Collecting and Access

Collecting and Access

Edited by

Susan Bracken, Andrea M. Gáldy
and Adriana Turpin

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

Collecting and Access

Series: Collecting Histories

Edited by Susan Bracken, Andrea M. Gáldy and Adriana Turpin

This book first published 2025

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

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

ISBN: 978-1-0364-5135-6
ISBN (Ebook): 978-1-0364-5136-3

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations vii

Abbreviations xiv

Acknowledgements xvi

Foreword xvii

Introduction xx

Abstracts xxxiii

Chapter One 1
Restricted Access: The Location of Johann Septimius Jörger's Cabinet of Curiosities in Nuremberg
Orsolya Bubryák

Chapter Two 24
The Catalogue as Invitation: Access to Collections for Medical Pilgrimages in Seventeenth-century Europe
Mary Malloy

Chapter Three 48
The Accessibility of Collections: Leonhard Christoph Sturm and an Ideal Architecture for Dynastic Collections
Virginie Spenlé

Chapter Four 74
Public Passions, Private Pleasures: The Hermitage of Catherine the Great
Catherine Phillips

Chapter Five 91
His & Her Royal Swedish Collections – Access and the Advantages of a Good Publicity Channel
Anne Harbers

Chapter Six 113
Archives and Access: Digital Strategies to Re-evaluate "Collection Museums" and their Diverse Histories
Ulrike Müller

Chapter Seven..... 131
Keyhole Access to the Family Collection: Two Rediscovered Portraits of Enid Layard
Cecilia Riva and Stefania Ermidoro

Chapter Eight..... 154
Opening the Townhouse: Access in the Urban Environment in the Early Nineteenth Century
Anne Nellis Richter

Chapter Nine..... 173
The Importance of Access: (Sir) William Burrell's (1861–1958) "Private" Collection on Public Display
Isobel Caroline MacDonald

Chapter Ten 190
Prestigious Location – Hampered Access: The Museum in Gołuchów and its Public from 1886 to 1911
Paweł Ignaczak

Authors' Biographies..... 209

Index..... 213

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 0.1: Charles Nicolas Cochin père d'après Charles Nicolas Cochin fils, "Connoisseurs examining the collection pieces at the presentation of Mr Quentin de Lorangère's collection prior to the auction," in Gersaint (Edme François), *Catalogue raisonné des diverses curiosités du cabinet de feu M. Quentin de Lorangère*, Paris: Jacques Barois, 1744, frontispiece (private collection).

Figure 1.1: Andreas Kohl, *Portrait of Johann Septimius Jörger*, 1645, engraving, 22.5 × 16.7cm, with a Latin poem by Georg Philipp Harsdöffer, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, inv. I 6758.1 (source and © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel / CC-BY-SA-4.0, https://portraits.hab.de/werk/25550/, accessed 3 April 2025).

Figure 1.2: Michael Herr, *The Kunstkammer of Johann Septimius Jörger*, 1630/40, pen and ink and watercolour, 22.3 × 17.1cm, Grafische Sammlung, Universitätsbibliothek der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, inv. B 610a (source and © Universitätsbibliothek der FAU / CC-PDM 1.0, http://digital.bib-bvb.de/webclient/DeliveryManager?custom_att_2=simple_viewer&pid=2999107, accessed 3 April 2015).

Figure 1.3: German painter(?), *The Kunstkammer of Johann Septimius Jörger, around 1659*(?), oil on canvas, 54.6 × 86.5cm, The Lobkowicz Collections, Nelahozeves, inv. LR5253 (source and © The Lobkowicz Collections).

Figure 1.4: *The Silberrad (previously Jörger) garden in front of the Wöhrder Gate*, 1699 (detail), engraving, 21 x 35cm, inscription: "Lima dolce 1699 / In Hrn: Doct: Silberrad garten," in Johann Christoph Volckamer, *Nürnbergische Hesperides* […]. Nuremberg, 1708, 166 (source and © Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg / CC-PDM 1.0, https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.53471, accessed 3 April 2025).

Figure 1.5: Johann Alexander Böner, "The House 'bey dem gulden Schild'," c.1700, etching from *Des Heil. Röm. Reichs Stadt Nürnberg Zierdte*, 1709, 15.1 × 19.4cm (source and © Universitätsbibliothek, Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt / CC-BY-SA-4.0, http://digital.bib-bvb.de/view/bvb_mets/viewer.0.6.5.jsp?folder_id=0&dvs=1743754274764~984&pid=7453106&locale=en&usePid1=true&usePid2=true, accessed 3 April 2025).

Figure 1.6: The cross-section of the chapel (above) and the floor plan of the assembly hall and the chapel in the house "beim goldenen Schild" (below), 1732, engraving in Carolus Sigismundus Elias de Holzschuher, *Oratio de Comitiis Anno*

MCCCLVI Norimbergae celebratis […] Altorfi, 1732, pl. 1. ad paginam 42 (source and © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna / CC-NoC-NC/1.0, https://onb.digital/result/109B788F, accessed 3 April 2025).

Figure 1.7: Georg Christoph Wilder, *The Chapel in the House "beim goldenen Schild"*, 1854, watercolour, 14.7 × 33.9cm, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Nürnberg, inv. St.N. 09655 (source and © Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Nürnberg).

Figure 2.1: Goltzius, Hubert. *C. Julius Caesar Sive Historiae Imperatorum Caesarumque Romanorum Ex Antiquis Numismatibus Restitutae Liber Primus*, 22.4 x 31.7cm, Bruges: 1563, formerly in the library of Archduke Ferdinand I, now Austrian National Library, Vienna, (https://www.google.com/books/edition/C_Julius_Caesar_sive_historiae_Imperator/r6ZSAAAAcAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PT26&printsec=frontcover, accessed 29 February 2024).

Figure 2.2: Two pages from Samuel Quiccheberg's list of "Exemplar Collections," beginning with Goltzius, and including the Fugger family of collectors in *Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi, Complectentis rerum vniuersitatis singulas materias et imagines eximias*, Munich: Adam Berg, 1565, British Museum, (https://www.google.com/books/edition/Inscriptiones_vel_tituli_theatri_ampliss/loiFFbnjNzAC?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PP56&printsec=frontcover, accessed 29 February 2024).

Figure 2.3: The first page of Johann Major's catalogue of collectors, including the Grand Mogul in Agra, India; the Platter collection in Basel; and the King of the Inkas in Cuzco, Peru in *Unvorgreiffliches Bedenken von Kunst und Naturalienkammern insgemein*, Kiel: Joachim Reuman, 1674, University of Göttingen, Digitalization Center (https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN775720887?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B32%5D%2C%22pan%22%3A%7B%22x%22%3A0.374%2C%22y%22%3A0.785%7D%2C%22view%22%3A%22info%22%2C%22zoom%22%3A0.381%7D, accessed 29 February 2024).

Figure 2.4: C. F. Neickelio and D. Johann Kanold, *Museographia, oder, Anleitung zum rechten Begriff und nützlicher Anlegung der Museorum, oder Raritäten-Kammern*. Leipzig and Bresslau: Michael Hubert, 1727, frontispiece, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California (Internet Archive, 2017: https://archive.org/details/museographiaoder00jenc/page/n5/mode/2up, accessed 29 February 2024).

Figure 2.5: Frontispiece to *Fasciculus rariorum et aspectu dignorum varii generis / quae collegit at suis impensis aeri ad vivum incidi curavit atque evulgavit Basilius Besler*, [Nürnberg, 1616], Goethe University Library, Frankfurt, Digital Collections

(https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/varia/content/pageview/5003219, accessed 29 February 2024).

Figure 2.6: Frontispiece to Levinus Vincent's *Wondertooneel der Nature*, 1715, Biodiversity Heritage Library (https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/209768#page/1/mode/1up, accessed 29 February 2024).

Figure 3.1: Johann Martin Bernigeroth (engr.), *Portrait of Leonhard Christoph Sturm*, 26.7 x 16.7cm (source and ©: Smithsonian Institution Libraries, Washington / SIL-SIL14-s006-13, accessed 31 March 2025).

Figure 3.2: Sturm's project for a princely palace with a two-storey wing for collection display. The second floor of the palace: A. hall; B. apartment for a princely guest; C. collection wing with library (C1), paintings gallery (C2), "room of antiquities" (C3), sculpture gallery (C4), "hall of natural curiosities and art rarities" (C5); D. chapel. Based on Sturm 1714, pl. IV (© Virginie Spenlé, Munich).

Figure 3.3: Floor plan of the second floor of Prague Castle from the mid-eighteenth century reflecting the structure of the castle under Rudolf II: A. South wing with the imperial apartment, B. kunstkammer wing; C. oval staircase; D. Spanish Hall (*pinacotheca*); E. New Hall (*glyptotheque*). Based on Brunner 1997, 515 (© Virginie Spenlé, Munich).

Figure 3.4: Sturm's project for a four-wing palace in the Italian style ("nach der Italienischen Manier"): A. apartment of the ruler: guards' hall (A0), antechamber (A1), audience chamber (A2), cabinet (A5), bedchamber (A3), *guardaroba* (A4), art gallery (A6); D. chapel; B. apartment of the consort: antechamber (B1), audience chamber (B2), bedchamber (B3), *guardaroba* (B4), cabinet (B5a), magnificent cabinet (mirror or porcelain cabinet?) (B5b); *pretiosa* cabinet (B6); C. collections: cabinet of antiquities (C1); paintings hall (C2); library (C3). Based on Sturm 1718, pl. XV (© Virginie Spenlé, Munich).

Figure 3.5: Sturm's project for the apartments of the ruler and the consort in a four-wing palace: A. apartment of the ruler: guards' hall (A0), first antechamber (A1a), second antechamber (A1b), audience chamber (A2), bedchamber with alcove shared with the consort (A3 B3), *guardaroba* (A4), small paintings gallery (A6); B. apartment of the consort: first antechamber (B1a), second antechamber (B1b), audience chamber (B2), bedchamber with alcove shared with the ruler (B3 A3), *guardaroba* (B4), small gallery for porcelain and precious vessels (B6a), *pretiosa* cabinet (B6b). Based on Sturm 1718, pl. XI (© Virginie Spenlé, Munich).

Figure 3.6: Sturm's project for the apartments of the heir and his wife in a four-wing palace: A. apartment of the hereditary prince: antechamber (A1), audience chamber (A2), cabinet (A5), *guardaroba* (A4), small paintings and engravings

gallery (A6); B. apartment of the heir's wife: antechamber (B1), audience chamber (B2), bedchamber (B3), *guardaroba* (B4), *pretiosa* and porcelain cabinet (B6a), miniature cabinet (B6b). Based on Sturm 1718, pl. VIII (© Virginie Spenlé, Munich).

Figure 3.7: Sturm's project for the apartments of the ruler and the consort in a four-wing palace in the French style ("nach der Frantzösischen Art"): A. apartment of the ruler: Guards' Hall (A0), first antechamber (A1a), second antechamber (A1b), audience chamber (A2), bedchamber (A3), *guardaroba* (A4), weapons cabinet (A6a), miniature cabinet (A6b), small gallery (A6c); E. dining room; B. apartment of the consort: antechamber (B1), audience chamber (B2), *pretiosa* cabinet (B6), bedchamber (B3), *guardaroba* (B4), mirror cabinet (B5); D. chapel. Based on Sturm 1718, pl. XIV (© Virginie Spenlé, Munich).

Figure 4.1: [Münnich, Baron Ernst von.], Title page, volume I of *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux qui se trouvent dans les Galeries, Sallons et Cabinets du Palais Impérial à Saint-Pétersbourg*, 1773, 29 x 18.5cm, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (photo © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov, Vladimir Terebenin).

Figure 4.2: N. Y. Sablin, *The Hanging Garden on the Upper Floor of the Wing Newly Built on to the Imperial Winter Palace*, engraving, 1773. From *Almanach de cour de 1774*, 25.5 x 17cm, State Hermitage Museum, St. Peterburg (photo © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov, Vladimir Terebenin).

Figure 4.3: Yury Velten. Cross-section of the North Pavilion of the Small Hermitage, detail, watercolour, 1760s, sheet 49.8 x 70.8cm, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (photo © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov, Vladimir Terebenin).

Figure 4.4: Plan of the Small Hermitage, Large Hermitage and Raphael Loggias, 1830s. This plan records all of Catherine's buildings, before the construction of the New Hermitage by Nicholas I, approx. 26.5 x 31cm, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (photo © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov, Vladimir Terebenin).

Figure 5.1: Unknown artist, *Queen Lovisa Ulrika of Sweden*, 1720−1782, 6.5 x 5.2cm (source and © Nationalmuseum, Sweden, http://www.europeana.eu/en/item/2064116/Museu_ProvidedCHO_Nationalmuseum__Sweden_24116, accessed 31 March 2025).

Figure 5.2: Title page, 10th edition of *Systema Naturae* by Carl Linnæus, published in 1758 by L. Salvius in Stockholm (source and © Göttingen State and University Library, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/ae/Linnaeus1758-title-page.jpg, accessed 31 March 2025).

Figure 5.3: Title page, *Museum S.R.M Ludovicae Ulricae Reginae*, published 1764 (source and © Biodiversity Heritage Library, https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/119811, accessed 31 March 2025).

Figure 5.4: Plate by H.C. von Kruus, 1754, prepared for *Museum S.R.M. Ludovicae Ulricae Reginae* but not used (source and © The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, photo: Anne Harbers).

Figure 5.5: Sir James Edward Smith. Stipple engraving by W. Ridley, 1800, after J. Russell's pastel published in W. Thornton's Philosophy of Botany, 1799, 47.5 x 32.8cm (source and © Wellcome Library, London, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/59/Sir_James_Edward_Smith._Stipple_engraving_by_W._Ridley%2C_1800_Wellcome_L0007462.jpg, accessed 31 March 2025).

Figure 6.1: Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Mad Meg* (*Dulle Griet*), 1563, oil on wood, 117.4 x 162.2cm, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. MMB.0045 (work of art in the public domain, photo: Michel Wuyts, image courtesy of the Collectie Stad Antwerpen/Museum Mayer van den Bergh: https://dams.antwerpen.be/asset/FdNRNJWozaeGZVftT6ldrAf8, accessed 3 January 2024).

Figure 6.2: Letter from Max J. Friedländer to Fritz Mayer van den Bergh, 5 October 1894, Archive Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. MMB.A.0503 (archival document in the public domain, photo: Michel Wuyts, image courtesy of the Collectie Stad Antwerpen/Museum Mayer van den Bergh, https://dams.antwerpen.be/asset/AhaSCEfZtdkJF9VRWrsifoIu, accessed 3 January 2024).

Figure 6.3: Page from the purchase ledger of Fritz Mayer van den Bergh with the mention 'acheté une adoration des mages par Breughel de Velours à Farr de Londres …' on 4 June 1897, Archive Museum Mayer van den Bergh, MMB.A.2500 (archival document in the public domain, image courtesy of the Collectie Stad Antwerpen/Museum Mayer van den Bergh, https://dams.antwerpen.be/asset/t1VjNlQ5PELNfaZfNL3T8wbP/f2RiUXdgKtIGZV1g8GxwQAd5, accessed 3 January 2024).

Figure 6.4: Anonymous photograph of a painting by Pieter Brueghel the Younger entitled "Le joueur de Cornemuse", Archive Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. MMB.F.385 (archival document in the public domain, image courtesy of the Collectie Stad Antwerpen/Museum Mayer van den Bergh: https://dams.antwerpen.be/asset/zYVCXCfUYXCs9WjflCaC9MvV/kWXNKnqt4bnWguXNZNy4wcZs, accessed 3 January 2024).

Figure 6.5: The Small Gothic Room, early 20th century, postcard, Archive Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. MMB.F.191 (archival document in the public

domain, image courtesy of the Collectie Stad Antwerpen/Museum Mayer van den Bergh: https://dams.antwerpen.be/asset/c1XlYnGFNZcV6CRQRPY81LrR, accessed 3 January 2024).

Figure 7.1: List of the portraits of Henry and Enid Layard and of the family members in their possession (source and © authors).

Figure 7.2: Ludwig Johann Passini, *Portrait of Lady Layard*, 1892-1893, watercolour, 29 x 39.9cm (source and © Philip Robinson Library, Newcastle University).

Figure 7.3: Ludwig Johann Passini, *Portrait of Lady Layard*, 1896, watercolour, 36.6 x 60.4cm, 57.6 x 81cm framed (source and © Philip Robinson Library, Newcastle University).

Figure 8.1: William Bond (engr.) after J.C. Smith, "The New Gallery at Cleveland House," in John Britton, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures belonging to the most honourable The Marquis of Stafford, in the Gallery of Cleveland House*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808 (source and © Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut, https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/orbis:581136, accessed 31 March 2025).

Figure 8.2: "Notice respecting Tickets of Admission to the Cleveland-House Gallery," in John Britton, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures belonging to the most honourable The Marquis of Stafford, in the Gallery of Cleveland House*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808 (source and © Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/orbis:581136, accessed 31 March 2025).

Figure 8.3: Ticket for "Mr. Willis & Three" …. "To View the Pictures at Cleveland House…," dated 18 May, 1825. William Salt Library S. MS. 592/8 (© The Trustees of the William Salt Library, photo author).

Figure 9.1: Hutton Castle, near Berwick-upon-Tweed after modifications made by Burrell, photo taken c.1948 (source and © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection).

Figure 9.2: Beatrix van Valkenburg, stained glass heraldic panel, 1293 and later (source: The Burrell Collection and © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection).

Figure 9.3: View of drawing room, Hutton Castle, 1948 (source: The Burrell Collection and © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection).

Figure 9.4: English bureau bookcase, c.1720–30 (source: The Burrell Collection and © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection).

Figure 9.5: Edgar Degas, *La Répétition*, oil on canvas, 1874, 58.4 x 83.8cm (source: The Burrell Collection and © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection).

Figure 10.1: The Castle in Gołuchow, view from the West (photo: R. Urbaniak, 2018).

Figure 10.2: N. Krieger, Countess Izabela Działyńska at the door to Gołuchów Castle (source and © photography collection of the National Museum in Poznań).

Figure 10.3: Antoni Pawlikowski, Museum rooms of Gołuchów Castle, 1905 (source and © photography collection of the National Museum in Poznań).

Figure 10.4: Antoni Pawlikowski, Hall of Greek Vases of Gołuchów Castle, 1905 (source and © photography collection of the National Museum in Poznań).

ABBREVIATIONS

AN = Archives Nationales

BM = British Museum

BnF = Bibliothèque Nationale de France

HAAB = Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek

KLA-688-C = Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, Privatarchive, 688 Khevenhüllerarchiv, C Familie Praunfalk

ÖStA-AVA-Adel-RAA = Wien, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Adelsarchiv, Reichsadelsakten

ÖStA-HHStA-RHR-JA = Wien, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Reichshofrat, Jud. Antiqua

StadtAN-A1 = Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, A1: Sammlungen und Selekte, Urkundenreihe

StadtAN-A26 = Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, A26: Sammlungen und Selekte, Abgaben des Staatsarchivs Nürnberg

StadtAN-E10/21/1 = Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E10/21: Nachlässe, Friedrich August Nagel, no. 1: Grundbuch des Sebalder Burgfriedens zu Nürnberg, 1400—1876.

StadtAN-E13/II = Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E13: Familienarchiv Grundherr, Grafische Sammlug

StAN-RStN-WSG = Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Waldamt Sebaldi Gärten

StAN-RStN-Rep. 76. = Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Waldherren/Waldämter Lorenzi und Sebaldi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As the editors of this volume, we would like to thank first of all the contributors to the ninth volume of collected chapters for their essays and for their collaboration during the editing process. Most of these essays started as conference papers given at the Collecting and Access conference held at the Institut für Kunstgeschichte, LMU, Munich, Germany and at the Institute for Historical Research, London, UK in June 2019.

Again, speakers and organisers benefited from the participation of the audience: thank you for your feedback and for attending our seminars and conferences. We also owe thanks to the session chairs in Munich and London, including students of the LMU university course "How to organise and run a conference in the humanities" for their help with running the event during the first day of the conference in Munich. Thank you for volunteering your assistance and for a great job graciously done!

Our particular thanks go to Professor Stéphane Castelluccio, Directeur de recherche au CNRS, Paris, centre André-Chastel UMR 8150 for his introduction to this volume.

We also owe gratitude to IHR administrative staff who have supported our seminars and conferences in the most helpful manner from the outset.

Finally, we wish to thank Amanda Millar and Sophie Edminson at Cambridge Scholars Publishing for yet another beautiful volume.

FOREWORD

> As he stood irresolute a door across the hall opened and a man of his own age came out. Through the doorway, which the young man held open for an instant while he answered a question from somebody within, Ashe had a glimpse of glass–topped cases.
>
> Could this be the museum—his goal? The next moment the door, opening a few inches more, revealed the outlying portions of an Egyptian mummy and brought certainty. It flashed across Ashe's mind that the sooner he explored the museum and located Mr. Peters' scarab, the better. He decided to ask Beach to take him there as soon as he had leisure.
>
> P.G. Wodehouse, *Something Fresh* (1915), republished in *The World of Blandings* by Arrow Books: London, 2008, 128.

Lord Emsworth's museum at Blandings is set up in a private part of the castle near the library. It cannot be accessed freely by members of the house party, but guests are taken there on request and as a special honour. In this novel, however, the hero, Ashe, and Mr. Peters, owner of a coveted Cheops scarab of the Fourth Dynasty gain access to the museum on several occasions for reasons of their own and – occasionally – without Lord Emsworth's permission.

The quote above provides some useful keywords for this latest volume in the series Collecting Histories. It mentions modes of display, the museum as a goal to be reached, doorways that offer a tantalising glimpse of the exhibits. The museum at Blandings is not quite a kunst- and wunderkammer nor is it yet a public museum. It is private in the sense that access is limited and that the holdings are based on the owner's idiosyncratic taste.

The essays in this book demonstrate how collectors controlled access to their collections, not only through the organisation of the spaces of their display but also by creating public awareness to enhance their reputation. This aspect of collecting has rarely been studied and portrays the life of the collection beyond the personal space of the collection. Using archival research these essays demonstrate the importance of analysing methods of publicity as a means to deepening our understanding of the value of the collection.

Many of the collections discussed in this book exemplify the personal nature of collecting, usually reflecting the intellectual interests and curiosity of their owner and in many cases are the result of particular tastes and passions. Through the relationship between the collection and its space, whether physical or theoretical, the collection takes on more nuanced meanings than ambition and reputation, revealing the many meanings the collection had for its original owner and increasingly for a wider public.

In 2019, the international forum Collecting and Display held a conference dedicated to matters of access to collections and museums from the early modern period to present times. Its aim was to investigate how rules of access and etiquette influenced and modified museum practice and how potential visitors managed to gain information on exhibitions and collection objects. The essays presented here discuss in some detail exhibitions and catalogues, as well as visitors and their modes of access to the great collections before at least some of them became public museums.

Today, access to private collections, whether royal palaces, country homes or house museums, is often easily obtained, while many other collections have become or been created as museums for the public benefit. In general, access is dependent on purchasing a ticket, although in some instances museums can now be entered freely by anyone wishing to see the exhibits. In the past, however, collections were mostly owned by collectors who displayed these treasures in their houses and palaces. Access to the owners' apartments was usually limited, whether they housed collection objects or not, while particular areas of the building were occasionally set aside for a programmatic display of selected works of art or of the natural sciences. Even such separation of the owners' living space did not permit access for all interested visitors. Clean attire, education, a letter of introduction, opening hours and the imposition of the collectors' rules in their absence excluded a considerable proportion of the wider public.

"Collecting" and "display" are the keywords that characterise the scholarly aims of the international forum founded by three scholars in 2004 (www.collectinganddisplay.org). The group has run a series of research seminars at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London since 2005 and managed a chapter in Florence from 2008 to 2012. From 2006, Collecting & Display have organised summer conferences in London, Ottobeuren, Florence, Irsee, Memmingen, Munich and Jerusalem.

The present publication is the ninth in the series of conference proceedings and it is our hope that there will be many more, dedicated to particular aspects of collecting and display.

Our first conference took place in July 2006 at the Institute of Historical Research and discussed the connection between collecting and dynastic ambition (CSP 2009). It was followed by the conference on collecting and the princely apartment (CSP 2011) and by one on female collectors (CSP 2012: *Women Patrons & Collectors*). The conference *Collecting East & West* (CSP 2013) examined the often vicarious encounters between different worlds via the objects imported from foreign cultures and displayed in settings that were intended to give at least a flavour of their original provenance. In 2013, Collecting & Display turned to collections of *naturalia* and *artificialia* (*Collecting Nature*, CSP 2014) in collaboration with Schwabenakademie Irsee. In 2014, two conferences took place: the first on collections of prints and drawings (*Collecting Prints and Drawings*, CSP 2018) and the second, which addressed the interesting effects of the study of historical collections on trends in museology. In late 2016, a conference on collecting and provenance was held at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem (CSP 2020), while in 2014 we discussed matters of *Collecting and Museology* (CSP 2019) at a conference held at the Strigel and Antoniter Museum in Memmingen and with the administrative support of MEWO Kunsthalle. The present volume looks at matters of access, first discussed at a conference in Munich and London in 2019. Outside the series *Collecting Histories*, following two sessions held by Collecting & Display in London and Paris in collaboration with the National Institute for Art History (INHA), a further volume was published by Bloomsbury in 2022: *Art Markets, Agents and Collectors*.

—London and Munich,
March 2025

INTRODUCTION

STÉPHANE CASTELLUCCIO

Following on from the previous volumes of studies edited by Susan Bracken, Andrea Gáldy and Adriana Turpin on the history of collections in Europe, their formation, composition, presentation and future, this latest volume tackles the important and hitherto rarely studied subject of their accessibility and the nature of the public allowed to come and visit them. The various studies presented here bear witness to a constant expansion in the accessibility of collections since the sixteenth century, both physically and through publications, at a different pace depending on the country, the period and the persons involved.

Arrangements made to access the French royal collections can provide a valuable insight into the procedures of courts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A tradition of opening collectors' cabinets existed in France from the Renaissance until the end of the eighteenth century. In addition, from the reign of Louis XIV, the importance attached to the arts in Paris, with its academies, royal commissions, salons, art critics and further types of debates, fostered a growing interest in old masters and contemporary art. The numerous mentions of collectors' cabinets thought worth visiting in Paris and the provinces published in guidebooks and descriptions since the seventeenth century bear witness to this fact. Their authors describe their contents, and sometimes the most remarkable works, with varying degrees of precision, but rarely indicate how to gain access to them. This omission presupposes established practices known to those interested in discovering these collections.

Private Collections

Diverse levels of access characterised private cabinets, which were not freely accessible to the general public. At the end of the eighteenth century, specific collectors, such as the financier Nicolas Beaujon or Philippe Henri, Marquis and later Maréchal de Ségur, Minister of War, only allowed visits with their "approval", in the form of a ticket signed by

them. Those granted permission presented it to a servant, who then let them in.[1] This principle implied a strict level of selection: to obtain an entrance ticket, one had to be known personally, by reputation or by recommendation to the collector.

The most reputable private collections seem to have been more easily accessible: it was generally sufficient to present oneself at the door of the residence and 'ask to see the collection.'[2] In 1764, the German painter Christian de Mannlich regularly visited the Palais-Royal paintings gallery 'in the morning to study. The concierge usually locked me in and came to open the door around noon.'[3] Thirteen years later, Joseph II visited this same gallery under the guidance of the 'garçon d'appartement' and not of the Duc d'Orléans, due to a problem of etiquette.[4] Without the latter, the Duc d'Orléans would certainly have shown his gallery to this prestigious guest himself. In the case of private owners, the master of the house would undoubtedly have personally honoured family members, friends and even the best-known connoisseurs with a tour of his collections.

Other visitors discovered the cabinets under the guidance of one of the house servants, a concierge, valet or steward, who was customarily given a gratuity at the end of the visit. These social and economic filters excluded the common people. The large number of descriptions of cabinets in Paris in guidebooks, memoirs, journals and the correspondence of French and foreign travellers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries testify to their relatively easy access given to art lovers, both official, such as the editors of guidebooks, and unknown, such as in the case of some foreign travellers.

Another opportunity to view private collections arose in the 1740s with the development of auction sales after the death of a collector. The works of art were exhibited to art lovers and potential buyers with free access for three to fifteen days prior to the sale. The collections of the Duc d'Aumont were exhibited for as long as a month. These exhibitions took place at the home of the deceased and, more rarely, at the auction house,

---

[1] La Roche 2012, 102; Bachaumont 1784–1789, XXIII, 109–110, 19 August 1783; Thiery de Sainte-Colombe 1787, I, 104–105.
[2] Brice 1684, II, 218.
[3] "le matin pour y étudier. Le concierge m'y enfermait ordinairement et venait m'ouvrir vers midi." Mannlich published by Joseph Delage 1948, 156.
[4] Genlis 1825, II, 379.

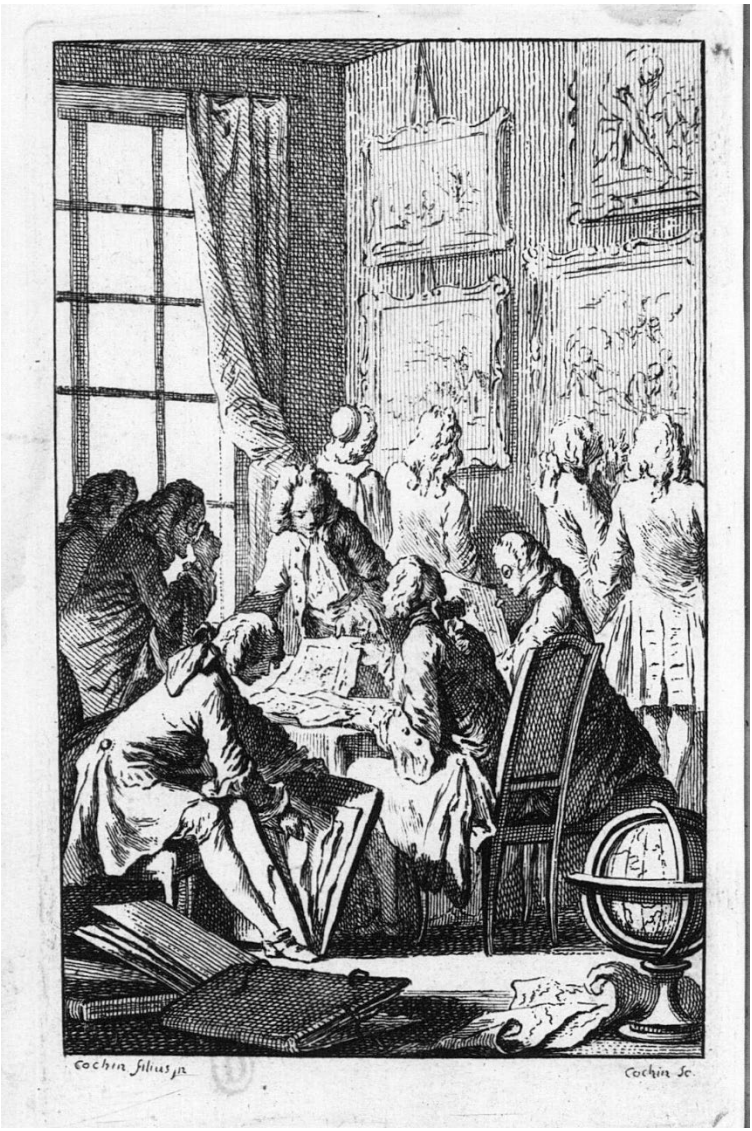

Figure 0.1: Charles Nicolas Cochin père d'après Charles Nicolas Cochin fils. "Connoisseurs examining the collection pieces at the presentation of Mr Quentin de Lorangère's collection prior to the auction," in Gersaint (Edme François), *Catalogue raisonné des diverses curiosités du cabinet de feu M. Quentin de Lorangère*, Paris: Jacques Barois, 1744, frontispiece (private collection).

either the Salle des Grands Augustins or the Hôtel de Bullion.[5] While the possessions of Quentin de Lorangère were presented in the mornings from nine to noon, and then from two to six in the afternoon, in the second half of the century, preference was given to opening in the morning, often from ten to one.[6] These pre-sale exhibitions were open to all, with no financial conditions attached, although they were limited in time and duration. They allowed visitors to examine works of art, furniture, objets d'art and curiosities in complete freedom **(Fig. 0.1)**, without having to be accompanied or supervised by a servant. From the 1760s onwards, they even became a social gathering place.[7]

The Royal Collections

From the reign of Louis XIV, the royal collections played their part in expressing the glory of the monarchy, a role that modified the conditions of access. Paintings and objets d'art from the royal collections were used to decorate the sovereigns' apartments. Nonetheless, while in the sixteenth century they were displayed in private chambers off the king's bedroom, accessible only by invitation of the sovereign and in his company, during the reign of Louis XIV, paintings owned by the Crown were displayed in the public areas of the king's apartment, such as the Ambassadors' Gallery in the Tuileries Palace in the 1670s.[8] At Versailles, from the winter of 1682-1683, between twenty-five and thirty paintings adorned the salons of Abundance, of Mars, of Mercury and Apollon in the Grand Appartement, and they were displayed seasonally from All Saints' Day to Easter.[9] No small bronzes or hard stone vases were shown, since their fragility, value and small size would have made them easy to steal. For the first time, and contrary to previous practice in royal residences and private homes, some of the paintings in the royal collections were accessible to all, without requiring a recommendation and without being supervised by a servant.

At the same time, other paintings appeared in the second antechamber of the king's apartment. Placed within the *boiseries*, their decorative role was important, but they were also visible to the public in these official

[5] Le Brun 1781.
[6] Gersaint 1744, ii; Rémy and Glomy 1756, x; Rémy and Julliot 1767, I, xix–xx; Le Brun 1781; Le Brun 1781; Julliot and Paillet 1782.
[7] Bauchaumont 1784–1789, XXI, 217–218, 6 December 1782.
[8] Brice 1684, I, 29–30; Brice 1687, I, 39–40; Brice 1698, I, 60–61; Félibien 1685–1688, II, 3–4; Schnapper 1994, 322.
[9] Constant 1976, 157–173; Schnapper 1994, 322–346; Castelluccio 2018, 37–58.

spaces. Beyond these, Louis XIV devoted his Petit Appartement to the display of paintings and objets d'art. In his two antechambers, paintings by the most prestigious French painters, including Poussin, Le Brun and Mignard, dominated. They were displayed as part of the *boiseries*, playing a decorative role above all. Subsequently, in the Salon des Tableaux and in particular in the Petite Galerie, the high point of the king's Petit Appartement, the paintings were displayed on red damask wall-hangings, surrounded by bronzes, gold and silver filigree and vases of coloured stones and rock crystal, placed on tables, the chimneypiece and gilded wooden consoles fixed to the wall-hangings around the paintings.[10]

Here, Louis XIV received members of the royal family and invited guests, a favour granted sparingly.[11] Nonetheless, despite its status as the king's Petit Appartement with restricted access, even for members of the royal family and courtiers, this secluded part of the king's apartments allowed access to visitors in the king's absence, for example when he was attending mass, hunting or staying in another residence. As it was not a public space, however, unlike the Grand Appartement, visitors had to be known to the king, have a recommendation from a senior figure or be in an official capacity, and always had to be accompanied, as in the case of private collections. Abbé Bourdelot visited in 1683, accompanied by an official of the Garde-Meuble of Versailles.[12] This relatively wide access explains the large number of descriptions of the Petit Appartement du Roi, ranging from that of the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin in 1687 to that of Sophie von La Roche, a German tourist in 1785.[13] Félix, Comte de France d'Hézecques confirmed that private individuals were able to enter these areas without difficulty at the end of the reign of Louis XVI.[14]

The Cabinet des Médailles had an intermediate status, since it was not open to the public, despite being accessible from the Grand Appartement. It was a prestigious place because of its location and the wealth of its décor and contents, with fifteen to twenty paintings set into the *boiseries*, thus playing an essentially decorative role, and a large number of the most beautiful bronzes and vases of coloured stone and rock crystal arranged

[10] Castelluccio 2002, 97–112.
[11] Dangeau 1854–1860, VI, 40–41.
[12] AN, O^1 29, fols. 436v–437v; BnF, mél. Colbert 307, fol. 36v; Bourdelot 1683, 44. The Garde-Meuble of Versailles was in charge of the management of the furnishings of the palace.
[13] Tessin 1926, 150–167 and 267–300, see 282–286; La Roche 2012, 306–307, 340–341.
[14] France d'Hézecques 1873, 155.

right up to the cornice.[15] It could be visited at the invitation of Louis XIV, if you were well known, or an art lover like André Le Nôtre, and on recommendation. A place of prestige par excellence, it was shown to official visitors to dazzle them, such as the Doge of Genoa in 1685, and the ambassadors of the King of Siam the following year.

In the eighteenth century, Louis XV and then Louis XVI were not lovers of older art, and Louis XIV's collecting cabinets gradually disappeared between 1739 and 1752. The collections of objets d'art were returned to the Garde-Meuble, the administrative body responsible for furnishing the royal residences. The paintings went to the Cabinet des Tableaux de la Surintendance des Bâtiments du Roi, responsible for the construction and maintenance of the royal residences, along with collections of large sculptures and paintings.

The Cabinet des Tableaux had ten rooms as storerooms.[16] These were accessible to visitors on request and by recommendation, as at private collections. Thus, from the 1740s onwards, with the exception of about thirty paintings on display in the winter in the Grand Appartement at Versailles, the other paintings in the royal collections remained difficult to access. At the same time, a debate was developing about the supposed decline of the French school of painting and the importance of works by the old masters in the education of young artists. Many intellectuals, principally Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne in 1747, demanded the opportunity to see the royal collections and suggested that they be displayed in the Grande Galerie of the Louvre.[17]

This debate led to a twofold reaction on the part of the Directeur des Bâtiments du Roi. In 1750, he had the ten rooms of the Cabinet des Tableaux at Versailles renovated to open them more widely to an art-loving public and, above all, to young artists who had come to copy the paintings.[18] He also took up the suggestion of arranging the Louvre as a museum. Pending the renovation of the Grande Galerie, he had around one hundred paintings displayed at the Palais du Luxembourg in four rooms open to the public for two hours twice a week.[19] The principle of unrestricted visits, without recommendation or guidance by a servant as in

[15] Castelluccio 2002, 112–117.
[16] Marie 1972, I, 182–187; Caffin-Carcy 1993, 77, 5–19; Castelluccio 2009, 21–54.
[17] La Font de Saint Yenne 1747, republished 1752, 228–229.
[18] Castelluccio 2009, 34.
[19] On the Luxembourg palace, see Laran 1909, 154–202; McClellan 1994.

the Grand Appartement, was thus revived. Unlike at Versailles, these spaces were devoted solely to the enjoyment of art lovers and to the education of young artists through the choice of masters, schools, subjects and their treatment as models to follow. Although the Luxembourg remained a royal residence, it no longer played a part in court life, and the collections were now detached from the person of the sovereign.

This remained the case until 1778, when the palace became an apanage of the Count of Provence, Louis XVI's brother, to be used as his Parisian residence. The paintings on display at the Luxembourg were transferred to the Louvre's storage, pending the opening of the future museum. From then on, and until the French Revolution, only the works kept in the Cabinet des Tableaux at Versailles and about thirty displayed in the Grand Appartement of the Château in winter remained visible to art lovers. In 1778, Charles Flahaut de la Billarderie, Comte d'Angiviller, Directeur des Bâtiments du Roi, presented his latest acquisitions destined for the future Musée du Louvre.[20]

At the same time, when the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne moved to a purpose-built mansion in Place Louis XV, now the Hôtel de la Marine on Place de la Concorde, the director, Pierre Élisabeth de Fontanieu, had two salons and a gallery set up behind the colonnade to showcase in succession the Crown's collections of armour and weapons, of the finest fabrics and hardstone vases. These rooms were opened to the public from 1777 on the first Tuesday of each month, from April to November.[21] The Garde-Meuble de la Couronne thus became the first Parisian museum, in the current sense of the term, freely open to the public eighteen years before the Louvre, inaugurated in 1793 by the revolutionary government to commemorate the first anniversary of the fall of the monarchy.

The same principle governed access to private collections and part of those of the Crown, with a social selection for visits led by a servant. The presentation of some of the Crown's paintings in the public space of the Grand Appartement at Versailles, however, heralded the principle of free access to a museum, which distinguished the royal collections from those of private individuals. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, this possibility was undoubtedly at the root of the demand for greater access to the works of art outside the environment of the court. This project was carried out under the direction of the administrative directors with the

[20] Castelluccio 2018, 46–47.
[21] Castelluccio 2002, 198–224.

agreement of the king, but without his participation. This allowed the directors of the Bâtiments du Roi and of the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne to be the initiators of new principles of presentation in line with changing demands and sensibilities. Henceforth, the royal collections, detached from the person of the sovereign, were increasingly considered to be a shared asset to which everyone should have access and no longer to be used solely to adorn the royal residences. At the Luxembourg, access to the works of art was more restricted than at the Grand Appartement, but visitors could observe them and young artists could copy them without being disturbed by the crowds at Versailles. Their move to the Luxembourg, a royal residence not occupied by the sovereign, was a decisive step in France towards the establishment of a museum in the modern sense. The French Revolution precipitated and completed this development with the seizure of the royal collections, their unification and their presentation in the Louvre Museum.

Drawing on examples from all over Europe, the ten essays in this volume trace the motivations and the material, economic and psychological factors specific to each country and each collector that accelerated or slowed down the desire to give access to the collections and the extent to which they were made accessible, from the privileged few to the many.

The importance of the social role played by art collections from the sixteenth century onwards in expressing the status of their owners initially served as a driving force to providing access to a more or less select public, as shown by the example of Jörger in Nuremberg in the essay by Orsolya Bubryák. Anne Nellis Richter discusses the changing focus in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century in her essay on the Leveson-Gower collection at Cleveland House, while the essays by Isobel Macdonald and Pawel Ignaczak demonstrate how this tradition continued in the twentieth century in Scotland and Poland.

At the same time as these private, princely or royal collections were being opened to the public on a more or less permanent basis, a number of projects were being developed, such as the ideal palace designed by the German architect and mathematician Leonhard Christoph Sturm, in which a series of rooms was devoted to the presentation of a princely collection (Virginie Spenlé). Projects such as these reflected the importance of art collections as an expression of social status, and of opening them up to the public with the aim of making them accessible to as many people as possible. Sturm’s architectural projects, however, never came to fruition, perhaps because they were so ambitious.

The desire to open one's collections to a wider public in order to express its status was not universally shared. For example, the Russian empress Catherine II, who over a period of ten years had assembled a very rich collection of old master and contemporary paintings in order to show that she could compete in this field with the other monarchs in the Europe of the Enlightenment, reserved access to them for a privileged few (Catherine Phillips), contrary to the changing attitudes in Europe, where art lovers and artists were increasingly demanding access to the great collections. Catherine II may have felt that she did not need to open her collections to as many people as possible in order to show the importance of her rank, while Russian intellectual and artistic life had not yet reached the level of development seen in the kingdoms of Western Europe, with the debates, criticism and expectations that characterised them.

Accessibility to other collectors, art lovers and friends was part of the tradition established in the sixteenth century with the cabinets and kunstkammern set up by Italian and German princes. The manner in which access was granted varied according to their content and the purposes assigned by the owner to their collection. Natural history cabinets were not only assembled by aristocrats, but also by scholars and the curious from different social backgrounds (Mary Malloy). Their educational purpose, and the importance of comparisons and exchanges between the scientists who made up a European republic of scholars devoid of class prejudice, explains why they became the most immediately accessible to the greatest number of people. Collections of works of art however elicited different types of reaction to their potential availability to a wider public. The ways in which they were made accessible reflected both the spirit of the times and that of their owner. From the seventeenth century until the mid-eighteenth century, art collections in Europe were generally used for the aesthetic pleasure of their owners, their families and their friends. It eventually became customary for private collectors to open their cabinets more widely, beyond the circle of family and friends, to art lovers and the curious. Nonetheless, a public drawn from different social categories or from the collecting community, was excluded in order to maintain a social and intellectual group. This led to a strict selection of visitors, as in the case of Catherine II at the end of the eighteenth century.

From the middle of that century, all over Europe, art lovers and artists exercised greater and greater pressure to obtain access to collections of old masters in great royal, princely or private collections for their own aesthetic enjoyment, but also with the purpose of the education of young artists. The old masters continued to be the models to study and copy to

complete that artistic education. At the same time, rulers, princes and collectors participated to a greater or lesser extent in this concept of a new role for collections, even though opening them added to their prestige. Such openings took different forms, from the display in a wing or a building which was not occupied by the prince or the ruler, to the construction of a separate building, exclusively for the display of works of art. Access was often free and without restrictions; thus began the first museums in Europe. The Leveson-Gowers followed this tradition in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century in opening the collection to mitigate the lack of a great collection of old master paintings open to the public and to artists.

Reservation, if not resistance, to unrestricted access was based on class prejudice, in the belief that in the absence of an artistic education specific to the aristocracy, scholars and art lovers, classes considered inferior would not understand anything and it was therefore pointless to allow them access to art collections. Social selection was also based on money, with entrance fees or gratuities imposed to limit access to as many people as possible, something which would not be achieved until the nineteenth century. Cecilia Riva and Stefania Ermidoro take this concept of privileged access further in their essay, arguing that Henry and Enid Layard used their portraits to portray themselves as collectors, thus providing insights into their collections only to the privileged few with access to the portraits.

The publication of a description, illustrated or not with engravings, represented another way for the public to gain access to a collection and for its owner to disseminate it to a wider circle than merely visitors. This practice appeared at the same time as the kunstkammer. Natural history collections seem to have been rapidly published in greater numbers, despite the relatively high cost, in order to facilitate sharing and exchanges between scholars throughout Europe. It seems that art collections were published less quickly and to a lesser extent, but in very diverse forms. The concise list of works of art in the form of a simple inventory, handwritten or printed in varying numbers of copies, reflects a desire for limited distribution, often revealing equally limited opening to the public. In addition, the number of travel guides and city descriptions increased steadily from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards. They provided travellers and art lovers with practical information about private collections, including the address and more or less detailed contents of the cabinet, which could take the form of a list with the name of the artist, the title of the work and, occasionally, an engraving. In general, paintings and

sculptures received more attention from the authors. There was rarely any mention of a fee to be paid, however, it was customary to give a gratuity to the person, usually a servant of the house, who welcomed visitors and showed them around.

Other collections were the subject of publications rich in historical, artistic and aesthetic information, descriptions and engravings, particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century. Royal and princely collections in particular benefited from such works, which were funded by the prince. In her essay, Anne Harbers discusses the political and personal importance of the publications on the Royal Natural History Collection in Sweden. These publications echoed the spirit of the guides to natural history collections, with the aim of disseminating and sharing knowledge with a wider circle. Putting public collections and their archives online is part of the same dynamic, using new resources (Ulrike Müller). It makes aesthetic pleasure accessible to as many people as possible and facilitates the exchange of information, which in turn advances knowledge of the history of the collection and the works it contains, extending the study to the economic history of the art market, the history of taste and social history. Quantifying the distribution of publications, the size and composition of their readership or their influence on the quality and number of visitors remains a perilous if not impossible exercise, except for website analytics, which only indicate the number of readers but not their sociological or professional profile.

Although today private collections are generally more difficult to access than in the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth centuries, museums represent the culmination of this desire and demands to give access to collections to as many people as possible, without distinction. Although access to the great public collections now seems almost self-evident, this was not the case in the past, and this book traces the long, complex and fascinating beginnings of the process.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

AN, O1 29, fols 436 v-437 v.
BnF, mél. Colbert 307, fol. 36v.