Collecting and the Princely Apartment

Collecting and the Princely Apartment

Edited by

Susan Bracken, Andrea M. Gáldy,
and Adriana Turpin

CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS
PUBLISHING

Collecting and the Princely Apartment,
Edited by Susan Bracken, Andrea M. Gáldy, and Adriana Turpin

This book first published 2011

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2011 by Susan Bracken, Andrea M. Gáldy, and Adriana Turpin and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-2591-3, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-2591-7

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations vii

Acknowledgements xi

List of Abbreviations xiii

Foreword xv

Introduction xix

Chapter One 1
The Medici *Guardaroba* in the Florentine Ducal Residences, c.1550-1650
Valentina Zucchi

Chapter Two 23
The Green Closet and Long Gallery at Ham House: Their Place
in the History of the Princely Apartment
Christopher Rowell

Chapter Three 41
Melchior de Hondecoeter in the Service of William III—Royal Taste
and Patronage in the Dutch Golden Age
Joy Kearney

Chapter Four 59
The Chancellor Pierre Séguier and his Wife's Fine Art Collections:
The Taste of Two Great Collectors of the Seventeenth Century
Stéphane Castelluccio

Chapter Five 79
Thomas Coke's European Tour: The Princely Apartments of Rome,
1714-1717
Andrew Moore

Chapter Six 97
Depictions of Display: Toward a Census of Engraved Images of Interiors
Alden R. Gordon

Chapter Seven.. 115
Art's Emancipation from the Ceremonial. The Development of Spatial
Separation of Art Collections from the Princely Apartments:
The Wittelsbach Residences in Düsseldorf and Mannheim
Angela Maria Opel

Chapter Eight... 131
Schwerin Castle and its Collections around the Middle of the Eighteenth
Century
Gero Seelig

Chapter Nine.. 147
Paintings and Sculpture Galleries in German State Apartments
at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century
Virginie Spenlé

Chapter Ten 163
Franz von Erbach and his Passion for Antiquities
Volker Heenes

Bibliography 171

Contributors... 195

Index 199

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. *View of the Maproom*, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (source: Musei Civici Fiorentini, no further reproduction permitted)
Figure 2. Lorenzo della Volpaia, *Planetary Clock*, 1510 (replica by Alberto Gorla, 1994), Museo Galileo, Florence (source: Franca Principe—IMSS Firenze).
Figure 3. Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, *Cammeo with Portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici, Eleonora di Toledo and Five of their Children*, 1559-1562, Museo degli Argenti, Florence (source: Gabinetto Fotografico, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per Polo Museale della città di Firenze).
Figure 4. *The Green Closet, Ham House, looking North* by H.W. Brewer (d. 1903), 1886, private collection (source: Oliver Garnett, National Trust).
Figure 5. *Ham House, the Green Closet* (1637-9) (source: National Trust).
Figure 6. *Ham House, the Long Gallery* (1637-9) (source: National Trust).
Figure 7. Plans of the ground and first floors at Ham House (source: National Trust).
Figure 8. *Ham House, the North Front* (source: National Trust).
Figure 9. Melchior de Hondecoeter, *The Contemplative Magpie*, 1670-1675 (source: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).
Figure 10. Melchior de Hondecoeter, *The Floating Feather*, c.1686 (source: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).
Figure 11. Melchior de Hondecoeter, *The Menagerie*, 1680s (source: Mauritshuis, The Hague).
Figure 12. Melchior de Hondecoeter, *Assembly of Birds*, 1675 (source: Private collection, USA).
Figure 13. Charles Le Brun, *Portrait of Chancellor Pierre Séguier*, c. 1655-1657 (source: Louvre, Paris, RF 1942-3).
Figure 14. *The Turgot Map of Paris*, c. 1734-9 (source: private collection, photo Stephane Castelluccio).
Figure 15. Possible reconstruction of the distribution of apartments on the ground and first floor of the hôtel Séguier (source: Stephane Castelluccio).
Figure 16. Salt from the Séguier service, *Les Travaux d'Hercule*, attributed to Pierre Remond, Limoges, late sixteenth century (source: Musée du Louvre, OA 979).
Figure 17. Francesco Trevisani, *Thomas Coke, first Earl of Leicester,* oil on canvas, 1717 (source: Viscount Coke & the Trustees of the Holkham Estate).
Figure 18. *South Elevation, Holkham Hall*, from Matthew Brettingham, The *Plans, Elevations … of Holkham* in 1773 (source: Viscount Coke & the Trustees of the Holkham Estate).
Figure 19. Alessandro Specchi, "Palazzo Farnese del Serenis. Duca di Parma", *Il*

Quarto Libro del Nuovo Teatro Delli Palazzi in Prospettiva di Roma Moderna, Roma 1699 (source: British School at Rome Library).
Figure 20. Claude de la Ruelle with images by Friedrich Brentel, *The Funeral of Charles III, Duke of Lorraine in 1608*, 1611 (source: Getty Research Institute, Special Collections, Los Angeles).
Figure 21. Salomon Kleiner, "Prospect du Quatrieme Apartement des Pièces du Coté de la Place de Perlach marqué F dans le Plan," Plate XVI in Salomon Kleiner. *Rat Hauss der Stadt Augsburg*, 1732 (source: Getty Research Institute, Special Collections, Los Angeles).
Figure 22. David Teniers, "Longitudinal view of the installation of part of the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm", *Theatre des Peintures de David Teniers*, Brussels, 1660 (source: Getty Research Institute, Special Collections, Los Angeles).
Figure 23. Francisco de Stampart and Antonio de Brenner, *Prodromus …Carl des Sechsten* 1735, sheet of views of the picture installation in the Stahlburg, Hofburg, Vienna (source: Getty Research Institute, Special Collections, Los Angeles).
Figure 24. *Düsseldorf Residenz*, sketch of the first floor of palace and Kunsthaus in the eighteenth century, plan based on material by Pigage 1778, an anonymous source from the nineteenth century and Spohr 2000(2) (source: Angela M. Opel).
Figure 25. Christian Mechel, "The Düsseldorf Kunsthaus, fifth hall, first wall, wall elevation", in Nicholas de Pigage. *La Galerie Electorale de Dusseldorf*. Basle 1778, plate XVIII (source: Angela M. Opel).
Figure 26. Mannheim Residenz, floor plan of the *piano nobile* by Hans Huth, in Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg (ed.). *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Mannheim. Vol II: Die Kunstdenkmäler in Baden-Württemberg*. Munich 1982: Folding plan I "Schloß, Grundriss des Hauptgeschosses vor der Zerstörung mit den früheren Raumbezeichnungen", after page 454 (source: Regierungspräsidium Karlsruhe, Referat Denkmalpflege).
Figure 27. Andrea Mantegna, *Dancing Muse*, c. 1495 (source: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, Inv. 3066 Z).
Figure 28. François-Thomas Germain, *Machine d'argent* (source: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).
Figure 29. Theodor Schloepke, *View of the Drive-way and Paintings Gallery at Schwerin castle*, 1845 (source: Staatliches Museum, Schwerin).
Figure 30. Christian Friedrich Gottlieb von dem Knesebeck, *Alternative Project for the Façade of Schwerin Castle*, 1710/16 (source: Staatliches Museum, Schwerin).
Figure 31. Johann Gottfried Groth, *Ground Plan of the Duke's Apartment and the Paintings Gallery*, 1798 (source: Staatliches Museum Schwerin).
Figure 32. Johann Friedrich Künnecke, *Ground Plan for the Enlargement of the Duke's Apartment at Schwerin Castle*, 1735 (source: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin).
Figure 33. Christian Friedrich Gottlieb von dem Knesebeck after Captain von Hammerstein, *Project of 1708 for the Porcelain Cabinet of the Duchess*,

1710/16 (source: Staatliches Museum Schwerin).
Figure 34. Raymond Leplat, *Floor-plan of the Second Floor in the Dresden Residenz*, 1719 (source: Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, inv. C 6755 in Ca 202, fol. 61).
Figure 35. *Floor-plan of the Second Floor in Schleißheim*, based on Gerhard Hojer and Elmar D. Schmid, *Schleißheim. Neues Schloss und Garten. Amtlicher Führer*, Munich 1984 (source: Virginie Spenlé).
Figure 36. *Floor-plan of the First Floor in Pommersfelden*, based on Heinrich Kreisel, *Das Schloß Pommersfelden*, Munich 1953 (source: Virginie Spenlé).
Figure 37. Salomon Kleiner. "Vue intérieure de la Gallerie du Coté des Appartements", plate 15, in: Salomon Kleiner. *Wahrhaffte Vorstellung beÿder Hoch-Gräffli. Schlösser Weissenstein ob Pommersfeld und Geibach sambt denen darzu gehörigen Gärten, Stallungen, und Menagerien*. Augsburg 1728 (source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Vg 46 a).
Figure 38. *Floor-plan of the First Floor in the Munich Residenz under Karl Albrecht*, based on plan D, in Samuel John Klingensmith. *The Utility of Splendor. Ceremony, Social Life, and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria, 1600-1800*. Chicago /London 1993 (source: Virginie Spenlé).
Figure 39. Francesco Solimena, *Gundaker Graf Althann Gives Emperor Charles VI the Inventory of the Painting Collection in the New Stallburg*. 1728 (source: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 1601).
Figure 40. Johann Philipp Willman (1874), *Count Franz I. of Erbach as* togatus, Castle Erbach, Germany, 1874 (source: Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Bad Homburg).
Figure 41. *First Roman Room* (reception room), Castle Erbach (source: Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Bad Homburg).
Figure 42. *Second Roman Room* (office), Castle Erbach (source: Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Bad Homburg).
Figure 43. *Hetruscan Cabinet* (bedroom), Castle Erbach (source: Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Bad Homburg).

ABBREVIATIONS

ASF	Archivio dello Stato di Firenze
A.N. MC or *min. cen.*	Archives nationales de France, Minutier central des notaires de Paris
British Library, Add. MSS	British Library Additional Manuscripts
GLA	Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe
GM	*Guardaroba Medicea*
HA	Holkham Archives
MSS F/TC 4 and F/TC 5	manuscript account books, Holkham Hall (formerly MSS 733 and 734)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We as the editors of this volume would like to thank first of all the contributors to our second volume of collected essays for their articles and for their collaboration during the editing process. These essays are based on conference papers given at the *Collecting & the Princely Apartment* conference held in Ottobeuren, Germany in July 2007 and have also benefitted greatly from the participation of the audience; thank you for your feedback and for returning to our seminars and conferences.

The conference was held in the splendid premises of the Abbey of Ottobeuren, an eighteenth-century monastic complex that houses its own princely apartment. We would like to thank the Benedictine monks of the Abbey for their hospitality and generosity, in particular the then director of the library, Prof. Dr. Dr. Ulrich Faust OSB, without whom this conference would never have taken place and who gave up much of his time to take us on guided tours of the Abbey and monastery and to accompany us on some of the fieldtrips. We would also like to thank Fürstin Fugger for her tour of Schloß Kirchheim and the owners of the Oberschwäbische Barockgalerie in Ochsenhausen for access to their collections. Our thanks also go to the Haus des Gastes in Ottobeuren for support and information.

It is a pleasure to thank the Institute of Historical Research for giving a home to the monthly Collecting & Display seminar and for hosting two of the summer conferences so far. Moreover, IHR administrative staff have supported our seminar and conferences in the most helpful manner. We are also deeply grateful to the Henry Moore Foundation which has generously sponsored this and two other summer conferences.

Our thanks go to Susan Madocks and Warwick Lister for their readiness to lend an extra pair of eagle eyes and to Mara Giarratana Young who helped us with the formatting of the bibliography.

Finally, we would like to thank Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their wonderful collaboration and continued support at a time when multi-authored art historical studies are very difficult to place.

FOREWORD

> Following his directions, Ashe came, after a walk of a few yards, to a green baize door, which, swinging at his push, gave him a view of what he took correctly to be the main hall of the Castle… to the right a broad staircase led to upper regions.
>
> It was at this point that Ashe realized the incompleteness of Mr. Beach's directions. Doubtless the broad staircase would take him to the floor on which were the bedrooms, but how was he to ascertain without the tedious process of knocking and inquiring at each door which was the one assigned to Mr. Peters? [...]
>
> As he stood irresolute, a door across the hall opened, and a man of his own age came out. Through the door which the young man held open for an instant ….Ashe had a glimpse of glass-topped cases.
>
> Could this be the museum, his goal? The next moment the door, opening another few inches, revealed the outlying portions of an Egyptian mummy, and brought certainty.
>
> —P.G. Wodehouse, *Something Fresh* in *The World of Blandings*, London: Arrow, [1976] 2008, 127-8.

Collecting is an obsession that goes back to the mists of history. While spare time and spare cash seem an absolute necessity for this kind of activity, every collector has his or her own approach to the formation of a collection. The way in which their treasures are displayed is another important instance in which one collector differs from another. Glass cases, niches, trays, cupboards, or drawers have been adopted; sometimes cards offer information on the subject, its age and provenance; an overall theme may have prompted the choice of the actual objects displayed together; security reasons suggest one room over another.

If there is little reason in having a collection if nobody knows about it, does that necessarily mean that one has to show one's treasures indiscriminately? A judicious limitation of visitors might be wise for reasons of security, preservation and an enhanced mystique that may prove highly attractive. Perhaps having someone write about what is behind the locked doors without anybody being able to see the objects might be an even better idea, imparting notions of quality and quantity that cannot easily be verified.

While some collectors keep their treasures as close as possible—in their bedroom, throughout their living quarters, or in a locked up closet

nearby-others may find that they want to be able to show off their collection without being disturbed by visitors in the rooms in which they actually spend most of their time. Certainly, our notions of private and public have changed considerably over the centuries and this has had an impact on questions of display and on the separation of particular parts of the house from other less accessible ones, in particular in great houses that allow for the establishment of a museum, such as the one described above for Blandings Castle. Here, the museum is situated off the main hall and instantly recognised by its set-up with glass topped cases and the exhibition of an Egyptian mummy, whereas the bedrooms are on the upper floor.

Not all displays were so defined; there were many forms of display just as there were many forms of collections. The aims and ambitions of the collector are often discussed in terms of the display of their collections; in part because we believe that analysing how a collection was shown and how it was received are key contributors to our understanding of the role and purpose of the collection. In lieu of any other documentation, inventories, sales catalogues and wills remain essential tools for the historian of collecting, both in terms of what was owned and where it was housed.

Collecting and Display are the keywords in the name of the working group founded by three scholars in 2004 (www.collectinganddisplay.com). The group has been running a research seminar at the Institute of Historical Research at the University of London since 2005 and has also organised summer conferences since 2006. This volume represents the proceedings of the second of these conferences. The key dates for contributions are from the late Roman Republic to the Enlightenment but topics dealing with earlier and later collections have always been and will continue to be welcome.

Our first conference took place in July 2006 at the Institute of Historical Research and discussed the connection between *Collecting and Dynastic Ambition*, the papers from which were published in late 2009. This was followed a year later by the conference on *Collecting & the Princely Apartment* from which the papers became the written contributions you find in the present volume. At the time of writing, the papers of our third and fourth conference in July 2008 *Women Collectors* and in June 2009 *Collecting East & West* are being prepared for publication with CSP.

—London and Florence, June 2010

Greetings from Prof. Dr. Dr. Ulrich Faust OSB

When I was asked whether it would be possible to host a conference on princely apartments in the guest wing of the Abbey of Ottobeuren, I was very pleased. Many splendid rooms in the Abbey, dating back to its days as Reichsabtei, were ideally suited for such an event: Salettl, Fürstenzimmer, the beautiful staircase, the library and the Kaisersaal. An international conference such as this with participants from the United Kingdom, France, Italy and the USA was particularly welcome. Therefore, I suggested that the conference take place in the Abbey and that fieldtrips to the Fugger castle in Kirchheim and to the Oberschwäbische Barockgalerie complement the academic sessions and papers; these trips were of great interest and attest to the cultural variety and quality of the Allgäu.

I wish this publication every success.

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ulrich Faust OSB

INTRODUCTION

Princely apartments were not just living quarters for the privileged but a stage on which their owners played out their daily lives according to court etiquette. Therefore, comfort and privacy were not necessarily the prime concerns when furnishing the chambers that formed the apartment. Impressive splendour was meant to inspire awe or even envy in visitors, who might be so overcome that the owner was able to gain the upper hand in negotiations.

With the rediscovery of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* in the fifteenth century, a theoretical framework was created in which patronage and collecting were added to traditional precepts of hospitality and expenditure on luxury items as evidence of the ruler's prestige.[1] The concept of *splendori* legitimised expenditure on luxuries and made it an essential part of politics. It became important to show learning and taste through commissioning and acquiring works of art that might have no material value but had added value as exemplars of these qualities.[2] Moreover, as Norbert Elias noted,

> the display of rank through outward form is characteristic not only of the houses but of the whole shaping of court life. […] In a society in which every outward manifestation of a person has a special significance, expenditure on prestige and display is for the upper classes a necessity which they cannot avoid. They are indispensible instruments in maintaining their social position, especially when … all members of the society are involved in a ceaseless struggle for status and prestige.[3]

For the collector, as well as those engaged in the study of collections, the placement of a work of art, how it is to be seen, by whom and for what purpose is as important as the choice of subject matter or artist. The negotiations by a patron for a particular site, for which they might commission a work of art, the choice of subject matter for a particular space, whether secular or ecclesiastical, are integral to understanding the work and its relevance. However, although patronage is an integral part of art historical studies, these concerns are less commonly addressed when

---

[1] Among other studies on the subject, see Welch 2002 and Lindow 2007.
[2] Goldthwaite 1993.
[3] Elias 1983, 63.

the works involved are not being created, but acquired. Thus the historian of collecting often uses the lens of the cultural historian to analyse the motives of the owner and interprets the acquisitions and displays of collections within the context of the social and political policies of the ruler. In the case of princely or élite collections, there is a further parallel with architectural historians, who consider the uses and functions of spaces and with court historians, who consider the makeup of the social and political groups using those spaces.

Much work has been done on the lay-out and organisation of princely apartments. Numerous scholars, since the pioneering publications of Peter Thornton, Christoph L. Frommel and Patricia Waddy,[4] have shown how these apartments were laid out, furnished, and used from the late fifteenth century onwards. Their work has contributed to our understanding of palace architecture and in particular of the interior of palaces that rarely survive in the original shape or decoration. Since we know so much more about the interior workings of the *palazzo* and apartment, it is becoming increasingly possible to reconstruct the princely way of life in state rooms and to establish the kinds of furniture and other valuable possessions that they contained.

A particularly well-known example of collections displayed in, or in connection with, princely apartments is that of the Medici and their palaces and villas.[5] In Florence alone, recent research has been able to establish the original lay-out of Palazzo Medici before the transformations commissioned by the Riccardi after 1659.[6] Palazzo Vecchio, the principal Medici residence from 1540, continues to intrigue scholars trying to track the changes to its fabric inside and outside and to understand the use of particular rooms and apartments in the early years of a princely court unknown in Florence before 1531.[7] The careful study of literary and archival sources has brought to light much new detail regarding the furnishings, decorations and life span of princely rooms that at the time served as a stage for the Medici. Further studies of the architecture and layout of European palaces continue to discover the importance of luxury, display and ceremony in the sixteenth-century court, long before these ideas became central to the discussion of the courts of seventeenth-century

[4] Frommel 1973; Thornton 1991; Waddy 1990.

[5] The nascent Medici court was only one of many in Italy, if perhaps one of the most influential; we would like to mention as examples for the work on the rival court, the Este, Tuohy I996 and Guerzoni 1998.

[6] Bulst 1970 and 1990; Lindow 2007, 107-11 and 119-27.

[7] Allegri and Cecchi, 1980; Trachtenberg 1989; Gáldy 2002.

monarchs.[8]

Ceremony is one of the key features of court life discussed by historians who have taken up, criticised and developed Norbert Elias's original arguments in *The Court Society*.[9] Ceremonies and etiquette played a fundamental role in court life, as methods by which rulers could present themselves to their subjects and as means for individuals to develop political networks, maintain social relationships and gain status. The ordering of social life through ordinances and rules defined the spaces in which these events took place and consequently contributed to their identity as public or private. Jeroen Duindam, for example, has analysed court rituals and events in order to show their importance in political terms.[10] Nowhere does he consider the use of collections or their display as part of the discussion. It is left to the historian of collecting to develop the connections between political motives and display in order to demonstrate that they influenced the decoration of rooms or display of collections. Further investigation can reveal the motives behind such display and the results, such as the impact of furnishings or other valuable possessions displayed upon the people they were intended to impress. Christoph Vogtherr has shown, in his studies on the collections of French paintings by Frederick the Great of Prussia, how these paintings were carefully arranged in order to develop specific themes within the individual rooms of the Royal palaces in Potsdam and Berlin. Some of them made private allusions and suggested ironic games with subjects, others were meant to send out highly official political or cultural messages.[11]

Collections were amassed so that they could be seen and admired, often by a carefully selected and limited audience. Some princely collectors became specialists in their fields and may have gathered particular categories of objects for their exclusive pleasure and enjoyment in their own apartments. Much more frequently an employee, such as a scholar or court artist, would look after the acquisitions and decide where and how to display the exhibits, much as modern curators do. Collections contained many different types of object which were not always separately categorised, but included paintings, sculpture, books, antiquities, portraits, coins and gems, porcelain, curiosities, animals and plants, and so on. Each category required an appropriate form of display, different levels of

---

[8] See recent work on the courts of France in the sixteenth century, for example Chatenet 2002 and Knecht 1994 and 2008.
[9] Elias 1983.
[10] Duindam 2003, 181-219.
[11] Talk given at Waddesdon Manor, May 2010; Vogtherr 2003, 41-55; 2005, 201-210, images 276-281; and 2010 (forthcoming).

security measures, and specialist staff able to look after them in the best possible way. Thus curating and conservation practices were born even before the creation of public museums.

Collecting and art patronage theoretically require both taste and money, therefore a collection rich in a particular branch of acquisitions presented the owner as a person of means and discernment. The forms of display also helped to give a good impression: a particular type of architectural framework or decoration could enhance a collection to such an extent that it might seem far richer than it actually was. The creation of architectural or ceremonial barriers that limited access to the artworks could also do much to make a collection look particularly appetising from a distance.[12]

Whereas up to the late sixteenth century, collections formed part of the princely *guardaroba* or wardrobe and could, therefore, be inherited by members of the same princely family, generally the head of the household, subsequently precious objects were often displayed in museums, usually cabinets and galleries that were no longer closely connected to their owner's living quarters. The present set of essays charts this transformation from private to public in the forms of display adopted for collections over three centuries.

The emphasis, therefore, gradually shifts from the collecting of precious objects to the second part of the working group's name: display. From the start it has been our aim to set these objects in their context: provenance, art market, architecture and forms of display ranging from the study room to glass cases. In this particular case the discussion focuses on the apartment as an architectural space and social sphere, in which the distribution of exhibits was used to make statements about one's rank and ambition.

The contributors to this present volume write about display in Italy, England, Germany, The Netherlands and France from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. True to the cosmopolitan character of the European aristocracy, the display within the apartments of the great houses discussed was often greatly influenced by foreign fashions that were used to proclaim alliances and advance claims to rank and fame. Owners of great houses used the display of their collections in very much the same way as their princely overlords. Indeed, the term "princely" has been extended from political rulers to their administrators, as in the case of Chancellor Séguier and to courtiers and great landlords, such as the Duke and

[12] As an example may serve the display of antiquities and *all'antica* objects in the Scrittoio della Calliope in the Florentine Palazzo Vecchio from 1559; Gáldy 2005, 699-709.

Duchess of Lauderdale or Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester.

Discussion begins appropriately with the Medici in the sixteenth century, amongst the first to flaunt the wealth of their collections in their attempt to claim a primary position among Italian princes.[13] Valentina Zucchi's article aims to show that the Sala delle Carte Geografiche in Palazzo Vecchio had a double function almost from the start. On the one hand a Cosmography that celebrated duke Cosimo I and brought together all the different decorative programmes displayed in the new ducal palace, on the other hand it was the main hall of the ducal wardrobe that stored in its large cupboards the possessions of the court from the most mundane to the very precious.

A careful analysis of the archival documents of the *Guardaroba Medicea*, in particular the investigation of the original inventories drawn up during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, allows a detailed insight into Vasari's project and how it was modified over time. This analysis also enhances understanding of the diverse roles the hall fulfilled through the centuries as part of the *Guardaroba* quarter of this palace.

Dealing now with the following essays thematically: Alden Gordon, in his article "Depictions of Display," takes a new methodological approach to the study of primary sources for evidence of how collections were used in interiors. By undertaking a preliminary census of engravings that depict the interiors of real places, from the homes of bourgeois collectors to the palaces of princes and from town halls to places of business, his ambition is to survey engravings that were made to record events, ceremonies, visits and installations. By considering the rich variety of images which incidentally record the presence of objects of all kinds in different contexts of use, Gordon hopes to provide a tool for scholars to assess the highly mobile nature of interior furnishings in the period from the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries. By making an international survey of engravings depicting interiors, Gordon is seeking patterns of national, period and dynastic practice that can then be compared to answer questions about not only the actual employment of collections but also how much a non-traveller could have known of the display of art in foreign countries.

Andrew Moore approaches the princely apartments of early eighteenth-century Rome through the eyes of a single traveller on the European tour: Thomas Coke, later first Earl of Leicester. Taking as his point of departure the surviving manuscript financial accounts of Coke's time in Rome,

[13] The development of the Medici collections is often included as one of the first examples of display within the development of the museum. See for example, Pearce 1999 or Bredekamp 1993.

totalling nine months over the period 1714-1717, he assesses the impact of the *palazzi* of Rome upon one young Englishman accompanied by his tutor and steeped in classical learning. Moore explores just how Coke's personality as a collector was developed by his travels, to the extent that over time he was to build both a multi-faceted collection and a family seat informed by Rome.

Joy Kearney discusses the unique contribution made by the seventeenth-century Dutch painter Melchior de Hondecoeter to the princely dwellings of William III and places this innovative painter of exotic birds within the context of the taste and patronage of the Golden Age. De Hondecoeter painted the exotic inhabitants of the Royal menagerie; the subject matter and meaning of his paintings are related to their positioning and display within the royal palaces. Equally his large-scale oil paintings were commissioned by both the Stadholder and the wealthy merchant classes, showing how collections of contemporary art could be used to reinforce notions held in common by both groups of the exotic and Dutch mercantile interests.

Stéphane Castelluccio's article explores the collections and taste of two of the most important collectors of the middle of the seventeenth century in France. Chancellor Pierre Séguier and his wife Madeleine owned important pieces of silverware and porcelain, hardstone vases and enamels from Limoges, combining an interesting mixture of the then fashionable and some objects by then considered to be outdated. Although not considered to be part of the aristocracy at the time, this couple moved in exalted circles. As Castelluccio demonstrates, their collecting preferences can be understood through the rooms in which they were displayed and the personal tastes of husband and wife can be differentiated.

Volker Heenes describes how count Franz von Erbach became a passionate collector of antiquities and how he designed, with the help of his painter Johann Wilhelm Wendt, his rooms in the Baroque wing of Erbach castle in order to house his collection of antique vases, portraits, and statues. His collection is still on display *in situ*; it is one the oldest collections of antiquities in Germany. After his loss of sovereignty, he dedicated all his time to the completion and ordering of his collection. He completed four handwritten catalogues of his antiquities and his excavations at the Roman Limes in the Odenwald area, as well as the plantation of the park in Eulbach, planned by Friedrich Ludwig Sckell. These catalogues give a good idea of the intentions, knowledge and taste of a *dilettante* at the end of the eighteenth century.

The other essays in this volume consider the spaces in which collections were displayed and what is known about access to these rooms

and the ways in which they acted as a backdrop to the formal and informal requirements of their owners. Christopher Rowell describes what may be the sole combination of a seventeenth-century Long Gallery and adjoining Cabinet still retaining much of their original décor and contents: the Long Gallery and the Green Closet at Ham House, Richmond (National Trust). The small size of the latter and its rich furnishing emphasises the tradition of the study or closet as the first space within the apartment dedicated to the display of collections. This room at Ham is placed by Rowell in the context of European traditions of the cabinet and is linked to counterparts in both British and European palaces, villas and country houses.

Angela M. Opel deals with one of the structural prerequisites in the development towards the modern museum: the spatial separation of princely art collections from the ceremonial sphere of the princely residence in order to open princely collections to the wider public. This process is described using the examples of two collections of the German Wittelsbach dynasty, the Electoral collection in Düsseldorf and that in Mannheim. Both were developed in several stages from close proximity to the Electoral residence until they were finally and completely separated.

Gero Seelig's essay discusses the interior of the rooms at Schwerin castle; sketches and designs for which have recently been found, showing that the castle was decorated by artists of international standing. He also discusses the cabinet of porcelain, dating to the beginning of the eighteenth century, knowledge of which had also long been lost. Duke Christian Ludwig (1683-1756) was one of the most active collectors of paintings and prints as well as of porcelain, weapons and other precious objects in Germany. Around 1750 he added a three storey building to Schwerin castle, in which most of his paintings were displayed. This collection included his famous group of Dutch paintings and of works by Jean-Baptiste Oudry. New research shows that the building was not erected specifically for use as a gallery; originally it had been meant as an enlargement of the ducal apartment. Nonetheless, the art collections were an integral part of Schwerin court life and culture.

Virginie Spenlé traces the creation of many paintings collections in the German Empire between 1700 and 1750, comparing and contrasting the display in the apartments of the Dresden and Munich palaces with those of the French court. The layout of the apartments is closely linked to their use by the Elector and his wife, illustrating the changing concepts of public and private spaces. Spenlé argues that the paintings collections were integral to the ceremonial use of the apartments and in particular to courtly entertainments held, for example during the carnival season, inside paintings galleries. That the collection was a form of monarchical

representation is reinforced by the placement of the ruler's portrait in the gallery among the collection of Old Master paintings and by giving the paintings identical frames that prominently display the royal coat of arms.

Such a change of practice had to do with the fact that by the end of the seventeenth century the *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* had become old-fashioned and would gradually be replaced by paintings and sculpture galleries. These galleries were mostly integrated into the rulers' state apartments. The study of the paintings galleries in German residences in the course of the eighteenth century makes it clear that there was a direct connection between art collections and princely representation. The German sovereigns considered their collection to be a means of such representation which is why they were integrated into the ceremonial part of princely apartments. Using the paintings and sculpture gallery to legitimise their political claims, the German rulers indirectly contributed to the emergence of the modern art museum.

Thus, the range of purposes for which the display of collections was designed is demonstrated through the individual examples presented in these essays. They also make clear how essential the interlocking disciplines of political and cultural history are to an understanding of the role that art and art objects could play in furthering and maintaining the interests of the owners.

—London and Florence, August 2010

CHAPTER ONE

THE MEDICI *GUARDAROBA* IN THE FLORENTINE DUCAL RESIDENCES, C.1550-1650

VALENTINA ZUCCHI

> His Excellency, under the direction of Vasari, has built a new hall of some size expressly as an addition to the guardaroba, on the second floor of the apartments in the Ducal Palace; and this he has furnished all around with presses seven braccia high, with rich carvings of walnut-wood, in order to deposit in them the most important, precious, and beautiful things that he possesses. Over the doors of those presses, within their ornaments, Fra Ignazio has distributed fifty-seven pictures about two braccia high and wide in proportion, in which are painted in oils on the wood with the greatest diligence, after the manner of miniatures, the Tables of Ptolemy, all measured with perfect accuracy and corrected after the most recent authorities, with exact charts of navigation and their scales for measuring and degrees, done with supreme diligence; and with these are all the names, both ancient and modern.[1]

"Sala nuova dell'oriolo", "sala principale di guardaroba", "seconda stanza della guardaroba, sala degli Argenti": these are just some of the labels used in the ducal inventories of the sixteenth to the eighteenth century to define the Sala delle Carte Geografiche or Maproom in the Florentine Palazzo Vecchio (Fig. 1). These expressions can be used to outline the history of this room which is long and complicated. In fact, even if we want to believe that duke Cosimo I de' Medici, together with his main artist and architect Giorgio Vasari, had conceived the room as an extraordinary cosmographical atlas and as the apex of the celebratory programme of his palace, history tells a different story. From 1570, when the Hall had been newly furnished and placed next to the existing *Guardaroba*, this room was

[1] Vasari 1996, II, 891.

Figure 1. *View of the Maproom*, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, Giorgio Vasari and workshop, post 1563.

effectively used as a storeroom where curtains, pillowcases, tablecloths, hangings, pieces of fabric, velvets, sleeves and carpets were kept in readiness. Therefore, from its very birth the hall seemed destined for a "double life": on the one hand its function was that of a cosmographical room, used to recreate heaven and earth in one room; on the other hand it was a storeroom and its impressive cupboards contained many precious possessions of the court alongside functional objects such as dresses, fabrics and weapons. In sum, this was a hall that housed an extraordinary amount of information regarding the principal members of the Medici family and their collections (today distributed over the most important Florentine museums) and also regarding the organisation and customs of the ducal court.

The *Guardaroba Medicea*

The records of the *Guardaroba Medicea* (hereafter *GM*) in the Florentine State Archives (hereafter ASF) are a precious source that traces the people and the objects gravitating towards the ducal *Guardaroba*. Spectacular events such as the arrival of illustrious personalities or of artistic masterpieces as well as everyday episodes were noted down, for example

when the *Guardaroba* staff listed buttons, scraps of material, "ragne" (hunting traps) and masks for the little princes: these were detailed and accurate lists that to this day are evidence of the taste, the habits, practices and customs of the time. Therefore, these notes dictated by the requirements of the ducal household have by now become to us essential records, gold and silver threads to weave the tissue of the past.

For this reason the *Guardaroba* documents are among the most important sources for those who investigate the history of costume, of science and of the collections of Florentine art.[2] The same group of documents is essential to sketch a reconstruction of the different aspects of the Medici *Guardaroba*: its architecture and administration; court life in the ducal palace from the second half of the sixteenth century to the first decades of the seventeenth century (under the rule of Cosimo I, Francesco I, and Ferdinando I de' Medici) up to the first decades of the eighteenth century. In fact, the office of the respective *Guardaroba* can show the political, economic and cultural peculiarities of the different ruling families, not only in Florence, but at all the main courts in Italy and Europe. The *Guardaroba* was the centre of production, storage and distribution of all the goods of the household and, therefore, it assumed an essential role in the life of the court; its location, its nature and its substance became accurate indicators for social conditions, elements of taste, political decisions and business relations.

In the 1530s the Medici *Guardaroba* had its office in the Palazzo Medici on the Via Larga, the first grand residence for the Medici family, whereas two decades later it appears in the documents as located in the "palazzo di piazza" (now usually called Palazzo Vecchio) which by 1540 had become the ducal residence of Cosimo I.[3] In the ducal palace the Medici *Guardaroba* grew gradually and continuously, both physically and quantitatively, following in the footsteps of the ducal court and its rise to power. It cannot be sufficiently stressed that the sources give the impression of a court that is still under development, only reaching its full potential under Ferdinand I.[4] An examination of the *Guardaroba* inventories taken at the death of Ferdinand I—including the changes to the Maproom—shows very clearly the emergence of a new artistic and cultural taste which corresponds to the development of a proper court. Research on the inventories between the seventeenth and eighteenth

---

[2] As examples may serve the publications by Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà 1993 and 2002.

[3] Allegri and Cecchi 1980 on the history of Palazzo Vecchio; for a detailed analysis of the different roles of the three Medici residences see Gàldy 2009b, 24-43.

[4] Fantoni 1994, 24.

century, however, documents the transfer of the ducal residence to the Palazzo Pitti and a progressive expansion of the *Guardaroba* in the halls of the old palace, now truly the Palazzo Vecchio which by then were no longer used as state halls and ducal apartments. As will become clear, this notion of transformation—rather than of a progressive decline—can actually be very useful in furthering our understanding of the history of the palace as a whole and of the *Guardaroba* in particular. It also offers invaluable information about the different roles assumed by the Medici residences through the centuries.

Masters of the *Guardaroba* at Court

Archival sources describe the Medici *Guardaroba*, its duties and tasks.[5] The office of the *Guardaroba* was composed of two important departments: the *Guardaroba del Taglio* and the *Guardaroba delle Robe Fabbricate*. The first bought raw materials and commissioned the creation of various goods ("da tagliare"); the second managed all ducal possessions. Therefore, the *Guardaroba* administrated the "ins" and "outs" of all ducal goods (both ordinary and valuable) while also being responsible for the production of furniture, soft furnishings and any kind of objects useful for court life.[6] Until 1637 the two departments were managed together; from then onwards, in connection with an institutional reform of the *Guardaroba*, they were definitely and clearly separated from one another.

The staff consisted of the *guardaroba maggiore*, head of the entire office, of the *sottoguardaroba* and of a *computista* in charge of the day-to-day recording and accounting, together with assistants and porters. Every

---

[5] For a well-organised account of the documents of the *Guardaroba Medicea* see Vaccari 1997. The *inventari originali* were compiled topographically, usually at the death of a grand duke, while the *inventari generali* were drawn up according to the different categories of goods. The latter are very helpful for a quantitative analysis of the different objects owned by the Medici, while the former, precisely because they follow the palace's topography, offer valuable information regarding the location and function of the different halls and chambers.

[6] "[...] la Guardaroba doveva anche occuparsi di far eseguire mobili, oggetti d'uso, opere d'arte, tutto quanto servisse alle necessità della famiglia, all'arredamento del palazzo e delle residenze di campagna, organizzare feste e spettacoli, allestire apparati effimeri per particolari eventi e rappresentazioni teatrali, che richiedevano lunghi periodi di preparazione. Per l'importanza degli impegni assunti, la Guardaroba disponeva di un assegnamento annuo da parte della Depositeria generale, con la quale provvedeva direttamente a liquidare fornitori, artisti, maestranze. Da qui lo stretto e particolare rapporto che legava queste figure all'ufficio."; ibid., 13.