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THE COMMON ROOTS OF LIBRARY AND MUSEUM IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THE EXAMPLE OF MUNICH

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Munich

In the sixteenth century, big libraries developed in close affinity with Kunstkammern (cabinets of curiosities, art cabinets) and collections of antiques from the private study chambers, the so-called studioli, of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century popes, dukes and humanist scholars. Within the scope of the art policy pursued by Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, this development gained particular importance in Munich. At first, a close connection based on the study of antiquity was established between the court library and the collection of antiques by the Antiquarium, a separate Renaissance building which at the end of the sixteenth century on its upper floor housed the library comprising 17,000 volumes in a hall which was 60 metres long. When this building was used for different purposes, the library moved to another building next to the newly constructed building for the Kunstkammer, with which it was interconnected by an archway mirroring the close connection between these two institutions functionally as well. The common encyclopaedic concept uniting both the Kunstkammer and the library had been developed by Samuel Quichelberg from the material example set by the two collections in Munich and published in 1565 with Adam Berg in Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi [...], also known as Theatrum Quicchebergi. This was the beginning of museology in Germany. The Munich example is representative of the common development of museum and library in theory and practice.

1. *The book as an object for exhibitions*

Primarily meant for reading, for conveying information, be it for religious or for academic purposes, be it for general education or for entertainment, books have always been an object to be looked at as well, to be touched beyond merely read for its letters and signs. A book combines message and medium, content and form, mind and body to form a new entity, a unique symbiosis that has decisively shaped our culture. Books have always been appreciated, collected, preserved and exhibited particularly for the sake of their physical appearances.

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The great illuminated liturgical manuscripts with their intimate, but often grandiose, miniatures and their balanced, solemn calligraphy on precious, particularly selected parchment, with bindings combining in their turn different objects of art made from gold, precious stones, enamel and ebony, were just as highly estimated as objects for exhibition. In the religiously-oriented Middle Ages they were of course not presented as if in museums typical of the modern, post-enlightenment age. Like other objects in church treasuries, such as reliquaries, ivories, jewellery, leather objects and textiles, manuscripts were seen as sacred remedial objects and on particular occasions exhibited on stages or in processions. Just to evoke two examples among many more, the Imperial Crown Jewels were shown together with the Coronation Gospel Book (a purple manuscript from Aix-la-Chapelle dating from about 800) in fourteenth-century Prague, and the magnificent Ottonic manuscripts owned by the Bamberg Cathedral Chapter (now held by the Bavarian State Library) had been exhibited for centuries. Being accompanied by dispensations of indulgence, the presentation of sacred remedial objects originally had a liturgical character. But in the fifteenth century, worldly motives began to intrude: the desire of representation to enhance power politics and splendour arousing curiosity to the economic welfare of Places of pilgrimage. The illustrated printed guides of sacred remedial objects first published in the fifteenth century may be regarded as the first 'exhibition catalogues'.

Being exhibited together with other objects in a liturgical context as early as the Middle Ages, books served new purposes in early modern times, an era of secularized enlightenment and worldly collecting. The *studiolo* can be traced from the fourteenth century, the private study room of popes, dukes and humanist scholars. This study room developed from a mere library to an exhibition place for precious objects and works of art. Early forms of the *studiolo* were developed by the popes in Avignon, later as 'Estudes' in the main residences of the French King Charles V and his younger brother John Duke of Berry. In the fifteenth century, the *studiolo* was widely found in Italy, not only in the Vatican, but also at the d'Este court in Ferrara and the Medici in Florence, in the Montefeltro palaces in Urbino and Gubbio and at the Gonzaga court in Mantua during Isabella d'Este's time. Isabella d'Este's 'camerini' clearly extended the studio character proper of the study and library room and paved the way for the development of the Kunstkammer. This was the beginning of the influence exerted on the North, particularly on Munich.

The idea of the Kunstkammer (cabinet of curiosities, art cabinet) as a collection of objects meant to represent the world of nature, technology and art as comprehensively as possible was derived from the ideal of the *uomo universale* of the Italian Renaissance. At the same time, the objects contained in the developing Kunstkammern enhanced the glory of the owning family and ennobled it. This development was accompanied by a certain movement towards the public, a free accessibility for friends, and also for foreign artists and scholars.

So the development of Kunstkammern is closely connected with libraries. An additional symbiosis of libraries, which is frequently overlooked today, is in keeping with another main humanist interest, the interconnection between books and the heritage of antiquity. Both connections, that is, library and Kunstkammer as well as library and collection of antiques, may be observed in a particular well-developed form in sixteenth-century Munich, not only as a mental concept, but also in the visual shape of buildings.

2. *The cultural policy of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria*

In this context, the decisive role was played by Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria who was born in 1528 and ruled from 1550 to 1579. Serving simultaneously as a demonstration of power, this Duke's cultural policy was apart from his fondness for music motivated by an energetic drive to build up extensive and multi-faceted collections, which were also public to an extent not uncommon in the sixteenth century. He considerably surpassed his humanist predecessors by his generosity and his expenses:

Was man Chostlichs, Frembds oder Seltzams sieht, wo von man hört, sonderlich was zu Freid und Lust dient, das will man haben, man mueß haben; da schickt man, da schreibt man, da schafft man den Nechsten an, da volgt man dem Nechsten one alles verrer [vorher] Ausrechnen oder Nachgedencken; und das ist so weit komen, das es nit allein unser g. Herr fur sich selbst thuet, sonder deren mer umb und bey sich hat, inen auch werhengt und gestatt, schier was sy lust oder was inen gefellt, gewaltig anzuschaffen.

[All priceless, foreign or strange things noticed or heard of, particularly objects fostering joy and pleasure, are desired and must be acquired; they are sent for, enquired for and acquired one after another and pursued without previous calculating or meditating, and this has reached such a stage that not only our worthy sovereign is engaging in such business, but he also encourages several others of his entourage and permits them to buy extensively anything they desire or appreciate.]

So far the frank and fearless but also fruitless criticism expressed by the Commission of the 'über den Staat verordneten Räte' (the councillors of the budget) in 1557, when Duke Albrecht V stood just at the beginning of his collecting ambitions.

Duke Albrecht V's unquenchable passion for collecting materialized in the formation of the world famous Munich art collections and the foundation of the Bavarian State Library with its continuity guaranteed until the present. The new institutions closely interrelated with each other, comprising the library, the collection of antiques, the numismatic collection, the foundation of the 'Erb- und Hauskleinoder' (the nucleus of the later Treasure Chamber in the ducal, the later royal palace of the Residenz) and the Kunstkammer. The present museum structure in Munich is basically rooted in these foundations.

Duke Albrecht V had founded his court library in 1558 by acquiring in Landshut the books of the then deceased jurist and Orientalist Johann Jakob Widmanstetter (1506–1557). Originally, political motivations had determined the acquisition of the library formerly owned by Widmanstetter, the Chancellor of Lower Austria and lately Canon in Ratisbon who had died just the year before. By this acquisition, Munich succeeded in outdoing Archduke, later Emperor Maximilian II (1527–1576, King of Bohemia from 1562, Emperor from 1564) who sympathized with Lutheranism and had been equally interested in this library. In the age of the Reformation, books were used as mental weapons. The academic quality and, most of all, the museum character of the collection, soon complemented the political motivation of the acquisition. Together with the ducal archives the library was temporarily housed in the west wing of the 'Alte Hof', the medieval ducal castle of the Munich Wittelsbach family situated within the city walls. Soon afterwards, in the year of 1571, Duke Albrecht V acquired the magnificent library of the heavily indebted Johann Jakob Fugger (1516–1575) from Augsburg, which in turn included the library of the Nuremberg humanist Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514). So the library at one go became one of the leading libraries in Europe, which from then on developed its own multifarious dynamics.

Doubtless Albrecht V was further stimulated by the passion for collecting he witnessed at the Heidelberg court of his cousin, the Elector Ottheinrich (1502–1559, Elector from 1556). Both had close affinities with the magnificent humanist Gonzaga court in Mantua. But with the library he had founded in 1558, Albrecht V sought to emulate or surpass not only the Biblioteca Palatina in Heidelberg, but also those of the Popes in Rome and the French kings in Paris as well as the library of St Mark's in Venice. Doubtless Albrecht V was also particularly motivated to equal the Habsburg collections, especially the collection built up by Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol in Ambras near Innsbruck, not too far away and still within the family. Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria cultivated the arts more than any other German prince living at that time apart from the Habsburg dynasty. To praise the Duke in the common style of the times, the art agent Jacopo Strada (*ca.* 1510–1588) wrote in his publication, *Cesar* (1575), that no library on earth was in a position to equal the Munich library with its inconceivable treasure of books.

The promotion of the arts by Duke Albrecht V was particularly extraordinary and incomparable because unlike his fellow collectors north of the Alps he ordered within the scope of his general building activities new buildings to be constructed specifically for his collections. He provided representative buildings for his collections with the Antiquarium combining the collection of antiques with the library, the Kunstkammer and the Marstall (mews). 'Konst Camer' (Kunstkammer) and 'Liberej und Antiquarei' (library and collection of antiques) are clearly identifiable details of the city view on a picture of Munich in the collection of copperplate engravings *Civitas Orbis Terrarum* published by Braun and Hogenberg in 1586 (Figure 1).

In this context, rather than concentrating on the library alone it should be seen in close connection with the collection of antique statues and in equally close relation with the Kunstkammer. How inextricably they were intertwined can be judged from the fact that these three, and only these, institutions were mentioned in the same breath by Duke Albrecht V in his testaments of 1572 and 1578:

> Also wellen wir auch, daß vnnser new aufgerichtete Liberey, item das Gwelb mit den Antiquiteten, item die KhunstCammer mit allem dem was darinnen ist, vnnd wir noch darein verordnen mochten, allerdings vngetailt vnnd yederzeit vnuerwenndt beyammen bleiben.
>
> [We also wish that our newly-built library, the vault with the antiquities (i.e. the Antiquarium) as well as the Kunstkammer shall remain together undivided with all their present contents and later additions.]

Although the Duke's will was disregarded in the long run, it illustrates the close connection between library, Antiquarium and Kunstkammer from the point of view of their founder and his advisers. In the course of time, a further link was established with the institution of the 'Hauskleinodien' (the ducal collection of jewels and gems) established in the sixteenth century and subsequently becoming the Treasure Chamber of the ducal, later royal, palace of the Residenz.

It should always be remembered that the subject of our study is a typical court library which related to a political and cultural power system different from the libraries of learned institutions, that is, particularly the university libraries or the even earlier monastic libraries.

Let us consider in turn the relation of the Munich court library to the collection of antiques and to the Kunstkammer.

FIGURE 1 Kunstkammer, Court Library and Antiquarium in Munich in the sixteenth century. Detail from the view of Munich in *Civitas Orbis Terrarum* by Braun and Hogenberg (1586), vol. 4, plate 43 (2. Konst Camer and 5. Libereij vnd Antiquarei). (Photograph: Bavarian State Library)

3. *The Court Library and the collection of antiques in the Antiquarium*

The first extensive individual museum building north of the Alps was the Antiquarium built by Albrecht V of Bavaria with the magnificent Renaissance hall for the statues on the ground floor and the big library above. The co-existence of these two institutions in one building was not, as might be assumed today, the result of purely practical considerations of combining the two rapidly growing collections under one roof. At that time, this combination was perfectly in keeping with humanist traditions based on the study of antiquity. Even the earlier Italian *studiolo* had combined antiques and coins with manuscripts and books of classical literature for comparative studies and research on antiquity.

Probably the oldest example of an intended architectural combination of library and collection of antiques (antiquarium) is associated with Lorenzo il Magnifico (1449–1492) in Florence. The realization of this plan was prevented by adverse circumstances, so that only the library was built but not the antiquarium. After the completion of the Antiquarium in Munich, a similar architectural relationship between antique collection and library can be traced in the Castle of Ferrara, the library of St Mark's in Venice and near Innsbruck in Ambras Castle, which was owned by Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol (1529–1595). Johann Jakob Fugger, scion of the famous trading company, who was rather luckless in business affairs but became very important to Duke Albrecht V,

combined in his house coins, pictures and antique sculptures with his pre-eminent library just as he had seen it in Italy previously.

Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria was the first duke north of the Alps to collect antique sculptures extensively. Building up the collection of antiques was an expensive and highly ambitious venture. Usually German dukes contented themselves with collecting portraits of Roman emperors on antique coins. But that was not enough for Duke Albrecht V. He wanted to own the heads of the emperors and their families as marble casts. Francis Haskell states that 'nowhere outside Rome (and perhaps not even in Rome) was the [Roman] Empire presented in such powerfully visual terms' as in the Munich Antiquarium.

When the genuine and the copied antique sculptures had grown into an extensive collection and needed spacious rooms just like the library, the Duke ordered Jacopo Strada, his adviser and agent for coins and sculptures, to devise a representative palazzo in the tradition of combined antique collection and library. Strada, who came from Mantua, had served the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II and had been recommended to the Duke by Johann Jakob Fugger. The building was constructed from 1568 to 1570 near the 'Neuveste', the new ducal castle situated outside the Munich city walls. The construction was supervised by the master builder Simon Zwitzel (d. 1593) from Augsburg with the collaboration of Wilhem Egckl (1520–1588). Library and collection of antiques were planned and realized as an architectural and mental unity. So this typically humanist idea reached its visible apex here (Figure 2).

After having moved to the originally separate building in 1571, the library was located on the upper floor. Like the Antiquarium below, the spacious room was almost 60 metres long and about 15 metres wide. Seventeen windows were provided with curtains to protect the library from the sun. Two smaller rooms had been added on each side of the main room. This central room was elegantly and lavishly panelled, as we are told by Jacopo Strada in his edition of *Cesar* published in 1575.

The woodwork was executed by the sculptor Hans Ernhofer (Aernhofer) (d. 1621). After having been taught by Hans Aßlinger in Munich, Ernhofer had worked as a journeyman for Arnold Abel on Emperor Maximilian's tomb in Innsbruck and in 1570 or 1571 received his master craftsman's diploma in Munich. He also constructed the magnificent stands for the well-known globes which embellished the library hall.

The wide floor of the library rested on the equally wide vault of the Antiquarium, which however was not meant to, and most likely could not, carry the floor. For this reason, the library hall was additionally stabilized by oblique iron girders. They are drafted on a building plan which allows drawing conclusions on the position of the bookshelves, which most probably stood in two rows on the fixings of the iron girders on the long sides of the hall. The visitor's eye was particularly caught by the two big globes which had especially been devised for the library. They are now among the greatest treasures of the Bavarian State Library.

Jacopo Strada had proposed to paint the library hall similar to the frescoes painted by Giulio Romano (1492 or 1499–1546) on the walls of the Palazo Te in Mantua which had been built for Duke Federico Gonzaga II (1500–1540) and which had previously served as a model for the residence built by Duke Ludwig X of Lower Bavaria in Landshut from 1536 to 1543 as the first Renaissance palace in Germany. Strada thought that for the Munich library hall the 'Historie Psyche' painted from 1526 to 1528 by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo Te would be a suitable model, as the original painting was doomed to

FIGURE 2 City model of Munich by Sandtner, sixteenth/seventeenth century, detail representing the Antiquarium and Court Library until 1599 (the building crossing the centre of the ducal Residenz, on the right) (Photograph: Bavarian National Museum)

decay in Mantua for lack of sufficient protection from bad weather. This reflects the representative function assigned to the library hall, despite the fact that the sensual paintings of Amor and Psyche in the *manieria moderna* of the Palazzo Te were more than forty years old at that time and a relation as regards content between the cycle of paintings and the library was hardly imaginable.

Judging from the spacious design of the Munich library hall, it is evident that it was used simultaneously for work and as an exhibition room which at the end of the sixteenth century held about 17,000 volumes, a library with extensive historical but also contemporary literature from Germany and particularly the Romance countries and with further emphasis on Greece and the Orient. It was the biggest library in Germany with regard to its collection size and one of the most splendid European libraries of the late Renaissance for the literary, academic and artistic quality of its manuscripts and printed books.

When looking for an architectural precedence for this library hall, we must turn to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana built by Michelangelo in Florence, which was planned as early as 1524, but finished only in 1568, similarly as a long room with a wooden ceiling situated on top of a vaulted room. Otto Hartig states: 'Es schwebt über dem ersten großen deutschen BibliotheksPrachtraum der Geist Michelangelos' ['Michelangelo's spirit is permeating the first big and magnificent German library hall'.] As far as the

Laurenziana is concerned, its staircase is an important work of the Renaissance, but the library hall itself still reverts to the Middle Ages. Two rows of diagonal desks remind of a medieval monastic library, a typical working room. The library hall in Munich however abandoned the concept of the working desks with the correlating shelving of the books. This was required alone by the sheer mass of the books, whose number surpassed many times the 3000 volumes held by the Laurenziana. Different from medieval monastic libraries, the library hall in Munich was also destined to be a representative room for the display of ducal splendour. The bulk of the books, however, had to be stored on shelves which may well have impaired the representative character of the exhibition room.

The next logical step towards an exhibition hall was made by the Spanish architect Juan de Herrera (*ca.* 1530–1597) with the library hall of the Escorial finished in 1593 and situated above the main portal in the entrance wing. In the long hall the bookcases are arranged along the walls which leave plenty of space between the windows. This library represented the basic structure of the Baroque hall library, which was fully realized for the first time with the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (1603/09) with high bookshelves on both sides, the upper parts being accessible on gallery.

The no-longer extant Munich library hall stood halfway between the working room of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana and the representative hall of the Biblioteca Escorialense. Measuring 60 by 15 metres it was bigger than the two other library halls. The Laurenziana extends to 47 by 11 metres and the library of the Escorial measures 56.5 by 9.75 metres.

It can be deduced from several contemporary eye-witness reports that the new Munich library and Antiquarium soon aroused the interest of the educated public. The Nuremberg humanist and physician Joachim Camerarius (1534–1598) for instance mentioned the 'nahezu königliche Bibliothek und das großartige Schatzhaus des Altertums' ['almost-royal library and the magnificent treasure house of antiquity'].

As early as 1599, however, the glorious start of the Munich Court Library, which was also reflected by the corresponding architectural concept, came to a complete halt, at least as far as its representative aspect, its museum character, was concerned. This was due to a changed idea of ducal representation, which first influenced the Antiquarium on the floor below the library. Duke Albrecht V's successor, Duke William V (1548–1626, ruling from 1579 to 1597), assigned a different function to this unique museum hall, which was until then accessible to the humanist public. The hall was then refurbished to be used for banquets. After some time, the library also no longer fitted into the new building scheme. Whereas in their erudite humanism and public accessibility the library and the Antiquarium had been ideally suited to each other, this was no longer true of the library in combination with the stately hall of a ducal family gradually veering towards absolutism, particularly under Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria, later Elector of the Empire (1573–1651, Elector from 1623). Before long, Duke Maximilian had the great library hall converted into living quarters to meet the demands of his court. The library had to move out in around 1599, so that the humanist idea of combining library and collection of antiques had lived only for a short period of time. Materially, nothing has survived from the original 'ersten großen deutschen Bibliotheks-Prachtraum' ['the first big German library state room'] apart from the stands of the terrestrial globe, one of the two big globes specially made for this hall.

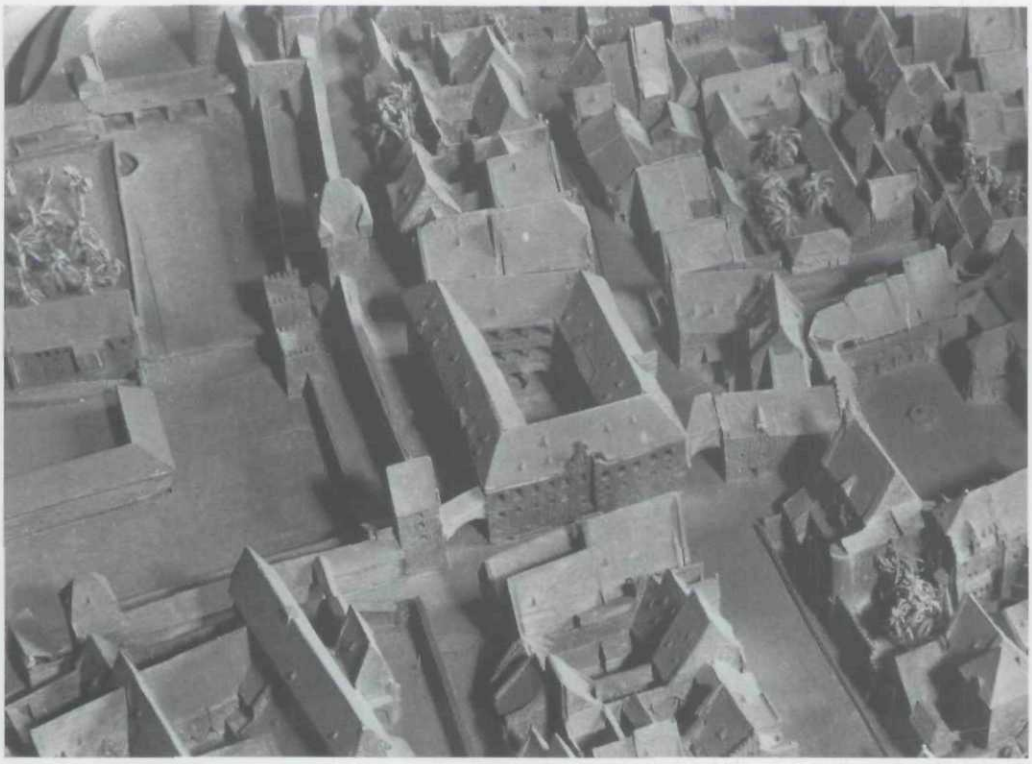

FIGURE 3 City model of Munich by Sandtner, sixteenth/seventeenth century, detail representing the Kunstkammer and Court Library from 1599 (the four-winged building in the centre with archway and adjacent building to the right hand). (Photograph: Bavarian National Museum)

4. *The Court Library and the Kunstkammer*

The library moved to its new location on the second floor of the Hofkammergebäude, the building of the ducal treasury department, constructed from 1579 to 1581. Its narrow south façade was directly adjacent to the 'Alte Hof', the medieval Wittelsbach castle in Munich, while its north façade faced the new building of the Marstall (mews) and the Kunstkammer, with which it was directly linked by an archway (Figure 3). The new library hall which had been inaugurated at the turn of the seventeenth century was less magnificent than the hall above the Antiquarium, but was representative enough. As we gather from travel reports, it was also used simultaneously as a working room and an exhibition hall like its predecessor. The Augsburg patrician and art agent Philipp Hainhofer (1578–1647) described it as a 'große stantia' ['big room']: 'Dise stantia ist rund von Holtz gewölbt, als wie dass Palatium Patavinum' ['This room has a wooden vault like the Palatium Patavinum']. The Palatium Patavinum referred to the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua. The point of comparison was the high wooden vault which is also mentioned in later reports. Without going into details here it is possible to imagine how the hall was furnished as a state room, endowed with maps, panoramas,

genealogical trees and paintings of dukes on the walls, with sixteen globes and nine mathematical and astronomical instruments, and finally with Sandtner's models of sixteenth-century Bavarian towns, which had originally been in the Kunstkammer where they had been spared by the pillaging Swedes in 1632 (now famous exhibits in the Bavarian National Museum).

The Kunstkammer mentioned above was another important foundation of Duke Albrecht V. It had particularly close conceptional and architectural links with the library. The two buildings next to each other were interconnected by an archway which granted access on the same floor level either from the Kunstkammer to the library or *vice versa*. From a present-day view, like other Kunstkammern, the collection presented a strange mixture of diverse works of art, curiosities and exotic objects. It is necessary to adopt a Renaissance point of view when judging the Kunstkammer as the nucleus of the later developing diverse Munich museums, the picture galleries, the numismatic collection, the zoological, botanical and ethnological collections, the Bavarian National Museum and many others. It aspired at representing the world as comprehensively as possible, reflecting interest in the achievements of art and technology as well as the creations of nature ('artificialia', 'scientifica' and 'naturalia'). The religious and metaphysical unity of the Middle Ages having disintegrated, mankind was searching for a comprehensive system to find an order for the variety of phenomena. The discovery of the 'New World' extended this interest in art and nature particularly to include remote countries, and pre-Columbian pieces were collected just as well as works of art from the East, ranging from Turkey to China. Developed from the Italian *studioli*, the Kunstkammern differ from these in size and universality as well as better accessibility for the public by transgressing the privacy of the individual scholar or collector.

In Munich the Kunstkammer was more likely to be open to the public than the Antiquarium. On behalf of Duke Albrecht V, the court architect Wilhelm Egckl (1520–1588) had constructed for this Kunstkammer a separate new arcaded building with four wings encompassing an inner courtyard. It was destined to be the first Renaissance building of considerable size in Munich. (Still extant, it now houses the Bayerische Landesamt fur Denkmalpflege, the Bavarian Cultural Heritage Agency, and its workshops.) The Marstall (mews) was located on the ground floor of this big building. The exhibition space available in the Munich Kunstkammer amounted to approximately 1200 square metres. It was the most spacious exhibition room at that time, bigger than the rooms in Dresden or Vienna and later in Ambras. All the four wings surrounding the courtyard were connected with each other. Friedrich von Dohna stated that 'In diesem Haus kann man unablässig rundherum gehen, denn nirgendwo ist es vermauert' ['in this building it is possible to walk round and round endlessly, as it is nowhere interrupted by interior walls'].

The Munich Kunstkammer reflected the encyclopaedic approach theoretically developed at that time. In theory, the Kunstkammer and the library were much more closely related than is usually remembered now. For the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century educated man, both the Kunstkammer and the library were subservient to a coherent world view. For that reason, manuscripts, printed books, maps and drawings played an important role in the Munich Kunstkammer.

The theoretical basis of this concept was developed by Samuel von Quichelberg (1529–1567). An Antwerp physician and humanist first serving as an advisor to Johann

Jakob Fugger, Quichelberg later served Duke Albrecht V in the same function. Quichelberg described his collection classification in his work *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi [...]*, also known as *Theatrum Ouiccheberri*, which was printed in 1565 by Adam Berg in Munich and recently reprinted in Harriet Roth (ed.), *Der Anfang der Museumslehre in Deutschland* (Berlin, 2000).

The full title of the *Inscriptiones* is given in English below, as it delineates an entire programme rather than merely serving as a title: 'Subdivision or title of a very spectacular show collection, containing individual objects from all parts of the world and extraordinary paintings, so that it might also be called: an ever-available collection of artistic and wonderful things, a comprehensive treasure of rare and precious utensils, designs and paintings, which here in this collection may be consulted simultaneously in one place, providing unique knowledge and admirable connoisseurship quickly, easily and infallibly by frequently regarding and studying them.' The idea was to represent the entire universe in objects or images as an encyclopaedia of knowledge not only for the Duke but also for anyone else who was interested.

Quichelberg alternatively called the Kunstkammer by the name of 'Theatrum Sapientiae'. In his book *L'idea del teatro*, posthumously published in Florence in 1550, Giulio Camillo (1480–1544) had earlier formulated the idea of visualizing the world as a theatre. Quichelberg applied the expression of 'theatre' to collections. He called the Munich Kunstkammer the 'Bavaricum theatrum artificiosarum rerum', but as a practically-oriented museologist rejected Camillo's astrological system in favour of a natural order.

According to Rudolf Berliner, the history of museology in Germany begins with Samuel Quichelberg's handbook of the academic collections. The foundations of modern museology were laid by the patrician Johann Jakob Fugger's and Duke Albrecht V's passion for collecting in combination with the superb theoretician Quichelberg who was able to integrate details into an imagined whole. Quichelberg did not pedantically stick to any particular collection existing in Augsburg or Munich; he wanted more. He wanted to compile an encyclopaedia of things which could be experienced sensually. It is true that for this purpose he relied on the variety of collected objects. As a result, his 'Theatrum' was based both on observation and on abstraction. This museum concept of modern times developed in Munich saw the library and the collection of the Kunstkammer as an integral system for display and learning. By this, the museums and the library were decisively shaped.

In his general scheme for the organization of the ducal collections, Quichelberg proposed a plan for a museum, simultaneously a system for shelving books in the library according to subject groups. In this context, library and Kunstkammer closely interrelated with each other, as certain books and manuscripts as well as other library materials were not assigned to the library but attributed to the Kunstkammer. In Munich, the Kunstkammer and the court library were basically organized according to this plan and closely related to each other.

For shelving the books, Quichelberg had developed ten main groups, which with a few alterations were adopted by Wolfgang Prommer (*ca.* 1545–*ca.* 1606) for the Latin books of the Munich court library. (The books and manuscripts in the other languages, which were not primarily regarded as academic, were ordered according to their respective languages, just as the Latin and the German manuscripts were separately shelved.)

The classification of the main subjects established by Quichelberg is listed below, with variations in the library's shelving order added in brackets: I Theologici, II Juridici, III Medici, IV Historici, V Philosophici, VI Mathematici VII Philologici (Poetici), VIII Poetici (—), IX Musici (Rhetorici), X Grammatici (Dialectici ac Grammatici). Surprisingly, this library classification provides no room for books which would have had to be subsumed under the category of, e.g., 'Artes'. Quichelberg assigned such books and various other library materials were assigned to the Kunstkammer. Evidently he considered these books to be more suitable for being kept in a museum.

The objects of art and nature to be exhibited in the Kunstkammer were attributed in Quichelberg's 'Theatrum' to five 'Classis' which in turn were subdivided into so-called 'Inscriptiones'. The classes cover religious and worldly history, art, nature, technology and paintings. Several of the 'Inscriptiones' were reserved for books and other library materials, such as genealogies, portraits, maps, city views, war depictions, dramas and triumphal processions, representations of animals, architectural pictures, illustrations of machines, Indian, Arabic and Turkish objects, catalogues, heraldic books, etc. In fact, such objects are registered in the inventory of the Munich Kunstkammer established by the jurist Johann Baptist Fickler (1533–1610) in the years 1598 to 1599 (Bavarian State Library, Cgm 2.133 and 2.134). It includes famous objects now held by the Bavarian State Library, such as the Tournament Book of Duke William IV of Bavaria (Cgm 2.800), the Book of Gems and Jewels (Cod. icon. 429) owned by Duchess Anna of Bavaria, the daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I, a binding of the Nuremberg goldsmith Hans Lencker (Clm 23.640, binding), the Prayer Book of Lorenzo de' Medici (Clm 23.369), or manuscripts now located elsewhere, like the Mexican manuscript in the Austrian National Library (Cod. Mex. 1).

Practice, however, tends to differ from theory. Evidently very soon art books were no longer coherently assigned to the Kunstkammer but also piled up in the library, but without being mentioned in the library catalogues established during the times of the library's foundation. The classification adopted from Quichelberg provided no notation for them. They were registered in a particular repertory and kept in a special bookcase for the most valuable treasures. This collection of outstanding book treasures, 'Zimelien', as they were later called, was the origin of a special show collection of the library developed since the seventeenth century, which culminated in the nineteenth century. Books on architecture and fortifications were also kept, i.e. duplicated, in both the library and the Kunstkammer, as well as other materials, particularly Oriental manuscripts. These inconsistencies did not fundamentally contradict the principle of the two collections complementing each other. This symbiosis came to an end only when the Kunstkammer was pillaged by the Swedes and Saxons in 1632 during the Thirty Years' War. (The most precious manuscripts and books of the court library had been transferred to Burghausen in the eastern part of Bavaria and so escaped the pillaging which the rest of the library suffered as well.)

In the sixteenth century, the Kunstkammer and the library were defined as public spaces. Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitas Orbis Terrarum* published in 1588 informs us that anyone interested was admitted to see the Kunstkammer. A great number of reports have survived to confirm the accessibility of both institutions in detailed descriptions. Of course, there was only a limited number of interested visitors who had, sometimes with great difficulty, acquired the knowledge to estimate the museum-like representation of

art, nature and books. In Samuel Quichelberg's words, they were 'gelehrte Männer, Autoren, Geistliche, Musiker, Maler, Bildhauer, Antiquare und Architekten' ['scholars, authors, clergymen, musicians, painters, sculptors, antiquarians and architects'].

5. *The Court Library and the Treasure Chamber ('Schatzkammer') of the ducal, later royal, palace of the Munich Residenz*

The array of interconnected collections founded by Duke Albrecht V in the mid-sixteenth century finally includes the foundation of the 'erb und haus clainoder' [Erb- und Hauskleinodien, ducal gems and jewels] established by him and his wife Anna in 1565. Already in the late Middle Ages, dynastic jewellery had been amassed in France: at the courts of King Charles V (1338–1380), John Duke of Berry (1350–1416) as well as the Dukes of Burgundy. Parts of the Habsburg treasure in the Vienna Hofburg were first recorded in 1337. Such treasures, which, as entailed, could be used but not sold, substantially contributed to legitimizing the ruling dynasties.

It is true that in the beginning books and manuscripts were not added to the original collection of the Munich Erb- und Hauskleinodien, but this sixteenth-century foundation should nevertheless be mentioned for the important role it played for the library over the centuries within the scope of the interrelating Munich collections. In 1607 it was integrated into the Kammergalerie (chamber gallery) founded by Duke, later Elector, Maximilian I in the Ducal Palace, where precious books and manuscripts were soon added, for instance the copy of Emperor Maximilian's Prayer Book of 1513 with the border illustrations by Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach (now in the Bavarian State Library, 2° L. impr. Membr. 64). In keeping with concepts of rising absolutism, this Kammergalerie first and foremost served the Duke for his recreational purposes and not the public. So instead of the universality of the Kunstkammer, artistic quality was now mainly emphasized. Gradually the Treasure Chamber of the Munich Residenz developed from this very personal Kammergalerie. (It should be remembered that it is completely distinct from the Kunstkammer.) In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Treasure Chamber, like the Kunstkammer, played a vital part in the relations between the library and the museums. In the course of time, important manuscripts exchanged places between these different institutions. Only in the eighteenth century was the Treasure Chamber opened to the public. Nowadays it is one of the important special collections of the Munich Residenz.

6. *Kunstkammern and libraries elsewhere in the sixteenth century*

The Wittelsbach passion for collecting in sixteenth-century Munich had certain precedents in the nearby city of Augsburg, a rich city of trade with manifold connections to Italy. There, the humanist Conrad Peutinger (1465–1547) was one of the first collectors of inscriptions, antique statues, small bronze sculptures and other objects, which he, not surprisingly, presented in his important library. Above all, the Fugger family with its manifold economic and cultural links to Italy filled their houses and palaces with books and works of art and the decorative arts, while simultaneously building up outstanding

libraries. Particularly renowned collectors were Raymund Fugger (1528–1569) with antiques, books, paintings, coins etc., Ulrich Fugger (1526–1584) who had converted to Protestantism and moved with his books to Heidelberg, Marx (Marcus) Fugger (1529–1597), famous for the precious bindings made for him, and Johann Fugger (1531–1598) with his palaces in Kirchheim and Stettenfels. We have met before the most important member of the family in our context, Johann Jakob Fugger (1516–1575), who entered the services of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria and whose important library was acquired by this Duke.

The Fugger family members were not the only ones to collect art and books in Augsburg. Cardinal Otto Truchseß von Waldburg (1514–1573), Bishop of Augsburg and supplier of antiques to Albrecht V, should be mentioned in this context as well as the Cathedral Scholastic of Wurzburg and Bishop of Augsburg, Johann Egolf von Knoeringen (1537–1575), who donated his library to the Bavarian University of Ingolstadt, that is, the present Munich University Library.

At that time, however, the bourgeois collections were still surpassed by the ducal collections such as those of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–1595) in Ambras Castle near Innsbruck. Archduke Ferdinand II and Anna, Duke Albrecht V's wife, were children of the King and later Emperor Ferdinand I (1503–1564). The Archduke had housed his Kunstkammer, his outstanding library, an antiquarium and the 'Ehrbare Gesellschaft' ['honourable society'], a unique collection of arms of almost all famous personalities of Europe, in the lower castle of Ambras, a new building dating from the sixteenth century. Kunstkammer and library interrelated also as rooms, being directly linked by a staircase. The famous illuminated manuscripts, which are now held by the Austrian National Library, were exhibited in the Kunstkammer and not in the library.

A similar and at the same time fundamentally different situation can be traced in sixteenth-century Dresden. The Kunstkammer founded there by Elector August of Saxony (1526–1586) in 1560 was more similar to, in modern terms, a scientific/technical museum, differing as such from the universality of the Kunstkammern in Munich and Ambras. Instruments and books were in the majority. Typically, well-defined groups of books were represented there also in the Kunstkammer, regardless of the quite sizeable library existing apart from it. In Dresden, library and Kunstkammer closely interrelated not only in terms of content but also in terms of space. Paintings however were only rarely held. In 1586 the art expert Gabriel Kaltemarckt (died before 1611), who knew the collections in Italy and southern Germany, instigated the young Elector Christian I (1560–1591) in his theoretical work *Bedenken wie eine Kunst-Cammer aufzurichten seyn möchte* ['Considerations of how to establish a Kunstkammer'] to build up a Kunstkammer worth its name and to integrate paintings into his collection, thereby discarding the strict Lutheran-Orthodox negation of pictorial representations. The famous Dresden picture gallery was however created only a century later by Augustus II the Strong (1670–1733, Elector of Saxony, King of Poland).

In Vienna, the old treasure chamber recorded since the fourteenth century had been built up for dynastic purposes and during Emperor Ferdinand I's (1503–1564) reign enlarged to a Kunstkammer containing objects collected for their aesthetic value. Unfortunately, however, no detailed records about its precise contents have survived.

Books and objects of art were also collected in her palace in Mechelen by the Regent of the Netherlands, Archduchess Margarete (1480–1530, Regent since 1507), the

daughter of Emperor Maximilian I and first true Habsburg personality with a passion for collecting. At the heart of her collections was the magnificent library, one of the richest and most splendid book collections of the time. The central room of the collections was dedicated to the library. In this case, the precedents were more likely the French *estudes* rather than the Italian *studioli*.

Particularly rewarding is the comparison with the Kunstkammer of Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) in Prague, not only for the similarities to be expected from the close family relations with Ambras and Munich: Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol was Emperor Rudolf II's uncle and Duke, later Elector, Maximilian I of Bavaria, the Emperor's cousin. The art collections of this very artistically and scientifically minded, but also sombre and more and more withdrawn Emperor were even during his lifetime veiled with a shroud of mystery. Only very few people were granted access to the collection. This is the main difference to the collections in Munich, Ambras and Dresden, which reflect a different, rising consciousness of absolutist rule. The Kunstkammer in Prague was structured identically with the Kunstkammern in Munich and Ambras. It comprised art and nature in a universal approach. The extant inventory of 1607 differs from the others, such as Fickler's in Munich, by subsuming the objects under a system independent of the actual order of presentation, that is, independent of the location of the objects. The system used for this inventory has not yet been analyzed in detail. Very remarkably, it may however have been strongly influenced also by Samuel Quichelberg's *Inscriptiones* published in Munich in 1565. Additionally, it may have been influenced by Jacopo Strada, who worked for Rudolf II as well. In the Kunstkammer on the Hradschin in Prague, books are found as exhibition objects between the other objects, like in the other Kunstkammern of the time.

In the sixteenth century, bourgeois collections combining Kunstkammer and library are also found outside Augsburg, for instance the Nuremberg collection of the patrician Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580) integrating the art and book collections built up by his grandfather, the humanist Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1539).

A number of art collections with libraries were located in Basel, which had introduced the Reformation in 1529. They were founded by educated humanists around Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536). Among them were the Hellenist and physician Theodor Zwinger (1532–1588), the physicist Felix Platter (1536–1614) and above all the jurist Basilius Amerbach (1533–1591). Amerbach's collection is indebted to the programme of Samuel Quichelberg's 'Theatrum' in terms of its universal representation of art and nature.

In Italy as well, the *studioli* were further developed into extensive Kunstkammern, and here we also find the then typical interrelation with the libraries. In Rome, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589), a grandson of Pope Paul III, had accumulated probably the most outstanding collection of the second half of the sixteenth century. Jacopo Stada had connections to his librarian Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600). The Palazzo Farnese was one big studio containing antiques, paintings, coins, drawings and books. The Cardinal continued to collect antique objects contrary to, and even profiting from, the resolutions of the Counter-Reformation adopted by the Council of Trent and Pope Pius V's hostility to antiquity. He explicitly declared the collection to be open to the public as a *scuola publica* contrary to the more private *studioli* of the humanists.

7. *Conclusion*

In sixteenth-century southern Germany, the close connection between Kunstkammer and library, between museum and scholarship, the universal collection of objects from nature, art and technology and the simultaneous development of libraries, was particularly distinctively put into practice under Italian influence. The common development of libraries and museums was early shaped by the understanding of the antique heritage on the one hand and observation as well as exploration of the universe from minerals to creative mankind on the other.

In the special case of Albrecht V of Bavaria, the Duke's passion for building up a universal collection correlated with Samuel Quichelberg's theoretical considerations. So practice and theory supplemented and supported each other. To formulate it in modern language, this took shape in a unique network of museums and libraries. For centuries, the mutual interdependence of the individual, further developing institutions was strongly present and is felt to a certain extent even nowadays.

From the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, this connection materialized in frequent transitions of precious books and manuscripts between Court Library, Kunstkammer and Kammergalerie / Treasure Chamber of the Residenz. For instance, the big sixteenth century music manuscripts containing the Penitential Psalms composed by Orlando di Lasso, the Motets by Cyprian de Rore and miniatures by Hans Mielich (Bavarian State Library, Mus. MSS A and B), unique documents of Duke Albrecht V's passion for music, went from the library to the Treasure Chamber of the Residenz and returned to the library again, the same being true of the French Boccaccio manuscript of 1458 with miniatures by Jean Fouquet (Bavarian State Library, Cod. Gall. 6). The book of gems and jewels owned by Duchess Anna (Bavarian State Library, Cod. Icon. 429), went from the Kunstkammer to the Kammergalerie and later to the library. There are many similar cases which unfortunately cannot be delved into here.

The museum elements present in the Munich Court Library from the very beginning showed their impact over the centuries. The Munich library, which since its foundation had been important for academic studies, had simultaneously been a show collection, which was always openly exhibited to foreigners and local inhabitants alike in the sixteenth and also in the seventeenth centuries. For this purpose, a special collection of outstanding treasures ('Cimelia') had been put together. It is true that in the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century the library fell into a torpor, but was reawakened in the age of the Enlightenment to become without delay again a library for scholars as well as itinerant travellers in keeping with the old tradition. In the nineteenth century, with the rich heritage of the secularized Bavarian monasteries and the integration of the Mannheim court library, the Royal Court and State Library of Munich was the biggest library in German-speaking countries and for a long time the second biggest in Europe after the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It played the twin roles of being a leading academic institution on the one hand and museum collection for display on the other, which was mentioned in German, English and French travel guides as being equal to the famous museums of the city for its splendid exhibition of outstanding book treasures.

In an age when, due to new information technologies, libraries are undergoing rapid and extensive structural change to an unprecedented degree, libraries which owe their

existence, their collections and their impact on the educated public to the cultural and historical developments elucidated above bear great responsibility for finding an adequate role in the future. Is it advisable to suppress the past, even to shed it as a historical burden, or can and must these libraries revitalize their strength by taking recourse to their individuality, which has evolved over the centuries, to counteract the arbitrary inundation with words and pictures in present times? Are they in a position to play an independent cultural role instead of being only streamlined to technological developments and economic interests? This question is unanswered and unsolved.

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