olaf M. Tessmer (SMB-VAM 6/2009).

All in all, the documentary gem drawings produced by Odam for Stosch were organized according to very well-thought-out standards, as far as the information on the gems is concerned (material, provenance, subject matter, etc.). They were not mechanical reproductions, but careful pictorial documentations since the attempt to reproduce original gems as faithfully as possible was taken very seriously. Most gems documented by Odam for Stosch were Greco-Roman specimens (Figs. 14–17), but different types were approached individually. For example, Odam drew a Neo-Babylonian chalcedony stamp seal (Figs. 18–19).⁹³ His delicate pen-and-ink strokes carefully reproduce every detail with no mistakes and they also imitate the style of engraving of the gem well, which is clouded by mineral inclusions and therefore difficult to read unless from an impression. Odam used an impression, as is clear from the mirror-reversed orientation of the drawing. Odam correctly identified the gemstone as chalcedony, and he added an actual-size drawing to show its size and form.

Odam also took great care to distinguish Etruscan scarabs from the more common Greco-Roman gems by draw-

ing them differently. Etruscan scarabs were usually drawn in dark grey wash on a contrasting light background and for these examples detailing is rather sparse. At first glance they seem to be unfinished works, but this technique was actually chosen to reflect the peculiar technique and style of Etruscan scarabs. Odam's actual-size drawing of an Etruscan scarab is a representative example. A comparison of the drawing with the actual gem leaves no doubt that all details are reproduced correctly and with utmost care (Figs. 20–21).⁹⁴ These few examples already demonstrate that under Stosch's supervision Odam developed considerable skill in documenting engraved gems by applying different techniques to render technical and stylistic differences between various kinds of gems.

Among the large number of drawings produced by Odam for Stosch now in Kraków and Berlin, 765 indeed document gems and glass pastes from Stosch's own collection, while the rest depict gems from numerous other contemporary collections. Let us recall that Stosch started his co-operation with Odam in 1715 and it cannot be excluded that while they worked together on the *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*, Stosch commissioned drawings of his own gems and glass pastes at the

⁹³ Motif: an Assyrian priest sacrificing at an altar in front of him, sun disc above. The gem was once in Stosch's collection. Now in Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, inv. no. VA 769. Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* III.A. no. 88 (27 × 15 mm); Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. I.127 (with full bibliography). The drawing: the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków, inv. no. MNK XV Rr. 4272.

⁹⁴ Motif: Haruspex performing a ritual with his staff in the field and hatched border around. The gem: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 369. The drawing: the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków, inv. no. MNK XV Rr. 3851.



Fig. 20 (left). Hieronymus Odam, pen and brown ink with grey wash, 171 × 137 mm, c. 1718–1726. Haruspex performing a ritual with his staff in the field and hatched border around. The National Museum in Kraków: Collections of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. MNK XV Rr: 3851. Photograph by Paweł Gołyźniak.



Fig. 21 (right). Carnelian Etruscan scarab, 13 × 10 mm. Haruspex performing a ritual with his staff in the field and hatched border around. Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 369. After Furtwängler 1896, no. 369, pl. 7.

same time. Stosch was at this time already collecting ancient gems, as well as sulphur impressions and casts of such gems. However, it seems more likely that the fruitful co-operation with Odam at first focused on the book and only later turned to the documentation of intaglios, cameos, and glass pastes, especially those from Stosch's own cabinet. The illustrations were made on a regular basis over several years. Odam certainly continued to document gems for Stosch until 1726, when a new draughtsman entered Stosch's studio—Johann Justin Preissler. One cannot exclude that Odam continued producing these illustrations for Stosch. But Stosch's enthusiasm for Preissler's illustrations of gems was very great, and it is likely that the German artist started to draw gems for the collector shortly after his arrival in Rome.⁹⁵ In addition, around 1726, Odam appears to have been more and more occupied with his individual projects and other commissions (see above). Therefore, it seems probable that the majority of Odam's documentary gem drawings made for Stosch were produced between c. 1718 and 1726.

Odam and his collection of engraved gems

Only some vague information is known to have survived that suggests that Odam was a collector of engraved gems. For example, Gori mentions that Odam owned some gems,⁹⁶ and Ficoroni also confirms that Odam collected antiquities, including intaglios and cameos.⁹⁷ Johann Joachim Winckelmann mentions that Giovanni Carlo Molinari, archbishop of Damascus and apostolic *nuncio* to Flanders, once acquired gems from Odam's collection.⁹⁸ Marianne Maaskant-Kleibrink suggests that Thoms purchased some of his gems from Odam.⁹⁹ Single gems once owned by Odam can be also identified as now scattered among Italian collections.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, a few of Odam's gems found their way to the famous Marlborough collection, since, according to a letter from Ansidei to Lord Carlisle, 6 February 1740 (close to Odam's death), they were acquired by the 3rd Duke of Marlborough (we do not know if directly from Odam or after his death).¹⁰¹ The recently published reconstruction of the Marlborough collection of engraved gems confirms two gems to have been indeed recorded in the archives with references to Odam.¹⁰² In conclusion, so far there is only scant evidence to suggest that Odam was a collector of engraved gems. There is virtually no knowledge about the scope and size of his collection, and Odam's gems had been incorrectly attributed to other collections, such as that of Johan Hendrik Graf van Wassenae-Opdam.¹⁰³ The recent discovery of gem drawings in Kraków, Berlin, and the Vatican, combined with a study of Ghezzi's *dactyliotheca* and the one composed by Tassie, has important repercussions for the state of knowledge on Odam as a collector. In all those sources one finds references to gems said to be from Odam's collection. Using them one can reconstruct a considerable

⁹⁶ Biblioteca Marucelliana: MS. A.24, fol. 639.

⁹⁷ de Ficoroni 1730, 29, 100.

⁹⁸ Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 1517, p. 243.

⁹⁹ These gems are now in Leiden. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 25, 32–33, n. 13.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example: di Bruschetti 1985–1986, 35, no. 10.

¹⁰¹ Castle Howard Archives J 12/12/10, see Scarisbrick 1987, 104, n. 101.

¹⁰² Boardman *et al.* 2009, nos. 633, 691.

¹⁰³ Platz-Horster 2012, 12, n. 29; Borbein *et al.* 2019, 4. Regarding Wassenae-Opdam, he lived in The Hague and in 1727 he purchased a collection of 117 cameos and 143 intaglios once belonging to Hendrik Adriaan van de Mark from his heirs. Wassenae-Opdam enlarged the cabinet, which after his death was inherited by his younger brother Wilhelm van Wassenae-Opdam and then passed to Wilhelm's widow Dodonea Lucia van Goslinga. After her death, the Wassenae-Opdam collection was dispersed at an auction in Amsterdam (25 October 1769). Many of the Wassenae-Opdam gems were purchased by Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, and they are now in the Antikensammlung in Berlin, see Platz-Horster 2012, 14; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.1086.

⁹⁵ Heringa 1981, 63.

part Odam's presumably rich assemblage of engraved gems, and make a list of engraved gems which he once owned.

It is possible to link Odam to more than 120 gems of various kinds and dates representing a great variety of subject matters, and they are listed here in a catalogue (see *Appendix*). Seeing that it is generally difficult to assess dates of gems from drawings, the dates are only proposals. Overall, it is clear that Roman Republican and Roman Imperial gems dominate, as there are only single clear examples of Hellenistic (*No. 54*), magical (*No. 114*), and early Christian (*No. 115*) gems within the assemblage. In almost half of the cases, it was possible to examine the techniques and styles from their impressions preserved in various *dactyliothecae*. *No. 54*, an amethyst intaglio representing Cupid tying Heracles' hands, is such an example. It is a superb work of the 2nd or early 1st century BC from a Hellenistic workshop. The gems once owned by Odam could have come into his possession either from the market or have been found in Rome or its vicinity, since most of them are typical products whose parallels might be found in other better-known and documented collections built by contemporary collectors residing in Rome.¹⁰⁴ Odam owned some masterpieces, such as the famous black jasper intaglio featuring a satyr (probably Marsyas) seated on a panther skin with pipes between his crossed legs (*No. 33*, *Fig. 22*), which Stosch included in his famous corpus.¹⁰⁵ There is a heated debate on the authenticity of the inscription appearing on it, though. Scholars cannot agree on whether it is the signature of the gem engraver or the name of the owner. Should it be read Nicolaus or Nikomachos? As Furtwängler believed, the latter option would mean the name of the owner, not a signature of the maker of the intaglio.¹⁰⁶ According to the most recent evaluation, the whole piece is taken as an 18th-century forgery.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, it is puzzling that, as observed by Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, the subject matter of a wreathed and seated satyr appears in Roman coinage c. 19–18 BC, and it is striking that there are some unquestionably ancient replicas (including a few in glass).¹⁰⁸ Therefore, it seems more probable to suggest that the intaglio is ancient, while the inscription, whether a signature or the name of the owner, was fabricated and added in the course of the 18th century. The engraver Nicolaus is otherwise unknown from any securely ancient gem, but his name appears on some post-classical ones.¹⁰⁹ Odam's original



Fig. 22 (No. 33). Hieronymus Odam, pencil, silverpoint, and brown ink, 129 × 149 mm (with frame), 116 × 127 mm (drawing), 1715–1722.

Satyr (Marsyas?) seated on a panther skin, pipes between his crossed legs. Inscription: Nicolaus (NICOMAC). A preliminary drawing for Stosch 1724, pl. XLIV. The National Museum in Kraków. Collections of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. MNK XV Rr. 3449. Photograph by Paweł Gołyźniak.

was clearly copied in the 18th century, surely following its publication in Stosch's book.¹¹⁰

Analysis of subject matter depicted, gemstone types, and impressions of some of Odam's gems suggests that they be dated to the Roman Republican and Augustan periods. They represent an overview of glyptics' development from the 3rd century BC until the early 1st century AD. A very interesting piece is *No. 55* depicting the upper part of three warriors advancing, all helmeted—the so-called "Horatii". *No. 50* featuring Capaneus struck by Zeus with a thunderbolt is also probably an early Roman Republican work. However, most of the examples cannot be dated more precisely than to the 1st century BC when the production of engraved gems in Rome was at its height. The subject matters appearing on the gems are often typical ones but some present interesting and rare configurations. There are studies of various deities among which *No. 13* (*Fig. 14*)—an amethyst presenting Adonis—is one of the masterpieces of Augustan glyptics among the gems owned by Odam, standing out by its rather large size combined with classical composition and exceptionally well-accomplished engraving. The most popular motifs are studies of Cupid or Cupids performing various activities.

¹⁰⁴ For a brief overview of those see Gołyźniak 2020, 250–297.

¹⁰⁵ von Stosch 1724, 62–63, pl. XLIV.

¹⁰⁶ Furtwängler 1889, 65.

¹⁰⁷ Boardman *et al.* 2009, no. 633.

¹⁰⁸ Zwierlein-Diehl 1989, 399–401. For the ancient replicas, see AGDS I.3, no. 3056 (glass gem) and AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1741; Pannuti 1994, no. 108.

¹⁰⁹ Zwierlein-Diehl 1989, 400, n. 27, with a list of those.

¹¹⁰ See two examples now in London, British Museum, inv. nos. 1913,0307.67 and 1913,0307.68, on which see Dalton 1915, nos. 720–721.



Fig. 23 (No. 79). Carnelian intaglio, 13 × 11 mm, second half of the 1st century BC. An owl with caduceus and corn ear standing on a shield decorated with gorgoneion. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. GS-00231. © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.



Fig. 24 (No. 42). Amethyst intaglio, 14 × 11 mm, first half of the 1st century AD. Silenus with grapes in his hands, a large crater decorated with a griffin on a pedestal behind him. The British Museum, London, inv. no. 1867,0507.137. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Among them, No. 23 (Fig. 15), with two Cupids, is a perfect example of a regular hardstone intaglio from the times of Augustus. Some gems, such as No. 28 featuring Mars fighting a giant, are typical products of Augustan glyptics related to the propaganda actions of the first Roman emperor.¹¹¹ There is a particularly strong representation of intaglios showing Greek heroes and themes related to warfare and sport (Nos. 48–50, 53, 55, 57–60, 67). The world of theatre is well represented too (Nos. 68–72). Single items bear subject matters reflecting everyday-life activities, such as No. 77, a rather rare example featuring a philosopher seated in a chair reading a scroll. A skeleton is depicted in front of the philosopher, probably reflecting philosophical views concerning the meaning of life and hope for afterlife at the same time.¹¹² There are a few gems presenting mask–animal combinations/hybrids, but they are notably early in relation to other gems carrying this kind of imagery. Finally, there are several gems showing animals and symbols set in allegorical combinations. Sometimes the symbols stand for specific deities, as in the case of No. 79 (Fig. 23), where the owl and shield decorated with gorgoneion refer to Athena, *caduceus* to Mercury, and the corn ear to Ceres.

¹¹¹ For more on the use of gems for such a purpose, especially during Augustus' reign, see Gołyźniak 2020.

¹¹² For more on this issue and type of gems, see Lang 2012, 84.

Most of the gems seem to be from the Roman Imperial period. Many represent various deities (Nos. 1–12, 14, 17, 19, 26, 29–31, 34, 36–37, 39–47) and some particularly popular groups stand out, such as Bacchus and his *thiasos*. Some gems can now be identified, and their later fate reconstructed. This makes it possible to present these gems as originals, not only as documented on drawings and by impressions, as in the case of No. 42 (Fig. 24), an amethyst intaglio featuring Silenus. Cut in the classicizing style of the first half of the 1st century AD, it is now proved to have once belonged to Odam, later going to the collections of Louis Blancardi-Rovere de La Turbie and Louis Charles Pierre Casimir, Duc de Blacas d'Aulps. Since 1867, it has been housed in the British Museum in London. Another such case is No. 39 (Fig. 25), an amethyst intaglio also dated to the 1st century AD, and representing Pan seated on a rock playing with little Bacchus. Most likely Thoms managed to purchase this gem after Odam's death, and it is now kept in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. Another interesting case is No. 44 (Fig. 26), a glass cameo from the first half of the 1st century AD featuring a half-dressed woman riding a goat side-saddle to the right. It once belonged to Odam and apparently at some point (maybe sold by him to Lord Carlisle?) found its way to the Carlisle collection and in 1890 it was sold by George James Howard, 9th Earl of Carlisle, to the British Museum in London. Similarly to No. 42, the carnelian intaglio engraved with Venus and Cupid, No. 56 (Fig. 27), was



Fig. 25 (No. 39). Amethyst intaglio, 11 × 9 mm, 1st century AD. Pan seated on a rock playing with little Bacchus, thyrsus in the field and a tree on the left. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. GS-00490. © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.



Fig. 26 (No. 44). Glass cameo, 16 × 19 mm, first half of the 1st century AD. A half-dressed woman riding a goat side-saddle to the right with grapes in her hands. The British Museum, London, inv. no. 1890,0901.5. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

once owned by Odam. It was later purchased by Thoms and is now in Leiden.

Some of the Roman Imperial gems once owned by Odam had intriguing and even mysterious subjects, such as No. 47 featuring a female goddess pouring a libation from a *phiale* while a lyre, swan, and griffin are at her feet. Heroes and mythological subjects as well as warriors and athletes are well represented (Nos. 51–52, 56, 61–66), especially in the later, 2nd and 3rd century AD examples. There are a few but very interesting examples referring to everyday-life activities (Nos. 73–76). For example, on No. 74, a goat-headed man is milking a female-headed goat. There are only a few gems like this one known to us today and their unusual iconography is virtually impossible to explain as it escapes standards. Might it represent some sort of allegory as suggested by the switched roles?¹¹³ No. 75 bears another problematic subject which perhaps alludes to sowing activity, although, the gem may also be modern. Finally, No. 76 represents an old, bearded man bent down and putting on his boot. He is seen from the front. Could he be Pherecydes, the teacher of Pythagoras, who used to predict earthquakes by looking into wells?¹¹⁴ There are a

few examples of gems featuring mask–animal combinations/ hybrids (Nos. 92, 106), as well as examples depicting animals and fantastic creatures such as Chimera or Pegasus (Nos. 78, 81, 83, 85, 87–89); most of them appear on intaglios dated to the 2nd and 3rd century AD. Objects, symbols, and combinations of symbols of various kinds constitute the last distinctive iconographical category (Nos. 80, 91, 94, 97, 106).

The single magical gem depicts an ibis with five rays around the head standing on a burning torch (No. 114) and one Early Christian gem is engraved with symbols of the faith—an anchor flanked by two fish (No. 115). The small number of such pieces is in line with what one observes among other contemporary collections.¹¹⁵

It must be highlighted that as far as can be judged, Odam had a good eye for detecting modern intaglios and cameos, since only very few modern examples can be linked to him (Nos. 116–122). It is likely that Odam purchased many of his gems directly from the excavators so that he was less exposed to the fakes circulating in the art market. Another observation is that he owned only three cameos (Nos. 44, 116, 119), out

¹¹³ On this subject and for a list of a few similar gems, see Ubaldelli 2001, 193–194, no. 40.

¹¹⁴ Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 10112.

¹¹⁵ The best comparative material is the collection of Stosch. Even though much bigger, the proportions of Hellenistic, Roman Republican, Roman Imperial, magical, or early Christian gems are comparable, see Furtwängler 1896; Borbein *et al.* 2019.



Fig. 27 (No. 56). Carnelian intaglio, 13 × 10 mm, early 1st century AD. Venus standing to the front looking in the mirror in her right hand next to a table with a figurine of a female goddess, on the left-side Cupid raising thyrsus to her, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. GS-00525. © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

of which only two seem to be authentically ancient. The two ancient examples are now in the British Museum, where they eventually arrived with the Carlisle gems. Also, quite striking is the fact that Odam clearly had a preference for hardstone intaglios rather than glass gems, as there are only a few of the latter in his assemblage (Nos. 20, 25, 93, 96, 102). However, these might be simply underrepresented in the drawings since Ghezzi claims that Odam possessed many glass gems.¹¹⁶ The relatively few glass pastes in Odam's collection might also be an indicator of the considerable influence of Stosch on Odam's taste, as Stosch preferred intaglios to cameos and glass gems.

It should be asked where Odam's gems come from. Odam did not leave Rome throughout his entire life, and it should be recalled that he was engaged in many of the most fruitful excavations conducted at the time in Rome and the surrounding area. Odam was appointed to the Order of St George at the court of Parma by Prince Antonio Farnese in 1723 which allowed him, for instance, to participate in the Farnese ex-

cavations on the Palatine Hill.¹¹⁷ It is evidenced that Odam also took part in the excavations at the Aventine and Caelian Hills, as well as alongside the Via Appia and in the Castel Gandolfo,¹¹⁸ and due to these ventures Odam might have assembled a considerable number of sculptures, reliefs, fragments of sarcophagi, and inscriptions.¹¹⁹ In her study of Ghezzi's drawings of marble statues, Lucia Guerrini lists thirteen sculptures which were once in Odam's collection, and they come mostly from the excavations taking place in the above-mentioned areas.¹²⁰ Such an active participation in excavations surely made it possible for Odam to purchase gems first-hand and incorporate the freshly found specimens into his cabinet or to sell them on. Certainly, a portion of Odam's gems must have been bought at the art market as well. This is supported by the structure of the cabinet comprising mostly Roman Republican and Roman Imperial intaglios and cameos, while there are no Etruscan scarabs and only single items from other chronological categories, since the latter rarely circulated on the market at this time. In terms of artistic quality, Odam's gems represent mostly regular, almost exclusively Roman works, including a good selection of outstanding gems created in the Augustan period (Nos. 13, 23, 35, 38, 49, 58–59, 98, 103–104, 108).

It is striking that so many gems once owned by Odam remain lost today. Try as one might, "only" 25 out of 122 (Nos. 5, 13, 17, 23–24, 28, 31, 35, 39, 44, 48–49, 56, 59, 69, 79, 93–94, 100, 103, 112–113, 115–116, 122) could be fully identified and located, i.e., it is clear where they are now, and two more (Nos. 33, 55) can be identified in some historical collections due to the preserved archival and pictorial documentation discussed here, though their current whereabouts are unknown. For another 28 specimens (Nos. 1, 3–4, 8, 14, 19, 21, 32, 46, 51, 54, 56, 60–61, 64, 66, 68, 74, 78, 80–81, 90–91, 97–98, 101, 118, 120), it was possible at least to find their impressions in sulphur, plaster, or glass within various *dactyliothecae*. This gives 55 of Odam's gems which are proved to have been recorded in the 18th or 19th centuries. Still, for 67 specimens the drawings now in Kraków, Berlin, and the Vatican are the only proof of their existence, which makes the drawings particularly valuable resources.

¹¹⁷ Füssli 1810, 475; Guerrini 1971, 41; Cazort & Percy 2004, no. 27.

¹¹⁸ Guerrini 1971, 40–41; Micheli 1986, 41.

¹¹⁹ Guerrieri Borsoi 2009, 163; Carpita 2012, 109.

¹²⁰ Guerrini 1971, 40–41, nos. 3, 6, 19, 29–30, 51–52, 62, 102, 104–105, 113, 115. Guerrini claims that Odam's sculptures, as well as some gems, were sourced from the excavations that Odam participated in and there is no strong argument against this, although some surely came to him through art market acquisitions. Guerrini also claims that Odam's collections were dispersed in the second half of the 18th century, but our research proves that this probably happened, or began, very shortly after his death in 1741 (see below).

¹¹⁶ See Note 125.

Of the more than 1,900 drawings by Odam which are now in Kraków and Berlin, only 32 represent gems from Odam's own collection. The drawings by Ghezzi in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana represent 86 gems from Odam's collection.¹²¹ It is important to note that the drawings from Kraków were made c. 1718–1726, so quite early, and apparently at this stage Odam did not yet have a large cabinet of gems. Nevertheless, he must have already been recognized as a collector in the beginning of the 18th century.¹²² Most likely under the influence of Stosch, Odam significantly expanded his cabinet later. It is noteworthy that Ghezzi's drawings, which are now in the Vatican, were executed later, most likely c. 1724–1740, and therefore they represent a greater portion of Odam's collection of gems, which seems to have been much enlarged over time.¹²³ This is partially confirmed by the dates Ghezzi provides in the commentaries to some drawings representing Odam's gems.¹²⁴ One more interesting conclusion from Ghezzi's commentaries is that the number of intaglios and cameos once owned by Odam must have been of considerable size and quality and it was highly esteemed by contemporaries. It also likely included a good number of glass gems, cheap and numerous products usually of the late Roman Republic and early Empire.¹²⁵ Certainly, not all gems documented as drawings were permanently in Odam's possession, i.e., remained with him until his death. As has been shown in the section about Odam's antiquarian activities, some gems once owned by him changed hands a few years after their visual documentation. Hence, one guesses that many found on the drawings could have been traded at some point and that the collection could have been highly dynamic. Still, enough evidence has been established to consider Odam not only a dealer in gems but also a serious collector. His cabinet was dispersed probably shortly after his death, which is suggested by his gems appearing in the collections belonging to Stosch, Thoms, Molinari, as well as Lords Carlisle and Marlborough.

Conclusions

The wide-ranging and evidently scholarly interest, not only business or practical, of Hieronymus Odam in engraved gems reflects the evolution of antiquarianism. His activities as a whole, especially the co-operation with Philipp von Stosch in terms of production of book illustrations or strictly documentary drawings of ancient intaglios and cameos, should be regarded as the steps that paved the way to more scientifically oriented and systematized archaeological documentary practices, depending much more on the empirical and experimental aspects of the study of antiquity.¹²⁶ One such aspect is drawings and book illustrations—in the case of Odam, lavishly produced to great success because he acquired, as an artist and connoisseur in one, considerable knowledge about the glyptic art. It may be debated to what extent he was simply the executioner of Stosch's commissions and visions, and how much he contributed himself to the development of the practical and faithful visual documentation of gems, as well as their organization according to their types and chronology, among others.¹²⁷ Unlike his friend and collaborator Pier Leone Ghezzi, Odam does not seem to have drawn or collected pictorial documentation of antiquities with the intention of further study and comment.¹²⁸ Unlike Stosch, Odam is not known to have worked on any treatise on engraved gems. He seems to have focused primarily on creating illustrations.

For Stosch and others, Odam established outstanding standards of careful visual documentation of gems, far beyond traditional antiquarianism. As discussed above, the faithfulness and accuracy of Odam's illustrations documented different techniques and styles applied by individual gem engravers and made it possible to distinguish groups of gems from one another. This was something completely new which contributed a great deal to the undisputed success of Stosch's book *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*. In this context, it is also interesting to hear from Odam, in one of his letters to Gori, about his frustration because his documentary gem drawings made for Stosch were later redrawn by some German draughtsman and as a result, they lost their antique character.¹²⁹ This is an important indication that Odam did pay particular attention to the faithfulness of his visual reproductions of gems. As an

¹²¹ Furtwängler (1900, vol. 3, 412) noticed that Ghezzi in his *didascalies* to the gem drawings often mentions the name of Odam.

¹²² This is confirmed by the publication of Odam's gem in de' Rossi & Maffei 1707–1709, vol. 2, pl. 63, which presented gems from the best gem collections of Rome.

¹²³ For a discussion on the potential dates for Ghezzi's drawings of antiquities kept in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, see Guerrini 1971, 48–49; Lo Bianco 1985, 41–42; 2010, 30; Fusconi 1994, 149; Coen & Fidanza 2011, 11–12; Carpita 2012, 123.

¹²⁴ For example, in the case of Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 128–1735 (*No. 117* here) and Cod. Ott. lat. 3109, fol. 173–1736 (*No. 19* here).

¹²⁵ For example, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 30: ... *il disegno da una pasta antica fra le altre che seola il Cav. Odam ...*; Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 46: ... *questa intaglio posseduto del Cav. Odam fra le altre sue rare cose.*; Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 69: ... *scolpito in una piccolo Carneola ... e posseduta fra alter riguardevoli antichità chi simili genere del Cav. Odam.*; Cod. Ott. lat. 3108/120: ... *Odam che di ... a un piccolo Raccolta anche questo intagli ...*

¹²⁶ On the development of antiquarianism and its transformation into early archaeological research, see Momigliano 1950; Schnapp 1997, 179–324; Herklotz 1999, 151–306.

¹²⁷ On Stosch's classification of his collection of engraved gems and gem drawings, see Gołyźniak *et al.* forthcoming.

¹²⁸ Cod. Ott. lat. 3100–3125; Guerrini 1971, 47; Dorati da Empoli 2008, 24–25; Gołyźniak forthcoming. On systematization of archaeological artefacts that began in the second half of the 17th century, see Schnapp 1997, 179–181.

¹²⁹ Letter from Odam to Gori, Rome, 21 December 1738, Epistolario di Anton Francesco Gori, vol. BVII21, carte 8r–9v. I am grateful to Hadrien J. Rambach for referring me to this letter.

illustrator, Odam is rightly valued as a central player in the circle of the dazzling Stosch, and Odam's significant contribution to the accurate documentation of antiquities is now much better understood.¹³⁰

Finally, the 18th-century pictorial documentation of engraved gems, as well as archival resources discussed in this paper, prove to be very useful for the reconstruction of a list of intaglios and cameos once owned by Odam. They also enable us to trace his antiquarian activities, and provide interesting insights into the collecting practices and availability of specific types of gems in Rome in the first half of the 18th century. Inspection of Odam's networking, his work as a book illustrator, and his antiquarian career show that he was one of the most important figures in the circle of 18th-century gem enthusiasts.

Appendix. Catalogue of gems owned by Hieronymus Odam

The catalogue lists all the gems identified as belonging at some point to Hieronymus Odam.¹³¹ It must be emphasized that evaluation of the dates of the gems is very difficult, since the drawings themselves do not reflect the sufficient level of detail needed in terms of techniques of engraving and styles when judging the gems to be of a specific date. Therefore, all the dates should be taken as proposals, and it might be that some gems classified as Roman Republican are in fact Roman Imperial ones and vice versa. This perennial problem was tackled partially with the extensive use of *dactyliothecae*—sets of gem impressions which often offer more detailed and faithful reproductions, and thus so many are referred to in the bibliography.¹³² Examination of relevant impressions in some cases allowed the identification of particular styles using Maaskant-Kleibrink's typology.¹³³ This, combined with analysis of the gemstone types as well as peculiarities of iconography among others, resulted in proposals of more or less specific dates. The catalogue is organized according to the subject matters

depicted. This is due to the limited capacity in evaluation of gems' dates outlined above, and it is closer to the 18th-century collecting tradition to which Odam and his cabinet belong. However, the modern gems owned by Odam are distinctive enough to separate them from the ancient ones; therefore, they are put separately at the end of the catalogue. Due to limited space, the entries contain only basic information, but more interesting cases are well discussed in the main body of the article (see above).

Abbreviations used for sources: Berlin = Kunstbibliothek, Berlin; Kraków = the Princes Czartoryski Museum, Kraków; Vatican = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. See also *dactyliothecae* listed in the *Bibliography*. The gems below are organised according to the following subject-matter index:

Deities and related subjects—*Nos. 1–47*

Heroes and mythological subjects—*Nos. 48–57*

Warriors and athletes—*Nos. 58–67*

Theatre and masks—*Nos. 68–72*

Everyday-life scenes—*Nos. 73–77*

Animals and fantastic creatures—*Nos. 78–89*

Mask–animal combinations/hybrids—*Nos. 90–92*

Objects, symbols, and combinations of symbols—*Nos. 93–113*

Magical gem—*No. 114*

Early Christian gem—*No. 115*

Modern gems—*Nos. 116–122*

DEITIES AND RELATED SUBJECTS

No. 1. Subject: Draped bust of Men wearing a Phrygian cap, a crescent behind his shoulders.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 12 × 9 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown (once in the Odam, Gori, and Medici collections?).

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 2771 (*Apud Equitae Hier: Odam Romae*¹³⁴); Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* III.B no. 170 (*sard, Medici*, 12 × 9 mm).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 346, p. 82; Gori 1731–1732, vol. 2, pl. 40.1; Dehn/Dolce Vatican B.6 (12 × 9 mm); Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 2045; Furtwängler 1896, no. 9562; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.346 (glass paste once in the Stosch collection reproducing *No. 1*, with full bibliography).

Commentary: Judging from the surviving impressions, the original gem is Roman, cut in the Imperial Small Grooves Style and should be dated to the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

¹³⁰ Zazoff & Zazoff 1983, 23–25; Guerrieri Borsoi 2004, 170–171.

¹³¹ The limited space of this article and considerable reproduction costs do not allow the illustration of all gem drawings listed below; however, a selection of the best examples is offered. Regarding the rest, the drawings from the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków and Kunstbibliothek in Berlin will be published soon in Gołyźniak *et al.* forthcoming, and the ones from the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana can be consulted online at <https://digi.vatlib.it/>.

¹³² While the *dactyliothecae* of Cades, Tassie, and Lippert are widely recognized and their catalogues are published or available as manuscripts, the impressions amassed by Ghezzi, Dehn/Dolce, and Vettori housed in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Gabinetto di Medagliere) are less known but remain very useful for identification of Odam's gems. On them, see Alteri 1987.

¹³³ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978.

¹³⁴ In case of the drawings from Kraków and Berlin, some have original provenance information of the gems they depict as from Odam's collection provided by their authors. This appears in several variants, and it is indicated after the inventory number of the drawing in original spelling.

No. 2. Subject: Athena with a spear and two corn ears in her hands riding a chariot drawn by two owls to the left.

Gem: Red jasper intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3107, fol. 181^{*135} (*... scolpito in diaspro rosso ... conserva nella raccolta di cose rare dal Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Red jasper was a particularly popular gemstone among Roman gem engravers especially in the 2nd century AD; the iconography also fits that time span.

No. 3. Subject: Athena with a spear and shield and Mercury with a money bag and *caduceus* standing opposite each other.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 14 × 8 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 62* (*... scolpito in una carneola posseduta dal Cav. Odam*); Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* IV.S no. 97 (*carneola*, 13 × 10 mm).

Bibliography: Dehn/Dolce Vatican K.37 (14 × 8 mm).

Commentary: The gem is Roman, cut in the Imperial Classicizing Style, which suggests a date of the 1st century AD.

No. 4. Subject: Statue of Athena with a spear and shield within a temple, to the front.

Gem: Red jasper intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Berlin, OS4270a (vol. 1, pl. 138—*Apud Equitem Hieronymem Odam*).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 207, p. 64; Furtwängler 1896, no. 9741; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.207 (with full bibliography).

Commentary: Given the material and judging from the impression of Stosch's glass paste, this gem was cut in the Imperial Small Grooves Style in the 2nd century AD.

No. 5. Subject: Ceres seated on a stool with a *phiale* and torch in her hands, an altar full of corn ears in front of her, a horse eats one of the ears and an ass stands behind Ceres.

Gem: Red jasper intaglio.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 8422 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 2669 (*Apud Equ Hier: Odam*).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 235, p. 69; Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 1843; Furtwängler 1896, no. 8422; Borbein *et al.* 2014, 226; 2019, no. II.235 (with full bibliography).

Commentary: Furtwängler (1896) takes the subject to be Artemis. This gem was cut in the Imperial Small Grooves Style and red jasper was the most popular gemstone used in Roman glyptics in the 2nd century AD.

No. 6. Subject: Ceres holding two corn ears and Saturn seated on a throne with a sickle in his hand, to the left.

Gem: Chalcedony intaglio.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3107, fol. 82* (*... in una Chalcedonia appresso il Cav. Odam*).

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The subject is clearly Roman, most likely from the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 7. Subject: Bonus Eventus standing with a *patra* and corn ears in his hands to the left.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 12 × 10 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* I.A no. 10 (*carneola*, Odam, 12 × 10 mm).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Judging from the impression, this gem was engraved in the Imperial Classicizing Style, and thus dates to the 1st–early 2nd centuries AD.

No. 8, Fig. 19. Subject: Mercury wearing *petazus* and a cloak runs to the left with *caduceus* and little Dionysus in his hands.

Gem: Green chalcedony intaglio, 12 × 9 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 2747 (*Apud Equit Hier: Odam*); Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3107, fol. 22.*

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 1435, p. 228; Dehn/Dolce Vatican E.33 (12 × 9 mm); Cades Grande 8.II.A.24; Furtwängler 1896, no. 9813; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 2007, t. IV, c. 5, no. 385; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.1435 (with full bibliography).

Commentary: Judging from the impression, this gem was engraved in the Imperial Classicizing Style. Green chalcedony was a popular material, especially in the 1st century AD.

No. 9. Subject: On the left Mercury with *petazus* on his head, *caduceus* and money bag in his hands, surrounded by a ram and cockerel, and with a tortoise at his feet; on the right Heracles holding the lion-skin and a club in his left arm, handing a *kantharos* over to Mercury.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

¹³⁵ The entries marked with an asterisk are the drawings to which Ghezzi wrote comments. Most of them are rather extensive and there is no space to transcribe them here entirely. For the sake of this paper though, fragments of the texts relating to Odam in any way are mentioned here. The rest are Ghezzi's explanations of gems' iconography, his commentaries to relevant literary sources, provenance information, and sometimes the date when he drew the specific gem.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 119* (... *in una Carniola di un Anello signitario posseduta dal Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The subject is fairly common in Roman glyptics and such configurations of deities and heroes are particularly popular on the gems cut in the 1st century AD.

No. 10. *Subject:* Mercury, standing next to a column, holding a caduceus and head of a ram on a patera.

Gem: Nicolo intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 68* (... *un antico niccolo dell dactilotheca Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The subject is common in Roman glyptics and the nicolo gemstone was a particularly popular material in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

No. 11. *Subject:* Venus stands to the front next to a table with a figurine of a female goddess, looking in a mirror in her left hand; on the right side Cupid raises thyrsus to her.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 13 × 10 mm.

Location and provenance: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. GS-00525 (once in the Odam, Thoms, and Orange collections?).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 17.

Bibliography: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 525.

Commentary: Common subject in Roman glyptics, the gem was engraved in the Imperial Classicizing Style in the early 1st century AD.

No. 12. *Subject:* Venus with her garment raised up, an old man with erect penis (Priapus or Priapus' priest?) behind her.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 59* (... *scolpito in una carneola bellissima che si conserva delli datilotheca Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The gem is evidently Roman, most likely cut in the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 13, Fig. 14. *Subject:* Adonis wearing a short tunic and sandals or shin guards stands to the front with a javelin, his dog at the feet.

Gem: Amethyst intaglio, 18 × 13 mm.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 2309 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 2552; Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 113; Ghezzi *Dactylitheca* III.K no. 87 (*amethysto, Odam*, 18 × 13 mm).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 589, p. 122; Lippert¹ II¹, no. 98; Tassie *Dactylitheca*, no. 2143; Furtwän-

gler 1896, no. 2309; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.589 (with full bibliography).

Commentary: Furtwängler (1896) takes the subject to be Artemis. The biconvex form of amethyst and the classicizing technique and style of engraving suggest dating to the late 1st century BC–early 1st century AD.

No. 14. *Subject:* Hephaestus wearing *exomis* and *pileus* stands to the front with a hammer and a long torch, pincers at his feet.

Gem: Red jasper intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown (once in the Odam and Vettori collections).

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 2802 (*Hier: Equitis Odam ~*); Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 30*.

Bibliography: Gori 1731–1732, vol. 2, pl. 40.3; Tassie *Dactylitheca*, no. 6448.

Commentary: Judging from Tassie's impression, the gem was engraved in the Imperial Small Grooves Style in the 1st–2nd centuries AD, which is also suggested by the material.

No. 15. *Subject:* Cupid scared by a cockerel reaching to a figurine of Athena on a column.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 89* (... *si conserva fra le cose del mio soprad.o Cav. Odam ... scolpito in una Corneola di bellissimo Colore*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: A popular subject on late Roman Republican gems, 1st century BC.

No. 16. *Subject:* Cupid putting grapes into a fire on an altar, a Priapus shrine in front of him and a tree in the field.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3101, fol. 202* (... *questa gemma carniola e nelle musei del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Nearly identical but green chalcedony intaglio is in Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. GS-00503 (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 503). The sacro-idyllic subjects were particularly popular on Roman gems in the time of Augustus (late 1st century BC–early 1st century AD).

No. 17, Fig. 16. *Subject:* Cupid holding a whip rides a chariot drawn by a horse to the right.

Gem: Red jasper intaglio.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 8445 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 4593; Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3109, fol. 171* (... *scolpita questa gemma di diaspro rosso di*

non ordinaria maniera posseduta della Cav Odam nella sua raccolta di gemme antiche).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 656, p. 130; Furtwängler 1896, no. 8445; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.656 (with full bibliography).

Commentary: This gem was engraved in the Imperial Plain Grooves Style in the gemstone type particularly popular in the 2nd century AD.

No. 18. Subject: Cupid sailing to the left across the sea on a boat with a mast and rudder.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 4641; Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3101, fol. 194 and 3108, fol. 29* (... *incisa in una carneola nella raccolta del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: A popular subject on Roman Republican gems, especially in the 1st century BC.

No. 19. Subject: Two Cupids drawing ashore a boat in which sits another Cupid.

Gem: Nicolo intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown (once in the Odam [1736] and Capponi [since 1738] collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3109, fol. 173* (... *si conserva questa erutida gemma nella dattilotecca dell Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Cades Grande 13.II.B.108; Ubaldelli 2001, no. 261.

Commentary: Judging from Cades' impression, this gem was cut in the Imperial Small Grooves Style in the 2nd century AD, a date that is also suggested by the gemstone type used.

No. 20. Subject: Three Cupids with a ship, one is steering, while the second is pulling the third out of the water.

Gem: Glass gem.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 30* (... *il disegno da una pasta antica fra le altre che seola il Cav. Odam ...*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: A popular subject on Roman Republican gems, especially in the 1st century BC.

No. 21. Subject: Cupid holding a whip rides *kethos* (*Pistrinx*) to the right.

Gem: Blue chalcedony intaglio, 10 × 11 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 4646; Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 141* (... *scolpito in una bellissima agata zaffirina che si conserva fra le antiche gemme del Cav. Odam ...*).

Bibliography: Lippert¹ II¹, no. 321; Dehn/Dolce Vatican I.80 (10 × 11 mm); Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 6807.

Commentary: An identical but carnelian intaglio with no collection indicated is reproduced in Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* IV.M no. 90. Judging from the surviving impressions, this gem was engraved in the Republican Wheel Style in the second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 22. Subject: Cupid riding a hippocamp to the right.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 12 × 9 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* IV.M no. 94 (*carneola, Odam*, 12 × 9 mm).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: A popular subject on Roman gems, most likely from the 1st century BC–1st century AD.

No. 23, Fig. 15. Subject: Two Cupids in cloaks, one with a dog on leash, the second with a dove and a burning torch in his hands, below the groundline three fish.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 7484 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 4731; Berlin, OS4270a (vol. 2, pl. 174); Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 15* (... *una bellissima carneola posseduta delle Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 892, p. 157; Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 7089; Furtwängler 1896, no. 7963; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.892 (with full bibliography).

Commentary: This intaglio was engraved in the Republican Flat Bouterolle Style and dates to the late 1st century BC–first half of the 1st century AD.

No. 24. Subject: Two Cupids wrestling, on the left a one-handed vessel on pedestal, on the right a warrior herm to the front and a palm branch.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 7498 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Berlin, OS4270a (vol. 2, pl. 117—*Hier: Equitis Odam*); Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3100/130 and 3101/112.

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 682, pp. 132; Furtwängler 1896, no. 7498; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.682 (with more literature).

Commentary: Popular subject on Roman gems, here cut in the Imperial Classicizing Style of the 1st century AD.

No. 25. Subject: Three Cupids, two playing flutes and one a *syrix*.

Gem: Glass gem.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 86* (... *Questi past soprad.e si conservano nella di raccolta Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Popular subject on Roman Republican gems, especially in the 1st century BC.

No. 26. *Subject:* Cupid and Pan, behind whom a palm branch.

Gem: Red jasper intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 54* (... *scolpito in un diaspro rosso ... questo intaglio e posseduto del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The gemstone type suggests Roman work of the 2nd century AD.

No. 27. *Subject:* Herm of Hypnos with butterfly ears.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 66* (... *scolpita in una carniola nella raccolta del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Furtwängler (1900, vol. 1, pl. XXVI.42, vol. 2, p. 131) published a very similar intaglio. The type is particularly popular on Roman Republican gems cut in the second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 28. *Subject:* Mars combating a giant.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 6850 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 88* (... *da una antica corneola che si conserva nella raccolta del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 115, p. 51; Furtwängler 1896, no. 6850; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.115 (with more literature).

Commentary: Popular subject in the age of Augustus but the technique and style (Republican Wheel Style) suggest slightly wider timeframe, second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 29. *Subject:* Apollo, naked, holding a bow, arrow, and a laurel branch in his hands, a raven at his feet.

Gem: Sard or carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3132 (*Apud Equitem Odam Romae*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Popular subject on Roman gems, especially in the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 30. *Subject:* Apollo stands next to a column holding a laurel branch.

Gem: Green chalcedony intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 58* (... *una prasma d'emeraldo sa me.o posseduta del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The gemstone type was typically used by Roman gem engravers in the 1st century AD.

No. 31. *Subject:* Apollo with a lyre on his arm, passing a knife to a kneeling Scythian youth, Marsyas hanging from a tree in the field.

Gem: Red jasper intaglio.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 8392 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 104* (... *in diaspro rosso che e posseduto dal Cav Odam ...*); Berlin OS4270a (vol. 3, pl. 51).

Bibliography: Lippert¹ II¹, no. 52; Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 3025; Furtwängler 1896, no. 8392; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.1143 (with more literature).

Commentary: The gem was cut in the Imperial Small Grooves Style in the material commonly used in the 2nd century AD.

No. 32. *Subject:* Marsyas with hands tied, hanging from a tree, his pipes in the field below.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 16 × 13 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3165; Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3109, fol. 13* (... *un intaglio in carneola che possiede il Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Lippert¹ II¹, no. 51; Dehn/Dolce Vatican D.27 (16 × 13 mm); Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 3023; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 399; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 2007, t. I. 188.

Commentary: Judging from the surviving impressions, the gem was engraved in the Republican Pellet Style in the mid-1st century BC.

No. 33, Fig. 22. *Subject:* Satyr (Marsyas?) seated on a panther skin, pipes between his crossed legs. Inscription: Nicolaus (NICOΛAC).

Gem: Black jasper intaglio, 12 × 12 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown (once in the Nuncio Molenari, Odam, and Marlborough collections).

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3449; Berlin, OS4270a (vol. 4, pl. 28); Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3109, fol. 11r.

Bibliography: von Stosch 1724, 62–63, pl. XLIV; Ghezzi *Dactyl-iotheca* III.C no. 83 (12 × 12 mm); Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 1517, p. 243; Dehn/Dolce Vatican M.3 (12 × 12 mm); Bracci 1784–1786, vol. 2, pl. 87; Tassie *Dactyl-iotheca*, no. 4698; Cades Grande 9.II.A.166; Furtwängler 1889, 65; Lippold 1922, pl. XVI.3; Boardman *et al.* 2009, no. 633 (with more literature); Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.1517 (with full bibliography).

Commentary: Surviving impressions of the gem suggest it to be cut in the Republican Pellet Style in the 1st century BC.

No. 34. *Subject:* Bacchus with *thyrsus* surrounded by a Faun with *pedum* and Silenus with a staff, a vine in the field.

Gem: Nicolo intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3398 (*Apud equitem Hieronymum Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The iconography and type of the gemstone used suggest dating the gem in the 2nd century AD.

No. 35. *Subject:* Faun dances to the right holding *pedum* and grapes in his hands, a crater at his feet.

Gem: Aquamarine intaglio, 16 × 13 mm.

Location and provenance: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. GS-00211 (probably once in the Odam, Thoms, and Orange collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 50* (*... Disegno da gemma di quale e posseduta dall. De Thomis Cav. Prussiano*).

Bibliography: Lippert¹ I¹, no. 223; Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 4751; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 211.

Commentary: The gem was engraved in the Republican Pellet Style and aquamarine was generally rarely used but became more available in the time of Augustus, therefore, a date of the late 1st century BC is proposed.

No. 36. *Subject:* Faun or Marsyas seated on the ground.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 9 × 11 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* III.C no. 82 (*carneola, Odam, 9 × 11 mm*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The impression suggests the gem to be cut in the Imperial Classicizing Style of the 1st century AD.

No. 37. *Subject:* A Faun holding *nebris* and *pedum* in his left hand and a mask and *synnix* in the right.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 96* (*... questo intaglio e in carneola posto nella dactiliotecha Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: A popular subject on Roman Imperial gems, most likely 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 38. *Subject:* Pan, holding *pedum* and cloak, pours a libation from a *phiale* onto a flame on an altar.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 50* (*... intaglio in una carneola che possedute dal Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The iconography suggests Roman work, perhaps dated to the second half of the 1st century BC—first half of the 1st century AD.

No. 39, Fig. 25. *Subject:* Pan seated on a rock playing with little Bacchus, *thyrsus* in the field and a tree on the left.

Gem: Amethyst intaglio, 11 × 9 mm.

Location and provenance: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. GS-00490 (probably once the Odam, Thoms, and Orange collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 49* (*... questa Gemma si possiedo fra nuello abbe dall de Thomis ...*).

Bibliography: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 490.

Commentary: Even though not directly indicated by Ghezzi as in Odam's but in Thoms' collection, it is very likely that his drawing represents an intaglio once belonging to Odam. The motif is uncommon on gems. The intaglio is engraved in the Imperial Classicizing Style of 1st century AD.

No. 40. *Subject:* An old satyr to the right puts fruits on an altar from a *patera*.

Gem: Unspecified intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 45* (*... nella raccolta del mio amico Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Gems cut in the oblong shape were particularly popular in the Augustan period when subjects related to Bacchus and his *thiasos* were common, thus, maybe late 1st century BC—early 1st century AD?

No. 41. *Subject:* Silenus or Bacchus seated on a rock with *thyrsus*, plays a lyre, a shrine of Priapus on a rock in front of him.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 32* (*... carneola posseduta dal C. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Most likely a Roman gem due to the subject matter, dated to the 1st century AD.

No. 42, Fig. 24. *Subject:* Silenus stands to the front-right holding grapes in his hands, a large crater decorated with a griffin on a pedestal behind him.

Gem: Amethyst intaglio, 13 × 11 mm.

Location and provenance: London, the British Museum, inv. no. 1867,0507.137 (once in the Odam, Blancardi-Rovere de La Turbie, and Blacas collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 81* (... *scolpito in un ametisto da evellenae arteficie conserva tra le rare cose dell datilotecca Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The material as well as the technique and classicizing style of engraving suggest dating the gem to the first half of the 1st century AD.

No. 43. *Subject:* Maenad walks to the right with *thyrsus* and tambourine in her hands.

Gem: Agate intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3107, fol. 83* (... *in una agata di molti colori posseduta del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Unusual subject on gem, however, most likely Roman Imperial work of the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 44, Fig. 26. *Subject:* A half-dressed woman rides a goat side-saddle to the right with grapes in her hands.

Gem: Glass cameo, 16 × 19 mm.

Location and provenance: London, the British Museum, inv. no. 1890,0901.5 (once in the Odam and Carlisle collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 134* (... *Cameo in Pasta ... posseduta dal Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The material used, technique, and style suggest dating to the first half of the 1st century AD.

No. 45. *Subject:* Silvanus stands to the front-left with a sickle and fruits in his cloak.

Gem: Nicolo intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 60* (... *scolpito in un niccolo nella raccolta del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The iconography as well as nicolo gemstone suggest this to be a Roman Imperial gem dated probably to the 2nd century AD.

No. 46. *Subject:* Spes, wearing a diadem on her head, stands to the left holding Bonus Eventus on her right outstretched hand.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 14 × 9 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3107, fol. 94 and 3109, fols. 68 and 145* (... *sculpito in carneola che adornata datilotecca del Cav. Odam ...*); Berlin OS4270a (vol. 4, pl. 114).

Bibliography: Dehn/Dolce Vatican L.4 (14 × 9 mm); Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.1835 (glass paste once in the Stosch collection reproducing No. 46, with more literature).

Commentary: Judging from the surviving impressions, the gem is engraved in the Imperial Small Grooves Style and dated to the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 47. *Subject:* A female goddess pours a libation from a *phiale*, a lyre, swan, and griffin at her feet.

Gem: Green chalcedony intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 55* (... *scolpito in prasma d'emeraldo ... nel museo del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The green chalcedony gemstone type was particularly popular among the Romans in the 1st century AD.

HEROES AND MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS

No. 48. *Subject:* Achilles on his knees fatally wounded by an arrow in his heel.

Gem: Carnelian or sard intaglio.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 579 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 98* (... *scolpito in una carneola e si conserva fra le gemme di Odam*).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class III, no. 277, p. 381; Furtwängler 1896, no. 579; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. III.277 (with more literature).

Commentary: The impression of No. 48 suggests the gem to be cut in the Republican Pellet Style of the 1st century BC.

No. 49. *Subject:* Ajax dragging Cassandra out of Palladion.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 12 × 12 mm.

Location and provenance: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. GS-00405 (once in the Odam and Thoms collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3109, fol. 179* (... *una Carneola si conserva fra le erudite gemme dell Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 405.

Commentary: The gem is engraved in the Republican Flat Bouterolle Style and thus dated to the late 1st century BC–early 1st century AD.

No. 50. *Subject:* Capaneus struck by Zeus with a thunderbolt.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 13 × 11 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* III.G no. 118 (*carneola, Odam*, 13 × 11 mm).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: According to the impression, the original was engraved in the Republican Campanian Style and should be dated to the 3rd–2nd centuries BC.

No. 51. Subject: Daedalus, seated, working on the second wing for his son Icarus who already has one attached to his back.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 8 × 11 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3699; Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* I.A no. 34 (Odam, 8 × 11 mm).

Bibliography: Levesques de Gravelle 1732, vol. 2, pl. LIV; Winckelmann 1760, class III, no. 101, pp. 334–335; Lippert¹ II², no. 76; Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 8724; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. III.101 (glass paste once in the Stosch collection reproducing *No. 51*, with full bibliography).

Commentary: The gem's impressions suggest the original to be cut in the Imperial Small Grooves Style and dated to the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 52. Subject: Diomedes with the Palladion in his hand, ascending from an altar.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 12 × 9 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* I.C no. 41 (*carneola*, Odam, 12 × 9 mm).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The gem's impressions suggest the original to be cut in the Imperial Classicizing Style and dated to the 1st century AD.

No. 53. Subject: The punishment of Dirce: Zethus and Amphion tie Dirce to a bull as a punishment for her treatment of their mother Antiope.

Gem: Carnelian or sard intaglio, 12 × 15 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3776.

Bibliography: Gori 1727, p. XXXV; Levesques de Gravelle 1732, vol. 2, pl. LII; Lippert¹ II², no. 97; Winckelmann 1760, class III, no. 55, pp. 322–323; Dehn/Dolce Vatican Q.37 (12 × 15 mm); Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 8625; Cades Grande 26.III.B.90; Furtwängler 1896, no. 9854; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 373; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 2007, t. II, c. 3, no. 196; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. III.56 (glass paste once in the Stosch collection reproducing *No. 53*, with full bibliography).

Commentary: Judging from gem's impressions, the original was engraved in the Republican Wheel Style and hence, dated to the second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 54. Subject: Heracles seated on a rock tied by Cupid, his club next to him.

Gem: Amethyst intaglio, 18 × 15 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3596; Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* IV.O no. 87 (*amethysto*, Odam, 18 × 15 mm).

Bibliography: Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 6010.

Commentary: The technique of engraving and style is Hellenistic, 2nd–early 1st centuries BC.

No. 55. Subject: The upper part of three warriors advancing, all helmeted; one with shield decorated with a griffin attacking a deer; one with a head on the corselet; one with a linen corselet and shield. “The Horatii”, but the middle one may be wounded, perhaps Aeneas and his companions Mnestheus and Achates.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 15 × 17 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3064 (*Apud equitem Hier: Odam* ~); Berlin, OS4270a (vol. 3, pl. 4); Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* III.H no. 87 (Odam, 15 × 17 mm).

Bibliography: Lippert¹ II², no. 453 (*sardon*, *Eques Obdam*); Dehn/Dolce Vatican CC.5 (15 × 17 mm); Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 10024 (carnelian, Duke of Marlborough); Cades Grande 35.IV.C.69; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 426; Boardman *et al.* 2009, no. 691; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.960 (with full bibliography).

Commentary: In the Museo Archeologico, Bari, there is a glass paste made after this gem that is incorrectly taken as the original (inv. no. 2017—Tamma 1991, no. 12). The gem was cut in the Republican Hellenistic–Roman Style and dated to the 3rd–2nd centuries BC.

No. 56, Fig. 27. Subject: Orpheus plays a lyre under a tree surrounded by animals.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 16 × 13 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3765; Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 177*; Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* III.G no. 116 (*sardonica*, Odam, 16 × 13 mm).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class III, no. 46, p. 322; Vettori Vatican D.40; Furtwängler 1896, no. 9853; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. III.46 (glass paste once in the Stosch collection reproducing *No. 56*, with full bibliography).

Commentary: According to the impressions, this gem was engraved in the Imperial Classicizing Style in the 1st century AD.

No. 57. Subject: Bearded, naked man (Theseus?) seated on a rock putting his leg on the head of a bull.

Gem: Unspecified intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 87* (… *Questo prezioso monumento fra le cose piu rare che possiede il Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The subject was popular in the late Roman Republican period, second half of the 1st century BC?

WARRIORS AND ATHLETES

No. 58. Subject: An athlete stands scraping his arm, a disc at his feet and a palm branch on the left.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 9 × 8 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3999; Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* I.H no. 63 (*carneola*, Odam, 9 × 8 mm).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Judging from the impression, the original gem was engraved in the Republican Flat Bouterolle Style, late 1st century BC–early 1st century AD.

No. 59, Fig. 4. Subject: Two young wrestling athletes, watched over by two old men, one with a stick and the second with a palm branch. A herm on the left side. Inscription I TTA IΣ.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. GS-00256 (once in the Odam and Thoms collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. Lat. 3106, fol. 72.*

Bibliography: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 256.

Commentary: In Thoms' unfinished catalogue of his gems it is stated that he bought this intaglio from Odam in Rome. The inscription was added in the 18th century. The gem was engraved in the Republican Extinguished Pellet Style, late 1st century BC.

No. 60. Subject: A winged man stands next to a herm with a palm branch and a disc in his hands.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 24* (*... scolpito in una Carneola appresso il Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 6962.

Commentary: Unusual subject in glyptics. Tassie's impression suggests the original to be cut in the Republican Wheel Style in the second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 61. Subject: A triumphant horse rider with a palm branch and laurel wreath leads twelve horses, Victory crowns him with a laurel wreath. Inscription: STESVS.

Gem: Red jasper intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 2949; Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 105 and 3109, fol. 176* (*Questo raro intaglio é posseduto tra le cose pici rare dell. Cav. Girolamo Odam amatore delle antichità.*).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class V, no. 51, p. 468; Cades Grande 43.IV.F.142; Furtwängler 1896, no. 9667; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. V.51 (glass paste once in the Stosch collection reproducing *No. 61*, with full bibliography).

Commentary: The inscription refers to the name of the gem's sitter. Popular subject on Roman gems, apparently cut in the Imperial Small Grooves Style, 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 62. Subject: A victorious charioteer with a palm branch and a laurel wreath rides quadriga to the right, a column on the right. Inscription: ASCLEPIADE.

Gem: Rock crystal intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3107, fol. 180* (*... una Gemma di Cristal di Monte ... e posseduta nella raccolta erudite del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The inscription refers to the name of the gem's sitter. Popular subject on Roman Imperial gems, the gemstone type used suggests 1st century AD.

No. 63. Subject: Horse races in a circus.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 10 × 13 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* I.H no. 24 (*carneola*, Odam, 10 × 13 mm).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Judging from the impression, the gem was engraved in the Imperial Small Grooves Style, 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 64. Subject: A young warrior buries his companion under two shields, two spears, and a sword.

Gem: Nicolo intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. Lat. 3106, fol. 84* (*... Agata Sardonica di due colori ... fra le cose rare del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 7512; Cades Grande 32.IV.I.23; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 2007, t. III, c. 7, no. 379.

Commentary: According to the impressions, the gem was engraved in the Imperial Small Grooves Style in the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 65. Subject: Young warrior stands to the front, naked, wearing only his sword in a sheath, his shield on the left and his cloak and helmet on a column on the right.

Gem: Green chalcedony intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 52* (*... scolpito in una Plasma posseduta dal Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Green chalcedony was most commonly used in Roman glyptics in the 1st century AD.

No. 66. Subject: Two naked warriors to the left in a fight, one wheels his sword to attack and grabs his opponent's hair.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 9 × 12 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3107, fol. 51* (... *in una Carneola ... originale che si conserva fra gli intaglio erudizio dal mio amico Cav Odam*).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class III, no. 338, p. 393–394; Dehn/Dolce Vatican R.89 (9 × 12 mm); Tassie *Dactyliothea*, no. 7449; Cades Grande 30.III.E.308; Furtwängler 1896, no. 9298; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. III.338 (with more literature).

Commentary: Judging from the impressions, the gem was cut in the Imperial Classicizing Style in the 1st century AD. According to Ghezzi's commentary under the drawing, Odam's original gem was copied on the commission of Stosch. That copy is now in Berlin, Antikensammlung: carnelian intaglio FG 9298.

No. 67. *Subject*: *Ver sacrum*—three warriors about to make a sacrifice of a bull, the one in the front pours a libation from a *phiale* into a flame on an altar.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 13 × 10 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliothea* III.H no. 90 (*carneola*, Odam, 13 × 10 mm).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The subject enjoyed some popularity in the late Roman Republican period. The technique and style involve some pelleting—Republican Pellet Style of the 1st century BC.

THEATRE AND MASKS

No. 68. *Subject*: A fully dressed comedy actor holding a mask.

Gem: Garnet (hyacinth) intaglio, 16 × 12 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 48* (... *scolpito in un Giacinto ... che posseduto del Cav Odam*).

Bibliography: Lippert¹ I², no. 476; Dehn/Dolce Vatican CC.68 (16 × 12 mm); Cades Grande 44.IV.J.35.

Commentary: Popular subject in the late Roman Republican period, judging from the impressions, the gem was engraved in the Republican Pellet Style in the 1st century BC.

No. 69. *Subject*: Bust of a bearded, angry, old man of New Comedy (*páppos pròtos* or *páppos héteros*) to the right.

Gem: Carnelian or sard intaglio, 12 × 10 mm.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 1934 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3229; Ghezzi *Dactyliothea* IV.X no. 52 (*sardonica*, Odam, 12 × 10 mm).

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1934; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.1350 (with full bibliography).

Commentary: The intaglio was cut in the Republican Pellet Style in the second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 70. *Subject*: A theatrical mask to the front.

Gem: Onyx or black jasper intaglio, 10 × 9 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliothea* IV.X no. 9 (*onice*, Odam, 10 × 9 mm).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The black jasper of nearly circular shape was the most popular in the late Roman Republican glyptics in the 1st century BC and the technique of engraving (Republican Pellet Style) confirms that date.

No. 71. *Subject*: A theatrical mask to the front.

Gem: Onyx or black jasper intaglio, 11 × 10 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliothea* IV.X no. 28 (*onice*, Odam, 11 × 10 mm).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The black jasper of nearly circular shape was the most popular in the late Roman Republican glyptics in the 1st century BC and the technique of engraving (Republican Pellet Style) confirms that date.

No. 72. *Subject*: A theatrical mask to the front.

Gem: Onyx or black jasper intaglio, 12 × 9 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliothea* IV.X no. 30 (*onice*, Odam, 12 × 9 mm).

Subject: Theatrical mask to the front.

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The black jasper was the most popular in the late Roman Republican glyptics in the 1st century BC and the technique of engraving (Republican Pellet Style) confirms that date.

EVERYDAY-LIFE SCENES

No. 73. *Subject*: A huntsman stands with a hare in his hand and two birds he has caught on a stick.

Gem: Green chalcedony intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 97* (... *questa gemma e in plasma d'emeraldo posseduta dal mio amico Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The subject is popular in Roman Imperial glyptics. Green chalcedony was commonly used in the 1st century AD.

No. 74. *Subject:* A goat-headed man milking a female-headed goat.

Gem: Green chalcedony intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 3487 (*Apud Equitem Hier: Odam ~*); Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3109, fol. 68* (*... intaglio in plasma disperato posseduta dal Cav. Odam ...*).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 1502, p. 240; Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 5438; Furtwängler 1896, no. 9528; Ubaldelli 2001, no. 40 (mentioned); Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.1502 (with full bibliography).

Commentary: Rare subject in Roman Imperial glyptic art. Green chalcedony was the most commonly used in the 1st century AD. Stosch had a glass paste reproducing *No. 74*, which was once in Berlin, Antikensammlung: glass paste FG 9528 (lost during the Second World War).

No. 75. *Subject:* A man, wearing a cloak, stands to the front with a vessel in his left hand. With his right hand he throws seeds.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3106, fol. 181* (*... in Carneola ... conservata fra le rare cose del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Unusual subject, most likely Roman Imperial gem.

No. 76. *Subject:* Old, bearded man bent wearing his boot to the front.

Gem: Red jasper intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3107, fol. 66* (*... diaspro rosso posseduta dal Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Unusual subject on Roman gems, see a close parallel: Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca, inv. no. 15750—Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXII.58; Ubaldelli 2001, no. 168 (with full bibliography). Type of the gemstone used suggests Roman Imperial period, possibly 1st century AD.

No. 77. *Subject:* Philosopher seated in a chair reads a scroll, a skeleton in front of him.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 12 × 10 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* I.A no. 78 (*carneola, Odam, 12 × 10 mm*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Judging from the impression, this gem was engraved in the Republican Flat Bouterolle Style in the second half of the 1st century BC or first half of the 1st century AD.

ANIMALS AND FANTASTIC CREATURES

No. 78. *Subject:* Eagle with spread wings stands on the rocks holding prey—a hare—in its claws, a dog barking at it on the left and another hare in a hole below.

Gem: Unspecified intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 4132 (*Apud Equitem Hieronymus Odam*).

Bibliography: Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 2264.

Commentary: Common subject on Roman Imperial gems, possibly 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 79, Fig. 23. *Subject:* An owl with *caduceus* and corn ear stands on a shield decorated with gorgoneion.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 14 × 11 mm.

Location and provenance: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. GS-00231 (once in the Odam and Thoms collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3104, fol. 35* (*... scolpito in una Carniola della raccolta d'Odam*).

Bibliography: Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 1791; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 231.

Commentary: The gem was an amulet and the combination refers to several deities: owl—Athena, *caduceus*—Mercury, corn ear—Ceres, shield with Gorgoneion strengthens apotropaic qualities of the intaglio. The gem was cut in the Republican Pellet Style, second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 80. *Subject:* Owl seated on an olive tree, Corinthian helmet, spear and shield decorated with gorgoneion in the bottom.

Gem: Green chalcedony intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3109, fol. 168* (*In questo intaglio in prasma di emeraldo ... questo intaglio si vede fra le erudite gemme del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Lippert¹ II¹, no. 35; Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 1783.

Commentary: Green chalcedony was commonly used in the 1st century AD and the Imperial Classicizing Style also suggests that date.

No. 81. *Subject:* Panther lies down with its head turned back.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 4421 (Cornelian, Chevalier Odam, convex, ditto [panther] lying down).

Bibliography: Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 4421.

Commentary: Common subject in Roman glyptics, judging from the impression, the gem was cut in the Imperial Small Grooves Style, possibly 1st century AD.

No. 82. Subject: A raven stands on a quiver with a bow and arrows.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 92* (... *in una carneola nell istessa datilotecca Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Popular subject on the late Roman Republican and early Roman Imperial gems, most likely 1st century BC–1st century AD?

No. 83. Subject: A raven stands with a burning torch in its beak to the right.

Gem: Nicolo intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 91* (... *scolpito in niccolo nella raccolta di Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Nicolo gemstone used suggests the gem to be from the Roman Imperial period, 1st–2nd centuries AD.

No. 84. Subject: A tortoise on an anchor.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3104, fol. 42* (... *Carneola é posseduta dal Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The symbolic subject referring to Mercury and Neptune points to the late Roman Republican or early Imperial glyptics, 1st century BC–1st century AD?

No. 85. Subject: Swan to the right.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 9 × 12 mm.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* V.D no. 2 (*carneola, Odam, 9 × 12 mm*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Judging from the impression, the gem was engraved in the Imperial Classicizing Style in the 1st century AD.

No. 86. Subject: Capricorn surrounded with four knucklebones (astragali).

Gem: Unspecified intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 46* (... *questa intaglio posseduto del Cav Odam fra le altre sue rare cose*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The subject is evidently Roman and the gem possibly from the 1st century BC–1st century AD?

No. 87. Subject: Chimera.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3109, fol. 180* (... *in una Carneola posseduta nella raccolta dell Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The subject enjoyed popularity in the Roman Imperial period, 1st–2nd centuries AD?

No. 88. Subject: Pegasus flies to the left.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 10 × 12 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* I.A no. 14 (*carneola, Odam, 10 × 12 mm*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The gem was cut in the Republican Flat Bouterolle Style, first half of the 1st century AD.

No. 89. Subject: Pegasus flies to the left.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 9 × 12 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* I.A no. 19 (*carneola, Odam, 9 × 12 mm*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The gem was engraved in the Imperial Classicizing Style in the 1st century AD.

MASK–ANIMAL COMBINATIONS/HYBRIDS

No. 90. Subject: Bust of Athena wearing *aegis* and two heads of Silenoi on her head crowned by a laurel wreath.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 13 × 9 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 2891; Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* IV.S no. 47 (13 × 9 mm).

Bibliography: De’Rossi & Maffei 1707–1709, vol. 2, pl. 63.

Commentary: According to De’Rossi & Maffei (1707–1709, vol. 2, pl. 63), carnelian, Girolamo Odam collection. The gem was engraved in the Republican Wheel Style of the second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 91. Subject: Cockerel’s body with Athena’s head stands to the right.

Gem: Onyx intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3107, fol. 129* (... *scolpito in un Onice che e appresso dal Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Lippert¹ II¹, no. 404; Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 13565.

Commentary: Amuletic combination standing for Athena and Mercury. The impressions suggest Imperial Small Grooves Style, late 1st century AD.

No. 92. Subject: Combination: dolphin’s body terminated with Silenus’ mask to the right, two bands hanging down.

Gem: Onyx intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3107, fol. 185* (... *scolpito in un onice appresso del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Popular subject on Roman Imperial gems, possibly 1st–2nd centuries AD.

OBJECTS, SYMBOLS, AND COMBINATIONS OF SYMBOLS

No. 93. *Subject:* A calyx crater decorated with a woman riding a biga, a naked youth in front of it, and two female sphinxes in the lower register.

Gem: Glass gem.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 6009 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Berlin, OS4270a (vol. 6, pl. 108—*Apud Equites Hier. Odam*).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class V, no. 103, p. 460; Furtwängler 1896, no. 6009; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. V.107 (with more literature).

Commentary: The gem was engraved in the Republican Wheel Style, second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 94. *Subject:* A calyx crater decorated with a woman riding a biga and a female sphinx to the front beneath.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 7111 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Berlin, OS4270a (vol. 6, pl. 107—*Apud Equites Hier. Odam* ~).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class V, no. 103, p. 460; Furtwängler 1896, no. 7111; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. V.103 (with more literature).

Commentary: The gem was cut in the Imperial Classicizing Style in the 1st century AD.

No. 95. *Subject:* A vase decorated with a winged lion.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3100, fol. 72* (*Da Carneola di Bacco Vecchio d'Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Popular subject in the late Roman Republican period, possibly 1st century BC.

No. 96. *Subject:* A vase decorated with a biga.

Gem: Glass gem.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3100, fol. 134* (*Pasta antica del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Popular subject in the late Roman Republican period, possibly 1st century BC.

No. 97. *Subject:* A Hermaphrodite herm dressed in a cloak with *thyrsus* and erect penis to the front-right.

Gem: Amethyst intaglio, 14 × 8 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 61* (... *in un bello ametisto nell ... dactilotecca Odam*).

Bibliography: Dehn/Dolce Vatican K.37 (14 × 8 mm).

Commentary: The subject and the gemstone type as well as technique of engraving (Imperial Classicizing Style) suggest dating to the 1st century AD.

No. 98. *Subject:* A seven-string lyre with bandelettes on the sides.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Berlin, OS4270a (vol. 3, pl. 53—*Apud Equitem Odam Romae*).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class II, no. 1157, p. 195; Furtwängler 1896, no. 9797; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.1157 (glass paste once in the Stosch collection reproducing No. 98, with full bibliography).

Commentary: Judging from the impression, the gem was cut in the Republican Flat Bouterolle Style, late 1st century BC—early 1st century AD.

No. 99. *Subject:* A lyre.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 12 × 9 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* IV.Z no. 6 (*carneola, Odam, 12 × 9 mm*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The gem was engraved in the Republican Pellet Style of the 1st century BC.

No. 100. *Subject:* A ship to the right.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 7091 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 43* (... *da una carneola che si conserva nella raccolta del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7091; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. VI.6 (with full bibliography).

Commentary: The gem was cut in the Republican Wheel Style in the second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 101. *Subject:* A swan-like ship with a trophy on its deck.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 39* (... *scolpito in Carneola appresso il Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 2709.

Commentary: Popular subject on late Roman Republican gems, the technique (Republican Wheel Style) suggests dating to the second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 102. *Subject:* A crested helmet with a top in the form of a swan.

Gem: Glass gem.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 74* (... *in una pasta antica anche questa appresso il d. V. Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Popular subject in the late Roman Republican period, possibly 1st century BC.

No. 103. *Subject:* A crested helmet decorated with a galloping horse and a sphinx.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 6674 (once the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 72* (... *scolpito in carneola posseduto dal mio amico Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6674; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. II.1037 (with more literature).

Commentary: The gem was engraved in the Republican Flat Bouterolle Style, second half of the 1st century BC–first half of the 1st century AD.

No. 104. *Subject:* A crested helmet to the right.

Gem: Amethyst intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 75* (... *scolpita in una amatista nella raccolta del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Popular subject in the late Roman Republican glyptics. Probably carved on a biconvex amethyst, a form that was commonly used in the second half of the 1st century BC and first half of the 1st century AD.

No. 105. *Subject:* A crested helmet to the right.

Inscription: LVC.

Gem: Agate intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 76* (... *scolpita in un agata bigia nella raccolta Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The inscription refers to the name of the owner of the gem. It might be an abbreviation from, for example, Lucius or it might be an abbreviation of *tria nomina*: L(---) U(---) C(---). Giving the popularity of the subject matter in

the late Roman Republican period and the inscription type, the gem is likely dated to the 1st century BC.

No. 106. *Subject:* A crested helmet with a top in the form of an eagle or a griffin.

Gem: Chalcedony intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 2968; Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 73* (... *scolpita in una Calcedonia ... si conserva nell datilotecca Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Possibly 1st century BC–1st century AD?

No. 107. *Subject:* A hand holding Heracles' club and a palm branch.

Gem: Agate intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 56* (... *scolpito in un agata sardonica posseduta dal Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Possibly 1st century BC–1st century AD?

No. 108. *Subject:* Two clasped hands (*dextrarum iunctio*), a lyre and cornucopias above.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 13 × 10 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 63* (... *scolpito in una carneola posseduta dal Cav. Odam*); Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* IV.S no. 97 (*carneola*, 13 × 10 mm).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Judging from the impression, the gem was engraved in the Republican Flat Bouterolle Style in the second half of the 1st century BC or in the first half of the 1st century AD.

No. 109. *Subject:* A winged foot, *caduceus*, and money bag of Mercury.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio, 8 × 9 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 69* (... *scolpito in una piccolo Carneola ... e posseduta fra alter riguardevoli antichita chi simili genere del Cav. Odam*); Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* IV.R. no. 68 (*carneola*, 8 × 9 mm).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The gem was cut in the Republican Wheel Style in the second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 110. *Subject:* A poppy and two burning torches.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 4360 (*Apud equitem Hieronymem Odam*); Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3107, fol. 171.*

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Roman gem, possibly engraved in the 1st century BC–1st century AD when similar compositions were the most popular.

No. 111. *Subject:* A shield, *caduceus*, palm branch, and Hercules' club.

Gem: Carnelian, sard, or sardonyx intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 127* (... *da una Gemma antica sardonica posseduta ... da Cav. Odam ...*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Similar combination of symbols were particularly popular in the late Roman Republican period, 1st century BC?

No. 112. *Subject:* Symbols—a skull in three-quarter view to the right surrounded with a *patra*(?), one-handed vessel, four knuckle bones (*astragali*), two upper ones attached to a garland made of a backbone.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Cortona, Accademia Etrusca, inv. no. 15742 (once in the Odam and de' Rossi collections).

Source: Kraków, MNK XV Rr. 4364.

Bibliography: Vettori 1739, 70; Mariette 1750, vol. 1, 416; Dehn/Dolce Vatican DD.2 (12 × 14 mm); Tassie *Dactylothea*, no. 8223; Cades Grande 42.IV.E.62; Treu 1874, 23, no. 62; le Blant 1898, 105; Furtwängler 1900, vol. 1, pl. XLVI.24, vol. 2, 145; Lippold 1922, pl. 66.13; Zahn 1923, 15, fig. 5; Barocchi & Gallo 1985, no. 173; di Bruscetti 1985–1986, no. 61; Zwierlein-Diehl 2013, 61.

Commentary: According to Furtwängler (1900, vol. 1, pl. XLVI.24, vol. 2, 145)—once in Odam's collection. According to di Bruscetti (1985–1986, no. 61)—donated by de' Rossi in 1761, by whom probably purchased in Rome (from Odam?). The gem was engraved in the Republican Extinguishing Peelet Style, second half of the 1st century BC.

No. 113, Fig. 3. *Subject:* Stylus with a case and inscription PILOCRATE.

Gem: Chalcedony intaglio, 13 × 16 mm.

Location and provenance: Kraków, the National Museum, inv. no.: MNK IV-Ew-Zł-1719 (once in the Buonarroti, Capponi, Odam, and Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński [1818–1889] collections).

Bibliography: Ubaldelli 2001, app. 2, no. 1b; Gołyźniak 2017, no. 215.

Commentary: The gem belonged to a man named Philocrates, who according to the device was a clerk, official, or a scribe. It was cut in the Italic-Republican Pellet Style, 1st century BC.

MAGICAL GEM

No. 114. *Subject:* Ibis with five rays around the head standing on a burning torch.

Gem: Green jasper intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 57* (... *scolpito in un diaspro verde sanguignico e ... nella erudita raccolta Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: The subject matter and the gemstone type suggest this piece to be a magical gem, dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD.

EARLY CHRISTIAN GEM

No. 115. *Subject:* An anchor flanked by two fish.

Gem: Lapis lazuli intaglio, 11 × 9 mm or 9 × 7 mm.

Location and provenance: Perhaps Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 3267 (once in the Odam collection).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3104, fol. 45* (... *Questa si conserva frag li antichi intagli del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Spier 2007, no. 231.

Commentary: There are two very close impressions after gems taken by Vettori, now kept in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana: Vettori Vatican B.2 (9 × 7 mm) or C.14 (11 × 9 mm). One of them probably reproduces Odam's intaglio. The subject is very popular among the Early Christian gems, especially in the 3rd century AD.

MODERN GEMS

No. 116. *Subject:* Bacchus seated on a panther with *thyrsus* watering it from a *kantharos*.

Gem: Chalcedony cameo, 16 × 13 mm.

Location and provenance: Perhaps London, the British Museum, inv. no. 1890,0601.9 (once in the Odam and Carlisle collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 93* (... *in un Cameo ... si conserva fra le rare cose del mio ... amico Cav Odam*).

Bibliography: Dehn/Dolce Vatican E.78 (16 × 13 mm); Lippold 1922, pl. CVII.7.

Commentary: The subject as well as technique of engraving and style betray the work of a modern artist, 18th century.

No. 117. *Subject:* Dionysus, with a *kantharos* in his hand, and Ariadne seated on a rock, Silenus with *thyrsus* and *kantharos* stands next to them, vine around.

Gem: Unspecified intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown (since 1735 in the Odam collection).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 128* (... *questo antico monumento nelle mani del Cav Odam mio partialissimo amico esendopi ritrovato nel museo maggio del 1735*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Ghezzi's drawing is abnormally large suggesting large size of the original cameo which does not fit ancient cameos, and the unusual and complex iconography points to the modern period, 18th century?

No. 118. *Subject:* Hades capturing Proserpine on a quadriga drawn by Cupid, a vessel with coins tossed beneath.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 5* (... *sculpito in una Carneola posseduto dal med. Cav. Odam*); Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* I.H no. 38 (*carneola, Odam, 12 × 15 mm*).

Bibliography: Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 15087.

Commentary: A very similar subject is represented on an intaglio reproduced in Dehn/Dolce Vatican AA.127 (21 × 30 mm). Some iconographical elements like the vessel with tossed coins as well as the style observed on the impression betray modern engraving, 18th century?

No. 119. *Subject:* Omphale, wearing the lion-skin, stands to the right shouldering a club.

Gem: Onyx (?) cameo.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 112* (... *sculpito in un cameo di due colori appresso dal Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: As far as the style from Ghezzi's drawing can be judged, this cameo is post-classical, 18th century?

No. 120. *Subject:* Draped bust of a Greek philosopher to the right.

Gem: Carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 9940 (*Cornelian, Jer. Odam (Lipp.II.380) ...*).

Bibliography: Lippert¹ II¹, no. 380; Tassie *Dactyliotheca*, no. 9940.

Commentary: The surviving impressions suggest the gem dates to the 18th century according to the technique and style of engraving.

No. 121. *Subject:* A Greek warrior with a shield throwing a stone.

Gem: Burnt carnelian intaglio.

Location and provenance: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. FG 6488 (once in the Odam and Stosch collections).

Source: Vatican, Cod. Ott. lat. 3108, fol. 108* (... *in una Carneola ... si conserva far le rare cose del Cav. Odam*).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1760, class III, no. 228, p. 368; Dehn/Dolce Vatican CC.4 (16 × 11 mm); Furtwängler

1896, no. 6488, pl. 45; Borbein *et al.* 2019, no. III.228 (with more literature).

Commentary: The subject matter as well as technique of engraving and style suggest post-classical date, 18th century?

No. 122. *Subject:* Bust of Hannibal to the right.

Gem: Agate intaglio, 15 × 12 mm.

Location and provenance: Current whereabouts unknown.

Source: Ghezzi *Dactyliotheca* I.G no. 41 (*agata, Odam, 15 × 12 mm*).

Bibliography: No references available.

Commentary: Popular historical subject in post-classical glyptics, 18th century.

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