Art history scholarship between the 1820s and 1870s: contextualising the Eastlake library at the National Gallery, London

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Figure 1 Carte de visite photograph of Charles Lock Eastlake, undated. National Gallery Archive NG67/5/1. Photo: The National Gallery, London.

The Eastlake Library began life as the personal library of Sir Charles Lock Eastlake (pictured in figure 1).[1] He had been a practising painter for a number of years before moving into official roles as Secretary to the Fine Arts Commission that was tasked with overseeing the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament (as of 1841); as Keeper (1843-1847) and then first Director (1855-1865) of the National Gallery; and simultaneously as President of the Royal Academy (1850-1865). At the same time, Eastlake was a researcher and scholar, publishing his pioneering classic of technical art history, *Materials for a History of Oil Painting,*[2] in 1847.[3] The Library, numbering

[1] The authors would like to thank Dr Susanna Avery-Quash for her kind assistance with this article, which has been adapted and expanded from a presentation with the same title that was delivered in the session 'Historic Libraries and the Historiography of Art (II)' at the College Art Association conference in Chicago on Friday, February 14, 2020. The subject of the article arises from a doctoral project which is being co-supervised by Robert Gordon University in Aberdeen, Scotland, and the National Gallery in London, England. Of the two co-authors, Katie Lissamore is the PhD candidate and Jonathan Franklin is one of her three co-supervisors.
[2] Charles Lock Eastlake, *Materials for a History of Oil Painting*, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, Paternoster-Row, 1847, 1 vol.
[3] For more biographical background on Charles Lock Eastlake see: Susanna Avery-Quash and Julie Sheldon, *Art for the Nation: the Eastlakes and the Victorian Art World*, London:

over 2,000 volumes, reflects his various roles and interests, especially in the fields of attribution, provenance research and the history of painting techniques. Eastlake died in 1865, and after several years of negotiation with the Gallery's trustees, his widow sold the Library to the National Gallery in 1870, where it remains today.[4]

Charles Eastlake's library is an exemplar of a personal working collection that has moved into institutional use. Eastlake acquired books not for their provenance or material attributes such as fine bindings, but rather for their informational value. In this respect, he was emulating evidence-based German scholarship in art history.[5] Interestingly, Eastlake did not commission a fancy bookplate for himself; a utilitarian stamp with the initial (E) was only inserted in his books by his widow upon their transfer to the National Gallery as she was keen to keep knowledge of the Eastlake Library alive. Today, this stamp serves as key provenance evidence in identifying the Eastlake volumes within the ever-expanding library collection at the National Gallery. Eastlake's pragmatic collecting ensured that the library was of profound informational value to the National Gallery in terms of curatorial decision-making. Proof of this was already apparent during Eastlake's lifetime: not only did it inform Eastlake's own scholarship, but he also lent books to others, for example John Ruskin,[6] and Ralph Nicholson Wornum.[7]

The Eastlake Library itself contains several bibliographical texts such as Rudolph Weigel's *Catalog von Kunstsachen und Büchern*,[8] and Luigi Lanzi's

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National Gallery Publishing, 2011; Susanna Avery-Quash, 'The travel notebooks of Sir Charles Eastlake', *The Walpole Society*, 73, 2011; David Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978; William Cosmo Monkhouse, *Pictures by Sir Charles Eastlake; with a Biographical and Critical Sketch of the Artist*, London, 1876; Charles Lock Eastlake, *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts by Sir C.L. Eastlake: Second Series. With a Memoir by Lady Eastlake*, London: J. Murray, 1870; W.F. Rae, 'Sir Charles Eastlake', *The Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, N.S. 1, July-October 1866, 52-79.

[4] Susanna Avery-Quash. 'The Eastlake Library: origins, history and importance', *Memofonte*, online journal, 10, 2013. 3-45: http://www.memofonte.it/contenuti-rivista-n.10/s.-avery-quash-the-eastlake-library-origins-history-and-importance.html

[5] Susanna Avery-Quash and Corina Meyer, 'Substituting an approach to historical evidence for the vagueness of speculation': Charles Lock Eastlake and Johann David Passavant's contribution to the professionalization of art-historical study through source-based research', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 18, 2018, 1-49.

[6] Lady Eastlake to Effie Ruskin 9 May 1854: 'Sir Chas hopes they are not gone as J.R. has 2 or 3 books of his – single volumes out of sets – but those will be easy to reclaim in some way' in Julie Sheldon, *The letters of Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009, 149. Also; Lady Eastlake to Effie Ruskin 10 June 1854: 'Sir Chas had written to the old R; about his books ignoring the fact of their being away too, & this morning he recd a short letter from J.R. himself dated June 6th Geneva in which he apologises for not having returned the books on the score of being too hurried'. 154.

[7] Lady Eastlake to R.N. Wornum 10 Sept 1865: 'You will find the work in Sir Chas Library in upper shelf of the compartment opposite fire place. Our servant will let you in. Also in lower shelf of same compartment you will find an early edition of Vas[ar]i in way' in Sheldon, *Letters*, 228-229. Also, part of the National Gallery Archive: NG5/161/12

[8] Rudolf R. Weigel, *Weigel's Kunstcatalog: Catalog von Kunstsachen und Büchern, welche in der Anstalt für Kunst u. Literatur (R. Weigel) in Leipzig vorräthig oder durch dies besorgt werden, nebst Register,* Leipzig: R. Weigel, 1838.

bibliography for his work *Storia pittorica dell'Italia*, both in the printed edition and in the form of a manuscript bibliography derived from it.[9] A copy of the sale catalogue of the library of Guglielmo Libri,[10] a notorious thief of manuscripts from French collections is also present in the Eastlake Library. Most significantly, there is a copy of the *Catalogo ragionato dei libri d'arte e d'antichità posseduti dal conte Cicognara*, published in 1821,[11] which is widely noted as a watershed art bibliography, and will be discussed later in this article.[12] The presence of the *Catalogo* alongside the other catalogues and bibliographies in the collection suggests an influence on Eastlake's collecting criteria. The contents of the Eastlake Library are aligned with Eastlake's interests and working roles, echoing the way in which Cicognara constructed his collection according to his own scholarly interests. Throughout Eastlake's life the library belonged to him, and was accommodated in his house in Fitzroy Square, London. As such, it is representative of the transformation of a personal library into an institutional resource. This trajectory, again, is not dissimilar to that of the Cicognara library, which was sold to the Vatican in 1824.

Across Europe, art libraries were in development well before the 1820s; however, they were usually privately owned, or had restricted access to specific users. Many libraries were assembled within long-standing fine arts academies and became increasingly formalised alongside the parent institution in which the collections were housed. Such institutions were framed by social and political developments across continental Europe. For example, the academies of Venice, Bologna and Milan between 1804 and 1814 were heavily impacted by the formation of the Kingdom of Italy (under Napoleonic rule), as this led to the reformation of the three academies with leaders sympathetic to the regime.[13] Another common element in many art libraries of the period is the role of specific individuals involved with their development. Numerous libraries were supplemented both formally and informally by gifts or bequests from private individuals. As in the case of the Eastlake Library, many art scholars involved in the administration of these

[9] Luigi Lanzi, *La storia pittorica della Italia inferiore o sia delle scuole fiorentina senese romana napolitana compendiata e ridotta a metodo per ageuolare a' dilettanti la cognizione de' professori e de' loro stili.* Firenze: A.G. Pagani, 1792; *Anonymous list of books on art, in manuscript, in Italian*, 184-? (National Gallery Library 108545)

[10] Guillaume Libri, *Catalogue of the Choicer Portion of the Magnificent Library, Formed by M. Guglielmo Libri ... Amongst which Will be Found: Unknown Block-books; Specimens of Early Typography and Art ,... Poems and Romances of Chivalry ,... an Extraordinary Series of Ancient Italian Literature...*, London: Sotheby & Wilkinson, 1859.

[11] Leopoldo Cicognara, *Catalogo ragionato dei libri d'arte e d'antichità posseduti dal conte Cicognara*, Pisa: Capurro, 1821, 2 volumes.

[12] Lee Sorensen, 'Art bibliographies: a survey of their development, 1595-1821', *Library Quarterly*, 56, 1 1986, 31-55.

[13] Andrea Appiani (1754-1817) was appointed keeper of the Brera gallery in 1808, but fell ill after a stroke in 1813 and his allowance was revoked in 1814 owing to the fall of the Kingdom of Italy; Pietro Giordani (1774-1848) became the proto-secretary of the Academy of Fine Arts in Bologna in 1808 and quit in 1815 upon the restoration of the Papal States; Count Leopoldo Cicognara (1767-1834) was appointed president of the academy of arts in Venice in 1808, but gradually lost favour with the Austrian emperors, resulting in the sale of his library to the Vatican in 1824 to sustain his personal finances.

institutions retained their own personal collections to support their work, rather than relying on their institutional library. Often the contents of these personal libraries eventually found their way into the institution. For example, during his tenure as inspector at the Städel Institut, Johann David Passavant gifted a quantity of books to the institutional library, and at his death in 1861 he bequeathed 300 more.[14]

Upon moving from Eastlake's home in Fitzroy Square to the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, the Eastlake Library became a neighbour of the library of the Royal Academy, which at that time shared the same building. The Academy's foundation document had established a library from 1793,[15] and in continental Europe similar documents clearly state the need for a library to educate art students in the academies. For example, the academies of Venice, Bologna and Milan all had statements concerning the inclusion of a library in their refreshed statutes in the early 1800s; similarly, the Städel Institut's foundational document (the will of Johann Friedrich Städel of 1815) mentions the inclusion of a collection of art books 'for students and the people'.[16] The administration of art libraries from this period was framed according to the audience or community they served. In many cases, this was 'for the education of artists', and consequently access for the public was limited or non-existent. Even when 'the public' was defined by foundational documents, there may be ambiguity as to what this really meant, and it was often linked to ideas of civility. In terms of collecting, compared to Eastlake's, these institutional libraries were designed for a broader audience: accordingly, they were on a larger scale and cast their subject net more widely. Eastlake's books began life as a personal working library and thus reflected his own interests as they evolved alongside his career from painter to arts administrator. While Cicognara's collection also incorporated his interests, he appears to have adopted the more holistic view of collecting deriving from the academy.

Comparing the Eastlake library to other libraries that resonate with Eastlake's professional and scholarly roles enables a deeper understanding of it. Such comparison echoes the spirit of Black's 'New Library History',[17] a seminal statement as to the importance of library history to wider historical narratives. Keeping this objective in view, libraries should not only be examined in isolation, but also as part of a wider bibliographical and societal context. To quote: 'Fact grubbing and description remain the bedrock of library history but inevitably data

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[14] Busso Diekamp, 'Johann David Passavant und die Bibliothek des Städelschen Kunstinstituts', in Hildegard Bauereisen and Margret Stuffmann, *Von Kunst und Kennerschaft: die Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut unter Johann David Passavant 1840 bis 1861*, Frankfurt: Kunstinstitut, 1994, 239-63, (244-6).

[15] Robin Simon and MaryAnne Stevens, eds. *The Royal Academy of Arts: history and collections*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018, 589 [Royal Academy Archive RAA/IF/1].

[16] Städel, Johann Friedrich, *Stiftungs-Brief des Städelschen Kunst-Instituts: enthalten in dem Testament des Herrn Johann Friedrich Städel, hiesigen Handelsmanns und gewesenen Mitglieds des löbl. Bürger-Collegs vom 15ten März 1815*, Frankfurt: Wenner, 1817.

[17] Alistair Black, 'New methodologies in library history: a manifesto for the "new" library history', *Library History* 11, no. 1, 1995, 76-85.

must surely be synthesised and moulded into models which comment not only on library history but on what libraries can tell us about past societies'.[18]

Within the institutional context of the National Gallery, documentation exists for the libraries of two other early nineteenth-century administrators, William Seguier and Ralph Nicholson Wornum, in the form of sale catalogues of their now dispersed libraries, plus several volumes from these libraries which can still be identified. Seguier was the first Keeper of the National Gallery from its foundation in 1824 until his death in 1843. His library is listed in a Christie's sale catalogue dated 6 May 1844.[19] Four bound volumes of auction catalogues from the library now reside in the Getty Research Library in Los Angeles. Wornum was appointed by Charles Eastlake as Keeper in 1855, a position he retained until 1877, having previously been Librarian for the Government School of Design overseeing what was to become the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum. His library is listed in a Sotheby's sale catalogue dated 16-17 April 1878.[20] Several of his books were purchased for the National Gallery at the sale and remain in the Library today.[21] Outside the context of the National Gallery, several other broadly comparable bibliographic vehicles have been identified, some of which were mentioned above as being present in the Eastlake library itself. 'Bibliographic vehicles' is intended to signify either library catalogues or bibliographies. As a starting point for building a comparative web of library collections, the current study compares the contents of the Eastlake library to those of Cicognara's *Catalogo*.

Cicognara's role as president of the Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia from 1808 to 1826 parallels Eastlake's presidency of the Royal Academy a generation later, and his engagement with scholarship on Italian art and sculpture lines up with Eastlake's scholarly activity, notwithstanding a difference in the direction of their research interests. As stated before, the *Catalogo* is present in the Eastlake library, and while there are no marginalia or annotations to confirm that Eastlake used the text directly (he did not habitually mark his books), its presence indicates some interest in the text. As a comparator for Eastlake, the *Catalogo* has many important aspects to recommend it. It serves as an important historical record of an art library at this period and is a key bibliographical text in understanding art historical scholarship in Italy during the period of Cicognara's career from 1805 until the sale

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[18] Black, 'New methodologies', 1995, 85.

[19] Christie, Manson & Woods, *Collection of Books on Art, Books of Prints, etc., of William Seguier, Esq., Deceased*, London: Christie, Manson & Woods, 1844. There is no evidence that any of Seguier's books found their way into Eastlake's library. Seguier's library, which was considerably smaller, was oriented more toward prints and print collecting.

[20] Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, *Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the Late Ralph Nicholson Wornum, Esq., ... To be sold by Auction by Messrs Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, on Tuesday 16th April 1878,* London: Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, 1878.

[21] Research is currently being undertaken to identify these texts. Two books known to have been purchased by the Gallery from Wornum's collection are Bohumír Dlabač, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*, Prag: G. Haase, 1815; William Bell Scott, *Memoir of David Scott: containing his journal in Italy, notes on art and other papers*, Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1850.

of his library in 1824 to the Vatican.[22] It establishes 1821 as a starting point for comprehensive art bibliography. While other large libraries documented their art book collections prior to this,[23] the use of subject headings and the informational interpretation of works was not present in bibliographical documents. The *Catalogo* entries are arranged into subject areas of Cicognara's choosing as well as incorporating commentary on the works at hand. Recent work has been undertaken in the form of the Digital Cicognara Library project, which aims to aid scholars with new ways of accessing the contents of the *Catalogo*.[24] It can be used as a basis for comparison with other art libraries and catalogues concerned with art history scholarship and its historiography. In this way one can evidence the long-range influence and legacy of the *Catalogo*. This can be demonstrated with the Eastlake library, and there is significant scope for further comparison to other book collections and bibliographic efforts.
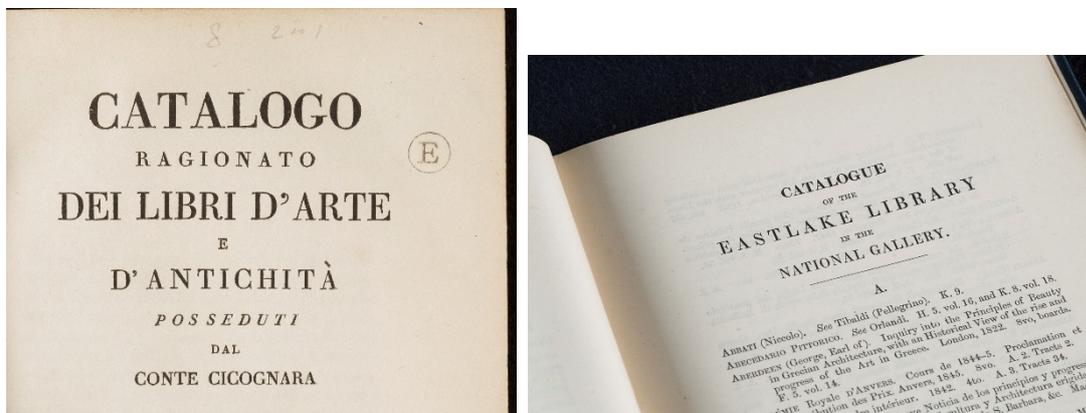

Figure 2: *Catalogo ragionato dei libri d'arte e d'antichità posseduti dal conte Cicognara*, 1821, title page (detail). With library stamp of Charles Eastlake. London, National Gallery (NG) Library 108541.
Photo: The National Gallery, London.
Figure 3: George M. Green, Catalogue of the Eastlake Library in the National Gallery, 1872, p5. NG Library 118094.
Photo: The National Gallery, London

In terms of overall size, the Cicognara library is over twice as large as the Eastlake library. Cicognara's *Catalogo* lists 4,799 entries, whereas the George Green catalogue of the Eastlake library of 1872[25] runs to just over 2,000 titles. In the present comparison, 314 titles occur in both Cicognara and Eastlake. In terms of overlapping collections, therefore, approximately 12.5% of the Eastlake library is also held by Cicognara, and 6.5% of Cicognara is also held by the Eastlake library.

[22] Lee Sorensen, 'Art bibliographies', 1986, 55; Phillipp Fehl, 'The Fondo Cicognara in the Vatican Library: Inventing the Art Library of the Future', Reinink and Stumpel, eds, *Memory & Oblivion*, Dordrecht: Springer, 1999, 43-56.
[23] For more examples of historical art bibliographies: www.memofonte.org
[24] Holly Hatheway, Roger Lawson and Charlotte Oertel, 'The Digital Cicognara Library: transforming a 19th century resource for the digital age', *Art Libraries Journal*, 45:2, 2020, 47-54; www.cicognara.org
[25] George M. Green, *Catalogue of the Eastlake Library in the National Gallery,* London: Eyre & Spottiswoode for HMSO, 1872.

The entries in the *Catalogo* are divided into two tomes, with a total of 42 subject headings including the Appendix.[26]

It is worthwhile to compare the arrangements adopted by the two catalogues. When the Eastlake library was transferred to the National Gallery after the completion of its sale from Lady Eastlake in 1870, the Gallery commissioned a catalogue of the contents. This was published in 1872 and written by George M. Green, a book and print seller known to the Gallery. The catalogue lists the works present in the Eastlake library alphabetically, predominantly by author.[27] By contrast, Cicognara's *Catalogo* was the first comprehensive art history catalogue organised by subject, and many institutional catalogues across Europe followed this approach rather than adopting alphabetical lists after 1821. Most of these catalogues, including both Cicognara's *Catalogo* and the Green catalogue, also aim to redirect the reader searching for alternate headings, for example, in the case of artist names. Internal cross-referencing is also a feature of both bibliographies (acting as 'see also' for associated works). From 1821, Britain's Royal Academy Library began to use subject headings in their library catalogues, as did the Städel Institut from 1852, using similar headings to those of the *Catalogo*. Whilst all these library collection guides had an alphabetical index of authors, the principal way in which these collections were marshalled was by subject. By the 1870s, however, this approach changed in some libraries in Britain. The Royal Academy catalogues had moved towards alphabetical organisation by 1877, an approach also adopted by notable bibliographies such as Henry Cole's *Universal Survey of Books on Art* (1870).[28] In the case of the *Universal Survey*, the sheer volume of material dictated an alphabetical approach.

However, while the Eastlake listing is predominantly alphabetical, there are some subject-related divisions. George Green's preface states simply that "Catalogues and Galleries are grouped under those two headings." Indeed, under the 'Catalogue' heading there are 480 entries, 136 of which are sale catalogues. Under the 'Gallery' heading there are eighty-seven entries. This is a category less familiar today, but one which would have been readily understood by a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century readership. These are volumes of engravings, usually published as bound volumes rather than compiled albums of individual prints, illustrating works in a single collection or, in some cases, more than one collection. The entries under the 'Gallery' and 'Catalogue' headings in the Eastlake library have been separated due to their format, rather than intellectual content. Green's background as a print and bookseller would have meant that these formats would have been easily identified and separated in the listing, whereas the

[26] To explore the contents of the Cicognara library, consult www.cicognara.org; work has already been undertaken by Jeanne-Marie Musto as to the subject content, geography, etc, of the Cicognara library https://mustoobservatory.com/

[27] The catalogue also places entries into this alphabetical listing according to artist names (these are usually utilised as a redirection to an author entry), as well as categories organised alphabetically by place such as GALLERY and CATALOGUE.

[28] National Art Library, *First proofs of the Universal catalogue of books on art, compiled for the use of the National Art Library and the schools of art in the United Kingdom. By order of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1870.

academic content of other works would have taken longer for him to discern. Whilst the *Catalogo* has sections dedicated to catalogues and print albums, they are part of a broader rationalisation of a collection primarily by intellectual content, and it is these intellectual divisions that are not present in Green's catalogue.
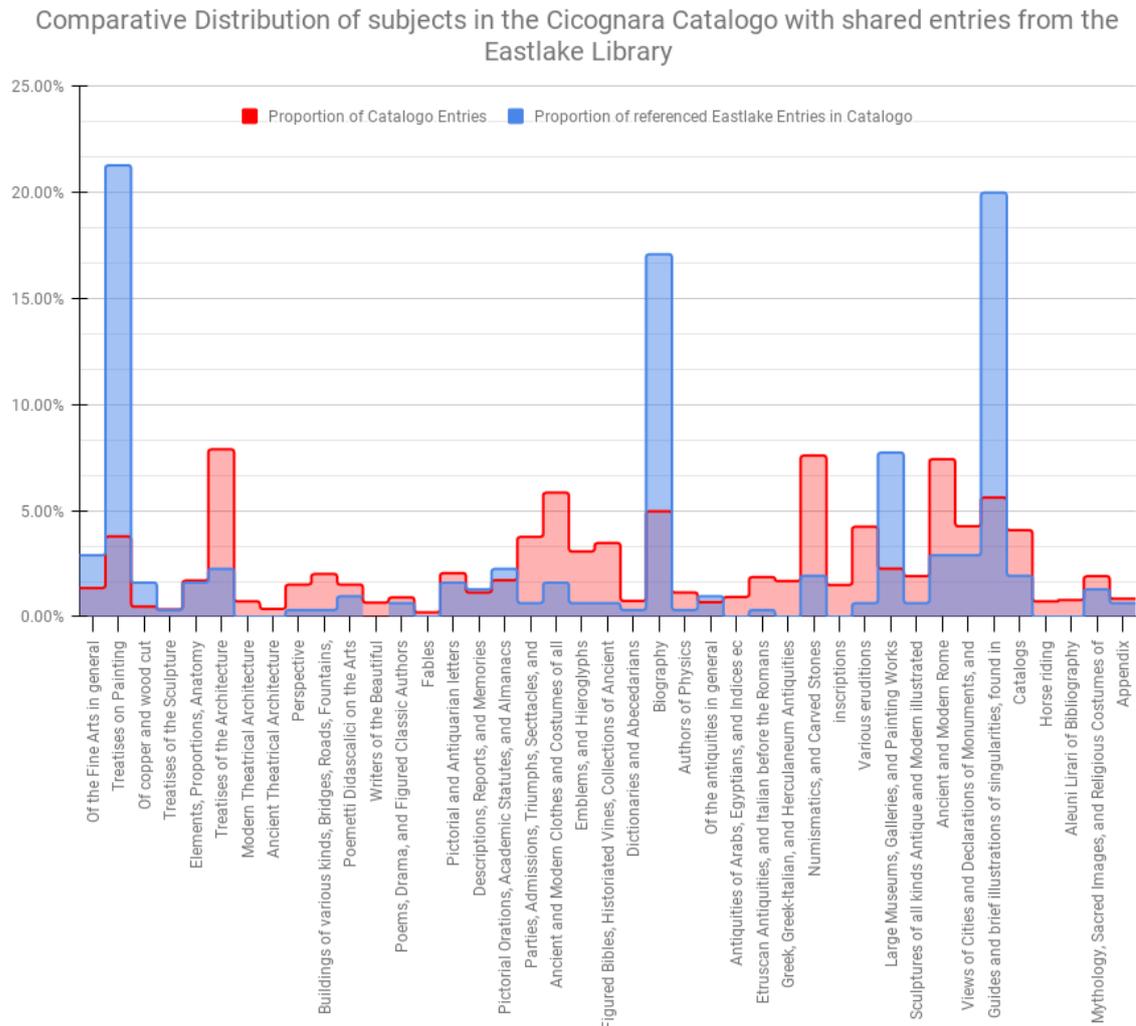

Figure 4: Chart showing the distribution of subjects of the Catalogo ragionato dei libri d'arte e d'antichità posseduti dal conte Cicognara (1821) and the subject distribution of works shared by both the Catalogo and the Catalogue of the Eastlake Library (1872).

In the chart above, the forty-two subject headings into which the entries in the *Catalogo* are divided are set out at the base of the chart. In each corresponding column above, the blue colour represents the percentage of the 314 titles held by both collections which fit that category, while the red colour represents the percentage of the overall Cicognara collection which fits that category.[29] For example, of the three tall blue columns, the one on the left is labelled 'Treatises on

[29] These numbers were obtained through copy-to-copy matching. This does not match reprints, different editions, or translations. Further analytical work is being undertaken to encompass these material differences between intellectual works.

Painting'. This column represents the fact that just over 21% of the titles that are in the Eastlake selection are treatises. The red colour within the same column represents the fact that treatises make up just under 4% of the overall Cicognara collection. The chart therefore indicates that just under 60% of Eastlake entries represented in Cicognara are made up by 'Treatises on Painting'[30], 'Biography'[31] and 'Guides and brief illustrations of singularities which can be found in various countries of Europe. General descriptions and travels of Italy'[32]. By contrast, Cicognara's approach to collecting was much more evenly distributed.

Eastlake's collection therefore had a narrower focus than Cicognara's. This is in part due to the shift from antiquarian notions of book collecting towards more precisely directed activity from 1820 onwards.[33] As already stated above, Cicognara's collecting appears to reflect the broader approach adopted by the contemporary art academies. In addition, Cicognara was motivated to acquire books as fine works in and of themselves. In the publication *Vita Di S. Lazzaro Monaco e Pittore Preceduta da Alcune Osservazioni Sulla Bibliomania* (1807)[34], Cicognara asserts that his collecting is not only scholarly, but also includes fine works. He nevertheless draws a distinction between himself and 'bibliomaniac' collectors in that he is first and foremost a seeker after knowledge in a particular field, rather than remaining superficial by collecting too widely.[35] As mentioned above, Eastlake's collecting centred on informational value: any acquisition of 'fine works' was incidental. A few of the older books acquired by Eastlake had illustrious provenances and interesting bindings. Their inclusion in his own collection is only indicated by the later utilitarian "(E)" stamp, while his choice of binding, where one was called for, was a relatively plain option by the standards of the time. His real interest lay in the contents of the works themselves rather than as aesthetic objects in their own right.

Understanding of the collection contents beyond Cicognara's forty-two subjects can be refined through examining the derived subject headings provided in the modern catalogue entries available on the Digital Cicognara Library website for each of the 314 shared titles.[36] It can be seen that Italian art, artists and places are well represented in the Eastlake selections in each of the three sections of major overlap: 'Treatises of Painting', 'Biography', and 'Guides and brief illustrations of singularities which can be found in various countries of Europe. General

[30] 'Trattati della Pittura', Cicognara, *Catalogo,* 1821, v2, XIII.

[31] 'Biografia', Cicognara, *Catalogo,* 1821, v2, XIV.

[32] 'Guide e brevi Illustrazioni delle singolarità, che trovansi in vari Paesi d'Europa. Descrizioni generali e Viaggi d'Italia', Cicognara, *Catalogo,* 1821, v2, I.

[33] James Raven, 'Debating bibliomania and the collection of books in the eighteenth century', *Library & Information History*, 29,3, 2013, 196-209; David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600–1840*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018; Cecilia Hurley, 'Putting art in its place: the "modern system of the arts" in bibliographies and bibliothecae', *Perspective*, 2, 2016, 87-110.

[34] Leopoldo Cicognara, *Vita di S. Lazzaro monaco e pittore preceduta da alcune osservazioni sulla bibliomania*, Brescia: Nicolò Bettoni, 1807.

[35] Elena Granuzzo, 'Leopoldo Cicognara e la sua biblioteca: formazione e significato di una collezione (I)', *La Bibliofilía*, 114(2), 2012, 231-272.

[36] www.cicognara.org.

descriptions and travels of Italy'. Eastlake was known for his specialism in Italian art over other schools and was selected as Director of the National Gallery for this reason. He himself admitted his shortcomings in other areas of art, a point he made when he had to defend himself over the 'Bad Holbein' scandal of 1845, explaining that he was less of an expert on Northern European painting.[37]

Eastlake's various professional roles were echoed in his use of the library as well as in the small corpus that is shared with the *Catalogo*. For example, the library supported both his public service as Secretary of the Fine Arts Commission investigating the possible use of fresco painting for the newly built Houses of Parliament, and simultaneously his private scholarly interests in the origins of oil painting. This resulted in the publication of his landmark work *Materials for a history of oil painting* (1847).[38] The Cicognara *Catalogo* lists about 190 titles in the category of 'Treatises on painting'. Of these, sixty-six are also in Eastlake. The titles included by Cicognara cover both theoretical treatises, such as Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della pittura diviso in sette libri, nei quali si contiene tutta la teorica e la pratica di essa pittura.*[39] Cicognara's library held several editions of this treatise, and more practical works, including several on subjects such as colour, encaustic or hot wax painting, dyeing, and the use of varnish. The most famous medieval practical treatise, and the earliest in Italian, is Cennino Cennini's *Il libro dell'arte* of ca. 1390; because the first published edition did not appear until 1821[40], it only makes it into the *Catalogo* in the Appendix (4765), rather than in this section. Its presence in the library nevertheless underlines that Cicognara did attend to what is now called technical art history, a subject which was to become central to Eastlake's interests. Both Cicognara and Eastlake include treatises in Italian, French, and Spanish. Cicognara's diligent collecting of writers in English extends not only to the heavyweights such as Jonathan Richardson and Sir Joshua Reynolds, but also minor players such as Daniel Webb, an Irish writer of aesthetics,[41] in more than one edition. He even acquired an English translation of Lomazzo, whom Eastlake was happy to read in the original Italian. A handful of German writers are represented in translation in Cicognara. Dürer's treatises, at first sight curiously absent from this section, are categorised elsewhere by Cicognara, under 'Elements, Proportions and Anatomy'.[42] Finally, both libraries include the satirical work by Jean André Rouquet on the virtues of cheese as an ingredient in painting: '*L'art nouveau de la peinture en*

[37] David Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World*, , 1978, 85-87.

[38] Jonathan Franklin, 'The Eastlake Library and the sources for Materials for a History of Oil Painting, 1847', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, 38, 2017, 18-31.

[39] Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte de la pittura*, Milano: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1584.

[40] Cennino Cennini, *Trattato della pittura, messo in luce la prima volta con annotazioni dal cavaliere Giuseppe Tambroni*, Roma: Paolo Salviucci, 1821.

[41] Daniel Webb, *Ricerche sopra le bellezze della pittura e sul merito dei più celebri pittori antichi e moderni. Opera tradotta in italiano da una dama veneta*, Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1791.

[42] 'Elementi Proporzioni e Anatomia', Cicognara, *Catalogo,* 1821, v1, XIII.

fromage, ou en ramequin, inventée pour suivre le louable projet de trouver graduellement des façons de peindre inférieures à celles qui existent (1755).[43]

Eastlake's library developed alongside his professional career, notably as he became Keeper and ultimately Director of the National Gallery. Faced with the task of identifying and acquiring paintings for the collection, he evolved a toolkit of several research methods. Close inspection of the painting itself was one. Primary archival research was another, either directly or through the use of correspondents. Conversations with informed experts were a third. And not least was the consultation of reliable secondary literature, including the carefully assembled resources of his own library.[44] As an example of the role played by the library in one of Eastlake's acquisitions as Director, we may look at his 1858 purchase of The Lamentation over the Dead Christ by Marco Palmezzano (1459–1539), NG96. The painting was acquired in Rome from Signor Gismondi. It is described in the thirty-second edition, published in 1861, of the *Descriptive and historical catalogue of the pictures in the National Gallery, with biographical notices of the painters. Foreign schools, by Ralph N. Wornum; revised by Sir Charles Lock Eastlake*.[45] The entry includes a note (page 180): "Though the principal picture, - which is engraved in Rosini's *Storia della Pittura Italiana*, pl. 141, is signed Marcus Palmezanus faciebat, it is described by Vasari, ed. Le Monnier, vol. xi. p. 93, together with the lunette and predella, as the work of Rondinello of Ravenna. Vasari's error was corrected by Scannelli as early as 1657. See *II Microcosmo della Pittura*, p. 281". All three of these books are present in Eastlake's library.[46]

Eastlake travelled extensively throughout Europe as part of his curatorial work for the National Gallery, acquiring pictures for the nation, as well as adding to his own scholarly expertise. The guidebooks which accompanied him usually bore publication dates close to the year of travel rather than dating from earlier periods. He did nevertheless collect older travel guides, especially those considered seminal for the artistic or architectural history of the area. For example, in the case of Venice, he owned two editions of Sansovino's *Venetia Città Nobilissima, Et Singolare, Descritta in XIIII Libri Da M. Francesco Sansovino*,[47] a notable work on Venice's architecture by

[43] Jean Rouquet, *L'art nouveau de la peinture en fromage, ou en ramequin: inventée pour suivre le louable projet de trouver graduellement des façons de peindre inférieures à celles qui existent*, Marolles, 1755.

[44] For a discussion of Eastlake's methodology, see Susanna Avery-Quash and Giovanni Mazzaferro, 'Michelangelo Gualandi (1793–1887) and the National Gallery: an unofficial 'Travelling Agent' for Sir Charles Eastlake', *Journal of the History of Collections* (forthcoming).

[45] https://library.nationalgallery.org.uk/N10318UK/OPAC/Details/Record.aspx?BibCode=75540640

[46] Giovanni Rosini, *Introduzione alla storia della pittura italiana esposta coi monumenti*, Pisa: Capurro, 1838-47; Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti … pubblicate per cura di una Società di Amatori delle Arti belle*. Florence: Le Monnier, 1846-1870; Francesco Scannelli, *Il microcosmo della pittura; ouero, Trattato diuiso in due libri*, Cesena: Neri, 1657.

[47] Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima, et singolare, descritta in XIIII libri da M. Francesco Sansovino*, Venice: Iacomo Sansouino, MDLXXXI [1581]; Francesco Sansovino,

a popular Italian scholar of history. Both editions are also in the Cicognara library. In addition, Eastlake owned copies of *Descrizione di tutte le pitture pubbliche di Venezia, ossia rinnovazione delle Ricche miniere del Boschini.*[48] The text, by Antonio Maria Zanetti (1706-1778), describes paintings to be seen in each district of Venice and is an expansion of an earlier work, *Ricche minere del Boschini* (1674);[49] again, both texts are noted in Cicognara. The remaining publications relating to Venice largely correlate to the dates of Eastlake's visits to the continent, with publication dates between 1842 and 1861; Eastlake was a frequent visitor to Venice, making yearly visits during the 1850s.
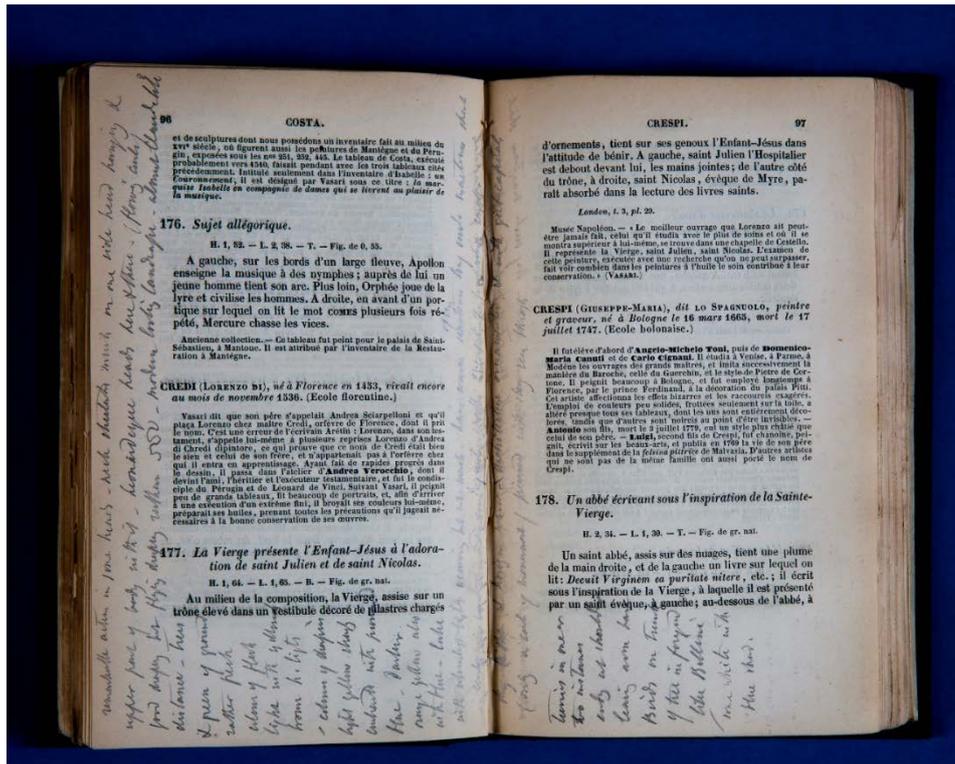

Figure 5: Frédéric Villot. *Notice des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée Impérial du Louvre, par Frédéric Villot, conservateur des peintures,* 1859, pp. 96-7. NG Library 108369.
Photo: The National Gallery, London.

Eastlake's travels were documented in a series of travel diaries, thirty-six of which are now in possession of the National Gallery Archive. In the process of transcribing these diaries, it was found that many preliminary notes were made in guidebooks or in catalogues of collections in Eastlake's library: later, after the day's

Venetia città nobilissima, et singolare, descritta in XIIII libri da M. Francesco Sansovino, Venice: Steffano Curti, 1663.

[48] Cicognara, *Catalogo,* 1821 v2 287; Marco Boschini and Antonio Maria Zanetti, *Descrizione di tutte le pubbliche pitture della città di Venezia e isole circonvicine: o sia rinnovazione delle Ricche Minere di Marco Boschini: colla aggiunta di tutte le opere, che uscirono dal 1674 fino al presente 1733: con un compendio delle vite, e maniere de' principali pittori,* Venezia: Pietro Bassaglia, 1733.

[49] Marco Boschini and Francesco Nicolini, *Le ricche minere della pittura veneziana. Seconda impressione con nove aggiunte,* Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1674.

work, these notes were written up in his notebooks.[50] Eastlake was not always a prolific annotator of texts, and the annotations that are attributed to him are often spartan in nature. They include crosses next to artworks in catalogues, with lines showing the paragraphs of relevance, this is sometimes accompanied by a single word or phrase. In cases of longer prose-like notes, Eastlake preferred to snake around the page, moving around to landscape format to allow for more room, as seen in the image of an 1859 guidebook to the Louvre, below. These longer notes occur infrequently, which implies that Eastlake preferred taking notes in another manner, and possibly only resorting to the book in specific circumstances.

Investigating how Eastlake used his library as an essential tool in a wide array of resource, such as primary archival research, picture examination, as well as seeking advice from expert colleagues, provides scope for further comparisons with other art libraries of the period, thus supporting the 'new library history' methodology adopted by this research project. At the same time, the project will continue to compile and map catalogue data from key art libraries beyond the benchmark example of the Cicognara Library, whether public or the personal and private collections of connoisseurs, historians, and administrators; whether situated in academies, museums, or other institutions; and whether extant or surviving in catalogue form only. In this way, the expectation is that more light will be thrown on the canon of art-historical texts prevailing at the time. It is also hoped that the model outlined by the project will inspire further studies in this rapidly advancing area of art historiography.

Katie Lissamore is currently completing her doctoral dissertation on the Eastlake Library at the National Gallery, London. Her thesis analyses the relationship between the Eastlake library and other art historical libraries on an informational level and explores how these collections relate to the development of art historical scholarship from the 1820s-1870s. She has previously worked in library administration and holds an MSc in Library and Information Studies from Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen.

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[50] Avery-Quash, 'Travel Notebooks', 2011, v1, 4;, v2, 145-151.