Edited by
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and Claus Zittel

The Artist as Reader

On Education and Non-Education
of Early Modern Artists

BRILL

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PART THREE

BEYOND THE STUDIO

NOTES ON THE EDITORS

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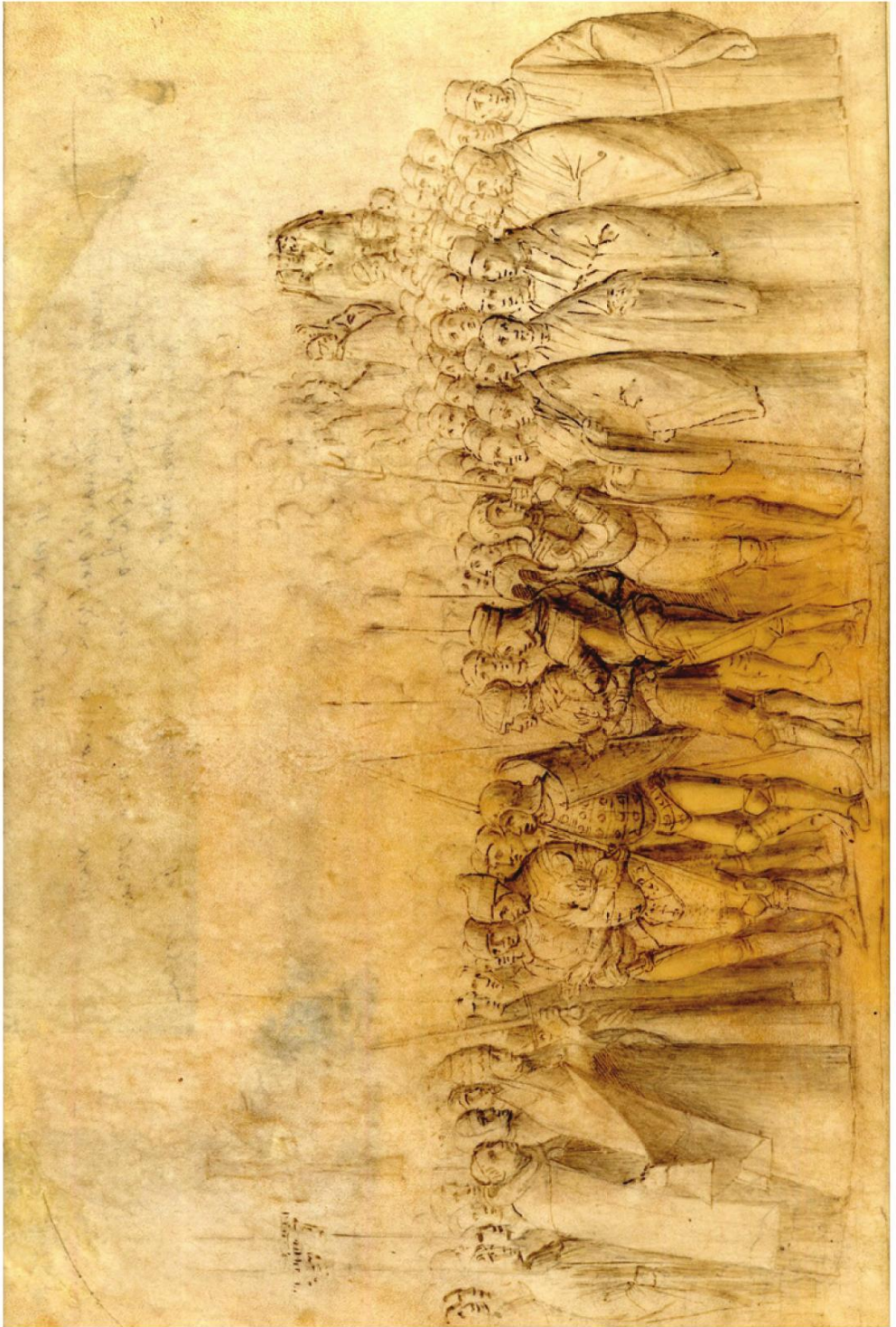
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FIANT LVMINARIA IN FIRMAMENTO CELI

CLOSE AND EXTENSIVE READING AMONG ARTISTS
IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Heiko Damm, Michael Thimann, Claus Zittel

I. *The Artist as Reader: Outlines of Research*

Generally we are more interested in the books artists produced than in those they drew on for their work. Whereas artists' books have established themselves as collection items and subjects of research with the advent of modernism, we become aware of the books artists owned especially when they land in archives as part of a bequest or when they belong to the inventories of historic artists' homes or studios. Often enough, even today works of art eloquently – and even perhaps at times too explicitly – inform about what the artist read. The fact is that even the subtlest inter-medial allusions and mere anticipation of being able to discover traces of literary affiliations secures the curiosity of interpreters for such works of the visual arts.

To the question put to him in spring 2009 of whether a specific work of art had changed his view of the world, Damien Hirst retorted:

> Oh there's millions! You know, I've fucking devoured artworks for years. Just went through Cage and everything. Francis Bacon or Jeff Koons probably changed my life. There's so many great artists. I remember being in the library of the school, looking at all the books, thinking: Fuck! You know, I'm gonna read all this.[1]

The artist as reader is a long story that has not come to an end in the 21st century – as we can see in the above quote.[2] Hirst's description of himself is tinged with ambivalence. After all, the statement is from someone whose work conceptually builds on provocation, breaking with tradition,

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[1] Damien Hirst in an interview with Jenny Schlenzka, in *Monopol: Magazin für Kunst und Leben* 5 (2009) (38–53) 43.
[2] The recent exhibitions *The Artist's Library* (Centre International d'art et du paysage, Île de Vassivière, 24.02–15.06.2008, curated by Carrie Pilto) and *Versions – Artist's Library* (Galerie für Zeitgenössische Kunst, Leipzig, 26.09.2008–04.01.2009, curated by Edina Nagy) present two typical examples.

and exulting in undermining intellectuallity in art, the age-old legitima-
tion of the *pictor doctus*. Of course we do not really know if Hirst actually
did read a great number of books. The truth of his remark may have only
little relevance for the study of his work. And indeed we would, in the
case of an artist such as Damien Hirst, hardly think of reconstructing a
history of reception by consulting illustrated art books, although, for the
early modern period, this has long determined research on artists as read-
ers. To this day, art-historical research – and specifically the iconological
approach – primarily searches for books relevant to images, the erudite
text behind the obscurely clever *invenzione*. Taking stock of book titles
from artists' inventories, or reconstructing libraries that artists possibly
had access to, promised enlightenment on complex iconographies and
the work of the learned artist.[3] In contrast, the larger perspective of a his-
tory of knowledge and education focusing on artists as readers remains a
desideratum for further study.[4]

The ambitions of this introduction are therefore to give a structural
outline of the key issues of existing research on the topic and to delineate
areas of possible future research using analysis examples. Based on the
history of knowledge, the chapters of this volume will then correspond-
ingly elucidate various aspects of how, in the early modern period, artists'
education, knowledge, reading and libraries were related to the ways in
which they presented themselves. The volume endeavours at long last to
go beyond merely publishing inventories by investigating the problem of
artists' libraries with a fundamentally stronger emphasis on a discourse-
analytical and history-of-knowledge approach. As a result, it is possible to

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[3] Klein R., "Die Bibliothek von Mirandola und das Giorgione zugeschriebene 'Concert
champêtre'", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 30 (1967) 199–206.

[4] On research of artists' libraries and artists as readers we find a pioneer in Białostocki J.:
"Doctus artifex and the library of the artist in XVIth and XVIIth century", in Horodisch A. (ed.),
De arte et libris: Festschrift Erasmus 1934–1984 (Amsterdam: 1984) 11–22. An early attempt to
canonize artists' knowledge was through the institution of a library in the Paris Academy,
which was founded in 1648. On this topic see Müntz E., "La bibliothèque de l'ancienne
académie royale de peinture et de sculpture (Bibliothèque de l'école nationale des beaux-
arts) 1648–1793", *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France* 24 (1897)
33–50; Krause K., "Par les préceptes et par les exemples: Überlegungen zur Ausbildung der
Maler im Paris des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69 (2006) 194–216 [with
references to additional archival material]. Bredius A. (ed.), *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden
zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, 8
vols. (The Hague: 1915–1922). An outstanding exception for a key study on artists as read-
ers in a larger history-of-knowledge context is still: Duhem P., *Etudes sur Léonard de Vinci:
Ceux qu'il a lus et ceux qui l'ont lu* ["Those he read and those who read him"], 3 vols. (Paris:
1906–1913). An important recent reconstruction of an artist's appropriation of literature
is Golahny A., *Rembrandt's Reading: The Artist's Bookshelf of Ancient Poetry and History*
(Amsterdam: 2003).

Fig. 1. Bookshelf in the studio of the painter Michael Triegel. Leipzig, 2010.

challenge or at least renew the debate on a central concept in recent art-historical research, that of the learned artist, the *doctus artifex* or *pictor doctus*. Dating back to the 16th century and propagated by art theorists, the notion of the ideal artist – who was likewise a well-read intellectual – facilitated acceptance of the visual arts among the liberal arts, and the thread of this art-theoretical construct was later taken up by iconological studies and, more recently, research on artists.[5]

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[5] See, on this topic, et al., Dempsey C., "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna During the Later Sixteenth Century", *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980) 552–569; De Jongh E., "Over ambachtsman en kunstenaar: de status van de schilder in de 16de en de 17de eeuw", *Utrecht Renaissance Studies* 2 (1983) 29–33; Levy E., "Ideal and Reality of the Learned Artist: The Schooling of Italian and Netherlandish Artists", in Brown University (ed.), *Children of Mercury: The Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, exh. cat. Providence/RI (Providence/RI: 1984) 20–27; Fumaroli M., *L'école du silence: Le sentiment des images au XVIIième siècle* (Paris: 1994) 71–76; Vignau-Wilberg T., " 'Pictor doctus': Drawing and the Theory of Art Around 1600", in Fucíková E. (ed.), *Rudolf II and Prague: The Court and the City* (London et al.: 1997) 179–188; Klingsöhr-Leroy C., *Das Künstlerbildnis des Grand Siècle in Malerei und Graphik: Vom "Noble Peintre" zum "Pictor doctus"* (Munich: 2002); Maringer E., "Schönfeld als 'Pictor doctus': Bemerkungen zu seinem künstlerischen Selbstverständnis", in Zeller U. – Waike M. – Kaulbach H.-M. (eds.), *Johann Heinrich Schönfeld: Welt der Götter, Heiligen und Heldenmythen* (Cologne: 2009) 86–113.

Fig. 2. Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Self Portrait as 'alter Apelles'*, 1649. Pen and brown ink, wash, 143 × 172 mm. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung.

Reading is apparently the greatest proof of refinement when viewed within the context of the social climb of the visual artist. Only through the cultivation of intellect could artists rise above being considered only artisans. Erudition was the means of imbuing their work with a quasi scholarly and philosophical dignity, and for elevating their status to that of the *poeta doctus* or *poeta eruditus*.[6] It is only as reader that the artist can participate in the exclusive culture of clerics, humanists, rulers and courtiers. But the question is not only whether the *pictor doctus* really existed or not. Rather, we must ask, how did it come about that such a figure was integrated into the general history-of-knowledge context of research on the early modern period. To answer this question it is imperative that a crossdisciplinary

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[6] On the figure of the learned poet see Grimm G.E., *Literatur und Gelehrtentum in Deutschland: Untersuchungen zum Wandel ihres Verhältnisses vom Humanismus bis zur Frühaufklärung* (Tübingen: 1983).

comparison be undertaken of all prior rather sporadic studies on artists' reading – of not only books by natural scientists, philosophers, the clergy, legal scholars, but also by craftsmen and the uneducated – in order to outline what artists' reading specifically entails.[7] While the prestige of poets, rhetoricians, philosophers, and theologians was not debated, interestingly enough visual artists developed unique justification strategies by targeting the elevation of their profession from the ranks of an artisanal craft to the status of a liberal art. The process of their social climb was settled temporarily when the academies were founded – in 1563 the inauguration of the *Accademia del Disegno* in Florence took place and in 1593 Federico Zuccari reorganised the Roman *Accademia di San Luca*.

This was a sign that the *pictor doctus* was at least established in Italy as the prototype of the artist. It must be emphasized, however, that such a climb could only materialize concurrent to an increase in opportunities for acquiring knowledge. It was not until the 16th century that, with the invention of printing and a pronouncedly vernacular culture, attempts were made within the book market to conflate knowledge also for the visual-art discipline, to make it available to artists, and draw up rules for all artists to use as orientation through the medium of the book. Printing made the same texts freely available in different cities and countries so that art norms and specific 'artists' knowledge' – in the sense of a body of knowledge familiar to a majority of artists – became widespread, much more so than the face-to-face exchange of knowledge within the workshop situation. All in all, we can safely assume that there was an interaction between practical knowhow acquired as a student and knowledge acquired through independent study and reading (although presumably seldom done systematically). Book collections seemed to take on the function of a collective memory in an externalized form. While they alleviated private memory, they likewise restricted it, which was of more consequence for artists than, for example, theologians.[8] Indeed, the

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[7] Historico-cultural research on reading practices in the early modern period mostly does not consider those of artists. See, e.g., Chartier R. – Cavallo G. (eds.), *Die Welt des Lesens: Von der Schriftrolle zum Bildschirm* (Frankfurt: 1999); Chartier R., *Lesewelten: Buch und Lektüre in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt: 1990); Messerli A. – Chartier R. (eds.), *Scripta volant, verba manent: Schriftkulturen in Europa zwischen 1500 und 1900* (Basel: 2007).

[8] See Neuber W., "Memoria", in Weimar K. (ed.), *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*. Revised version of the Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte (Berlin-New York: 2000), vol. II: H – O, 562–566; id., "Mnemonic Imagery in the Early Modern Period: Visibility and Collective Memory", in Beecher D. – Williams G. (eds.), *Ars Reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture,* Publications of the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. Essays and Studies 19 (Toronto: 2009) 69–81.

spread and reception of artists' knowledge in printed form had the result that norms were established for the aesthetic imagination, which always then occurred when learned inventions fed on a canonical preselection of books. On the other hand, this makes the exceptions particulary interesting, as in the case of Leon Battista Alberti, who ostentaneously demonstrated his erudition by a dislike for printed books, greatly preferring handmade books and manuscripts.[9]

II. *Source Material*

Undoubtedy, great efforts have been made to describe the educational background of artists and substantiate them on a more a solid stock of data. Frances Ames-Lewis exemplarily succeeded in such a reconstruction of knowledge cultures that were highly relevant for Early Renaissance visual artists.[10] In addition, a plethora of related studies investigating the fund of material relevant to education in humanist culture are available.[11] In glaring contrast, the problem of artists and their use of books has hitherto hardly ever been systematically investigated especially in a larger time frame.[12] The number of publications relevant to the subject of artists' libraries or artists' reading practices is surprisingly meagre. Jan Białostocki's article *Doctus artifex and the library of the artist in the XVIth and XVIIth century* from 1984 is still the standard in research in his unique

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[9] Grafton A., "Leon Battista Alberti: The Writer as Reader", in id., *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Michigan: 1997) 53–92.

[10] Ames-Lewis F., *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven: 2000).

[11] Heiberg J.L., "Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Vallas und seiner Bibliothek", *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* Beiheft XVI (1896) 2–6, 54–103; Kibre P., *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York: 1936); Mugnai Carrara D., *La biblioteca di Nicolò Leoniceno* (Florence: 1991); Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics*; Danzi M., *La biblioteca del cardinal Pietro Bembo* (Geneva: 2005); Leu U.B. – Keller R. – Weidmann S., *Conrad Gessner's Private Library*, History of Science and Medicine Library 5 (Leiden-Boston: 2008); Nelles P., "Reading and Memory in the Universal Library: Conrad Gessner and the Renaissance Book", in Beecher D. – Williams G. (eds.), *Ars Reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture* (Toronto: 2009) 147–170.

[12] Important material on the habitus of reading and its cultural context can be found in: Schulze S. (ed.), *Leselust – Niederländische Malerei von Rembrandt bis Vermeer*, exh. cat. Frankfurt (Stuttgart: 1993); Hanebutt-Benz E.-M. (ed.), *Die Kunst des Lesens: Lesemöbel u. Leseverhalten vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, exh. cat. Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt: 1985) and Manguel A., *A History of Reading* (New York: 1996).

attempt to achieve an overall picture based on available – admittedly rather haphazard – sources.[13]

In regard to which books and manuscripts were possessed by artists, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that we have obtained our knowledge almost entirely to chance finds, to researchers in archives who stumbled across such material while in search of very different things. Correspondingly, also the selection of publications we can find on the topic has been largely determined by which documents and records have been found. But the often very elucidating presentations of historic material only very seldomly explore issues beyond the case in question. Thus, in the meantime, we know of the inventories for the libraries of painters, sculptors and architects such as Filippino Lippi,[14] Leonardo da Vinci,[15] Albrecht Altdorfer,[16] El Greco,[17] Vincente Carducho,[18] Giovanni Maria Nosseni,[19] Inigo Jones,[20] Giovanni Antonio Rusconi,[21] Carlo Maderno,[22] Pietro

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[13] Białostocki, "Doctus artifex" 11–22.

[14] Carl D., "Das Inventar der Werkstatt von Filippino Lippi aus dem Jahre 1504", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 31 (1981) (373–391) 388–389, nos. 222–233 in doc. II. This inventory is particularly interesting because it is a valuable document for early modern printing. Without detailed comments, the list comprises twelve volumes that the artist stored in his *scrittoio*: Besides Livy (the only manuscript) and an Ovid written in the vernacular, he additionally owned a bible, Dante's works (*Commedia* and *Convivio*), Petrarch (*Canzoniere*) and Boccaccio (*Ninfale fiesolano* and probably also the *Decamerone*), as well as Poggio Bracciolini (probably the *Facezie*), a "libretto delle Sibille" (considered by Carl to be a treatise by Filippo Barbieri), a "libro da chompagnie" (the statues of a lay brotherhood), and "uno libro di geometria" as the only "textbook".

[15] Duhem, *Etudes*; Reti L., *The Library of Leonardo da Vinci* (Los Angeles: 1972).

[16] Boll W., "Albrecht Altdorfers Nachlaß", *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* N.F.13 (1938/39) 91–102.

[17] The inventory of El Greco's estate was drawn up by his son Jorge Manuel, see Davies D. (ed.), *El Greco*, exh. cat. New York-London (London: 2003) 40, 69–70 and passim.

[18] Caturla M.L., "Documentos en torno a Vincencio Carducho", *Arte Español* 19–20 (1968–69) (145–221) 205–209.

[19] Marx B., "Vom Künstlerhaus zur Kunstakademie: Giovanni Maria Nossenis Erbe in Dresden", in Marx B. – Rehberg K.-S. (eds.), *Sammeln als Institution: Von der fürstlichen Wunderkammer zum Mäzenatentum des Staates* (Munich-Berlin: 2006) (61–92) 73–74, 88–92.

[20] Harris J. – Orgel St. – Strong R., *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court*, exh. cat. Whitehall (London-Bradford: 1973) 63–67, 217–218.

[21] Cellauro L., "La biblioteca di un architetto del Rinascimento: la raccolta di libri di Giovanni Antonio Rusconi", *Arte Veneta* 58 (2001) 224–237.

[22] Hibbard H., *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580–1630* (London: 1971) 98, 103–104.

Veri,[23] Durante Alberti,[24] Nicolas Poussin,[25] Diego Velázquez,[26] Francesco Borromini,[27] Alessandro Algardi,[28] Andrea Sacchi,[29] Carlo Maratta,[30] Domenico Guidi,[31] Pieter Saenredam,[32] Jürgen Ovens,[33] Johann Carl Loth,[34] Stefano Maria Legnani,[35] Pier Leone Ghezzi,[36] Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann,[37] Bernardo Vittone, and Lambert Krahe.[38] In addition to a number of others. However, the reconstructions of libraries belonging to leading artists, such as Pietro da Cortona, Gianlorenzo Bernini or Peter Paul

[23] Sickel L., "Pietro Veri: Ein Florentiner Künstler in Diensten des Herzogs von Bracciano, Virginio Orsini", *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 30 (2003) 183–209.

[24] Soergel Panofsky G., "An Artist's Library in Rome around 1600", in Fleming V. v. – Schütze S. (eds.), *Ars naturam adiuvans.* Festschrift für Matthias Winner zum 11. März 1996 (Mainz: 1996) 367–380.

[25] Sparti D.L., "La maison de Nicolas Poussin, via del Babuino, à Rome", in *Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665).* Actes du colloque organisée au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel du 19 au 21 octobre 1994 (Paris: 1996) (45–78) 56–57.

[26] Sánchez Cantón F.J., "La libreira de Velázquez", in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid: 1925), vol. III, 379–406; Ruiz Pérez P., *De la pintura y las letras: La biblioteca de Velázquez,* 1599–1999, exh. cat. Sevilla (Sevilla: 1999); Aterido Á., "The Culture of Velázquez: Reading, Knowledge and Social Connections", in Portús J. (ed.), *Velázquez' Fables: Mythology and Sacred History in the Golden Age,* exh. cat. Madrid (Madrid: 2007) 72–93.

[27] Del Piazzo M. (ed.), *Ragguagli Borrominiani: Mostra documentaria,* exh. cat. Rome (Rome: 1980) 29–35, 162–179.

[28] The estate inventory, dated June 13 to 14, 1654, in Montagu J., *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven-London: 1985), vol. I, 234.

[29] Sutherland Harris A., *Andrea Sacchi. Complete edition of the paintings with a critical catalogue* (Oxford: 1977) 123–127.

[30] Bershad D.L., "The Newly Discovered Testament of Carlo Maratti and His Wife", *Antologia di Belle Arti* 25–26 (1985) 65–89.

[31] Giometti C., *Uno studio e i suoi scultori: Gli inventari di Domenico Guidi e Vincenzo Felici* (Pisa: 2007) 83–90 and id., *Domenico Guidi 1625–1701: Uno scultore barocco di fama europea* (Rome: 2010) 112–113.

[32] Selm B. van, "De bibliotheek van Pieter Saenredam", *Kunstschrift Openbaar Kunstbesitz* 32 (1988) 14–19; Schwartz G. – Bok M.J., *Pieter Saenredam: The Painter and His Time* (Maarssen et al.: 1990) 181–187.

[33] Schmidt H., *Das Nachlaß-Inventar des Malers Jürgen Ovens,* Quellensammlung der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte 7 (Leipzig: 1913). See also below, 60–63.

[34] Lux M., "L'inventario di Johann Carl Loth", *Arte Veneta* 54 (1999) 146–164, on the library see 150–154.

[35] Dell'Olmo M., *Stefano Maria Legnani, "Il Legnanino"* (Ozzano Emilia: 1998) 265–266. On this topic see Huub van der Linden's chapter in this volume.

[36] Dorati da Empoli M.C., *Pier Leone Ghezzi: Un protagonista del Settecento romano* (Rome: 2008) 401–487. See also below, 30–42.

[37] Bächler H., "Die Bücher aus dem Nachlaß Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmanns: Ein Beitrag zu seinem Weltbild", in Milde K. et al. (eds.), *Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann 1662–1736 und die Architektur der Zeit Augusts des Starken* (Dresden: 1990) 40–50.

[38] Portoghesi P., *Bernardo Vittone: Un architetto tra Illuminismo e Rococó* (Rome: 1966) 248–251; Bibliothek Lambert Krahe, *Kunstliteratur des Barock und des Klassizismus,* exh. cat. Düsseldorf (Düsseldorf: 1990).

Rubens, were based on sources and information that cannot, ultimately, be verified as pertinent to the cases in question.[39]

The situation grows even more complicated if we also regard manuscripts. It is well known that especially transcriptions – and a great many of them too – of Leonardo's treatise on painting were passed on from one artist to another, without them actually owning a copy themselves. Such manuscripts were, of course, not included in inventories. It is generally more difficult to find information on artists' archives than what we are used to finding on scholars' archives.[40] Because more sources have survived from the 18th and 19th century than previous, the situation is, overall, more encouraging. Also in this time frame there was an increase in the heuristic value of library inventories for describing artists' intellectual ambitions. Worth mentioning in this context is the well-documented and therefore rare case of the Danish painter Nicolai Abildgaard (1743–1809). Abildgaard learnt several languages on his own in order to read his books, and he even evacuated his library by himself when Copenhagen was under fire during an attack by the British fleet in 1801.

> As Nelson threatened to cannonade the city I evacuated my books, so my room remained empty for six days. During this time I would walk around in it and, again and again, go to pull out a book. I felt as if I had been deserted when I only found the empty shelves. I cannot begin to describe how this filled me with melancholy, so I swore to myself that I would never sell my books.[41]

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[39] A book list of about 200 volumes believed to be for Cortona's library is printed in Noehles K., *La chiesa di SS. Luca e Martina* (Rome: 1970) 365–367, doc. 166. See for comments and doubts in regard to attribution: Sparti D. L., *La casa di Pietro da Cortona: Architettura, accademia, atelier e officina* (Rome: 1997) 89–103. In Bernini's case, the estate inventory of the engineer, architect, and sculptor Luigi Bernini was published and very probably also includes Gian Lorenzo's books, as he died only shortly before his brother; see McPhee S., "Bernini's Books", *Burlington Magazine* 142 (2000) 442–448. See also Martin F., "Berninis Lektüre oder: Wissen adelt", in Hoffmann A. – Martin F. – Wolf G. (eds.), *BücherGänge: Miszellen zu Buchkunst, Leselust und Bibliotheksgeschichte* (Heidelberg: 2006) 117–125. In the case of Rubens an ideal reconstruction of his library was undertaken that also incorporates the groundwork of earlier studies; see Arents P., *De Bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens. Een reconstructie*, De gulden passer 78/79 (Antwerp: 2001); Baudouin F., "Rubens and his books", in De Smet R., *Les humanistes et leur bibliothèque. Actes du colloque international, Bruxelles, 26–28 août 1999 / Université Libre de Bruxelles*, Travaux de l'Institut pour l'Etude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme 13 (Leuven: 2002) 231–246.

[40] Hunter M. (ed.), *Archives of the Scientific Revolution: the Formation and Exchange of Ideas in 17th-century Europe* (Woodbridge: 1998).

[41] Translated into English from the German in Lederballe T., "Der Künstler in seiner Bibliothek: 1778 bis 1800", in Howoldt J.E. – Gaßner H. (eds.), *Nicolai Abildgaard: Der Lehrer von Friedrich und Runge*, exh. cat. Hamburg (Bremen-Hamburg: 2009) (77–83) 78. For

A comic pen-and-ink drawing by his close friend the sculptor Johan Tobias Sergel portrays the painter leaning against a print cabinet in a casual pose while reading. The impressive abundance of books in the background is contrasted by numerous empty bottles amassed under the draftsman's table. The inscription "BIBLIOTECA SERGELIANA" points out an alternative route for arousing the powers of the imagination.[42] [See fig. 3] Even the literary subjects Abildgaard chose for his pictures, such as Shakespeare's dramas, point out how close-knit his library holdings and his favourite books were. Possible sources for unusual subject matter indifferent to the poetic rules, such as *Hamlet points at the Ghost of his Father to show his Mother*, could have been Shakespeare or Johann Gottfried Herder's *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* (Hamburg 1773). In this book, which was part of Abildgaard's library according to the inventory, the appearance of the ghost was mentioned as an example of the genius of Shakespeare that lay in transgressing the rules of the hierarchy of dramatic kinds.[43] This case shows that research on artists' libraries has the potential of definitely facilitating the study, in the classical sense, of rare forms of iconography and their scope of meaning. Furthermore, the fact that Herder's publication was present in Abildgaard's library gives insight into a general history of taste and changing intellectual requirements for artistic activity. A history of knowledge tracing such transformations in the lives of early modern artists is lacking.

III. *The Artists' Library as Fact and Metaphor*

So far there have been very few targeted attempts to search in archives for material on artists' libraries on a broader scale and exclusively for the purpose of formulating results from the sources found. Likewise there have been no endeavours to statistically evaluate known inventories and owners' entries in a larger history-of-knowledge context. On the one hand, the – none too frequent and often unreliable – topical reports we have about artists' reading habits in biographical literature must be rela-

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essential reading on Abildgaard's library and how he saw himself as a *pictor doctus* see Kragelund P., *Abildgaard. Kunstneren mellem oprørerne* (Copenhagen: 1999) 9–120.

[42] On this sheet see *Sergel*, exh. cat. Stockholm (Stockholm: 1990) 141, no. 135, and Josephson R., *Sergels Fantasi*, 2 vols. (Stockholm: 1956).

[43] In this context see Kragelund P., "Abildgaard, Füssli and the first Shakespeare painting outside Britain", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 73 (2010) 237–254.

Fig. 3. Johan Tobias Sergel, *"La societé journaillière": Abildgaard at the Fireplace, Sergel at the Drawing Board,* 1797. Pen and brown ink, wash, 225 × 358 mm. Malmö, Malmö Museum.

tivised by comparing them with factual knowledge gained through finds in archives. On the other, it is essential that we compare such archival facts with book lists and a recommended canon of literature for artists, such as is presented in the treatises of theoreticians like Giovanni Battista Armenini, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, Luigi Scaramuccia, Willem Goeree, Gerard de Lairesse or Roger de Piles.

Armenini's *Veri precetti della pittura* divided into categories the books that were essential for artists to read in order to properly meet the demands of their vocation: devotional literature, history books, iconography manuals, and – to excite the powers of the imagination – novels such as *Amadis*, as well as standard literature on architecture with Vitruvius at the top of the list.[44] Only shortly afterwards Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (1538–1600) devoted a chapter in *Idea del tempio della pittura* to the necessary sciences for the painter. In this context he brought up the topic of the 'Libri necessari al pittore', but did not name any individual authors despite differentiating between highly divergent areas of knowledge.[45]

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[44] See Białostocki, "Doctus artifex" 20.
[45] Lomazzo Gian Paolo, *Idea del tempio della pittura* (Milan, Paolo Gottardo Pontio:1590) 36–38. Cf. Białostocki, "Doctus artifex" 20.

The painter Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy, with the publication of the didactic poem and very successful Horace interpretation *De arte graphica*, immediately awakened great interest among art lovers. It was communicated in flawless hexameters, but first had to be translated for his artist colleagues. In the same year it was first published (1667) a French prose version followed, written by the young Roger de Piles (1635–1709) who here too was not sparing in his display of erudition in detailed and extensive *Remarques*. Under the title of 'The artist's library and the books he should read, or have read to him', he put together a canon of literature that ranges from the Bible to André Félibien's recently published *Entretiens*. He likewise included antiquarian books and publications on medallions, but there is no mention of Italian art theory. Homer and Pausanias were to provide artists with 'beautiful ideas'; Livy and Flavius Josephus educate them in Roman history; and 'certain novels' were allowed to inspire, although this was a dangerous undertaking because they falsified history. The Latin classics were generally recommended in modern translations. And curious artists had the option of informing themselves by reading an *abrégé* of Baronius's multi-volume history of the Church.[46] Such particulars make it obvious that, despite the fact it was desirable that artists be educated, they were not to be overburdened by their endeavours.

Published almost simultaneously in 1674, Luigi Scaramuccia's (1616–1680) book *Le finezze de' pennelli italiani* divides the books to read subdivided into 'Historie del Mondo (inter alia Livy, Tacitus, and Justus Lipsius), "Historie sacre' (Josephus Flavius and the Holy Scriptures), and 'Poesie diverse'. In the last group he listed Virgil and Ovid alongside the moderns Ariosto, Tasso, and Marino [see fig. 4].[47] Correspondingly, Jonathan Richardson rounds up his comprehensive list of the Bible, Homer, Thucydides, Livy, Virgil and Plutarch with Spenser and Milton.[48] In the eyes of the bookseller and art theoretician Willem Goeree (1635–1711) from Middelburg, the best way to train the imagination and memory was to read the

[46] [Roger de Piles in] Dufresnoy Charles-Alphonse, *L'Art de Peinture…Traduit en François, Enrichy de Remarques, & augmenté d'un Dialogue sur les Coloris* (Paris, Nicolas Langlois: 1673) 127–129. In his annotations De Piles emphasized that: 'Par les Lettres, ce n'est pas tant les Langues Grecque et Latine que l'on entend, que la lecture des bons Auteurs et l'intelligence des choses qui y sont traitées: ainsi la plûpart des bons livres étant traduits, il n'y a pas un Peintre qui ne puisse prétendre en quelque façon aux Belles Lettres.'

[47] Scaramuccia Luigi, *Le finezze de' pennelli italiani* (Pavia, Andrea Magri: 1674) 195–196, 217–219. Cf. Białostocki, "Doctus artifex" 20.

[48] Richardson Jonathan, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London, William Bowyer: 1715) 403, cf. 202, 217–218. For Gerard de Lairesse's recommendations, see Christian Tico Seifert's contribution to this volume, 187–188.

O SIANO RICORDI. 195

*Quanto fia d' utile al Pittore il dilettarfi
di belle Lettere.*

NON dourebbe per mio credere applicarfi niuno à quefta Profeffione, che non foffe verfato, almeno in qualche parte, nelle buone Lettere, poiche mai potrà efprimere sù le Tele, ne sù le Carte quello che ben non fi pof-fiede: ne poffeder fi puote, fe con ogni accuratezza non fi ftu-dia, e non fi effercita la memoria fopra de Libri; In quefta for-ma più che in alcun'altra fi potrà imprimere ciò che voglia dire Hiftoria, ò fauoleggiamento Poetico, altrimenti fe tù vuoi re-ftringerti à domandar altrui come vadano le facenda, qualunque volta d'vuopo te ne faccia, non bene ftaraffi, poiche oltre il di-menticarti per ogni lieue accidente di quelle fpecie che poc'anzi vdifti, molto difdiceuole riefce ad vn Pittore che fia di qualche portata, l'andare ad ogn'hora mendicando da altri quello, che far da te fteffo fi potrebbe con vn poco d'applicatione.

Quali i Libri più neceffarÿ per gl'eleuati Pittori.

SE poi tù bramaffi fapere di quai Libri potrefti accompa-gnarti, fappi, che à mio credere, trà li molti, che frutto recar ti potrebbero, fono li feguenti.

Tito Liuio.
Cornelio Tacito.
Giufto Lipfio, e fimili.   } *Hiftorie del Mondo.*

Il Vigliega dè Patriarchi, e Profeti.
Giofeffo Hiftorico.
Scrittura Sacra, ed'altri tali.   } *Hiftorie Sacre.*

Virgilio.
Ouidio.
Taffo.
Ariofte.
Marini, ed' altri Poeti Claffici.   } *Poefie diuerfe.*

Bb 2   Moltiffi-

Fig. 4. Luigi Scaramuccia, *Le finezze de' pennelli italiani* (Pavia: 1674), p. 195.

historical works of antiquity, to which he also included Virgil's *Aeneid*. After roughly sorting the bulk of literature worth reading ("Wat boeken men behoorde te lesen") in his *Inleyding* he emphasized the advantages of knowledge of other languages even if translations were more readily available in the meantime.[49] Then he proceeds to underscore the benefits of both antiquarian books as well as manuals and, in fact, every kind of illustrative material in print form, and goes on to individually introduce various compilations containing representations of ancient sculptures (Boissard, Rubens, Perrier, de Bisschop). Young painters eager to learn were to always have their diverse resources at hand, according to Goeree. Thus they could appropriate a rich fund of useful and pertinent knowledge by continually switching between reading and drawing, artistic practice and consolidation of intellectual speculation.[50]

To what extent did artists take such recommendations to heart? Did they only correspond to the ideals of the educated laiety, or did they outline the ideal range of literature that we would expect ambitious artists to have had in their bookshelves at the time anyhow? Already a fleeting look at the surviving inventories shows that the titles represented in libraries largely overlapped, that we actually find many of the approved treatises again and again. For example, Flavius Josephus's description of the War of the Jews was immensely popular north and south of the Alps; De Piles called it the 'fifth Gospel' in his list, second after the Bible. [see fig. 5.] Devotional writings, too, such as Ludolph von Sachsen's *Vita Christi* as well as the *Vitae patrum* and the *Flos sanctorum* were still widely read in the Baroque period. Thomas à Kempis's small book *De imitatione Christi*, committed to the Devotio Moderna movement, experienced a revival due to the Catholic Reformation and was widely circulated in various

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[49] 'De Boeken welke een weet-gierig Konstenaar behoorde te doorsnuffelen, bestaan voornamentlijk in Vier onderscheidene soorten: namentlijk in verhaal en geheug-schriften, soo van Heilige, als Heidense en Weereldse Historien, die van de Grieken, Romeinen en andere Volken gewag maken. Ten tweeden, in verdichte en opgepronkte vertellingen, soo van Poëten als Philosophen, en diergelijke. Ten derden in die van de aaloude zeden, gebruiken en konsten der oude Volken spreken. En ten vierden, in alle goede Autheuren die van eenige noodige konst, of geagte wetenschap geschreven hebben. Waarom het ook seer voordeelig is, in eenige vreemde Taal, als Latijn, Frans en Italiaans ervaren te wesen, om beter eenige Schrijvers, die noch niet in onse Moedersprak overgeset zijn, te konnen verstaan. Doch hier zijn onse tijden gelukkiger, danze wel eertijds waren.' Goeree Willem, *Inleyding tot de praktyk er algemeene schilderkonst . . .* (Amsterdam: 1697) 41–42.

[50] Goeree, *Inleyding* 43: '. . . also moet eenen Jong Schilder van de beginner aan, door gedurige oeffeningen van Lesen, Teikenen, Spekuleeren, Kopiëren, ondervragen, praktiseeren en uytvorssen, sijn gemoed met wijsheid soeken te vervullen; op dat hy namaals uyt die opgeleide schatten, eens heerlijke dingen aan de Wereld sou konnen ten toon stellen.'

Fig. 5. Edwaert Collier, *Vanitas Still Life with books by Flavius Josephus and Guillaume du Bartas*, c. 1664, Leiden, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal.

translations.[51] We know from Gian Lorenzo Bernini that, during his stay in Paris, he had someone read this clearly structured and easy-to-read book out loud to him daily, and that he warmly recommended it to his attaché Fréart de Chantelou.[52]

To be concise, all the authors named on the lists of recommended reading can be found among the surviving inventories of artists' libraries, but never all of them together. What is highly fascinating about library holdings is when they ignore the prescribed guidelines, or their incongruities in which we can recognize the manifestations of individual preferences.

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[51] Barbieri E., "Tradition and Change in the Spiritual Literature of the Cinquecento", in Fragnito G. (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge/Mass.: 2003) (111–133) 112–113.

[52] Chantelou P., *Journal de voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France*, ed. Stanić M. (Paris: 2000) 134: 'C'était, m'a-t-il dit, le livre de saint Ignace.' On the pioneering role played by the Jesuits in popularizing the *Imitatio Christi* see O'Malley J.W., *Die ersten Jesuiten* (Würzburg: 1995) 312–313.

In order to analyse such phenomena, research on practices in borrow-ing books must also be undertaken. It can well be assumed that artists, as studies have verified for humanists,[53] were generous in lending their books to one another or even allowing others access to their libraries.[54] It goes without saying that the advantages of research on the reading habits of artists are great. We need only parenthetically call to mind the rich fund of knowledge that we have at our disposal through research on library history and can draw on in art and social history in the Baroque period – documented in Irene Baldriga's study of the Giustiniani brothers' library, Sebastian Schütze's of the Barberini library, or Victoria von Flemming's of Scipione Borghese's.[55] Similar investigations have been undertaken on Vincenzo Borghini, the scholar who advised Giorgio Vasari – as well as the artists of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno – on iconography and drafted iconographic programmes for their paintings.[56] We also know of

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[53] Grafton, *Commerce* 103.

[54] In his *Life of Bernardo Cavallino*, the Neapolitan artists' biographer Bernardo de Dominici reported that the successful Neapolitan painter Massimo Stanzione, respected for his erudition, advised a younger colleague on what to read and also gave him a number of volumes from his own library: The younger colleague 'fu ancor consigliato da Massimo [Stanzione] ad applicarsi alla lettura de' buoni Libri di storie e di antiche favole, ed ebbe in prestanza dal Cavaliere (che molti ne aveva) la Scrittura Sacra, le favole di Ovidio, Giuseppe Ebreo [Flavius Josephus], la Gerusalemme liberata del Tasso, la quale egli chiamava il suo divertimento nell'ora che altri riposava, perchè gl'altri libri mentovati gli servivan di studio per le cose, che voleva dipingere […]'. De Dominici Bernardo, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti Napoletani* (Naples: 1745), vol. III, 34. It is noteworthy that he differentiates between reading for practical work-related knowledge and for pursuit of leisure. Of course we must not forget that the author wrote the biography about one hundred years after the events actually took place and that it holds the anecdotal description of an idealized reading canon for young future artists, meaning that we must also comprehend it as rec-ommendations for readers of the *Vite*.

[55] On this topic see the studies by Baldriga I., "La personalità di Vincenzo Giustiniani nello specchio della sua biblioteca", in Danesi Squarzina S. (ed.), *Caravaggio e i Giustiniani: Toccar con mano una collezione del Seicento*, exh. cat. Rome-Berlin (Milan: 2001) 73–80; Schütze S., "La biblioteca del cardinal Maffeo Barberini: Prolegomena per una biogra-fia culturale ed intellettuale del Papa Poeta", in Mochi Onori L. – Schütze S. – Solinas F. (eds.), *I Barberini e la cultura europea del Seicento*, Kongressakten Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici/Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte (Rome: 2007) 36–46; Schütze S., *Kardinal Maffeo Barberini (später Papst Urban VIII.) und die Entstehung des römischen Hochbarock*, Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 32 (Munich: 2007) 17–26; Flemming V. v., "'Ozio con dignità'? Die Villenbibliothek von Kardinal Scipione Borghese", *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 85 (1990) 182–224; Ridolfi R., "La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi (1501–1550). Nuovo contributo di notizie e di documenti", *La Bibliofilia* 31 (1929) 173–193; Jackson D.F., "A first inventory of the library of Cardinal Niccolo Ridolfi", *Manuscripta* 45/46 (2001/2002) 49–77.

[56] Borghini contributed to and was editor for the second, revised edition of Vasari's *Vite*. See Belloni G. – Drusi R. (eds.), *Vincenzio Borghini: Filologia e invenzione nella Firenze di Cosimo I*, exh. cat. Florence (Florence: 2002) 383–392; Belloni G., "Notizia di un nuovo

Giovan Pietro Bellori, antiquarian and writer on art, that he was in possession of a private collection of books.[57] With people such as Bellori we are confronted with libraries of persons who, as patrons, collectors, advisers, and theoretists, were at least in part on friendly terms with artists. With a measure of caution, insights into their book collections potentially lead to conclusions about the intellectual motivations and backgrounds of patrons, or elucidate on the cultural knowledge context of an epoch, or describe the microhistory of an elite intellectual culture such as that of a Roman cardinal's household and entourage. But it is out of the question that we can ultimately conclude that artists who had access to such libraries automatically absorbed the whole intellectual cosmos surrounding the owners thereof.

Focusing on the specific demands of artists, Tom Holert presents in his study on artstic competence in 18th and early 19th century France an epistemologically based examination of artists' knowledge (Künstlerwissen), investigating which books they owned, what and how they read, as well as their academic education and their practical training as the inseparable entities in building the foundations for artistic competence. Because of the fact that Holert takes his examples from Salon art – primarily discussing Anne-Louis Girodet's *Deluge* from 1806 as a planned model painting for the demonstration of artistic knowledge – it is difficult to draw conclusions from the study that are relevant for early modern times, although in a few cases there are obvious reasons to do so.[58] For example, Holert shows us how traditional fields of competence specifically adapted to the needs of the artist were very tightly interlaced, such as anatomy, book and practical knowledge, art-historical pictorial conventions and further visual information. It was the aggregate of this knowledge that

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documento per la biblioteca del Borghini [...]", in Ghidetti E. – Turchi R. (eds.), *Il filo della ragione: Studi e testimonianze per Sergio Romagnoli* (Venice: 1999) 181–207; id., "Agosto–Settembre 1580: Libri per S. Lorenzo dalla biblioteca del Borghini", in Barbarisi G. (ed.), *Studi di letteratura e lingua italiana in onore di Giuseppe Velli* (Milan: 2000) (479–510) 482–488.

[57] Romani V., "Le biblioteche di Giovan Pietro Bellori", *Nuovi Annali della Scuola speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari* XII (1998) 165–189 and Perini G., "La biblioteca di Bellori: Saggio sulla struttura intellettuale e culturale di un erudito del Seicento", in De Lachenal L. – Borea E. (eds.), *L'idea del bello: Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, exh. cat. Rome (Rome: 2000), vol. II, 673–685. On the library of Bellori's English contemporary John Evelyn that, according to an inventory from 1687, comprised over 4566 volumes and containing works by Alberti, Leonardo, Vasari, Dürer, Sandrart and Junius, see Wiemers M., *Der "Gentleman" und die Kunst: Studien zum Kunsturteil des englischen Publikums in Tagebuchaufzeichnungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim et al.: 1986) 223.

[58] Holert T., *Künstlerwissen: Studien zur Semantik künstlerischer Kompetenz im Frankreich des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: 1997) 23–125.
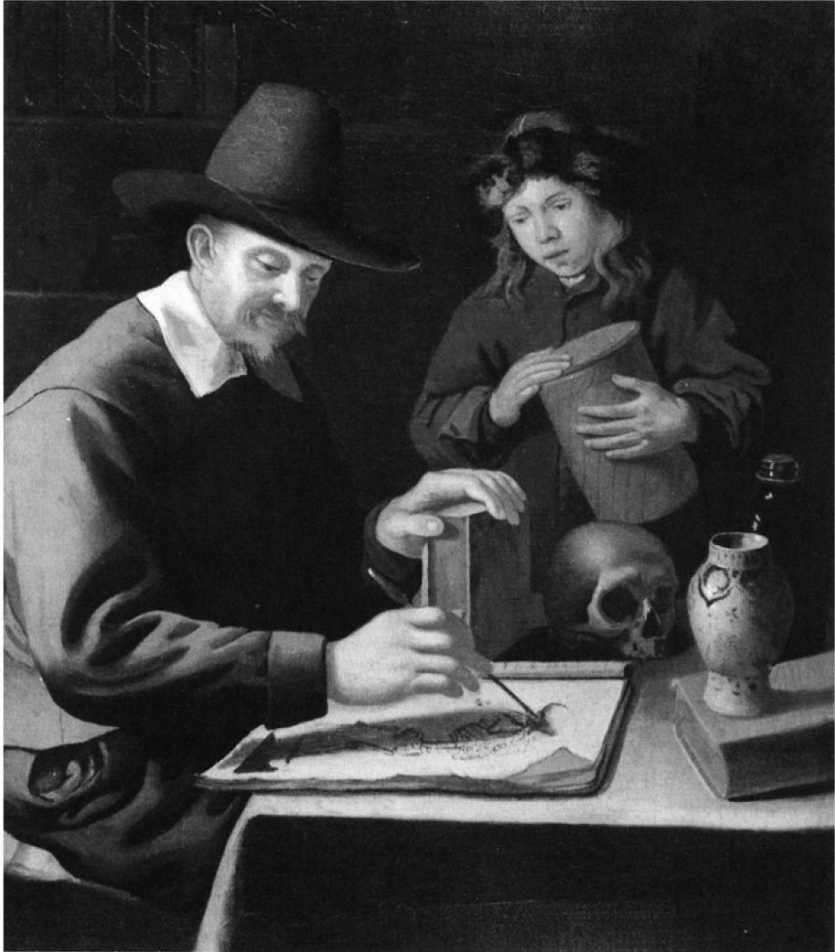
Fig. 6. Constantijn Verhout, *Man drawing an anatomy after a Vesal illustration,*
ca. 1660. Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

determined the specific education of an artist, which could by no means be
adequately understood by only closely studying a certain work on anatomy.
[See fig. 6]

IV. *Artists' Libraries?*

In the hyperthetical reconstruction of artists' libraries we must also reflect
on the term "library". It is tempting to describe a coherent and unchanging

space for the construct of an 'artists' library', implicitly premising that such a collection of books likewise have a consistent context, and possibly abide by some order or reflect some sort of canon. We immerse ourselves even deeper in speculation when we, in surviving archival findings informing of book ownership, not only attempt to reconstruct a consistent library but also an intellectual profile of its owner. Research has repeatedly fallen into this trap in the case of Peter Paul Rubens, the highly educated humanist and erudite in the authors of antiquity.

Inventories mention 'books' significantly more often than 'libraries' owned by artists. It must not be forgotten, however, that the term 'library' not only comprises ownership of a considerable number of books but also a place reserved for keeping them and study. In the early modern period 'Bibliotheca' could designate an actually existing collection of books as well as be the metaphor for quite a number of forms of ordering knowledge.[59] The library was not just the total sum of written heritage, the locus of memory, and a representation of respective knowledge cultures. In fact, it could itself become an icon of knowledge.[60] It effectively became the location in which knowledge was stored by a compilation of books, structured and ordered in some way, and was presented in the light of a universal science. The order of a library could, like that of a Kunstkammer, mirror order in nature, or – if this order was considered lost – reestablish it.[61] But a single book could also accomplish the same thing: an encyclopaedia could hold the entire knowledge of a whole library.[62] The encyclopaedia

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[59] Surprisingly, the term 'library' does not have an entry of its own in either the *Historischen Wörterbuch der Philosophie* or the *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Metaphern*. In the latter it is only mentioned – in the entry "Lesen" (Reading) by Olaf Breidbach in Konersmann R. (ed.), *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Metaphern* (Darmstadt: 2007) (195–207) 205–206.

[60] Breidbach, "Lesen" 205.

[61] Cf. Leinkauf T., "Scientia universalis, memoria und status corruptionis: Überlegungen zu philosophischen und theologischen Implikationen der Universalwissenschaft sowie zum Verhältnis von Universalwissenschaft und Theorien des Gedächtnisses", in Berns J.J. – Neuber W. (eds.), *Ars memorativa: Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Gedächtniskunst 1400–1750* (Tübingen: 1993) 1–34.

[62] For the most recent literature on the different types of encyclopaedias in the early modern period see Schneider U.J. (ed.), *Seine Welt wissen: Enzyklopädien in der Frühen Neuzeit*, exh. cat. Leipzig (Darmstadt: 2006). Standard reading for the history of concepts, genre and science in regard to encyclopaedias see: Henningsen J., "Enzyklopädie: Zur Sprach- und Bedeutungsgeschichte eines pädagogischen Begriffs", *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 10 (1966) 271–362; Dierse U., *Enzyklopädie: Zur Geschichte eines philosophischen und wissenschaftstheoretischen Begriffs* (Bonn: 1977); Schmidt-Biggemann W., *Topica Universalis: Eine Modellgeschichte humanistischer und barocker Wissenschaft* (Hamburg: 1983); Eybl F.M. – Harms W. – Krummacher H.-H. – Welzig W. (eds.), *Enzyklopädien der*

could present knowledge order itself by exhibiting methodical strategies for finding information, or it could – as a special subject encyclopaedia – be a storehouse for specialist knowledge (such as 16th-century herbal books or Conrad Gesner's books on zoology), or take stock of the entire knowledge of an epoch.[63] Correspondingly encyclopaedias were often metaphorically termed 'Bibliothecae'. Early modern parlance already differentiated between 'Bibliotheca universalis' and 'Bibliotheca selecta', between different models that stipulated what knowledge was to be collected, how it was to be ordered, and where it was to be kept – as well as whether its scope was to be expanded or restricted.[64] Account must be taken of the fact that we can only inadequately ascertain how – in the context of encyclopaedic knowledge orders – scholarly theoretization of the universal library was linked to individual practises of acquiring knowledge by reading books.

Did early modern scientific understanding comprehend the contingent character of an artist's book collection as a typically haphazard cumulation of volumes at all as a 'library'? Did artists' reading imbue them with the dignity befitting a scholar or philosopher so that they can be discussed within the context of library history? Consequently, when in the following 'artists' libraries' are again the topic, we will reflect on the problem of the books belonging to individual artists hardly being referred to as 'Bibliotheca' in discussions in the early modern period.

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frühen Neuzeit: Beiträge zu ihrer Erforschung (Tübingen: 1995); Schaer R. (ed.), *Tous les savoirs du monde: Encyclopédies et bibliothèques de Sumer au XXIᵉ siècle*, exh. cat. Paris (Paris: 1996); Schierbaum M. (ed.), *Enzyklopädistik 1550–1650: Typen und Transformationen von Wissensspeichern und Medialisierungen des Wissens*, Pluralisierung und Autorität 18 (Berlin-Muenster: 2009). On the visualization of encyclopaedic models see: Pfisterer U., "Weisen der Welterzeugung: Jacopo Zucchis römischer Götterhimmel als enzyklopädisches Gedächtnistheater", in Büttner F. – Friedrich M. – Zedelmaier H. (eds.), *Sammeln, Ordnen, Veranschaulichen: Zur Wissenskompilatorik in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Muenster: 2003) 325–361. On the relation between universal science and memory see: Leinkauf, "Scientia universalis, memoria und status corruptionis" 1–34. Id., "Systema mnemonicum und circulus encyclopaediae: Johann Heinrich Alsteds Versuch einer Fundierung des universalen Wissens in der ars memorativa", in Berns J.J. – Neuber W. (eds.), *Seelenmaschinen* (Vienna: 2000) 279–307.

[63] Gessner Conrad, *Bibliotheca universalis sive catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus in tribus linguis Latina, Graeca et Hebraica: extantium & non extantium, veterum & recentiorum* (Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1545), cf. Müller J.-D., "Wissen ohne Subjekt? Zu den Ausgaben von Gesners 'Bibliotheca universalis' im 16. Jahrhundert", in id., *Mediävistische Kulturwissenschaft: Ausgewählte Studien* (Berlin-New York: 2010) 267–284.

[64] See Zedelmaier H., *Bibliotheca universalis und Bibliotheca selecta: Das Problem der Ordnung des gelehrten Wissens in der frühen Neuzeit*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 33 (Cologne-Weimar-Vienna: 1992).

Despite the fact that research can only be based on the fragments of artists' book collections representing the total knowledge they had at their disposal, it nevertheless would be a worthwhile undertaking to investigate what artists' preferrred fields of knowledge were, what role the disciplines played (in the modern sense of organising the sciences and other fields of study into separate disciplines), and in what way was such knowledge possibly ordered. For the moment at least it is true that the fundamentals are missing for a knowledge-history approach, because 'artists' libraries' – resembling a specific kind of 'artists' knowledge' – have not been sufficiently defined as yet. In regard to 'artists' libraries' it probably makes most sense to describe them as a specific way of storing knowledge and assume we are basically dealing with a kind of private specialist or reference library. Thereby its content is nevertheless universal to the extent that the social demands of the *pictor doctus* required artists to be educated. This corresponds with the observation that in documented libraries we can usually find a compact collection of books pertinent to the disciplines of the artists – be it architecture or painting. This is usually accompanied by a much smaller number of volumes containing an exceptionally rich fund of general knowledge in the areas of natural and moral philosophy, natural history, theology, geography, mythography, poetology, history, etc. Only a comparison with libraries in other disciplines can conclusively determine whether this is a specific characteristic of artists' libraries. As far as representing knowledge in its entirety goes, it is likewise interesting to know more about the contents of individual books, because the very reduced stock of knowledge in private libraries obviously also gave rise to a preference for certain kinds of books. Thus we must ask to what extent did encyclopaedically organised works, such as Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini degli Dei* and Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, become the core stock of artists' libraries. And moreover, it must be determined in how far such books transformed artistic practices by providing information that could be easily 'looked up' so that artists no longer had to go through the complex intellectual process leading to an *invenzione* by reading a variety of literary works and then comparing what they read with visual material. To conclude, there is also the general, fundamentally relevant question concerning early modern behaviour in reading: to what extent did artists not 'read' but rather 'use' books, and if artists – in addition to the library at home – also kept a set of reference works in their studios, such as anatomical atlases, that they could freely consult at any time while at work. [See fig. 7.]

Fig. 7. [COL. PL. 1] Simon Luttichuys, *Vanitas Still Life*, c. 1645. Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe.

V. *Bibliotheca selecta: The Case of Joseph Werner*

We are confronted with a special case of seemingly reified artists' readings in their designs for series of pictures based on the subject matter of certain