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Cabinets of Curiosities and the Organization of Knowledge

ABSTRACT

This article reviews some of the recent literature on early modern cabinets of curiosities and other repositories of knowledge. The 'material turn' taken by the history of science in the last two decades has produced claims for the primacy of objects and collectors in narratives about early modern natural inquiry. As these studies shed important light on the contents and shape of early collections, we must also consider how the model of the museum, in the hands of such figures as Cassiano dal Pozzo and John Evelyn, was adapted to new visual and literary purposes in the seventeenth century. If cabinets were implicated in new taxonomic projects to order the natural world, they also acted as preserves of older, more imaginative readings of nature. The encyclopedia of gardening that Evelyn assembled, the 'Elysium Britannicum,' permits us to trace how the cabinet model functioned as a strategy for dealing with the proliferation of information, objects, and books in the period.

KEYWORDS: natural history, museums, collecting, cabinets of curiosities, encyclopedic knowledge

I

In the last two decades or so, the history of science has taken a 'material turn.' Borrowing approaches from social anthropology and cultural studies, scholars have focused their attention increasingly on the spaces in which knowledge about nature was produced. In the early modern period, these spaces included markets and piazzas, anatomy theatres, botanical gardens, and museums. Aiming to correct what has been perceived as too great an emphasis on textual knowledge, scholars have sought to restore objects and the complex ways in which they embed and transmit meaning to their proper place in the history of early modern knowledge-making practices.[1] Another feature of this new historiography is its exploration of 'practitioners' – the wide range of individuals engaged in the study and transformation of nature. Alchemists,

1 For this argument, see Pamela H. Smith and Benjamin Schmidt, 'Introduction: Knowledge and Its Making in Early Modern Europe' (1–16).

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apothecaries, herbalists, artisans, merchants, and virtuosi figure prominently in these revised narratives of the history of science.[2] One of the sites for natural inquiry to receive scrutiny in this context is the cabinet of curiosities – a type of non-specialized collection that flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Assembled during a time of increased trade and travel, cabinets displayed such diverse objects as alligators' skins, chameleons, insects set in amber, corals, shells, medals, intaglios, South American feather work, and wampum belts; representations of mythical creatures (the unicorn, the basilisk) also found a home in these collections.

Paula Findlen, Lorraine Daston, and Katharine Park have argued that the strange array of *naturalia* and *artificialia* preserved in cabinets and the practices of collectors must be integrated into our understanding of early modern epistemologies and the social character of science.[3] Although, as Daston rightly points out, many cabinets 'ignored 99.9 percent of [the cosmos] in favor of the singular and the anomalous' ('The Factual Sensibility' 458), these collections nonetheless shed important light on the encyclopedic impulses and the drive to classify the ever-expanding natural world in the early modern period. The fresh evidence (specimens and visual accounts) gathered by cabinet collectors challenged the tenets of ancient writers on the natural world (Aristotle, Theophrastus). In addition to exhibiting natural phenomena incorrectly identified or not described in classical texts, cabinets offered new objects for empirical investigation with the microscope. While cabinets participated in modern taxonomic projects to systematize nature, they also registered and proliferated more imaginative readings of the Book of Nature. Similitude and resemblance were key criteria in the selection of cabinet objects. Zoophytes like sea anemones and coral, and botanical specimens that imitated the human form (mandrakes, digitated fruit) were prized by collectors. In time, an order of nature based on such correspondences between the divine, human, and natural realms would give way to the modern taxonomies of John Ray in the seventeenth century and Linnaeus in the eighteenth.

Several recent publications supply raw materials for an analysis of the ways in which the cabinet of curiosities was adapted to new scientific and cultural imperatives. On the face of it, these collections would appear to be sites simply of contestation: between the ancients and the moderns, between traditional paradigms of an interlocking universe and more rational orderings of nature, and between the knowledge contained in

2 The new material orientation of the history of science is exemplified by Cambridge's volume, *Early Modern Science* (2006), edited by Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston.

3 See Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*, and Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (1998).

books and that obtained through direct experience with material objects. As new treatments of these early collections suggest, however, it was the capacity of the cabinet to accommodate divergent readings of nature and to embody rival systems of knowledge, which makes it a crucial site for the history of early modern science. In a seminal article from 1989, Findlen showed how, in the Renaissance, the early museum constituted not only a place but a series of encyclopedic, material, and cognitive practices.[4] The works under consideration here encourage us to extend Findlen's analysis to think about the ways in which the cabinet model found visual and literary expression in the early modern period. As Ann Blair has recently argued, the early modern period experienced an 'information overload' due to the constant stream of new books; the reference genres and compendia designed to help readers navigate the flood of publications only increased their number ('Reading Strategies'). The cabinet of curiosities, then, must be examined alongside the other mechanisms that developed in response to the proliferation of books and objects. In what follows, two significant figures emerge from the seventeenth century, Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657) and John Evelyn (1620–1706), who located in the cabinet of curiosities a productive instrument for recording and making knowledge.

II

Forward-looking in their drive to document and to make sense out of puzzling and new specimens, these collections also gazed back longingly at the coherent world of nature that Adam experienced before the Fall. Taxonomic impulses were thus inflected with a discourse of mourning for a lost prelapsarian order. Arthur MacGregor's comprehensive and lavishly illustrated survey, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (2007), is particularly good on the display strategies used by collectors to mitigate the chaotic vision of nature inscribed by their own cabinets. Symmetrical arrangements of specimens, he explains, exemplified by the illustration of the apothecary Ferrante Imperato's famous cabinet in Naples (Figure 1), balanced the apparent randomness of the objects exhibited (22).

The order that collectors imposed on nature in their cabinets was often a precarious one, though, and inhabiting their displays were specific anxieties about humankind's susceptibility to temptation and about the body's inevitable decay. Religious and secular influences lay behind such practices as the suspension of crocodiles and other reptiles from the collector's ceiling. The cathedral of Seville hung enchained crocodile carcasses from their ceilings as emblems of evil (7) and the apothecary's

4 Findlen, 'The Museum: Its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy.'

Figure 1. Frontispiece to Ferrante Imperato's *Dell'Historia Naturale* (1599) (reproduced with the kind permission of The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto).

shop used similarly striking displays of its wares in order to attract customers (21–22). MacGregor's account of the museums of apothecaries focuses on the architecture of these spaces (waist-high counters, working surfaces, open pigeon-holes for boxes and jars) in relation to the experimental, healing activities of these professionals (22). Still, we know from the above example of the hanging crocodile that, depending on how materia medica was displayed, it might carry ominous overtones. Pictorial representations captured at once the plenitude of such collections and their tacit acknowledgement of nature's mutability.

A host of objects, including elegant ivory anatomical figurines and models of individual body parts (eyes and ears), speak to the collection as a site for contemplating the body (169). Underscoring the association between museums and death, MacGregor explores not only the practical challenges facing early collectors around issues of preservation but also the moralizing function of many museum displays. When taxidermy was in its infancy, durable natural history specimens were sought after: beaks of birds, snouts of fish, and tough-bodied reptiles (44). The development in the eighteenth century of such techniques as the insertion of wires into the legs of birds and the construction of supporting frameworks out of textiles offered collectors new ways of preserving their specimens (145). Anatomical collectors relied first on drying, then on

preservation in alcohol, and later on injection with chemicals and waxes in order to maintain the integrity of their specimens (162–64). The energies devoted to identifying effective methods of preservation served both scientific and aesthetic purposes. While collectors laboured to rescue specimens from the ravages of time, some cabinets incorporated elements of the *vanitas* tableau. In the late sixteenth century, the Anatomy Theatre at Leiden dramatized the Fall of Adam and Eve using posed skeletons (39). The seventeenth century saw Frederik Ruysch reinvent the *memento mori* tradition by exhibiting foetal skeletons and the perfectly preserved body parts of infants in intricate displays. Somewhat like explanatory panels, Ruysch included in his exhibits moral tracts (164–65). MacGregor's narrative of the more macabre aspects of the museum – its stern warnings about the transience of life – pushes us to consider further the ways in which early collections enact mourning. Jean Baudrillard has asserted that, through objects, the collector is able to mourn for and to transcend symbolically his own death (Baudrillard 17). The microcosmic dimension of collecting, rooted partly in the scriptural models that MacGregor traces (56–57), offers potentially fruitful materials for understanding how the early modern museum performs the work of elegy more collectively. As tiny arks and Edens, repositories and botanic gardens strove to reassemble the scattered products of Creation and thereby to recover lost Adamic knowledge. Cabinet collections register, then, the longing of a fallen humankind and perhaps, like elegy, functioned as a mechanism for consolation. At the same time, the fragmentation occasioned by the early museum and articulated in its exhibits (of carcasses, fossilized teeth, eagle claws, disembodied hands) could also be read as a continuation of the dispersion and dislocation brought about by the Fall.

The elegiac gestures embedded in cabinets, and thus the ways in which the museum and literary genres became intertwined, must be connected to the more general notion that MacGregor elucidates of the museum as an instrument for reading the Book of Nature (120). 'Those who learned to "read" nature in the cabinet' interrogated classical texts; the space of the museum permitted nature to testify on its own behalf (41). What MacGregor's study also underlines is the degree to which museum exhibits, in their physical form, were engaged with notions of the book. We know from John Prest that the botanic garden, resembling an encyclopedia, 'was a "book," laid out in pages, which were "printed" or "set" for reference' (Prest 6). But cabinet collections replicated books in other ways as exemplified by the 'cabinet of simples' held by the Collegium Pharmaceuticum at The Hague (39–40). The 'Thesaurus Sanitatis' took the form of an enormous wooden book on a marble pedestal stand. The inside of the cabinet door or 'cover' is gilded with a landscape scene; plants in the foreground are magnified. Again, one cannot miss the associations between this wooden chest, with its multiple drawers of simples,

and the biblical ark. The 'Wooden Library' of Carl Schildbach (d. 1816) offers another intriguing instance of the translation of the cabinet collection into the material form of a book (132–35). As manager of the estates of Hesse-Kassel, famous for their ornamental parks, Schildbach set out to compile the natural history of all the horticultural species in individual books.[5] Each volume was constructed from the wood of the tree and the bark was used for the spine. The book's surfaces were made from cross-sections of branches and polished samples to show the grain. Inside, the entire life-cycle of the plant was illustrated, alternately according to Tournefort's or Linnaeus's system. MacGregor's account of cabinet-books[6] helps us to chart the long history of the museum as an imaginative model of inquiry intimately tied to encyclopedic textual forms. As collections inculcated the importance of the first-hand examination of objects, their own curiosities began to resemble the bookish forms of knowledge from which they sought to distinguish themselves.

Quibbles with MacGregor's study include his avoidance of serious engagement with the recent work on the shifting definitions and relations between wonder and curiosity in the early modern period, and on the commercial dynamics at work in the production of cabinet rarities.[7] Like his previous volume on cabinets of curiosities, co-edited with Oliver Impey,[8] MacGregor's new study views these collections perhaps too narrowly as embryonic museums. Because, however, he gathers together such an impressive array of primary sources and ranges so widely over the landscape of collecting, his work is an indispensable guide to the people who formed these collections and to the objects they housed. Ultimately, the portrait that MacGregor paints of the cabinet collector is a melancholy one – that of an individual preoccupied with taking stock of and ordering an increasingly diffuse and perplexing natural world. The Genesis narrative permeates cabinets where collectors battle the effects of time on their specimens, the limitations of space, and their own mortality.

5 As MacGregor tells us, Schildbach's wooden library comprised 546 volumes at his death (133).

6 See also, for example, MacGregor's discussion of Philipp D. Lippert's *Dactyliotheca universalis*. These were cabinets, made for the collector's market in the mid-1750s, that resembled folio books and preserved collections of casts of gems in thematic arrangements (207–08).

7 I am thinking here of Daston and Park, ch. 8, 'The Passions of Inquiry,' in *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (303–28), and of Findlen's account of the fabrication in the early modern period of hydras and basilisks and the commercialization of collecting in 'Inventing Nature: Commerce, Art, and Science in the Early Modern Cabinet of Curiosities.'

8 *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*.

III

In the seventeenth century, Cassiano dal Pozzo translated the cabinet of curiosities into the realm of visual culture. He assembled a picture archive of the natural world and of the art and architecture of classical antiquity. This vast collection was called the *Museo Cartaceo* or 'Paper Museum.' Its drawings of classical items number 4,200 and the natural history group stands at almost 3,000. Turning the cabinet to visual ends, dal Pozzo avoided some of the pitfalls of the conventional collector. Many of his drawings were begun or completed *in situ* and thus mitigated against problems of transport and preservation. Dal Pozzo deployed the documentary potential of illustration to realize the encyclopedic ambitions of the museum. Whereas the aims at comprehensiveness of many Renaissance collectors remained unfulfilled because of issues of time and space, the fragility of specimens, and a penchant for the more anomalous of objects, dal Pozzo's collection testifies to the ways in which the cabinet model, in visual form, could be put productively to taxonomic ends. As secretary to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, patron of Poussin, and friend of Galileo, dal Pozzo stood well poised to function as a nexus in Rome for the exchange of information, specimens, and drawings. Thanks to an ambitious project of publishing a multivolume catalogue raisonné of dal Pozzo's Paper Museum, we now have a much greater understanding of the intellectual origins, shape, and the substance of this picture library. A member of Europe's first scientific society, the *Accademia dei Lincei* (1603–30), dal Pozzo shared this group's confidence in the visual representation of nature or, as they put it, 'painting for knowledge' (qtd in *Flora* 26). The academy relied extensively on fieldwork and the microscope, and its precise and detailed drawings reflect these empirical techniques. In 1633, dal Pozzo acquired the books, instruments, and natural history drawings commissioned by their founder, Federico Cesi. For this reason alone – that it preserves the pioneering researches of Cesi's academy – the Paper Museum is of crucial significance.[9] The catalogue raisonné sensibly publishes dal Pozzo's drawings by subject matter rather than by artist, and thus permits us to trace the ways in which this collector used his archive actively to make knowledge. Although only a portion of these drawings ever saw publication in the seventeenth century, dal Pozzo exploited these visual accounts to encourage further research and exchange on various natural history topics. The three volumes under consideration here from the Natural History series of the catalogue, on citrus fruit, fossil woods, and flora, respectively, take us

9 David Freedberg, in *The Eye of the Lynx*, explains that the Linceans' illustrations made with the microscope pre-date those of Antoni van Leeuwenhoek and Robert Hooke by about forty years (6, 33–34).

into the early modern world's struggles with taxonomy. Reproducing the dal Pozzo drawings in brilliant colour, these volumes testify eloquently to the drive, in an age of burgeoning information, to collect as many instances of nature as possible for classificatory purposes. What this visual archive also articulates is a curiosity about the variability of nature and the resilience of more traditional, imaginative interpretations of natural phenomena.

The centrality of citrus fruit to the taxonomic aims of seventeenth-century science is brought home by the meticulously researched first volume of the dal Pozzo natural history series, *Citrus Fruit*. Enrico Baldini observes in a useful essay on the still vexed field of citrus taxonomy that the Renaissance enjoyed a biodiversity of citrus fruit that contrasts sharply with the limited range of products offered by our modern citrus industry (*Citrus Fruit* 96). Quoting generously from the correspondence of the humanist Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc and dal Pozzo on citrus matters in the 1630s, David Freedberg situates these drawings within the context of humanist exchange and the growing interest in nomenclature. 'Intelligence' about citrus fruit was a valuable commodity, and distinctions between the Apple of Paradise and that tasted by Adam, and the drive to identify and to propagate the *melangolo* (bitter orange) were not inconsequential things (*Citrus Fruit* 46). Freedberg's discussion of an intriguing manuscript compiled by dal Pozzo on citrus fruit, 'Notizie diverse,' establishes the collector's role as the 'impresario' of the citrus world (*Citrus Fruit* 53–57). The manuscript is comprised of 131 folios which preserve the lists of queries sent out by dal Pozzo on Giovanni Battista Ferrari's behalf for the latter's treatise on citrus fruit, the *Hesperides* (1646). Replies to these requests for information, planting instructions, accounts of grafting, recipes for citrus jams and candied fruit, and nuggets of citrus folklore are also contained in dal Pozzo's manuscript. As Freedberg notes, the organization of this manuscript, which dal Pozzo continued to augment after the publication of Ferrari's *Hesperides*, was clearly a concern; it comprises drafts (some cancelled), outlines, chapter-headings, lists, cross-references, and an appendix. Freedberg's account of dal Pozzo's reliance on lists of queries and extensive correspondence networks has implications for our understanding of intelligencers in seventeenth-century England, and dal Pozzo's 'Notizie diverse,' in its encyclopedic approach, resembles Evelyn's own treatise on gardening, the 'Elysium Britannicum,' which will be discussed later in this essay.

The exquisite drawings reproduced in *Citrus Fruit*, each carefully annotated, illuminate the role of visual evidence in dal Pozzo's information exchange. A number of the citrus drawings he commissioned, such as those by Vincenzo Leonardi, form the basis of engravings in the *Hesperides*. Still, as Baldini explains, the dal Pozzo drawings as a whole represent a much broader range of species than does Ferrari's

taxonomical effort in the *Hesperides* (*Citrus Fruit* 97). The catalogue's editors helpfully supply, in an appendix, images of fruit from Ferrari, cross-referenced to the dal Pozzo drawings, as well as Ferrari's allegorical plates. As was the case in cabinet collections, dal Pozzo's archive delights in nature's propensity 'to joke.' His paper cabinet is filled with images of 'pregnant' or double fruits (Figure 2), fruits resembling human appendages, as well as other anomalous specimens. Freedberg considers how Ferrari negotiates teratological and hybrid forms through poetry. When Ferrari fails to find adequate explanations for such fruits, he simply invents poetic accounts of their origins. In Ferrari's Ovidian myth of Harmonillus, for example, the youth is transformed into a citron tree with his hands, appropriately, turning into digitated fruit (*Citrus Fruit* 74–76). As Baldini tells us, Ferrari incorrectly attributed the 'monstrous' form of some of his specimens to generative weakness; such fruits are now thought to be the result of damage to buds by a worm-like mite (*Citrus Fruit* 91). The image of a pregnant citron-lemon (89) highlights the empirical techniques associated with citrus investigations. Visible is an artificial 'window' cut in the fruit's rind to reveal the second fruit embedded within. Two of dal Pozzo's watercolours (97 and 98), not reproduced in Ferrari, reveal something else about the ways in which visual culture and early modern science might intersect. The images of lemons with finger-like appendages, the second of which depicts the fruits on a step or ledge, Baldini notes, have affinities with still-life compositions (*Citrus Fruit* 94). Other catalogue entries, such as that for a watercolour of a citron-lemon (57), draw our attention to the aesthetic value assigned to similitude; in this case, the arrangement of the fruit's membranes resembles a wheel or a rose (*Citrus Fruit* 192). Another haunting watercolour of a digitated lemon (81) depicts the fruit as two disembodied hands clasping each other at the end of a branch.

More controversial than the citrus fruit researches of dal Pozzo, Ferrari, and Peiresc were the palaeontological investigations by Cesi and the Linceans. The volume *Fossil Woods* of the dal Pozzo catalogue raisonné reproduces, for the first time, the corpus of 199 drawings that Cesi commissioned of the fossil remains in the region of his native Acquasparta. In Andrew C. Scott's introductory essay, which offers essential geological information, we learn that in 1980 a fossil forest was discovered at Dunarobba in the Umbrian hills (*Fossil Woods* 85). Cesi's collection includes field drawings of Dunarobba, and news of this recent excavation speaks to the timeliness of now publishing his pioneering work. Fossils, in the sense of 'things dug up,' occupied the attention of early modern collectors who, as debates raged on about their origins (organic or inorganic), stocked their cabinets with strange aetites (eagle-stones), *glossopetrae* (fossilized shark's teeth), and *cerauniae* (stone implements) (Murray 1: 61–73). The drawings that Cesi ordered of the fossil woods around

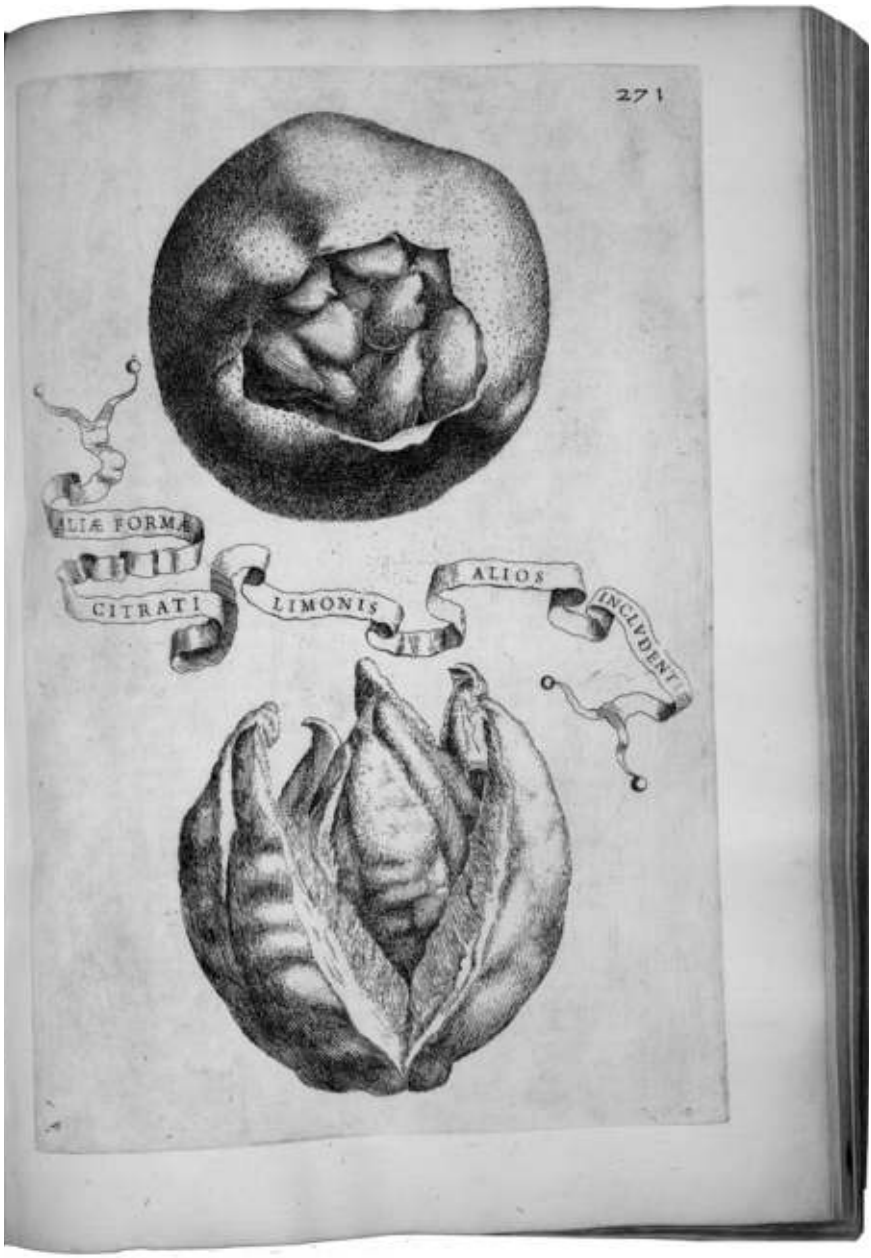

Figure 2. Pregnant whole fruit of a citron-lemon. Engraving, G.B. Ferrari, *Hesperides* (1646), 271. The preparatory drawings for this plate by Vincenzo Leonardi are reproduced in 91 in *Citrus Fruit* (reproduced with the kind permission of The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto)

Acquasparta display a slightly different orientation toward these materials. Cesi's annotations of these drawings eschew, asserts Freedberg, the 'drive to anthropomorphism and similitude,' characteristic of Ulisse Aldrovandi and earlier encyclopedists, in favour of a restrained, documentary precision (*Fossil Woods* 32). His correspondence and the frame-lines that surround a good portion of these drawings point to Cesi's intention to publish these images (*Fossil Woods* 34). Cesi's untimely death in 1630 and, according to Freedberg, the condemnation of Galileo in 1633, meant that the bulk of the research that Cesi had conducted for three projected books on metallophytes would not see the light of day (*Fossil Woods* 64–65, 69).[10] Only a tiny selection of Cesi's drawings appeared in Francesco Stelluti's *Trattato del Legno Fossile Minerale* (1637). In a helpful appendix, the dal Pozzo editors supply both a transcription and an annotated translation of the treatise.

If Freedberg does not make a strong case that Cesi was forced to suppress his conclusions about fossils because of an inhospitable climate, what this volume does demonstrate amply is the way in which dal Pozzo's acquisition of Cesi's drawings ensured a vigorous 'after-life' for these researches. In the spaces of dal Pozzo's Paper Museum and information exchange, Peiresc (who himself was compiling a treatise on the subject), his agent Jacques de la Ferrière, and Gabriel Naudé mount counter-arguments to Cesi's views. As La Ferrière put it, Cesi has 'mistaken the beginning of petrifaction for the beginning of the generation of wood' (qtd in *Fossil Woods* 55). In addition to a manuscript copy of Stelluti's treatise, dal Pozzo furnished Peiresc with a copy of Cesi's letter to Barberini in 1624 on the apparent 'middle nature' of some of his fossil woods and on the underground furnaces burning in the Acquasparta region. Dal Pozzo also composed and received letters of introduction to facilitate the fossil researches of those scholars and complied with requests for specimens (*Fossil Woods* 51–56). The visual archive assembled by dal Pozzo, then, activated and sustained a dialogue between scholars and across time. As appendices, the editors include translations of the letter from Cesi to Barberini, as well as one sent to Peiresc from La Ferrière in Rome in 1635. The latter missive details the observations that La Ferrière made at the site of Acquasparta and advances an antediluvian theory of these fossil woods. Neither Cesi nor Stelluti had understood or were willing to concede that the 'waves' on their fossil wood specimens were, in fact, growth lines (*Fossil Woods* 60). As is the case with the *Citrus Fruit* volume, by situating the dal Pozzo drawings in the context of humanist epistolary exchanges and contemporary scientific disputes, by cross-referencing the images to their printed

10 As Freedberg informs us, the observation of the microscopic structure of wood would await Hooke's *Micrographia* (1665), *Fossil Woods* (135).

counterparts, and by providing useful primary materials in appendices, *Fossil Woods* presents an integrated view of the Paper Museum and of the cabinet as an instrument of knowledge.

The catalogue entries in *Fossil Woods* set Cesi's field drawings of Dunarobba against recent site photographs. The sole coloured field sketch (14) among Cesi's drawings depicts the 'everlasting fires' of the region. Baked clays, some resembling terracotta pottery, are also rendered in vibrant watercolours. Entries for two pen and ink drawings of fossil woods (20 and 21) include photographs of strikingly comparable specimens from the site. At times, Cesi's annotations of the drawings, preserved in the catalogue entries, permit us to visualize the spaces of his fieldwork. An image of five concretions with freshwater shells (152) offers a note that these specimens were observed at a depth of 36 metres in his own well. While Freedberg observes correctly that few of Cesi's drawings display an interest in similitude, 96 and 97 offer pointed counter-examples. Here, a specimen of fossil wood bears a strong resemblance to a fish and the editors note Stelluti's account of this likeness. One of Cesi's own annotations, for a fossil wood specimen (88), draws attention to a knot with 'the appearance of a little boat' (qtd in *Fossil Woods* 212). Like many cabinet collectors, Cesi was also fascinated with ammonites, so-called because they were shaped like the horn of Jupiter Ammon. Unaware that these were fossilized shells of extinct cephalopods, Cesi's corpus includes ten such specimens (*Fossil Woods* 339). The editors show how these drawings formed the basis of a plate in Stelluti's treatise – a composite arrangement of ammonites. Identification of resemblances, then, did not fall out of such taxonomical projects as Cesi's visual record of fossils in Acquasparta. Just as Ferrari's *Hesperides* integrates accurate engravings of citrus fruit with poetic accounts of their origins, the fossil drawings of Cesi retain a curiosity for nature's ability to imitate other objects. An inventory of Cesi's museum, compiled after his death, lists three relics from this period of intense research – two inkwells and a broken table constructed from the fossilized ebony with which Cesi had become fascinated (*Fossil Woods* 49–50). Dal Pozzo's incorporation of the Acquasparta drawings into his collection thus realigned Cesi's fossil findings with the museum model, but in a much more dynamic context.

Through his acquisition of Cesi's library in 1633, dal Pozzo augmented not only the palaeontological but also the botanical components of his Paper Museum. Among Cesi's natural history materials was an illustrated herbal, the 'Erbario Miniato.' The most recent volumes of the dal Pozzo catalogue raisonné reproduce the 211 drawings from this early seventeenth-century album, in addition to other dal Pozzo botanical drawings. While the authorship of the Erbario drawings, which document both native and exotic species, remains an open question, the

editors concur that the majority of the annotations (helpfully translated here) are by Cesi (*Flora* 30). The inscriptions offer variant names of specimens, their medicinal uses, as well as cross-references to other botanical works, most often to the 1568 Italian edition of Mattioli's *Discorsi* (*Flora* 32–34). As is the case with Cesi's fossil drawings, the inscriptions for the Erbario images furnish us with details about the spaces of fieldwork. Cesi came upon his specimens of the fungus, 'trooping crumble cap' (48), in the crevices of 'an old brick wall.' Setting the Erbario in the context of the Lincean researches, Fabio Garbari and Lucia T. Tomasi connect Cesi's academy and its focus on visual documentation to Aldrovandi's *bottega artistica* where natural history drawings were produced (*Flora* 26). According, though, to Garbari and Tomasi, Cesi qualified his enthusiasm about scientific illustration on the basis that artists tended to 'prettify' the specimens under their view (*Flora* 40). The Erbario drawings do exhibit a kind of restraint; some of the specimens even seem dwarfed by the white expanses of their sheets. Compiled over an extended period, the album likely complemented and furnished species for Cesi's projected classificatory system for plants, the *Tabulae Phytosophicae* (*Flora* 39–41). Because the editors suspect that the first volume and a portion of the second in the Erbario series are now lost, it is difficult, however, to determine the full taxonomic aims of this project (*Flora* 37).

Just as Freedberg seeks to distance Cesi from the Renaissance interest in similitude, along similar lines, the editors of *Flora* hasten to point out that the Erbario contains no explicit expressions of the doctrine of signatures (*Flora* 38). But, in the course of the editors' own interventions in the text, the Erbario images are placed appropriately in a longer tradition of an imaginative engagement with nature. And it is the catalogue entries, it should be said, that are the strongest part of these volumes. Although Cesi's usually spare annotations deal almost exclusively with medicinal properties, the editors supply references to the doctrine of signatures, to classical mythology, and to other works of literature. The entry for the winter cherry or Chinese lantern (16) explains that the fruit's resemblance to a vesicle with a calculus led to its medical use for kidney and gall bladder stones. Where Cesi cites Mattioli's medicinal uses of the heliotrope (147), the dal Pozzo editors amplify his account with references to Ovid's myth in the *Metamorphoses* of the nymph Clytie. The entry for wild pansy or 'heart's-ease' (91) takes us to Puck's concoction of a love philtre from this plant, or 'love-in-idleness' as it is called in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. If Cesi's Erbario was intended as a methodical counterpart to his *Tabulae Phytosophicae*, the editors work to evoke the complex webs of imaginative associations (mythological, divine, literary) embedded in the names and uses of these plants.

The editors also highlight unusual or interesting visual features of these drawings. In the Erbario, the hop plant (112) is shown harvested

with its stems bound. For the guelder rose (133), the album's artist has chosen to depict a 'showy cultivated variety' which appears in seventeenth-century floral still-life paintings. The delicate drawing of the balsam apple (140) presents three different coloured seeds (brown, yellow, and orange-red). An overhead perspective is offered of one specimen, the red cabbage (285), in order to capture vividly the rosette of its leaves. With a keen eye for architectural and aesthetic details, the editors tell us that the crown imperial (199) became the symbol of Europe's first botanical garden at Pisa and that its museum still preserves one of the garden's original doors, carved with a bas-relief of this flower. Where the inscription for a deformed globe artichoke (293) refers to a similar 'monstrous cardoon' in the shape of a horn of plenty in Imperato's *Dell'historia naturale*, the editors reproduce this image. The entry for an apple destroyed by fungus, the startling drawing of which is attributed to Leonardi (280), also leads us in the direction of cabinet culture. As a result of disease, the apple's skin is puckered and its discoloured areas and indentations create an uncanny resemblance between the fruit and a human face. The editors suspect that the artist, familiar with the contemporary delight of collectors in *lusus naturae* (the jokes of nature), heightened the anthropomorphic aspects of the specimen. To make plain the link between this drawing and cabinets of curiosities, they reproduce a detail from the interior of Calzolari's museum that shows one such fruit suspended by its twig from the ceiling. We have come full circle, then, from MacGregor's account of early modern collections and their adoption of the *vanitas* tableau, to Leonardi's infected apple. Where Leiden's Anatomy Theatre poses skeletons of Adam and Eve to warn against the dangers of excessive curiosity, the dal Pozzo drawing crystallizes the Genesis narrative in a *malus memento mori*.

Taken together, the volumes of the dal Pozzo catalogue raisonné assist us in understanding how this particular collector helped to transform the cabinet from a storehouse of objects into a visual tool for creating and organizing knowledge. As Roger Chartier argues in his essay, 'Libraries without Walls,' the library, as a physical, textual, and intellectual space, had a fraught status in the early modern period. Aims at universality could be realized only in reductive enterprises like catalogues and surveys, not within the physical spaces of libraries (88). The Paper Museum, on the other hand, because it was not subject to the architectural boundaries of conventional cabinets, or to the exigencies of delicate specimens, and because it could absorb easily other collections, was able largely to fulfil its encyclopedic ambitions. Whereas the monochromatic engravings of cabinets that MacGregor discusses only augment our vision of these collections as melancholy, almost claustrophobic sites of decay, the lush drawings of dal Pozzo help us to imagine the museum as an expansive, vibrant space.

IV

As Cesi and dal Pozzo receive fresh scholarly attention that enhances our appreciation of the roles of collecting and visual culture in the history of early modern continental science, a key figure for these developments in seventeenth-century England, John Evelyn, is the subject of new studies. The British Library's acquisition of the Evelyn manuscripts and family archive in 1995 led to the publication, in 2003, of a major collection of essays edited by Frances Harris and Michael Hunter, *John Evelyn and his Milieu*. In 2006, marking the tercentenary of Evelyn's death, Gillian Darley published her new biography of Evelyn, *John Evelyn: Living for Ingenuity*. Both studies, not least because they draw on the Evelyn archive, illuminate facets of the man whose chief delights were encompassed in his motto, 'A Friend, a Booke, and a Garden' (qtd in Darley, 111). In his biography of Peiresc, Peter Miller lists the central practices of the antiquary as 'collection, observation, and comparison' (8). But these methods were hardly distinguishable, in the seventeenth century, from those of the new science, and the new treatments of Evelyn show him engaged, like an English Peiresc, in the acquisition and organization of knowledge.[11] It was Evelyn's ability, Darley shows, to gain entrance into privileged spaces that shaped the tastes and pursuits of this virtuoso. His initiation into the 'Arundel' court, a kind of 'informal academy' which included resident artist and curator Hendrick van der Borcht and engraver Wenceslaus Hollar set the stage for Evelyn's travels in 1641 to the Low Countries where he admired examples of the Dutch classical school of architecture, Leiden's anatomy school and botanical gardens, and the great printing works (21–29). The royalist exile's extended grand tours in the 1640s took him to Paris, where he forged ties to another important household – that of the English Resident, Richard Browne. There he attended Anglican services in Browne's private chapel and met his wife-to-be, Browne's daughter Mary (70–71). Evelyn's companionate marriage to Mary furthered his interests, fostered on the continent, in experimental science and in visual and material culture. Mary's expertise in distilling essences and plant oils develops alongside Evelyn's French chemistry courses (95, 69). While in Paris, she commissioned the ebony collector's cabinet that would house their curiosities at Sayes Court; a miniaturist and painter, she designed the frontispiece to Evelyn's translation of Lucretius (117, 141). By the Restoration, Evelyn's residence at Sayes Court, Deptford, had become 'a kind of outdoor salon' (204). His grounds housed a chemical laboratory and his gardens were the site of frequent horticultural and design experiments (131).

11 Dr William Rand dedicated his translation of Gassendi's life of Peiresc to Evelyn.

Three essays from the British Library's volume examine the importance of the repository or collection to Evelyn's literary and cultural pursuits. In an essay by Douglas Chambers, we see how letterbooks offered Evelyn a means by which to negotiate boundaries between the public and the private. Over eight hundred letters are preserved in Evelyn's two folio volumes and constitute 'a parallel (and often scholarly) autobiography' to the more public self-portrait in his *Diary* (Harris and Hunter 33). Chambers analyzes here Evelyn's nuanced usage in his letters of the word 'impertinence.' As a gesture of epistolary decorum, Evelyn couches his requests for seeds in such deferential language. This term figures usually in an oppositional context: Evelyn's learned interests are 'impertinencies' to the aims of the new science, affairs of the public sphere are impertinences to his withdrawal to his garden and the knowledge it embodies (Harris and Hunter 23–25). In more elegiac instances, the deaths of friends are 'unavoidable Impertinences' (qtd in Harris and Hunter 25). If Evelyn's letterbooks constitute a repository of his thoughts and experiences, Chambers shows that they were not a static space. Within his letterbooks, Evelyn subjects his missives to additional processes of revision and annotation and, following the classical model of Pliny, assembles a narrative from his epistolary exchanges (Harris and Hunter 21, 26). A form of (self)-inscription, the letterbooks help us to chart key shifts in Evelyn's life, as when, for example, he moves from student to advisor on the Grand Tour. As Harris and Hunter say, one of the roles that Evelyn adopted upon his return to England was that of cultural 'consultant' (Harris and Hunter 15–16). Where once letters, books, seeds, shells, and recipes flowed from Evelyn on the continent to England, his letters to protégés in the second half of the century now convey Evelyn's own appetite for such news and curiosities from the Grand Tour. The elegiac mode, then, appears in different guises in the letterbooks. Chambers argues that the letterbooks themselves articulate Evelyn's conviction that 'Method and orderly reduction' is a way back to Paradise (qtd in Harris and Hunter 21). More specifically, the letterbooks register the loss of his friends and his migration, in some spheres, from centre to periphery.

An essay by Antony Griffiths, which asserts Evelyn's priority as one of England's first print collectors, brings his period on the continent into sharper focus. According to Griffiths, Evelyn's print collecting activities were at their height in Paris from 1649 to 1652; he commissioned his now famous portrait from the French engraver Robert Nanteuil during this time (Harris and Hunter 99–100). Evelyn's collection of prints formed the basis of his *Sculptura* (1662), the first full-length history of printmaking (Harris and Hunter 107). Not only did Evelyn collect prints, but he also produced his own etchings. Plates were made from his drawings of his Grand Tour experiences and some of these etchings

were actually sold on the market (Harris and Hunter 100–103). One wishes that Griffiths had made more use of the extant correspondence about Evelyn's print collecting. Letters from van der Borcht in the 1640s, for example, show how the artist and dealer shaped Evelyn's tastes not just in prints but also in gardens.[12] Griffiths does, however, include as an appendix a transcription of the central document for Evelyn's substantial, and now dispersed, print collection: a three-page catalogue inserted into his 1687 library catalogue. Evelyn pasted his prints into albums, organized usually by subject (topography, portraits, architecture, antiquities) but sometimes by artist (Harris and Hunter 96). Observing that Evelyn used the alchemical sign for mercury to designate items in his print collection, Griffiths holds out hope that some prints from Evelyn's original collection might still be identified (Harris and Hunter 97). As Darley notes, Evelyn's visit to dal Pozzo's Paper Museum in November 1644, and his admiration there of the 'Antique Bassirelievos about Rome' copied in folios, probably led to Evelyn's own commissioning of drawings by Carlo Maratti of the Capitol's bas-reliefs (49–50). Griffiths reaches a similar conclusion about one impetus behind Evelyn's print collection – that it was compiled to document the visual culture of antiquity and to authenticate scriptural narratives (Harris and Hunter 108). The most significant drawing in his collection, by Maratti of the frieze on the Arch of Titus portraying the Emperor's triumph in Jerusalem, derives from his encounter with dal Pozzo and testifies to Evelyn's goal of correcting inaccurate visual records and of using objects to substantiate Holy Scripture (Harris and Hunter 96). Looking again at Evelyn's catalogue of prints, we see that, in addition to images of antiquities, it also included a 'large collection' of natural history drawings (of animals, birds, fishes, insects, plants, flowers). Other groupings are devoted to 'Scheletons [and] anatomies,' and 'Inventions mechanic, trades, works, vases &c.' Evelyn concludes one section of his catalogue with the general (and grasping) category of 'other varieties of the world, all design'd from the nature and the things themselves' (Harris and Hunter, Appendix 109–110). Though certainly not of the same scale as dal Pozzo's picture library, Evelyn's print collection was no less encyclopedic in its aims.

If Evelyn, in the middle of the century, emulated dal Pozzo's commitment to compiling a visual archive of antiquity and of nature, his investment in the library as an instrument for producing knowledge was equally substantial. An essay by Giles Mandelbrote argues that in both its acquisitions and in the reading practices that it facilitated, Evelyn's was a 'modern library' (Harris and Hunter 75). The years that Evelyn spent in mid-seventeenth-century Paris shaped his career as a bibliophile;

12 For these letters, see BL Add. MS 78315–16.

England lagged behind the bibliographical connoisseurship of Paris (Harris and Hunter 72). Darley observes that Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* had just been reissued in 1644 – a guide to the collector who aspired to the goal of a 'universal library' (68).[13] Mandelbrote works from Evelyn's little-studied 1687 library catalogue and shows that, at almost five thousand titles, his library doubled the collections of Pepys and Locke (Harris and Hunter 73). Tracing Evelyn's habits of inscribing his books with details of their provenance, Mandelbrote takes notice of his assiduousness in acquiring (and bestowing) presentation copies (Harris and Hunter 76–78). As the British Library now holds about three hundred items from Evelyn's library, identifiable by the 'Eve.' pressmark, Mandelbrote's observations on the nature of his annotations are particularly important. When they involve copies of his own books, Evelyn's remarks often draw attention to misbound leaves and to printers' errors, as well as update the material. The annotations are a means of 'putting things on record or of setting the record straight' (Harris and Hunter 82). Francis Bacon's empirical methods are at play when Evelyn inserts results of his own experiments in the margins of books to dispute or to reinforce published accounts, and when he marks passages for extraction in commonplace books (Harris and Hunter 86, 81). And here a link should be made between Evelyn's annotating of his books and the marginalia that he adds to his letterbooks. His commonplace books are preserved in his archive and, together with the books from his library, Mandelbrote suggests, it will be possible to reconstruct some of Evelyn's reading processes (Harris and Hunter 81). In the method that Mandelbrote outlines, one might, for example, seek out Evelyn's 1638 Bible, with its extensive annotations of the Book of Genesis (Harris and Hunter 87), and read these in conjunction with the manuscripts for his encyclopedia of gardening, the 'Elysium Britannicum,' and with the extractions on Paradise in his commonplace books. Mandelbrote's essay also leads us to ponder the complementary aims of Evelyn's print collection and library. Whether commissioning a copy of the frieze of the Arch of Titus or annotating an issue of the *Philosophical Transactions*, Evelyn displays the same documentary impulse and drive for accurate information.

As Griffiths observes, Evelyn gave up print collecting after 1655; compiling a visual archive of nature and antiquities proved too 'tempting [a] diversion' (qtd in Harris and Hunter 106). Also for reasons of time and expense, in the 1650s, Evelyn aborted his scheme to collect insects and butterflies (Darley 148–49). In fact, the major collection, in addition to his library, to which Evelyn continued to add throughout his lifetime was his 'paper cabinet' – the 'Elysium Britannicum.' Disappointingly,

13 Evelyn's English translation of Naudé's treatise appeared in 1661.

neither Darley's biography nor the British Library essays address Evelyn's magnum opus in any detail. Granted, the lengthy treatise, unfinished and unpublished, and surviving in a complicated manuscript state, presents certain challenges to the scholar. With, however, greater attention being paid to cabinets of curiosities and to the organization of early modern knowledge, and with Evelyn's stock rising, it seems timely to consider where this work might fit in the new historiography.

V

Like dal Pozzo, Evelyn experimented with the cabinet model and attempted to harness its potential as an epistemological tool. But, whereas the former re-imagined the cabinet as picture library, the latter adapted it to textual practices. The techniques that he developed, rooted in the practices of the collector, add to Blair's account of information overload in the early modern period and the textual strategies that emerged to cope with the expanding world of knowledge. For almost five decades, Evelyn collected materials for his 'Elysium Britannicum' – an encyclopedic treatment of gardening in three books. Because a large portion of book two and all of book three of the text are now missing, it is especially critical to assess the surviving manuscript material for the 'Elysium' in order to grasp its organizing features and substance as a whole.[14] In what follows, I will suggest some continuities between this text and the cabinet model and then discuss the third book of the encyclopedia, for which much manuscript material survives, that is at heart about the organization of knowledge.

Writing to Sir Thomas Browne on 28 January 1659/60, Evelyn expresses his satisfaction with the method of composition he developed for his treatise: 'those [chapters] which are so compleated are yet so written that I can at pleasure inserte whatsoever shall come to hand to obelize, correct, improve, and adorne it' (Browne, *Works* 4: 276). Two decades later, in July 1679, he confesses to John Beale his despair at the now burdensome task of keeping the material up to date:

> When againe I consider into what an Ocean I am plung'd, how much I have written, and collected, for above these 20 yeares, upon this fruitfull and inexhaustible Subject. . .and what insuperable paines it will require to insert the (dayly increasing) particulars into what I have already in some measure prepar'd. . .I am almost out of hope. (BL Add. MS 78299, fol. 2v)

14 Harris speculates that the original manuscript of the 'Elysium' might have totalled one thousand pages ('The Manuscripts of the "Elysium Britannicum,"' 15). As she also suggests, John Ingram's recent edition of the 'Elysium' is centrally flawed because it does not represent the additional material that Evelyn intended to incorporate into the main body of his text (13–19).

Evelyn's use of the word 'particulars' alludes to the building blocks of Baconian empirical natural histories. Specifically, 'particulars' refer to units of information including passages from books, eye-witness reports of phenomena, visual accounts, and objects. The phrase, 'dayly increasing particulars' registers Evelyn's anxiety at the unceasing flow of data and objects that await his perusal and incorporation into the 'Elysium.' One of the instruments that Evelyn relies on to gather such information is the list of queries. As we have seen, dal Pozzo exploited this tool in order to assemble his manuscript on citrus fruit and, similarly, the manuscripts of the 'Elysium' preserve the lists that Evelyn generated in order to acquire, for example, details of Scottish gardens (from Robert Moray) and Irish gardens (from Robert Boyle).[15] As correspondents supplied him with desired particulars, he annotated their letters with book and chapter numbers for the 'Elysium' or copied out passages from their responses and designated them for his treatise.

Preserved in his archive are a series of manuscripts of materials that he intended to insert in the main text of the encyclopedia. Blair's discussion of the cut-and-paste methods of the Renaissance naturalists and collectors Conrad Gesner and Aldrovandi are relevant here. According to Blair, Gesner cut up incoming letters by subject matter for inclusion in different parts of his archive and Aldrovandi extracted passages from books on slips of paper which were rearranged in the manuscripts sent for printing (25–27). In the 'Elysium' manuscripts we encounter folio after folio of uncut leaves, of passages from Evelyn's reading on gardens, reports from correspondents, accounts of natural phenomena from unidentified sources, catalogues of horticultural species, and cross-references to his commonplace books. For the unbound material, which includes numerous letters, Evelyn developed a system of abbreviations (to which he supplies a key) that indicates its connection to the 'Elysium.' Supplementing these abbreviations is an additional group of symbols (interlocking circles, flowers) that mark folios of inclusion in the encyclopedia. Evelyn's 'Elysium' was therefore both an instrument for making knowledge and a repository to contain it. The open-ended structure, a collection that could expand infinitely because it was not subject to limitations of physical space, likely ensured that it remain unfinished.

In its substance, the 'Elysium' has affinities to the cabinet of curiosities that longed to impose an order upon nature while embracing the exceptions to nature's rule. Like dal Pozzo's circle (one of the works that he consulted in the compilation of his encyclopedia was Ferrari's the *Hesperides*),[16] Evelyn's imagination was caught by the 'borderline' cases of natural phenomena. Nowhere, he asserts, does nature 'luxuriate'

15 These lists are in BL Add. MS 15950, fol. 164.

16 See BL Add. MS 78343, fol. 151 for the reference to the *Hesperides*.

more than in oranges and lemons. He marvels at the 'gigantic' size of some and the tininess of others, and at mixed and 'pregnant' species (BL Add. MS 78344, fol. 41). For his chapter on 'stupendious and wonderful plants,' Evelyn preserves accounts of anthropomorphic orchids and Joseph Scaliger's report of a pear in Gascony that 'exceedingly & exactly [resembles] a mans face' (BL Add. MS 78343, fols 5 and 20). Had Evelyn encountered Leonardi's drawing of the anthropomorphic apple, doubtless he would have included it here. Evelyn, like a cabinet collector, enjoys (at least initially) finding a place in his text for these new acquisitions and we must be cautious about interpreting Evelyn's 'particulars' of similitude and resemblance as explanatory rather than simply descriptive. The space of his textual collection gives rise to debates and careful judgement about the veracity of some claims. He playfully pits ancient gardens against those of the moderns in a miniature battle in book three of his work, but elsewhere enters into more serious territory when he sets John Woodward's hypothesis of the organic origins of fossils against Hooke's counter theory that does not assign such a prominent role to Noah's Flood (BL Add. MS 78344, fol. 75). It is the cabinet structure that permits Evelyn to put his sources in dialogue with one another and to engage in processes of correction and amplification.

If Evelyn looks to the cabinet for methods of composition in the 'Elysium,' it is book three where he articulates his general confidence in the collection as a means of organizing information. Here he supplies directions for assembling the *hortus hyemalis* (winter garden) and the *hortus siccus* (dried garden). For this chapter, he keeps an account of Isaac Vossius's volumes of 'oriental simples' held at the Hague (BL Add. MS 78343, fol. 60v). From Ray's *Travels* (1673), Evelyn extracts a passage about the Duke of Modena's museum in which dried plants are pasted on boards; these are framed and 'hung about roomes like picturs' (BL Add. MS 78344, fol. 37). Book three also provides the reader with instructions for the 'hortulan' study and library. The manuscripts record Evelyn's attempt to compile a catalogue of books for his 'Garden Bibliotheck.' Ancients (Theophrastus and Hippocrates) and moderns (Robert Morison and Christopher Merrett) appear in these book lists (BL Add. MS 15950, fol. 144; BL Add. MS 78343, fols 29 and 125v). Further, the reader is urged to compile a general history of plants following Ray's system of classification (BL Add. MS 78343, fol. 53). Still, Evelyn sometimes betrays his reservations about such taxonomical projects, writing: 'he that can number the starrs in the heaven may hope to perfect the Catalogue of the flowers' (BL Add. MS 78342, fol. 320v). Standing in the hortulan library is another instrument for organizing nature's productions: the seed cabinet. This structure consists of a set of drawers 'divided into Squares like a Printers Letterbox' (BL Add. MS 78344, fol. 95v). The gardener's herbaria will assist him in the creation of the seed box and its contents should be arranged in alphabetical order or

according to the other classes that Evelyn describes in the 'Elysium.' We have returned, then, to the territory of the cabinet-book, so nicely explicated by MacGregor. The seed cabinet resembles a dictionary, and one cannot help extending the analogy to visualize the gardener as a compositor, arranging type. Evelyn's seed cabinet is an apt metaphor for the tensions inherent in early modern taxonomic enterprises – between comprehensiveness and order. One can imagine how quickly Evelyn's cabinet would fill up, with seeds spilling over the edges into adjacent compartments. At the textual level, the surviving manuscripts of the 'Elysium' permit us to explore analogous, fraught processes of accumulation and categorization. As scholars seek to reconstruct the conditions of early modern knowledge production and to assign importance to the cabinet of curiosities in epistemological processes, it behooves us to analyse not only the specific sites of collecting but also the ways in which the cabinet model was reformulated in new visual and textual forms.

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