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Remarks on the Collections of Rudolf II: the *Kunstkammer* as a Form of *Representatio*

THOMAS DACOSTA KAUFMANN

A series of recent discoveries calls for the reinterpretation of the fabled and long misunderstood collections of the Emperor Rudolf II of Habsburg (reigned 1576–1612). Since Julius Von Schlosser's treatment of the late Renaissance *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*, Rudolf's collections have until recently been regarded as a kind of circus sideshow lacking any organizing principle or orderly display. Unicorn horns and magic stones are said to have been heaped up alongside great paintings by Dürer and Brueghel throughout the rooms of the imperial castle in Prague. The Emperor is supposed to have grown increasingly mad as he spent his days contemplating his strange, secret treasure instead of tending to affairs of state.¹

I would like to sketch in brief outline a different picture, in the hope of stimulating further discussion. I believe that we can now see Rudolf II's collections not only as a refuge for contemplation, but also as an expression of his imperial magnificence and a symbol of his claims to power. Information about visits to his *Kunstkammer*, its disposition and display, a contemporary inventory, and the imagery of key objects made for it suggests that the imperial collections had an orderly arrangement, a symbolism of their own, and a role in contemporary diplomacy. Rudolf II's *Kunstkammer*, like much of the art and public ceremony of his reign, was a form of *representatio*, of imperial self-representation.

First of all Rudolf's collections were by no means kept secret from outsiders. While, like other princely collections

of the time, Rudolf's was not normally accessible to commoners—although several saw it—it was regularly used for formal diplomatic functions. The Savoyard envoy to the imperial court, Carlo Francesco Manfredi di Luserna, reports that ambassadors were customarily shown the collections before their departure from Prague.² Ambassadors were also taken to the *Kunstkammer* when the Emperor wanted to give a sign of his favor in order to make a specific political point. For example, when in September, 1601, the Venetian ambassador Piero Duodo congratulated Rudolf on military successes against the Turks, the Emperor rewarded Duodo with a visit to the *Kunstkammer*.³ Dignitaries on state visits to Prague were also usually taken to see the Emperor's collections. Cardinal Alessandro D'Este, Archduke Maximilian III, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights and Regent of the Tyrol, the Elector Duke Christian II of Saxony, and Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria are known to have seen it. It is significant that on Christian II's visit to Prague in 1607 the only private audience he had with the Emperor was spent visiting the collections.⁴ Rudolf II seems to have spoken in and through his *Kunstkammer*.

Other avid collectors like Christian II or Maximilian of Bavaria, with whom Rudolf carried on a lively exchange of gifts, would no doubt have understood one of the messages of the Emperor's *Kunstkammer*. This message, as suggested in contemporary writing, was that a prince expresses his *virtus*, his worth, in his collections. And so just as Rudolf II

demonstrated one of the imperial virtues, his magnanimity, in the gifts he sent to other courts, he may be said to have exhibited his magnificence in his collections.⁵ One perceptive observer who would have been familiar with collections, since his own family had a very important one in Italy, explicitly recognized this. Cardinal D'Este wrote that on his visit to Prague Rudolf took him to see "his most recondite and valuable things, and particularly his paintings, marvelous for their quantity and quality. Besides them vases of precious stones of various kinds, statues, and clocks . . . a treasure worthy of him who possesses it (*tesoro degno di chi il possede*)."⁶ Thus it may have been something more than a sense of quality alone that drove Rudolf to possess masterpieces by Dürer, Brueghel, Raphael, Correggio, and Titian, *commessi in pietre dure*, fine sculpture by Adriaen De Vries and Giambologna, and clocks in abundance. He may have had something else in mind when he amassed what, in comparison with other courts north of the Alps, was the biggest and best collection of its time. In an age of princely collectors, Rudolf had a *Kunstammer* that was worthy of his rank as Holy Roman Emperor, as first among European rulers: he was first among collectors.⁷

Rudolf's collections consequently received a disposition that emphasized their role as a form of imperial display. Rudolf transformed the Prague castle to include special housing for his *Kunstammer*; in reality he acted very differently from the traditional portrayal of him as uninterested in architecture and the orderly exhibition of his collections. From about 1590 a group of artists and artisans, mainly of Italian origin, under the direction of Martino Gambarini and Giovanni Maria Filippi, built and decorated rooms for the collections in the first and second floors above the stables in what is now the second courtyard of the Prague castle (Fig. 1). One of the rooms Rudolf had constructed was the famed "Spanish Room" (*Spanischer Saal*)—a picture gallery. Next to it was the so-called "New Room" (*Neuer or Neu Saal*), a hall for the display of sculpture, articulated by niches in which were placed stucco and bronze statues by the imperial sculptor Adriaen De Vries. Both the Spanish and New Rooms had ceilings with illusionistic paintings by Pauwel and Jan Vredeman de Vries. In a series of smaller vaulted rooms in the adjoining wing were placed objets d'art, small sculptures, jewels, books, and natural objects. Alongside these rooms ran a corridor in which paintings were hung; additional paintings were to be found in galleries on the second floor of this wing.⁸

I believe we can now identify a drawing in Munich, formerly thought to be a plan for the Antiquarium there, as a preliminary design for the New Room in Prague⁹ (Fig. 2). The style of the figures and decorative details is that of Rudolf's court painter, Bartholomäus Spranger. In comparison with a drawing signed by Spranger of slightly later date (Fig. 3), the Munich drawing not only reveals the same ductus of line, handling of wash, type and stance of figure, and fleeting characterization of facial features, with eyes and noses indicated by open loops, but also treats details like the mascarones and the profile of the socle of the figure in the right-hand niche similarly. We know that Spranger was involved with decorative projects both in Italy and in palaces in Vienna and Prague, where one of his frescoes has been rediscovered.¹⁰ Rudolf was thus using some of his most experienced, as well as best, talents to design the space for his collections.

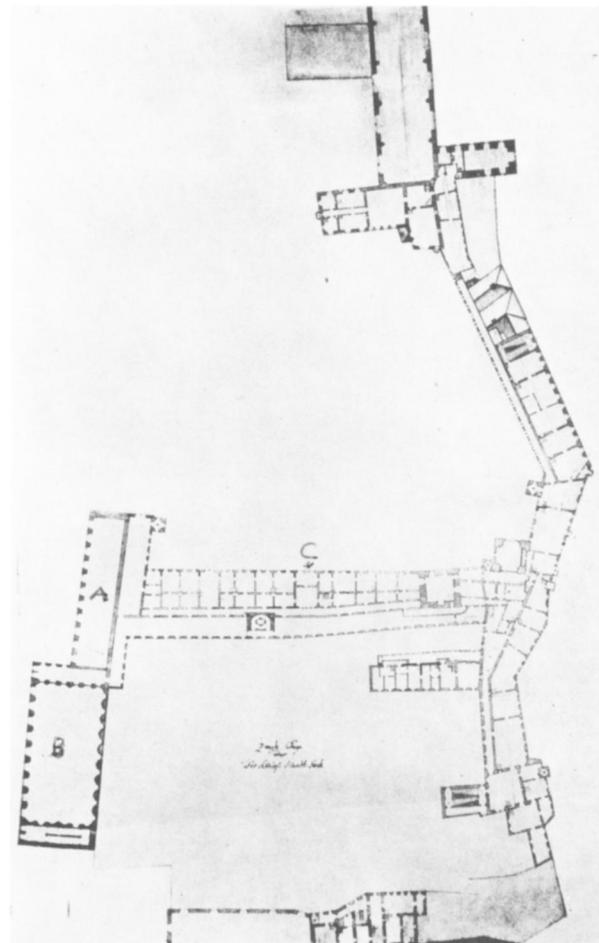


Fig. 1. An 18th-century plan of the first floor above ground of the Prague castle, showing (A) the Spanish Room, (B) the New Room, and (C) the adjoining wing with further rooms for the collections. From Krčálová, "Poznámky k rudolfínské architektuře," *Umění*, Vol. 23, no. 6, 1975, fig. 7.

The drawing (Fig. 2) shows niches for the display of sculpture like those in the New Room, which later engravings also represent with rectangular panels similar to those shown here. Though the sculpture is not drawn to scale, several pieces can be identified with works that were probably in the Emperor's collection. For example, the group of Nessus and Deianeira resembles bronzes by De Vries and Giambologna that probably belonged to Rudolf.¹¹ The copy of the Torso Belvedere perched on a socle must also have been in Prague, because a contemporary portrait of the court artist Hans von Aachen shows it in a similar place, posed on a pediment (Fig. 4). Spranger's drawing again emphasizes the formal character of rooms for Rudolf's collection, and at the same time points to parallels with the Italian *tribuna*, a type of room with niches for the display of sculpture exemplified by the *Antisala* of the Marciana Library in Venice.¹²

The disposition of rooms in the palace to house the collections further corresponds to the systematic organization and programmatic arrangement revealed in a recently published inventory of the *Kunstammer* from the years 1607–11. The inventory deals with objets d'art, small sculp-

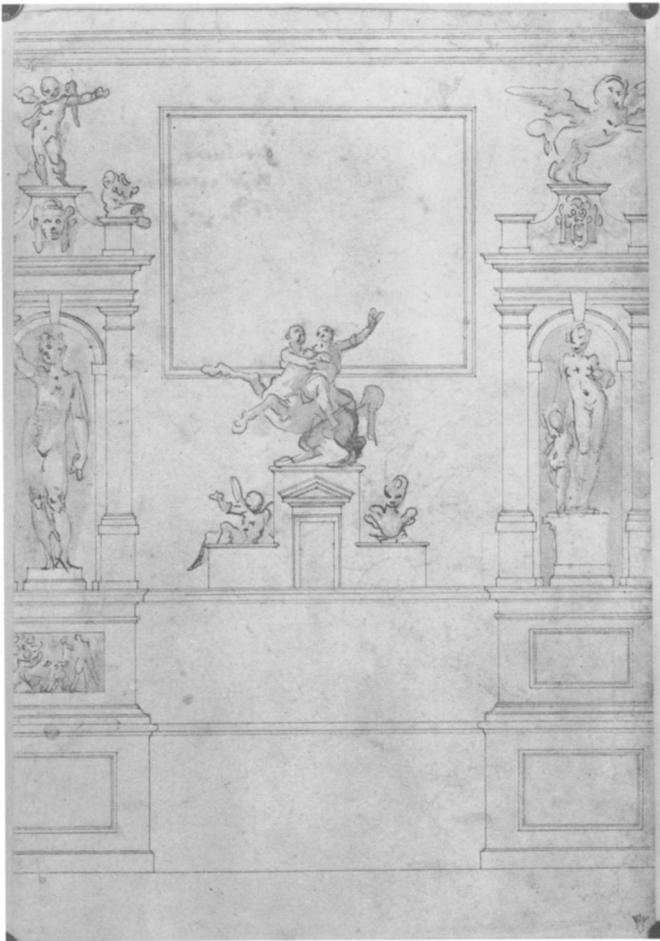


Fig. 2. Bartholomäus Spranger (here attributed to), design for New Room, Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung.

ture, scientific instruments, books, and naturalia. These are just the objects kept in a separate wing of the palace adjoining the Spanish Room, and the fact that they are cataloged according to type suggests that they may have constituted a distinct part of the collection. One may perhaps assume that paintings and sculpture had their own inventories. At any rate the listing of objects in the 1607–11 inventory proceeds logically according to material and then according to size. The entire collection is cataloged rationally; it may be grouped under the general categories of *artificialia* and *naturalia*.¹³

The inventory thus demonstrates that the collection not only had its own system of classification similar to that of other contemporary collections, but also that, like them, it was encyclopedic in scope. Like the *Studiolo* of Francesco I Medici in Florence or the *Kunstammer* of Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol in Ambras, but on an even larger scale, Rudolf's *Kunstammer* contained choice examples of all that was to be found in nature or made by man.¹⁴ It thus embodied a conception of the Renaissance world view in which the world of man, the microcosm, may be seen to parallel the greater world, or macrocosm. By having specimens of all parts of creation, Rudolf II's *Kunstammer* represented the universe in microcosm. In the words of a Renaissance topos applied by Samuel a Quiccheberg in a book of



Fig. 3. Bartholomäus Spranger, *Triumph of Wisdom over Ignorance and Envy*, 1604, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle.



Fig. 4. Jan Pietersz. Saenredam after Pieter Isaacs., *Portrait of Hans von Aachen*, engraving, 1601. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung.



Fig. 5. Wenzel Jamnitzer and Johann Gregor von Schardt, *Spring*, from fountain, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

1565 to the *Kunstammer*, Rudolf's collection, like others of the time, was a theater of the world.¹⁵

With Rudolf II it is difficult to know, however, how much the notion of a *Kunstammer* as a theater of the world is metaphor and how much magic. For Quiccheberg's conception is drawn specifically from a book by Giulio Camillo on the memory theater. In Camillo's system there are not only correspondences but also magical links between the microcosm and the macrocosm. Man may form a magic memory through which he grasps the world, reflecting the macrocosm of the universe in the microcosm of his mind. Through the mediation of the imperial *antiquarius* Jacopo Strada, Quiccheberg's conceptions were no doubt known in Prague, and where Quiccheberg had used Camillo's system for its organizing principles, Rudolf may have grasped at the esoteric significance implicit in the comparison of *Kunstammer* to memory theater.¹⁶ Did the Emperor, who is otherwise known to have been fascinated with what we might call occult thinking, also view the objects in his *Kunstammer* as talismans which would strengthen his power? Did he think of his *Kunstammer* as a magical memory theater through which he could grasp and control the greater world?¹⁷

However we interpret Rudolf's own point of view, the notion of a theater of the world, to be organized and perhaps controlled by man, guides us into the realm of thinking in which originated the symbolism of key objects made especially for the *Kunstammer*, and through them toward an understanding of the principle of the collection as a whole. For much of the iconography of the Rudolfine *Kunstammer* pieces portrays the world as a microcosm controlled by the Emperor. Take for example the fountain by Wenzel Jamnitzer, presented to the Emperor, of which four figures from the base still survive in Vienna (Fig. 5). From a 17th-century description¹⁸ we know that the fountain once stood ten feet

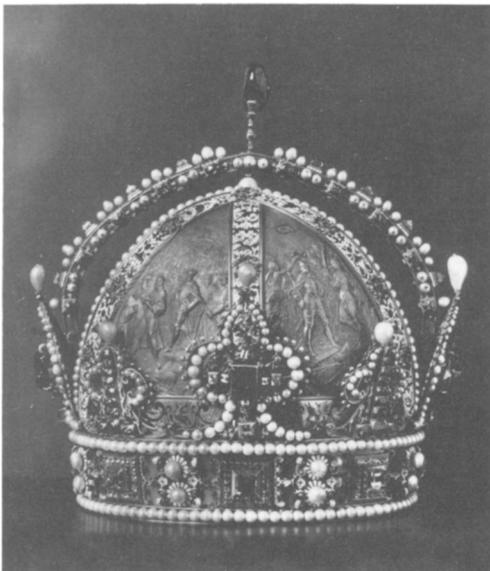


Fig. 6. Crown of Rudolf II, 1602, Vienna, Weltliche Schatzkammer.



Fig. 7. Hans von Aachen, *Allegory on the Turkish War*, Rohrau, Lower Austria, Harrach Collection.



Fig. 8. Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Fire*, 1566, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Fig. 9. Arcimboldo, *Winter*, 1563, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

high and when assembled must thus have been a central object in the *Kunstammer*. It represented the cosmos in the form of an imperial crown standing on a base; to give an idea of the shape of its upper part, the crown made for Rudolf II (Fig. 6) is illustrated here. Four gods representing the four seasons made up the base. Above them came gods and creatures symbolizing the four elements. Above them in the heavenly sphere were four winds and four archangels. Then came four eagles said to stand for the House of Austria. In the place of the topmost diadem sat Jupiter astride an eagle, symbolizing the Emperor. This was a common enough association in RudolFINE, and indeed imperial, iconography, as in an allegory by Von Aachen in the Harrach Collection (Fig. 7). Jupiter sits astride an eagle, with Bellona beside him holding an imperial crown, and casts down thunderbolts against the Emperor's enemies, the Turks. On what would correspond to the outer bands of a crown the fountain further displayed symbols of the body politic of the earthly empire, including finally, on the lower circumference, arms of the Habsburgs' lands.

Similar imagery symbolizing the Emperor's control of the world characterizes other works contained in Rudolf's collections, including pictures by the imperial painter Giuseppe Arcimboldo (Figs. 8, 9, 10). Arcimboldo's paintings of the *Seasons* and the *Elements* have been associated with the *Kunstammer* ever since Schlosser first published his thesis that these images were jokes expressing the disorder of Rudolf's mind and the unseriousness of his collections.¹⁹ And indeed in another sense we can make a connection between them, for like the *Kunstammer*, Arcimboldo's work is based on the system of correspondences of microcosm to macrocosm and in turn to the body politic.²⁰ We can how-

ever no longer accept the traditional notion that Arcimboldo's pictures are simply jokes. Poems presented with his paintings when they were given to the Emperor reveal instead that they are allegories of imperial power. Arcimboldo's images of the *Seasons* and *Elements* were meant to suggest that as the objects exist together in harmony in the individual heads—the cannon and wicks in *Fire* (Fig. 8) for instance—and as harmony also exists between the individual heads representing the elements and seasons, so does the world exist in harmony under the beneficent rule of the Emperor. As the Emperor rules over the world of states, the body politic, so he may be seen to rule over the seasons and elements, which consequently are adorned with Habsburg emblems. *Fire*, for example, wears the Golden Fleece and the coat of arms of the House of Austria, and *Winter* (Fig. 9) wears another Habsburg device, the striking iron from the chain of the Fleece, and the letter M for Emperor Maximilian II, for whom this particular image was made. Arcimboldo's portrait of Rudolf II as Vertumnus (Fig. 10) is the culmination of this sort of imagery, depicting him directly as god of the seasons and implicitly as god of the elements, and, with its combination of fruits and flowers from all seasons, suggesting the return of a golden age with his reign.²¹

The imagery of Jamnitzer's fountain and Arcimboldo's painting is in turn directly related to the decoration of the Prague castle under Rudolf II. Another illusionistic ceiling by Pauwel Vredeman de Vries is described by Karel Van Mander as a depiction of Jupiter in the midst of the four elements, and the parts of the year, the twelve months.²² The imagery of this ceiling seems furthermore to parallel the message expressed in the rooms containing Rudolf's collection below. As Zeus above rules the elements and parts of the year, so



Fig. 10. Arcimboldo, *Portrait of Rudolf II as Vertumnus*, c. 1590, Skokloster Castle, Sweden.

Rudolf rules the microcosm below, his *Kunstkammer*.

This symbolism seems further to support a new interpretation of Rudolf II's collections. Rudolf's *Kunstkammer* had a role in diplomacy that was stressed by its stately setting. It had a carefully organized content based on the system of correspondences. It is clear that it had at least one convincing message, since perceptive observers like Cardinal D'Este could see it as worthy of the Emperor. I believe that we may also consider Rudolf's possession of the world in microcosm in his *Kunstkammer* an expression of his symbolic mastery of the greater world. ■

This article is a revised version of a paper read at the 65th annual meeting of the College Art Association of America in Los Angeles in February, 1977, which was in turn based on material in a chapter of my dissertation, "Variations on the Imperial Theme: Studies in Ceremonial, Art, and Collecting in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II," Harvard University, 1977, published as *Variations on the Imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II*, New York and London, 1978.

¹ Schlosser's interpretation is presented in his *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 76–82, following in part that of Josef Svátek, "Die Rudolfinische Kunstkammer in Prag," in *Culturhistorische Bilder aus Böhmen*, Vienna, 1879, pp. 227ff. In her recently published introduction "Die Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolfs II. in Prag, ein Inventar aus den Jahren 1607–1611," in "Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1607–1611," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, vol. 72, 1976 (published in January, 1977), pp. xii–xvi, Rotraud Bauer reviews and criticizes the previous interpretation of Rudolf II's collections. Her introduction now provides the most convenient and complete bibliography on the collections. R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History*, Oxford, 1973, p. 178, still argues, however, that Rudolf used his collection for "private contemplation" and that he was "very secretive about its contents."

² The commoners Ulrich Krafft, Jacques Esprinhard, and Melchior Goldast all saw the collections; for convenient references to their visits see Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, p. 178 n. Di Luserna's remarks were occasioned by a visit to Rudolf's *Kunstkammer* in 1604; Vincenzo Promis, ed., "Ambasciata di Carlo Francesco Manfredi di Luserna a Praga nel 1604," *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana edita per cura della Regia deputazione di storia patria*, vol. 16, ser. 2, 3, 1877, pp. 583, 594, and Adolfo Venturi, "Zur Geschichte der Kunstsammlungen Kaiser Rudolfs II.," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 7, 1885, p. 15.

³ Vienna, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Dispacci di Germania (hereafter HHStA), Secreta 31, September 10, 1601, cited in part in H. von Voltolini, "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K.u.K. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 19, 1898, reg. no. 16257.

⁴ Cardinal D'Este's visit is reported in a letter of August 23, 1604, Archivio Storico Estense, Modena, Carteggio Ambasciatori Estensi, Busta 183, quoted in part in German translation in Venturi, "Zur Geschichte," p. 15. Archduke Maximilian III's visit is mentioned in another letter of August 23, 1604, by Girolamo Manzuolo, Archivio Storico Estense, Modena, Carteggio Ambasciatori Estensi, Busta 69. Sources for Duke Christian II's visit are Felix Stieve, ed., *Die Politik Baierns 1591–1607*, part 2 (*Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, vol. 5), Munich, 1883, reg. no. 898–900; an account of Federigo Soranzo, HHStA, Secreta 37, July 8 and 16, 1607; and that of the papal nuncio Antonio Caetani, M. Linhartova, ed., *Antonii Caetani Nuntii Apostolici apud Imperatorem Epistulae et Acta 1607–1611*, vol. 1, Prague, 1932, p. 148. For Duke Maximilian I's visit see Stieve, *Die Politik Baierns*, part 1, Munich, 1879, p. 1, and Helmut Dotterweich, *Der Junge Maximilian*, Munich, 1962, p. 127.

⁵ See, for example, the discussion of the ideological basis of the Bavarian collections in Renate von Busch, *Studien zur Sud-deutschen Antikensammlung des 16. Jahrhunderts*, dissertation, Tübingen, 1973, pp. 102ff., 110f., 160ff. The founding documents of the Munich *Schatzkammer* state that it was meant to express and increase the reputation of the Wittelsbachs; H. Brunner, ed., *Schatzkammer der Residenz*, Munich, 1970, pp. 7ff. For the concept of magnificence see, for example, A. D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 33, 1870, pp. 162–170.

⁶ I am quoting from the Italian text of Cardinal D'Este's letter in Modena, *loc. cit.*, which in the version printed in Venturi, "Zur Geschichte," p. 15, has had a fateful effect on the interpretation of the collections (for which see Bauer, "Die Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolfs," p. xii).

⁷ Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, p. 178, calls Rudolf "primus inter pares" among collectors. See also the remarks in H. Trevor-Roper, *The Plunder of the Arts in the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1971. Rudolf's efforts to obtain and preserve the Ambras *Kunstkammer* and his interest in the establishment of a dynastic collection may also be a reflection of the idea of a collection as a representative form of the rank and glory of the House of Austria; see A. Lhotsky, "Die Geschichte der Sammlungen," *Festschrift des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien*, part 2, vol. 1, Vienna, 1941/1945, pp. 240, 289. In an essay published subsequent to the completion of this paper Peter Thomas succinctly states "The *Kunstkabinett* itself was a form of propaganda . . ."; "Charles I of England: The Tragedy of Absolutism," in A. G. Dickens, ed., *The Courts of Europe*, London, 1977, p. 201.

⁸ This paragraph summarizes the important article by Jarmila Krčálová, "Poznámky k rudolfínské architektuře," *Umění*, vol. 23, no. 6, 1975, pp. 479–525.

⁹ Erich Hubala, "Ein Entwurf für das Antiquarium der Münchener Residenz 1568," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, vol. 9–10, 1958–59, pp. 141–42, fig. 6. Both the lack of resemblance to other designs for or the actual appearance of the Antiquarium and the presence of what seems to be post-antique sculpture (e.g., the Nessus and Deianeira group) in the drawing militate against Hubala's attribution, however. Konrad Oberhuber first suggested (orally) that the drawing was by Spranger. Differences of ink and style in the drawing suggest that it may in fact be by two hands: the figures and details by Spranger, and the elevation without shading by an architectural draftsman, probably one of the court *Baumeister* with whom Spranger presumably cooperated.

¹⁰ For Spranger's work as a decorator see Konrad Oberhuber, "Die stilistische Entwicklung im Werk Bartholomäus Sprangers," unpublished dissertation, Vienna, 1958, pp. 74ff, and Jaromír Neumann, "Kleine Beiträge zur rudolfinischen Kunst und ihre Auswirkungen," *Umění*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1970, pp. 142–50.

¹¹ Although no Nessus and Deianeira group is mentioned in the 1607–11 inventory of Rudolf's collection, an inventory of 1619 describes such a sculpture, possibly identifiable with a work by De Vries; see Lars Olaf Larsson, *Adrian de Vries*, Vienna and Munich, 1967, pp. 53f. The provenance of similar groups by Giambologna, which the sculpture depicted in the drawing resembles even more closely, is discussed in Elizabeth Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne, Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 200ff. As the 1607–11 inventory does not mention Rudolf II's large-scale sculpture and antiquities, both of which were housed in the New Room, it of course stands to reason that objects shown in the drawing would not be found in this inventory.

¹² Karel Van Mander, *Het Schilderboek . . .*, Haarlem, 1604, fol. 291r, mentions that Von Aachen had sent Pieter Isaacsz. several drawings includ-

ing a self-portrait, which must have served as the source of the image illustrated here as Fig. 4. A preparatory drawing for the print by Isaacsz. is in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, inventory no. 22066. For the *tribuna* type see Marilyn Perry, "The Statuario public of the Venetian Republic," *Saggi e Memoria di storia dell'arte*, vol. 8, 1972, pp. 75–150, which also cites further literature on the *Antisala*; Detlef Heikamp, "Zur Geschichte der Uffizien-Tribuna und der Kunstschränke in Florenz und Deutschland," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 26, no. 3/4, 1963, pp. 193–268; and Jeffrey M. Muller, "Rubens's Museum of Antique Sculpture: An Introduction," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 59, no. 4, pp. 571–82. The New Room in Prague is not of course specifically patterned on the Pantheon, whose use as a model is discussed by Perry and Muller. The model for Prague, as for the Munich *Antiquarium*, may rather have been Giulio Romano's design for the palace in Mantua, discussed most recently by Kurt Forster, "Giulio Romano's 'Museum' of Sculpture in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua," lecture delivered at the 66th annual meeting of the College Art Association of America in New York, January, 1978. Giulio's designs were recorded in drawings made for Jacopo Strada, and perhaps owned by his son Ottavio; both Jacopo and Ottavio served in the role of imperial *antiquarius*.

¹³ For the interpretation of the organization of Rudolf's collections see Erwin Neumann, "Das Inventar der rudolfinischen Kunstkammer von 1607–11," *Analecta Reginensia I, Queen Christina of Sweden, Documents and Studies*, Stockholm, 1966, pp. 262–65, and Bauer, "Die Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolfs." Neumann's interesting suggestion of a category of *scientifica* seems to me rather to be subsumed under *artificialia*.

¹⁴ See Luigi Salerno, "Arte, Scienza e collezioni nel Manierismo," *Scritti in Onore di Mario Salmi*, vol. 3, n.p., 1963, pp. 198ff; Luciano Berti, *Il Principe dello Studiolo*, Florence, 1967; Heikamp, "Geschichte der Uffizien-Tribuna," pp. 208f.; Niels von Holst, *Creators, Collectors, and Connoisseurs*, London, 1967, p. 103; and Elisabeth Scheicher, "Kunstkammer," in *Die Kunstkammer, Sammlungen Schloss Ambras*, Innsbruck, 1977, p. 15.

¹⁵ Samuel a Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones vel tituli Theatri Amplissimi . . .*, Munich, 1565. For an important early discussion on the relation of Quiccheberg's ideas to collecting—a subject which has by now gained a fairly extensive bibliography—see Rudolf Berliner, "Zur älteren Geschichte der allgemeinen Museumslehre in Deutschland," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, vol. 5, 1928, pp. 324–52. For the topos of the theater of the world see R. Bernheimer, "Theatrum Mundi," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 38, no. 4, 1956, pp. 225–47.

¹⁶ Quiccheberg, *op. cit.*, fol. 14v, explicitly states that he is not using the word *theatrum* metaphorically, as other writers have done, but has taken it from Camillo. For a brilliant explication of Camillo's thought see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Harmondsworth, 1966, pp. 173ff. Although she

does not refer to Quiccheberg or Strada, Dame Frances has also suggested that Rudolf II's *Kunstkammer* may have been planned along the lines of a memory system, in *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, London, 1972, p. 68. Jacopo Strada had also been active in the formation of the Munich collections, to which Quiccheberg's book is immediately related; see Bauer, "Die Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolfs," p. xxxvii.

¹⁷ For Rudolf and the "occult arts" see Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, pp. 196ff. It is possible that Rudolf's collections may have in turn inspired an occult system. Dame Frances Yates has suggested to me that the organization of Giordano Bruno's *De Imaginum Signorum . . . compositione (Opera Latina Conscripta)*, Florence, 1889, pp. 87ff.) with its symbolism and complex images was inspired by Rudolf's *Kunstkammer*, which Bruno may have seen while on his visit to Prague.

¹⁸ This description is based on a report printed in Hans Boesch, "Urkunden und Auszüge aus dem Archiv und der Bibliothek des Germanischen Museums in Nürnberg," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 7, 1889, reg. no. 4732.

¹⁹ Schlosser, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammer*, p. 88.

²⁰ Salerno, "Arte, Scienza e collezioni," and Sven Alfons, *Giuseppe Arcimboldo, Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap*, vol. 31, 1957, pp. 151ff. also relate the microcosm-macrocosm analogy expressed in Arcimboldo's painting to the *Kunstkammer*.

²¹ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Arcimboldo's Imperial Allegories," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 39, no. 4, 1976, pp. 275–96.

²² Van Mander, *Het Schilderboek*, fol. 276v. Another description contained in an evaluation of De Vries' paintings by the Elders of the Prague Painters' Guild describes the room with the ceiling as located between the palace (*palacz*) and the "Summer House" (*weystupek anebo zumrhauz*) of Rudolf II; Prague, Statní Ustřední Archiv, Stará Manipulace, F 73/3, February 13, 1599, cited by Karl Köpl, "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K. K. Statthalterei Archiv in Prag," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 12, 1891, reg. no. 8320. According to a reconstruction of the Prague castle in the 17th century by Jan Morávek ("Giuseppe Mattei a 'Nova Stavení' pražského hradu 1638–1644," *Umění*, vol. 5, 1957, p. 342) the "Summer House" of Rudolf II adjoined the wing containing Rudolf's collections, and specifically the gallery with Rudolf's paintings. Thus a room connecting the "Summer House" to the palace would in fact lead directly to the imperial collection. Could the decoration of the ceiling have been chosen deliberately as an iconographic prelude to the *Kunstkammer*?

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