# NOTE TO USERS

# The Kunstkammer Object in Seventeenth-Century Salzburg: A Case Study, Early Modern Collections, Transformation and Materiality

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**Abstract**

The phenomenon of princely and scientific collections that proliferated in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has become an important focus for modern historical analysis. These collections provide a microcosm of contemporary political, economic and philosophical ideas, often characterized by geographical and cultural differences. The mid-seventeenth century Kunst- und Wunderkammer studied here, instituted by the archbishops of Salzburg, brings forward themes sometimes neglected in the literature. The archbishops' collection was part of broader efforts to reinvent the city of Salzburg as a representation of both sacred and secular authority. Strategies for significant display were derived from religious and imperial ritual, drawing on the potential of objects as signifiers. In this context, I also examine some of the debates within the literature on princely and scientific collections, where the study of wonder and science begins to merge in cross- disciplinary scholarship. Finally, I highlight the role of transformation and materiality in these collections to argue that the act of collecting objects and the act of making were imbricated in the process of self-definition. Within themes of technology and process, I investigate the pursuit of creating Kunstkammer objects, as well as the business of their display and use in diplomacy.

**Résumé**

Le développement exceptionnel des collections scientifiques et princières européennes pendant les XVIe et XVIIe siècles reste un thème populaire pour l'analyse historique moderne. Ces collections constituent un milieu riche en idées politiques, économiques et philosophiques contemporaines, et elles sont souvent caractérisées par de fortes différences géographiques et culturelles. Le cabinet d'art et de merveilles, instauré au milieu du XVIIe siècle par les archevêques de Salzbourg, s'avère une étude de cas intéressante pour certains aspects souvent négligés de la littérature. La collection des archevêques faisait partie d'un plan stratégique plus vaste qui visait à donner à la ville de Salzbourg une image d'autorité à la fois religieuse et séculaire. Les tactiques utilisées pour mettre en œuvre une exposition significative provenaient du rituel impérial et religieux, puisant à même le potentiel des objets comme signifiants. J'examinerai également quelques-uns des points épineux de la littérature concernant les collections princières et scientifiques au moment où l'étude de la «merveille» et de la science commence à se fusionner dans un savoir multidisciplinaire. Enfin, je mettrai en évidence le rôle de la transformation et de la matérialité de ces collections comme un moyen de «fabrication de soi». Dans l'acquisition et dans l'exposition, l'acte même de rassembler est comparé à l'acte de fabriquer. En approfondissant les thèmes de technologie et de processus, j'étudierai l'activité de création d'objets propres au cabinet des merveilles, de même que l'ordonnancement de leur exposition et leur usage en diplomatie.

**Acknowledgements**

My fascination with the Kunstkammer began in 1998 during a work study in a small town in the Bavarian Alps. A short visit to Salzburg introduced me to this then unlabelled collection of material splendour, which haunted my own production of art objects for several years. For this experience, and for her reverent care with the possibilities of material and form, I am indebted to jeweller and friend Sabine Mittermayer of Oberaudorf.

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## Introduction

The art of the Baroque era has been characterized as a style of becoming rather than one of being; therefore, a fascination with ideas of transformation and caveats on the evanescent quality of life are common themes in art.[1] The Kunst- und Wunderkammer collection in Salzburg was conceived as part of a larger strategy to reshape the city along the lines of contemporary urban planning, promoting the ambitions of the archbishops on the stage of Europe. The experience of the city space is allied with the perception of a designing authority; in this case not just a prince but also an archbishop. As representatives of the Catholic Church in Rome, the archbishops also had a responsibility to project a role of sacred leadership. This was achieved through the construction of a large and influential cathedral.[2] The same experience of constructed space is repeated in the applied narrative of collections, through the system of objects. The collection of Rudolf II in Prague was characterized by R.J.W Evans as "the assembling of many and various items reflect[ing] the essential variety in the world, which could nevertheless be converted into unity by a mind which brought them together and divined their internal relations one with another."[3] This "pansophic" striving situates the collector at the centre of his own contrived microcosm, within his own created order and cosmology.

A precursor to the display of significant and inspirational objects in these collections is the displays of relics and sumptuous materials in the church. These mediating objects stand in as visible signifiers for the unknown, their power fixed during the moment of transference when they cross from the realm of the visible to the invisible, from one realm of meaning to another.[4] The authority that regulates the meaning and display of such articles, be it the church or the prince, is imbued with power and

influence. *Vanitas* objects are a common presence in the secular Kunstkammer collections, fulfilling a similar role as reminders of transient existence, inspiring wonder through material splendour and fear of the unknown.

The traditional Kunst-und Wunderkammer collection consists of portraits and portrait busts, exotic specimens of flora and fauna, and decorative objects of virtuoso craftsmanship placed alongside rare or unusual natural specimens. Displayed together in ornate cabinets, these decorative objects are often crafted from the same exotic materials- ivory or rhinoceros horn, conch or coconut shell- as if shown in the process of metamorphosis and change. The type of collection was common among nobles in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe, bringing together elements of interest to the era in one systematic display. This practice can be attributed to several developments in European culture, from the influence and growth of humanist education and learning, to the expansion of the known world through trade and exploration. What characterizes the collections as well as the scholasticism of the period is an attempt to know objects and ideas through applied systems of understanding. The effort to categorize and qualify these expanding domains involved the scholar and collector in the process of naming, shaping and organizing. Exotic natural specimens from around the world and modern scientific instruments could inhabit the same system of display as artworks of extraordinary craftsmanship and form; these diverse objects all existed within the expanding domain of human creation and knowledge.

The process of qualifying knowledge also implies another side, however, one of uncertainty and disorder. The seventeenth century witnessed these paradoxical interests in tandem, as the contrast of emerging modern sciences amid residual esoteric

philosophies was echoed in both theatrical realism and natural excesses in Baroque art, and particularly in the contrasting goals of Reformation and Catholic art. The Kunst-und Wunderkammer type is often defined as a northern or princely collection, as they were generally found in this milieu. Northern collections are considered to have lingered in the symbolic realm because of ingrained superstitions about the power of objects.[5] The scientific collections of humanists and scholars around Europe contained little art but similar natural specimens and technological instruments, their emphasis placed on discovery and classification. Where this became a process of exclusion in the scientific collections, the encyclopaedic and inclusive Kunstkammer collections emphasised change and creation in the transformative shift from nature to art. My discussion of the Salzburg collection will highlight this dynamic aspect of the Kunstkammer collections. While the study of these collections has traditionally promoted the display of power and social position as a predominant theme for the collector, what is also interesting is the process itself, of creating and accumulating these objects in order to be displayed as signifiers of power and position.

**Salzburg**

The Salzburg cathedral is the symbolic and physical heart of the city. Within the cathedral are currently two 'museum' spaces: twinned galleries above the nave where themed exhibitions of ecclesiastical treasures are held, and a more intimate collection in an attached wing, which is a modern restoration of the seventeenth century archbishops' Kunst- und Wunderkammer collection. In this study, I place the Salzburg Kunstkammer in context with the contemporary models of Bavarian and Habsburg collecting that surrounded the principality. The long history of the city of Salzburg, ruled by prince

archbishops for almost a millennium, is a remarkable example of the changing themes in surrounding Europe revisited on a local scale. A particular distinction to be examined in this section is the influence of Counter Reformation politics and art on the archbishops' patronage, balancing their duties as secular and sacred leaders. The symbolic roles of objects present in the classic Kunstkammer, in use and display function, have significant ties to their antecedents in church and courtly rituals. In this section, I also describe the circumstances surrounding the modern restoration of the collection, with particular emphasis on the physical experience of space.

**Early Modern Collections**

In the second section, I examine the phenomenon of collecting in general as well as an analysis of the historiography. The greater incidence of Kunstkammer collections is specific to the period of the mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century. In concept, they were a physical embodiment of a more inclusive understanding of the changing world. The models for the Salzburg collection, the collections of the Habsburg emperors and archdukes, are some of the most significant examples of their kind in northern Europe. I will also examine briefly a counterpart in the scientific collections, which ultimately survived the Kunstkammer type by responding to increasing interests in specialization. The distinction between scientific and princely collections is a popular topic in the emerging discourse on these collections, though definitive criteria for the Kunst- und Wunderkammer have not been established. Theories have moved from the general, of power and patronage, to the specifics, in recent cross-disciplinary discussions considering the impact of trade and production on these objects.

**Transformation and Materiality**

In the third chapter, I examine these ideas as they apply to some underlying themes in the Kunstkammer projects that required further development. Several ideas in contemporary culture contributed to the idea of the Kunstkammer as a sort of workshop and laboratory, in which the prince collector toyed with ordering nature and transforming meaning through craft. The overt materiality and physical experience of these collections was also significant, and this factor is highlighted in the balance of objects representing local structures and stability alongside the mysterious and unknown of the exotic. The dynamic aspect of these collections is linked to what Mary Helms terms "The Kingly Ideal," in which,

> ...creation as an aspect of traditional crafting refers to elucidating or illuminating the understanding of things, to making manifest things and ideas already existing in another state, or to the arranging and rearranging of traditional patterns and elements into stylistically distinctive but recognizable forms...in other words, creativity in traditional societies refers not to individual artistic uniqueness but to the ordering of nature for cultural purposes.[6]

The Kunst- und Wunderkammer collections were intrinsically a creation of their time, reflecting the perceptions and obsessions of a changing world while incorporating more universal themes.

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[1] Maiorino, 2
[2] Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, 131
[3] Evans, 177
[4] Pomian, 27
[5] Balsiger, 3
[6] Helms, 19

## Chapter 1- The Collection of the Archbishops of Salzburg: A Case Study

This chapter explores the Salzburg Kunst- und Wunderkammer within the framework of the collecting phenomenon in early modern Europe. These collections were often visualized as a microcosm of the known world, with the collector placing himself at its centre. The Salzburg archbishops thus embodied the role of ruler in both realms, as both Rome and the Holy Roman Emperor had imbued the position with combined sacred and secular authority since the ninth century.[1] To assert their secular position as princely rulers, the Salzburg archbishops, beginning with Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau in the late-sixteenth century, embarked on an architectural programme that envisioned Salzburg as a second Rome north of the Alps.[2] The construction of a significant Baroque cathedral also contributed to this programme, establishing their status as powerful spiritual and cultural leaders. Archbishop Guidobald von Thun's additions to the façade of the Cathedral in the early 1660s included a Kunst- und Wunderkammer wing, following contemporary fashion in patronage and the performance of nobility, and inspired by the neighbouring collections of Habsburgs such as Rudolf II, as well as the Bavarian rulers. The vast Austro-Hungarian Empire of the Habsburgs, constituting a dynamic model of secular leadership, surrounded the region of Salzburg. The collection of rare objects of art and nature within the cathedral served as a promotional tool for the historical validation and financial resources of the archbishops at home and abroad, helping to define their presence as both sacred and secular leaders.[3] Though the actual collection was dispersed in the early 1800s, the authentic space and cabinets have been re-imagined as a simulacrum of the original seventeenth-century display, to commemorate the golden age of Salzburg.

## The Kunst-und Wunderkammer of the Archbishops of Salzburg

The first collection of the Salzburg Kunst- und Wunderkammer most likely consisted of diplomatic gifts given to the various archbishops over the years, as well as other costly objects formed from precious or local materials, such as rock crystal and carved ibex horn. It is believed that this collection also contained the natural elements that fulfilled the criteria of contemporary encyclopaedic collections: exotic flora and fauna, scientific instruments, and samples of fossils. The old inventories mention these animal curiosities from overseas, remarking on their outrageous cost as equivalent to objects made of gold and silver.[4] The Kunst- und Wunderkammer represented the third largest treasury of the archbishops, after the silver collection in the Residenz and the cathedral treasury.[5] This display was a symbolic representation of the breadth of their wealth and resources as secular princes; and as located within the cathedral, their spiritual authority was always implicitly present. Guidobald's collection was a cumulative project, containing treasures amassed by previous archbishops, and then further supplemented by his successors. These objects would be experienced as part of a tour, following elaborate diplomatic dinners, and shown in conjunction with the Lange Galerie, containing over 150 paintings by artists such as Dürer, Cranach, Holbein, Bassano and Schönfeld.[6]

### *Layout and Contents*

The collection was laid out in twelve ebony cabinets designed by Santino Solari, the Italian architect also responsible for the design of the Cathedral façade (Figs. 1-3). Behind gilded grillwork doors were displayed crowded shelves of objects, organized by material and theme. Seven additional cases, or *repositoria*, were placed beneath the rows

of windows along each wall.[7] The actual space of the Salzburg Kunst-und Wunderkammer has probably changed little in the intervening centuries, beyond the placement of a few windows and minimal decorative alterations. Today, the cabinets are spaced in rows along each wall, divided by tall, arched windows. On the walls and from the ceiling hang several different stuffed animal specimens, from crocodiles to turtles, as well as some fish skeletons and different types of horn. On top of the cabinets are placed various objects, such as paintings, sculptures, small copies of Roman busts, a stuffed monkey and some fossils. Behind each gilded grillwork screen can be seen examples of early scientific instruments, carved ivories, minerals and gems, fossils and large inlaid shells, as well as local products such as votive containers, rosaries and carved ibex horn. Portraits of four of the archbishops important to the establishment and growth of the collection hang at the entrance: Guidobald, Count von Thun, and his successors Max Gandolph von Kuenberg, nephew Johann Ernst von Thun, and Franz Anton von Harrach. The cumulative process of assembling the Kunst- und Wunderkammer collection involved these figures, as well as their modern counterparts, in creating a programme that aimed to impress on the local and world stage.

This collection was only inventoried much later, in 1776, as the "Grosse Galerie Bey Hof." (Appendix A)[8] The inventory seems to consist primarily of art objects in silver, shell, ivory, wood, coconut, and various carved semi-precious stones; there are just a few references to exotic animals (cabinet I) and few of the scientific objects that are believed to have been displayed.[9] It is very possible, however, that in the hundred years from its inception the overall format and concept of the collection may have altered. The inventory lists cabinets labelled A through M, containing some 358 citations, though

several of these are also groupings of objects. The objects seem quite mixed in material and form in each cabinet, but a general theme often emerges upon further consideration. At first glance, cabinet A seems to be composed predominantly of rings set with various cut and carved stones, though other 'stones' like a bezoar shaped like a chicken's egg with a gold filigree setting, a broken geode and a tooth on a golden chain are also included here (Appendix A, #27, #29, #30). This idiosyncratic method of categorization is distinctive of the Kunstkammer phenomenon. Though from this list it seems the cabinets consisted primarily of precious objects and vessels in gold and silver, ivory, rock crystal, chalcedony and other carved hard stones, a few traditional Kunst- und Wunderkammer themes can still be read in the arrangement.

As I will elaborate further, here and in the following chapters, the Kunst- und Wunderkammer was not just a jumble of curious objects, as is sometimes supposed. Rather, the objects within might be considered to compose a programme of encyclopaedic scope, with the intent of glorifying the collector and his realm. For instance, Cabinet F is filled with carved figures in ivory or wood, both religious and mythological. Besides a large number of scenes with Christ and several saints, a figure of St. Sebastian is significant to the town of Salzburg, with its important monastery dedicated to St. Sebastian (Appendix A, #198). Some of the mythological figures may also have greater significance for the idea of the archbishops and the collection. One ivory of Hercules depicts him with a lion, which is also the symbolic device of the archbishops and repeatedly appears in their objects and ceremonies (Appendix A, #201).* There are also several ivory figures of Ariadne, perhaps symbolic of craft; making and

* Martin, 110. He recounts a State visit by the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, when fireworks of lions were shot from the towers of the Cathedral, though in this case the lions could also refer to Leopold himself.

transforming materials can be considered another defining element of the Kunstkammer rationale (#205, 206, 207). Deaths-head figures, spread throughout the collection, are accompanied in Cabinet F by a phoenix, symbol of resurrection (#208, 210). Such symbols of *vanitas* and evanescent life are important themes in seventeenth-century collections of art in general, and could be considered especially so for those of the archbishops. In context with the lives of saints and scenes of Christ's life and crucifixion displayed alongside, these warnings of imminent death can only be allayed by a faith and hope in the afterlife offered by the Catholic Church. Just within these few articles then, are combined references to the local and unfathomable, the attributes of kingship, and allusions to making as mythologizing.

**History of Salzburg**

The archbishopric of Salzburg itself dates back to around 700, when St. Rupert established his Episcopal seat in the old Roman town of Juvavum.[10] The monastery of St. Peter and the convent of Nonnberg were also established early on. During Charlemagne's reign as Holy Roman emperor, Pope Leo III made his ally, Arno of Salzburg, archbishop over the bishops of Bavaria (785-821).[11] Charlemagne is also credited with encouraging the sovereign performance of the Salzburg archbishops by allowing Arno to copy 150 manuscript volumes to build a substantial library of his own.[12] From this time, Salzburg became known as a centre for script and miniature painting.[13] As with many European cities in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the territory endured periods of violent political manoeuvring as well as enjoying the occasional peace and prosperity; in general, Salzburg maintained this peace by playing the politics of their neighbours, Bavaria and the Austrian Habsburgs, against one another.[14] Candidates to the

position of archbishop were generally nominated from among noble families in the region. Despite these circumstances, opposing factions in the nobility and the church, as well as disagreements between the town and its archbishop, led several times to the peril, imprisonment, or periodic exile of the archbishops.*

Mack Walker sums up Salzburg's position on the world stage in the early eighteenth century as one that might be compared with its contemporaries on the levels of courtly splendour and patronage of the arts and education,

> On the whole Salzburg was a relatively enlightened ecclesiastical polity, geographically somewhat remote, to be sure, and not wealthy enough to sustain the imperial and family politics that were everyday life for the great Rhenish archbishoprics like Cologne, Mainz, and Trier, or the key Franconian bishoprics of Bamberg or Würzberg. If compared with these rich imperial dignitaries, a proud Salzburger prelate might point to the ecclesiastical history of the archdiocese...founded in the eighth century...(that) had maintained its independence against the secular houses of Austria and Bavaria through the centuries of medieval violence.[15]

The lengthy history of the city and the ruling archbishopric were points of pride for the Salzburg tradition. This aspect is thus played up in sixteenth and seventeenth-century attempts to restructure the city along the lines of contemporary urban planning and architecture, to project an image of continuing relevance. The central focus of the old

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* Franz Posset relates an incident in 1523, under Archbishop Matthew Lang, in which the citizens of the town revolted, refusing to pay the so-called 'Turk tax' due to the emperor for the cost of defence. The situation threatened to become a military action, with Archduke Ferdinand sending 1000 soldiers to aid Lang against 1500 Salzburgers gathered to "storm and plunder." This disagreement was resolved through mediation and a short-term tax on beer, however the following year also brought the unrelated 'Peasants War,' in which Archbishop Lang was forced to take refuge in the Hohensalzburg fortress. 336-7; also Catholic Encyclopedia, 411-414

town of Salzburg is the grand cathedral ascribed to these efforts, and within and surrounding this cathedral are located all the signifiers of the wealth and position the archbishops believed their due.

The city of Salzburg, and thus its rulers, was well situated to benefit from the course of various trade routes. Its position just north of the Alps made the city a commercial intermediary between Venice and the cities of southern Germany and Austria, as well as between Styria and Flanders.[16] Of course, mining was also vitally important to the region's prosperity. The abundance of salt deposits, for which the region and river are named, was a valuable resource for the archbishops. The surrounding hills were also relatively rich in gold, silver, copper and arsenic, as well as some quantity of gemstones such as emerald and rock crystal.[17] These resources were used in local craftsmanship as well as trade, establishing a precedent for the Salzburg goldsmithing tradition in the creation of jewellery and precious liturgical objects.[18]

**Building the Modern City**

In Mary Helms' anthropological analysis of symbolic referents to ideal kingship, the idea of the king as creator is a defining rationale. Though aspects of craftsmanship and creativity presented as part of this notion may be new to many readers, the idea of kings as builders, however, is an old and universally understood referent. As Helms writes, "A city was an emblem of royalty; constructing a city, crafting a city, with all its potent symbolism, brought the king into formal existence in a way nothing else could do."[19] Such constructions are long-term emblems and reminders of their creator and his time.

The city took on its present form with the work of a series of ambitious archbishops in the late Renaissance and Baroque periods, during a jealously guarded period of relative peace in the region, despite the ongoing conflict of the Reformation and then the Thirty Years war in the surrounding territories of Europe. Of these, the first and most prolific is Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, elected at the age of 27 and ruling for the 25 years from 1587-1612.[20] Wolf Dietrich was related to the powerful Medici clan through his mother's side: her great-uncle was Pope Pius IV while her brother was also a powerful Cardinal in Rome.[21] Wolf Dietrich's noted Italian tastes and patronage of Italian architects are thus often attributed to these important familial connections. Wolf Dietrich secured the services of architect Vincenzo Scamozzi to help him in his goal of transforming Salzburg according to the ideals of contemporary Italian city planning[22].

Surrounded by mountains and rivers, and nestled in a small valley, Salzburg was ill situated for outward expansion. Therefore, Wolf Dietrich's building project necessitated the demolition of several important structures in the centre of town, including the large Romanesque cathedral, city cemetery and even the archbishop's residence.[23] Following recent developments in Rome, these demolitions made possible the layout of new street systems as well as making space for grand public squares, such as the Residenzplatz, Domplatz, and Kapitelplatz.[24] These open spaces remain critical to the experience of the 'old' city of Salzburg, with its otherwise cramped irregular streets and lack of vistas. Scamozzi also drew plans for a grand new cathedral, which was not begun because Wolf Dietrich was soon after embroiled in a customs dispute (and near war) with Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, which resulted in his imprisonment in the Hohensalzburg fortress in 1612 until his death in 1617.[25] During his rule, however, Wolf

Dietrich also built the Mirabell (formerly Altenau) summer palace on the banks of the Salzach River for his mistress (and mother of 15) Salome Alt, as well as several smaller projects, including the St. Sebastian cemetery, where his mausoleum is located in the chapel.[26]

The two succeeding archbishops, Marcus Sitticus and Paris Lodron, continued the chain of building projects begun by Wolf Dietrich. Instrumental in maintaining Wolf Dietrich's imprisonment, his nephew Marcus Sitticus nevertheless ruled for a very short period from 1612-19.[27] In that time, he engaged another Italian architect Santino Solari to alter Scamozzi's plans and to begin construction of the new Cathedral. Marcus Sitticus also built several estates nearby, including the hunting villa Hellbrunn, with its landscaped gardens and elaborate water park of trick grottoes and playful oddities. His successor Paris Lodron's long reign, from 1619- 1653, encompassed the period of the Thirty Years war in surrounding Europe, and it is due to his diplomatic manoeuvrings that the region of Salzburg remained mostly untouched by the war.[28] However, Count Lodron also intensified the city's fortifications, discouraging the possibility of protestant invasions.[29] The medieval Hohensalzburg fortress, towering over Salzburg from atop Monchsberg, also presented an intimidating front for the city (as well as for a few of its archbishops over the years). Few other building projects were instituted at this time, but a university was established in 1622 and the unfinished cathedral was consecrated in 1628.[30]

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century presented a period of constant construction and urban change for Salzburg, where subsequent archbishops maintained precedents for constant improvement. Therefore, in1654 when Guidobald, Count von

Thun became archbishop, he embarked on his own plans to alter and magnify the cultural presence of the city, as per the requirements of leadership in the Baroque style. Santino Solari's design for the façade of the cathedral was completed under Guidobald, and included two wings linking the cathedral with the archbishop's official residence and defining a central public square (Figs. 2, 3).[31] As Archbishop, Guidobald established the Kunst- und Wunderkammer in one of these wings, architecturally binding their ambitions as sacred and secular authorities. The Kunstkammer was linked to the Residenz via a long picture gallery that ran the length of the Domplatz. Therefore, a tour of the art treasures of the official residence led visitors into the domain of the cathedral as well, through the Kunstkammer, to show the wonders of the church treasury, and vice versa. Throughout the space, then, are constant reminders of the archbishop's position as both sacred and secular ruler.

The Thun-Hohenstein family is an old aristocratic line still found in modern Europe. With family in Italy and Switzerland, the nobility of this particular branch of Thun-Hohenstein dates to the battle of White Hill in 1620, when Guidobald's great-uncle helped lead the drive of Protestants out of Prague.[32] He took the nearby town of Tetschen, thereby establishing a family seat in Bohemia as well as being ennobled to the rank of Count. This Catholic victory is memorialized by the rededication of the church of Santa Maria Vittoria in Rome to this victory.[33] Given this important familial connection, Guidobald would probably have visited the church alongside the other wonders of seventeenth-century Rome when he began his theological studies there in 1634 at the age of eighteen, after leaving Tetschen and following a year's study in Salzburg.[34]

With Guidobald, and later his nephew Johann Ernst, the cultural ties of Salzburg shift from Wolf Dietrich's Italy to Prague. Rudolf II's Prague court was, as Martin Kemp has phrased it, "the epicentre of Wunderkammer culture in 1600."[35] Guidobald's father was governor of Prague during Rudolf II's reign, and so his son is believed to have actually visited the emperor's famous Kunst-und Wunderkammer collections and thus was inspired to compile one of his own once he had the resources and mandate to do so.[36]

Hans Ramisch's account of the Thun family activities in this period emphasizes less their accomplishments as patrons and more the influence of their observations and experience to this patronage. Guidobald is responsible for several of the decorative fountains that grace the open squares of old Salzburg. Guidobald's years in Rome are attributed to this development, with the form of the fountain in the public square between the Residenz and the cathedral seen to borrow themes from Bernini's 1643 Triton fountain, with echoes to the later Piazza Navona of 1651.[37] Guidobald was so enamoured of fountains and their design that in 1664 the Nürnberg writer Georg Andreas Boeckler dedicated his publication, *Architectura curiosa nova,* to this patron of the arts.[38]

Hans Ramisch describes the central space of the square, with the imposing façade of the cathedral and its towers forming the focus of the space. The design of the cathedral, also dedicated to St. Peter, promotes the position of the archbishops as successors to the spirit and authority of Rome.[39] Facing, as foil to this grand facade, are the uninterrupted rows of windows in the Residenz circling the square. The equal L-shaped wings that connect the two structures are poised above a row of arches that also form passages into the square, forming on one side the space of the Lange Galerie.[40] This combination of embracing and symmetrical elements Ramisch compares to Bernini's design and

development of the space in front of St. Peter's in Rome which is roughly contemporaneous.[41] The form of this small square in Salzburg might not be directly inspired by Bernini's design for the colonnade, but the overall effect of Guidobald's exposure to ideas of contemporary urban architecture and design in Rome are clear.

Besides contributing to the architectural growth and significance of the city, Guidobald commenced several projects to expand the material wealth and artistic contribution of Salzburg. Long known as a minor centre for goldsmithing, Guidobald also established a workshop to carve and polish the rock crystal mined in the area. Those of Rudolf II, with which Guidobald was familiar, may have also inspired this venture.[42] Guidobald also preferred to hire artists of local or German extraction rather than the Italians who had dominated the design of Salzburg thus far. The artists Joachim von Sandrart and Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, despite their protestant faith, became the best-known altarpiece painters in the region after the passing of Rubens.[43] This trend is said to have come from the emperor's court, and was followed in several other German principalities.[44]

The Kunst- und Wunderkammer appears to have been officially completed under Guidobald's successor, Max Gandolph, count Kuenberg, archbishop from 1668-1687.[45] Max Gandolph's family arms, the split ball and branch, are carved over the substantial marble entrance.[46] It is therefore probable that the arrangement of the collection in cabinets was also completed during his reign.[47] Guidobald's nephew, Johann Ernst von Thun succeeded Kuenberg, ruling from 1687-1709.[48] Johann Ernst formally ended the tradition of Italian influence in the shaping of the city by engaging the services of noted architect Johann Fischer von Erlach, giving the city what Roswitha Juffinger terms, "its

unique architectural finish."[49] Best known for the Kollegien or College church, von Erlach also designed the church of St. Mark for the Ursulines and the Trinity church.[50] Johann Ernst was very active as a patron of art, with several altarpieces and magnificent objects of decorative arts attributed to his sponsorship (Fig. 4).[51]

**Conflict and Legacy**

The collections were very much a product of their time. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the rise of scientific method and scholarly community, causing doubt with residual symbolic understandings of the world while officially revising long held truths about nature and structure of the universe. This type of questioning arose within educated and scholarly circles, but the period was also marked indelibly by growing strife between Catholic and Protestant faiths following the Reformation. This was particularly true in the southern regions of Germany and Austria, caught up in the Thirty Years war that overshadowed the early seventeenth century. Poised between these two realms, however, the history of Salzburg and its rulers somehow ceases to fit within either (Fig. 5). Modern histories of the region are many, due to the significance of surrounding events, such as the Reformation and the resulting war.[52] Salzburg's policy of neutrality, however, somehow rendered itself outside of history.[53] Paradoxically, their isolated position may be due to this closely guarded peace.

Wolf Dietrich's efforts against the Reformation excluded the powerful Jesuits and Dominicans from establishing outposts in Salzburg for fear of their influence, instead encouraging Franciscans and Cappuchins in the enforcing of the new Catholic doctrines.[54] In general, members of the upper class and the nobility shared the Catholic faith, while the lower classes embraced Protestantism. Tensions in Salzburg between

these various factions simmered for many years. Following the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the right of the prince to enforce religious conformity led to such advice as Martin Luther offered to a councilman and goldminer in the Salzburg territory of Gastein, that it was possible to avoid trouble with the authorities by accepting communion bodily while refusing to endorse it spiritually.[55] Resistance and continued strain eventually led to the expulsion of the Protestants in 1732 by another Thun family member, archbishop Leopold Anton von Firmian.[56]

The archbishop's princely and secular authority was removed during a chaotic couple of years that followed Napoleon's establishment of headquarters in Salzburg around 1800, after which the territory changed hands several times until 1816, when the region of Salzburg was officially declared part of Austria.[57] Subsequently, many of the most valuable items, including some of the ecclesiastical treasures, found their way into collections in Munich, Vienna and Florence. In the early twentieth century, a curator at the Kunsthistorisches in Vienna noticed that a rock crystal cup bore the device of Wolf Dietrich.[58] Following this discovery, art historian Kurt Rossacher traced several objects bearing the arms of Wolf Dietrich and Marcus Sitticus to the Pitti palace in Florence, as well as to the state museum in Vienna. As well, much of the contents of the "Grossen Galerie" had been brought to Vienna in 1806, and the imperial cabinets profited by it.[59] Though hundreds of objects, such as the many carved ivories, will never be identified, other significant articles now in the Vienna collection include paintings such as Lucas Cranach's *Adam and Eve* and Hans Baldung Grien's *Vanitas*.[60]

**Historiography**

One problem in studying this particular collection is the scarcity of contemporary critical research. Some of the few publications date to the first years of the revived museum, the 1970s and early 1980s. Local Austrian scholars such as Nora Watteck and Johannes Neuhardt have written historical commentary on the collection, delivered mainly in the context of exhibition catalogues which are too brief to allow for significant interpretation. Probably the most considerable published work on the collection has been Kurt Rossacher's *Der Schatz des Erzstiftes Salzburg* (1966), in which he traced a large number of objects taken from the collection by Ferdinand III of Tuscany in 1805, following his brief residence in Salzburg.[61] These he located in the Museo Degli Argenti in the Palazzo Pitti and the Kunsthistorisches museum in Vienna. Of the pieces bearing the arms of Wolf Dietrich, there is almost a full service of tazzas and containers of silver gilt by Paul Hübner, covered in mythological hunting scenes.[62] Other objects that can be linked to Salzburg's inventory records include a double cup made of ostrich egg with a gilded setting bearing the arms of archbishop Eberhard III von Neuhaus (1403-1427) (Fig. 6). More recently, scholars working on these inventories and the attendant collections of the archbishops' Residenz are attempting a large-scale refinement of the current knowledge.[63]

Of primary sources, several inventories are included in Rossacher's book as corroboration of his account. These inventory listings, from the Silberkammer in 1586, the Silberkammer in 1786, and even the 1776 inventories of the Grossen Galerie, may not be descriptive of the actual contents of the collection, though there were certainly many objects in common. In this sense, the historical context of many remaining objects has

been lost, including the stories linked with visits and gifts that helped maintain traditional Kunstkammer narratives. Had a catalogue describing intent and format been published, as was common at the time, this might also have given us a greater sense of changing purpose and meaning.

Since most collections in this region and period seem to have been mostly consistent in their make-up, however, we can make some fairly informed statements about them. One of the early and important modern historical accounts of Kunstkammer collections was Julius von Schlosser's *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammer der Spätrenaissance* (1908), which focused on the significant collections in the region of Austria. He was for many years the director of the Kunsthistorisches collection in Vienna, and derived much of his research from these objects. Though Schlosser begins and ends with collections from ancient to modern, his analysis pays particular attention to the Habsburg collections, drawing on Ferdinand II's collection in Innsbruck as well as those in Prague, Munich and Vienna. These examples remain some of the most prominent subjects in general surveys of period collections today. Surrounded by such significant models of princely enterprise, the archbishops of Salzburg would have recognized in these collections, as well as in architecture and urban planning, the necessary accoutrements for the display of secular power.

Though the Salzburg Kunstkammer was established quite late in the period, this is not to say that the presence of the collection did not have its desired effect. There are period accounts of several important diplomatic visits to the city, ranging from the frequent visits by the Bavarian princes Ferdinand Maria and his brother Phillip, to state visits by the archduke Ferdinand of Austria as well as a grand and ceremonious tour by

Emperor Leopold I in 1664.[64] Guidobald von Thun is often credited for his diplomatic skills, for which he was named the Emperor's principal commissioner in Regensburg, taking him from Salzburg for long periods.[65] Guidobald was perhaps skilled as a diplomatic due to his colourful character and larger than life presence. On a hunting trip with the Bavarian princes in 1658, he is said to have restrained a wild boar by its whiskers.[66] When Queen Christina of Sweden visited in 1667, she was impressed by the archbishop's prodigious capacity for alcohol, writing that,

> One must be careful to have a lot of wine for the German Cardinals, because they drink more daily than the entire College of Cardinals. The Archbishop of Salzburg and the Cardinal von Thun have for this reason the attention of their people, for they can drink an entire keg of wine without getting drunk, and any man who drinks less is considered an idiot in Germany.[67]

These important diplomatic visits highlight the need for the prince archbishop to participate in the prevailing activities of royalty and cultural leadership.

In a well-known study of museums from 1727, listing and describing important collections across Europe, the city of Salzburg merited a general statement, its worthy attractions compiled into one brief paragraph. Caspar Friedrich Neickel wrote this entry for Salzburg in his *Museographia*:

> "In this Arch-Episcopal city one can find many things worthy of seeing; in the 'Kunst- und Rüstkammer' [art and armoury] of the archbishops, in the 'Zeughdufern', in the Cathedral church of St. Peter, and in the monastery of St. Sebastian, and to see above all the epitaph of the notorious Theophrasti Paracelsus, who is rumoured to be buried in the court of the Cathedral.[68]

This passage, while not singling out the Kunst- und Wunderkammer for individual notice, does highlight the experience of Salzburg as an ecclesiastical town. In another contemporary compilation, Valentini's *Museum Museorum* of 1714, the collections of Salzburg do not receive mention, presumably because Valentini's focus was the scholarly purpose of natural history collections similar to his own, even though alongside the contemporaneous natural history collections, the scope of his two volume treatise does cover collections in appendices ranging from those of ancient Babylon to Rudolf II.*

**Displaying the Sacred**

The small Salzburg collection is, however, distinguished by its circumstances, since its patrons were not only secular princes, but also the spiritual authorities representing Rome. The collection, housed in the Cathedral, displayed an assortment of objects exceptional for their materiality, their physical presence. These artworks and natural rarities represented contemporary commerce and material wealth, earthly possessions that seem contradictory to the otherworldly ambitions of religion. Of course, the wealth of the Catholic Church had long been poured into dramatic tools of display and ritual, such as reliquaries, altarpieces and goblets, culminating in the Baroque excesses that countered the austerity of the Protestant Reformation. In Salzburg, the focus on new and impressive works of ecclesiastical art meant the melting down of approximately ninety percent of its medieval treasures.[69] The symbols of power in the church and the state have always been in constant exchange, such that precious objects in church collections and princely treasuries are easily reinvested with meaning.[70] Part of the distinct difference between Northern and Southern collections is thought to be due to

* Valentini was the first to suggest in print a relationship between the treasuries of medieval churches and the Kunst- und Wunderkammern. Lugli 1986, 122.

the streams of Humanist scholarship- in Italy the focus was on classical antiquity as historical precedent, whereas north of the Alps, Christian humanism was directed towards placing man at the centre of the universe, with intimate understanding of its workings leading him to God.[71]

Though the objects in the collection were significant for what they represented, as elements of an encyclopaedic whole, another paradigm allows them to rise above these material and novelty values. Objects have often stood in to represent the immaterial and the unknown, as physical signifiers of the intangible. They mediate understanding of abstract notions, as symbols to be seen or held. The attributes of rule- the crown, the sceptre, the castle- are commonly understood to represent earthly power. These traits were understood and utilized early on by the church to emphasize the power and significance of the kingdom of God on earth. Thus, the wealth of gold and gems found in a king or noble's treasury were echoed in the awe-inspiring objects displayed on altars and throughout the largest cathedrals. Not only were these displayed for the eyes of the average worshipper, in contrast to the private and inaccessible treasuries of kings, but they were also imbued with significance as ritual objects and miraculous containers for saints' relics. In the middle ages, a church's possession of sacred relics was inherently linked with temporal power.[72] The capacity to invest objects with significance leads to a transmutation of power, the object becoming emblematic of the subject.[73]

What differentiates Kunstkammer collections from their antecedents in princely treasuries is the aspect of display and programmatic intent, of objects laid out to be viewed as part of an overall scheme, and as visible manifestations of an idea. So a significant forerunner for this phenomenon were the objects traditionally displayed in

churches, not only reliquaries and votive objects, but also exotic specimens similar to those found in Kunst- und Wunderkammer collections, such as ostrich eggs and stuffed crocodiles, except here imbued with Christian mythology.[74] The bishop or priest, however, also regulated the display of sacred relics. So that its power would not be diminished by overuse, many would be presented only on specific occasions and circumstances.

Stephen Bann, known for his studies of collecting in England, has also written on aspects of display in the church.[75] He discusses the equivalent role played by objects in medieval pilgrimage and the theatre of the Catholic Church, speculating on the function played by visuality and display in this context. Precious relics themselves were rarely seen, but rather displayed synecdochically in ornamental containers that reflected the form and significance of their contents. In this way, the unique physical object is accessible to the imagination by way of surrogate ornament.[76] This mediating aspect is one of the more powerful effects of the experience, in seeing one thing through another. Louis Marin comments on the power of the image and the ornamental altar in a medieval treatise by Abbot Suger:

> [W]e should note that the precious material, whether it be gold or gems, is never conceived, and never accumulated with a view to forming what could properly be called a treasure or a reserve of riches, but is devoted to the *ornatus,* to adornment, decor, dressing, to the ostentation of liturgical objects and sacramental instruments. In other words, the rare and precious material is first and foremost the vehicle and vector of the power of a sacred object which, though not yet an image, is destined to exercise that power through vision. The material- gold and

precious stones- clothe the object in light, and reflect or make manifest the transcendent, invisible, and all-powerful nature of visibility.[77]

Thus, an object invested with meaning by its context of presence and visuality becomes more than mere material riches. The Kunst- und Wunderkammer collections mingled works of art and nature, the rare and exotic natural specimens with precious works of decorative craftsmanship. Borrowing back from the church the awe-inspiring display of significant objects, the Kunstkammer objects were intended to impress a noble collector's visitors with this mass of ornament and exotic material, cloaked in a transparent declaration of their cosmic and political significance.

In a similar example of the church/state trade in signification, a later seventeenth century institution of the Habsburgs was the establishment of a Schatzkammer, in which liturgical vessels, reliquaries and vestments were displayed alongside other objects representing the "sacred realm."[78] For Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, this suggests an increasing desire to display the responsibility and patronage of the Holy Roman Emperor, in which, "the glorification of the ruler as a divinely favoured being received expression not only in small works, such as the ivory monuments Matthias Steinl made for the Schatzkammer, but in the large *Pestsäule*, the plague column on the Vienna Graben."[79] Here the performance of kingship is reinvested with the notion of the ruler in both realms, just as the archbishops of Salzburg had struggled to maintain the appearance of authority and consequence on these fronts.

**Recollecting the Collection**

The re-establishment of this chamber as a collection in the early 1970's can be attributed to the growth of tourist culture in the twentieth century, and an increased

interest in the history and patrimony of Salzburg, which galvanized plans to open an ecclesiastical museum in the upper gallery of the cathedral.[80] It was also resolved to exhibit a simulacrum of the original Kunstkammer display, as an embodiment of the golden age of the Salzburg archbishops. These two collections were opened to the public in 1974 to celebrate the 1200th anniversary of the consecration of the first cathedral, the official date observed as September 24.[81] The combined museums of the cathedral and the Wunderkammer share a purpose: to present Salzburg as the cradle of sacred art and Christianity in Austria.[82] The changing exhibitions of the cathedral museum focus on specific moments and personages in Salzburg history, including the golden age of the Baroque archbishops. The Kunst-und Wunderkammer is a permanent homage to this period.

By the twentieth century, what remained of the Salzburg Kunst- und Wunderkammer were nine empty cabinets of the original twelve and the space originally dedicated to the collection.[83] Attempts to trace the missing objects are complicated first by the existence of so many linked collections. The church sacristy possessed several historically significant and valuable objects. The Kunstkammer, in the same building, was linked through the painting gallery to the official residence, which also counted its own collections of interesting and valuable objects. The archbishops had also possessed their own private collections, housed in various residences within Salzburg and without, further obscuring the task of determining specific contents for the Kunst- und Wunderkammer. It is known that some 130 containers of rock crystal, onyx, jasper and emerald were lost to collections besides those of the Pitti palace, but inventory descriptions are generally too vague to allow for definitive identification.[84]

A delicate pair of elaborately carved ivory towers by Augsburg craftsman Lorenz Zick now occupying pride of place in a cabinet of ivories, is among the few remaining articles that might be attributed to the original time and place (Fig. 7).[85] Therefore, the revised contents of the cabinets also reflect the inventories of the better-known collections in Munich and Ambras, though this influence may have been true to the time as well. The focus of the collection remains the same, to promote the importance of the Salzburg archbishops in a display that also promotes the historical importance of the city and culture. A full cabinet devoted to objects carved from Steinbockhorn, including an ornate pair of candleholders and a pair of drinking horns standing on silver goats legs recalls the Kunstkammer standard of the carved rhinoceros horn. This exotic mountain goat represents regional art and materials through an exclusive herd kept by the Salzburg archbishops (Fig. 8).

The space and layout of the Kunstkammer wing is mostly original beyond the altered placement of a few of the large side windows. Though some of the church's most important religious treasures remained intact, curators searched the region for traces of the rare objects of art and nature that might have originally filled the cabinets of the Kunst- und Wunderkammer, supplementing their findings with period articles purchased from local dealers. Where the display may now lack some of the characteristics that lent them significance in the initial incarnation of the Kunstkammer- such as links to historical or famous personages, exoticism, or virtuoso artistry- the collection stands out from other contemporary re-enactments for its representation of an authentic spatial and material experience. This physical presence is important, not only to our contemporary understanding, but for the interests of the seventeenth-century collection as well. To

better illustrate this assertion, I will examine two famous neighbouring cases, first Schloß Ambras in Innsbruck and then the *Schatzkammer* in Munich.

A concurrent project was the revival of the famous Kunstkammer at Schloß Ambras in Innsbruck. Also re-opened in 1974, the many valuable and historically significant objects in this Habsburg collection had been well documented during the tenure of Ferdinand II, who founded the original display in 1573.[86] A few complete and descriptive inventories were compiled of this collection, making this collection a popular topic for study. As an individual collector cognizant of his family's history and standing, as well as of the impermanence of material possessions, Ferdinand had made several of these objects legal family heirlooms.[87] Therefore, the same agate bowl listed in his inventory appears in accounts of his nephew Rudolf II's collection in Prague several years later. Eventually, many of these objects became part of the imperial collection in Vienna.

The Kunsthistorisches museum, formed from these official Habsburg collections, operates the Ambras grounds as an adjunct to the museum, and was thus able to restore a large part of these items when Ambras was opened. The Ambras buildings that house the collection, however, were mostly rebuilt for the occasion, with cabinets of spare modern design and construction. The objects in these displays are evenly spaced, neatly separated and well lit. The only distinguishing feature hearkening back to what is known of the original display are the colours dedicated to each cabinet, choreographed to maximize the visual impact of the materials displayed.[88] However, these modern cabinets and even layout are lacking in the opulent materiality that characterized the

material jumble of Kunst- und Wunderkammer cabinets, and therefore the desired effect of wonder is nullified.

The Schatzkammer at the Munich residence is somewhat different, having been re-instated early in the twentieth century as a display for the imperial treasury. There are few if any references to other collections once contained within the building, such as Albrecht V's Kunst- und Wunderkammer, which originally occupied an entire upper floor.[89] Only historical objects of obvious material value are displayed here- crowns, altarpieces and examples of virtuoso decorative arts. The first room in the exhibit focuses especially on individual objects, those that demonstrate both great historical and material worth. The lighting is subdued, falling only on these choice things, viewed in the round. They represent probably the most important items in the collection, given individual significance as objects due to their embodied history and lustrous surfaces. The presentation in the following exhibition rooms is far less dramatic, with objects arrayed tidily in plain, mid twentieth-century glass cases on the wall or on tables. They are fantastic objects, but isolated in their plain settings, they fail to enter into dialogue with their surroundings as they once might have.

The Salzburg collection has a different quality altogether. Like its Kunst- und Wunderkammer antecedents, the individual objects are subordinate to the collection, first as part of the Kunstkammer, and then in their placement within a series of cabinets separated by their material constitution. The idea of the collection itself is what renders these disparate objects significant, and then the secondary dialogue between materials that adds to this curatorial concept. The nine cabinets are filled with objects large and small, raw nature and refined decorative objects jumbled together on the shelves. That

only a few articles in each cabinet are valuable enough to recall the historical contents is less important; what is most important is this idea of the "collection," and the experience of a whole. The revised contents of the Salzburg Kunst- und Wunderkammer are the following:

Cabinets:

I- Rosaries

II- Minerals

III- Scientific Instruments

IV- Ivory

V- Ibex horn (*Steinbockhorn*)

VI- Rock Crystal

VII- Shells

VIII- Globes

IX- Assorted *naturalia* and *exotica*

Cases:

Fossils and skulls

Iron locks

Votive shrines

Cabinet of Curiosities

The added focus of the modern display is an emphasis on religious folk culture in the region. For instance, the cabinet of rosaries and some of the other votive objects

displayed within would not have been part of the original Kunst- und Wunderkammer display. The modern curators, however, have cleverly combined this display of rosaries from the late eighteenth to early twentieth century with a twist on the Baroque preoccupation with mortality and transformation. The design of the nine cabinets is identical, save for the circular mirror poised over the frame in the rosary cabinet. Two gleeful and grim deaths-head figures pose on either side (Figs. 9, 10). Onlookers thus find themselves framed within this drama, surrounded by foreboding from above, with the promise of salvation through faith presented in the glimmering and hand-carved treasures before them. In its original incarnation, this cabinet may have been the one to display shells and mussels, traditional seventeenth-century symbols of death and transient life. The wonder of the Kunst- und Wunderkammer collection constituted a foil to the systems of order being propagated in this era of scientific revolution, through objects that transcend categories and empirical order, the enigmatic nature of the *vanitas* object exemplifies the contemporary paradox of opulent materiality.

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[1] Catholic Encyclopaedia, 411
[2] Neuhardt, 3
[3] Watteck 1974, 25
[4] Neuhardt, 11
[5] Rossacher 1967, 17
[6] Watteck 1974, 26
[7] Watteck 1974, 28
[8] Rossacher 1966, 204-210
[9] Watteck 1981, 26
[10] Catholic Encyclopedia, 411
[11] Catholic Encyclopedia, 411
[12] Thus creating the oldest library in Austria. Catholic Encyclopedia, 411
[13] New Catholic Encyclopedia vol. 12; 1004
[14] Barth-Scalmani, 47
[15] Walker, 5
[16] Juffinger, 2. Styria was a territory also partially under the rule of the Salzburg archbishops.
[17] Juffinger, 2
[18] Franz Wagner, "Die Werke und ihre Meister." In *Gold + Silver: Kostbarkeiten aus Salzburg,* Johannes Neuhardt, ed. Catalogue of an exhibition May 12-October 14, 1984. Salzburg: Selbstverlag des Domkapitels, 1984. 23-33
[19] Helms, 86

[20] Martin, 13
[21] Juffinger, 3
[22] Juffinger, 3
[23] Juffinger, 3
[24] Rieder, 14
[25] Catholic Encyclopedia, 414
[26] Rieder, 15
[27] Rieder, 15
[28] Catholic Encyclopedia, 414.
[29] Juffinger, 4
[30] Hiller, 11
[31] Ramisch, 35
[32] Ramisch, 34
[33] Ramisch, 34
[34] Ramisch, 34
[35] Kemp, 178
[36] Watteck 1975, 10
[37] Ramisch, 36 and Martin, 113
[38] Martin, 113
[39] Ramisch, 34
[40] Watteck 1981, 26
[41] Ramisch, 34
[42] Watteck 1975, 10
[43] Ramisch, 36
[44] Ramisch, 37
[45] Martin, 119
[46] Watteck 1981, 28
[47] Watteck 1981, 28
[48] Martin, 141
[49] Juffinger, 4
[50] Juffinger, 5
[51] Ramisch, 40
[52] See for instance Ronald Asch, *The Thirty Years War: The Holy Roman Empire and Europe 1618-48.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997
[53] There are few references in English on the history of Salzburg. The Catholic Encyclopedia (vol.XIII) offers concise and detailed information on historical events from the city's beginnings as an ecclesiastical territory. Mack Walker's *Salzburg Transaction* (1992) covers events specific to the expulsion of the Protestants in 1732, but does offer insight into the contexts of the Salzburg archbishops.
[54] Juffinger, 3
[55] Walker, 18
[56] Walker, 32
[57] Barth-Scalmani, 46
[58] Rossacher 1967, 18
[59] Rossacher 1967, 17
[60] Rossacher 1967, 18
[61] Rossacher 1967, 16
[62] Hayward, 233
[63] Juffinger, 6
[64] Martin, 109
[65] Watteck 1974, 26
[66] Martin, 117
[67] Martin, 117. My translation of:
*(Man soll viel) Wein für die deutschen Kardinäle vorsorgen, weil sie täglich mehr Wein benötigen als das ganze Kollegium. Der Erzbischof von Salzburg und Kardinal von Thun habe deshalb die Achtung seiner*

*Landsleute, ja eine gewisse Berümtheit, weil er ein Fäßchen Wein austrinken könne, ohne betrunken zu sein, und jeder Mann, der weniger trinke, gelte in Deutschland als ein Dummkopf.*

[68] Neickel, 109. My translation of:
*In Dieser Erz-Bischüfflichen Stadt findet man sehens-würdige Sachen, nemlich in der Kunst- und Rustkammer des Erz-Bischofs, in den Zeughdufern, in der Dom-Kirche S. Petri, und in dem Kloster S. Sebastian, inoselbst unter andern des Berüchtigten Theophrasti Paracels Epitaph um zu besehen, als welcher aus gedachtem Dom-Kirchhofe begraben liegt.* My apologies to the reader, as this translation is very rough, and I have not been able to find the meaning for the term 'Zeughdufern.'

[69] Rossacher 1967, 21

[70] Lugli, 54

[71] Balsiger, 9

[72] Lugli, 67

[73] Bann, on some ideas in Louis Marin's *Des pouvoirs de l'image*, 20 (see note 83).

[74] Lugli, 39

[75] Bann is best known his work on the eighteenth-century collection of John Bargrave.

[76] Bann, 16

[77] Louis Marin. *Des pouvoirs de l'image: gloses.* Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1993. 224; cited in and translated by Bann, 16

[78] Kaufmann 1994, 146

[79] Kaufmann 1994, 146

[80] Neuhardt 1974, 3

[81] Neuhart 1974, 3

[82] Neuhart, 1974, 3

[83] Watteck 1975, 10

[84] Neuhardt 1974, 11

[85] Watteck 1981, 35

[86] Scheicher, 37

[87] Scheicher, 38

[88] Scheicher, 39

[89] Seelig, 102

## Chapter 2- Early Modern Collections: Historiography and Frameworks

Prior to the Renaissance period, most collections of Europe fell within two types; these were the treasuries of princes and nobles, and the church collections of relics and precious metalwork. Leading up to the sixteenth century, cultural developments such as the expansion of the known world through trade and exploration, the diminishing of community boundaries through print technologies, and exchanges between scholarly communities led to the spread of princely and scientific collections.[1] These two categories are generally differentiated in museum studies through their divergent aspirations and geographical milieu. Giuseppe Olmi, in the seminal *Origins of Museums*, characterizes scientific collections as arrangements of physical objects to facilitate understanding of the natural world.[2] The princely collections, however, might be said to represent a symbolic rather than a functional understanding of the world, often criticized as consisting of objects chosen for their material value and place within seemingly arbitrary categories. Though the interpretations of these applied systems of order vary, the pursuit of collecting itself and many of the types of objects collected were common to both. Common to the era, as well, was the concern for order and classification: to quantify and qualify new ideas in religion, politics, and emerging sciences such as language and natural history.

The scholarship on collecting falls into roughly three periods: contemporary sources, periodic examinations during the early twentieth century, and then a flurry of interest in the 1980s and '90s. The current study of these collections falls into several categories of academic interest: the communities of collecting, whether economic or

scholarly; systems of wonder, which examine the power of objects as mediators between the visible and invisible worlds; and the history of museums themselves, which follow the changing nature of collections through catalogues and inventories. I will discuss these below in turn.

**Part I- Collecting**

Though the activity ranges from the ancient archives of Alexandria to the present, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the inception and decay of some of the most famous collections of Europe. This can be attributed to contemporary events and changes in ideology; these collections represented a distinct thematic worldview. Early examples of collections had been part of a different social order, a treasury of unrelated, though highly symbolic, valuable objects accumulated over time by noble families and ecclesiastical institutions. The later museum projects--the collections of individuals--professed to understand the world either through knowledge of the expanding natural world, or through the productions of art and nature, where the essential human capacity is discovered in what was once considered a divine act of creation.

**Medieval Church Collections**

As we have already seen in the previous chapter, the source of the Kunstkammer collections can be found in approaches to display found in the medieval church. Medieval church collections consisted of both objects of material value and exotic provenance; these objects represented symbols for the divine order and ultimate authority of God and the church. Precious materials throughout the church, in the form of reliquaries and other ecclesiastical paraphernalia such as chalices and censers, might have been wonderful and glittering windows to another world for the lay viewer. Exotic natural specimens were

emblematic of embedded divinity in nature, not only as the wondrous creations of God, but also symbolically charged with moral example. Objects often displayed in the church include the bones of antediluvian giants and stuffed crocodiles. These referred the viewer to ancient monsters, with reptiles in particular viewed as medieval signifiers of the diabolical and monstrous, and always as potential warnings from God.[3] A monstrum, etymologically, is also a warning.[4] Other objects, such as the eggs of exotic ostriches, were often hung through the church and have been viewed as signifying God's protection of Christ and humanity, like the mother ostrich's eggs buried in the sand for protection.* Adalgisa Lugli furnishes an alternate interpretation: that hanging high up in the church the ostrich egg symbolizes the memory of the divine light.[5] Lugli's source, Durandus' *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of 1568, quotes a passage from Job XXXIX 14, in which the notoriously forgetful bird abandons the eggs she is nurturing in the sand, until the light of a particular star reminds her of her charge. There are multivariate meanings for these objects, contextualized by the site of collection, in the church and elsewhere.

Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park in *Wonders and the Order of Nature* examine the history of defining wonder, looking at these church collections of the medieval period as displays of extraordinary objects and as a means for the theatrical manipulation of spirituality through ritual. They examine objects as physical signs for abstract notions, as well as exploring early attempts to understand and define feelings of wonder. In the thirteenth century, notions of wonder were expressed as the product of witnessing the unpredictable and divine path of nature, while remaining necessarily ignorant of the cause.[6] Characteristic of pre-Renaissance philosophy, Augustine had proposed the

* This is the interpretation given for an ostrich egg container in the modern display of the Munich Schatzkammer.

wonder of nature in general, as both the commonplace and the marvellous were products of the divine will. Faith in this unknown order was paramount; scepticism was considered a characteristic of the small-minded peasant limited by his range of experience.[7] The marvellous natural objects in church collections--gems with magic properties, exotic ostrich eggs or unicorn horns, and elaborate gold reliquaries bearing the earthly remains of saints--were also powerful reminders of the unknown, as rare and unusual objects. Legendary objects displayed, such as the bones of legendary giants or the rib of Jonah's whale, refer to the past age of the bible. Certainly, these objects displayed in the church present similar qualities to those found in later princely collections.

Seventeenth and eighteenth-century histories of museums and curiosities recall the display of ancient wonders found in churches. For example, the Abbey church of St. Denis reportedly possessed, "a large and curious goblet of rock crystal which was formerly in Solomon's temple, a gold and jewelled cup which belonged to King Solomon himself, and a gamahe of white agate on which was impressed the likeness of the Queen of Sheba."[8] The presence of these objects instills the viewer with wonder while also testifying to the truth of recorded history, as Stephen Bann regards such objects as, "endlessly transformed and transforming agent(s) within a historical narrative that incorporates all of time from the death of Adam to the Christian empire of Constantine."[9] Their display was also often limited to rituals and feast days, as the abbot or authority of the church was invested with the responsibility of protecting these wonders not just from theft, but also from the spiritual exhaustion of overuse.[10]

**Princely and Scientific Collections**

In the medieval period, some of the works of classical history and philosophy were preserved in abbeys and universities through the sharing and copying of texts. It is generally admitted that there was little critical analysis, generally consisting of isolated communities of understanding. Then, in the later middle ages, networks of scholarly and cultural communities began to spread beyond the walls of individual towns.[11] At the same time, an emerging banking and merchant culture helped create a new class of noble. With the exotic products of the world at their disposal, and eager for the authority vested in possession of such symbols, merchant nobles like the Medici amassed collections of artworks, rare objects and valuable treasures.[12] Humanist scholars shaped a culture of knowledge outside the purview of the church and university, aided by new print technologies; many of these humanists helped to shape the collections of wealthy patrons, striving to form in their composition a coherent statement about the nature of the world now being renamed and discovered.

In 1572, Francesco de Medici commissioned a private space to house his collections, a chamber in which allegorical paintings served as doors to individual cabinets containing various valuable natural and art objects.[13] The objects contained within were nothing new in the way of precious objects; the context of objects conceived as part of a narrative program made Francesco's Studiolo distinct. Vincenzo Borghini based the order within the chamber on an ancient scholarly system for ordering the mind, the art of memory, which used the concept of architecture and treasure chests as metaphorical spaces for the placement of ideas.[14] The secret chamber, housed in the Florentine Senate, placed Francesco at the centre of the microcosm and, "symbolically

[as] ruler of the world."[15] This cosmological interpretation of the underlying scheme of princely collections is a common theme in the scholarship.[16]

Francesco de Medici's Studiolo is often referenced as one of the first among this type of programmatic collections. However, a large number of the northern collections were also instituted around the same time, with similar scholarly programmes. What might distinguish these further is their mode of display; while Francesco's objects were hidden from sight, as mysterious objects isolated behind narrative panels, the form of the northern Kunstkammer was distinctively laid out for a viewing subject. The collection of Albrecht V in Munich, part of a complex with a library and *antiquarium*, is often dated to 1565 and was prominently laid out for viewing on tables and in cases in a specially designated space.[17] The 1573 collection of Ferdinand II in nearby Innsbruck was housed in a structure purposely built for its display.[18] These objects were meant to be experienced in material and narrative context with each other; this produced environment differentiates the Kunst- und Wunderkammer from its antecedents.

The early modern collections, sharing similar contents and sources, nevertheless differed in scope due to individual, cultural and regional interests. Though often distinguished regionally between northern (princely) or southern (scientific) collections, these are generalizations to simplify understanding of certain broad distinctions.[19] The order in scientific collections was dependent on the scholarly application of new categories for objects as part of an ongoing project to catalogue the secular world. Instead of symbolizing the presence of the divine on earth, the cataloguing of natural specimens and display of scientific instruments was representative of the exploration and transformation of the world. In such collections, the demands of systematic order should

have dictated coherent strategies of display in the creation of this narrative. Museum scholars acknowledge, however, that the order implied in printed catalogues was often specific to the goals of individual authors, and may not have reflected the actuality of display. In *Possessing Nature*, Paula Findlen compares a few of the catalogues published on scientific collections in Italy for evidence of the changing aspirations of scholarship and individual curatorship, the space of a few years sometimes found these drastically altered.[20] In appearance, they seem to have resembled the perceived jumble of the princely Kunst- und Wunderkammern, since their classification framework could only be apparent through these published catalogues.

Justifications of scholarly categories can be applied to the princely collections as well.[21] While the scientific collection focused their efforts on expanding their knowledge of the natural world and its particulars, the princely collections displayed an attempt at a system of universal order, with what I would characterize as a special emphasis on creative transformation. These too included specimens of the new natural history and scientific instruments, this time displayed alongside works of art and craft. The collections are frequently regarded as an attempt to represent the totality of human knowledge and art, to display the world in microcosm with the collector at its centre. However, the princely collections also included within their displays many things that did not fit into strict categories; in contradiction to the emerging rigid scientific systems of classification, they delighted in including examples of the freakish and bizarre. These paradoxical elements have come to characterize the princely collections, though this feature is often viewed as a stigma and defended against.[22]

The curatorial systems of princely and scientific collections are a focus for modern attempts to define the nature of sixteenth and seventeenth-century museums, based on their content, use, and construction. In general, one could say that scientific collections examined nature by accepting or refusing inclusion into perceived categories, while the princely cabinet transformed nature by developing its own categories and embracing the discarded. However, can the aims to inspire with the wonder of the known, or conversely that of the unknown, be a critical aspect in defining a collection's status as scientific repository or as symbolic princely display?

*Princely Collections: The Habsburgs*

The princely collections have long been considered primarily diplomatic tools to advertise wealth and power, an interpretation promoted by Thomas DaCosta Kauffman in his lengthy involvement with the Habsburg collections.[23] This is true both in what is displayed and to whom: rare, unusual or valuable objects displayed to influential and powerful guests, inherently tied to a system of diplomatic gifts and exchange. Established in 1573, Ferdinand II's Kunstkammer at Schloß Ambras in Austria is characteristic of sixteenth-century collecting by wealthy nobles, a classic selection of objects from art and nature. These were displayed in rows of cabinets, grouped generally by material, with paintings and larger objects of historical and exotic provenance scattered between and around the rooms. Archduke Ferdinand's Kunstkammer was a necessary accessory and pursuit for a prince just as were his library, armoury, and treasury; Julius Schlosser introduces Ferdinand II in the context of the collections of his ancestors and those of royal connections through marriage across Europe.[24] Despite the size and quality of this collection, it is telling that three large chambers were devoted to the display of historical

arms and armour, whereas only one for the Kunst-und Wunderkammer.[25] Elisabeth Scheicher's account of Ferdinand II's collection in *The Origins of Museums* describes the Kunstkammer as part of a sequence of rooms visitors would experience, including the much larger hall of armour, the library, *antiquarium*, and a room devoted to "trophies" from the Turkish wars.[26]

The Kunstkammer, like other courtly activities, did operate as a necessary accoutrement for the display of wealth and power; but other themes within this topic have additional resonance. The influence of historical allusion and an emphasis on family history are one element of the modern prince, in the declaration of sovereignty and dynastic property.[27] In 1564, an agreement between Ferdinand I's sons made certain exceptional objects inalienable heirlooms of the Habsburg family and entrusted to the senior son.[28] Recurring objects, like a large agate bowl and narwhal horn, are already listed in the 1608 inventory of Rudolf II, Ferdinand II's nephew and Holy Roman emperor, following Ferdinand's death in 1596.[29] These collections were frequently augmented through gifts from visitors: the objects commemorating diplomatic occasions. Benvenuto Cellini's saltcellar became a Habsburg possession as a gift from Charles IX commemorating his wedding to Ferdinand's niece, Elisabeth of Austria.[30] Albrecht V and his son Wilhelm appear to have welcomed visits to the collection by scholars and artists like painter Georg Hoefnagel besides those of ambassadors.[31] It was usual practice for these visitors to donate an object to the collection in gratitude, though Philip Hainhofer recounted that the practice was ceased in 1611 when it was noticed that objects were instead going missing.[32]

The best-known Habsburg collection of the late sixteenth century is certainly that of Rudolf II of Prague, due no less to his colourful personality than to the reported size and scope of his collections.[33] Though one of the most legendary, like the collections of his contemporaries, little remains but inventory records and catalogues. Fortunately, many of those objects considered family treasures eventually became part of the later Kunsthistorisches museum's collection. An enormous collection shaped by the wide interests of the collector, the modern publication of these inventories has also helped to make Rudolf's collection one of the most frequently cited. Speculation as to the material makeup and intentions of the collection have indicated its position both as Kunstkammer and as an active workshop, the raw materials on display dispatched to court craftsmen to return as finished objects.[34*] Kaufmann examines how these two factors may have been essential qualities for such collections, drawing on the contemporary academic interests in hermeticism and alchemy present in Rudolf's established patronage of the occult sciences.[35] He also presents cosmic symbolism as the overarching order of Rudolph's collection, the hierarchy of the microcosm applied to nature.[36] Though perhaps esoteric in constitution, Eliska Fucikova notes a clear and systematic thematic order in the cataloguing of Rudolf's collection, reinforced by the immediate documentation of changes into the inventory record.[37]

*Scientific Collections: The Italian Humanists*

The humanist scholars, so instrumental in shaping the collections of their wealthy patrons, also formed their own. One of the most cited scientific collections of the sixteenth century, contemporaneous with those of Ferdinand II and Rudolf II, is that of

* Fucikova also relates how unfinished objects, where the maker died or left Rudolf's employ, were returned to the collection awaiting the hands of another master craftsman, 68.

Ulysse Aldrovandi in Bologna.[38] Uncomfortable with the *a priori* classifications of the art of memory, influential in the princely collections, which form what Giuseppe Olmi termed, "a coherent idea of reality by first superimposing artificial, abstract schemes upon it,"[39] Aldrovandi's collection of primarily *naturalia* contrived an encyclopaedic grasp of the outside world, with hundreds of specimens and a tremendous archive of dried plants and illustrations of flora and fauna. Of the physical collections of this period, little usually remains even of such a large and well-known collection as this. Instead, it is these illustrations and the documentation that survives, the many publications of Aldrovandi alongside the catalogues of later curators with differing aspirations. Before his death in 1605, Aldrovandi had arranged for the city to display and maintain the collection, as well as to continue to prepare for publication some of his numerous manuscripts.[40] The surest way to ensure the perpetuation of one's name and ideas was to publish, and frequently. The succeeding curators also published catalogues of the collection, shaping different thematic narratives for the objects by re-arranging the collection theoretically, not practically. The published catalogues also served as propaganda tools for the social status of the curators, since this endeavour associated them with wealth and importance. These overlapping ambitions affected the display and composition of developing scientific collections.[41]

The scholarship on collecting has tended to contrast the different goals of princely and scientific collections. Where the princely Kunst- und Wunderkammern contrasted the works of art and nature, highlighting the transformation of nature through art, Aldrovandi used art merely for its illustrative purposes in supplementing the range of his natural specimens, with the aim of cataloguing more of the natural world.[42] However, it was the

exotic and unique items and not merely the astonishing size of the collection, which drew visitors. Olmi's analysis of Aldrovandi's collection draws attention to the ostensibly scientific goals that shaped the collection, contrasting this with the actuality of display, where objects seem to have been laid out rather for what he terms their, "symmetry and pleasing appearance...The imposed order was not one believed to exist in nature itself, but one calculated to appeal to the eye of the visitor."[43] These claims seem to illustrate the widespread influence of the Kunstkammer model, which rather than isolating the works of man and nature, strove to combine the two with crowded displays in decorative cabinets. Collector Ferdinando Cospi was one subsequent curator who distorted Aldrovandi's original goals by hiring a curiosity, a dwarf, to act as a guide to the museum. Certainly Cospi's own collection, which was later merged with Aldrovandi's, could not claim entirely scientific aims. Olmi presents examples of Cospi's lack of investigative curiosity. He writes, "In the same town and at the same time as Malpighi was subjecting the vegetable world to microscopic examination, it did not even occur to Cospi to open up a dried Ethiopian fruit to discover the nature of its interior, although the catalogue notes that the fruit rattled when shaken."[44] The collector's curiosity sometimes remained just that: not extending to a further scientific urge to investigate and discover.

The scholarly patronage of nobles such as Rudolf II in Prague proves, conversely, that this was not always the case with the princely collections either. Though there were obviously overlapping interests and necessary concessions to public interests in the scientific collections, what distinguishes them is their attitude to wonder. Even the typical wonders in Aldrovandi's collection, such as the famed Buoncompagni dragon, were presented as natural wonders and not signs as often read elsewhere; here, the

museum is a site for the demystification of the unknown.[45] They are products of nature, to be investigated and understood by man. The princely collections, while initially sharing certain similarities with the scientific collections, focused increasingly on the unusual and bizarre, eventually losing their sense of curatorial purpose. The scientific collections were gradually enfolded within emerging institutions, often continuing in this guise. The princely collections rarely survived their creator; any remaining objects now isolated from each other within the context of the modern display strategy.

**Part II- Historiography**

The scholarship on collecting in English is still fairly recent, with concerted analysis of specific museum projects only beginning in the early 1980's, and burgeoning in the 1990's with the appearance of several academic and popular publications. The topic has received much public attention more recently through some large exhibitions, which published glossy illustrated catalogues, and mainstream art books.* In general, the historiography of collecting can be separated into four periods. First are the examples of contemporary documentation. Alongside private inventory listings, several collections published catalogues compiled by curators and hired scholars. These, like the treatise of Samuel Quiccheberg, outlined the order and primary purpose for collections. At the same time, there are also published examples of contemporary traveler's accounts, such as the diary of John Evelyn. Among nineteenth and early twentieth-century studies, the one text consistently referenced is Julius von Schlosser's *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance* (1908). A few works published in the sixties have also remained standard texts for the analysis of theoretical frameworks, such as Frances

* Barbara Stafford's catalogue to accompany the Getty exhibition "Devices of Wonder" in 2001, The important exhibition of the Dresden Kunstkammer at the Met this past Fall 2004, "Princely Splendor: The Dresden Court", and the book *Cabinets of Curiosities* by Patrick Mauries.

Yates' *Art of Memory* and Michel Foucault's influential *Les mots et les choses*, both published in 1966.[46]

**Resemblance and the Art of Memory**

In *The Order of Things,* Foucault laid out an analysis of a change in epistemes from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. This analysis of the interactions of culture and philosophy has informed much of the work on collections from the early modern period. In the seventeenth century, the Classical age of representation, he examines three sciences that he saw developing in response to the practices of naming, classifying and trading objects. These sciences of grammar, natural history and economics, what he termed the domains of, "words, beings, and needs,"[47] were essential tools for formulating a perspective on the world distinct from earlier modes of understanding the world. That view had subscribed to the notion of resemblance, in which the earth was envisioned as a microcosm of the divine heavens, and philosophers were therefore engaged with deciphering an infinite number of signs embedded in nature, while tabulating history as a cumulative text. In the seventeenth century, knowledge began to be specialized, and nature was viewed rather as something to be ordered and classified by scientifically formulated rules. Foucault's theory has been useful for analyzing the changing contexts of collections, from the obscure and seemingly esoteric orders of the cabinet of curiosities to the scientific collections, as they were each subsumed within emerging institutions or dispersed.[48] *The Order of Things* is pertinent to Foucault's overall project: to expose applied systems of knowledge and institutions of authority as impersonal grids that establish identity and difference with boundaries that demarcate and exclude an 'other,' whether madness, homosexuality, or sickness.

*The Order of Things* is useful as an atypical reference for the study of period philosophy, as epistemological theory. The danger is in the temptation to apply the premise too literally to the collections, as if there were sudden changes in outlook and relevance, whereas a more detailed analysis, as in these contemporary collections, indicates that the process of change was an evolving one. This is evident in the inconsistencies of some of the scientific collections discussed above, and in the combined nature of some of the princely collections, where symbolic order and rational discrimination co-exist. They are both referents to contemporary notions, neither prevailing, and reflect this environment of decision and indecision. No longer viewed as divinely created order, the order of things in the sixteenth century is, "the undifferentiated, shifting, unstable base upon which knowledge can establish its relations, its measurements, and its identities."[49] As a blank slate, or Foucault's grid, the notion of applied orders can be just as easily based on the lingering perceived hierarchies of 'man' and 'nature' as seen in the Kunst- und Wunderkammer. The lesson for my research is to examine the practices of order and surrounding attempts to quantify and understand, or to exclude wonder, within this context of a changing system of knowledge.

An older system of order crucial to the shape and development of museums in early modern Europe is that of the art of memory. Frances Yates' history of this system, *Art of Memory*, is the first source for many approaching the topic. From the earliest theories in classical Greece, through the Middle Ages, and as part of the revival of esoteric scholasticism linked with alchemy in the sixteenth century, Yates looks at several techniques and models for understanding memory. Especially prized until the invention of the printing press made manuscripts readily available, the art of memory

involved ascribing mental images or an invented architectural space with a set of related ideas. This 'space' or image could then be revisited and explored in order to remember the concepts allocated there. In the early sixteenth century, for example, the scholar Giulio Camillo travelled across Europe promoting his 'Theatre of Memory,' an architectural realization of the imagined spaces of the art of memory.[50] In this model, rows of images would lead out from a viewer at centre stage. Below each image were boxes or drawers containing texts from Cicero's art of oratory, relating to the subject of each image. The theatre was promoted as a means to power for its eventual owner, similar to later collections of the nobility, as commanding symbols of status, wealth, and learning.

Frances Yates' studies of the esoteric streams in European erudition have had a significant impact on subsequent scholarship. As a system for preserving ideas in the mind, the art of memory is an appropriate model for understanding early modern collections. More recently, an English translation of Lina Bolzoni's *Gallery of Memory* (2001) examines the links between the art of memory and these collections. Camillo's theatre, a physical model of the systematic art of memory, is generally seen as a reference used by early modern scholars for the arrangement of objects in collections. One of the most influential contemporary publications on museums was Samuel Quiccheberg's treatise, *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi*, published in 1565.[51] Quiccheberg worked for Albrecht V of Bavaria, with whose Kunstkammer he was affiliated. His collaborator in Munich was the merchant and scholar Jacob Fugger. Fugger, to be discussed below, represents another aspect of the many converging communities of collecting. Because of their wide-ranging contacts in shipping and trade, the Fugger

family was also a supplier of exotic objects for the cabinets of nobles.[52] Quiccheberg's ideal was to establish a system of universal cataloguing, creating a coherent order that could integrate every product of art and nature.[53] This order was inspired both by the art of memory and Giulio Camillo's model for the theatre of memory.[54] Quiccheberg divided subject-matter into five hierarchical sections with specific orders within: portraits and maps of the ruler and his world, arts and crafts, the three kingdoms of nature, objects of a technological or anthropological nature, and finally the uses of the arts, with practical laboratories.[55] Though the nature of specific categories in collections did vary from this basic outline, Quiccheberg's project was sensitive to the intellectual currents of the time and reflects general precepts that can be seen in similar and subsequent collections.[56]

**Primary Sources**

Samuel Quiccheberg's 1565 outline for Kunstkammer collections emphasized the hierarchical character of perceived natural orders, a seemingly esoteric combination of transformed art and nature. It was a formula for order to be understood only by the initiated, but these were essentially displays separated by material: as raw nature and as nature transformed into art. Further contemporary theoretical sources include such works as Francis Bacon's *New Organon* (1620) and *New Atlantis* (1627). The island utopia he describes in *New Atlantis* is compared to a Kunstkammer, containing artful life in clocks and automata, lifelike images of humans and animals, and culminating in two galleries with sample inventions and statues of their inventors.[57] Bacon's work is presented as part of Horst Bredekamp's distinctive thesis that the machine may be one driving force found in collections and scholarship from antiquity to the present.[58] Collector and scholar Ulysse Aldrovandi's prodigious published output on the natural world, including

*Musaeum Metallicum* (1648) and *Monstrum Historia* (1642) were well-known texts in their time as well as the present. The catalogues of large and important collections from Imperato (1599), Olaus Worm (1655), and Tradescant (1656), to compilations like Valentini's *Musaeum Museorum* (1714) and Neickel's *Museographia* (1727) are commonly cited as primary sources on collecting. Barbara Balsiger's 1970 Ph.D. thesis also locates hundreds of other contemporary published catalogues by collectors and some lesser-known studies of collecting.*

**Modern Scholarship: Multi-Disciplinary Strategies**

Probably the first modern source published in English was collector David Murray's three-volume study *Museums Their History and Their Use* (1904). The first volume is a breezy account of museums in history; the following two volumes contain impressive bibliographical sources pertinent to museum collections around the world.† Julius von Schlosser's work, *Die Kunst-und Wunderkammer der Spätrenaissance* (1908) bridges a gap between primary source material written up to the early nineteenth century, and critical histories that took form in the later twentieth century. Though a survey study of collecting, his focus was the Habsburg collections linked to the Kunsthistorisches museum in Vienna, where he worked as director for many years.[59]

Barbara Balsiger's copiously researched dissertation, The *Kunst-und Wunderkammern: A Catalogue Raisonné,* is an important example of unpublished but valuable archival work. As Barbara Balsiger's thesis suggests, Schlosser's emphasis on

* For instance, a work by Jacob Schrenk was published in Innsbruck in 1601 regarding the *Armamentarium Heroicum Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi Archiduci.* English scholarship on collecting generally begins with Schlosser's text. While Schlosser is certainly significant, it is interesting to note the range of early publications on the Habsburg collections, for example also Johann Primisser's *Kurze Nachricht von dem K.K Raritätenkabinet zu Ambras in Tyrol*, Innsbruck 1777, and Alois Primisser's *Die Kaiserlich-Königliche Ambraser-Sammlung*, Wien 1819.

† The copy in the collection of the McGill library was apparently donated by Murray himself in 1909.

these princely collections neglects the many private collections, which she deems true Kunst- und Wunderkammern due to their intention to publish catalogues.[60] However, this emphasis also has the effect of glossing over the collections that have become representative of sixteenth and seventeenth-century collecting; the princely cabinets filled with art and wonders. Balsiger's criterion tends to highlight the natural history focus of less affluent collectors, who might have had more reason to promote themselves through publication.

Scholarship on collecting in the English academic community was rather isolated until the 1985 publication of Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor's essay collection *The Origins of Museums,* which compiled a wide-ranging series of essays on sixteenth and seventeenth-century collections. This drew the attention of several disciplines: those examining cultures of exchange in art and science, commerce and politics, as well as nascent museum history itself. The essays in the collection are necessarily brief, written by authors specializing in their particular collections. The compilation was influential in highlighting the need for scholarship in the field: while the grand titles emphasize the interests of the time in possessing nature and displaying the wondrous, there seems to be little consensus as to prevailing themes outside of each collection. Rather, each collection is presented as being unique, as somehow outside the easily categorizable norm.

Often, the temporal distinction is presented as scientific encyclopaedism in the sixteenth-century collections, and an inclination towards the curious and bizarre in the seventeenth-century collections. While sixteenth-century collections might be said to attempt to compile the known world, the seventeenth century seems to have focused on

the unquantifiable and uncanny contrary to what was becoming an increasingly ordered and rational scientific world. These Paula Findlen terms "Renaissance curiosity" and "Baroque wonder."[61] The argument, while tidy, tends not to apply as well to the study of specific collections, where specific contradictions abound. This is particularly so for *Origins of Museums* in general, as the authors attempt to lay the foundation for a discipline of museum studies, in which each scholar's particular collection is singled out as a significant prototype. Several authors make a point of trying to prove their own subject--princely collections-- to be above the constricted categorization of treasury or mere spectacle, while damning others to this label. Other writers, as in the study by Olmi discussed earlier, examine ways in which collections traditionally considered scientific also included paradoxical specimens and material oddities.[62] The variety within early modern collections bridges what have become several different fields of study: art history, history, anthropology, philosophy, and economics, and these are most aptly characterized by the recognition of diverse influences.

*Museum Studies*

These differing disciplines have approached the study of systems of order and display in a variety of ways. The first of these approaches is to focus on the history of the museums themselves. Impey and MacGregor's *Origins of Museums* is an important compilation, the short essays highlight particular collections as microcosms of the phenomenon across Europe. The majority of the collections were most active between the middle of the sixteenth century and the middle of the seventeenth. The essays in *Origins* take a very direct approach: first describing the founder and his social milieu, and then the probable appearance of the museum through comparison of inventories and

visitors accounts. Because these are brief essays, there is generally little critical analysis of themes beyond a standard interpretation of the collections as displays of power and sometimes as sites for the examination of trading cultures. Scholarly antecedents in the art of memory and other systems of order are referenced generally, but rarely examined in depth. The book remains an excellent point of reference, as the individual essays are sources of accurate and contextual detail. The compilation enables the reader to gain a universal perspective on collecting in the period.

Drawing largely on *Origins of Museums,* Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's survey, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (1992), tries to take museum studies further by applying Foucault's analysis of the period to these collections, also. Her analysis of museum history begins with a summary of Foucault's differentiation between the Renaissance episteme and the Classical, from an inclusive mode of history to the beginnings of discriminating analysis through difference. As a result, objects are analyzed and separated into applied categories. As a museum professional, Hooper-Greenhill is well aware of the manipulation of narrative implicit within museum displays, and explicitly in the creation of categories and definite structures. Foucault's text, with the famous entry from Borges' Chinese Encyclopedia, asks the reader to question the norms of established reason, to ask whether taxonomies are definitive boundaries or variable social constructions.[63] As Hooper-Greenhill asks, "Do the existing systems of classification enable some ways of knowing and prevent others?"[64] While the rest of her book draws a general picture of the period collections, Hooper-Greenhill closes by questioning the types of 'knowing' possible within a given episteme, even given the same object of study. Her point, like Foucault, is that truth and knowledge are constituted and

not absolute; they vary, and this is a simple yet important awareness for contemporary museum historians as well as curators.[65]

Further sources include Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, who has written extensively about Rudolf II and the symbolic construction of authority as noted earlier. Adalgisa Lugli's *Naturalia e Mirabilia* (1983) is an excellent overview, covering a range of ideological themes that occur within the history of collections, and examining their context without creating a grand narrative.[66] Horst Bredekamp's *Antikensehnsucht und Maschinenglauben* (1993), available in English translation but rarely cited, is an intriguing multi-disciplinary consideration of the theme of technology traced through the early modern period.[67] Early histories of collections attempted to establish set boundaries of intentionality, drawing on grand overarching themes and dichotomies to characterize collections as exact systems and deliberate constructions. Paula Findlen, and Giuseppe Olmi before her, have demonstrated plausible reasons for some seeming irrationalities in the display of Aldrovandi's collection.[68] They acknowledge the very human, fallible and organic growth of early collections, due to the complexity and variety of surrounding circumstances. Recently, a more cross-disciplinary approach has become standard in this specialized field of museum scholarship.

*Cultures of Collecting*

Some of the more dynamic literature on collecting examines the influence of trade cultures and academic communities in the shaping of museums. Paula Findlen's *Possesing Nature* (1996) is focused on scientific and collecting communities in Italy of the period, but the scope of her study includes civic issues, the philosophical and physical spaces of collecting, as well as the terminology of museum spaces before emerging

taxonomies. What surfaces is a broad map of overlapping interests, a sense of varied personal interpretations and uses for these collections. Networks of collections have been explored in the context of travel to the new world and the trade in exotica an area of research exemplified by Stephen Greenblatt's *Marvellous Possessions* (1991). More recently, Findlen edited a collection with Pamela Smith, *Merchants and Marvels* (2002), which examines the effects of commerce and trade on science, art and representation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mark Meadows' essay in this volume follows the career of Hans Jacob Fugger, son of a wealthy and influential merchant family. Educated among nobles and future bishops, Fugger was employed as a tutor in the court of Ferdinand I and later as court librarian to Albrecht V.[69] Under Hans Jacob, the Fugger family's library expanded and grew in fame. Among other well-known scholars, Quiccheberg once served as curator to the Fugger library, and indeed later took service with Albrecht V in Munich at the same time as Hans Jacob in 1565, the year *Inscriptiones vel tituli* was published.[70] Meadows suggests that Quiccheberg developed or tested his system while working with Hans Jacob on the Fugger collections.[71] Meadows' research expands on the earlier histories of collecting to understand better the role of merchants and scholars in the shaping of these collections.*

*Displaying Wonder*

A thread which is taken up only intermittently, surprisingly, is the question of wonder itself and where it fits within the order of science and curiosity. Daston and Park, as noted earlier, survey the philosophies of wonder and its manifestations. They have

*Meadows' current project is the publication of a first translation in English of Quiccheberg's classic text.

shown how, over time, philosophers and scientists have sought to understand and categorize the unknown, even defining different types of wonder to demystify nature. For instance, medieval theologians classed mysterious phenomena like the lodestone as preternatural wonders, finding that, "the preternatural is wonderful only to the uninstructed, whereas the miraculous is wonderful to all."[72] The preponderance of curiosities and freaks of nature in collections of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries may also be a reaction to the scientific empiricism and logical philosophy of the period. Conversely, their physical presence renders them credibility in this context.

Krzystzof Pomian has examined the theory of collections in general, focusing on objects themselves as mediators between the visible and the invisible world, as semiophores of meaning.[73] Pomian relates this mediating role to language which, following Foucault, is "the cleavage between that of which we speak and that which we see."[74] Pomian begins with the fascination of relics and cult objects, then examines the fascination of collecting objects as curiosities in the early modern context as playing, "an interim role between those of theology and science."[75] In the 'Northern' style collections, objects were symbols for ideas and places, but it was a deliberately exclusive language accessible only to the properly educated and approved viewer.[76] Once again, the role of the object as conveyer of meaning made collections a valuable accessory for leaders of the social hierarchy, thereby making them the possessors of several intended meanings, social, spiritual and political.[77]

Lissa Roberts' closing essay in *Merchants and Marvels* highlights a common divide between scholars of early modern European history, between those who stress a guiding undercurrent of aesthetic principles of unity and order (found in comparing the

order of mathematics), and those who focus on variety and uniqueness (such as natural history).[78] Roberts paraphrases contemporary seventeenth-century debate between Leibniz and the Newtonians: "Do we know God through the unified order or the infinite wonders he creates?"[79] Not only were these pertinent issues at the time; these are also critical for balanced understanding in modern scholarship. Roberts' point is that the current focus on cultural exchanges and the realities of commerce and trade attempts to debunk the tendency towards 'grand narratives' that dominated earlier readings of collections and history.[80] Therefore, one Kunstkammer could be at once a physical representation of theory, a propaganda tool, and an active treasury, with all operating simultaneously in the domains of art, science, politics, and commerce.

The period of these collections encompassed the age of the scientific renaissance as well as an enduring age of curiosity preoccupied with illusion, deceit and the unknown. Inevitably, the two would overlap, complicating the modern task of attempting to segregate and classify the history of collections. Daston and Park wrote of the concurrent pursuits of wonder and natural science, "These interwoven histories show how the two side of knowledge, objective order and subjective sensibility were obverse and reverse of the same coin rather than opposed to one another."[81] Increased study of early modern collections in the last 20 years has evolved from attempting to categorize collections in general, to examining the particulars: ideas and materials specific to individual and place. The interdisciplinary nature of these collections also enables modern scholarship to step out of the bounds of established categories of knowledge, to examine other possibilities and processes within the pursuit of collecting.

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[1] See, for instance, the introduction to *Merchants and Marvels* by Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen.
[2] Olmi, 3

[3] Lugli, 51-2
[4] Lugli, 52
[5] Lugli, 39
[6] Daston and Park, 23
[7] Daston and Park, 62
[8] Murray, 3; citing St.Denis' 1668 inventory, John Evelyn's diary and Valentini's *Musaeum Museorum*
[9] Bann, 16
[10] Daston and Park, 75
[11] As an example of the emergence and growth of such community, see Elisabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
[12] On the Medici collections, see J.R. Hale, *Florence and the Medici*. Reprint London: Phoenix Press, 2001 and Cristina Accidini Luchinat, *Treasures of Florence: the Medici Collection 1400-1700*. NY: Prestel, 1997.
[13] Olmi, 3
[14] Bolzoni, 246
[15] Hooper-Greenhill, 105
[16] For such an interpretation, see for instance Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's "Remarks on the collection of Rudolf II: the Kunstkammer as a form of *Representatio,*" 2004.
[17] Seelig, 101
[18] Bredekamp, 31
[19]First suggested by Julius von Schlosser in *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammer der Spätrenaissance* in 1908 and this has remained an important factor in the analysis by subsequent scholars.
[20] Findlen, 27
[21] See for instance the essays on princely collections in Impey and McGregor's *Origins of Museums.*
[22] See same
[23] DaCosta Kauffman's extensive works include *The Mastery of Nature*, and several articles including that cited in note 15, "Remarks on the collection of Rudolf II: the Kunstkammer as a form of *Representatio,*"
[24] Schlosser, 35
[25] Scheicher, 37
[26] Scheicher, 37
[27] Seelig, 101
[28] Scheicher, 38 and Seelig, 101
[29] Scheicher, 38
[30] Hayward, 148
[31] Seelig, 102
[32] Seelig, 102
[33] In addition to DaCosta Kauffmann, as cited above in note 23, see also the work of Eliska Fucikova.
[34] Fucikova 2001, 68.
[35] DaCosta Kaufmann 1993, 181
[36] DaCosta Kaufmann 1994, 145
[37] Fucikova 2001, 63
[38] On Aldrovandi's collection, see Olmi in *Origins of Museums* and Paula Findlen's *Possessing Nature.*
[39] Olmi, 3
[40] Findlen 1996, 25
[41] Olmi, 13
[42] Olmi, 4
[43] Olmi, 7
[44] Olmi, 14
[45] Findlen, 22
[46] A bestseller in France, the text was published in English in 1970 as *The Order of Things.*
[47] Foucault, 57
[48] Paula Findlen's *Possessing Nature* discusses the history of scientific collections in detail.
[49] Foucault, 68
[50] Yates, 135
[51] Bolzoni, 236

[52] Meadows, 192
[53] Bolzoni, 236
[54] Bolzoni, 237
[55] Bredekamp, 29
[56] Bredekamp, 28
[57] Bredekamp, 61
[58] Bredekamp 1995
[59] Savoy's introduction to Julius Schlosser's *Objets de Curiosité*, 2002,12
[60] Balsiger, 3
[61] Findlen, 28
[62] Olmi, 14
[63] Foucault, XV
[64] Hooper-Greenhill, 5
[65] Hooper-Greenhill, 192
[66] A French translation, *Naturalia et Mirabilia,* was published in 1994
[67] *Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine* (1995)
[68] See Findlen's *Possessing Nature* and Olmi in *Origins of Museums*
[69] Meadows, 190
[70] Meadows, 192
[71] Meadows, 193
[72] Daston and Park, 122
[73] Pomian, 5
[74] Pomian, 26
[75] Pomian, 64
[76] DaCosta Kaufmann, 183
[77] Pomian, 32
[78] Roberts, 400
[79] Roberts, 408
[80] Roberts, 405
[81] Daston and Park, 14

## Chapter 3- Reassessing Kunstkammer Materiality: Technology and Transformation

A multi-disciplinary approach brought to the analysis of collections brings out several themes related to creativity and transformation within the Kunst- und Wunderkammer collection. As a physical experience, the materiality of the Kunstkammer recalls the processes of making and acquiring objects. Advances in technology brought by scientific instruments and machines facilitated greater possibilities in the transformation of nature. The collections therefore, envisioned as a workshop with emphasis on the manual act and the tool, presented princes on the one hand with a game and pastime, but were also sources of useful information for scholars and scientists, and recuperated as instruments of knowledge.[1] There are several themes of change and creation operating within these spaces, as seen in practice in the Habsburg collections of Ferdinand II and Rudolf II, and influential to the projects of the Salzburg Archbishops. First, there are theories of classification and order, from Pliny's *Natural History* to Quiccheberg's theoretical treatise on collecting.[2] Then there are practical examples, in technology and manual precision, of the collection as workshop highlighting the creative potential of the collector. The materials themselves are significant, especially in the use of local products placed alongside the exotic as signifiers of the collector's domain, as part of a complete cosmology.

The first and most evident feature of the Kunst und Wunderkammer collections is their physical presence as displays of abundant materiality. Quiccheberg's prescription for the ideal collection, as outlined in the 1565 publication '*Inscriptiones vel tituli,*' has remained an influential project for modern scholars examining the underlying theory of such early modern collections. As Albrecht V's curator in Munich, he outlined a

hierarchy of categories, in which a range of objects grouped by material could form a narrative ultimately glorifying the collector's position and family history. His program, while not universally applicable, nevertheless reflects the outline and preoccupations of many contemporary collections with which he was familiar. In this case, those of the Habsburg princes and their neighbours in Salzburg.[3] In these displays, successive glassed cases reveal shelves of like objects jumbled together, associating samples of raw material, as found in nature, with works of art as masterfully shaped by the hand of the craftsman. This juxtaposition highlights the transformative character of the Kunst und Wunderkammer collection, drawing out an innate emphasis on creation and change. Such a profusion of materials draws attention to their presence as objects, and thus to the processes that created them. As part of his ideal program, Quiccheberg called for the collection to be envisioned as an active workshop or laboratory, with studios nearby for lathing, printing and metalworking.[4] By examining the sources of this theoretical framework and its use in practice, in this chapter I will show how the focus on technology in this pursuit, together with the overt use of local materials and allusions, reinforces the symbolic and political themes traditionally associated with these collections.

**Theoretical Sources: Pliny, Camillo, Quiccheberg**

The arrangement by materials common to sixteenth and seventeenth-century collections may be primarily derived from Pliny's *Natural History*, which emphasized a dynamic connection between the work of art and the raw material.[5] This influential classical text was found in the libraries of many collections in the period; the Salzburg archbishops owned a 1584 edition in German, now located in the collection of the

University of Salzburg.[6] Pliny's vast account attempts an encyclopaedic grasp of the world. Ordered by topic instead of alphabetical directory, it is significant that the text can be considered as a whole, rather than as a collection of references.[7] Though now often broken up into modern categories of knowledge, Pliny's authorial concern seems to have been to create an overall picture of the culture of the Roman world, claiming to catalogue the entire world from the structure of the universe to the stones in the earth.[8] Thus, Pliny's history was found particularly relevant to the museum projects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, also conceived as encyclopaedic collections of knowledge and culture. Pliny references the miraculous forms of nature, such as exotic elephants and giraffes seen at games in Rome, and places them in the context of empire building. Following Rome's conquests, the world instead comes to it, and Pliny compares these wonders of the world with the microcosm of wonders, natural and man-made, available at home.[9] The juxtaposition of foreign exotica and local cultural product as symbols of empire are repeated in the Kunst-und Wunderkammer collections, the ruler's collection representing his domain at the centre of this world.

Pliny's goal in this thesaurus of history is to preserve the memory of things, finding knowledge to be in decline, due paradoxically to Rome's expanding dominion.[10] The theme of preserving knowledge is found in another theoretical precursor to the encyclopaedic collections, in the classical theory of the art of memory, envisioned as a mental storehouse of scholarship and ideas catalogued in imagined architectural spaces. Influential in medieval scholarship, and in the emerging sciences of classification, the art of memory becomes a model for the Kunst und Wunderkammer collections through the physical theatre of knowledge of Giulio Camillo.

Adalgisa Lugli's history of collections, *Naturalia e Mirabilia,* devotes a chapter to the art of memory. She cites a 1959 article by F. Secret, that in Camillo's theatre man looks through a window at his own self, building the world.[11] Camillo's theatre, a small arena in wood, presented the world as a series of categories and classifications visible to a single central viewer. Where previously the art of memory was conceived as a virtual space within the mind; here the desire for an immersive physical model, in this and in the museum, seems to represent a need to view the world from another perspective. The defining system of order is visible to the viewer, a range of objects contained in drawers behind clearly designated labels. Indeed, for Lina Bolzoni, this model applies a play of correspondences and exchange, "between intus (inside) and extra (outside)- between inner constructions and external practices, between the visible and the invisible- that exerts an extraordinary fascination in this period."[12] The applied categories and conception of sixteenth-century collections formulate a programmatic scheme towards a more experiential and physical understanding of the world, first by creating the display of classes of objects, and then in the act of collecting and making objects. The fascination with objects and materiality is linked to the allure of bridging the visible and the invisible. The goal here, however, is no longer in the preservation and understanding of the past, but in the exhibition and wonder of the present.

Lugli's chapter on the art of memory is tied to her analysis of the collection as a creative act, of the "Prince Inventeur." Quiccheberg's idea of the collection included spaces for printing and printmaking, for turning on the lathe, "pour le plaisir des princes et optimates," and a foundry for hammering metal "au feu alchimique et artisanal."[13] By characterizing the collection as part of a workshop, and by association as a constantly

changing display, Quiccheberg's text implies an idea of the collection quite different from the usual modern interpretation. Here the raw materials in the collection are always potential objects, and not complete in themselves. According to Adalgisa Lugli's reading of Quiccheberg's text,

> La fonction clair d'un musée, qui n'est pas une entité close mais ouverte à la croissance et à la recherche, s'exprime surtout à travers l'ensemble des appareils accessories qui se constitue autour de la collection. Cet ensemble d'appareils ressoude la dichotomie des matériaux d'une façon particulièrement efficace, amenant une expérimentation active dans le champ de la nature comme dans celui de l'artifice.[14]

In this way, the idea of objects within the collection may take on greater significance as causal influences in the active process of collecting, as part of research and artistic creation.

The typical characterization of the objects in these cabinets is that they ranged widely and incoherently from souvenirs of exotic cultures, specimens of rare flora and fauna, modern scientific instruments, to freaks and wonders of art, nature, and history. However, an underlying narrative is generally present, implied by the themes and arrangement of objects. The five classes of objects outlined by Quiccheberg for an ideal collection are the following, arranged chronologically, by type of object in each class, from antiquity to the present day:

I- The ruler and his realm, with religious representations and family portraits, maps of cities and territories, and local objects indicating cultural aspects of the collector's domain.

II- *Artificialia*, containing statues, medallions, clockworks, and works of goldsmithing.

III- *Naturalia*, preserved specimens of flora and fauna as well as minerals and metals.

IV- *Scientifica*, instruments and tools of science, also armour, musical instruments, playthings and foreign objects like costumes and weapons.

V- Objects of art and miscellaneous portraits.[15]

In Barbara Balsiger's analysis, these sequences can be read as a fulfillment of the desire to be closer to God,

> "He accomplished his purpose in the organization, arrangement, and content of his ideal museum, in that the objects contained in the collection reflected the creative abilities of God (*naturalia*) and man (*artificialia*). Through the inclusion of the objects recommended in Class I, one could know and understand the founder of the museum. Through the objects contained in Classes II through IV he could learn about creative God and creative man, as well as glean an understanding of the Universe, and through the objects contained in Class V he would come full circle, back to man alone. In this way the ideal collection would not only reflect the universe, but it would also reflect the totality of human life,

with the accent, first and last, on the objectification of the cult of human personality."[16]

This reading of the programmatic narrative draws a concise picture of the idealized collection as a representation of the collector, divinely ordained to name and shape his world through acquisition and patronage.

The first category in Quiccheberg's programmatic display includes a portrait gallery that positions paintings of ancestors alongside busts of ancient Roman emperors. Rather than simply remembering the glories of the past, however, these items also served to establish the importance of the current lord of the family, placing him at the apex of this august lineage. The significance of the objects within the program can be considered temporary, and not necessarily intended to imply an afterlife of the collector, like the traditional function of the patronage of statuary and architecture. In these collections, only certain significant articles are noted over time: their form and context renders them significant. It is important to note here that objects of local cultural significance are also placed in this first category, as part of the collector's sphere of influence. Horst Bredekamp notes that Quiccheberg's programme recognizes in these collections a movement away from merely recognizing the collector's immediate domain, to a more worldly or cosmological scope.[17] It is towards the balance of these that the Kunst- und Wunderkammer strives.

**The Collection as Workshop: Tools, Technology and Development**

There is abundant evidence throughout the recent scholarship of these collections operating as fluctuating displays and laboratories, as described and outlined by Quiccheberg.[18] Rudolf II's court housed workshops for court goldsmiths and other

artisans nearby. These craftsmen had access to the valuable and rare raw materials in his collection, which they formed into works of wonder and art.[19] The finished art objects were once again placed in the collection, for display and as potential diplomatic gifts.[20] The craftsmen involved generally also represented the material specializations of particular cities, their foreignness also part of their perceived value.[21] Ferdinand II at Schloß Ambras, besides housing similar studios for the lathe and foundry, also employed Venetian glassblowers in his workshops in neighbouring Innsbruck.[22] Julius Schlosser recounts the difficulty encountered by Ferdinand in his efforts to lure Venetian craftsmen to his workshop. Finally, in 1574, he succeeded in bringing a craftsman and his child from Murano.[23] At least one example of blown glass of Ferdinand's own creation exists, one he had elaborately mounted and is now displayed in Vienna (Fig. 11).[24]

The tools that represented the practice of making could also be collected and displayed. An enormous percentage of the collection of the Elector Augustus of Saxony was devoted to tools, some 7,000 pieces, or nearly 75 percent of the collection inventoried in 1587.[25] These were ordered according to profession, displayed near related products, and generally made to order with elaborate settings and bearing the Saxon arms.[26] Menzhausen's history of this collection places enormous importance on the utilitarian functions of Augustus' collection, stressing the role of, "encouraging education within the princely family and improving the arts and crafts in the state...[leading] to a flourishing of science and crafts in Saxony."[27] In this case, we see one extreme example of the princely collector responding to the necessary promotion of his domain and resources, both part of the performance of the ruler and of Augustus' personal partiality.

The goldsmith was an important resource in the period, not just for their abilities in this field but also as specialists in precision manufacture. Wenzel Jamnitzer, employed as goldsmith by four Holy Roman emperors in succession, was also skilled in the manufacture of scientific instruments.[28] In 1730, a Nürnberg historian, Johann Doppelmayr, published an account of Jamnitzer's accomplishments. Many of these predominantly silver gilt pieces are no longer extant, but a celestial globe from 1566 is in the collection of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum and a 1578 piece is in Dresden[29]. These pieces required scientific knowledge as well as design and precision manufacture. In Hayward's account, Jamnitzer was, "a man of the Renaissance, he was greatly interested in science and in the perfection of methods of manufacture, including the substitution of the machine for hand-production."[30] In the interests of increasing productivity through the reduction of unnecessary labour, Jamnitzer also invented tools, such as a roller stamp for creating repeating patterns and continuous friezes.[31]

The role of technology in the advancement of art, also part of Quiccheberg's program for collecting, is significant. The new precision lathe, for example, emphasized the virtuoso craftsmanship made possible by mechanization.[32] An extensive article by Joseph Connors, outlining the influence of the lathe in Baroque architecture, describes the tool as a key to the "spatial imagination" of the period.[33] Advanced by designs from engineers such as LeonardoDa Vinci and Salomon De Caus, the lathe became a favoured instrument of young nobles encouraged to practice a manual art. The Zick family of Nuremberg tutored several of the Habsburg emperors; Peter Zick taught Rudolf II while Lorenz Zick later taught Emperor Ferdinand II in Vienna.[34] The art seems intimately tied to the Kunstkammer collections; in Denmark, the turning room was accessed solely by

royal permission. In this room were thus stored other precious objects, causing the space of the Drehezimmer to be eventually transformed into a Kunstkammer.[35] The fantastically complicated pieces done on the lathe at this time were a product of much forethought and planning, involving manual precision, as well as the latest in lathe design, enabling artisans with more versatility of form. Added to their complex design, these lathed objects add a third element to the Kunstkammer objects made by combining art and nature: the science of technology. Rudolf fostered the work of scholars and philosophers at his court in Prague, as a patron of ideas as well as things; the lathe was one example of contemporary technology requiring both ingenuity and skill. References to manual training recur in references to the education of nobles. It privileges skill and a high level of craftsmanship as part of the necessary accomplishments of a prince, signifying a capacity to shape the world around them.[36]

**Transformation- the Game of Nature**

The intellectual preoccupations of the period were focused on classification and order, but a concurrent theme in art was also that of transformation and change. Even the freaks of nature for which Kunstkammer collections are known might refer instead to nature's striving for development as, "they verify the condition for all evolution via the interaction of time and chance of which they are evidence."[37] Since works of artifice were such important elements in the Kunst- und Wunderkammer projects, evidently this theme of transformation and development must inform the contents of collections. Objects were shown at several stages of development, from raw material, to the "specious naturalism" of the stil rustique, and the elevation of certain articles to pure art, as if witnessing the very process of change.[38] The objects that most fascinated collectors were

also those that seemed to breach boundaries and defy simple classification: irregularities of nature, or enigmatic materials such as coral, which seemed at once to combine the qualities of animal, vegetable, and mineral.[39] Such taxonomic uncertainty was emphasised by the transformation of these materials into precious vessels or elaborate dioramas that might reflect this character. These artworks often purported to improve on the products of nature. So the spiral shell, itself an exotic wonder, was elaborated and transformed by the hands of a craftsman into an extravagant cup in gold or silver, its base in the form of some mythological aquatic creature, with similar themes recurring on lid and handle (Fig. 12). The mysteries of the ocean inspired several types of artworks, like the branches of coral used to create dioramas of underwater worlds. Several striking examples of these are on display at Schloß Ambras; glossy mother-of-pearl landscapes peopled with mythological figures of red coral, the whole infinitely reflected in surrounding mirrored cases. Themes of transformation itself, such as that seen in the story of Apollo and Daphne were also common. Here a small bronze statue of Daphne is shown in the midst of transformation into a laurel tree, her arms becoming branches of jewelled coral as they emerge from her gilded body (Fig. 13). The dynamic relationship between the precious raw materials in princely collections and the actual manufacture of finished objects is often sidelined in the history of the princely Kunstkammer. Though the general conclusion is that the sixteenth and seventeenth-century collection serves to reflect the collector's political aspirations, though shaped by individual tastes and interests, these collections are better served by examining alternative meanings, such as this principle of making and craftsmanship.

Perhaps the most surprising factor in the emphasis on craftsmanship and creation may be this practice of craft by the collectors themselves. Though I have found no record of such activities by the Salzburg archbishops, I have already presented several examples of the phenomenon among princes just by discussing contemporary attitudes to technology in collections. The turning room of Elector Augustus carried books on geometry and perspective, including the perspective treatises of goldsmiths Jamnitzer (1557) and Lencker (1567).[40] Augustus was also interested in the craft of the goldsmith; a surviving piece from his collection is an elaborate draw-bench made for his own use, bearing his arms and decorated in the blackened decorative manner of contemporary armour.[41] At Schloß Ambras, Ferdinand II was trained in glassblowing, and was also noted for turning objects of wood and ivory on the lathe.[42] In his early years, he also apparently engaged in architectural projects and design, and a castle near Prague is attributed to these efforts.[43] Rudolf II practiced lathing as well, and a complex ivory piece said to be by his hand was retained in the collection of the Dresden Kunstkammer (Fig. 14).[44] These turned pieces were often classed, as in the 1596 inventory of Schloß Ambras, under *Spill* or playthings, serving no practical purpose.[45] Therefore, the forms these lathed objects took were often balls and towers, or elaborate containers that held nothing; their complex design and manufacture was all that mattered. They were playthings, a pastime for the prince with the leisure and education to enjoy command over the shape of nature.

The later sixteenth and early seventeenth century were periods of great change in understanding. Science as a discipline was in its infancy, as scholars across Europe formed societies to regulate and sift through emerging ideas about the nature of the world.

However, this upheaval also inspired a concomitant interest in the vagaries of uncertainty and confusion. In art and literature, trompe l'oeil and the play of identities were powerful themes. Giancarlo Maiorino, on the fascination with difference in the Baroque style, writes, "from atoms and stones to eggs and pearls, irregularity undermined uniformity. The ugly stood next to the beautiful, and mixture legitimized a world of bizarre forms."[46] These interests also describe the development of the Kunstkammer. The competing mass of singular objects within were meant to delight and entertain by unsettling the viewer; the wonder of the unknown inspiring similar passions of fear and curiosity. The Kunst- und Wunderkammer was partly about the game of nature, about categories just as much as their aberrations. Bredekamp's study of the Kunstkammer recalls Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, wherein these aberrations are considered to be, "evidence of nature's urge to create fantastic creatures in all of nature's kingdom's 'as a game.'"[47] The collector, in the godlike creation and accumulation of objects, emulated such playfulness. Such objects were necessarily without use value, whether in concept or design, since this might imply other agency.[48] Eliska Fucikova's analysis of Rudolf II's collection references some of his curiosities as examples of either divine or satanic will, representing creativity in his *Theatrum Mundi*.[49] As part of the game of nature, master goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer and ceramist Bernard Palissy were renowned for their facility in creating objects formed from casting small animals and insects directly from nature, blurring the boundaries of nature and craft. A box by Jamnitzer in the Ambras collection represents a forest floor on which are arrayed several creatures, cast from life, that move convincingly when shaken. This piece has often been chosen to depict the

representation of art and nature in Kunst- und Wunderkammer collections, evocative of the skill as well as play therein.*

**Creation and Self-Representation**

The emphasis placed on aspects of craft and manual creation in princely collections may seem out of place in the traditional historical context, but perhaps it is just that the paradigm has been forgotten. Though a traditional bias against manual labour dates back to the Greek sages, the ability to play and design fulfills a different function.[50] The princely collections are known for their objects of exotic provenance and works of wondrous craftsmanship. These two themes are explicitly forwarded in an early narrative example describing the attributes of kingship, with additional focus on the king as maker. Mary Helm's analysis of a series of events in the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* the space of several stanzas, draws a list with these thematic associations,

> Skills of craftsmanship taught to artisans by a divine and wise culture hero, kingship associated with hunting, beauty, and perfection (aesthetics); kingship associated with smithing and other skilled crafts; kingship associated with distant power-filled sacred placed that carry ancestral or godly connotations; and the acquisition, from this outside world, of valued resources beneficial for society at home and that will also enhance kingly fame, glory and authenticity.[51]

These passages reveal an enduring cross-cultural model for kingship, one that seems to explicitly describe the performance of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century princely collections.

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* Seen most recently as the cover image for Patrick Mauries' *Cabinets of Curiosities.*

**Local and Exotic Objects**

The Kunstkammer collections were a product of their time in several ways, and one central development was the dramatic growths in trade and traded goods since the early Renaissance. Merchant ships brought back exotic goods and natural specimens from around the world, and these made their way through the mediating efforts of merchants into the collections of scholars and the nobility. Discerning entrepreneurs made their fortunes, as these collectors sought the latest in unusual specimens or objects endowed with compelling stories. Several high-profile merchant families of the period supplied some of the best collections in Europe. One such merchant was Philip Hainhofer, a collector himself. He established a business supplying richly ornamented cabinets, of the type filled with drawers and secret cupboards, to princes across Europe.[52] These cabinets of curiosities he also sold fully stocked with essential objects of *naturalia* and *mirabilia*, perhaps for the patron without the patience or resources for building a fully encyclopaedic collection. In any event, the multivariate meanings possible for such objects meant that the new owner could endow them with whatever significance he felt warranted.[53]

> Regarding the anthropology of similar exotic objects, Helms writes,
>
> By obtaining such goods from afar, persons of influence, or elites, are involved in symbolically charged acts of both acquisition and transformation by which resources originating from locales outside society are obtained and brought inside society where they may be materially altered and/or symbolically reinterpreted or transformed to meet particular political-ideological requirements.[54]

This act of acquisition and reinterpretation Helms compares to the crafts of skilled artistry, shifting her emphasis from the crafting of material things to the symbolic nature of their production and acquisition.[55] The poet or creator in the Platonic world is poised between two realms, the human cultural world and an abstract, outside world filled with potential energies that must be transformed by the artist into qualities that reflect the true and ideal human world, as one in equilibrium with the wider world outside.[56]

The overall impression of Kunstkammer collections is that they were filled with rare and exotic objects. A significant emphasis was also placed on the local product, as mined and transformed in the region, and part of the narrative representing the collector's realm and power. The balance of these qualities completes the Kunstkammer programme. Helms' study examines the significance of objects from inside and outside the realm, inside representing the known, cultured and controlled, and the outside unknown and exotic, where "bad things are banished to and good things are acquired from."[57] Their difference is part of their mythical power. Inherent in projecting this difference must be the display of regularity and stability at home, and of the place of home in the greater scheme.

The collection of Albrecht V in Munich overtly displayed several references to the Bavarian territories. Topographical models of the five largest towns stood alongside the printing blocks from a large 1568 map of Bavaria by Philipp Appian, as well as blocks bearing the arms of towns and aristocratic families.[58] Laid out in separate cases were also local alpine objects made of wood. Though Quiccheberg's treatise was theoretical and should not be read as directly referencing the Munich collection, certainly

his ideals are reflected in the spacious architectural layout and in the representation of the prince in his realm.[59]

In the collections of the Habsburg princes, as well as that of their counterparts in Salzburg, forms of local production seem to be accorded equal or greater status to that of the exotic. The works of contemporary German and English goldsmiths are often considered derivative of the innovative design of goldsmiths in France and Italy; it is their work, however, that has tended to survive perhaps because of the quantity within such collections.[60] However, a few trends of the period, the *stil rustique* and the grotesque, originated not just in France but also flourished in Germany. The best-known artists of the rustic style, the French Palissy and German Jamnitzer, took their inspiration directly from nature. In these works, the earthly source of materials dictated the form, so shells were formed into cups; or conversely, metal and other materials were painstakingly shaped to appear as shells. As Hayward suggests, "the greater the contrast between the material imitated and that actually used, the more the spirit of the time was satisfied."[61] These forms, referencing nature in the process of its transformation into art, are characteristic of the objects in northern collections. Hayward describes the style as, "just as in the case of a Mannerist building the ground story was given the rough surface of the natural rock, so also the base of a silver vessel was intended to suggest the living material from which the precious metal was won."[62]

This stylistic description also fits another type of object greatly represented in Ferdinand II's collection, which are *Handsteine* (Fig. 15). These examples of raw silver ore, mounted on elaborately worked silver bases, were carved with scenes representing the processes and industry of mining.[63] Many of these Ferdinand brought with him to

Ambras from Bohemia; others came from the Tyrolean silver mines in Schwaz.[64] Several cases of these were also displayed in the Munich collection.[65] The mountainous landscapes depicted also tended to display religious narratives, with scenes from Cavalry or just topped by crosses, thereby reflecting aspects of the local landscape.* Ferdinand's collection also contained works in a variety of materials, delicate glass and enamel, that represented similar landscapes.[66]

*The Salzburg Collection*

The wealth of Salzburg resided predominantly in its salt mines, but the presence of other precious materials, were also significant parts of Salzburg's cultural and commercial presence on the European scene. The materials and constructed space of the Salzburg Kunst- und Wunderkammer supports the idea of a programmatic narrative and deliberate outline. The two colours of marble used in the room, in the chequered floor and ornamental entrance, are red and white marble found in the region. In the cabinets, materials of local provenance or fabrication are devoted their own groupings. Two common materials of the collections devoted such cabinets are rock crystal and Steinbockhorn, both characteristic of the territory.

*Rock Crystal*

Another class of craftsmen in the decorative arts much admired were gem cutters. Above the material value of gold and silver was the implication of embedded natural design found in gemstones. "Engravers were expected to release or realize Nature's art...the genius of Nature guiding the hand of the natural genius of man. Collectors

* The hills and mountains of the Alps today, and presumably in the past, are covered with footpaths leading around and up to the summit. Sometimes at the top there is a cross or tiny chapel.

adored the transparency of rock-crystal and its engravers were considered the carvers of light itself."[67] These pieces display ingenuity in the carving, but also in design to achieve optimal form from a chunk of crystal. In his role as archbishop, Guidobald von Thun opened workshops in the town of Salzburg to shape the rock crystal mined in his territory.[68] The resulting vessels were emblematic of his personal patronage, as well as of the richness of nature found in his territories. These constituted a significant part of the Kunst und Wunderkammer collection during his tenure and beyond, with probably many given away as diplomatic gifts as well. Several rock crystal cups from this workshop are now displayed in the Munich treasury, albeit alongside the finer examples from Milan that they aspired to rival (Figs. 16, 17).* The Salzburg Kunst- und Wunderkammer consists presently of but a few smaller examples of this material as part of the display. Through prior diplomatic exchanges and following the dispersion of the collection under Napoleon, several pieces of Salzburg manufacture are now found in other museum collections, including the Kunsthistorisches in Vienna and Munich Residenz.[69]

*Steinbockhorn*

The Ibex, or Steinbockhorn, cabinet consisted of articles carved from the horn of the Ibex goat. These rare creatures were kept as a private herd of the Salzburg archbishops from the early sixteenth century, grazing in the Tennen mountains and within Markus Sitticus' expansive grounds at Hellbrunn.[70] Archbishop Johann Ernst was a great fan of objects carved in Steinbockhorn. As a material, it resembles the carvings of rhinoceros horn. Its lack of plasticity does not allow for the same ease of carving, but

* The audio guide to the collection at the Residenz references these humble creations as a foil to the splendour and greater craftsmanship of the Milanese. However, the example they have on display seems to be one of the lesser articles crafted in Salzburg.

though the pieces may not be of equivalent quality in realization of detail and form, the rarity of the material renders it equally valuable. The Munich collection has a range of eleven beakers from the city of Salzburg; like rhinoceros horn, goblets and drinking vessels were the most common application, theoretically for the capacity of the horn to heal disease and neutralize poison.[71] The Steinbockhorn display in the modern incarnation of the Salzburg collection is composed primarily of cups and beakers, including an ornate pair of eighteenth century drinking horns carved with hunting scenes, standing on cloven feet and capped on their silver lids by a rearing mountain goat (Fig. 8). We know from the archbishop's diary that these were presented as a gift to the Domherrn, Count von Seinsheim around 1720 as a New Years gift.[72] This is a common form for the material, reflective of the rustic culture of hunting and mountain landscapes. These pieces recall some of the original horn constructions that graced the Salzburg Kunst- und Wunderkammer, now in the Pitti Palace.

**The Collected Object: Transience and Permanence**

The objects found in a traditional Kunst- und Wunderkammer collection had an unusual status. While they were the supposed purpose and central focus of such displays, their intrinsic value was still often tied to their materiality. Since crafted objects were displayed alongside the same raw materials from which they were made, this created a dialogue between nature and art, and celebrated the prodigious feats of man as a creator. In this context, the works of master goldsmiths and other craftsmen were highly prized, the artists themselves often 'belonging' to a particular court and prince, who played them off against each other. Such master artisans often were conferred with surprisingly eminent status, dealing directly with their patrons and using their own designs.[73] Though

their loyalty was much sought after, the work itself was often not preserved for posterity. On the other hand, these valuable materials, gold and precious gemstones, were of greater worth than the completed object, and thus often only retained their form for a few years.[74] At this point, it would often be given over to another goldsmith to be worked into a more fashionable shape. The diplomatic purpose collections fulfilled was to display the gifts of other nobles and princes, as visible indicators of the collectors status. In turn, objects from the collection would be given away as noble gifts as well, it seems they were often passed along when their fashion seemed outdated.[75] The now famous 1543 saltcellar of goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini was nearly melted down in 1562 by Francis I's successor Charles IX, but instead it became a gift to the court of Ferdinand II at Schloß Ambras.[76] Here it somehow survived the vicissitudes of fashion, eventually to become a treasured part of Vienna's Kunsthistoriches collection.*

This is consistent with the treatment of the objects in collections, which, unlike the static collections of modern museums with a mandate for preserving the past, were expendable in their singular form. Though there were some rare and valuable jewels and artefacts granted a sort of heirloom status, it was far from the norm. Additions to the collections were frequent, and objects were often either reshaped or given away. The family, upon the death of the collector, also regularly re-distributed the contents among themselves to enrich their own collections. The collections changed as much as the materials within them; their transformation and creation can be considered a defining

* It has been often remarked that this piece might not be so famous, possibly one of the best known pieces of Renaissance-era decorative arts, had it not been for the rediscovery of the work of Benvenuto Cellini following the republication of his autobiography in the nineteenth century. In it, he describes in detail, and with little humility, the process and procedures surrounding the commission. Publishing was always advantageous in the artist's goal of posterity. For instance, Rudolf II's court goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer also took pains to publish a treatise on perspective and mathematical forms, *Perspectiva Literaria* (1557). Hayward, 56.

rationale. In this sense, objects were created expressly for these collections, from in house workshops like those of Rudolf II and in Salzburg, to the merchant traders who made their living supplying collectors with exotica and the latest in scientific instruments. Another way of thinking about these collections is to try and understand their physical presence. What differentiated these collections from their earlier incarnations as treasuries was the concept of the display itself, the physical space and experience of the collection alongside the notion of classifying and ordering objects.

A compelling factor in the presence of these collections is that, while the wondrous objects contained within were the reason for the display, they were also instantly subsumed within the programme, as part of the overall narrative of each cabinet and the collection in general. Their singularity is sacrificed to become a part of this whole. Gentlemen travelers wrote and published accounts of their journeys, seeking access to see these collections across Europe. A certain amount of what we know regarding the status and appearance of the collections comes from these accounts. In the accounts for collections where they did gain access, they generally try to single out a few significant objects from the mass for attention. However, their accounts soon become jaded; the popularity of such collections also meant the existence of a general recipe for success, thus ensuring the display of so many of the same types of objects that these supposed wonders of art and nature instead became rather banal.[77] Everyone might have a richly mounted unicorn horn, originally collected for its historical and legendary aura, although by then it was well known to be that of a narwhal.[78] However, this animal was just as exotic for different reasons. By the early eighteenth century, the popularity of these

princely collections had begun to fade, their contents often separated out into treasuries or natural history collections with the passing of their collectors.

Objects have a particular significance in the art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The objects in a northern seventeenth-century still life--silver goblets, exotic shells, lustrous fruits and fading flowers--are simultaneously celebratory of the wonders of art and warnings about the evanescence of life and fame. They serve as emblems of transient nature, but their paradoxically seductive surfaces, presenting glittering creations of human artistry, also create a sense of unresolved tension in the viewer. Perhaps the physical experience of overt materiality in the Kunst- und Wunderkammer can be equated with this encounter. Art and nature are recurring conjunctions in sixteenth and seventeenth century art, and particularly significant for the design and display of period collections. Often examined for their significance as *memento mori*, the objects in northern still-life paintings share certain commonalities with the objects found in contemporary sixteenth and seventeenth century collections. Grinning skeletons and fragile ivory towers also remind the viewer of transitory existence. Are these reminders of the permanence of art in the face of destructive time, or do they indicate the impermanence of our enjoyment of earthly things? For collectors of Kunst- und Wunderkammer collections, displaying the interaction of art and nature through human intervention, both of these interpretations hold true.

In creating and re-creating the collection, the collector manifests a certain power. In nature, an innate power resides in the process of generation and regeneration; it is, "this energy that animates the universe."[79] The processes of acquiring, designing, cataloguing, or making and remaking objects, are all part of this performance of the

prince and his court. The Salzburg collection was formed as part of an ambitious program to assert the importance of the city and its rulers on the European stage. The wealth on display was instrumental in cementing their secular position in the world, while the placement of the collection within the Cathedral emphasized the continuing power of the Catholic Church amongst predominantly Protestant territories. The display of divine ingenuity in nature alongside that of the arts of man highlighted development and growth in scholarship and technology, reinforced by the symbolic parallel narrative of the ruler and his realm. These collections were also a product of fashion, manipulating uncertainties about the world while enforcing an idea of the creative potential of man as ruler, empowered by the freedom to revel in either play or stability.

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[1] Lugli, 147
[2] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*. Karl Mayhoff, Leipzig, 1822-1909
[3] Lugli, 153, Bredekamp, 28
[4] Lugli, 147
[5] Scheicher, 39; First seen in Borghini's description of the program for Francesco de Medici's Studiolo.
[6] *Gaius Plinius Secundus: Buecher und Schriften von Natur, Art und Eygenschaft aller Creaturen*, Frankfurt am Main: S. Feyerabend, 1584. http://www.ubs.sbg.ac.at/sosa/rara/63577111.htm
[7] Carey, 10
[8] Carey, 18
[9] Carey, 85-6
[10] Carey, 76
[11] Lugli, 142
[12] Bolzoni, 245
[13] Quiccheberg 1565 Chapter IV v, as cited in the French translation of Lugli's *Naturalia et Mirabilia*,147
[14] My translation:
The clear function of a museum, which is not a closed entity but open to development and research, is expressed primarily through the ensemble of tools and accessories that constitute the whole of the collection. They resolve the dichotomy of the materials particularly effectively, bringing an active spirit of experimentation to the field of nature, as is found in that of artifice; Lugli, 147
[15] Balsiger, 523 and Bredekamp, 28-29
[16] Balsiger, 526-7, italics and numbering my own
[17] Bredekamp, 35
[18] A large number of the princely collections covered in *Origins of Museums* qualify, e.g. Menzhausen, 97
[19] See Fucikova 68, Meadows 182, among others.
[20] Fucikova, 66
[21] Helms, 36
[22] Scheicher, 43
[23] Schlosser, 36
[24] Schlosser, 36
[25] Menzhausen, 94. The collection was probably established in 1560, ibid 91

[26] Menzhausen, 94
[27] Menzhausen, 97
[28] Hayward, 203
[29] Hayward, 203. J.G Doppelmayr. *Von den Nürnbergischen Mathematicis und Künstlern.* Nürnberg: 1730, 205-6
[30] Hayward, 212
[31] Hayward, 212
[32] Aschengreen-Piacenti 1989, 69
[33] Connors, 217
[34] Connors, 219. The practice also flourished in other provinces such as Saxony, Denmark, and in Russia under Peter I.
[35] Connors, 220
[36] Bredekamp, 53
[37] Bredekamp, 65
[38] Bredekamp, 31
[39] Daston and Park, 14
[40] Menzhausen, 95, Hayward 203. Menzhausen dates Jamnitzer's treatise to 1568, but it was actually published in 1557
[41] Hayward, 36
[42] Scheicher, 46
[43] Schlosser 1908, 35
[44] This object and attribution was pictured on the website for the Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition, "Princely Splendor: The Dresden Court, 1580-1620" October 26, 2004-January 30, 2005. The page has since been deleted.
[45] Scheicher, 43
[46] Maiorino, 49
[47] Bredekamp, 68
[48] Bredekamp, 72
[49] Fucikova, 68
[50] Farr, 10
[51] Helms, 2-3, from Sandars, N.K, *The Epic of Gilgamesh.* Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964. 68-82
[52] Hayward, 129
[53] Kemp, 185
[54] Helms, 4
[55] Helms, 4
[56] Helms, 15
[57] Helms, 6-7
[58] Menzhausen, 109
[59] Menzhausen, 111
[60] Hayward, 124
[61] Hayward, 126
[62] Hayward, 125
[63] Hayward, 125
[64] Scheicher, 42
[65] Menzhausen, 108
[66] Scheicher, 42
[67] Syson & Thornton, 176
[68] Ebner, 30
[69]Ebner. The *Salzburger Bergkristall* catalogue also includes several articles from the Prague Kunstgewerbe museum and a few from the Palazzo Pitti's Museo Degli Argenti.
[70] *Treasury in the Munich Residence, Official Guide* 1995, 105
[71] Watteck 1981, 38
[72] Watteck, 1981, 38
[73] Hayward, 36
[74] Hayward, 32-35

[75] Hayward, 31
[76] Hayward, 148
[77] Daston and Park, 276
[78] Daston and Park, 17
[79] Benedict Anderson, in Helms, 9

## Conclusion

A theme in later sixteenth-century thought is the emergent concept of form as process.[1] Giordano Bruno equated creation with *potenza*, in which power and the act become the same thing as they, "enfolded, united, and one, are unfolded, dispersed and multiplied in other things."[2] The energy released by transforming objects and creating meaning makes them compelling and persuasive. This activity is an integral part of the phenomenon of princely collections that proliferated in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They constitute a microcosm of contemporary political, economic and philosophical ideas, as I have shown through the Kunst- und Wunderkammer of the archbishops of Salzburg. The archbishops transformed the city of Salzburg, drawing on themes from religious ritual and representations of the king as builder. I have also discussed some of the debates within the literature to draw out the interdisciplinary nature of these collections. The role of transformation and significant materiality in these collections is inherently tied to the act of making meaning. The role of technology and experiment in this context is a significant aspect of the princely collections that has been neglected in the literature.

Foucault's project in the *Order of Things* presented a dramatic shift from deciphering a symbolic sense of order in the sixteenth-century to one of applied scientific method in the seventeenth century. There is a necessary overlap in such differing worldviews, a clash, in which the fascination of illusion and uncertainty must jostle with empirical science and rational method. The Kunst- und Wunderkammer collections that lingered into the seventeenth century both confronted and eluded these issues. While the first collections flourished in the sixteenth century, built on both symbolic and scientific

principles, the pursuit persisted into the late seventeenth century, wherein these contrasting perspectives are thought to diverge. However both types of collections are a direct product of the growth in commerce, exploration and humanist scholarship, an earlier sense of the symbolic order still informs the overarching narrative of the collections. The collections were particular to their age, fitting within both the 'Baroque' fascination with disorder and confusion and the desire to quantify and categorize unfixed meaning through emerging scientific classifications. The rewriting of a new world of systematic scientific rationalism may not mean that the princely collections can be reduced to a meaningless jumble of objects. How did they retain their significance into what Foucault termed the Classical age of Representation, or do they become merely a reaction to the emerging logic of the sciences of Representation?

What emerges from the conjunction of several operating frameworks in the time-- the development of scientific method and scientific community, the established commercial ventures owing to world expansion, and the ever shifting political boundaries of princely position and secular authority-- is certainly a society focused on the object. In science, advances in technology opened up previously unknown and mysterious microscopic worlds of nature while simultaneously bringing the heavens closer to earth. At the same time, the world stage of commerce and trade had become entrenched and increasingly voracious. Both princely and scientific collections owed their exotic and unusual artifacts to these markets. The art object, as well as its creator, was also fully immersed in this world of commodity and possession. Objects in the church remained significant, whether grandly theatrical in the Catholic Church of the Counter Reformation, or through lack itself in the Protestant Church. In a sense, all these factors made possible

a new analogy for the microcosm and macrocosm, placing the collector and designer- his understanding and creative abilities- at the centre of knowledge and being. Cosmological uncertainty may have fed a greater desire to experience the physical world in a more immersive and contained environment.

This active role is evident in the enactment of the northern princely collections. Revising the established role of objects as signifiers of the immaterial, understood previously through religious relics and the performance of the Catholic liturgy, and building on the history of courtly ritual and procession, the Kunst- und Wunderkammer collections re-created the object as a symbol of its owner and maker. In other words, drawing on the power of objects to embody meaning, the subject thus made or controlled the object to his own ends.[3] The prince's collections established his power and position in the world by displaying the wonders of art and nature at his fingertips. In creating his own objects, or envisioning the collection in the context of workshop, he was actively involved in shaping a vision of the world with himself at its centre. The emphasis on change and creation in these fluctuating collections makes them distinct from those of later institutions. They were fashionable constructions and actively part of their present, temporal symbols at odds with the modern notion of the museum as a site for the preservation of history. These collections rarely endured beyond the life of their collector, infinitely recontextualized within new groupings of objects.

A great deal of modern scholarship on objects has been devoted to various theories of value, from the commodity in Marx's *Das Kapital* (1887) to Marcel Mauss' anthropology of *The Gift* (1924). These two examples may be only peripherally relevant to the operation of seventeenth century collections, but the them of objects and their

variable values are certainly applicable. As Georg Simmel noted, value does not inherently reside within the object, but is attributed by the human subject; in principle, "we call those objects valuable that resist our desire to possess them."[4] Here, systems of exchange come into play, as sacrifice and desire convey value to objects.

Stuart Davies argues that objects are read as primary sources of historical evidence up until the Renaissance period; at which point, other kinds of archival and textual sources prevail. The object loses its value as evidence in the face of more legible documentation.[5] Is there not something to be learnt from object itself though, that in its particular history it references all these other forces of influence. Though it is human actions that endow objects with meaning, Arjun Appadurai has also written that,

> ...this formal truth does not illuminate the concrete, historical circulation of things. For that we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories...even though from a theoretical point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a 'methodological' point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context.[6]

The objects in a collection inherited meaning in the context of multiplicity and juxtaposition, but also imported significance through their provenance as significant diplomatic gifts or historical artefacts.

The object is an important site of analysis for the converging cultural map of early modern Europe. However, we are left with the problem of how to read these objects, in a variety of situations. Like the collection in the Salzburg Kunstkammer, many of these objects are lost or are removed from their "authentic" contexts; yet they remain somehow

relevant to ours, bearing in mind the temptation to read them from our own historical perspective. For Michael Ann Holly, "in the aftermath of actual loss, the very materiality of objects presents historians of art with an interpretive paradox absent in other historical inquiries, for the works are both lost and found, both present and past at the same time."[7] However, this essential inability to write definitive history or even describe their visible presence also seems to be at the core of our desire to express it.[8] My problem here has been to try and describe the context of creation in the princely collections, the process of production as well as attitudes to the collection as a system in flux. This through a collection of objects that ceased to exist long ago, and are experienced today through a simulacrum. Without a specific object of study, how do you study objects?

In the Salzburg collection, we can presume that the focus was directed towards accumulating a multiplicity of precious objects, in keeping with the display of princely nobility, as well as specimens of natural history and science to demonstrate human progress, as part of the precedent set by Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau in reshaping the city on contemporary urban models. However, what purpose did the Archbishops envision for the display beyond the demands of courtly pursuit? It seems their role as church leaders was also an important factor insofar as it was necessary to project an image of stability in a region of persistent religious tensions. Themes of evanescence and loss, of objects serving as *memento mori*, might have had more resonance in this Catholic stronghold. Like Krzystof Pomian's thesis of objects as mediators between the visible world and that of the unknown, Martin Kemp contends that the objects in these collections are 'cultural migrators,' with diverse meanings that cut across cultural categories and delimitations.[9] They have a tendency to highlight polarities of meaning:

among others the sacred and secular, secret and accessible, domestic and exotic. This he locates in, "the conscious and continual redrawing of the boundary between the artifice of nature and the artifice of the human agent."[10] It is this shifting process of reconstituting meaning that endows objects with visible significance.

The introduction to the essay collection *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture* questions the role of the object in what Burckhardt had called the age of the individual subject.[11] In his thesis, the emergence of the individual subject made it possible for the subject to view himself in relation to objects.[12] Though this perspective has been questioned with recent increased attention to the construction of the Renaissance subject, there remains the position of the object to consider, as one inextricable from the subject.[13] The editors of the collection present several intriguing examples to consider. Tracing Hegel's Master/Slave binary and Marx's theories of commodity and the subject/object relation back to a theoretical craftsman, they posit that the subject's agency is discovered in the act of making. This act of producing an object allows them to recognize their identity as an "objective being...that is, a being in need of outside objects and in need of being an outside object to another."[14] The authors also explore the etymological implications of these terms. If "ob-ject" is that which is thrown before, and the "sub-ject" thrown under, this allows for the possibility of reading the object as a causal influence. "So defined, the term renders more apparent the way material things- land, clothes, tools- might constitute subjects who in turn own, use, and transform them."[15] The process of constructing these collections is then a part of the public construction of the prince's character and ability, thus the combined efforts of the Salzburg archbishops to show their personal and institutional resources.

A sample listing of rock crystal objects from an 1806 inventory in Salzburg describes a grouping such as the following, "14 Schalen aus Bergkristall von verschiedener Form (14 rock crystal bowls of different shapes)."[16] Objects, divorced from the context of the collection and display, become a list of unremarkable types. The Kunst- und Wunderkammer collections responded to contemporary themes in art and thought, creating a multi-disciplinary and many dimensional display that fulfilled several qualifications for self-representation in politics and culture.

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[1] Maiorino, 4
[2] Bruno's *Cause*, 111-112, as cited in Maiorino, 16.
[3] By subject, here, I mean the active participant, as in the subject in a sentence that acts upon the object. In this case, the prince or elite collector. Burckhardt's history of the Renaissance individual is influential in this analysis.
[4] Georg Simmel, cited in Appadurai, 3
[5] In Gaynor Kavanaugh, "Objects as Evidence," in *Museums Studies in Material Culture*, Susan Pearce ed. London: Leicester University Press, 1989. 134
[6] Appadurai, 5
[7] Holly, 326
[8] Holly, 331; on themes in Michael Baxandall and Walter Benjamin's writing.
[9] Kemp, 179
[10] Kemp, 181
[11] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. London: Phaidon Press, 1995.
[12] De Grazia, Quilligan & Stallybrass, 3
[13] De Grazia, Quilligan & Stallybrass, 2
[14] De Grazia, Quilligan & Stallybrass, 4
[15] De Grazia, Quilligan & Stallybrass, 5
[16] Ebner, 61

## Figures

Fig.1 The Salzburg Kunst- und Wunderkammer

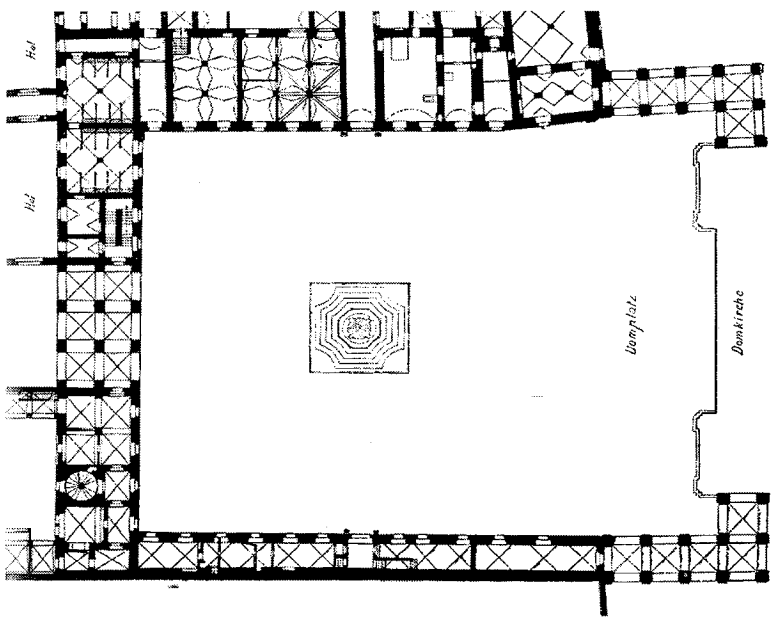


Fig.2 Plan of the Cathedral

Fig.3 Façade of Salzburg Cathedral

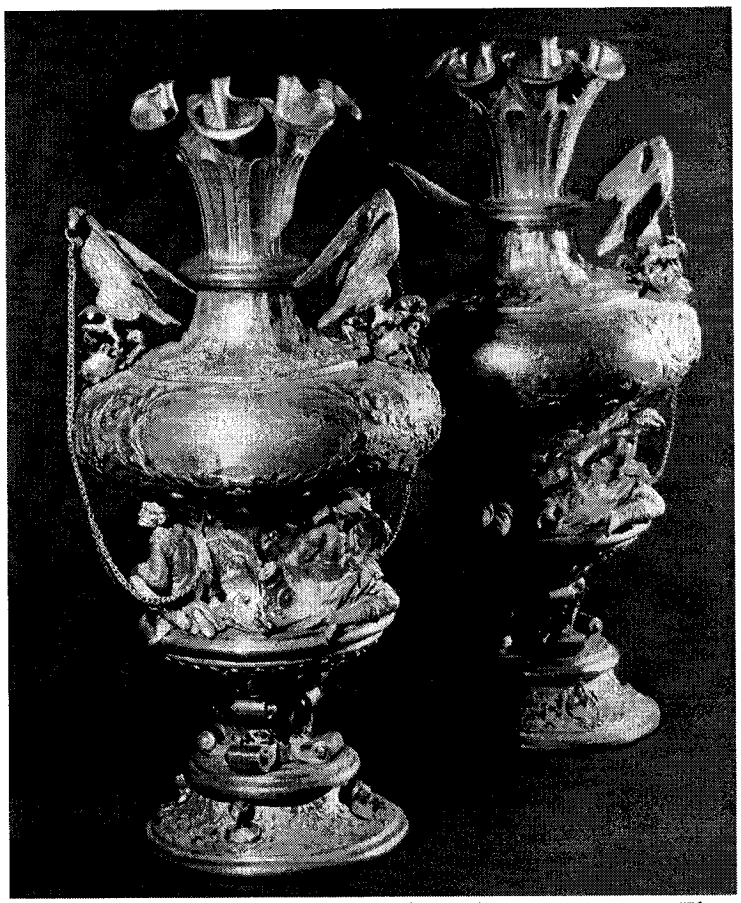

Fig.4 2 Silver Vases, J.J Biler for Johann Ernst von Thun, Museo degli Argenti

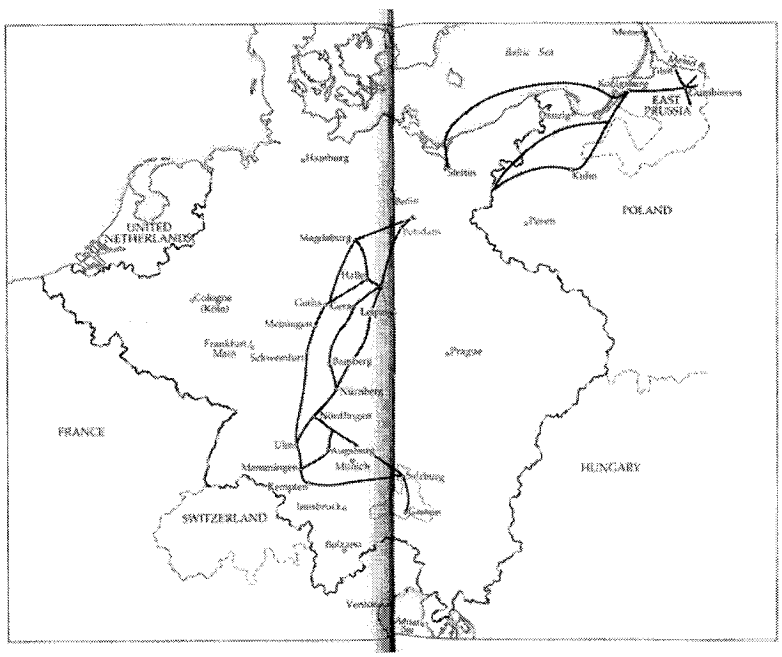


Fig.5 Map of Salzburg and environs

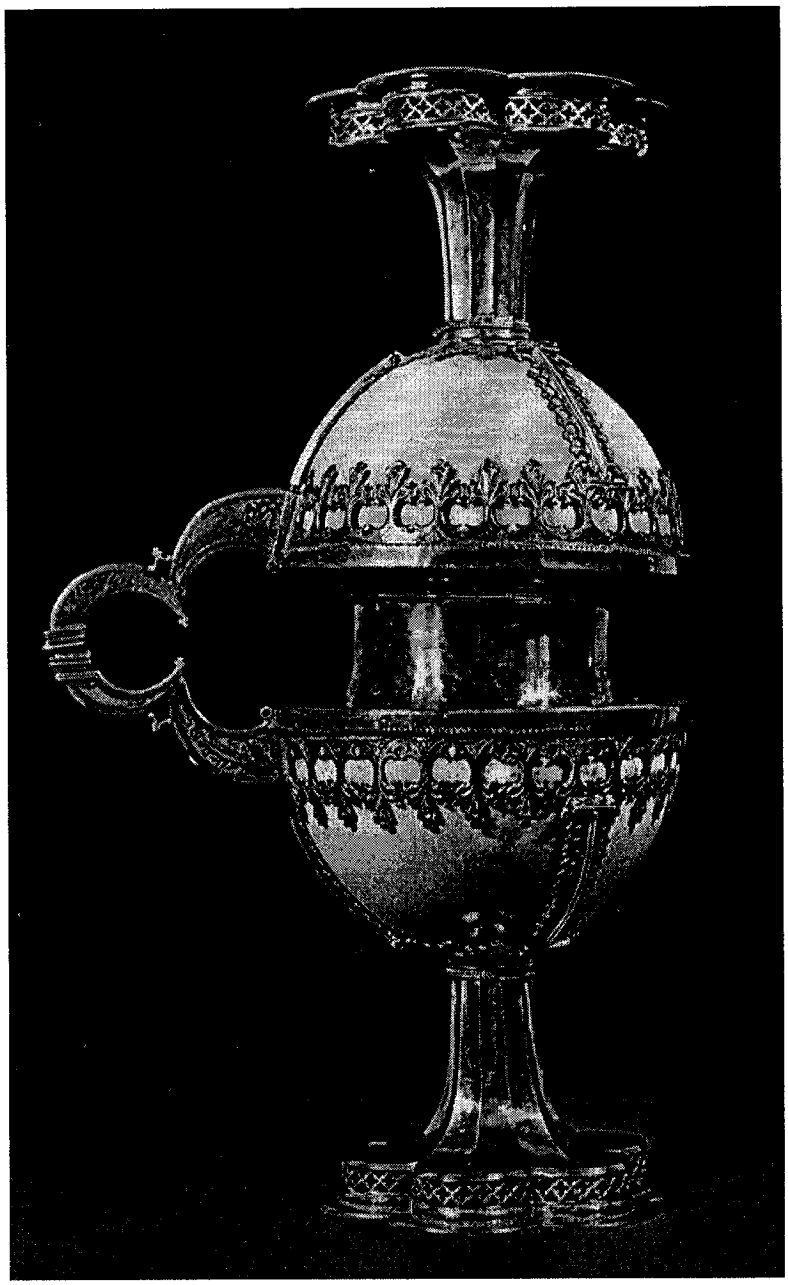

Fig. 6 Double Cup, Ostrich Egg and Silver c.1400, Museo Degli Argenti

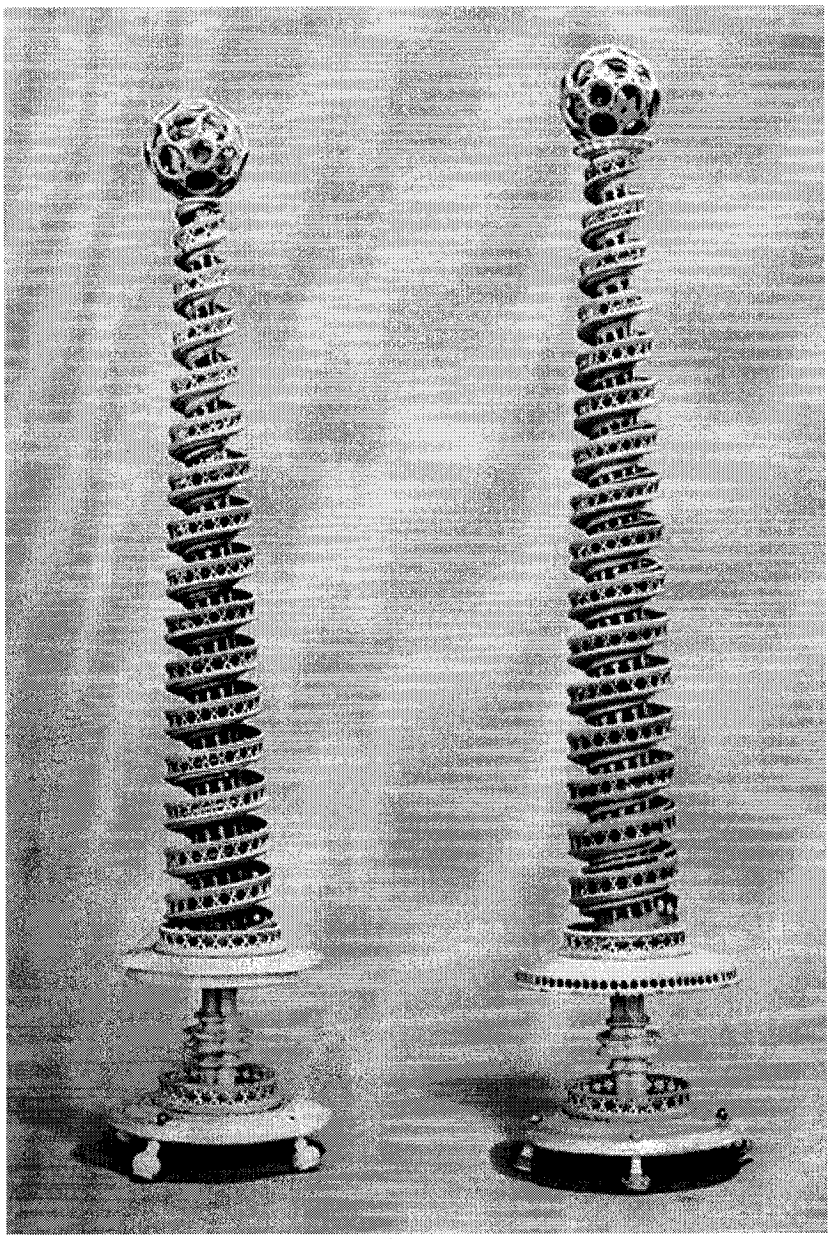

Fig.7 Ivory Towers, Lorenz Zick c. 1650, Salzburg Kunstkammer

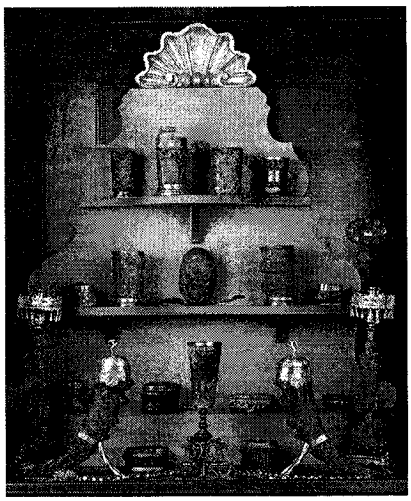

Fig.8 Steinbockhorn Cabinet, Salzburg Kunstkammer

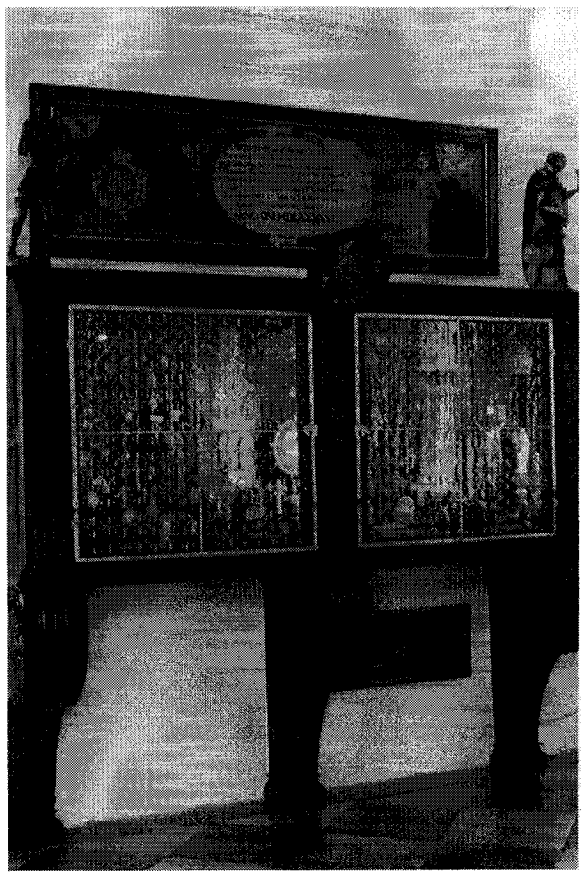

Fig.9 Memento Mori Rosary cabinet, Salzburg Kunstkammer

Fig.10 Death's Head, wood c.1550, Salzburg Kunstkammer

Fig.11 Glass cup by Ferdinand II, Vienna Kunsthistorisches

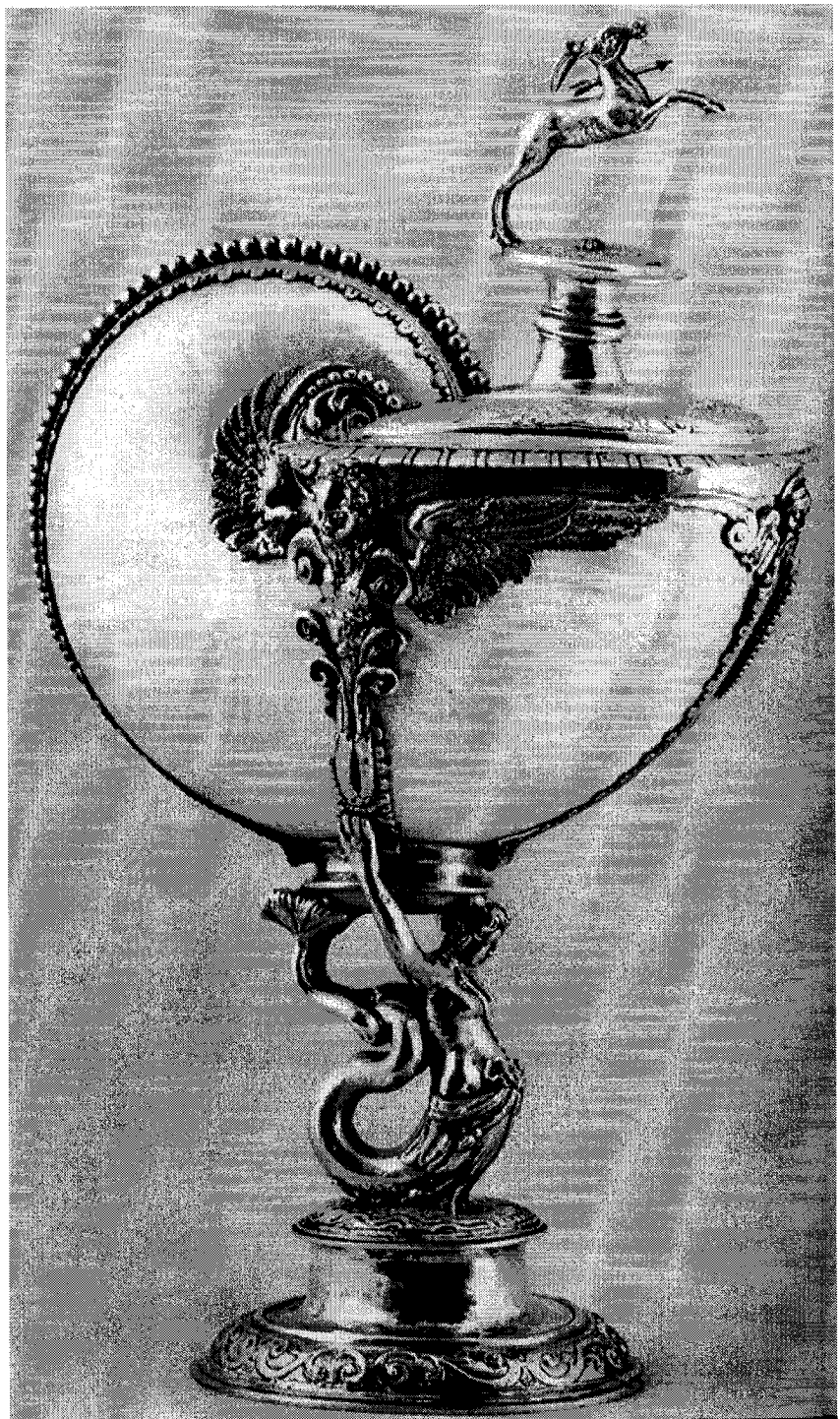

Fig.12 Nautilus, shell and gilt silver, 16th century, Salzburg Kunstkammer

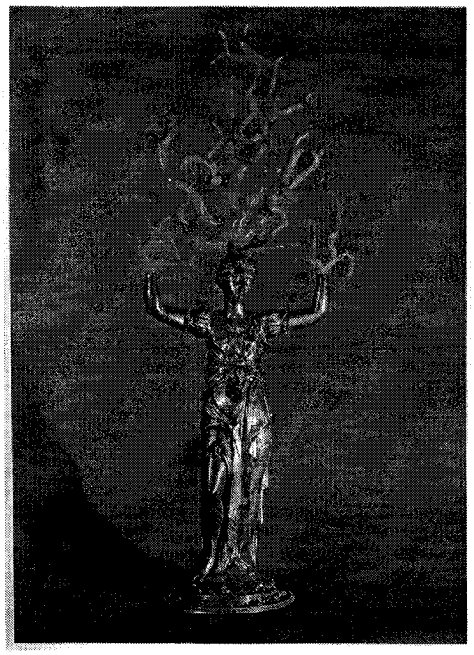

Fig.13 Daphne. Wenzel Jamnitzer, gilt bronze and coral, 1550. Dresden Kunstkammer

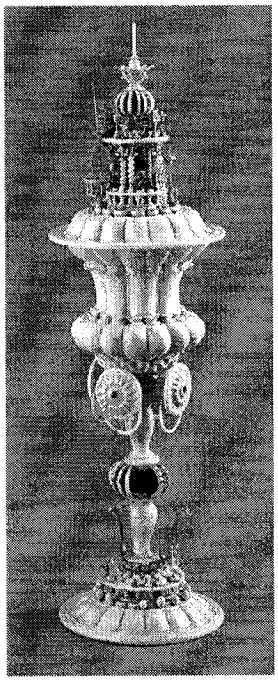

Fig.14 Turned Ivory by Rudolf II, Dresden Kunstkammer

Fig.15 Handstein, Caspar Ulich 1565, silver gilt and ore, Vienna Kunsthistorisches

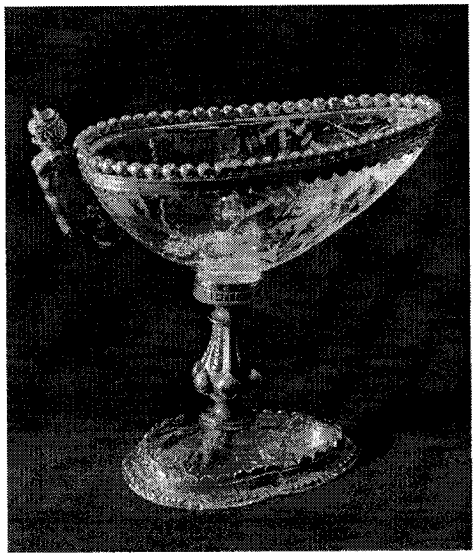

Fig.16 Salzburg rock crystal vase with gold, 17th century, Salzburg Kunstkammer

Fig.17 Salzburg rock crystal vase, 17th century, Munich Schatzkammer

# Appendix A

(fol. 7')
2 Silberne Nachtzeugleuchter
2 detto Schirmleuchter auf 2 Kerzen nebst 2 detto Buzscheeren (1 solcher Leuchter ist in der Kammerheizerey)
1 Suppen Schaalen nebst einem einwendig vergoldeten Deckel
2 gleiche silberne Credenz Tazen von H(arrach)
2 silberne Zucker Tazerln
17 silberne vergoldte Kaffeelöfferl
22 silberne detto
1 Butzscheer mit silbernen Heft
2 Silberne 8 eckigte Tazen, worauf 1 Silber und inwendig vergoldetes Flaschl, 1 silbernes Seifenkugel-Futteral, 1 detto Glöckel und Weihbrunnwaderl und 2 silberne inwendig vergoldete acht eckigte Bichsen oder Dosen.
1 Silberne Blatte oder Ausschnitt zum Lavor von Erzbischof Dietrichstein
1 Silberner Löffel, Messer und französische Gabel
1 Oval silbernes und zier vergoldetes Lavor sammt Kandel
1 silberne Glut-pfanne mit Kupfer gefüttert

(fol. 8)
1 Goldenes Besteck, bestehend in 1 Löffel, 1 Messer, 2 Gabeln, 1 Ey und Marklöffel, dann 1 Fruchtmesser und 1 Salz und Pfeffer Bichsl im Werth 505 f 45 X
1 Silber vergoldete Taze nebst 1 derley dreyeckigten Aufsatz, worinn 1 Silber vergoldtes Körbl, 1 Chinesisches Chocolade-Becherl und 1 Brodmuschel in einem rothen Futteral
1 roth erdenes Thee und Wasser-Geschirr
1 Silber vergoldter runder Becher nebst Luck in einem Hölzernen Futteral
1 Silber vergoldtes Besteck, bestehend in 1 Löffel, Messer und Französischer Gabel, 1 Ayerlöffel, 1 Markzieher, 1 Salzvassel und 1 Zahnstocher
1 Silberne Mundspritz mit 2 Silber-vergoldeten Röhrln und 1 silberne Spachtel
2 Gläserne Flaschen mit gleichen Schrauben (Zum Kasten No 3)
1 porzellainene Suppenschaale mit Silber und vergoldeter Einfassung, dann Deckel
1 Becher von Steinbockhorn mit Silber vergoldeter Einfassung und Handhaben
1 anderer detto ohne Handhaben mit vergoldeten Reif

(fol. 8')
1 vergoldeter Limoni-Drucker
1 vergoldeter Olio Becher mit Holz überzogen
1 Nachtzeugspiegl mit silberner Ram
1 Silberne Kaffeekandel mit geschlängelten Handhaben
1 Grosses silbernes zum Augsburger Services gehöriges Kaffee-Geschirr nebst derley Untersätzen
1 Silberner Löffel mit runden Stiel, 1 Messer und 1 Gabel
1 ein Stiel abgebrochener und verbogener silberner Officierlöffel
5 Muskatnuß-Schaalen-Becherl mit Silber vergoldeten Füsseln J(ohann) N(epomuk) Freiherr von Rehlingen manu propria.

## 3. INVENTAR DER GROSSEN GALERIE 1776

Salzburger Landesarchiv, Geheimes Archiv XXIII, 97.

(Am Einband außen): *Inventarium Von der grossen Gallerie Bey Hof. 1776.*
(vor pag. 1) *Inventarium* Über dasjenige, was sich in der Grossen Gallerie gegen St. Peter in gold, Silber und gemahlden, auch anderen Pretiosen und Kunstreichen Stüken befindet, so auf Gnädigste Anbefehlung S^er^ Hochfürstl.^en^ Gnaden, des izt Regirenden Lands-Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Hieronymi Josephi Erz Bischofen zu Salzburg, Legaten des Heil.^en^ Apostolischen Stuhls zu Rom, dann Germaniae Primatis etc. durch den hierzu abgeordneten H.^n^ Commissarium Franz Xaveri von Andreis, Hochfürstl.^en^ Hof Cammer Rath, in gegenwart und in beyzug des hochfürstl.^en^ Guardarobba-Inspectoris und Leib Camer Dieners Christoph Künel, dann des hochfürstl.^en^ Hofkammer-Kanzellisten Johann Paul Pürchl quam Actuarii nachfolgender massen ordentlich beschriben und inventiret worden. Actum Salzburg, Den 26.^ten^ Julij anno 1776.

(pag. 1)
*Kasten Lit. A.*
No 1. Ein Taffel mit Silber und vergoldten Zierathen, mit einem Gemähl Jesus, Maria und Josephus.
2. Ein von Fladerholz mit Silber beschlagenes Kästel, darinnen an Ringen wie folgt:
3. Ein mit einem grossen Taffelstuk gebrennter Saphier in gold gefaster Ring.
4. Ein in gold gefasster Ring in Form eines Schlangenaugs.

(pag. 2)
No 5. Ein mit Zehen Stuk granatlen in gold gefaster Ring in Form eines Herz.
6. Ein in gold gefasster Ring, Rubin Tafel-Stükel.
7. Ein onix mit einem darinnen gestochenen Devise mit Gold gefasset.
8. Ein Blau geschmölzter in gold gefasster Granat.
9. Ein Mülchstein in gold gefasset.
10. Ein Silbernes Raif-Ringel.
11. Ein Petschier Ring in Silber gefasset, mit einem Carneolstein und unerkäntlich Wappen.

(pag. 3)
No 12. Ein Raifelringerl von Schildkrot oder andern unbekanten Cail.
13. Ein Goldenes Raif Ringel, blau geschmelzet.
14. Ein goldenes Ringel mit dem Namen Jesu.
15. Ein in Gold geschmelzter Ring mit einem Schlangen-Aug.
16. Ein deto mit einem weiß und grün Schilcheten Runden Steinel, in Form eines Augs.
17. Ein kleiner detto mit einem gar kleinen Rubindl.

(pag. 4)
In einem grosßen Ring-Futterall.
No 18. Ein grosser mit Silber gefaster Ring mit einem ablangen braunen Rothen stein.
19. Ein goldenes Ringel mit gestochener arbeit.
20. Ein detto goldener Ring mit Vilegran-arbeit.
21. Ein detto geschmelztes Raif-Ringel dunkler Farb von gold.
22. Ein dreyfacher goldener Merk-Ring.
23. Ein Silber ausgearbeites Raif-ringel mit geschlossenen Händen.

(pag. 5)
No 24. Ein glat Silberner deto.
25. Ein Eisener gebrochener.
26. In einer Hölzernen Schachtl Verschiedentliche Corallen stük, gewächs, dann Cristallen und Agstein, auch anderes dergleichen.
In einer Kleinen Detto.
27. Ein Pezoae in form eines kleinen Hühner-Eyers, in Vilegrangold gefasset.

28. Ein Pietro Cordiale samt Zechen stuk kleinen, dann Fünf stük deto in Vilegra-Silber gefasset.

(pag. 6)
No 29. Ein unbekanter Zahn mit einem goldenen Kettel in einem dunkel blauen Samethen Futter.
30. Ein Adlerstein Zerbrochen.

Daß von denen jenigen Ringen, welche aus der grosßen Gallerie ober St. Peter Zum Kasten Lit. A geschrieben, die Steiner nicht allein zu unsern Händen, sondern auch zu einer Kron vor das unßer Lieben Frauen Kindel Maria Plain seynd abgefol-/get und verwendet worden. Die Ring aber in der Gallerie verblieben seyen wie folget, als

(pag. 7)
No 31. Ein Ring mit Siben Stuk Rubinen, in gold gefaßet.
32. Ein in gold geschmölzter Amethist.
33. Ein detto mit Sechs Demanten und Neün Rubinen gefasste Rosen.
34. Ein Creuz Ring, in der mitte mit einem Compositions-Stein in Form eines Perls, dann vier andere Stein als Demant, Rubin, Saphier und Schmaraggd.

(pag. 8)
No 35. Ein in gold gefasst geschmölzter Ring mit einem grünen Stein.
36. Ein Blau vergiß nicht mein Blümlein gefasstes Ringel, welches unversehens ist verlohren gangen.

Thun hiemit Eigenhändig bescheinigen Salzburg, den 23.ten Novembris anno 1750. Andree.

*Kasten Lit. B.*
(pag. 9)
No 37. Ein Reliuien-Sarch von Ebenholz mit Christall versezet, wobey verschiedene Leistl und gesimsel abgängig.
38. Ein Schwarz gebeizter aufsaz mit fünf geschnittenen Christall-Blätlen.
39. Ein geschmuk-Trücherl von Christall, mit geschmölzter arbeit und unterschiedlichen Steinen versezet.
40. Ein Becher mit einem Luk von Lapide Lazulo, mit vergoldten Reifen und Handhäben.

(pag. 10)
No 41. Zwey kleine hoche Becherl / von Lazur-Stein mit vergoldten Reiflein; bey dem kleineren gehet der Dekel ab.
43. Ein Schallen auf einen erhöbten Fuß von Grießstein.
44. Ein grosses Lavor und Kandel von Grießstein.
45. Ein Silber vergoldt und geschmölztes Pocall von Indianischer Arbeit.
46. Ein Muschel von Schäderstein auf einen mit gleicher farb geschmölzten Fuß, aestimirt pr. 300 f.
47. Ein lange Schallen in Form eines Schiffels von Braun Agath.

(pag. 11)
No 48. Ein Schallen auf einen Fuß von Schatter-stein mit vergoldten Reiflein.
49. Ein kleines geschierl auf einem Fuß, alles Calcedon mit geschmölzten Reiflen von gold.
50. Ein ablange Schallen auf einem Fuß von Grießstein.
51. Ein kleines überhöchtes geschierl wie ein Thurn samt dem Dekel von Schätterstein mit geschmölzten Reiflen.
52. Ein tieffes Becherl auf einem niederen Fuß von Braunen Agath.

(pag. 12)
No 53. Ein Silber vergoldter becher mit Carneolen durchgehends verßezet, auf drey Kugeln von Calcedon stehend.
54. Ein oval-Schallen mit einem Dekel von orientalischen Jaspis mit Reiflen von Gold.
55. Ein ablange Schallen auf einen Niederen Fuß und Böheimischen Jaspis mit einem geschmölzten Reif.
56. Ein Muschel auf einen hohen Fuß von gemeinen Agath mit vergoldten Reifeln, etwas laedirt.
57. Eine kleine Muschel auf einen hohen Fuß von gelben Agath mit vergoldten Reifen.

(pag. 13)
No 58. Ein weiß Allabasternes Salz-Büchsel.

*Kassten Lit. C.*
No 59. Ein Lavor unnd Kandel von Christall in gold gefasset und mit Rubinen verßezet, vom Erz-Herzog Ferdinand Carl von Innspruck verehret, aestimirt pr. 5.000 f — Xr- Hieran mangeln an der Kandel Zwey Rubin, dan an dem Lavor einer, so ßich also befunden, ehe disc / Stück aus der Silber-Kammer in die Gallerie überbracht worden.

(pag. 14)
No 60. Ein Christallene Muschel mit einem Fuß und Deckel, worauf ein Drach mit goldenen Reifeln, erkauffet pr. 300 f.
61. Ein Christallene Flaschen samt den Schraufen.
62. Ein hohes Scharnizel-glaß von Christall mit einem Dekkel pr. 150 f. aestimirt.
63. Ein grosse Muschel auf einen Fuß mit geschmolzten Reiflen, aestimirt pr. 300 f.
64. Ein Christall-Muschel auf einen mit Stein versezten Fuß.

(pag. 15)
No 65. Ein Christall geschier in Form einer Gießkändel, aestimirt pr. 300 f.
66. Ein Christallene Muschel mit einem Fuß, ohne Dekel.
67. Ein glat Christallene Muschel.
68. Ein Christallenes Becherl, auch auf einen Fuß.
69. Ein Christall-geschier in Form einer Muschel auf einen Fuß.
70. Ein Muschel auf einen Fuß vom geschnittenen Christall.
71. Eine dergleichen vas grösseres von Christall.
72. Ein Christallen Eketes Schärniz-/geschier.

(pag. 16)
No 73. Eine Flache oval-Schallen auf einen Fuß.
74. Ein etwas Tüeffere dergleichen Schallen auf einen Fuß.
75. Ein Christallenes Fläschel samt dem Schraufen.
76. Ein Christallene Tüeffe Muschel auf einem Fuß.
77. Ein Eketes Scharnizl-geschier mit einem Dekel.
78. Ein geschnittene Muschel von Christall auf einem Fuß.
79. Ein Schnek von Christall auf einem niederen Fuß.
80. Ein Christall geschier in Form eines Kelch-glaß.

(pag. 17)
No 81. Ein Christallenes oval-Schällerl auf einen Fuß.
82. Ein ablange Niedere Muschel.
83. Ein kleine ablangete Muschel von Christall auf einen Fuß, zerbrochen.
84. Ein Niedere Muschel mit einem Draken-Köpfel.
85. Ein grosser hocher Becher mit einem Luk von Christall.
86. Ein Leffel samt Messer und Piron von Christall mit Stein versezet, in einem Futterall.
87. Zwey Leffel, Zwey Messer und drey Piran von Christall.

(pag. 18)
No 88. Ein grosse Christallene Muschel, in der Mitten das Hochfürstl. Dietrichsteinische Wappen, daran der unterfuß von Silber und vergoldt eingefasst, welches Ihro Hochfürstl.e Gnaden höchstseel. vom Hhn Praelaten von Admont wegen der den 25.ten Jänner anno 1752. vorgehabten Weyhe von obgedachten Herrn Praelaten zu einen Praesent bekommen haben.
89. Ein Hocher Becher samt den Luk mit denen Harrachischen Federn.
90. Ein dergleichen kleinerer Becher.
91. Wiederum ein solches kleines Becherl samt dem Luk.

(pag. 19)
No 92. Ein gemuschlete Schallen ohne Fuß.
93. Ein Schallen ohne Fuß in form eines Herz.
94. Ein Niederes Becherl samt dem dekel.
95. Zwey auf Demant arth geschnittene Blättel.
96. Ein Zecora aus Affrica oder Meer-Esel.
97. Ein grosses und ein kleineres Steinbok-Horn auf gefassten Köpfen.
98. Zwey dergleichen von solchen geissen.
99. Ebenfahls zwey rare Hürschgewichter auf Köpfen.

(pag. 20)
No 100. Ein Steinbok-Horn in Form eines Schneken mit Silber / gefasset, an einer grün seidenen Schnur zu einen Hürschenruff zugebrauchen.
101. Zwainzig Mettallene Adler, so auf Sesslen gebrauchet werden.
102. Ein Verschlägel mit Holz, worinnen Agathmutter.
103. Ein Cassa-Truchen mit Eißen beschlagen.

*Kassten Lit. D.*
(pag. 21)
No 104. Eine ablange Schallen mit einem Drachen-Köpfel auf einem Fuß mit vergoldten Reiflen, aestimirt pr. 70 f — Xr.
105. Ein Christallene Tüeffe Muschel auf einen mit Stein verßezten Fuß, auf der Muschel ein Figur mit einem Schild von Lapide Lazulo, aestimirt à. 200 f.
106. Ein Muschel auf einen Fuß mit vergoldt und geschmölzten Reiflen.
107. Ein Schiffel von Christall auf einem Fuß mit Stein verßezten Reiflen.

(pag. 22)
No 108. Ein auf Demanth-arth / geschnittenes Becherl von Christall mit geschmölzten Reiflen.
109. Ein ablange Muschel mit einem Storchen-Kopf auf einem Fuß, mit geschmölzten Reiflen, aestimirt pr. 50 .f
110. Ein grosse Muschel, darauf Zwey Drachen von Silber und geschmelzt, aestimirt pr. 100 f.
111. Eine Tüeffe Muschel in Form einer Meer-Fräulein auf einen Fuß mit geschmelzten Reiflen, aestimirt pr. 120 f.
112. Eine Flache Schallen auf einem Fuß, mit zwey vergoldt und einem geschmölzten Reifel.

(pag. 23)
No 113. Ein ablange Tüeffe Muschel auf einem Fuß mit drey geschmölzten Reiflen, aestimirt à 22 f.
114. Ein flache Muschel auf einem Fuß mit geschmelzten Reiflen, aestimirt pr. 18 f.
115. Ein Schallen auf einem Fuß mit Stein verßezten Reiflen, aestimirt pr. 200 f.
116. Ein Hohes glates Christallgeschierl mit Fuß und Dekel samt geschmölzten Reiflen.
117. Ein ablanges Schällerl auf einem Fuß.
118. Ein glattes oval-Schällerl auf einem Fuß.
119. Ein Christallene Schallen auf einem Fuß.

(pag. 24)
No 120. Ein Flaschen von Christall mit einem vergoldten Schraufen und Reif.
121. Ein Muschel auf einem Fuß mit Christallenen Knöpfen, aestimirt pr. 150 f. Zerbrochen.
122. Ein geschnittenes Christallgeschier in form eines Kelchglaß.
123. Ein Muschel mit Zwey Delpinen-Handhaben, auf einem niederen Fuß, erkaufft pr. 300 f., so aber völlig Zerbrochen.
124. Ein Tüeffe Schallen mit Zwey Christallenen Handhäben, aestimirt pr. 200 f.

(pag. 25)
No 125. Ein Kändel von Christall samt einem Luk. Item
126. Ein Kändel von Christall mit vergoldten Handhäben und Reiflen. Mehr
127. Ein Kändel, Luk und Handhäb, alles von Christall. Ingleichen
128. Ein Kändel von Christall, darbey die Handhäb und Reiflen mit Steinen verßezet, aestimirt pr. 30 f.
129. Ein Creuz von Christall, darbey ein vergoldter Christus.
130. Ein kleines viereketes Becherl, aestimirt pr. 20 f.
131. Zwey Christallene uhrgehäuß samt Zwey Christall-/ Blatten.

(pag. 26)
No 132. Ein Christall geschierl in Form eines Schneken.
133. Ein Christallen Runde Kugel auf einem vergoldem Fuß.
134. Ein geschier von Schildkrotten mit Füß und Dekel, dann von Silber Vilegran gearbeiten Reiflen.
135. Ein Trünkgeschier auf einem Fuß von Agath, erkauffet pr. 600 f.
136. Ein kleine Muschel auf einem Fuß von Agath mit einem vergoldten Reifel.
137. Ein Nideres geschierl von / Amethist.

(pag. 27)
No 138. Ein Schällerl auf einen Niederen Fuß von Agath.
139. Ein Niederes Oval-Schällerl von Jaspis.
140. Ein oval-Schallen auf einen Niederen Fuß von Agath.
141. Ein Schächterl von Porcellain mit Zwey vergoldten Handhäben.
142. Ein Hoche Schallen auf einen Fuß von Grießstein.
143. Ein Becher mit einem Niederen Fuß von Rhinoceros-Horn. Item
144. Ein dergleichen Kleiner.
145. Ein Muschel ohne Fuß von Schildkrotten.

(pag. 28)
No 146. Ein niederes oval-Schällerl mit einem Fuß von Romanischen Agath.
147. Ein geschnittene Schneken ohne Fuß von gelben Agstein.
148. Ein geschnittenes geschierl von Indianischen holz.
149. Ein kleines Schällerl von Schmaragd-Mutter oder Schmaragd di Peru auf einen Fuß, mit von feinen Schmaragden verßezten Reiflen.
150. Ein Porcellan-Schällerl mit vergoldten Hand-häben und Fuß.
151. Ein groß Christallener Becher.

*Kasten Lit. E.*

(pag. 29)

No 152. Ein Hocher Becher samt dem Dekel von Sternstein.
153. Ein Becher samt dem Dekel von Grießstein.
154. Ein kleinerer deto von Grießstein.
155. Ein Schallen von Sternstein. Item
156. Eine Schallen von Sternstein samt einem Fuß.
157. Ein hoches Becherl mit einem Dekel von Sternstein.
158. Ein dergleichen kleineres.
159. Ein Lavor und Kandel von Grießstein.
160. Ein Becher mit einem Dekel von Sternstein.

(pag. 30)

No 161. Ein hoches Becherl mit einem /Dekel von Grießstein.
162. Ein Becher mit einem Luk von Sternstein.
163. Ein Becher auf einem Fuß von Sternstein.
164. Ein oval-Schallen auf einen hochen Fuß von Sternstein, Mehr
165. Ein oval-Schallen auf einem Fuß von Sternstein.
166. Ein oval-Schallen von Sternstein auf einem Fuß. Item
167. Ein dergleichen was kleinere Schallen.
168. Zwey gleiche Salz Fässlein auf Füsseln von Calcedon.
169. Zwey Niedere Salz-Fässel von Sternstein.

(pag. 31)

No 170. Ein Salz Vaß von Schnekenstein.
171. Ein glat Niedere Schallen von schwarz gesprängten Stein.
172. Ein ablange kleine Muschel von Agath.
173. Ein ablanges Schällerl von Agath.
174. Ein Niederes flaches Schällerl mit Zwey Silber- und vergoldten Reifen von Grießstein, in einem Futteral.
175. Ein Lavor und Kandel von Helffenbein gedrähet.
176. Ein Lavor und Kandel von Helffenbein mit geschnittenen Figuren von Jägereyen.
177. Ein was kleineres Lavor und Kandel von Helffenbein mit geschnittenen ovidischen Figuren.

(pag. 32)

No 178. Ein grosser von Holz geschnittener Becher auf einem hohen Fuß und Dekel, alles mit unterschiedlichen Figuren gezieret, laedirt.
179. Ein grosser Becher mit dem Dekel von Helffenbein, darauf die Wahl Paridis mit denen dreyen Göttinen geschnitten.
180. Ein Helffenbeinener Becher samt Fuß und Dekel mit geschnittenen Geistlichen Figuren.
181. Ein grosse glatte und geschraufte Flaschen von Helffenbein.
182. Eine Kandel von Helffenbein mit geschnittenen Figuren, auch Silber- und vergoldten Reifen und handhäb.

(pag. 33)

No 183. Ein von Bernhard Straußen von Helffenbein geschnittenes Stuk zu einer Kandel, aber ohne Luk und Handhäb.
184. Ein hocher Helffenbeinener Becher, der Fuß und Dekel von gedräheter arbeit.
185. Ein hocher Becher ohne Fuß mit einem Dekel, alles von Helffenbein, laedirt.
186. Ein gedrähete Helffenbeinene Kandel samt Luk und handhäb.
187. Ein Helffenbeinener gedräheter Hocher Becher auf einem Niederen Fuß samt einem Dekel.

(pag. 34)

No 188. Ein Helffenbeinen Niederes Schällerl mit Handhäben / und geschnittenen Schäffereyen.
189. Ein dergleichen Schällerl mit Handhäben und geschnittenen Figuren von Wasser-Triumph.
190. Ein Niedere oval-Schallen samt dem Dekel von Helffenbein.
191. Ein Niedere Schachtel von Helffenbein.
192. Ein aus Helffenbein gedrähetes Salz-Vässel.
193. Ein Hocher Becher von Helffenbein, Berchtesgadner arbeit.
194. Ein Galleeren von Helffenbein geschnitten.
195. Ein Helffenbeinener Schreib Zeüg und Zugehörde.

*Kassten Lit. F.*

(pag. 35)

No 196. Ein Crucifix mit denen Bildnissen unßer Lieben Frauen und Sancti Joannis von Helffenbein in einem gehäuß von Ebenholz mit zwey Steinenen Saullen.
197. Ein Figur Christi mit Zwey Juden von Helffenbein auf einen dreyfachen schwarzen Postament.
198. Ein aus Helffenbein geschnittene Bildniß Sancti Sebastiani.
199. Ein auß Helffenbein gemachte Figur des Flüchtigen Cain mit einem hund, laedirt.

(pag. 36)

No 200. Ein Statuen Palladis / in einem gehäuß mit vier Säullen und vielen Kindlen gezieret, alles von Helffenbein; laedirt.
201. Ein aus Helffenbein geschnittener Hercules mit einem Löwen. Item
202. von Helffenbein ein Hercules mit einem Centauro.
205. Die Bildniß Lucretiae aus Helffenbein.
204. Raptus Proserpinae von Helffenbein geschnitten.
205. Ein aus Helffenbein geschnittene Ariadne mit einem Drachen. Item
206. Ein aus Helffenbein geschnittene Ariadne mit einem Drachen. Mehr

(pag. 37)

No 207. Ein von Helffenbein gemachte / Ariadne mit einem Fliegenden band.
208. Ein großer von Helffenbein gemachter Phoenix.
209. Figur eines aus Holz geschnittenen Chinesischen Abgotts.
210. Ein Tod aus Holz geschnitten.
211. Ein von Holz geschnittener Bachus.
212. Zwey von holz geschnittene Bildnissen S. Francisci et S. Theresiae.
213. Ein aus Helffenbein geschnittenes Vesper-Bild.
214. Ein aus Helffenbein geschnittener Christus.
215. Ein anders Helffenbein geschnit-/tener kleiner Tempel mit der Marter der Zwölf Aposteln, in Schildkroten gefasset, laedirt.

(pag. 38)

No 216. Ein kleiner aus Helffenbein geschnittener Tempel mit der Beschneidung Christi, in schwarzen Sammet gefaßet; laedirt.
217. Ein Sanduhr in einem gelb Agsteinenen gehäuß, völlig Zerbrochen.
218. Ein in holz gestochene geburth Christi.
219. Ein aus Stein geschnittener Römischer Kayßer, laedirt.

220. Ein aus Wachs Possierter Furien-Kopf.
221. Ein Bildniß Ihrer Hoch-/fürstl. Gnaden etc. in einem beinernen Schächterl.

(pag. 39)
No 222. Ein klein aus holz geschnittenes Stükel, so rund und in Helffenbein gefasset, laedirt.
223. Ein kleiner aus Stein in oval geschnittener Georgius, laedirt.
224. Der im Meer ertrünkende Pharao, auß wachs Posßirt, in einer Zier vergolden Ram.
225. Ein in Holz geschnittener Amazonen-streit.
226. Zwey in Holz geschnittene Contrafait.
227. Das Baad Dianae in Helffenbein mit einem Rähmel.

(pag. 40)
No 228. Adam und Eva aus Helffenbein geschnitten mit einem dergleichen Rähmel.
229. Ein Rundes in holz geschnittenes Stükel in einem viereketen Rähmel.
230. Ein kleines aus wachs Poßßirtes Stükl in einem viereketen Rämel.
231. Ein von Stein geschnittener Kopf.
232. Ein aus Holz geschnittenes Köpfel in einem Rahmel.
233. Zwey in Holz geschnittene Köpfel.
234. Ein in Holz geschnittenes Kindel.
235. Ein aus Holz geschnittener, im grab ligender Christus.

(pag. 41)
No 236. Ein auf Kupfer von wachs Possiertes Stükl von Schäffereyen.
237. Zwey von Helffenbein auf schwarzen Sameth gemachte Figuren, laedirt.
238. Ein knyender Faunus von Mettall.

*Kassten Lit. G.*
(pag. 42)
No 239. Ein auf Pergament geschribenes gebeth-Büchel mit einem ganz Silber- und vergodten Einbund.

*Kassten Lit. H.*
(pag. 43)
No 240. Ein vergoldte Schallen mit geschmelzter arbeit, auch unterschiedlichen Steinen verßezet, aestimirt pr. 1000 f.

*Kasten Lit. I.*
(pag. 44)
No 241. Ein grosse Corallene Zenken.
242. Ein in Scharlach eingefasster Magnet.
243. Drey unterschiedliche Sorten von Crocodillen.
244. Ein Indianisch geharnischte Mauß.
245. Ein ausgebalgter Meer-Fisch, Remora genannt.
246. Ein Stuk von Stein, einem grossen Zahn gleichend.
247. 3 unterschiedliche durch wasser in Stein veränderte Stuk.
248. Unterschiedlich klein und grosse Muschel und Schneken.

*Kasten Lit. K.*
(pag. 45)
No 249. Ein Dopeltes Straußen Ey, inwendig mit vergoldtem Silber gefütteret, mit dem Erz Stiffts Salzburg und Neuhaußischen Wappen.
250. Ein Hocher Augster von Glaß, unten und oben mit vergoldten Reifen.
251. Ein Becher von einer Indianischen Nuß mit einem Luk in Silber gefasset.
252. Ein Kandel von einem Straußen-Ey in Silber und vergolder Kleydung und dergleichen Fütterung.
253. Ein doppeltes Straußen-Ey mit vergolden Silber gefütteret.

(pag. 46)
No 254. Ein grosser Meer Schnek, mit einem Silber- und vergoldeten Fuß.
255. Ein Kandel von glaß mit Silber beschlagen, auf desßen Fuß ein Lateinische Inscription.
256. Ein Flader knopf mit einem Silber- und vergoldtem Fuß und handhäben, auch Luk mit einer unbekannten wappen, laedirt.
257. Ein Greiffenklau mit Silber- und vergoldten beschläg auf einen Vogel.
258. Ein was kleineres Greiffenklau oder, wie glaublich, Indianisches Ochsenhorn mit Silber- und vergoldter Kleydung.
259. Ein doppelter Flader-knopf mit Silber vergoldtem Fuß, / darauf ein Wappen mit einem halben Radt.

(pag. 47)
No 260. Ein Fladerner knopf mit einem Silber vergoldtem Fuß und einem Luk, auch Silber vergolder Kleidung.
261. Ein dopeltes Straußen-Ey, inwendig mit vergoldtem Silber ausgefütteret und einer unbekannten Wappen.
262. Ein dopelt Indianische Nuß mit vergoldem Silber außgefütteret, in desßen Dekel ein Pelican.
263. Ein Floder Knopf mit einem Silber vergoldtem Fuß und Handhäben, auf dem Luk das Erz Stifft und Rohrbachische Wappen.

(pag. 48)
No 264. Ein Indianisch Dopelte Nuß mit vergoldtem Silber ausgefütteret und mit vergoldter Kleydung gefasset.
265. Ein Hölzernes Köpfel mit einem Luk, Silbernen Fuß und Kleidung, auch einer Handhäb, darauf eine Kirchen.
266. Ein Trünk geschier von einem Schwarzen Stein, auch einen Silber vergoldtem Fuß und Kleidung.
267. Ein Microscopium.
268. Zwey von Wachs gegoßene ligende Weibel.
269. Ein aus Stein gemachtes Kindl.
270. Ein alte Bildniß einer Frauen-Persohn, aus Stein gemacht.
271. Ein Mettallene Kuhe in / einem Rämel.

(pag. 49)
No 272. Ein Brustbild von weissen Marmor.
273. Ein Reittender zu Pferd mit einer Schneken-Muschel von Mettall, zu einer Lampen dienlich.
274. Ein Mettallener Drach mit einer Schneken-Muschel zu einer Lampen.
275. Ein Madona-Kopf von Mettall.
276. Ein Mettallener Leichter mit unterschiedlichen Kindlen und Köpflen.
277. Ein Mettallener Kopf zu einer Lampen.
278. Ein Mettallener Gäms.
279. Ein Löw von Mettall.

(pag. 50)
No 280. Zwey Manns-Figuren von Mettall, eine davon laedirt.
281. Zwey Mettallene Köpfel auf Postamenten.
282. Ein klein Mettallene Figur eines Manns auf einem Postament.
283. Ein Weibs bild von Mettall auf einem Postament.

284. Zwey Mettallene Reitter auf Rädlen.
285. Ein Pferdkopf von Mettall.
286. Ein Pferdkopf von Messing.
287. Zwey Mettallene Contrafaits-Köpf.
288. Zwey Löwen und ein Aff auf Schweinköpfen von Metall zu einem Brunnwerk.

(pag. 51)
No 289. Ein Wasser-Nymphe von Mettall, zum Brunnwerk gehörig.
290. Ein Vesperbild auf einem Blättel von Mettall.
291. Ein Battaglia-oval von Mettall.
292. Ein Mettallenes blättel von einem Einßiedler.
293. Ein Indianisch geflamtes Messer in einer hölzernen Scheid.
294. Ein oval-Tafferl von Metall mit einer Stierhäze.
295. Ein Türkischer Schreib-Zeug von Meßing.

*Kassten Lit. L.*
(pag. 52)
No 296. Drey Crucifix von Agstein mit eingelegten kleinen runden Historien, darzu Zwey Leichter, auch von gelben Agstein, laediret.
297. Ein Trücherl von Agstein darinnen ein verbrochenes Creuz von Agstein und Zwey dergleichen Löffel, laedirt.
Nebenbey befindet ßich in einem Kasten mit Taffelfenstern als
298. Ein Helffenbeinenes Crucifix ohne Stok.
299. Ein Altärl von Allabaster, in Ebenholz gefasset und mit Silber gezieret.

*Kassten Lit. M.*
(pag. 53)
No 300. Ein grosse Tafel mit einer schwarzen Ram, darauf die Marter S. Sebastiani in Helffenbein geschnitten.
301. Ein kleines Helffenbeinenes Crucifix mit Creuz und Stok.
302. Ein von Helffenbein geschnittenes Maria Hilf-Bild auf einen mit Helffenbein gezierten Postament in einen weiß gefütterten gehäuß.
303. Ein aus Wachs gegossener Christus an der Saullen.

(pag. 54)
No 304. Ein kleines Crucifix auf einem Postament, darinnen / ein uhrwerk.
305. Ein kleines Crucifix, desßen Stok und Creuz geschmölzet und mit Steinen versezet.
306. Ein Altarl, darinnen Sanctus Sebastianus an ein Corallen gebunden, darbey Zwey Thierl mit Historien, Zart geschnitten.
307. Ein Helffenbeinenes Trüherl mit unterschiedlichen Antiquen und falschen Steinern.

*Auf denen Kässten befünden sich, als Kassten Lit. A.*
(pag. 55)
No 308. Die Bildnus der Griechischen Veneris von Mettall.
309. Ein kleine Figur von Mettall mit einem Horn im Mund.

In den Hierzu gehörig ligenden Kasten, als
310. Ein Brettspiel von schwarz gebeisten Holz samt denen Steinen.
311. Ein anderes kleines detto in einem Futterall von gelben Agstein samt denen Steinen mit Silbernen / Ek beschlagen.

(pag. 56)
No 312. Ein schwarz gebeistes Apotheker Kästl mit rothen Atlas gefütteret, ohne Einrichtung.

*Kassten Lit. B.*
313. Ein grosse Figur Herculis von Mettall.
314. Ein kleinere Figur Mercurij von Mettall und vergoldet, laedirt.

(pag. 57)
In dem Hierzu gehörig lie-/genden Neben Kasten.
No 315. Ein Portugesisches Schreibzeug-Trücherl von Schwarzen holz mit Türkis versezet.
316. Ein Nachtzeüg mit Silber- und vergoldter Einrichtung.
317. 2 Mettallene Adler, so auf Sesseln gebraucht werden.

*Kassten Lit. C.*
(pag. 58)
No 318. 36 Stük unterschiedlich Mettallene Köpf, wovon 10 Stük in hölzern und vergoldten Ramen, die übrige hinge-/gen ganz und halb rund ßeynd.
319. Sieben Allabaster Bruststük, alte Römische Kaiser vorstellend.

*Kassten Lit. D.*

*Kassten Lit. E.*
(pag. 59)
No 320. Ein Figur Dianae von Mettall.
321. Neptunus von Mettall auf einer Muschel mit Zwey Pferden.

*Kassten Lit. F.*
(pag. 60)
*Kassten Lit. G.*
*Kassten Lit. H.*

*Kassten Lit. I.*
(pag. 61)
No 322. Ein auß weißen Marmor gemachtes Brustbild Lucretiae.

*Kassten Lit. K.*
323. Ein Brustbild von weißen Marmor.

*Kassten Lit. L.*
(pag. 62)
No 324. Ein aus Laim Possirt und gebrenntes Stuck unser Lieben Frauen.
325. Drey Stuk grosse Einkürn-Horn.

*Kassten Lit. M.*
326. Die Grablegung Christi von Alabaster in einer Zier vergoldten Hölzernen Rahm.

*Außer denen Kässten* Befünden sich als
(pag. 63)
No 327. Ein grosses von Roth und weissen Corallen und kleinen unterschiedlichen Figuren Geziertes Werch, darinnen ein orgelspiel; laedirt.
328. Ein Schwarz gebeisster Kasten, darinnen auch ein orgelspiel; laedirt.
329. Zwey von Laim Possirt und gebrennte Brustbilder Democriti et Heracliti.
330. Ein grosses Helffenbeinenes Crucifix, das Creuz und Stok schwarz gebeist.

(pag. 64)
No 331. Ein Rhinoceros-Horn.
332. Ein Stuk Ebenholz.
333. Ein Stuk von einem Elephanten-Zahn.
334. Ein Christus an einer Schwarzen Saullen, darauf ein Pelican, laedirt.
335. Ein kleines Steinbok-Horn oder geweih.
336. Ein weisse Schachtel mit allerley geschnittenen Steinen und dergleichen Sachen, in 66, dann unterschiedlichen 55, Fluß und gemeinen Steinen, in groß und kleinen Stüklen bestehend.

(pag. 65)
No 337. Zwey Stük von weissen Marmor / Eines die Bildniß Kaisers Josephi und das andere die Marter des heiligen Laurentii.
338. Ein Silber vergoldte Armkette mit Fünf unterschiedlichen Steineren.
339. Zwey Silber verglodte Pluvial-Schlüssen mit verschiedenen Fluß-Steineren, wobey in einer etliche Steiner abgängig.
340. Ein Silbernes Creuz mit Türkis-Steinern.
341. Ein Schwarz gebeistes Apotheker-Kästel ohne Medicamenten.
342. Vier Stük Mettalleue Pferd.

(pag. 66)
No 343. Ein Senf-Vässel von Serpentin-stein.
344. Ein deto Mörser samt Stößßel.
345. Ein deto Vässel oder Becherl, ohne Dekel.
346. Ein Helffenbeinener Todt.
347. Ein Kupferblat Maximiliani Gandolphi.
348. Diana von Helffenbein.
349. Zwey Schwarz hölzerne Mödel.
350. Zwey Christallene Scarnizengläßer.
351. Ein detto Muschel mit vergolden und geschmelzten Reifel.
352. Drey detto Christallene gesundheits-gläßer ohne dekel.

(pag. 67)
No 353. Zwey Einschichtig oval geschliffene Christall-gläser.
354. Ein Rhinoceros Hornener Becher.
355. Ein Pulferhorn von Helfenbein und Hirschhorn.
356. Ein Einschichtig Christallener Fuß von einer Muschel, untenher mit gold gefasset.
357. Ein Stuk ungearbeitetes Christall von Ihro Hochfürstl.en Gnaden Erz Bischofen Sigismundo hergeben.
358. Das Heil. Grab zu Jerusalem von holz mit Helffenbein und Berlmutter eingelegt.

(pag. 69)
Beschreibung Deren in dießer Gallerie sich dermahlen befindenden Gemählen.

(pag. 85)
Desßen allen zu wahrer urkund sind 2 gleichlautende Inventaria aufgerichtet, wovon eines auf die hochfürstl.e Hofkammer, dann eines dem hochfürstl.en Guardarobba-Inspectori Christophen Künel, dessen aufßicht und verantwortung all inbeschribnes anvertrauet, abgegeben und sowohl von dem eingangs benambst gnädigst Deputirten Commissario als obbesagten übernehmer ordentlich gefertiget und eigenhändig unterschrieben worden. Actum ut Supra.
L. S. Franz Xaveri von Andreis m. p. Commissarius.
L. S. Johann Christoph Kinel m. p. Guardarobba Inspector.

## 4. INVENTAR DER DOMKUSTOREI 1553

Salzburger Konsistorialarchiv, 1/54 Domkustodie. 1553.

(Vorsatzblatt): *Inventari der Custorey Hailthumb, Klainat, Ornat* und annders, so Herren Hannsen von Kienberg als Custoren und Herren Geörgen Han Nach Custoren, auch den Meßnern ein und uber anntwort ist worden nach laut yedes in sonnderhait zuegestelten verfertigtem und unnderschribem Inventari.

*Custorey Inventari 1553.*
(fol. 1)
Anno domini 1553., den 7., 8. und 11. Apprilis sind auß bevelch unnsers Gnedigsten Herrn von Salzburg Nach vollgennd Gutter, Heylthumb unnd Klainat zue der Custorey durch mich Adam Trost Notari Inventirt und beschriben worden in gegenwurt der Erwirdigen Herrn Johanns von Khienberg, Stat Pharrer und Custor zu Salzburg, auch Maister Hannsen Man, Pfarrer zu Ainhering, Herr Geörgn Han, Nach Custor und Herr Erhart Satlperger, beed Vicary am Chor, Andree unnd Matheus die Mesner unnd Hanns Reuenaler Custor Knecht.
*Gulden Clainet.*
Item imm Neuen Heylthumb Sagrer in zwayen schwartzen unnd ainer rotn Truhen mit No 1 Ain gulden Khreutz von Edlem Gestain mit Saphier unnd Zwaien Amatisten, Auch mit Zwaien silbren verguldten Enngln, das Kreitz unnd der fueß silbren unnd verguldt, mit des Stiffts Khiembsee Wappen, Nemlich Noys.
Mer ain khlain gulden Monstränttzl mit Acht Rubindl unnd etlichen Perlen, oben Ain Kreitzl, der fueß silbren und vergult, mit Bischoff Leonharden Wappen.
Ain khlain Monstränntzl, die Klaidung verguldt unnd Christalinen glaß mit Bischoff von Wolkenstorff Wappen.

(fol 1')
Item ain Monstränntzl mit Ainem Christalinen Fueß in silber eingefasst.
Mer ain Kreutzl mit dreien Fueßlen in Cristalin eingefast.
Ain Monstranntzen mit Zwaien Cristalinen Kreitzl und oben mit ainem vergulten Crucifix unnd der fueß mit den vier Evangelisten.
Ain Cristalinen glaß, eingefast mit dreyen schinen, dar Innen hermeten Spindln oben Auf mit Ainem bluet stain.
Ain eingefasst glaß sannd Sebastian Armm.
Zwen Christallen Leuchter.
Item ain Helffen painen Trühel mit Zwaien Enngln, in der mitt ain Salvator.
Sannd Khunigunden Prust Pildt, das haubt silbren und verguldt, das Corpus Kupfer unnd verguldt.
Sannt Ruedbrecht Prust Pildt silbren unnd verguldt, mit glasisten versetzt.

(fol. 2)
Sannd Virgili Prust Pildt mit ainem Kupfren vergulten fueß, das Corpus silbren und verguldt, mit ettlichen versetzten Glasisten.
Des Khaiser Hainrich Prust Pildt silber unnd verguldt mit schlechten stainen.
Ain Truchel mit silber beschlagen, das Innen Heyltumb allennthalben Zesamen klaubt.
Ain Tafel dar Inn ain Salvator Pildt silbren unnd verklaytt mit ettlichen eingefassten Heyltung.
Ain Monstranntzen Corporis Jesu Christi mit Zwayen Enngln, mit des Bischof Pilgrin Wappen.

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