Leopoldo Cicognara assembled one of the most substantial and selective collections of books devoted to antiquarian studies and art history. Already greatly appreciated by his contemporaries, the collection has been recognized as an important repertoire of artistic literature since the catalogue, edited by Cicognara himself, was ‘discovered’ by Julius von Schlosser.1 Since the 1990s the entire collection has been accessible on microfiche in many libraries throughout the world, thanks to the joint initiative of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and the Vatican Library, inspired and led by Philipp and Raina Fehl.2

The collection and its bibliographic system represent an important stage in the process of emancipating art from the other liberal and applied arts, a process first described by Paul Oskar Kristeller in his essay The Modern System of the Arts (1951-52).3 This complex system of the arts, defined and definable through the relationships it maintains with other areas of knowledge, can also be seen in the


Enthusiast and connoisseur, historian and art critic, political figure and public official, merchant and patron, Cicognara represents, in emblematic fashion, the transitional period from the Ancien Régime to the modern era.

A Ferrara native of aristocratic origins, he was educated at the Collegio dei Nobili in Modena and after a brief period of travel and artistic studies became a supporter of the revolutionary cause. During the years of the Cisalpine Republic and the Italian Republic, he embarked on a political career which ended in 1806. Named President of the Accademia di Belle Arti in Venice, in 1808 he began devoting himself to artistic and cultural events in the city, organizing the institution’s activities and the studies of young artists and diligently addressing the urgent problems of safeguarding them.

He was a close friend of Antonio Canova, whose works are the cornerstone of Cicognara’s theoretical reflections and historical studies, particularly his essay on aesthetics, *Ragionamenti del Bello* (1807), and the monumental *Storia della scultura* (1813-1818). His library of more than 5000 volumes, which he considered a direct expression of his interests, was recently the subject of an in-depth study by Elena Granuzzo, who has examined its history via the Count’s dense correspondence.

During the years 1798-99, a period when he was plenipotentiary minister of the Cisalpine Republic at the Savoy court, Cicognara began collecting books – perhaps inspired by the collecting of Pierre Louis Ginguené, who was sent to Turin as ambassador of the French Republic. At that time Ginguené already possessed a well-stocked library of Italian literature and musicology, which, prior to his sudden

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4 L. CICOGNARA, *Del Bello. Ragionamenti*, Florence, Molini, Landi & Co., 1808; the second edition was published by L. Rolla, in Pavia in 1825; the third, by Defendente Sacchi (*Del Bello. Ragionamento del Conte Leopoldo Cicognara. Con le notizie su la vita e le opere dell’autore, compilate dal signor Defendente Sacchi*), was published in 1834 by Silvestri in Pavia. Fortunately, including from a publishing standpoint, the essay is referenced in F. MAZZOCCA (ed.), *Scritti d’arte del primo Ottocento*, Milan-Naples, Riccardo Ricciardi, 1998, pp. 24-44: 24-25.


return to Paris, he enhanced with significant acquisitions. During the following years both men remained in touch, and when Cicognara spent time in Paris he attended his colleague’s lectures, and the latter, in turn, reviewed Cicognara’s works for the French public. The historical works of Gingué and Cicognara, Histoire littéraire d’Italie and Storia della scultura, were published during the same period and have many points in common, in terms of both form and content.

When he was appointed State Counsellor in 1802, Cicognara moved to Milan, capital of the Italian Republic, where he had stimulating contacts with artists such as Bossi, Appiani, and Longhi, and resumed his youthful artistic studies. He focused his interest as a book collector on the field of arts and antiquities, sharing this passion with his friends Appiani and Bossi. (The latter, precisely at this time, succeeded in significantly increasing his own collection, thanks to the acquisition of a significant portion of the library of Carlo Bianconi, his predecessor as permanent secretary at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Milan, who died that year.) This acquisition probably included the impressive collection of essays on architecture and perspective and the valuable holdings of works by Vitruvius in Bossi’s library.


10 Regarding Giuseppe Bossi’s library, see P. BAROCHI, Nota critica in Catalogo della libreria de fu cavaliere Giuseppe Bossi, Milan, Giov. Bernardoni, 1817, anastatic reprint Florence, Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1975, pp. [I]-XVII. Regarding the collecting of Giuseppe Bossi, see S. MARA, L’allestimento della quadriera di Giuseppe Bossi nel palazzo milanese di via Santa Maria Valle secondo il primo inventario topografico, ‘Arte lombarda’, 2012, 164/165, pp. 57-98; R. ANTONELLI, Sulla raccolta di antichità di Giuseppe Bossi, ‘Rivista dell’Istituto per la Storia...
Cicognara’s studies on aesthetics, begun at that time but concluded only in 1807 with the publication of *Ragionamenti del Bello*, had a significant influence on the book collection: the section of Cicognara’s library catalogue entitled *Scrittori del Bello* lists more than 30 titles by Italian, French, and English authors from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. These include Tommaso Buoni, Edmund Burke, Angelo Collodi, Alexander Cozens, Niccolò Franco, Marco Antonio Natta, Agostino Nifo, William Hogarth, and Francesco de’ Vieri, all cited in the *Ragionamenti*.11

dell’Arte Lombarda*, 2011, n. 4, pp. 87-94.


In L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo ragionato*, I, op. cit., see numbers:


1049. COLLODI ANGELO, Difesa della Bellezza. Lezione accademica, Firenze 1632, in 4 (= A. COLLODI, *Difesa della bellezza, lezione accademica*, Florence, Pignoni, 1632);


1056. FRANCO NICCOLÒ, Dialogo, dove si ragiona delle bellezze all’Eccell. Marchesana del Vasto con varie lettere al fine del volume, in Casale di Monferrato, per Giovanni Guidone, 1542, in 4 (= N. FRANCO, *Dialogo di Nicolo Franco, dove si ragiona delle bellezze*, Casale di Monferrato, Guidone, 1542);

1057. FRANCO NICCOLÒ, L’istessa opera, Venetiis 1542, in 8. In ambe le edizioni il motto è [In both editions the motto is] difficile est satyram non scrivere (= N. FRANCO, *Dialogo dove si ragiona delle bellezze*, Venice, Gardane, 1542);

1065. NATTAE MARCI ANTONII ASTENSIS, De pulcro libri sex, Paviae, apud Franciscum Moschenium, 1553, in fol parv. (= M.A. NATTA, *De pulcro*, Pavia, Francesco Moschenio, 1553);


1074. VIERI FRANCESCO, Sezione dove si ragiona delle idee e delle bellezze, Firenze presso il, Marescotti, 1581, in 8 (= F. DE’ VIERI, *Lezione dove si ragiona delle idee, et delle bellezze*, Florence, Marescotti, 1581);

1089 HOGARTH WILLIAM, L’analisi della Bellezza, tradotta dell’inglese [translated
From that point forward, Cicognara’s search for books and the growth of his library, on the one hand, and his research, on the other, became intertwined. This is particularly true for _Storia della scultura_, for which the library represented an indispensable study tool which was, moreover, continuously augmented thanks to the progress of the research itself. His commitments within the Accademia, with a curriculum that, since the reform of 1803, included the subjects of Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, Perspective, Decoration, Elements of the Figure, Engraving and Anatomy, with its ceremonies, speeches, and awards, also had an impact on the book collection.

Cicognara, like his friend Bossi, thus represents that ideal collector (as described in _Osservazioni sulla Bibliomania_, published in 1807, with a dedication to this friend, artist, and collector) whose commitment aimed at the progress of the human spirit – a commitment to which Cicognara remained faithful even when, in 1824, he was forced to relinquish his collection.\(^\text{12}\)

For acquisitions and exchanges, the Count relied on an extensive network of correspondents – friends and scholars, librarians and booksellers – including Antonio Canova, who acted as an intermediary in the acquisition of certain works in the collection of Séroux d’Agincourt, Francesco Cancellieri, the librarians Jacopo Morelli (Marciana), Francesco Tassi (librarian for the Grand Duke of Tuscany), Abbot Francesco Fontani (Riccardiana), Olivo Orioli (Classense in Ravenna), Bartolomeo Gamba (royal censor, publisher and librarian at the Marciana), the booksellers Giuseppe and Pietro Molini, Thomas Payne, Richard Foss, Jean-Simon Gravier, and the scholars Carlo Malmusi, Giovanni de Lazara, Giovanni Battista Vermiglioli, Gaetano Pinali, Sulpiz Boisserée, as well as many others.

During the initial phase of Cicognara’s pursuits as a book collector, he sought to acquire ‘any book relative to painting, sculpture, architecture, engraving, perspective, antiquities, in sum anything which might relate to the arts of drawing [disegno],’\(^\text{13}\) but the requests he sent to Fontani, Tassi, or Orioli a few years later were already targeted and concrete. The final acquisitions, made between 1818 and 1821, served to fill gaps in the library which emerged during the writing of the catalogue, as he explains in a missive sent in 1820 to Giuseppe Gonnelli: ‘I am engaging friends, wherever I have them, to procure for me certain books that at other times passed through my hands but I overlooked, as objects then secondary to my research. The only ones that can be found are deteriorated, scraps, at old bookstores, friars’ houses, little-noted sources of books, and which I can only obtain from time...

\(^{12}\) L. CICOGNARA, _Osservazioni sulla bibliomania_, in _Vita di S. Lazzaro monaco e pittore preceduto da alcune osservazioni sulla Bibliomania_, Brescia, Niccolò Bettoni, 1807, pp. 1-35.

\(^{13}\) Quoted by E. GRANUZZO, _Leopoldo Cicognara e la sua Biblioteca I_, op. cit., p. 247.
to time through the attention of extremely diligent friends whom I have scattered here and there.'

In anticipation of the sale, Cicognara was concerned about leaving recollections and documentation of his library through a catalogue that, as Philipp Fehl has observed, signified a first farewell to the collection. Its drafting, which was challenging and demanding, continued for several years, accompanying the Count on his various journeys – both his grand European tour in 1818-19 and to Bagni di Lucca, where he went periodically for the thermal baths – and suggests that a catalogue had been in existence for some time in files or volumes but limited to the organization of the books without, however, leaving any sign of ownership or bookplates, nor any indication of bibliographic arrangement.

It doesn’t require much to imagine that the sale – carried out to offset serious financial debts accumulated over the years, which had been further aggravated by publication expenses for the Storia – was a traumatic event for Cicognara. ‘I had to save myself from dying prematurely, by selling my library’, he wrote to his brother Vincenzo. The sale which Cicognara hoped to be able to conclude in Venice came to nothing, and yet he still achieved his desired goal because, since its acquisition in 1824, the ‘Biblioteca Cicognara’ has constituted a distinct collection within the Vatican Library, freely accessible to scholars and still today arranged according to the systematic order established by the Catalogo ragionato.

Other libraries of scholars and art historians, including those of Carl Ludwig Fernow (1809), Giuseppe Bossi (1817), Ennio Quirino Visconti (1818), Vivant

18 The library collection of Giuseppe Bossi was offered for sale by the bookseller Giegler, Catalogo della libreria del fu cavaliere Giuseppe Bossi, published in Milan in 1817, is
Denon (1826),20 Carl Friedrich von Rumohr (1846),21 and Quatremère de Quincy (1849)22 were liquidated during the early decades of the nineteenth century; we know about these thanks to inventories or sales catalogues, all compiled by librarians or booksellers after the owners’ deaths. While these catalogues have different organizational criteria, they eloquently reveal the bibliophilic interests and passions of the individual collectors but, unlike Cicognara’s collection, none of the others was restricted to artistic and antiquarian literature. In fact, only approximately 55% of Giuseppe Bossi’s library was related to art and antiquities; the remaining 45% was divided between ancient and modern literature, philosophy, history and natural sciences, and other subjects. Fernow’s library, composed of three principal sections, was also a faithful reflection of the scholar’s interests: ancient and modern art took up barely one third of the entire collection; the other two thirds were divided among philosophy and history, linguistics and Italian literature. Moreover, in Rumohr’s library, books pertaining to art and antiquities probably did not exceed 30%, although the portions reserved for history – both universal and local –, jurisprudence, agriculture, and culinary sources (cookbooks, etc.), were very conspicuous.23 As for the book collections of Visconti and Quatremère, the separate ‘extra-artistic’ categories of philosophy, theology, sciences, linguistics, and history can be estimated at first sight thanks to the systematic order of the catalogues.

Analysing the data contained in the correspondence, we can deduce that the Cicognara collection was also not restricted to books on art and antiquities, but included, among other things, a significant collection of ancient and modern literature, both in updated editions with critical commentary, and in rare precious

20 Description des Objets d’Arts qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le Baron V. Denon, 3 vols, Paris, Tilliard, 1826, III (J. DUCHESNE AINÉ, Estampes et Ouvrages à Figures), pp. 175-207. The Duchesne catalogue lists exclusively books illustrated according to categories: ‘Galeries, Musées, etc., Recueils divers, Sculpture / Pierres gravées, Médailles, etc., Antiquités, Architecture, Histoire naturelle, Costumes, Histoire, Poèmes etc., Voyages pittoresques, Topographie, Livres relatifs aux Beaux-Arts’.
22 Bibliothèque de M. Quatremère de Quincy de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Sécrétaire Honoraire de l’Académie des Beaux-Arts, Collection d’Ouvrages relatifs aux Beaux-Arts et à l’Archéologie […], Paris, Adrien Le Clerc, J.-F. Delion, 1850. In contrast to what is stated in the title, the collection included works on all subjects, from philosophy to theology, from sciences to history, etc.
23 The calculations are based on samples of approximately 30% of the books in each library; only Rumohr’s collection, divided into thematic sections, recurring and inconsistent, makes quantification of classes rather approximate.
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editions. The state of research completed to date does not allow us to precisely estimate the size, probably significant, of the portion of Cicognara’s library that remained uncatalogued. This will finally be seen in the ‘Libro di conti’, the ledger in the Museo Correr which, from 1808 almost until his death, records all the Count’s expenses and revenue. Its publication, however, has been awaited for many years and, in the meantime, the document cannot be consulted. Looking ahead, it can be said that the Cicognara library as we know it today is the result of downsizing and represents only part – undoubtedly the most important and complete part – of a more extensive collection.

The Catalogo ragionato dei libri d’arte e d’antichità posseduti dal conte Cicognara, appeared in 1821 in two volumes published by Niccolò Capurro in Pisa. It met with immediate success, exceeding the author’s expectations, due to both the quality of the highly specialized collection and to the expert bibliographical commentary appended to individual entries. Cicognara’s expertise in this field is further confirmed in the catalogue’s bibliographic section, where the 37 titles comprise catalogues of important private collections, including those of Giuseppe D’Azzara (n. 463), the Stoschiana (n. 4634), the Smithiana (n. 4635) and the Spenceriana (n. 4650), the libraries of Bossi (n. 4644) and Capponi (n. 4645), alongside bibliographies of rare books compiled by Brunet, De Bure, and Dibdin, the artistic bibliography by Murr, manuals and dictionaries of bibliography and bibliography, and to handbooks for the creation and systematic organization of public and private libraries.

The correspondence includes frequent references to books of non-artistic content; some examples are seen in V. MALAMANI, Memorie del conte Leopoldo Cicognara, I, p. 136 (books about art and machinery), I, p. 152. (French literature), I, p. 308 (fables by Francesco del Tuppo), and in E. GRANUZZO, Leopoldo Cicognara e la sua Biblioteca I, op. cit., p. 271-272. L. CICOGNARA, Secondo Libro della mia Amministrazione..., manuscript, Biblioteca Museo Correr Venezia, Mss. P. D. c 2833. The manuscript has been published recently in large sections in E. RIZZIOLI, L’officina di Leopoldo Cicognara. La creazione delle immagini per la ‘Storia della Scultura’, Rovereto, Osiride, 2016, pp. 681-777. However, Cicognara usually notes only the amount spent on books and rarely specifies details (author and/or title) of the books purchased.

The bibliographies of De Bure and Brunet listed in the Catalogo ragionato are no longer found in the Fondo Cicognara at the Vatican Library; they were most likely moved with a new binding to the library’s bibliographic sections. See L. CICOGNARA, Catalogo ragionato, II, op. cit., pp. 313-317:


4640. BURE (DE) GUILLAUME, Bibliotheque instructive, ou traité de la connoissance des livres rares, et singuliers, Paris 1768, vol. 7, in 8 (= G.-F. DE BURE, Bibliographie instructive, ou Traité de la connaissance des livres rares et singuliers, 7 vols, Paris, G.-F. De Bure le jeune, 1763-1768); other titles by De Bure were also present in the collection, including the two supplements to the Bibliographie instructive.
It is in this context that we should consider the brief mention of the organizational system of the collection contained in the *Catalogo ragionato*’s preface. Laying claim, on the one hand, to the originality of the collection, based on exclusively personal choices and preferences – ‘I having followed no intention in creating this Collection, beyond my personal pleasure’ – Cicognara states here that he has resorted to traditional systems for the systematic organization of the collection – ‘I divided the materials in a manner dictated not so much by my own convenience as by the customs of others.’

Thus, the question arises as to what bibliographic traditions can be used or adapted to the organization of an extremely specialized and innovative collection like that of Cicognara.

The *Catalogo ragionato* consists of two principal parts, Art and Antiquities, and the 26 and 16 sections that respectively divide the first and second principal parts. The sections, aligned on the same level without further divisions, are gathered together, while not expressly, into thematic categories (see Appendix I).

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4641. BURE (DE) GUILLAUME, Tome huitième contenant une table destinée à faciliter les recherches des livres anormes, Paris 1793, in 8 (= G.-F. DE BURE – L.J. GAINAT – J. –F. NÉE DE LA ROCHELLE, *Bibliographie instructive ou Traité de la connaissance des livres rares et singuliers. Tome huitième [i.e. dixième], contenant une table destinée à faciliter la recherche des livres anonymes qui ont été annoncés par m. De Bure le jeune, dans sa bibliographie instructive*, Paris, Deterville, 1793), and


28 Similar observations are made by L.R. SORENSEN, *Art Bibliographies: A survey of
A first group of 10 sections is devoted to art history and theory. Following the usual bibliographic order, from the general to the particular, we find here, in sequence, texts on the arts in general; treatises and manuals on painting, engraving and sculpture; some sections on architecture (here too treatises, texts on the architecture of modern and ancient theatres, treatises on perspective, and typologies of buildings, materials, and construction technology).

A second group of ‘literary sections’ distinguishes various types of text: ‘Poemetti Didascalici sulle Arti’ [small didactic poems on the arts], ‘Poemi, Drammi, e Autori Classici figurati’ [illustrated poems, plays and classical authors], ‘Favoleggiatori’ [authors of fables], ‘Lettere Pittoriche e Antiquarie’ [pictorial and antiquarian letters], ‘Descrizioni, Relazioni, e Memorie’ [descriptions, accounts, and memoirs], and finally ‘Orazioni Pittoriche, Statuti Accademici, e Almanacchi e Giornali’ [pictorial orations, academic statutes, almanacs and journals]. The only section in this group that is determined by content rather than literary form is the one related to ‘Scrittori del Bello’ [writers on beauty], which brings together some 31 texts on aesthetics. There is then a group set aside for erudition, with numerous publications regarding types of events, such as ‘Feste, Trionfi, Spettacoli, e Funerali’ [celebrations, triumphs, spectacles, and funerals]; practices, customs, and material culture from the past and present (‘Abiti e Costumanze Antiche e Moderne di tutti I popoli, relative ai loro Ornamenti, Danze Giuochi, Armi, Musica, Bagni, Pesi, Misure, Mense, Nozze, Invenzioni, Funerali ec.’ [practices and customs ancient and modern of all peoples, related to their ornaments, dances, games, weapons, music, baths, weights, measures, meals, nuptials, inventions, funerals, etc.]; forms of writing, mythology, and religion, illustrated books of various types (from illustrated Bibles to collections of portraits), and biographies of artists. The final section is dedicated to ‘Autori di Fisionomia’ [authors on physiognomy].

There follows a section devoted to ‘Antichità in genere’ [antiquities in general], the second principal division of the catalogue, to which studies of antiquities are assigned; this section is divided between studies on ancient and modern art in various geographical areas, from Egypt to ancient Greece; numismatic studies, epigraphy; topography with guide books, travel books, and catalogues; hippology, and finally ‘Alcuni Libri di Bibliografia’ [some books of bibliography].

A comparison with the two artistic bibliographies of the time, the Bibliothèque de Peinture, de Sculpture, et de Gravure by Christoph Gottlieb Murr and the Bibliografia storico-critica dell’Architettura civile ed arti subalterne (4 vols, Rome, 1788) by Angelo Comolli, both present in Cicognara’s library, show that, in spite of similarities in

content, there are notable differences in terms of organization, beginning with the fact that antiquities are ignored by both Murr and Comolli.

It seems to me that the systematic order of Murr’s work roughly follows the academic program for artists and amateurs – which is why he ignored not only Antiquities but also Architecture. In the first chapter Murr provides both a general bibliography of the three arts, Painting, Sculpture, and Engraving, and artists’ lives. The second chapter contains monographic studies of individual artists and their works. The third chapter presents dictionaries and essays on painting and other artistic techniques. The final chapters cover the academic aspects of drawing and the various iconographic genres; titles in this section include: *De l’Anatomie, De la Proportion du corps humain, ou de la Symmetrie, Du Dessein, De l’Expression & de la Composition, Du Coloris*, and the genres *Histoires, Portraits, Paysages, Chasses, & Batailles*, etc. (see Appendix V).²⁹

We have already seen a similar system, although less fully developed and consistent, in the bibliography annexed to the *Abecedario Pittorico* by Antonio Pellegrino Orlandi.³⁰ A list of 218 essays on Art, Architecture and Perspective is followed by a miscellaneous section of ‘Libri servibili, necessari, e utili ai pittori, e scultori’, which brings together 85 titles, organized according to genres and iconographic criteria (‘Anatomie’, ‘Abiti diversi’, ‘Alfabeti storici, e poetici’, ‘Istorie del testamento nuovo, e vecchio’, ‘Capricci pittorici’, ‘Degli dei antichi et immagini’, etc.) found in manuals and instruction books for young artists (‘Libri morali al pittore, Principj del disegno a’ studenti di Pittura, Regole, et ammaestramenti di pittura’).

Abbot Angelo Comolli’s *Bibliografia storico-critica dell’Architettura civile ed arti subalterni*, which, for reasons that remain unclear, Cicognara catalogued in the section of ‘Dizionarj e Abecedarj’, is, despite the title, an authentic universal bibliography of the arts of drawing.³¹ The organizational system, represented as a sort of tree of knowledge, was inspired by the *Encyclopédie*, but the three forms of knowledge identified by D’Alembert – *Mémoire, Raison and Imagination* – are


³⁰ A. PELLEGRINO ORLANDI, *Abecedario pittorico nel quale compendiosamente sono descritte le patrie, i maestri, ed i tempi, ne’ quali fiorirono circa quattro mila professori di pittura, di scultura, e d’architettura*, Bologna, C. Pissarri, 1704. Cicognara possessed 3 copies (see *Catalogo ragionato*, I, op. cit., nn. 2169-2171), two of which were the Venetian edition of 1753. For the systematic order employed by Orlandi, also see L.R. SORENSEN, *Art Bibliographies*, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

replaced by three other forms of instruction – ‘Introduzioni’, ‘Instruzioni’ and ‘Instituzioni’ (see Appendix VI). The specifically artistic categories, broadly speaking similar to those of Murr, are found at lower levels of the system. The category of ‘Instruzioni’ is original, and here Comolli lists those subjects that Vitruvius considered complementary to the architect’s education, such as History, Music, Medicine, Jurisprudence, Astronomy, etc., and Mechanics (the latter an addition by Comolli). The author justifies his broad approach in the introduction, explaining his concept of ‘elementary architecture’, which ‘includes everything that relates to the principles of architecture, and which guides, instructs, and forms the diligent architect in the knowledge of those ideas which, because they are primary and essential to the science that he aspires to learn, constitute its first notions, namely, its elements’.

Going back to Cicognara, the division between books on art and books on antiquities, which he considered a ‘natural’ distinction, recurs in the classificatory systems of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This is generated by a system founded on the canon of medieval faculties, where the individual aspects of art are attributed to the various fields of knowledge. Thus, in the Pandectae – the two volumes that make up the organizational key to Conrad Gesner’s Bibliographia Universalis – art theory, specifically perspective and proportion, is subordinate to Geometry, while the three arts, Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, are classified as mechanical arts. Ancient art, on the other hand, is assigned by Gesner to the two categories Geography and History; artistic topography and the monuments of ancient Rome are included in Geography; ancient art and epigraphy are included in History. Gesner’s system barely hints at this
subordination of Geography to History, which will constitute one of the principal characteristics of Antiquities in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century bibliographic systems.

The cataloguing of art within universal systems, first proposed with Gesner’s *Pandectae*, was maintained, with minimal variations and adjustments, for over 300 years. Indeed we also find it in the system developed by Prosper Marchand and Gabriel Martin, which was in use until after the mid-nineteenth century and is known as the *Système de libraires de Paris* – a system organized into five classes – *Théologie*, *Jurisprudence*, *Philosophie (Sciences et Arts)*, *Belles Lettres*, and *Histoire*\(^\text{35}\) – which, when appropriate, were subdivided, expanded, and thus adapted, as an all-purpose device, to the most disparate bibliographic realities.\(^\text{36}\) This can be seen in the more than 160 catalogues of private collections published by Gabriel Martin between 1701 and 1761, often in partnership with his son Claude, and in further catalogues, including those of Visconti (see Appendix II), Denon, Ginguéné, or Quatremère (see Appendix IV), compiled by other bibliographers, all in accordance with the Parisian booksellers’ system.

The flexibility of this system and its ability to absorb the new structure of certain materials is clearly seen in catalogues compiled around the middle of the century. The sales catalogue for the library of Quatremère de Quincy, published in Paris in 1849, gave the section devoted to Beaux Arts an historical dimension, introducing sections that were originally subordinate to the category of History, while the section on Historical Sciences now included the relatively new science of Archaeology, with the auxiliary disciplines of Numismatics and Epigraphy.\(^\text{37}\)

While less widespread than in France, the departmental system was also in use in Italy for the organization of libraries and bibliographies. The monumental universal bibliography, the *Mare Magnum omnium materiarum*, is perhaps one of the most famous examples. Begun in 1670 by Francesco Marucelli and completed by Angelo Maria Bandini, it includes 11 handwritten volumes; the material is structured and subdivided into 43 classes that can be grouped into five categories – completely equivalent to those of the Parisian booksellers’ system – Religion, Law,
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Philosophy, Art and Literature, History and Geography. Another example, well known to us, is the library of the counts of Martinengo in Brescia. The family librarian, Baldassare Zamboni, devoted a small publication to the collection, which, in Cicognara’s opinion, was a valid guide for book collecting as it ‘proposes a plan for the development of a Catalogue, and accounts for the various motives that, in general, constitute the rarity of books’. Moreover Zamboni indicates 9 classes for the systematic organization of the collection: ‘Theology, Philosophy, Mathematics, Ethics, Politics, Fine Arts, Erudition, History, and Miscellany’, with Philosophy and Mathematics corresponding to the Sciences et Arts category in the system of Parisian booksellers, the categories Ethics and Politics equivalent to Jurisprudence, and Erudition forming part of History (see Appendix III).

Traces of these kinds of universal systems can also be found in the systematic structure of Cicognara’s Catalogo ragionato. In particular, it is the internal division of the categories Sciences et Arts, Belles Lettres, and Histoire, or – in the Italian version of the Martinengo catalogue – Philosophy, Mathematics, Ethics, Fine Arts, Erudition, and History – that provides the organizational system for the collection. Comparison of the elaborate classifications of De Bure or Brunet with the ‘systematic tables’ of the catalogues of other collections such as those of Visconti or Quatremère, as well as with Zamboni’s rather rudimentary system, reveals many correspondences. Here I would like to mention only one example, which clearly demonstrates the application of a pre-existing system: during the printing of the catalogue, an error made it necessary to shift the section ‘Mitologia, Immagini Sacre, e Costumi Religiosi di tutti i popoli’ [Mythology, Sacred Images, and Religious Customs of all peoples] to the end of the catalogue, but Cicognara indicated its correct position – ‘due to similarity of subjects’.

A not explicitly hierarchical system, such as Cicognara’s, also makes it possible to incorporate or recombine in new relationships the ‘artistic sections’ extrapolated from the universal context. One example is Perspective, associated in the universal systems with the category Sciences et Arts as part of Mathematics, which Cicognara incorporated into the ‘Fine Arts’; or the ‘Illustrated Bibles’, originally classified under Theology, but which Cicognara lists in a ‘historical’ section, between ‘Illustrated Lives’ and ‘Collections of Portraits’. I consider the ‘Equitation’ section, placed between two ‘historical’ sections (‘Catalogues’ and


40 L. CICOGNARA, Catalogo ragionato, I, op. cit., p. IV-X.
Collecting art books: the library of Leopoldo Cicognara and his bibliographic system

‘Some books of Bibliography’) to be exceptional as it could not be convincingly located in the *Catalogo ragionato*. Hippology, which had always been considered an integral part of a prince’s education, was usually attributed to the categories *Sciences et Arts* or *Etica*. Its presence in a collection of art books – the subject was also well represented in Giuseppe Bossi’s library – is, instead, motivated by iconographic exigencies (such as the execution of an equestrian monument and the representation of a battle).

Relying on a universal and well-tested system, Cicognara chose a pragmatic solution for the organization of his collection: a system that, in its lower taxonomic levels offers all the categories pertinent to Arts and Antiquities, and from which he eliminated connections related to higher organizational levels. The sequence of the sections in the *Catalogo ragionato* thus is not the result of a ‘forward or backward operation based on clear focal points and on attempted connections’, as Franco Bernabei has recently written, but rather is drawn from a tested system, which presupposes and at the same time is silent about art’s relevance to a universal context.

[Six appendices follow. Ed]

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Organizational system for Leopoldo Cicognara’s library (information on the right side refers to the systems of Baldassare Zamboni and Parisian booksellers.

L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo ragionato dei libri d’arte e d’antichita’ posseduti dal Conte Cicognara*, 2 vols, Pisa, Niccolò Capurro, 1821.

Vol. I, pp. [XII]-XIII

Arrangement of subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part one</th>
<th>Fine Arts [Belle arti]</th>
<th>Sciences et Arts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On fine arts in general</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatises on Painting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On carving in copper and in wood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Treatises on Sculpture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elements, Proportions, Anatomy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatises on Architecture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Theatre Architecture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Theater Architecture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings of various types, Bridges, Roads, Fountains, Gardens, Materials, Machinery, and other subjects related to Architecture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Didactic Poems on the Arts</td>
<td>Literature [Belle lettere]</td>
<td>Belles lettres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writers on Beauty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrated Poems, Plays and Classical Authors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Storytellers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pictorial and Antiquarian Letters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptions, Papers and Memoirs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictorial Orations, Academic Statutes and Almanacs and Journals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Celebrations, Entries, Triumphs, Spectacles and Funerals</td>
<td>History/Erudition</td>
<td>Histoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient and Modern Clothes and Customs of all peoples, related to their Ornaments, Dances, Games, Weapons, Music, Baths,Weights, Measures, Meals, Nuptials, Inventions, Funerals Emblems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mythology, Sacred Images, and Religious Customs of all peoples*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrated Bibles, Illustrated Lives, Ancient and Modern Collections of Portraits, and other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Barbara Steindl  Collecting art books: the library of Leopoldo Cicognara and his bibliographic system

| illustrated works of various types. |  |
| Dictionaries and Abecedaries |  |
| Biography |  |
| Authors on Physiognomy |  |

* This section will be moved to the end of Volume Two, since, due to an oversight in the numerical progression, a great deal of work should have been redone. But it is indicated here for analogy of subjects. [Cicognara’s note, clarifying why the “Mythology” section is listed twice; at the end of Part one, and again at the end of Part two.]

Arrangement of subjects
Part two

| Antiquities in general | History/Erudition | Histoire Antiquité |
| Arabian, Egyptian, and Indian antiquities, etc. |  |
| Etruscan and Italian antiquities before the Romans |  |
| Greek, Greco-Italic and Herculanean antiquities |  |
| Numismatics and Engraved Gems |  |
| Inscriptions |  |
| Misc. scholarship |  |

| Large Museums, Galleries and Paintings | History/Geography | Histoire/Geographie |
| Illustrated works of sculpture of every type |  |
| Ancient and Modern Rome |  |
| Views of Cities and Descriptions of Monuments and Antiquities, Temples, Palaces and other grand buildings outside Rome |  |
| Guides and brief illustrations of unusual occurrences in various countries of Europe |  |
| General descriptions and Travels through Italy Catalogues |  |

| Equitation | Ethics | Arts sciences |
| Some Books of Bibliography | Literary History | Literary History |

| Mythology, Sacred Images, and Religious Customs of all peoples* | Erudition | Histoire/ Belles lettres |
Appendix II

Organizational system for sales catalogue of the library of Ennio Quirino Visconti:


1. Theology.

2. Jurisprudence.

3. Sciences and Arts.
   3.1. Philosophy, Morals, Political Economy, etc.
   3.2. Natural History and Medicine.
   3.4. Beaux-Arts, etc.

4. Literature [Belles-Lettres].
   4.1. Introduction to the Study of Literature, Grammar and Dictionaries.
   4.2. Rhetoricians and Orators.
   4.3. Greek Poets.
   4.4. Latin Poets.
   4.5. Playwrights.
   4.6. Mythology and Romans.
   4.7. Philology.
   4.8. Polygraphs and Correspondence.

5. History.
   5.1. Geography and Travel.
   5.2. Chronology.
   5.3. History of Religions and Superstitions.
   5.4. Ancient History.
   5.5. Modern History.
   5.6. Antiquities.
   5.7. Literary History.
   5.8. Bibliography.
   5.9. Biography.
   5.10 Historical Excerpts.
Appendix III

Organizational system of the library of the Martinengo family from Brescia, excerpted from:


1. Theology
   1.1. Holy Bible
   1.2. Interpretation
   1.3. Liturgy
   1.4. Psalmody
   1.5. Councils
   1.6. Fathers
   1.7. Rituals
   1.8. Discipline
   1.9. Ecclesiastic Antiquities
   1.10. Positive Theology
   1.11 Scholastic Theology

2. Philosophy
   2.1 Dialectics
   2.2 Metaphysics
   2.3 Psychology, etc.
   2.4 Physics
   2.5 Astronomy
   2.6. Hydraulics
   2.7. Mechanical Arts, Machinery
   2.8. Natural History
   2.9. Agriculture
   2.10. Medicine
   2.10.1. Blacksmithing
   2.10.2. Pharmaceuticals
   2.10.3. Anatomy
   2.10.4. Surgery
   2.11. Chemistry
   2.12. Botany
   2.13. Natural Secretions
   2.14. Medicinal Secretions
2.15. Chemical Secretions
2.16. Astrology

3. Pure and combined mathematics
3.1. Arithmetic
3.2. Geometry
3.3. Optics
3.4. Dioptrics
3.5. Catoptrics
3.6. Perspective
3.7. Gnomonics
3.8. Clockmaking
3.9. Fine Arts
3.9.1. Civil Architecture
3.9.2. Painting
3.9.3. Sculpture
3.10. Arts of War
3.10.1. Military Arts
3.10.2. Military Architecture
3.10.3. Fortification
3.10.4. Artillery

4. Ethics
4.1. Moral Philosophy
4.2. Virtues, Vices, Passions
4.3. Moral Fables
4.4. Facts, Adages, Proverbs, Doubts, Judgments, Political Concepts and Morals
4.5. Different states of people and regarding the Education of Youth
4.6. Cavalry Institution
4.6.1. Cavalry
4.6.2. Institution of Grandees
4.6.3. Exercises
4.6.4. Chivalric Arts
4.7. Symbolic and Figurative Philosophy
4.7.1. Enterprises, Emblems, Hieroglyphs
4.8. Games
4.9. Riddles, puzzles, mottos and other similar Pleasures

5. Politics
5.1. Canonical Law
5.2. Civil Law
5.3. Concerns, for Reasons above, and the Governments of the different Republics and Monarchies
5.4. Concerns, Reasons and Public Safety of the Republic of Venice
5.5. Description and the relationship of the different States
5.6. Politics
5.7. Earlier Political Considerations of Tacitus, or other ancient Writers
5.8. Domestic Economy, and Commerce

6. Literature [Belle Lettere]
6.1. Grammar
6.2. Oratory Art
6.2.1. Sacred and Secular Italian Orators
6.2.2. Latin Orators
6.2.3. Prose Writers in the Two Languages
6.3. Epistolaries
6.4. Poetry
6.5. Art of Poetry
6.5.1. Latin and Greek Poets and Translated Works from Greek and Latin
6.5.2. Sacred and Moral Poets
6.5.3. Epic Works
6.5.4. Lyric Works
6.5.5. Theatrical Works
6.5.6. Burlesques
6.5.7. Satires
6.5.8. Comparative Works in the manner of Boccalini
6.6. Fiction Writers
6.7. Short Story Writers

7. Erudition
7.1. Antiquities
7.1.1. Ancient Inscriptions
7.1.2. Medals
7.1.3. Mythology
7.1.4. Heroic Tales

8. History
8.1. Chronology
8.2. Geography
8.3. Genealogy
8.3.1. Heraldry
8.3.2. History of Families
8.4. History of Journeys
8.5. Sacred and Ecclesiastical History
8.6. Religious and Military Orders
8.7. History of Ancient Greece
8.8. History of Ancient Rome
8.9. Modern History of Europe
8.10. Civil History of Italy, of certain Provinces, or their Principal Cities
8.11. Wars of Italy
8.12. Civil History and History of Wars of France, Spain, and Portugal
8.13. Civil History and History of Wars of Germany and the Northern Regions
8.14. Civil History and History of Wars of the Turks, Asia, and Africa
8.15. History of America
8.16. History of the Indies
8.17. History of Particular Places
8.18. Venetian History
8.19. History of the Veneto Domain
8.20. Literary History
8.21. Biography
8.21.1. Lives and Memoirs of Supreme Pontiffs and Cardinals
8.21.2. Lives and Memoirs of Emperors and Sovereigns
8.21.3. Lives and Memoirs of Military Figures
8.21.4. Lives and Memoirs of Saints or Significantly Pious Persons
8.21.5. Lives of men in some manner illustrious or famous
8.21.6. Lives of Literary Figures
8.21.7. Famous Women
8.21.8. Miscellaneous
Appendix IV

Organizational system of the sales catalogue of the library of Quatremère de Quincy:


Table of Sections

PHILOSOPHY.
A. Ancient and Eastern Philosophy.
B. Modern Philosophy.

THEOLOGY.
A. Extinct Religions. (Greeks, Romans, Egyptians.).
B. Existing Religions.
   A. Christianity.
      I. General proofs.
      II. Sacred writing.
      III. Christian sacraments.
         A. Catholicism.
            1. Defence.
            3. Ecclesiastical and Canonical Law.
               a. General remarks.
               b. Popes.
   B. Protestantism.
   B. Buddhism – Idol worship.

PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

NATURAL SCIENCES – APPLIED ARTS.

ETHICS – EDUCATION.

LINGUISTICS.
LITERATURE.
A. General remarks. – Rhetoric. – Criticism and Philology.
B. Prose.
   A. Eloquence.
   B. Stories and Novels.
C. Poetry.
   A. Lyrical poetry. – Greek and Latin poetry.
   B. Italian poetry. – French poetry. – Scandinavian poetry. – German poetry.
   C. Eastern poetry.
D. Theatre.

FINE ARTS.
A. Arts of drawing.
   A. In general.
      I. Introduction.
         a. Art History.
            1. History of Art in antiquity.
            2. History of Art in the middle ages and in modern times.
         b. Aesthetics.
      II. Theoretical treatises.
         a. Dictionaries.
         b. Theoretical and Critical Combinations.
      III. Works of art.
         a. Galleries.
         b. Picturesque journeys and Artistic and archaeological guides.
B. Specific Arts.
   I. Architecture.
      a. Without distinction of genre
         1. Dictionaries – General remarks.
         2. Comparison of Ancient and Modern Architecture.
         3. Ancient Architecture.
            A. Greek, Roman and Celtic.
               A. History
               B. Theoretical treatises.
               C. Monuments.
                  I. Greece and Asia
                  II. Magna Graecia, Sicily, etc.
                  III. Italy and France.
            B. Egyptian, Indian, Mexican Architecture
         1. Modern Architecture.
            A. Italian.
               A. Theoretical treatises.
               B. Monuments.
B. French and English Architecture.
   A. Theory. – History and Works.
   B. Monuments.

b. Specific Architecture.

I. Civil Architecture.
   a. General theoretical treatises.
   b. Private Architecture.
      a. Palaces, Houses of Pleasure, etc.
      § 1. Collections. – Italy.
      § 2. France – Holland – Germany.
      b. Fountains, gardens, interior design.
   c. Public architecture.
      a. Sacred.
      § Temples compared. – Pagan temples.
      § Christian temples.
       Greek art – modern art.
       Gothic art.
      b. Monumental Architecture (triumphal arches and various monuments – Tombs.)
      c. Theatre architecture or architecture for public use.
         § 1. Circuses, theatres, celebrations, baths, libraries.
      d. Civil Engineering.

II. Military architecture.

II. Sculpture
   a. General remarks.
   b. Ancient sculpture.
      1. History.
         a. Collections. – Monuments of various types.
         b. Statues and busts.
         c. Bas-reliefs and carvings.
            a. Greek. Egyptian.
            b. Volscian, Roman bas-reliefs.
      c. Medieval sculpture – Modern Sculpture.
         1. History. – Biographies. – Works.
         2. Carving, casting.

III. Painting
   a. Ancient painting.
      1. History
         a. Manuscript paintings. – Wall painting.
         b. Painted vases.
c. Painting in mosaic.

b. Modern painting.
   1. Theoretical treatises.
   2. History of painting – Biographies and works of painters.
      c. Galleries – Collections.
   3. Specific paintings.
      a. Fresco painting.
      b. Painting on glass – Painting on enamel.
   4. Compositions based on ancient authors.

IV. Engraving
   a. Engraving on semi-precious stones.
   b. Engraving on copper.

B. Music

HISTORY OF SCIENCES AND LITERATURE.
A. General remarks.
B. Academies – Scholarly societies.
C. Biography of scholars and men of letters.
D. History of printing – Bibliography.

POLITICAL SCIENCES.
A. Politics and Political Economy.
B. Jurisprudence.

HISTORICAL SCIENCES.
A. Auxiliary historical sciences.
   A. Geography – Travel.
   B. Chronology.
   C. Archaeology.
      I. General archaeology.
         a. Dissertations – Combinations
         b. Monuments – Customs and usages, etc.
      II. Specific archaeology.
         a. Antiquities specific to different peoples.
            1. Egypt.
               a. General remarks – Miscellaneous.
               b. Hieroglyphics.
            2. Antiquities from Greece and its colonies.
            3. Roman antiquities.
         b. Monuments of a particular nature.
            1. Inscriptions.
2. Papyrus.
3. Numismatics.
   a. General remarks.
   b. Medals of peoples, cities and kings.
   c. Roman medals.

B. History.
   A. World history. – Ancient history.
   B. Europe.
      I. General history of Europe.
      II. Southern Europe.
         a. Greece (and Asia Minor).
         b. Italy.
            1. Before and under the Romans.
            2. Modern Italy. – Spain.
      III. Central Europe.
         a. France.
            1. General remarks. – History up to 1789.
            3. Provinces and cities.
         b. Switzerland. – Belgium. – Germany.
      IV. Northern Europe. – Eastern Europe.
   C. Asia.
   D. Africa.
   E. America.
   F. Biography

POLYGRAPHY.
   A. Polygraphic authors.
   B. Miscellaneous.
   C. Periodical writings.

OMISSIONS.

WORKS OF QUATREMÈRE.

AUTOGRAPH LETTERS.

WORKS OF QUATREMÈRE Remaining in quantity.
Appendix V

Organizational system of Christoph Gottlieb von Murr’s bibliography:

CHRISTOPH THEOPHILE DE MURR, Bibliothèque de peinture, de sculpture, et de gravure par Christophe Théophile De Murr, 2 vols, Frankfurt-Leipzig, Jean Paul Krauss, 1770, pp. 5-[13].

Table of Chapters

VOLUME ONE.
CHAPTER I.
Writers on Painting, Sculpture & Engraving in general.
CHAPTER II.
SECTION I.
Lives of the most famous Painters, Sculptors, & Engravers.
SECTION II.
Writers on the Lives of certain Painters, Sculptors, & Engravers.
Collections of Prints based on Raphaël d’Urbino.
Honours bestowed on Artists.
List of names for the Academy in Rome.
SECTION IV. [sic]
Writers of Monograms of Painters, & Engravers.
CHAPTER III.
Writers on Painting in general.
Painting
1. On Wax.
2. In Tempera.
3. In Enamel.
4. In Fresco.
5. In Oil.
8. In Pastel.
10. On Glass.
CHAPTER IV.
Writers on Sculpture.
CHAPTER V.
Carved stones.
SECTION I.
Treatises on Carved Stones, knowledge about them, their use, & their utility
SECTION II.
The Art of Engraving
SECTION III.
Lives of Carvers of Precious Stones.
SECTION IV.
Ancient Carvers of Precious Stones who carved their names
SECTION V.
Collections & Descriptions of Rooms of Carved Stones.
   Museums.
SECTION VI.
Catalogues of Carved Stones.
SECTION VII.
Discourses on Intaglio Carving.
Discourses on the Style of Michelangelo.
SECTION VIII.
Discourses on Relief Engravings.
SECTION IX.
Discourses on Christian Engravings.
SECTION X.
Treatises on Talismans & Engravings Made by Gnostic Heretics.
SECTION XI.
Works that Address Carved Stones, along with other Ancient Monuments.

VOLUME TWO.
CHAPTER VI.
   Medals.
CHAPTER VII.
   Authors regarding Engraving.
CHAPTER VIII.
   On Anatomy.
CHAPTER IX.
   On the Proportion of the human body, or Symmetry.
CHAPTER X.
   On Design.
CHAPTER XI.
   On Perspective.
CHAPTER XII.
   On Mythology, Invention, Order, Clothing, & Allegory.
CHAPTER XIII & XIV.
   On Expression and Composition.
CHAPTER XV.
   On Colour
CHAPTER XVI. Histories.
CHAPTER XVII. Portraits.
CHAPTER XVIII. Landscapes, Hunts, & Battles.
CHAPTER XIX. Seascapes.
CHAPTER XX. Animals.
CHAPTER XXI. Flowers.
CHAPTER XXII. Caricatures, Ornamentation, Symbols, & Inventions.
CHAPTER XXIII. Inventions for Goldsmithing.
CHAPTER XXIV. Descriptions of Paintings, Statues, Busts, Galleries, & Rooms in Various Places.
CHAPTER XXV. Catalogues of Prints.
Barbara Steindl is an academic collaborator at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut. Her publications and current research interests lie in Italian 19th-century art, the history of art libraries, art historiography, and Francesco Leopoldo Cicognara’s writings and library.

steindl@khi.fi.it

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