

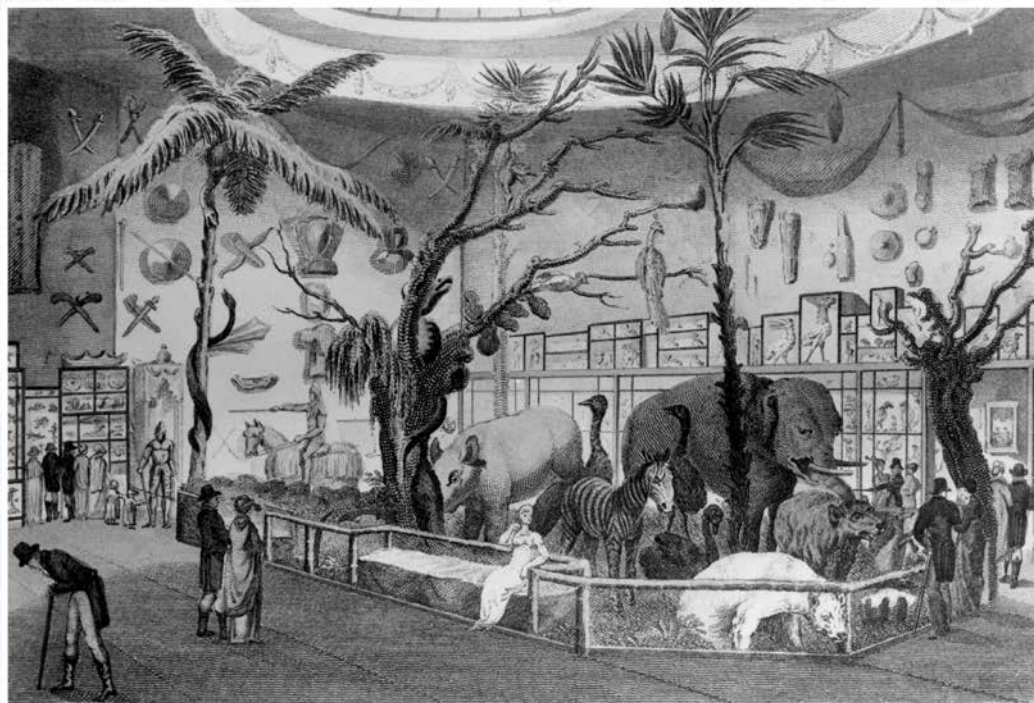
PERSPECTIVES ON COLLECTING



# *The* **collector's voice**

VOLUME 2

*Early Voices*



BULLOCK'S MUSEUM,  
22, Piccadilly.

**Susan Pearce** *and*  
**Kenneth Arnold**

**The Collector's Voice:  
Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting**

**Perspectives on Collecting  
Edited by Susan Pearce  
University of Leicester, UK**

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# The Collector's Voice: Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting

Volume 2  
Early Voices

Edited by  
SUSAN PEARCE AND KEN ARNOLD

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## General Preface to Series

The study of collecting is a growth point in cultural studies. Like most exciting developments, it is on the cusp where older studies meet and stimulate each other; but it is also conceived as a study of practice, of the ways in which people make sense of the world by bringing elements together. Because we and our world are material, and our ways of understanding are tied to the physical reality of material, one of the prime ways in which this sense is created is through the accumulation and juxtaposition of material things. Following the seminal publication of Benjamin's essays and Arendt's Introduction to them (1970), a range of studies have been important in the development of our understanding in this field. Some have been in the broader field of material culture (for example Appadurai, 1986; Miller, 1985; Hodder, 1986). Others have contributed to our understanding of museums, as the institution *par excellence* which sustains and is sustained by the practice of collecting (for example Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Bennett, 1995; Pearce, 1992). Closely related to this has been the whole People's Show Project which brought contemporary collectors into museum galleries and opened up an important range of popular collecting issues (for example Lovatt, 1997). This climate of interest, linked with important studies by Baudrillard (1984), Pomian (1990) and Stewart (1984) have stimulated a number of specialised studies in the collecting field. Elsner and Cardinal have published an important collection of essays on individual collecting topics (1994) and Pearce has produced a broad analysis of collecting practice (1995) and a study of contemporary popular collecting practice (1998), while Martin has published an analysis of the relationship between collecting and social institutions at the end of the twentieth century (1999). Arnold has produced a study of the 'cabinets of curiosity' phenomenon, and Bounia and Thomason have turned their attention to ancient collecting, Bounia of the classical world (1998) and Thomason of the ancient Middle East. Flanders is working on the collecting processes associated with nineteenth-century museums, and a number of similar pieces of work are in progress.

This intellectual realisation has been matched by a flood of popular interest in collectors and collecting. The *Independent*, *The Times* and the *Guardian* now run regular collecting columns. The BBC sees ever-increasing spin-offs from the *Antiques Roadshow* programme, and the other channels, television and radio, have their own series. A parallel reverberation of the same phenomenon is seen in the extent to which collecting, used in a variety of ways, appears as a recurrent theme in contemporary fiction.

The four volumes of *The Collector's Voice: Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting* series take the perspective of the long term. The first, *Ancient Voices*, addresses collecting practice in ancient northern Europe, ancient and classical Greece and imperial Rome, and the post-Roman period through the early and high Middle Ages to the beginnings of European early modernism in the fifteenth century. The second, *Early Voices*, covers collecting during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and into the early eighteenth century. The third, *Imperial Voices*, concentrates upon nineteenth- and earlier twentieth-century collectors up to about 1960. The final volume, *Contemporary Voices*, focuses attention upon the nature of collecting in the closing decades of the twentieth century. In all four volumes the written, or sometimes recorded, voices of the collectors themselves are paramount, but it is hoped that the editorial content which surrounds each text will place the quoted material in its appropriate context.

Two issues emerge clearly from what has been said: the definition of 'collecting'; and the idea of a 'European tradition' of collecting, which presupposes that the notion of a continuity of ideas and practices from one generation to another over a period of several millennia within a particular, and relatively limited, geographical area is a valid premise on which to mount investigation. Benjamin in his essay on his library (1970), and Arendt in her Introduction to his essays, both of which stand at the head of the contemporary critique of collecting practice, make the point that 'insofar as the past has been transmitted as tradition, it possesses authority; insofar as authority presents itself historically, it becomes tradition' (Arendt, 1970: 38). But this line of thought undermines the notion of tradition as an essentially valid element in the historical process; it does not break out of the human predicament which means that the only way in which to behave newly or differently is to do so in relation to a past, which is inevitably perceived as a powerful influence upon the present. And, of course, through most generations, people have not particularly wished to break dramatically with the past, but rather to improve upon it.

The generational link is essentially one of perception: individuals in each generation have an idea, by word of mouth or by reading, of what their predecessors did, and make their own use of what comes to them as the traditions of the past; it should be recognised that the capacity to accumulate goods, and to access the traditions of the past, tend to rest with the same restricted class of people, for whom the past as they perceive it is of importance because it provides the legitimisation for their present position. To put the point slightly differently, the fostering of the notion of a broad European tradition has been an important aspect of self-identity among the collecting classes, whatever they have actually made of it, and so it must also do so in a critique of collecting practice.

The definition of 'Europe' emerges within this context as a series of self-fulfilling arguments. These centre on a broadly similar 'heroic' prehistory across Europe susceptible to interpretation along Homeric lines, and a range of shared authors writing in Greek and Latin, beginning with Homer. Christendom follows as the successor to the classical world, defined in opposition to Islam and sharing a Latin culture which endured into the eighteenth century. Thereafter is seen a common Enlightenment, a common focus on imperialist nation states, and a common disillusion as the second millennium AD closes. Outsiders have been variously defined as barbarians, non-citizens, pagans and natives, and as being unenlightened and underdeveloped, but the core area defined in terms of the perceived intellectual tradition of which collecting is a part has remained remarkably stable, historical fluctuations notwithstanding, and concentrates upon north-western Europe and the lands around the northern Mediterranean shore.

Within all this, how can 'collecting' and 'collection' be viewed usefully as an aid to the critique through personal testimony of particular material social practices? Here we have to recognise that collecting is a complex business and that a difficult path must be taken between 'collecting' as narrowly defined in recent decades, and in relation to recent generations (see Pearce, 1995: 39–56 for a summary), and much broader 'accumulation' which contemporaries would not have seen as 'collections' in any meaningful way (although successors might). The view taken in the last three volumes of this series is that 'collectors' are left to be self-defining on the understanding that they will define themselves, of course, according to their perception of their relationship to the European tradition just discussed. The first volume takes a wider view, for reasons which are discussed in its Introduction.

The contemporary interest in collecting practices, referred to earlier, needs the core reference material which is essential to its study, and the present series addresses this need. This formative material is extremely difficult to access because it is widely scattered, exists only patchily in specialist libraries and archives, and sometimes requires translating, usually from Greek or Latin, into English. The editors have endeavoured to bring the most interesting material together, translate it if necessary, and present each piece with an introduction, explanatory notes and bibliographical references. All choice is subjective, and not all will agree with the choices made here; and the editors themselves are aware of much interesting material which has had to be omitted. But we hope that enough is offered to provide material for discussion and to provoke future review of notions about collecting practices in the European tradition.

Susan Pearce, General Editor  
August 1999

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# Introduction

The title of this, the second volume of the *Collector's Voice* series, was chosen with great care, and the final selection, *Early Voices*, is intended to reflect the notion that between 1500 and 1820 (or thereabouts) the conceptual world of Europe had been transformed from what might be labelled a medieval outlook, to one which clearly has much in common with that of the world we inhabit. The bundle of images, concepts, assumptions and capacities which together make up the mindset of what is often called 'modernism' came together in these centuries, which embrace the earlier phase (roughly 1500–1660) and a middle phase (roughly 1660–1820). The final phase of 'late' or 'mature' modernism (c. 1820–1960) will be the subject of Volume 3. The perceived relationship between humankind and the material world is in many ways at the heart of the transformation, and its collecting aspect is traced here.

This volume is divided into five parts, a division which serves two purposes. It reflects a chronological distinction in which the material discussed in Part I, 'Curious voices', covers broadly 1500–1660, that in Part II, 'Scientific voices', covers 1660–1730, and that in Part III, 'Enlightened voices', 1730–1820. However, the last two chapters parallel what we see happening in the later part of the period: Part IV, 'Antique voices', discusses the siren lure the remains of classical antiquity had for the collectors of the period, and Part V, 'Strange voices', charts the underside of the Enlightenment.

Sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century museums were placed at the very core of an intellectual quest that they helped define: namely the disciplined exploitation of wonder and curiosity. In this period, museums became the unofficial laboratories *cum* public fora for a new empirical and increasingly 'rational' approach to the material world. The manner in which collectors and curators pursued this research agenda was to bring within museum walls a whole series of enquiries and interests which had hitherto been scattered across various disciplines, as well as commercial and social spheres – from the treasure chests of seafaring adventurers to the fashionable studies of *virtuosi* gentlemen, and from alchemists' garrets to apothecaries' storerooms.

A seemingly improbable start for this era in the history of museums is located in a curious wooden structure, stuffed full of images, words and objects, to be found in 1530s Venice – Guilio Camillo Delminio's memory theatre. The contraption, which was meant to present the entire body of the world's knowledge in microcosm to a royal personage, crystallised at least three key elements in the emergent idea of the early modern

museum. First, the physical space of Camillo's theatre aimed to impart knowledge in a condensed manner; second, it housed not just words but also images and objects, and third, it strove to focus attention by excluding the outside world of distractions.

The same goal of using a 'cabinet' to capture the world in microcosm was to be found in a work by Samuel á Quiccheberg, held by many to be the first published treatise on modern museums. Buildings and collections of the type Quiccheberg outlined could, by the mid-sixteenth century, already be found in Europe; but his pioneering innovation lay in turning an aristocratic habit into an abstract museological monograph. A third foundational text in this formative period of modern museology came from the pen of Gabriel Kaltermarckt, an itinerant artist who sought employment as royal curator by proposing the establishment of an Italian-style *Kunstammer* in the city of Dresden.

These theoretical tracts were balanced by the practical activities of many more contemporary collectors. The passage from Ulisse Aldrovandi's work on insects (1602) reveals both some of the physical but also the social skills required of a museum collector and cataloguer. His collection of natural history specimens, and the didactic and disciplinary function to which he put it, also serves to indicate the emergence of an almost separate tradition of collecting alongside the more aristocratic concern for art treasures. His use of specimens in an exhaustive survey of nature in all its specificity turned on its head the dominant medieval concern to descend from theoretical principles to natural examples.

A working principle in Aldrovandi's encyclopaedic enterprise, this concern with empiricism was at the heart of Francis Bacon's scientific, cultural and social philosophy. Though Bacon does not himself seem to have set up a museum, his advice about doing so allows us to call attention to the absolutely central role of Baconian thought in the development of museums in this period. Bacon was in all things a reformer, and his recipe for improving intellectual life was to accumulate vast arrays of factual evidence, from which conjectures inductively and inevitably would follow. Along with libraries, gardens, menageries, chemical laboratories, mechanical workshops and the like, the other innovative institution central to this enormous empirical enquiry was the museum.

Along with empirical enquiry, another endeavour fundamentally crucial to the formation of early modern museums is travel. One looks in vain for a poorly-travelled collector in this period. In England, the importance of travel was twofold, providing both the opportunity to collect new objects but also exposing initially the upper classes to the fashionable Continental habit of collecting. A prime example of how such travel could spawn a lifetime of collecting comes in the figure of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, whose London house had by the late 1630s

taken on the appearance of one of the Italian palaces that he had first fallen in love with when on tour twenty years earlier. This aristocratic enthusiasm for collecting was particularly effectively disseminated through works like that of Henry Peacham (himself patronised by the Earl of Arundel), which included collecting coins and antiquities amongst its guidelines for proper gentlemanly conduct, thus creating a new social category: the gentleman-scholar. The social spread of this collecting urge was further aided by the practice of grand collectors employing 'agents'. A notable example of this effect comes in the career of John Tradescant the elder, who as gardener to various members of the aristocracy founded the museum which was to become the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

Collectors of both high and low birth were both prone to seeing and using their collections as a source of anecdotes – as, that is, a narrative extension of their own life stories. This intellectual rationale for teasing knowledge out of objects is perfectly illustrated in the preserved notes to the collection of John Bargrave (1610–80), in which his gathered objects are almost exclusively described in terms of anecdotes and narratives that they prompt him to remember. Bargrave's catalogue exemplifies a trend running throughout much seventeenth-century collecting – namely the crucial role played by the collector's or curator's own personal knowledge in the presentation of his curiosities. Though subject to the much more rigorous analysis demanded by the process of turning such anecdotes into a published monograph, this same strategy of using objects to anchor a series of narratives can also be seen in Robert Plot's reliance on objects in compiling his topographical, natural historical surveys of Oxfordshire (1677) and Staffordshire (1686).

An object-type commonly designated at the time as 'artificial' (that is, man-made) and 'exotic' (that is, not from the West) tended to be treated to a rather different form of analysis. Because reliable reports of new or poorly understood overseas lands were hard to come by, the real objects sent back by the likes of the John Winthrops, grandfather and grandson, to the Royal Society in London at the end of the seventeenth century were welcomed as a form of evidence that could reassuringly be contemplated and to some extent tested back home. The huge numbers of new objects that such voyagers brought or sent back to Europe were most commonly assessed in terms of how they compared to familiar objects, with which – either in terms of their form or especially their use – they seemed to bear a striking resemblance. Much of the interest in the material culture of foreign countries was therefore distinctly utilitarian. As a consequence, objects from far-flung cultures tended to be ascribed a categorical character that it was extremely tempting to understand simply in terms of variations within a known category. Limited as this type of analysis clearly was, even impoverished mental exercises suggest the

way ahead for what would more than a century later become a museum-based enquiry into non-Western material cultures.

The intellectual strategies employed on the one hand to understanding objects as factual evidence of a collector's anecdotal tales, or on the other, as functional units from a different but comprehensible 'exotic' culture, were both destined to be seen as peripheral to a third more important method of extracting knowledge from objects, which, it was held, allowed objects to 'speak for themselves'. The rudiments of this ultimately dominant methodology can, for example, be seen in the work of James Petiver, a London apothecary who used his shop to accumulate a vast collection of natural history specimens. Derivative rather than original, Petiver's methods sum up the standard practices of many early eighteenth-century collectors, who simply recorded specimens by 'Names, Descriptions and Vertues'.

What Petiver's vague notion of 'vertue' masked was the complex and increasingly absorbing question of how most appropriately to order and organise a collection. As the passage taken from Robert Hooke's writings makes clear, this question had elaborate philosophical implications about the nature of both human minds and the world they perceived. Reaching back to the legacy of Renaissance memory theatres, Hooke conceived of the mind as an ordered space for impressions of material objects, that is, a sort of museum in the mind. Such rather arcane philosophical speculations had their more tangible implications in suggesting that such 'mental repositories' would best be nurtured by well-ordered actual museums.

These abstract philosophical musings were further elaborated by John Wilkins, one of the primary advocates for the new empirical science in England, whose work on reforming language made great claims for the significance of establishing a well-ordered, universally representative museum, in order to yield taxonomic tables on which a new language would be based. Like many of the Royal Society's goals, Wilkins' scheme for the museum was overambitious, but it did give a clear purpose to many of those most closely involved in the society's museum, making their primary concern its rational organisation, and thereafter reorganisation. So that although Nehemiah Grew's 1681 published catalogue of the museum embodied an eclectic survey of other taxonomic schemes, his efforts did nonetheless bear the strong imprint of Wilkins' philosophy.

The enduring impact of the Wilkins' philosophical prescriptions for museums were, however, best seen in the activities of individual collectors like the geologist and earth theorist John Woodward, whose collecting activities were animated by his intention to organise his specimens in a scientifically authoritative manner. What cemented attitudes like Woodward's into a more or less fixed research policy for museums was the



conversion of private cabinets into institutional museums. The latter tended to be larger, and they also at least promised greater security and longevity for the collections. However, the real significance of the shift came in the associated ideology that museums should be part of an effort to add to investigative philosophy as a form of public knowledge, rather than just private diversion.

That stated, one Englishman's private collections rivalled the scale of material gathered in any contemporary institutional museum, and he was Hans Sloane. Professionally guided into lucrative medical practice by Thomas Sydenham, Sloane's 'virtuosic' concerns for natural history were encouraged and refined under the guidance of John Ray, Robert Boyle and Joseph de Tournefort. His collecting habit started on youthful botanising trips and flourished with increasing financial security, until in 1753 his collections included hundreds of shells, thousands of vegetable specimens, and tens of thousands of medals. A collection on this scale constituted something of an institution in its own right even before it was formally used as the nucleus for a new national institution (the British Museum), destined to have such a large and lasting impact on the history of museums.

Meanwhile, the collectors of the generation which come to early maturity around 1700 were able, as no predecessors had been, to draw on very large and relatively well-documented collections, especially in the natural history or *naturalia* field. The extract taken from the work of Valentini, in which he lists the major European collections known to him, encapsulates a number of important themes. The big collections, which were, of course, surrounded by a large cloud of smaller ones, were well known, had often produced published catalogues, and were open to visits from suitable persons. As the eighteenth century progressed, hand-lists of collectors and collections were compiled and circulated or published relatively readily (see, for example, the list made by Mendes da Costa published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1812, 82: 205; 83: 107).

This meant that contemporary students had a body of material on which to work, and that there was sufficient material available to enable patterns to emerge and broader conclusions about the nature of the natural world to be drawn. It also meant that collecting entered a new phase of self-consciousness and self-confidence which would ultimately feed into the establishment of national museums, and their connection with nationalism.

The career of Carl Linnaeus brings out the significance of the collecting network particularly clearly. Linnaeus himself made a substantial collection of natural history specimens, most of which eventually came to England, but he was also able to work on the material in the collections of Hans Sloane, of the Royal Society, and of other collectors in London.

The classification system which he devised for nature, that is virtually for God himself, with its strongly erotic overtones, and its sense of cosmological order and propriety, had a profound effect on Linnaeus' own and subsequent generations. It took up the early modern notion of the collection as microcosm of the universe and transformed it into a detailed chart of eternal correspondence in which not just singular pieces, but all normal natural elements, had their appointed place. The Linnaean system is an ancient idea expressed in enlightened, scientific terms, and its imaginative effect was correspondingly powerful. Through him, and others like him, the scientists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were able to establish a mode in which God (although not necessarily the Christian God) could be seen as a scientist, and his world as a regulated, orderly place where sensible predictions would produce expected outcomes.

The natural history theme, an area of collecting where Britons were particularly important, continues with the Duchess of Portland, who also had very important classical material, with Joseph Banks whose travels with Captain James Cook gave him a special chance to gather Pacific specimens, and with Mary Anning and Ethelred Bennett, whose interest was aroused by the fossil-rich countryside in which they lived. It is worth noting the significance of these women collectors in a field which is often written of as if it were a male preserve. The cross-links between collectors, and the relation of them all to the growing specimen market, are also very important. A means for publishing the details of finds became necessary, and the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* carried this kind of information, among other less prestigious publications.

Meanwhile, collections of artwork continued to be made, for reasons in which the desire to impress loomed large. The letter from John Talman to Dr Aldrich concerning the sale of the Resta Collection of drawings combines an idea of how such sales could be managed with details of a collection whose pedigree was supposed to span European art and art appreciation. Similarly, Thomas Martyn's description of English art collections show both how extensive these were by the 1760s, and how much interest there was in gathering together information about them. An effort to be impressive naturally stimulates satire, which was, in any case, a favourite genre of the eighteenth century. One of the most famous and most successful compositions out of much contemporary occasional verse lampooning collectors is given here: Alexander Pope's lines, 'Timon's villa', itself part of a larger work, but we should remember that satire, like the humorous cartoon, only crystallises at the end of a process, when the object of the funny story is a well-established and usually respected social habit.

How established and respected is made very clear by the major efforts directed by European royalty to the development of their art collections. The creation of prestigious princely art collections runs back, of course, to the Medicis and their Italian contemporaries, followed swiftly by various Hapsburg and German princes, and then those of north-western Europe: a high point was reached with the collection of Charles I of England. Gradually, the royal collections were turned by their owners into public museums. The Viennese Royal Collection was moved into the Belvedere Palace in 1776, and here an historical display was conceived, with pictures in schools and periods with uniform frames and labels, and a specially written *Guide* by Christian von Mechel. All this was intended to help public viewers understand what they were seeing, and became the art gallery norm. By the 1760s the Dresden Gallery of the Electors of Saxony was open to the public, and the Florentine Uffizi was donated to the state in 1743. The Munich Glyptothek was built as a public museum for the Bavarian royal collection, and open by 1830. Art was becoming valued not just for its spiritual qualities, but also because it offered a way of linking these virtues with a strengthening national consciousness.

In Britain and France, where national self-consciousness perhaps ran deepest, the emergence of national collections was more tortuous, perhaps because it was more overtly political. In Britain, the British Museum was officially opened in 1759 and was an amalgamation of several private collections, principally that of Sloane. It was originally best endowed with books and manuscripts, especially the collections of Harley, Cotton and King George III. Alone among the great European museums, it was not, and is not, primarily a museum of art (something which overseas visitors still find strange) and it was not until it started accumulating major collections of classical antiquities, beginning with that of Townley in 1805, that it began to acquire what is now seen as its essential character. At the same time, its natural history collection grew, and had eventually to be constituted as a national museum in its own right as the Natural History Museum (the initial decision to divide off the natural history collections was taken in 1878). By the 1820s, it was the grandest statement of the encyclopaedic museum available to the public. Its opening in 1759 had indicated not only the increasing importance that would be placed on the manner in which the visiting public would perceive the collection but also the inherent order of objects and natural specimens that they were encouraged to imbibe.

In France, political upheavals, themselves part of gathering modernism, overtook events. There had been a plan since at least the 1740s to turn the royal collections housed in the old Louvre Palace into a museum with public access. Eventually, after much debate and in radically different circumstances, this was achieved in 1792. At the same time, radical

Revolutionary politics were forced to come to terms with the huge quantity of antiquities and artworks which derived from the *ancien régime* and were therefore ideologically suspect, but which were also recognised as important and as part of the genius of France. The solution was to treat them as belonging to the Republic, to be gathered, catalogued, dispersed and displayed for the edification of the citizens. The same sentiments may have originally animated Napoleon, but his acquisition of Continental artworks for France soon took on the character of trophy hunting and imperial glorification.

The presence of antiquity, so visible in Rome and the Italian countryside, but also open to view across Spain, Austria, France and Britain northwards to Hadrian's Wall, had never dropped from the consciousness of Christendom: the Pope was Bishop of Rome, the Emperor Caesar's successor, and Latin the language of the Western church. We hear throughout the centuries between the political collapse of the western Roman empire around AD 450 and the creation of new interest a little before 1500, sporadic mentions of men who were interested in, and made collections of, the physical remains of Roman culture. We know a little of the activities of men like Wilfred of Northumbria, Henry of Winchester and Master Gregory who maintained the link across the centuries, and probably there were others of whom we do not hear. This interest fed into the efforts of the Medici and others of their contemporaries, who were collectors of the antique, so that by the 1480s it looks as if a collectors' market in classical statuary and architectural fragments had already been established (see Volume 1 of this series).

Interest gathered throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the Earl of Arundel as the premier northern collector, but as the enlightened and scientific views created by the generation which flourished in the last third of the seventeenth century superseded the earlier preoccupation with religious practice, so classical norms of thought and representation were seen as increasingly significant. In the thought of Winckelmann, especially, these were linked with an historical view of art which allowed it to be understood as a succession of 'periods' in which early tentative styles come to full flower, and then degenerate, and also with the new idea that 'art' existed as a spiritual quality in its own right as an object of contemplation. The result was an emphasis on the 'great' period of Greek art – that of Phidias and Praxiteles in the fifth century BC – the works of which were to be seen as the peak of a qualitatively superior human endeavour.

Winckelmann brought the new discoveries (from 1748) at Pompeii and Herculaneum to a wide audience. At much the same time the classical world beyond Italy was beginning to be systematically explored, with Revett and Stuart in Athens, sponsored by the Society of Dilettante, and

Robert Wood in Palmyra, of which he wrote an influential description and art-historical analysis. The result was a powerful impetus to the collection of antique marbles, and in Britain major collections were formed by Charles Townley and Henry Blundell, together with many small accumulations. This activity was part and parcel of the fashion for the Grand Tour which required young men of education, means and fashion to travel to Italy, spending time on the trip visiting historical sites, acquiring cosmopolitan polish, and returning with antiquities with which to furnish their country houses. Richard Worsley is typical of this company, although distinguished by the size and importance of his collection. A generation later, William Hamilton acted in a broadly similar spirit.

Through a cascade effect, natural in a society like Britain's with a thrusting bourgeoisie fuelled by the profits of gathering industrial change and imperial trade, who were anxious to spend money and gain fashion, a consumer market in antiquities and the antique style developed. Plasterwork shops produced and sold a range of domestic fittings in the classical taste, which were collected then and have been ever since. Families like the Albacini sold art-quality plastercasts taken from classical originals which went to build up a range of collections in Britain. As the Tatham-Holland correspondence shows, many collectors were willing to acquire a mixture of genuine classical pieces, copies taken directly from the antique, and contemporary material designed in the antique taste.

This points up a crucial moment in the creation of taste. Winckelmann had never visited Greece, and his knowledge of classical art depended not upon the Greek originals from which that art had developed but upon Italian material, generally either later Roman copies of Greek pieces, or later Roman work executed in what by then, from about AD 100 onwards, had become styles that Winckelmann himself would have reckoned 'degenerate'. The tone of much of this art could be seen as soft in line and often sentimental and cliché-ridden in style. Equally, the middle generations of the eighteenth century were not especially interested in notions of 'the real thing' or 'the original', perhaps because for many of them art was conceived as part of a domestic design (grand or humbler) in which display and collection served the larger story. For these reasons pieces were often recut, like Blundell's Hermaphrodite, to bring them into contemporary narratives.

As a result of this, the generation of around 1800 experienced a profound culture shock when authentic early classical Greek material started to arrive in northern Europe. Royal Navy cruises like that commanded by Beaufort began to bring back improved intelligence of the conditions and contents of Asia Minor, and at about the same time professionals like Cockerell and his colleagues, and diplomats like Elgin, began to excavate major Greek monuments such as the temples of Bassae and

Aegina, and the Athenian Parthenon. When the Parthenon marbles arrived in London, they forced a re-evaluation of what 'classical art' meant, and stimulated the nineteenth-century reappraisal of the art of the antique world and how the integrity of artworks should be judged. It is significant that this change of heart matched the entry into antiquities collecting of the great European museums, as major players. The Aegina marbles went to the Munich Museum, and those of Bassae and Athens to the British Museum, where they were seen to take pride of place in comparison with the earlier, originally private, collections of Arundel, Townley and others, which were also in, or arriving in, the public museums. Their display in these museums, as Ambulator's musing shows us, had become a matter of public comment and criticism.

Meanwhile, different currents in the body social were creating different kinds of collecting. The enlightened rationalism which, when directed towards the outer world produced a view of natural, classifiable order, suggested different ranges of feeling when the gaze was turned inwards. Equally, the dry, somewhat passionless gaze of reason triggered its inevitable opposite. The result was a mode of sentiment, in which emotions were cultivated and personal feeling exalted, a mode which gathered force as the eighteenth century progressed and eventually produced what is usually called the Romantic Movement, and its (slightly older) dark twin, the Gothic. Both produced much writing, especially in the new form of the novel, and two of the most influential Gothic novels of the period, *Vathek* and *The Castle of Otranto*, were written by premier collectors, William Beckford and Horace Walpole. Both also created new forms of collecting in their own right. In both, a view of the past, a vision of the exotic, and an interest in sensation for its own sake were becoming informing motifs.

The new worlds (that is, of course, new to Europeans) which had been opening up ever since the Spanish voyage to America in 1492 and the contemporary Portuguese voyages around Africa, had forced Europeans to realise that ways of life existed that had no reference to the conceptual and social systems, chiefly Christian and Islamic, with which they were familiar. The effort to understand this eventually created the field of study known as anthropology, which, we now see, was as much about defining Western attitudes as it was about understanding anybody else. But in the eighteenth century, this lay in the future. The material culture brought back from distant places was often acquired chiefly as a casual adjunct to the formal collecting of natural specimens, and frequently it was gathered because the men recognised that it would have a financial value back in England. The wealth of India seemed inexhaustible, and was a prime target for this kind of acquisition, in which, sometimes, particular groups of interesting material were kept in collected form.

Objects from the islands of the South Seas, already established in popular view as a paradise on earth, commanded particular attention. Relatively large quantities of such material came back to England from the three voyages led by Captain James Cook and that led by Captain George Vancouver, together with some others of less significance. This material was sold, and subsequently sold on, many times, with the result that tracing it and endeavouring to discover its present whereabouts has become a major scholarly preoccupation. Cook voyage material found its way into the British Museum, and also into the Leverian Museum, and hence to a large number of later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century collectors, whose own collections ended up in the institutional museums of the later nineteenth century, where they remain. The Vancouver material has had an equally tortuous history.

The museum, in London, of Sir Ashton Lever is pivotal in the construction of the public museum mode and the kind of collections it was desirable to have on display within it. Lever had some spectacular Cook Pacific pieces, which passed to William Bullock when the collections changed hands. Bullock opened a new kind of exhibition in his Piccadilly Egyptian Hall, one which endeavoured to put his preserved animals in 'naturalistic' settings, and displayed his human artefacts in the same room. Both these museums had a serious purpose, although allied to a certain sensationalism and a commercial endeavour. The same generations saw the development of exhibitions which were purely commercial and sensational in intent: these were often put on in inns or local halls and they often travelled around on a touring circuit. The exhibition in York Castle, although static and particularly gruesome, had a good deal in common with these displays.

What we might call the 'higher sensationalism' is evident in the collecting practices of William Beckford, whose architectural and artefactual imagination drew upon fantasies of the Orient and the medieval. His creation at Fontwell Abbey was one of the inspirations behind what we now call 'Victorian Gothic'. Horace Walpole, with his villa and collection at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, London did something of the same, and so did John Soane, with his house and museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. All these collectors, in their distinctive ways, constructed modes of relating to the material world of the past, itself one of the key ideas of the Romantic disposition.

A desire to grasp the past, particularly the ancient and medieval past of Britain herself, had been gathering momentum, hand in hand with developing national fervour of which it is an important part, since the sixteenth century, and onwards through the seventeenth century. By the early eighteenth century there was interest enough to inspire the founding of what eventually became the Society of Antiquaries of London, whose

journal *Archaeologia* became a forum for the recording and discussion of the material remains of the British past. A similar movement was taking place among those concerned with early literary remains, as the history of the manuscript material drawn upon by Bishop Percy for his *Reliques* shows.

This is the background to Walter Scott's preoccupation with the medieval and early modern past of Scotland, and in particular of his own Scottish border country, where, as he saw it, there was played out the clash between older ways of life and the new demands made by an increasingly complex industrial and capitalist society. Scott had an important collection of his own, but he also made the notion of collecting as a way of relating to the past a central idea in one of his novels, *The Antiquary*. The same nexus of interests brought the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries into being, and saw the development of the society's collection of north-eastern regional antiquities.

The point was made at the beginning that in 1500 the mindset of Europe was still essentially medieval, orientated to a cosmology which placed God directly as an interventionist within human affairs, and to a belief which sharply separated men from the natural world. By 1800, God was distanced from his creation in an irreducible network of classificatory principles. Man had been allotted a Linnaean name in the scheme of things, and was viewing nature as of itself sublime. The evidence of collected materials was demonstrating the ordering of the natural world, the relationship of past to present whether of the classical or the British past, and the fragmentation of categories in the search for immediate emotional gratification. It is these themes which the material gathered here is intended to illuminate. Every choice involves rejection, and inevitably much interesting material has had to be omitted. Not all readers will agree with the selections made, but we hope that the material included is sufficiently interesting and varied to make its points.

Arnold has been responsible for Parts I and II and for the section on Gowan Knight in Part 3, and Pearce for Parts III, IV and V; we are jointly responsible for the Introduction. The degree of modernisation of spelling and presentation which should be made to the extracts has proved a difficult question. We have provided some in the interests of helpfulness (for example 'f' has been changed to 's' where appropriate) but have tried to leave sufficient of the original form to give integrity and preserve the period flavour. Similarly, in the bibliographical references to the source of the extracts, we have sacrificed some consistency in order to give helpful details of material published in the early period.

Susan Pearce and Ken Arnold



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Part I  
Curious Voices

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## Giulio Camillo's magical proto-museum

The memory theatre of Giulio Camillo Delminio (to give him his full name) was so well known in sixteenth-century intellectual circles that its creator was ranked amongst the most famous men of his day. In short, his 'theatre' was a wooden structure, stuffed full of meaningful images and words, which was shown first in Venice and then copied in Paris (Yates, 1966: 130–72).

Camillo was born in about 1480, and for some time taught at Bologna University. Much of his life, however, was spent in working on his extraordinary scheme for a memory theatre – a physical embodiment of a particular approach to the ancient art of memory. Invented by the Greeks, the tradition of this sometimes religious and always magical art was passed on to the Romans and then elaborated upon in medieval Europe. Used by the orators of antiquity, this art was transformed in the Middle Ages into a methodology that could be employed in moral education and disputation. In the hands of Camillo and other later Renaissance interpreters such as Ramon Lull, Giordano Bruno and Robert Fludd, a legacy of this technique was further given a much more occult character. Finally, when taken up by the seventeenth-century philosophers Bacon and Descartes, the tradition was yet again reformed in order to put it to work in the service of the 'new sciences'.

Camillo's theatre took some of its form from the Roman theatre as described by Vitruvius. The use of numerology and astrology was crucial to its construction – seven gangways with seven doors, the seven pillars of Solomon's House of Wisdom, seven tiers representing the spheres of the universe, and so forth. In Camillo's scheme, the normal function of a theatre with an attentive audience spread around a central spectacle was reversed with a single 'spectator' standing where the stage would be, looking out towards the auditorium where images and texts were spread.

The connection between this remarkable construction, inspired as it was by somewhat obscure classical notions of memory and oration, might at first sight seem a rather long way removed from the history of museums. But a number of fundamental principles in the scheme are highly relevant to the evolution of a concept that came to be called (or maybe re-called) a museum. The space of the theatre was defined and created for the purposes of imparting learning and knowledge in a condensed manner; it used a juxtaposition of images which, it was believed, could impart a level of

understanding not accessible to learning from words in books alone; and finally, it made a virtue of excluding distractions, so that a spectator's attention was inevitably focused on the collected pictures presented in a predetermined arrangement. These fundamental principles were set to re-emerge during the next century in the shape of repositories and museums of the early modern era.

The following passages come from two letters written in Padua in 1532 by Viglius Zuichemus to Erasmus.

### VIGLIUS ZUICHEMUS TO ERASMUS

They say that this man has constructed a certain Amphitheatre, a work of wonderful skill, into which whoever is admitted as spectator will be able to discourse on any subject no less fluently than Cicero.<sup>1</sup> I thought at first that this was a fable until I learned of the thing more fully from Baptista Egnatio. It is said that this Architect has drawn up in certain places whatever about anything is found in Cicero ... Certain orders or grades of figures are disposed ... with stupendous labour and devine skill<sup>2</sup> ...

The work is of wood marked with many images, and full of little boxes; there are various orders and grades in it. He gives a place to each individual figure and ornament, and he showed me such a mass of papers that, though I always heard that Cicero was the fountain of richest eloquence, scarcely would I have thought that one author could contain so much or that so many volumes could be pieced together out of his writings. I wrote to you before the name of the author who is called Julius Camillus. He stammers badly and speaks Latin with difficulty, excusing himself with the pretext that through continually using his pen he has nearly lost the use of speech. He is said however to be good in the vernacular which he has taught at some time at Bologna. When I asked him concerning the meaning of the work, its plan and results – speaking religiously and as though stupefied by the miraculousness of the thing – he threw before me some papers, and recited them so that he expressed the numbers, clauses, and all the artifices of the Italian style, yet slightly unevenly because of the impediment in his speech. The King is said to be urging that he should return to France with the magnificent work.<sup>3</sup> But since the King wishes that all the writing should be translated into French, for which he had tried an interpreter and scribe, he said that he thought that he would defer his journey rather than exhibit an imperfect work. He calls this theatre of his by many names, saying now that it is a built or constructed mind and soul, and now that it is a windowed one. He pretends that all things that the human mind can conceive and which we cannot see with the corporeal eye, after being collected together by

diligent meditation may be expressed by certain corporeal signs in such a way that the beholder may at once perceive with his eyes everything that is otherwise hidden in the depths of the human mind. And it is because of this corporeal looking that he calls it a theatre.<sup>4</sup>

When I asked him whether he had written anything in defence of his opinion, since there are many to-day who do not approve of this zeal in imitating Cicero, he replied that he had written much but had as yet published little save a few small things in Italian dedicated to the King. He has in mind to publish his views on the matter when he can have quiet, and the work is perfected to which he is giving all his energies. He says that he has already spent 1,500 ducats on it, though the King has so far only given 500. But he expects ample reward from the king when he has experienced the fruits of the work.

## Source

Letters written from Viglius Zuichemus to Erasmus in 1532, reproduced in *Erasmus, Epistulae*, edited by Allen P. S. et al., 9: 479; 10: 29–30, which are quoted in Yates, Frances, 1966, *The art of memory*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul: 130–32

## Notes

- 1 Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) was a Roman consul and writer, renowned and revered by many Renaissance scholars for his widely-reputed oratory skills.
- 2 After having written this, Viglius visited Venice, met Camillo, and was shown the theatre. The next extract is taken from a letter written after this visit.
- 3 Francis I of France was informed of and became interested in Camillo's theatre, and in 1530 Camillo went to France. The King gave him money to help with the project, and by so doing became the focus of one version of the theatre erected in Paris, which was meant to reveal its treasures to only one person: the King himself (Yates, 1966: 129–30).
- 4 These mystical links between physical objects and pictures and the mental comprehension resulting from contemplating them within a confined space has ever since provided an abstract philosophical premise for what happens to us in museums and galleries.

## Reference

Yates, 1966

## Samuel á Quiccheberg's 'classes': the first modern museological text

Samuel á Quiccheberg's book is often described as the first published treatise on modern museums. Collections of the type he outlined, and buildings like that in which he recommend they be kept, were already in existence, particularly in Italy. Quiccheberg's reputation lies in his conversion of his knowledge of this existing practice into a museological argument set out in a full-scale monograph. Some commentators have seen in his work the crucial shift from medieval *Schatzkammern* (accidental accumulations of treasures and rarities, which were at best taken stock of in an inventory) to *Wunderkammern* (systematic accumulations of curiosities that were then conceptually organised in catalogues) (Raby, 1985: 251–8; von Schlosser, 1978; Balsiger, 1970).

His work contained both an abundance of practical advice and a detailed classification system. The bulk of the work is organised as a series of ordering principles for the ideal princely curiosity cabinet, and is presented as a comprehensive set of 'inscriptions' divided into five 'classes', with ten or eleven 'inscriptions' per 'class'. He also made the distinction between a *Wunderkammer* (a cabinet of natural specimens) and a *Kunstkammer* (a cabinet of so-called 'artificial' specimens – that is, man-made artefacts).

Quiccheberg's ambitions for the breadth of scope of such a cabinet were typical of the Renaissance in encompassing nothing less than every known object and artefact. Universal in vision, the cabinet was to form the microcosmic condensation of the whole macrocosm, offered up to the central figure of a prince. In this fashion, his scheme bore many philosophical similarities with Camillo's memory theatre, and indeed his use of the term *Theatri* in the title to his work might well be a direct reference to Camillo's title *Idea del Teatro* (see Chapter 1 in this volume).

Quiccheberg was a Flemish doctor, who acted as Albrecht V's adviser on artistic matters. Though this work is not set out in any way as an introduction to Albrecht V's Munich *Kunstkammer*, many of the desirable characteristics that he prescribed for the museum and its collections were clearly drawn from his knowledge of it (Seelig, 1985: 76–89).

**SAMUEL Á QUICCHEBERG'S THIRD AND FOURTH CLASSES****THIRD CLASS****First Inscription**

Marvellous and rather rare animals:<sup>1</sup> rare birds, animals, fishes, shellfish, which exist in land, sea, rivers, forests, other places; and these may be in pieces or they may be whole, preserved in any manner or condition, and dried out.

**Second Inscription**

Poured or molded animals: made of metal, plaster, clay and any productive material whatsoever, by whatever technique, which look like they are alive because they have been skilfully fashioned, as for example lizards, snakes, fishes, frogs, crabs, insects, shellfish, and whatever is of that order, and can look real once it is painted.

**Third Inscription**

Pieces of rather large animals, and of rather small ones as well if there are any worthy of note: and in this section are horns, beaks, teeth, hooves, bones, internal stones, pelts, feathers, claws, skins, and whatever exists among the remaining parts which can offer a little variety.

**Fourth Inscription**

Different kinds of skeletons: or else bones put together, as for example, of men, women, apes, little pigs, birds, frogs, and other different things. Likewise things fashioned by craftsmanship according to the parts of a man, as for example human eyes, with their membranes, ears, noses, hands, as for example prosthetic devices for people who have been recently mutilated.<sup>2</sup>

**Fifth Inscription**

Seeds, fruits, legumes, grains, roots that take the place of seeds: and things that are called material to this class, provided that they are suitable for preservation and nice to look at, either for the sake of the variety of their nature or the diversity of their nomenclature, and here maybe you would want to give preference to those which are from foreign countries, or are amazing, or are fragrant.<sup>3</sup>



### Sixth Inscription

Herbs, flowers, twigs, boughs, pieces of bark, logs, roots, et cetera. These must be dry, real, and select, laid out according to their classes or else molded by pouring in metal of some sort, or woven in silk or depicted by any modern art. In this group are kept also all classes of wood according to their peculiar divisions.

### Seventh Inscription

Metals and metallic substances from mines and true roots of metals, mineral slag formed in a furnace, likewise solid veins of metals of absolute purity, and all these things imitated artificially, and metals which have in various degrees been smelted, some more and some less purified.

### Eighth Inscription

Gems and precious stones, for example, diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and so forth, likewise gem crystals, some of them in their raw state, some of them polished, and similar glittery substances, and some of these may be lightly set into gold so that they may be fitted into bracelets, or into the ears, things on the foreheads, and necklaces.

### Ninth Inscription

Rather remarkable rocks, stones (other than precious stones), as for example remarkable marbles, jaspers, alabaster, et cetera, and so various kinds of marble: porphyrite, donysium, ophiticum, et cetera. These of course are not translucent but very ornate. There are in this class also medicinal rocks which are not clear: hematites, aetites, magnets, et cetera.

### Tenth Inscription

Colours and pigments: colours which are poured, crumbled, mineral colours, water colours, oil paints, glass colours, and so forth, for dyeing, painting and colouring metals, gums, wax, sulphurs, wood, ivory, weaving and wool. You can have individual containers of oil paints, as well as others mixed and gummed up with water.

### Eleventh Inscription

Substances of the earth, both wet and dry: either in their natural condition or worked on and purified, or clinging to or growing on something:

clods, chalky soil, clay soil, fertile earth and other coloured earths, likewise vitriols, natural glass, alumina, salts, and terrestrial rocks, and the porous rock of the seacoast. It does well to finish out this heading with substances which are found in dripping hot springs and caves.

#### FOURTH CLASS

##### First Inscription

Musical instruments: various kinds of pipes, horns, stringed instruments, hollow ones, rounded ones, clavichords, drums, and many other types which pertain to their own choruses, either ensemble or solo.

##### Second Inscription

Mathematical instruments: astrolabes, spheres, cylinders, quadrants, clocks, geometers, staffs for measuring land and sea, in war and peacetime. Note here also regular bodies of multiple forms, combined with a beautiful transparency.

##### Third Inscription

Instruments for writing and drawing or painting: as for example vellum, paper, tablets, pugillares (to prick the vellum to get even lines), reeds, pencils, pens, struck type, printer's inks, compasses, rulers, and many other things of this sort, apportioned into their own little boxes. So also various kinds of containers of great capacity associated with this.<sup>4</sup>

##### Fourth Inscription

Instruments of force, as for example those used for lifting very heavy weights, for breaking down gates, hinges, locks, implements for hauling in various modes: traction, vection, rolling, dragging, pushing, also implements for climbing anywhere, sailing anywhere, swimming anywhere, or for simulating flight.

##### Fifth Inscription

Instruments of workshops and laboratories: things used in both these two by the more skilled of the artisans: sculptors, turners, goldsmiths, casters, workers in wood, or instruments ultimately of all or any artisans whom this earth on which we live nourishes in our century.

### Sixth Inscription

Surgical and anatomical instruments, as for example forceps, saws, syringes, instruments to cut veins, mirrors, combs, speculae, and anything the practice of surgery supplies in abundant number and which people in other professions use as well: barbers (who were also leechers), bath people, et cetera.

### Seventh Inscription

Hunting instruments: and whatever is necessary in the country and in the keeping of gardens: as for example the ones of use for catching birds and fish, at least if they be clever of design, as for example snares, traps for deer, hooks and tridents for fishes, et cetera, but also many other things for horticulture, planting and transplanting, weeding and hoeing.

### Eighth Inscription

Articles for playing with: those which relate to exercise which require skill and are rather pleasant and which pertain chiefly to physical agility. Of these types of things are the discus, javelins, pyramids, dice, globes, short spears, balls, et cetera. And these draw those who are more simple into admiration of those who gesticulate.

### Ninth Inscription

Weapons of foreign races: and other most rare and useful arms as for example bows, catapults, spears, quivers, et cetera, and whatever is so unusual that it may seem transferable no less for the purpose of an admirable theatre than for a well equipped armoury.

### Tenth Inscription

Foreign clothing, as for example Indian dress, Arabian dress, Turkish dress, and even amongst that the more rare of it: and some fashioned of feathers, some of a web, and of any marvellous manufacture or texture you like, or even stitched together out of various hides. Likewise miniature clothing of foreign nations as if for dolls, for distinguishing the clothing worn by unmarried girls, widows, women who are engaged, et cetera.

## Eleventh Inscription

Rather unusual durable clothing: as for example belonging to the early ancestors of any theatre founder. There may possibly be in this category a cloak of a general or emperor, a ducal robe, and any priestly garment whatsoever, et cetera. Likewise other ornaments like necklaces, balls, belts, pockets, crests, et cetera, kept for the sake of some pleasant remembrance.

## Source

Samuel á Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones Vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi ...*, Munich, 1565 (Copy taken from manuscript translation from the Latin by Julie Hochstrasser with the invaluable assistance of Paul Psoinos).

## Notes

- 1 This interest in the marvellous and rare was one of the hallmarks of the Renaissance cabinet, which continued throughout the early modern, and indeed into the modern period. In an era when mystical resemblances were held to bind micro- and macrocosms, a small selection of objects could be seen as standing in for the rest of the world outside the repository. Later, when the magic of those links came under critical scrutiny, it became much harder to square the continued preferences for marvellous unusual objects with the goal of universal reference, in which surveying the typical made better strategic sense than hoarding the rare.
- 2 The rapid switch from 'natural' specimens to 'artificial' ones is typical of the frequent links that Quiccheberg draws between the two domains (God and man-made) throughout his work.
- 3 Quiccheberg's clear interest in the impression of the collection on a potential visitor is one which for much of the seventeenth century became subsumed by a more dominant 'scientific' concern with the knowledge claims that could be made about a collection and its classification.
- 4 It is interesting that his classification scheme here includes the containers for the objects as a class of object in themselves. Similarly, the history of collecting is elsewhere designated as itself something to be collected.

## References

- Balsiger, 1970  
 Raby, 1985  
 von Schlosser, 1978  
 Seelig, 1985

## Gabriel Kaltermack's advice to princes

Neither birth nor death dates are known for Gabriel Kaltermack (or Kaldemarck), nor is the nature of his education known. What we do know is that he was a widely travelled artist; and most significantly, that he wrote a detailed report to Elector Christian I of Saxony, in which he proposed the establishment of a *Kunstammer* of an Italian princely type (dominated by artworks) in Dresden. The guidelines that he produced form a fundamental document in the history of collecting, though, as various parts of the work indicate, his intentions in writing them were, in part, simply an elaborate way of suggesting a possible future employment for himself as 'curator' to the collection (Menzhausen, 1985; Gutfleisch and Menzhausen, 1989).

His scheme stands in marked contrast to Quiccheberg's advice in his 1565 *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi* (see Chapter 2 in this volume), which argued for setting up a *Kunstammer* on an encyclopaedic rather than art-dominated basis. Part of Kaltermack's implicit advice was to dismantle, or at least separate off, the existing collection amassed by Christian I's predecessor Augustus, which included musical and scientific instruments as well as other tools used by goldsmiths, sculptors, cabinetmakers, turners, surgeons and so on – a category that amounted to as many as 8,000 objects from a total of 10,000 in the collection, all of which he derided as merely tools to produce 'works', rather than real 'works' in their own right.

Part of his classic Renaissance argument for why Christian I might want to consider founding such a collection was that other earlier, and indeed contemporary, European sovereigns had gained undying fame through the collection of works of art. But what was original to his argument, though also absolutely necessary within the Lutheran moral and cultural context in which he was working, was his contention that the acts of collecting and then making 'the right use' of art treasures would in themselves constitute an article of the 'true religion'. Paintings (and other iconographic arts such as sculpture and coins) might in particular bring 'delight to the eyes', conjuring up and making real heroes and authors who might then encourage those who saw and admired them to themselves 'do good and avoid evil'. This attitude stood in effect at something of a midway position between a Catholic reverence for the spiritual aspects of art and a Calvinist suspicion of the whole

enterprise (Gutfleisch and Menzhausen, 1989: 4). With an eye to the potential cost of such a collection, Kaltermackt also advised the procurement of casts of sculptures, along with printed drawings and contemporary paintings not yet inflated in price by age, a measure further given license to by his philosophical commitment to the idea of art as a source of information rather than spiritual inspiration.

Kaltermarckt's advice did not, in fact, achieve its aims. Christian I died in 1561, four years after the report was penned, and subsequently more rather than less of the typical *Kunstammer* pieces that Kaltermarckt had despised were added to the collection – that is, antiquities, curiosities and automata. Another hundred years were, in fact, to pass before his ideas were realised in Dresden; and only recently has his work been championed as a classic text in the museological tradition.

### COLLECTING, BY KALTERMACKT

Although all sovereignty involves, next to God, good laws and weapons, eminent and highly intelligent sovereigns have always made a great effort to protect their subjects not only through considerable military equipment but also through good books and writings. The libraries and book collections of the two kings Ptolemy Philadelphus in Egypt and Attalus of Pergamum, as well as those of other potentates, bear, as examples worthy of eternal praise, laudable testimony of this. In these present times, the same is seen in some distinguished potentates of the Christian world, among whom the learned many years ago counted the house of the Medici in Florence, and whom many regard as having ascended to princely, indeed almost to kingly majesty, more through collections of good books and through supporting the liberal arts of the burghers than through any other of their praiseworthy deeds.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to such libraries and book collections, illustrious potentates also established picture galleries or art collections (whatever one wants to call them) in order to encounter the events of history and those who through their deeds created them not only in books but also, through drawings and paintings, as a delight to the eye and a strengthening of memory, as a living incitement to do good and avoid evil, and also as a source of study for art-loving youth.<sup>2</sup> What quality of painters and sculptors the school of art of Cosimo and Lorenzo Medici, sovereigns of Florence, has produced is evident from the works of its artists in the many places where they practised. The fact that these arts, as well as music, are the most amiable is generally acknowledged, since music, through hearing, and the visual arts, through sight, arouse man to proper