IMT SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED STUDIES LUCCA

The musealisation of prints and drawings and the birth of *Gabinetti disegni e stampe* in Italian State museums (1860-1909)

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To Stefano, Roberta and Francesco

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AABAB	Bologna, Archivio dell'Accademia di Belle Arti
AABAVe	Venice, Archivio dell'Accademia di Belle Arti
AABAR	Ravenna, Archivio dell'Accademia di Belle Arti
AABAF	Florence, Archivio dell'Accademia di Belle Arti
ABU	Florence, Archivio della Biblioteca degli Uffizi
ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA.	Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti
AGAV	Venice, Archivio delle Gallerie dell'Accademia
AGDSU	Florence, Archivio del Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi
AGU	Florence, Archivio delle Gallerie degli Uffizi
AMN	Paris, Archives des Musées Nationaux
AMC, APB	Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, Archivio del Palazzetto Borbonico
AMCV	Arezzo, Museo Casa Vasari
ASPB	Milan, Archivio Storico della Pinacoteca di Brera
ASAB	Milan, Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di Brera
ASANL	Rome, Archivio Storico dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei
ASCoMo	Modena, Archivio Storico Comunale
ASN	Naples, Archivio di Stato
AS-MANN	Naples, Archivio Storico del Museo Archeologico Nazionale
ASF	Florence, Archivio di Stato
ASPMV	Venice, Archivio Storico del Polo Museale
ASUT	Turin, Archivio storico dell'Università di Torino
BBG	Genoa, Biblioteca Civica Berio
BCIS	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati
BCP	Padova, Biblioteca Civica
BCR	Ravenna, Istituzione Biblioteca Classense
BM	London, British Museum
BNMV	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
BNCF	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
BNCR	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
BPP	Parma, Complesso monumentale della Pilotta, Biblioteca Palatina
BRT	Turin, Biblioteca Reale
BSL	Lucca, Biblioteca Statale

CASNS	Pisa, Centro Archivistico Scuola Normale Superiore
ICG, ASGS	Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Archivio Storico Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe
SABAP	Turin, Biblioteca della Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Torino
SMB-ZA	Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentralarchiv

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art.	articolo/article
b.	busta/folder
c.	carta/sheet
cart.	cartella/folder
DPCM	Decreto del Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri
fasc.	fascicolo/folder
inv. no.	inventory number
ins.	inserto
ms.(s).	manoscritto(i)/manuscript(s)
no.(s.)	number(s)
n.	footnote
n.n.	not numbered
n.p.	no page
pos.	posizione/position
p.(p.)	page(s)
R.D.	Regio Decreto/Royal Decree
s.	serie/series
s.fasc.	sottofascicolo/subfolder
vers.	versamento
vol.(s.)	volume(s)

Note on transcription and sources: the text includes quotes where abbreviations and grammar mistakes (quite frequent in Paul J. Kristeller's letters) have been left unchanged, as well as underlined and strikethrough text. Less interesting parts of the text are omitted and marked with square brackets: […]. Poorly readable words are marked with an asterisk and an interpretation proposal is given between square brackets: [*abc].

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VITA AND PUBLICATIONS

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S. Massa, E. Pontelli (eds.), *«Mostre Permanenti». Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti in un secolo di esposizioni*, Lucca 2018

S. Massa, [32 catalogue entries on prints and drawings exhibitions], in S. Massa, E. Pontelli (eds.), *«Mostre Permanenti». Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti in un secolo di esposizioni*, Lucca 2018

S. Massa, 'Le "mostre rapite": storie di esposizioni incompiute', in S. Massa, E. Pontelli (eds.), *«Mostre permanenti». Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti in un secolo di esposizioni*, Lucca 2018, pp. 115-128

S. Massa, E. Pontelli, '«Un pochino troppo di mostre». Nota metodologica', in S. Massa, E. Pontelli (eds.), *«Mostre permanenti». Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti in un secolo di esposizioni*, Lucca 2018, pp. 1-7

S. Massa, 'Per l'occhio del turista: il viaggio nei manifesti pubblicitari', in *Grafica d'arte*, 116, Oct - Dec 2018, pp. 22-28

S. Massa, 'Giustizia e democrazia. Kokoschka rilegge Le Rane di Aristofane', in *Grafica d'arte*, 108, Oct - Dec 2016, pp. 16-19

S. Massa, 'La satira religiosa nazista contro gli Ebrei e la rivista "Der Sturmer"', in *Grafica d'arte*, 104, Oct - Dec 2015, pp. 37-41

S. Massa, 'Benito Boccolari nella rinascita della xilografia in Italia', in *Grafica d'arte*, 103, Jul - Sept 2015, pp. 19-23

S. Massa, 'Tra natura e letteratura: le incisioni di Gianni Verna', in *Grafica d'arte*, 102, Apr - Jun 2015, pp. 24-29

S. Massa, 'Le incisioni di riproduzione di Raffaello Guidi', 99, in *Grafica d'arte*, Jul - Sept 2014, pp. 8-13

S. Massa, 'Uno sguardo sull'incisione sarda contemporanea', in *Grafica d'arte*, 92, Oct - Dec 2012, pp. 38-41

S. Massa, 'Graffiare oltre le apparenze: i bulini di Marco Innocenzi', in *Grafica d'arte*, 89, Jan - Mar 2012, pp. 34-36

PRESENTATIONS

'"The individual, in fact, has accomplished what was obviously a national duty". Arthur G.H. Macpherson's collection of maritime prints and the foundation of the National Maritime Museum Greenwich', University of Liverpool, 12 September 2019

'La grafica al museo: musealizzazione di disegni e stampe in Italia a fine Ottocento', Accademia di Belle Arti, Carrara, 8 March 2019

'Gli 'altri' in mostra: i Ragghianti e le culture extraeuropee tra studio e divulgazione', Fondazione Ragghianti, Lucca, 5 October 2018

'Spaces for drawings. Arranging public graphic collections in Italy 1892-1930', Studienkurs zur Theorie und Praxis der Zeichnung, Albertina, Vienna; University of Vienna, 31 July 2017

ABSTRACT

Today fully recognised as works of art in their own right, prints and drawings are amongst the most fragile objects and can only be displayed for a limited period of time. For this reason, public collections of drawings and prints are stored in special departments usually referred to as *Gabinetti disegni e stampe*. These collections can be found not only in museums but in libraries, art academies and archives too; and in Italy their distribution is even more fragmented than elsewhere because of the country' political and cultural history, causing practical problems to the management of these artefacts.

The reasons behind this complex situation have never been fully explored as scholars have mostly focused on the attribution of the sheets and on the reconstruction of individual collections' origins and history (the collector, his taste and his choices); moreover, drawings and prints have traditionally been approached separately - although they now share the same storage and display systems. In the last two decades, the two most important public collections of graphic art in Italy (the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica in Rome and the Uffizi Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe in Florence) have been studied from the museological point of view, but failed to analyse these collections in a broader, national perspective.

Rooted in these recent developments of the field, the present dissertation deals with the musealisation of collections of prints and drawings and with the foundation of *Gabinetti disegni e stampe* as independent sections of Italian State museums (*Regie Pinacoteche*) in Italy between the Unification and 1909. The objective of the research is to combine various areas of scholarship – namely, the histories of art, collecting, and museums; legislation of cultural heritage – to understand the complex relationship between the reception and appreciation of prints and drawings and the choices taken both at local and at national level to organize public collections of drawings and prints stored in Italian cultural institutions.

The thesis does not only scrutinise the way collections of works of art on paper were catalogued, stored and displayed; it widens its scope by looking at regulations issued by the Ministry of Public Education; at the origin and mission of hosting institutions; at the evolution of the historical studies on prints and drawings. The analysis is not structured with few selected case studies; instead, a broader, horizontal stance is

adopted and 9 different State museums are observed, located in Rome, Florence, Bologna, Parma, Venice, Milan, Naples, Turin, Modena. Thereby, this dissertation aims to provide a better understanding of the issues and processes which, at national and not only local level, affected the 'musealisation' of art on paper and the 'institutionalisation' of this kind of collections.

This research aims at answering three main questions that can be summarised as follows: To which kind of institutions did prints and drawings belong in the decades following the Unification of Italy? Which was the mutual relationship of prints and drawings collections in State museums compared to the structure of national museums of art? How did the department *Gabinetto disegni e stampe* develop in Italian museums?

An archive-based study was conducted at the Central State Archive in Rome and locally in State museums and State libraries' archives. Archival records, mostly previously unpublished, shed light on the process that, starting from the 1860s when graphic art was still mostly valued for its documentary significance, led to the establishment of the museum department *Gabinetto disegni e stampe* in Italy. I argue in fact that the structure and typology of this department was not yet defined in the 1890s with the formalisation of the name Gabinetto disegni e stampe for the Uffizi collection of graphic art or with the foundation of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome; this kind of department was rather established between 1906 and 1909, following the acknowledgment of the primacy of conservation over display, which resulted in reorganisation of the two main Italian collections which until that moment had prioritized display causing great damage to the precious and fragile sheets.

INTRODUCTION

> In Italia non esiste un Gabinetto che abbracci in prove di qualità i cinque secoli dell'incisione. Non è possibile perciò giovare efficacemente alle ricerche degli studiosi e soddisfare la legittima curiosità di innumerevoli amatori sparsi in tutta la penisola. Il materiale grafico è infatti distribuito in poche medie collezioni e in innumerevoli quanto inaccessibili piccole raccolte. Sicché viene spontaneo il pensiero di quanto all'estero è stato più volte realizzato e in Italia da pochi amatori augurato: la fusione cioè delle collezioni statali in un'unica sede importante e bene organizzata. Iniziativa possibile, solo che le autorità preposte all'amministrazione delle Belle Arti prendessero a cuore il progetto e fossero disposte a rompere resistenze locali, che certamente al progetto porrebbero ostacolo. Questo accentramento, se fatto con raziocinio e spirito pratico, costerebbe solo una modesta frazione del denaro che viene speso ogni anno a favore della manutenzione del patrimonio artistico italiano. Permetterebbe, vendendo gli esemplari doppi o tripli di alcune prove di valore, di porre finalmente rimedio, mediante corrispettivi acquisti, a una lacuna inammissibile in un paese di antiche tradizioni d'arte quale è l'Italia: l'assoluta mancanza della grafica di pregio degli ultimi cent'anni, la quale su un piano storico e critico non può essere considerata da meno delle opere incise in secoli più lontani.[1]

The present dissertation deals with the musealisation of collections of prints and drawings in Italian State museums from the Unification of Italy until 1909. The quote presented here, written in 1961 by the print collector and art dealer Ferdinando Salamon, is useful to introduce the context and issues from which this research stems.

Context. Italian public collections of drawings and prints: a fragmented heritage

Salamon described the situation of public print collections in Italy as of 1961; in the quote, the fragmented distribution of collections is defined as the gravest issue affecting the accessibility to and the study of the sheets. Nowadays, although public collections of prints are more well-known than before thanks to exhibitions and catalogues, their

1 SALAMON 1961, p. 139.

institutional organization has not changed, nor has Salamon's proposal to merge all collections in one ever had any success. Apart from Salamon's observation concerning the proposed sale of doubles, his words could have been equally applied to collections of drawings across the country. Although deeply different in techniques and purposes, as well as in their collecting histories – collectible drawings were traditionally regarded as works of art *per se,* while prints (multiple by nature) took longer to gain this kind of appreciation – public collections of drawings and prints have always shared the same kind of storages and space in study rooms.[2] This is due not only to their similarity in format, but also to their common conservation issues; these artefacts are amongst the most delicate artworks, and can be readily damaged by exposure to light, fluctuation in temperature and mishandling. Because of their extremely fragile nature, public prints and drawings are not displayed often, and are usually housed in what Salamon calls a "Gabinetto".

Although Salamon's proposal – whose secondary goal was to stimulate the creation of public collections of contemporary graphic art[3] – would

2 For the purpose of this study, the terms print and drawing refer to any artefact made on paper (and not on other kinds of supports such as textiles and parchment), created in Europe between 14th century and the present day. When referring to both drawings and prints together, the following expressions will be used: works on paper, art on paper, works of art on paper, graphic art. Another important premise is necessary. Today some *Gabinetti disegni e stampe* comprise collections of different categories of artefacts: not only prints and drawings, but also photos, matrices, plates and woodblocks, and sometimes even niello plates and sulphur casts. Artefacts other than drawings and prints are not addressed in this research. While the study of photo collections is already well-established, collections of matrices have been gaining increasing attention in the literature in the last years. The first research activities on cataloguing, archiving and promoting matrix collections were promoted within the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica thanks to Anna Grelle Iusco (see GRELLE IUSCO 1998; GRELLE IUSCO, GIFFI 2009); among the recent research, see for example the 2016 issue of *Memofonte* devoted to collections and display practices for woodblocks (GOLDONI, MOZZO 2016), revolving around the project aimed at promoting the woodblocks housed at the Gallerie Estensi in Modena; the 2017 special issue of *Memofonte*, entitled *Le matrici della Galleria Estense. Alla riscoperta di un patrimonio nascosto* (GOLDONI, LEVI, MOZZO 2017); the conference *Blocks Plates Stones: prints matrices/printing surfaces and in research and collections* (London 2017 – proceedings to be published in late 2019/early 2020: SAVAGE, SPEELBERG *forthcoming*).

3 Concern for the lack of a public collection of 19th-20th century graphic art did not come from the art market world only; a few years before, the art historian Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti advocated for the creation of such collection. He eventually succeeded in his goal by founding the Gabinetto disegni e stampe at the Università di Pisa (today Museo della Grafica) in 1958 thanks to the bequest

not be feasible today, his observations are far from being out of place. In contrary to other European countries such as England, Germany, The Netherlands, Austria or Spain, where the bulk of prints and drawings are housed in the capital city's national museum (although in Paris the Bibliothèque Nationale de France was for a long period of time the primary institution for hosting prints), Italy's greatest collection of prints is held at the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica in Rome, while the biggest collection of drawings is stored in the Gabinetto disegni e stampe of the Uffizi in Florence. Along with these two fundamental institutions devoted to graphic art (the former is an independent organization, the latter is embedded into an art museum)[4] every major Italian city has a State museum where prints and drawings are kept: for instance the Lambertini drawings and prints housed at the Galleria Nazionale in Bologna, or the Firmian collection of at the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples. But graphic art permeates almost every public collection throughout the peninsula, from museums to libraries, from archives to fine arts academies, from those belonging to the State to the smaller civic ones. Moving from this first outer level to the internal organisation of each cultural institution, a problem of morphological nature arises: not all collections of graphic art are located in a dedicated department named *Gabinetto disegni e stampe*.[5] Is it a question of size of the collection?

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of the Raccolta Timpanaro consisting of around 1,000 drawings and prints (see Tosi 2018, with previous bibliography).

4 The Istituto Centrale per la Grafica is one of the *Istituti dotati di autonomia speciale* (institutes with special autonomy) that depends directly from the Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage; the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi is one of the institutes of the Gallerie degli Uffizi, which is one of the *Istituti dotati di autonomia speciale, di rilevante interesse nazionale*.

5 The most important public Italian collections of prints and drawings which have the "status" of *Gabinetto disegni e stampe* are: Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence; Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples; Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice; Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna (state museums); Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Palazzo Rosso, Genoa; Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Galleria d'Arte Moderna-GAM, Turin; Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Museo Correr, Venice (civic museums); Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna; the Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe "Angelo Davoli", Biblioteca Panizzi, Reggio Emilia (civic libraries); Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Accademia di Brera, Milan; Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia. In a few cases, only the name *stampe* or *disegni* appear in the name of the collection, although these museums host both drawings and prints: Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe, Museo di Roma, Rome; Gabinetto dei disegni, Castello Sforzesco, Milan; Gabinetto dei disegni, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan. The website of the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati in Siena announced that prints and drawings will soon move to a

Is it because of the way the sheets have been arranged in the past? Is it because of the kind of institution the collection is embedded in?

Context. Practical issues in managing public collections of drawings and prints

The issues presented above are not merely a matter of definitions falling in the discipline of museum studies. This situation, in which the same category of artefacts is housed in different kinds of institutions, entails several more concrete issues. Let us focus on prints housed in museums and in libraries. At international level, these two institutions have similar missions (which could be summed up as: to acquire, preserve, study and promote different forms of heritage) and yet they are described in two distinct ways: a museum "acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits" its heritage "for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment",[6] while librarians "[…] commit themselves to select, collect (through ownership or access), preserve, protect and enhance publicly available documents and the information contained therein, promoting the accessibility, the dissemination and the development of knowledge".[7] Italian law defines quite clearly the way prints differ from other artefacts such as paintings: the Italian Code for Cultural Heritage includes prints among 'cultural goods', but lists them together with books, manuscripts, letters and incunabula.[8] This insistence in perceiving prints halfway between works of art and bibliographic items (a paradox raised already in the 1970s by the Commissione Franceschini,[9] today still visible in certain library

Gabinetto disegni e stampe (<http://www.bibliotecasiena.it/patrimonio/fondi-antichi-e-rari/disegni-e-stampe>, accessed 3 July 2019).

6 From ICOM's current Museum Definition, according to the ICOM Statutes, adopted by the 22nd General Assembly in Vienna on 24 August 2007 (<https://icom.museum/en/activities/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/>, accessed 2 July 2019). '

7 From art. 2.1 of AIB's *Librarians' code of ethics: fundamental principle*, Approved on 12 May 2014 in Turin by AIB's General assembly in replacement of *The librarian's code of conduct: fundamental principles* which was approved on 30 October 1997 in Naples by AIB's General assembly (<https://www.aib.it/chi-siamo/statuto-e-regolamenti/code-ethics/>, accessed 2 July 2019).

8 "3. Sono altresì beni culturali, quando sia intervenuta la dichiarazione prevista dall'articolo 13: […] c) i manoscritti, gli autografi, i carteggi, gli incunaboli, nonché i libri, le stampe e le incisioni, con relative matrici, aventi carattere di rarità e di pregio (*Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio*, DL no. 42, 22 January 2004, Parte II, Titolo I, Capo I, Articolo 10, comma 3).

9 According to the Dichiarazione LIV of the *Atti della Commissione Franceschini*,

collections[10]), has practical consequences. If a museum curator wants give an artwork on loan, he/she must be authorized by the *Soprintendenza* of the relevant area; if it is a drawing, then the curator must file the request to the *Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici*; if it is an engraving, the request must be instead directed to the *Soprintendenza Archivistica e dei Beni Librari* (that deals with archives and libraries). More could be said on this, for example from the point of view of cataloguing. Although common standards have been adopted since the 1980s,[11] prints and drawings housed in libraries may be registered using the SBN standard (the Sistema Bibliografico Nazionale, the Italian national organization for library heritage). To launch a simple query for prints on the SBN OPAC (the SBN online public catalogue) is enough to realise how poorly the SBN description standard suits the technical features of a print. Moreover, not always libraries have enough resources to hire art historians trained in the identification and description of prints and drawings.[12]

As highlighted at the beginning, some lone voices from the market field such as Ferdinand Salamon advocated for a rationalization of the public

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prints were listed under "I beni librari".

10 See for example the website of the Palatina collection of prints and drawings in Parma: both are listed under the category of "patrimonio bibliografico" instead of "patrimonio artistico" (<http://pilotta.beniculturali.it/biblioteca-palatina/#patrimonio>, accessed 2 July 2019).

11 As far as prints are concerned, description guidelines were first introduced in Italy during the 1980s (*Guida alla catalogazione* 1986) and were based on national and international norms: the RICA-Regole italiane di catalogazione per autori, issued by the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche in 1979; the ISBD NBM-International standard bibliographic description for non-book materials, set up by the IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions) Committee on cataloguing in 1969; and BETZ 1982. All prints fell under the same cataloguing principles, no matter if ancient or modern, original or reproductive works, loose sheets and bound prints, artistic prints and those produced with a documentary aim (cartographic and topographic works), popular prints and illustration prints.

12 See for example the cataloguing project launched at the Marucelliana Library in Florence and presented by Silvia Castelli in 2007 (<http://www.maru.firenze.sbn.it/SLIDES_ConvegnoIconografiaTeatrale.pdf>, accessed 3 July 2019): Castelli explained that the online catalogue of drawings comprised two kinds of entries: "scheda massima" (complete in all its parts) and "scheda minima" (which did not include information on the artists, the art-historical comment and the bibliography); the latter entry was designed to be compiled "[…] anche dal bibliotecario 'accorto', 'sapiente', non necessariamente dallo storico dell'arte esperto di grafica".

collections' organisation; his proposal was echoed by the collector Tito Miotti in 1962, as far as drawings were concerned;[13] then it was advanced again by Salamon's son, Harry, in the first issue of journal *I quaderni del conoscitore di stampe* (1970), where he analyzed the feasibility of a "fondo nazionale delle stampe", judging the operation to be beneficial and economically sustainable.[14] But a similar position was indirectly

13 "[…] sarà opportuno ricordare la proposta, dovuta ad autorevoli esperti, di accentrare in uno o due grandi gabinetti nazionali tutto il nostro patrimonio grafico. Le raccolte italiane, a differenza di quelle di altre nazioni, sono distribuite in numerose città, relegate in pinacoteche o biblioteche che non è sempre agevole raggiungere. E la condizione di trascuratezza o di abbandono di alcuni fondi comunali, oltre a porre in discredito la nostra capacità di intendere il valore delle opere d'arte, depaupera progressivamente la loro consistenza. Dalla fusione delle diverse collezioni risulterebbe assicurata, per la presenza di tecnici, la tutela dei disegni e ne sarebbe facilitata la reperibilità con evidente vantaggio per gli studi. […] All'attuazione del progetto si opporranno certamente le amministrazioni comunali, ma le autorità delle Belle arti avrebbero molti motivi per proporlo e sostenerlo e buone ragioni di vederlo realizzato" (Miotti 1962, pp. 214-215).

14 "Il costo di una tale operazione, posto che esista la volontà politica di compierla, è abbastanza modesto e potrebbe anzi rivelarsi del tutto inesistente a causa del gran numero di doppioni che si troverebbero nella raccolta così formata e che potrebbero in parte venire venduti per finanziare l'acquisto di opere mancanti e della necessaria bibliografia, e financo la costruzione della stessa sede della raccolta. A parte le resistenze sciocche e in mala fede di chi nell'operazione perderebbe un comodo, rimunerativo e poco impegnativo lavoro, o lo sciocco orgoglio di campanile di avere nella propria città qualche foglio importante, la più onesta e dignitosa obiezione che ci sia stata fatta e che ci venga in mente è quella dell'opportunità di contrastare ogni progetto di centralizzazione in questo nostro paese in cui tutto è già troppo centralizzato. Va però notato che allo stato attuale delle cose è impensabile di poter trovare i fondi necessari per valorizzare o almeno conservare il patrimonio di incisioni esistente: un gabinetto delle stampe destinato a custodire qualche milione di fogli non è molto più costoso, né come edificio, né come gestione, di uno creato per poche migliaia (vedasi quello del British Museum con i suoi sette milioni di fogli che, con la sala di consultazioni, la biblioteca e la galleria di esposizione occupa uno spazio appena superiore a quello di un grande appartamento), mentre la soluzione centralizzata consente non solo la vendita dei doppioni, ma addirittura la costituzione di piccole e interessanti raccolte, che potrebbero essere destinate a esposizioni periferiche per tutta Italia, con cataloghi stampati una volta per tutte in decine di migliaia di esemplari, consentendo mostre di alta cultura che in luogo di costare (allo stato attuale delle cose una pubblica esposizione di grafica – la più economica fra tutte quelle d'arte – costa alla comunità dai cinque ai quindici milioni, di cui abitualmente ben poco è recuperabile con la vendita dei cataloghi e dei biglietti, con un costo per visitatore, perciò, che può raggiungere e superare le diecimila lire a persona) potrebbero agevolmente dare alla sede centrale un vero e proprio reddito. In tal modo – e, crediamo, solo così – si potrebbe

supported in the field of public institutions too: in 1990 Marina Causa Picone deplored the fact that collections of drawings:

> […] giacciono per la maggior parte nella Biblioteche a Torino a Madrid a Napoli, mentre il luogo deputato se non dalla storia, ma dalla logica, dovrebbe essere il museo e l'assistenza e la conservazione – almeno queste, se si intenda rispettare le ubicazioni di origine – consegnate allo storico dell'arte e non al bibliotecario, che considera all'unisono disegni e stampe, quasi libri rari da tenere negli scaffali.[15]

The proposed mergers never took place, but the topic of fragmented distribution of graphic art as well as the managerial problems it entails was not completely forgotten and was sometimes picked up again by curators. In 2010, for instance, Maria Antonella Fusco, former director of the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, urged her fellow *conservatori* of public

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veramente realizzare una decentralizzazione della raccolta, che oggi in realtà non è decentrata, dato che, agli effetti pratici, semplicemente non esiste. Né vi sarebbe pericolo di sciupare la conoscenza, già acquisita, dagli attuali conservatori veramente capaci, perché fra studi, cataloghi di mostre, ricatalogamento con mezzi moderni dell'intero fondo, vi sarebbe lavoro per un'intera vita per parecchi studiosi. […] Obiezioni di tipo legale, come per esempio l'attuale inalienabilità del patrimonio artistico di proprietà dello stato o l'impossibilità di scavalcare certe autonomie amministrative degli enti pubblici locali che attualmente posseggono o custodiscono le incisioni, non hanno ovviamente alcun peso in un discorso serio, se non come argomenti capziosi: il potere legislativo esiste anche per correggere e abolire le leggi inutili o dannose, e proprio provvedimenti del tipo di quelli che da noi proposti permisero, nel passato, di gettare le basi della grandezza dei maggiori musei europei e americani. Ci brucia tra l'altro che in Italia per organizzare una valida mostra di grafica si debba sempre ricorrere alle raccolte straniere (v. mostra della grafica europea e del Piranesi alla Galleria d'arte moderna di Torino e quelle in preparazione di Luca di Leyda, di nuovo a Torino) o a quelle private (ancora la stessa di Luca di Leyda e quella del 1969 di Dürer al Palazzo Reale di Milano), e ugualmente ci irrita sapere, per la nostra personale esperienza di organizzatori di mostre presso gallerie private che fino a oggi in Italia – fatte le eccezioni di cui sopra – una esposizione di una galleria seria ha un livello tecnico e scientifico troppo spesso di gran lunga superiore a quelle allestite da molti nostri famosi Gabinetti delle Stampe. Per quanto riguarda la sede della raccolta, ci pare che per questioni di merito culturale o di troppo lungamente maturati diritti di precedenza, la scelta potrebbe ricadere con uguali buone ragioni su Firenze, Venezia, Torino o Milano. […]" (SALAMON 1970, pp. 22-24.)

15 PICONE 1990, p. 347.

collections of graphic art to create a system of shared practices among the "diverse professionalità, che tutte hanno ricevuto in gestione collezioni di grafica: storici dell'arte e archeologi, bibliotecari e archivisti", acknowledging the presence of prints and drawings "in differenti istituzioni pubbliche, dai Musei alle Accademie di Belle Arti, dalle Biblioteche agli Archivi".[16] Fusco concluded her text, promisingly entitled *Per un sistema delle collezioni pubbliche italiane di grafica*, announcing a series of meetings focused on crucial issues such as musealisation and training. If these meetings have indeed taken place, their results have not been made public.

These are only some of the issues that scholars and museum curators deal with when working with collections of drawings and prints. This extremely fragmented situation cannot be explained only by looking at the general complexity of Italian political history – which resulted in an equally complex organization of Italian cultural institutions – or by studying the origins of each individual collection; on the contrary, more elements should be taken into account.

How have public collections of drawings and prints been studied so far?

Because of their different nature, critical history and reception, collections of drawings and prints have been mostly studied separately. At international level, one perspective has always prevailed: that inscribed within the traditional paradigm of connoisseurship that leads to the compilation of catalogues. That is to say, in modern scholarship of prints and drawings the most rooted kind of analysis has approached the individual sheets in order to describe them and attribute them to an artist or a school (as far as drawings are concerned) and to correctly catalogue them within the *printed oeuvre* of an engraver. The study of collections of prints and the study of collections of drawings as historical and aesthetical phenomena are instead two 'younger'[17] branches of scholarship. When reflecting upon the obstacles encountered while preparing his lecture on print collecting in Rome, Paris and London in the early 18th century, delivered at Harvard on 8 April 1993, Anthony Griffiths stated that: "One major problem in preparing this lecture was

16 FUSCO 2010, p. 3. The short essay introduces a booklet issued for a meeting of Italian *conservatori* of graphic art collections, which followed the XII Meeting of the International Advisory Committee of Keepers of Public Collections of Graphic Art, held in Rome (Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, 6-10 June 2010).

17 In 2003 Warwick stated that these fields were still "in its infancy" (WARWICK 2003, p. 1).

quite simply that hardly anything has yet been published on print collections as collections".[18]

Most research on prints and drawings collections discusses the contents and provenances of collections by focusing on their historical origins; it narrates the how and when a collector gained his possessions, how he/she organised them, and how they eventually ended up in a museum or in a library. Scholars started to direct their attention to reconstructing the historical profile of public collections in the 1970s; as far as drawings were concerned, communication to the public at large was granted thanks to the series *I grandi disegni italiani* published by Silvana Editoriale. The field has seen a veritable explosion in the last thirty years, but scholarly literature on collections of drawings and prints has always kept the two mediums separate, in spite of a few recent attempts to explore the two topics at the same time by at least bringing together scholars from the two sectors.[19]

Through these kind of studies, however, it is hard to grasp the complex context of public collections of drawings and prints in Italy. The prejudice expressed in 1897 by W.H. Singer and W. Strang "On the other side of the Alps, Print Rooms are not important; and what there are, are almost invariably wretchedly managed"[20] was soon overcome; however, for a long time there has not been any publication or survey detecting the variety of these collections from the point of view of the institutions they were embedded in. General overviews on Italian print and drawing collections were offered in a variety of publications, starting with Giacomo Francesco Guarnati in his book *Bianco e nero* (1937);[21] in 1960, Salamon described the context of Italian collections of prints as made up of the Uffizi and the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, along with a number of "piccole raccolte", all located in central-northern Italy: the Raccolta Vaticana in Rome: the Pinacoteca in Bologna, the Raccolta

18 GRIFFITHS 1994, p. 54.

19 See for example the international conferences *Collecting prints and drawings* in Europe, c. 1500-1750 (London, National Gallery, 1997 - BAKER, ELAM, WARWICK 2003); *Collecting prints and drawings* (Schwabenakademie Irsee, 2014 - GÁLDY, HEUDECKER 2018); *Curating graphic arts!* (Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica 2016); and *Das Sammeln von Grafik in historischer Perspektive. Sammeln und Forschen im Dialog* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek and Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 2016).

20 SINGER, STRANG 1897, p. VIII.

21 The chapter 'Le raccolte pubbliche' also features interesting photos depicting study and storage rooms of some of the existing collections (GUARNATI 1937, pp. 311-331; pp. 291-311 are instead devoted to foreign collections).

Classense in Ravenna, the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence, the Museo Correr in Venice, the "Museo Malaspina" in Pavia (now housed in the Musei Civici), the Pinacoteca in Brescia, the Ambrosiana and the Raccolta Bertarelli in Milan. On the same occasion, Salamon mentioned the existence of other print collections in libraries and museum, without listing them, and deplored the fact that they had never been studied or presented by any publication, blaming the competent authorities for the lack of interest and organization in this regard.[22] Other lists of collections were appended to books and manuals dedicated to history of printmaking or drawing.[23] Anna Forlani Tempesti was the first who, beyond listing collections on a regional basis, proposed a pioneering taxonomical approach to connect the collections with their historical roots and institutional organisation at the same time.[24] The first systematic survey on the existing collections of graphic art in Italy was prepared by the research group led by Gianni Carlo Sciolla: their work was focused on drawings only and resulted in the 4-volume study *Il Disegno* (1991-1994). Volumes 3 and 4 consists of a catalogue of collections of drawings open to the public across the whole country, organised on regional basis[25]. An update of the survey of this "patrimonio sommerso"[26] was published by Sciolla in 2003 (*Per un repertorio sistematico delle collezioni pubbliche italiane di disegni: aggiornamento 1994-1999)*.[27] Other studies gathered information on collections on regional basis, for example in Giuseppina Benassati's *L'arte per via* which included an overview on print collections in Emilia-Romagna.[28]

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22 SALAMON 1986 (1960), pp. 110-119. With the same concise style, Miotti listed 25 collections of drawings (MIOTTI 1962, pp. 214-218).

23 Paolo Bellini's *Manuale del conoscitore di stampe* listed 45 public collections (BELLINI 1998, pp. 173-174); the 2008 edition of Stefania Massari and Francesco Negri Arnoldi's *Arte e scienza dell'incisione* listed 24 of them (MASSARI, NEGRI ARNOLDI 2008, p. 371).

24 FORLANI TEMPESTI 1981, p. 193.

25 PETRIOLI TOFANI, PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ, SCIOLLA 1991-1994; their survey led to the identification of 183 collections housed in museums, 73 in libraries, 38 in archives, 12 in art academies, 46 in other kinds of institutions (art schools, etc.) owned by the Italian State, Regions, Municipalities or other public organization; the study included 30 collections owned by private foundations or foreign institutions located in Italy.

26 PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ 1993, p. 6.

27 SCIOLLA 2003.

28 BENASSATI 2001, see the section entitled *Schede di censimento collezioni* (pp. 147-267).

The abovementioned studies tended to present collections of works on paper as groups of things; the collection was not conceptualized as a place, but rather as an accumulation of valuable and unique objects. The museum environment itself, where the collection is housed, was often ignored. To take from Carol Duncan's words, "the museum experience" was represented "as almost solely a series of encounters with discrete art objects".[29] In order to assess issues such as musealisation, the role of national collections and the organization of museum departments, the institutional history of the collection should be instead explored. Some insights on this topic were given by the short articles published under the title 'Guida delle Collezioni di Stampe in Italia' on the journal *Maso Finiguerra* in 1936-1937, dedicated to the museum arrangement of little-known collections of prints in Rome, Udine and Turin;[30] in 1973, the journal *I quaderni del conoscitore di stampe* announced a series of short articles dedicated to the organisation of public collections, but only Fabrizio Guidi's text on the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi was published.[31] After that, and until very recently, observations on museological and display aspects of the collection have been quite scarce; the same can be said for scholarship on foreign collections, with notable exceptions such as Anthony Griffiths' studies on the history of the British Museum Print Room.[32] The story of the "museological life" of the Corsini collection in Rome and of the Gabinetto disegni e stampe of the Uffizi have been masterfully addressed, respectively, by Ginevra Mariani and Miriam Fileti Mazza in their seminal studies of 2001 and 2014. Briefs insights on the State collection of prints in Turin were provided by Alessandra Giovannini Luca (in her monographical study on Alessandro Baudi di Vesme) and by Federica Panero in her 2017 essay on Giovanni Vico.[33]

Being focused on one individual collection, however, these studies tend to leave out the development of public collections of graphic art in a

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29 DUNCAN 1995, p. 1.

30 The articles were devoted to the prints housed in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome; the Galleria Sabauda in Turin; the Civic Museum in Udine and the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin (CALCAGNO 1936; MOLAJOLI 1936; SOMEDA DE MARCO 1936; TAMBURINI 1937).

31 GUIDI 1973.

32 See GRIFFITHS, WILLIAMS 1987; GRIFFITHS 1996. This line of research has now been taken by other scholars too: see for example Ingrid Vermeulen's essay on the collection of prints housed at the Louvre (VERMEULEN 2011).

33 MARIANI 2001; FILETI MAZZA 2014; GIOVANNINI LUCA 2015, pp. 159-176; PANERO 2017.

broader perspective, that takes into account other elements such as: the development of the legislation on cultural heritage and the concept of *tutela*; the directions and productions of scholarship on prints and drawings; the definition of a 'model' for Italian art museums; the impact of external factors such as the role played by individual curators or scholars. However exhaustive in their scope, those studies fail to provide a comprehensive overview of the events that, after the Unification of Italy, created the basis for the current complex organisation of public collection. As recently pointed out by Alessandra Giovannini Luca, this kind of study is still in its infancy.[34] And yet these issues are far from affecting merely a discussion on theoretical level.

Research goals

Against this background, this dissertation aims at reconstructing the events and at analysing the issues revolving around the foundation of *Gabinetti disegni e stampe* within State museums of art. The objective of the research is to combine various areas of scholarship – namely, the histories of art, collecting, and museums; as well as legislation of cultural heritage – to understand the complex relationship between the reception and appreciation of prints and drawings and the choices taken both at local and at national level to organize public collections of drawings and prints stored in Italian museums. As a matter of fact, the history of public collections of graphic art does not merely concern their origin and growth but also the reasons that lay behind the display, cataloguing and acquisition choices and how they have been systematized into policies. The intersection of the disciplines and of multiple layers of analysis (the collection – the institution – the national discourse), in a country such as Italy, can be effectively summed up using André Chastel's words: "Tout est different quand par une sorte d'emboîtement exemplaire, la collection s'inscrit dans l'édifice qu'enveloppe la cité et que se répondent ces trois formes du musée".[35]

In accordance with the goal presented above, this research proceeds to answer three questions that can be summarised as follows:

34 "[…] l'analisi delle vicende collezionistiche e di tutela che interessarono le raccolte italiane di grafica nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento, tematica ancora poco esplorata dalla storiografia a livello sia nazionale sia locale" (GIOVANNINI LUCA 2017, p. 157).

35 CHASTEL 2012, p. 20.

1. *To which kind of institutions did prints and drawings belong in the decades following the Unification of Italy?*
2. *Which was the mutual relationship of prints and drawings collections in State museums compared to the structure of national museums of art (Regie Gallerie)?*
3. *How did the department* Gabinetto disegni e stampe *develop in Italian museums?*

By offering answers to these questions, this thesis aims at providing the historiographical foundation of public collections of drawings and prints in Italian museums upon which to examine, at a later date, the museological developments of the museum department *Gabinetto disegni e stampe* in the light of subsequence administrative, architectural and technological innovations.

Methodology

This thesis was originally envisaged as a general study on the development of *Gabinetti disegni e stampe* in Italian museums. Initial research highlighted radical changes in the organisation of the two main public collections of graphic art (the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe housed in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome and the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe in the Uffizi in Florence) during the first decade of the 20th century: the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe inaugurated its new spaces in 1906 and the Uffizi collection of graphic art followed with their new set-up in 1909. As a consequence, 1909 – which was also the year when the Italian government passed the first comprehensive law for the protection of cultural heritage – was chosen as chronological limit for the analysis.

Since the beginning, this study was intended to look at the research topic from a national perspective. For this reason, the analysis is not structured with few selected case studies, and instead a broader, horizontal stance is adopted. Within the Italian museum panorama, a typological selection was made. The choice to focus on State museums was driven by the possibility to investigate the direct effects of possible decisions taken at Ministerial level concerning the management and care of prints and drawings. Among State museums, the decision to scrutinize collections housed in galleries of ancient and modern paintings (*Regie Gallerie*)[36] was

36 It is worth pointing out that the number of *Regie Gallerie* dating back to the 1860s-1900s differs from the next decades, as later some municipal museums

motivated by an interest of historical-critical nature. The centrality of art galleries in the culture of 19th-century connoisseurs allows us to reflect upon the relationship existing between the process of affirmation of art history as an independent discipline and the policies adopted for the arrangement of art museums.[37] The archeological museum of Naples was included in the analysis because of the presence of an art collection embedded in that museum.

From the start, the research did not only intend to simply reconstruct in detail the events related to each institution, but also to verify the progressive definition of criteria and tools elaborated at central level for the management of collections of art on paper. For this reason, initial research was conducted at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Central State Archive) in Rome. The kind of data retrieved here, joined with the information provided by historical catalogues and museum maps, highlighted the importance of researching local archives too in order to fill in the gaps. Many museum practices in fact were not recorded and not everywhere was there a clear awareness of what was going on. Moreover, it was palpable that some operations were more the result of compromises and experiments rather than of a comprehensive vision. The success of the study was then dependent upon gathering enough archival sources to provide an account as exhaustive as possible of the events. Since not all museum archives were available for consultation,[38] it was crucial to include the personal archives of two of the 'protagonists' of this research: Adolfo Venturi and Corrado Ricci. Far from being merely a repository of family chronicles, the Fondo Adolfo Venturi at the Centro Archivistico of the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa and the Fondo Corrado Ricci at the Biblioteca Civica Classense in Ravenna proved to be a vast trove of unpublished archival material; their greatest advantage is in providing evidence of failed projects, usually not well recorded in official administrative documents.

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were turned into State museums: for example the Pinacoteca Comunale in Perugia which became Regia Galleria Nazionale in 1918 (see DRAGONI 2012).

37 The first University chair for art history was established in 1901 thanks to Adolfo Venturi (he kept the teaching position until 1931): "[…] il futuro, il nuovo erano altrove. Il terreno di prova della disciplina storica dell'arte modernamente intesa non era più il territorio, era il museo, erano le gallerie e le pinacoteche nazionali affidate per i riordini e i riallestimenti ai brillanti allievi e borsisti della scuola di perfezionamento in storia dell'arte creata da Adolfo Venturi alla Sapienza, contestualmente al suo insegnamento" (DALAI EMILIANI 2015, p. 48).

38 Access to the historical archive at the Galleria Nazionale in Parma and in Bologna was precluded, allegedly due to unavailability of staff during several months and lack of order in the material.

Structure of the thesis

Beyond the introduction and conclusion, the thesis is structured into five chapters. In order to facilitate the understanding of the object of the thesis, the first chapter offers some background information on the content of *Gabinetti disegni e stampe,* that is to say drawings and prints. Adopting an historical perspective, this chapter sums up the uses, values, collecting practices and scholarship of art on paper between 14th and early 19th century. Drawings and prints are first addressed separately, while the second part of the chapter analyses common practices of storage and display, introducing the concept of "paper museum" and of "cabinet". With this historical context firmly established, the second chapter offers an overview on the different kinds of public institutions where these works of art were housed in the three decades after the Unification of Italy. Prints and drawings housed in art academies, art museums and libraries are described with reference not only to their use, but also to their collecting, storage and display system. The scrutiny on these topics is intertwined with insights on the limited role played by graphic art within the first debates on protection and organisation of national cultural heritage, focused on picture galleries. Chapter 3 narrows its outlook, focusing on the years 1890-1895 and on the musealisation of prints in particular. The analysis here is devoted to the first part of a project – elaborated by the German art historian Paul Kristeller thanks to the collaboration of Adolfo Venturi – which consisted of setting up an integrated system of national collections of prints housed in State art museums. The chapter shows how the model for managing print collections, imported from Germany, and from Berlin in particular, aimed at facilitating art historical research in the field of printmaking; it explains how it was partially implemented by creating permanent displays of prints in Bologna and Rome, where the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe was founded in 1895. Chapter 4 follows the development of the same project between 1895 and 1899. It is directed at describing both its successful applications (the management of the Gabinetto delle Stampe in Rome) and the failed ones (the attempted creation of a Gabinetto delle stampe in Parma; the attempted establishment of shared curatorial practices across the country; the attempted relocation of prints collections from libraries to museums). It also gives an overview on the musealisation of drawings, that seem to fall out of the abovementioned project. The last chapter is devoted to the creation of a permanent display of drawings at the Pinacoteca of Brera and to the reorganisation of the departments of graphic art in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe and at the Uffizi, an operation that involved the abolishment of permanents display and the creation of study rooms. Attention is focused on the crucial role played by Corrado Ricci in this context: by contributing to shift the focus to conservation issues, he laid the basis for the modern

concept of a *Gabinetto disegni e stampe*, where all storage and display practices are built on conservation principles.

Besides the main text, the thesis is completed with an appendix of unpublished archival documents and one section of images.

Chapter 1

Before the museum: private cabinets of drawings and prints

> Diverso da tutti gli altri nella sua idea è il quartodecimo gabinetto, ordinato a foggia di biblioteca; i cui scaffali non molto alti parte girano il recinto delle pareti, parte sono disposti in mezzo. In essi è collocata la doppia raccolta delle stampe e de' disegni, distribuita in molti volumi legati splendidamente.[1]

Luigi Lanzi's (1732-1810) description of the 'fourteenth cabinet' in the Uffizi gallery of the Grand Duke of Florence, Leopoldo de' Medici (1617-1675), tells us of a space organised like a library, with huge sets of shelves, where a 'double collection' of drawings and prints was stored in several elegant albums. This arrangement, designed by Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni (1729-1808) at the end of the 18th century,[2] corresponded to the way most private prints and drawings collections were stored at that time both in Italy and in Europe. Although there is evidence of display practices going back at least to the mid-16th century,[3] until the 19th

1 LANZI 1782, p. 148.

2 See FILETI MAZZA 2009, pp. 44-66 on the directorship of Pelli Bencivenni at the Uffizi between 1775 and 1793; on Pelli Bencivenni (and for a digital version of his writings and letters) see the dedicated webpage on the website of Fondazione Memofonte: <https://www.memofonte.it/ricerche/giuseppe-pelli-bencivenni/#testi> (accessed 19 April 2019).

3 An early evidence of prints and drawings ("disegni di mano di tutti gli huomini eccellenti che sono stati & sono anchor vivi", SANSOVINO 1556, n.p.) were on display together with other artworks is Gabriele Vendramin's *camerino delle*

century most collectors preserved their sheets by pasting them into albums; less often, they mounted drawings and prints on cardboard and kept them in portfolios.[4]

If at their production stage drawings and prints can be mutually dependent (a finished drawing can be the starting point for a print, and a drawing can be made using a print as a model), scholarship on drawings and prints rarely tackles these two mediums together.[5] Now unanimously acknowledged as works of art *per se*, their techniques and uses as well as their critical history have always travelled on parallel tracks: on the one hand there were drawings, the starting point of any visual composition; on the other there were prints, the 'translation' of an image and of a design into another technique and another format.

As Lanzi's words disclose, however, drawings and prints shared the same storage system in this dedicated cabinet at the Uffizi, a solution adopted in many other princely and less princely private collections. This is a crucial point to consider when addressing the institutional history of prints and drawings collections as their ownership changed from private collectors to nation-states. Prints and drawings' selection and arrangement within private collections have always depended on the owner's own taste and on classification criteria in use at the time, which were in turn connected to the market and to the critical understanding of the 'object drawing' and of the 'object print'. As more rational classification systems took over previous ones, the storage system did not change and since the 18th century many print and drawing collections came into public ownership as part of large libraries. Artists, librarians and art historians in charge of public collections looked at these objects in different ways and were also subject to new constraints

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antigaglie in his Palazzo at Santa Fosca in Venice. In Vendramin's inventory of the collection, compiled between 1567 and 1569, drawings were listed after paintings but before prints; contemporary sources reported that drawings and prints were displayed side by side (WINDOWS 2014).

4 JAMES 1991a, p. 3. For an overview of different kinds of mounts across collectors' habits in Italy and France, see pp. 4-16. For other prints' storage practices, including loose prints, see GRIFFITHS 2016, pp. 422-426.

5 WARWICK 2003, p. 3. Recently collections of essays dedicated to collections of drawings and prints were published, such as BAKER, ELAN, WARWICK 2003 and GÁLDY, HEUDECKER 2018 (see also the Journal of the History of Collections' thematic virtual issue *Collecting prints and drawings* <https://academic.oup.com/jhc/pages/collecting_prints_drawings>, accessed 19 April 2019) but studies tend to focus on case studies which are related to prints or to drawings only.

such as the mission of the public institution. All this impacted the way works on paper were stored, catalogued and displayed.

For the abovementioned reasons, a brief overview of the reception, collecting practices and critical studies of drawings and prints is necessary in order to recall some basic principles which we will refer to throughout the present dissertation. For this purpose, this chapter takes a broader view over the whole period before the 19th century and, therefore, it inevitably lacks the precision that any full treatment would require.

1.1 Looking at drawings: foundation of the arts and documentation of *maniere*

Drawings had many functions and meanings for artists and collectors alike. The first documented groups of drawings were those assembled by artists, especially in Northern Italy, either organised in portfolios and model-books such as Giovannino de Grassi's (ca. 1350-1398) or kept as loose sheets such as the collections of Pisanello (ca. 1390-1455). The aim of these proto-collecting practices was to provide artists' workshops with a stock of models for educational purposes.[6] Some private individuals were reported, instead, to amass drawings together with other artistic objects, such as Oliviero Forzetta (1335-1373): his collection, detailed by Canonico Federici at the beginning of the 14th century, included drawings together with statues, paintings, medals, carnelian stones and cameos.[7]

The first critical interest towards the concept of drawing, which contributed to considering drawings as a separate collectible category, is traditionally ascribed to Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574),[8] who in his 1568 edition of *Le Vite* called drawing "padre delle tre arti nostre".[9] In Vasari's

6 See KARET 2003. Beyond this form of proto-collecting, of a strictly practical nature, another form of artist-collector developed, who still cherished drawings' educational value, but assembled drawings for gift-giving and for the status and prestige they conferred (see REBECCHINI 2002). On the use of drawings in the Italian Renaissance workshops, see BAMBACH 1999. For the artist as collector of drawings in an historical perspective, see MONBEIG-GOGUEL, HATTORI 2006-2007.

7 On Forzetta see GARGAN 1992; LAUBER 2008.

8 See the 'scheme' proposed in NEGRI ARNOLDI, PROSPERI VALENTI 1986, p. 119.

9 "Perché il disegno, padre delle tre arti nostre Architettura, Scultura e Pittura, procedendo dall'intelletto cava di molte cose un giudizio universale; simile a una forma overo idea di tutte le cose della natura, la quale è singolarissima nelle sue misure […] e perché da questa cognizione nasce un certo concetto e giudizio, che

footsteps, during the course of the 16th and 17th centuries drawing reached a superior status over the other arts: since sketches displayed the artist's genius and pristine idea, collectors grew very fond of them.[10]

One of the first notable examples of organic collecting practice has been identified in Vasari himself; unfortunately, his *Libro dei disegni* is now dismembered and its sheets are dispersed across many public collections, so we do not know precisely how Vasari organised it. Anna Forlani Tempesti suggested that the drawings collected by Vasari in his *Libro* might have followed the same order as Vasari's *Vite*, and that other drawings might have been inserted in the book because of their subject-matter.[11] Furthermore, the selection of drawings and the framing strategies adopted, as well as Vasari's own description of the book (that he created "per memoria di tanti uomini"),[12] suggests that he considered his *Libro* a "galleria portatile"[13] or "musée imaginaire":[14] for him, it carried not only aesthetical but historical value too, since Vasari appreciated drawings for their possibility to document *invenzioni* and *maniere* in a pedagogic fashion.[15]

During the 17th century the interest in drawings as independent works of art grew significantly. The number of their collectors increased, mostly across the Italian peninsula: among them were princes, artists, cardinals and diplomats, such as Leopoldo de' Medici in Florence; the Dukes Alfonso II (1522-1597) and Alfonso IV d'Este (1634-1662) in Ferrara and

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si forma nella mente quella tal cosa che poi espressa con le mani si chiama disegno, si può conchiudere che esso disegno altro non sia che una apparente espressione e dichiarazione del concetto che si ha nell'animo, e di quello che altri si è nella mente imaginato e fabricato nell'idea" (VASARI 1568, vol. I, p. 111). The history of critical studies on drawing is a far too vast topic to be addressed here; on the meanings, techniques and uses of drawing and drawings in Italian art see RAGGHIANTI 1946; NEGRI ARNOLDI, PROSPERI VALENTI 1986; SCIOLLA 1991; GRASSI 1993 (1956); AMES-LEWIS 2000.

10 As a result of the neo-platonic influence, the predominant thought in the Florentine scene was that drawing *was* the Idea, the knowledge itself, in its metaphysical sense (see DONI 1549; ZUCCARI 1607). See also HELD 1963.

11 FORLANI TEMPESTI 2012, p. 40.

12 VASARI 1568, vol. III, p. 104.

13 *Ivi*, p. 35.

14 MONBEIG GOGUEL 1998, p. 117. De Benedicts called it "museo di grafica" (DE BENEDICTS 2010 [1991] p. 31). On the Vasari's *Libro dei disegni* see KURZ 1937, DEGENHART 1964, COLLOBI RAGGHIANTI 1974.

15 FORLANI TEMPESTI 2012, pp. 40-42.

in Modena; the painter Carlo Maratti (1625-1713) and the doctor and writer Giulio Mancini (1559-1639) in Rome; Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564-1631) in Milan.[16] The most cherished were studies, *capricci* and *disegni d'invenzione*, to which a specific value was attached, those that directly identified and demonstrated how the artist expressed his creative genius .[17] Artists also meticulously prepared finished drawings which were directly aimed at collectors.

Vasari's *Libro* was the blueprint for other 'paper museums' of this time, such as the albums assembled by Sebastiano Resta (1635-1714), inspired by the idea of a museum, a gallery or a 'memory theatre', as it is inferred by the titles he gave to his albums, for instance *Piccolo teatro dei disegni* and *Anfiteatro pittorico*.[18] Resta's most famous album, the *Galleria portatile* (now housed in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan), had drawings arranged by school, in the attempt to build a "storia dell'arte del disegno".[19] He assembled drawings by masters such as Raphael and his school, the Carracci and other Bolognese artists, but also finished drawings by Correggio, and from the Lombard, Venetian and Bolognese schools of the Cinquecento. According to him, these drawings had the right to appear next to paintings in a gallery, not because of the social prestige they entailed or the aesthetic enjoyment they could provide,[20] but

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16 On these collectors see ALIVENTI et al. 2017; FILETI MAZZA 2017 (on Leopoldo de' Medici); PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ 2014 (on Maratti as collector of drawings); BURY 2003 (on Giulio Mancini); MARA 2010 (on the reconstruction of albums of drawings at the Ambrosiana).

17 DE BENEDICTIS 2010 (1991), p. 107.

18 WARWICK 2003, p. 152; see also WARWICK 2000 for a study on Resta as collector of drawings in the Early Modern Europe market for works on paper. On Sebastiano Resta's albums of drawings, see the seminal studies by Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò (among the recent ones for example PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ 2013) and the study day of 2015 curated by her together with Alberto Bianco and Francesco Grisolia (*Sebastiano Resta oratoriano milanese collezionista di disegni nel Seicento a Roma* – BIANCO, GRISOLIA, PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ 2017). See also the digital project led by Francesco Grisolia, *Drawing Europe. Padre Resta Project. Collecting, trade and language of drawings in Early Modern Europe (XVII-XVIII centuries):* <https://www.padrerestaproject.eu> (accessed 28 June 2019).

19 GRASSI 1993 (1956), p. 273. The term 'paper museum' is now widely used to refer to collections of reproductive prints; see for example the exhibitions *Musées de papier. L'antiquité en livres 1600-1800* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 2010-2011; DÉCULTOT 2010) and *Paper museums. The reproductive print in Europe 1500-1800* (Chicago, David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art; New York, Grey Art Gallery and Study Center 2005; RODINI, ZORACH 2005).

20 In 1593 Giorgio Alario suggested Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga to buy some books of drawings for the aesthetical pleasure they gave: "perché sono gioie et

rather because they served to understand different styles and *maniere*: the aim of such an album was to facilitate visual comparisons and to train the connoisseur's eye.[21]

Not all collections were arranged in the same way, with the same interpretative way of thinking or considering questions of authorship. Another kind of 'paper museum' was the *Museo cartaceo* set up by Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657), a collection of Renaissance and 17th century drawings (and prints) reproducing antiquities and the natural world, arranged by topic and by subject-matter.[22] In this case, the 'museum' was like a graphic archive (around 7,000 sheets) of antiquarian documentation, i.e. a museum not made of original items or natural specimens but instead of their reproduction on paper, meant to be a tool to support research in the area of natural sciences and archaeology.[23] Cassiano dal Pozzo collected these drawings but commissioned new ones too, and in the latter case he called notable artists to work for him, a sign that he took into account the aesthetical values of the sheets.[24]

Over the decades, collectors became more and more passionate in identifying drawings' authorship and started to draft criteria for their classification. In Vasari's steps, Filippo Baldinucci (1625-1697) understood "[…] col nome di opere non solo le pitture, ma anche i Disegni, che i Pittori fanno nelle carte, e fino a' primi pensieri o schizzi che vogliamo dire".[25] Assigned to Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici's drawings collection in the Uffizi, Baldinucci deepened the research on authorship and compiled a *Registro dei disegni* in alphabetic order (1673)

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servono a molte cose et principalmente a passare l'hore del caldo l'estate et a fuggire l'otio" (quoted in De Benedictis 2010 [1991], pp. 267-268).

21 So his notes, which he put to provide relevant information that served the viewer's eye by sharpening his critical skills.

22 See Solinas 2000, with previous bibliography; a catalogue raisonné of Cassiano's paper museum is being published as series by the Royal Collection Trust: six volumes edited by Mark McDonald have been issued already (McDonald 2017-).

23 "Non ho perdonato a spesa in raccorne le notizie havendo fatto da giovani ben intendenti di disegno copie per lo spatio di molt'anni, e continuando anco di presente, tutto quell di buono che habbi osservato tra' marmi e metalli che fussero capaci di suggerir qualche notizia riguardevole dell'antico. Questo museo dirò cartaceo è diviso in molti tomi" (quoted in Solinas 2000, p. 121).

24 Sciolla 1991, p. 59.

25 Baldinucci 1687 (1681), p. 10 (the text is available online at: <http://www.memofonte.it/home/ricerca/singolo_7.php?id=184&page=10&>, accessed 6 July 2019).

and the *Listra de' nomi de' pittori di mano de' quali si hanno disegni* (1673-1675).[26]

Drawings were intended for many purposes other than collections, for example they functioned as designs for other kinds of works such as tapestries.[27] They also kept playing an important part in the artists' learning process: as aids to artists in their works and as preparatory tools, both in artists' workshops and in fine arts academies.[28]

During the 18th century, the number of collectors rose across all European countries, especially in France and in England, and with this, more rational classification criteria were established, grounded on the principle that the study of drawings was fundamental to understand the artist's first idea and to go right into the artist's soul, as all the while identifying the different phases of the creative process.[29] For this reason, scholars such as Antoine Dezallier D'Argenville (1680-1765) placed drawings on a much higher level than prints[30] and, to some extent, than paintings too, a position shared by Lanzi:

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26 See FILETI MAZZA 2009, pp. 223-228; 229-234. The manuscript version of the *Registro* is held at AGDSU, ms. III C 37 (738).

27 See for example the cartoons executed by Raphael and his studio for the *Acts of the Apostles* series of tapestries, originally supposed to be hung in the Sistine Chapel on feast days, and now housed in the Vatican Museums. In 1623, the future Charles I bought the *cartoni* which hung in a gallery at Hampton Court Palace until 1865, when they were sent (on loan) to the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum; in 2010 tapestries and cartoon were reunited for the exhibition Cartoons and Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel; see EVANS 2010). The preparatory drawings for the cartoons are now housed in several collections; three are in the Royal Collection (Windsor).

28 See SCIOLLA 1991, pp. 67-70.

29 See SMENTEK 2014, pp. 106-112, with regard to the role played by French connoisseurs and academic theorists in the theoretical elaboration of "a conception of the drawing as offering insights into the artist's mind and hand that finished paintings or sculptures could not" (SMENTEK 2014, p. 107).

30 "Les desseins infiniment superieurs aux estampes, tiennent un juste milieu entr'elles & les tableaux; ce sont les premieres idées d'un peintre, le premier feu de son imagination, son style, son esprit, sa manière de penser: ils sont les premiers originaux qui servent souvent aux éléves du maître, à peindre les tableaux qui n'en sont que les copies" (D'ARGENVILLE 1745, p. XVI). On this approach see also Caylus, *Discours sur les desseins*, and Lacombe, *Dizionario portatile delle belle arti* (published in Italian in Venice, 1758). For a commented overview see SCIOLLA 1991, pp. 71-74.

> Quando il pittore produce un quadro, dice Winckelmann, la diligenza che vi usa, e il colore che vi sovrappone, ne vela in un certo modo il talento; dove in quelle linee che tira in carta, egli spiega con tutta verità e naturalezza l'ingegno suo: ivi la franchezza della mano, ivi il possesso del disegno, ivi meglio si scuopre il carattere, e lo spirito di ciascuno, e quel divino estro, che non forma meno i pittori che i poeti. Anco gli studi abbozzati con pochi tratti di matita, o di penna, […] un contorno, una testa con poche macchie, dan talora più vantaggiosa opinione di un artista, che non gli conciliano l'opere più finite […].[31]

In France, the collector Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) approached the formation of his collection of drawings (which eventually consisted of nearly 10.000 items) with a new critical approach: by choosing each sheet individually, and focusing on the distinguishing characteristic of each school and of each artist's style, his aim was to recount as complete a history of drawing as possible from its origins to his own day through his collection.[32] This educational approach, which differed from the vast majority of collectors of drawings at that time, informed Mariette's *Description sommaire des desseins*, the auction catalogue of Pierre Crozat's (1661-1740) holdings: here, Mariette introduced a new rational classification of regional schools, based on more extensive taxonomic categories.[33]

During the 19th century, other individuals took an interest in drawings collecting: on the one hand, there were artists and art historians, who became keen in selecting drawings to match their own research interests, especially in France and England, such as William Young Ottley (1771-1836), Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830) and Jean-Baptiste Wicar (1762-1834); on the other, rich businessmen and politicians in Europe as well as in the USA, often driven by their own personal taste, profited from the availability of important collections of graphic art and acquired them on a previously unheard of scale.[34] In Italy, some collectors assembled

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31 LANZI 1782, pp. 150-151.

32 ROSENBERG 2011a, p. 15. Following the two volumes published in 2011 and devoted to French drawings from the Mariette collection (Rosenberg 2011b), Pierre Rosenberg has just published four volumes on the drawings from the Italian and the Spanish schools (ROSENBERG 2019). Some sheets by the most important Italian old masters are now on display at the Louvre for the temporary exhibition *Dessins italiens de la collection Mariette* (summer 2019).

33 SMENTEK 2014, p. 110.

34 American collectors had important budgets to spend and were ready to acquire entire collections *en bloc*; see for example the wide amount of drawings

drawings for pedagogic purposes: the secretary of the Accademia di Brera in Milan, Giuseppe Bossi (1777-1815), strengthened the educational provision of the Milanese art academy by giving his drawings (*Primitivi*, Cinquecento and Seicento) to the institution as well as prints, vases, plasters and books,[35] as Giacomo Carrara (1714-1796) had done before him for the art academy in Bergamo (named after him) and as the marquis Luigi Malaspina di Sannazzaro (1754-1835) would do in Pavia a little later.[36]

Like their earlier counterparts, 19th century collectors deeply admired old master drawings; sketches were increasingly appreciated as works of art in their own right, although their understanding still remained confined in the preparatory phase for another artefact.[37] According to some scholars, this late reception of drawings as a self-standing 'artistic fact' is due to the very status of drawing as the basis for all arts,[38] as well as to the scholarly interest towards drawings predominant since the 17th-18th century: a classifying approach, which was thought of exclusively in terms of individual authorship, prioritizing issues of attribution, aimed at compiling one artist or one school's catalogue.[39] Exemplary in this sense was the *Catalogue de dessins de Raphael* (1860), the first catalogue of drawings by Raphael published by the German scholar and painter Johann David Passavant (1787-1861) as an appendix to his monographic

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and prints (over 12,200 items, impressive both for their breadth – 16th to 19th centuries - and quality) which belonged to Giovanni Piancastelli and that he sold, directly and indirectly, to the Hewitt sisters starting from 1901 (the works are now housed in the Cooper Hewitt Museum in New York, see De Santi, Donati 2001)

35 In his manuscript *Memorie*, in 1808 Bossi wrote: "Ho fatto ordinare in varii volumi i miei disegni antichi dividendoli in varie scuole. Ho fatto fare dei volumi anche per varii disegni moderni, e due grossi volumi li ho riempiti di stampe di Alberto Duro" (quoted in Sciolla 1991, p. 212).

36 Aldovini 2018, pp. 216-218. On Carrara and the establishment of the Accademia in Bergamo, see Perini 1989.

37 Griseri 1980, p. 188.

38 *Ibidem.* For an alternative approach to drawing, Griseri suggests to look at Hegel, who in 1828 launched another research based on the principle that drawing is the idea incarnated in a sensitive form, which through basic means concurs to create artistic *apparenze* perceived as truer than nature itself (Griseri 1980, p. 189).

39 Grassi 1993 (1956), p. 272.

study *Raphael d'Urbin et son père Giovanni Santi*.[40] Studies of this kind greatly increased starting from the 1880s, and were aided by the availability of drawings to scholars in European museums.

According to Luigi Grassi, by leaving out the analysis of drawing as 'graphic document' as well as the understanding of a collection as a whole, the 'catalogue approach' postponed the critical study of drawing as such; moreover, he observed that this kind of approach absorbed most scholarly efforts as well as museum professionals' attention, since it was believed instrumental for a good managing of a museum collection.[41] A similar argument was recently put forward by Marzia Faietti, who highlighted the absence of drawing from the 10th International Conference of Art History, entitled *L'Italia e l'arte straniera*, held at the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome in 1912: according to her, this clearly meant that drawing as a discipline had not gained its independence yet and was still identified with the "mera repertorializzazione tassonomica dei disegni"[42].

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40 NEGRI ARNOLDI, PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ 1986, p. 119. On research related to Raphael until that moment, see OSTERKAMP 2001. On monographic studies devoted to the old masters during the 19th century, see GUERCIO 1995; 2006.

41 "L'interesse prevalente rimane circoscritto alla pubblicazione dei disegni di un autore, di una scuola, o di una raccolta; in cui raramente si oltrepassa il grado dell'attribuzione, più o meno precisa e del catalogo, con le sue impeccabili notazioni iconografiche e tecniche" (GRASSI 1947, p. 67); "Nondimeno il metodo del catalogo presenta poi lo svantaggio che esso ha ritardato, e probabilmente ritarda ancora, la lettura critica dei disegni come opere d'arte esteticamente per sé stanti, e però da riferire, insieme e necessariamente, al concreto percorso figurativo di un pittore, o scultore, od architetto" (GRASSI 1993 [1956], p. 52).

42 "[…] forse il Disegno è un obiettivo critico ancora oggi, almeno in parte, da mettere a fuoco, tanto che gli studi specifici su di esso vengono spesso emarginati e fraintesi, perché sbrigativamente identificati con l'esercizio elitario di una connoisseurship, talvolta troppo arrendevole a ragioni di mercato, o perché confinati nello spazio troppo angusto di indagini specialistiche, talora un poco autoreferenziali" (FAIETTI 2015, p. 217). On the same note Piera Giovanna Tordella: "Ed è in ogni caso auspicabile, a favore di una declinazione della storia delle arti, di più ampio respiro, integrata negli studi culturali in una prospettiva trasversale e, in quanto tale, comparatistica, il superamento di quella visione che vede al storia dell'arte concepita eminentemente quanto miopemente come esercizio, spesso fine a se stesso, di connoisseurship (e gli studi sul disegno per lo più risolti in esercizi di mera schedatura) e il saggio monografico eminentemente risolto, secondo un'idea dagli esiti talora non meno fallimentari, in repertorio generale dell'opera di un artista" (TORDELLA 2018, p. 111).

1.2 Collecting and understanding prints: "exactly repeatable pictorial statements" and "universal galleria"

What was a print around 1860? By then, printed images had been around Europe for roughly five centuries; as Anthony Griffiths has effectively demonstrated in his book *The print before photography* (2016), there has never been a unique way of understanding and using prints: their values and meanings kept shifting as people looked at them and used them in different ways.[43] Prints' dependency on other images as well as their multiple nature favoured their perception as "exactly repeatable pictorial statements";[44] however, far from being merely passive tools of illustration and knowledge dissemination, prints also granted extended mobility of images and patterns across geographical and temporal boundaries and across media.[45]

In the 15th century, the works by artists such as Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden proved that a print could be a work of art in itself, but this artistic aspect of the print was far more powerful in Northern Europe than in Italy, where at the same time prints were cherished more for their documentary value.[46] Because of the predominance of drawing, printmaking in Italy was mainly considered to be an 'extension' of drawing ("stampe di disegni")[47] and a way to disseminate artists' designs. As pointed out by Michael Bury, however, prints' informative role did not prevent viewers from enjoying them for their aesthetic qualities too.[48] Nevertheless, some scholars believe that some engravers' poor skills in fulfilling this 'reproductive' task gave merit to Giorgio Vasari's choice in

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43 GRIFFITHS 2016. Griffiths' book provides a comprehensive overview on European printmaking between 1550 and 1820 and describes prints' production, market, collecting practices and scholarship. For a seminal study on Renaissance printmaking covering the years 1470-1550 see LANDAU, PARSHALL 1994.

44 IVINS 1969, p. 23

45 WOUK 2016, pp. 3, 9.

46 GRIFFITHS 2016, p. 457-458.

47 In a letter to Giorgio Vasari, the philologist and art collector Vincenzo Maria Borghini (1515-1580) informed Vasari that he had asked to "l'abate di Speco" to provide him with all "stampe di disegni" of artworks by Michelangelo, no matter the engraver (AMCV, Carte Vasari, ms. 14, cc. 16r-17v, Borghini to Vasari, 28 May 1552). 'Multiplication' of Raphael's works were very popular too: see MARINI 2015.

48 BURY 1985, p. 22.

giving little consideration to printmaking in his *Vite*: prints are only addressed in the *Vite*'s second edition (1568) which includes the life of Marcantonio Raimondi 'Bolognese' and a short account on the history of the medium, based on a biographical approach that set a methodological example henceforth.[49] Printmaking was meant, therefore, to serve painting and thus Vasari did not include it among the *arti del disegno.*

As pointed out by Bury, towards the end of the 16th century the rise of professional engravers in Italy led to a system in which finished drawings were 'translated' into worked-up engravings.[50] At this time, prints in Italy as well as in the whole of Europe were bought for a variety of different reasons, many of which are still not known today. They were used to illustrate books, to advertise or commemorate an event, to be pasted as decorations on other surfaces (such as woodcuts pasted on wedding chests) but also they had more ephemeral uses that made it impossibile for these sheets to survive to this day.[51] Although there are indications of 15th-century ownership of groups of prints falling in a variety of contexts,[52] it was only in the 16th century that prints started to be regarded as a separate collectable category. Given prints' variety and considering that no collection of this time has survived in any complete form, it is very hard to establish clear-cut borders to distinguish different collecting practices. Moreover, as it happened with drawings, by the 16th century there was no established historiographic tradition on the nature of prints or on how they should be collected and stored, on the contrary to other areas of art collecting such as that of sculptures, cameos and gems, which existed since ancient times. Collectors produced new meanings for prints as they arranged and shuffled them based on subject-matter, form or other criteria, and as they associated prints to drawings, paintings, or even specimens of nature as it happened in *studioli*,[53] curiosity cabinets and encyclopaedic collections.

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49 On Vasari's connoisseurship in the field of engravings, see PIERGUIDI 2017.

50 BURY 2001, p. 9.

51 On everyday uses of prints until the half of 16th century, see KARR SCHMIDT, NICHOLS 2011.

52 For instance, in many cases, prints were made and used as cheap substitutes for drawings and paintings for decorative purposes: Bury describes as an example the hand-coloured *Madonna*, now in the British Museum, that was found on the door of a house in Bassano, "in a room whose wall were decorated with others" (BURY 1985, p. 12). Griffiths does not consider a groups of prints on the wall as a collection, and mentions instead other reasons why prints were bought (GRIFFITHS 2016, p. 428).

53 In his *Memorie* of 1549, Sabba da Castiglione (1480-1554) reported that some

During the 17th century, prints became increasingly associated with artists' paintings rather than with their drawings: by recording paintings, prints became the basis for any stylistic comparison and a fundamental reference tool for those who wrote about art. An example is Nicola Pio, *dilettante* in drawing and painting, who assembled "un numero incredibile di stampe rappresentanti le opere più grandiose di tanti famosi pittori […]"[54] which was matched by his *Le vite di pittori scultori et architetti*, a manuscript biography of the artists represented in his collection.

The choice to order print collections by subject-matter (as suggested for example by Giulio Mancini)[55] or by designer revealed, respectively, the value attached to prints as historical, informative materials and the perceived gap between the genius of a master painter and the activity of an engraver, whose final product was the result of a "collaborative" work that involved draughtsmen and publishers.[56] Even if some artists-engravers such as Dürer were already appreciated in their time, collectors' interest was not laid on the printmaker, but instead on the designer, a feature which was reflected in the market too: in Rome, the *Indice* by the French publisher Antoine Lafréry (1512-1577), and also later the catalogue of the De' Rossi firm of print publishers, listed prints by designer's name.[57] Another evidence of the delayed attention to engravers and in general to the medium of printmaking compared to 'major' arts is the fact that until mid-18th century there was no established stream of publications dedicated to it.[58] Before this time there were very few isolated cases only, such as Malvasia's *Felsina pittrice* (Bologna 1678),

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"gentlemen ornamented their 'studioli' with engravings and woodcuts, mentioning especially the works of Dürer and Lucas van Leyden" (BURY 1985, p. 14). See also LIEBENWEIN 1998, pp. 114-115.

54 "[…] tutti li signori forestieri venivano a vederla per riconoscersi in essa non solo la curiosità di tanti ritratti e di celebri professori fatti tutti diversamente […], ma anche per osservare quelli maestri che han fatto risorgere il buon stile e le buone maniere, ed ad un'occhiata distinguere, come la pittura fosse mancata, ritrovata, e cresciuta, ed in oltre rimirare l'eccellenza della virtù delli grandi huomini, le maniere più vive e più franche, e la differenza di stile" (ENGGASS, ENGGASS 1977, p. 2).

55 BURY 2003.

56 WOUK 2016, p. 9. On the status of the engraver vis-à-vis the painter, see GRIFFITHS 2016, p. 467.

57 On Lafréry and the *Indice*, see BOREA 1979, p. 384 and ALBERTI 2008-2009. On the De' Rossi, see GRELLE IUSCO 1996.

58 See BELLINI 2003 for an overview.

where a few chapters were dedicated to printmakers. Baldinucci's *Cominciamento e progresso dell'arte dell'Intagliare in rame, colle vite di molti de' più eccellenti maestri della stessa professione* (Florence 1686) was one of the first publications entirely dedicated to printmaking; it still drew upon Vasari's theories, both because of the dependence of prints from *disegno* (it said that the "arte dell'intaglio" fell "Fra le arti che hanno per padre il Disegno")[59] and because of the primacy of Florence in the origins of printmaking.[60] A few other publications dedicated to painters' lives included remarks on some painters' activity as engravers, such as in Giovanni Baglione (1573-1643), *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti* (Rome 1645); Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613-1696), *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (Rome 1672); Raffaele Soprani (1612-1692), *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti genovesi* (Genoa 1674): printmaking was still primarily considered a collateral, second-class activity.

As appropriately described by Lanzi, the 18th century was the "secolo del rame", a time in which the massive increase in the use and appreciation of prints came along with an interest for their study and classification within private collections.[61] As Griffiths pointed out, there were uniform patterns of graphic art collecting across Europe, and behind collectors' choices there was a "preoccupation" which was entirely new:[62] arranging an art collection at that time was more and more perceived as a "self-conscious, philosophically informed exercise of the intellect".[63] Classification and attribution were strong drivers that led collectors, as well as art dealers, especially from French and German-speaking areas to publish essays, catalogues and inventories including information on how to choose and arrange prints. Throughout the second half of the 18th century and well into the following one, more and more catalogues as well as comprehensive dictionaries and reference tools were published to guide collectors, including *amateurs* from lower

59 BALDINUCCI 1686, p. I.

60 See FILETI MAZZA 2009, pp. 26-27.

61 "Il numero de' lor dilettanti è cresciuto oltre modo; ne sorgon nuovi gabinetti in ogni luogo; si aggravano a dismisura i lor prezzi; si moltiplicano i libri che ne discorrono; ed è gran parte della civile coltura sapere i nomi, Sull'esempio di Francia, Germania e Olanda anche nel nostro paese quella utilità e quell diletto maturarono l'esigenze che quelle preziose scelte e la conservazione di quegl'intagli meritassero descrizioni circostanziate e fedeli, ovvero i cataloghi" (LANZI 1795-1796, p. 74).

62 GRIFFITHS 1994, p. 37.

63 ARNOLD 2006, p. 242.

classes, in the identification of prints.[64] Monographic catalogues which stemmed from the print trade world became much more consistent and logical in their structure: pioneers of this method were Edme-François Gersaint (1694-1750) and again Mariette, art dealers and collectors who introduced significant modifications in sale catalogues, providing a classification system organised by national schools of painting.[65] Collector's guides provided guidelines for proper cataloguing, however personal and varied these theoretical categorizations could be. Karl Heinrich von Heinecken's (1707-1791) *Idée générale d'une collection complete d'estampes* (Leipzig-Vienna 1771) was the first systematic attempt to classify a huge collection (such as the princely collection in Dresden he was in charge of) offering a blueprint for any other of that size. According to Heinecken, the main aim of such a collection was to serve the study of history of painting: therefore most sheets were grouped by national schools (Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch, English, German) and listed by painter. If the name of the painter was not given, then the engraver took his place. Arrangements by subjects was also used in order to allow different kinds of research.[66]

Comprehensive lists of engravers including concise biographical information and the titles of the most important prints appeared too, such as Johann Rudolf Füsslin's (1709-1793) *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon* (Zürich 1763); Pierre-François Basan's (1723-1797) *Dictionnaire des graveurs anciens et modernes* (Paris 1767); Giovanni Gori Gandellini's (1703-1769) *Notizie istoriche degli intagliatori* (Siena 1771). In time, these publications became more and more precise and complete, and more centred on providing complete lists of prints, such as Heinecken's *Dictionnaire des artistes, dont nous avons les estampes, avec une notice detaillée de leur ouvrages gravés* (Leipzig 1778-1790) and Michel Huber's (1727-1804) *Catalogue raisonné du Cabinet du feu Monsieur Winkler* (Leipzig 1801-1810). Adam Bartsch's (1757-1821) *Le Peintre-Graveur* (Vienna 1803-1821) marked a turning point, as the 21 volumes not only provided the first exhaustive catalogue of the most famous German, Netherlandish, French and Italian artist-printmakers (no matter if they engraved, etched or made woodcuts) but also offered a model for a more complete description of the prints (including information on print runs, copies etc.). In the area of techniques, treatises had appeared since Abraham

64 A list of printmakers dictionaries published between 18th and 20th centuries is provided in BELLINI 1982, pp. VII-XII. A more detailed overview which also includes catalogues and collector' guides is in GRIFFITHS 2016, pp. 448-456.

65 POMIAN 1979. On Mariette and his organization of the print collection of Prince Eugene of Savoy see SMENTEK 2014; GAUNA 2017 and KOBI 2018.

66 See SCHUSTER, KETELSEN 2010; ARWED 2016.

Bosse's (1604-1676) *Traité des manières de graver à l'eau-forte* (Paris 1645), although the literature on engraving and woodcut was much less abundant than that on etching.[67]

Even when a connoisseurial, attribution-concerned approach to prints collecting emerged, collections were kept with the intent to be arranged in different ways. Collectors could focus on one painter or engraver exclusively or concentrate on his best or rarest prints – such as Federico Manfredini's (1743-1829) collection;[68] on one or more subjects (for instance portraits, local history, etc.). Starting in the late 17th century and more and more often during the following century, many collectors compiled their collections as a reference tool to document history of painting, and therefore they were used to group prints following national schools, arranged by painter. If other collectors seeked high-quality pieces both in terms of the excellence of their artistic design and of their conditions (looking forward to aquiring rare pieces as well as first-impressions), quality was not of particular importance to those collectors assembling art historical-based print collections.[69]

The idea that a print is able not only to communicate a subject, but also the concept, the *disegno* of the work it comes from[70] was well explained by Lanzi[71] and Pelli Bencivenni,[72] who praised prints because they allowed the viewer to study the painters' style. We find the same concept in other sources such as Francesco Milizia's (1725-1798) *Dizionario delle belle arti del disegno* (Bassano 1797),[73] although Milizia already foresaw that

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67 STIJMAN 2012, pp. 433-570, provides a comprehensive list of books and essays about printmaking techniques from 16th century on.

68 See VEDOVATO 2011.

69 GRIFFITHS 2016, p. 440.

70 ARGAN 1970, p. 158

71 "Si dee per conoscere un autore aver notizia del suo disegno; al che aiutano i suoi schizzi, le sue tavole, o le incisioni almeno di esse, purché sian esatte. Un gran conoscitore di stampe ha fatto più della metà del cammino per essere conoscitor di pitture: chi mira a questo scopo, negli studi notturni rivolga stampe, rivolgale ne' diurni" (LANZI 1795-1796, p. XVIII).

72 "Chi vuole applicare allo studio della pittura istoricamente è indispensabile di far ricerca di stampe. […]. Questa scoprono l'autore di molti quadri, conservano quelli che son periti, fanno conoscere quelli che non si possono vedere, palesano il destino di molti di essi, indicano le frodi, ed i furti dei pittori, e servono anche a far distinguere non poco le maniere loro" (BNCF, N.A. 1050, Efemeridi, s. II, vol. V, p. 807; text available online at: <http://pelli.bncf.firenze.sbn.it/it/progetto.html>, accessed 9 July 2019).

73 "Da una collezione ben ordinate di stampe s'apprende a conoscere lo stile di

didactic function of printmaking that would be predominant in the 18th century.[74] Although for some collectors willing to assemble art historical-based collection this meant that prints were "da studio, più che da galleria", as for the painter and architect Ambrogio Rosmini (1741-1818),[75] many compared these collections exactly to a museum or a gallery. Praising Count Giacomo Durazzo's (1717-1794) own collection, the writer Bartolomeo Benincasa (1746-1816) remarked that prints could shape "una quasi universal galleria!"[76] and added that Durazzo passed on him "il genio allo studio della Storia Pittorica, esaminata nelle Stampe, che m'insegnaste a conoscere, e a gustare".[77] In 1752, the engraver and art dealer Anton Maria Zanetti (1680-1767) the Elder wrote that "[…] con fattica somma, e con massimo dispendio hò fatto un museo in stampe, raccolte in Italia, e nei miei viaggi, che sorpassa la condizione di un privato […]".[78]

During the first half of the 19th century, the enthusiasm for prints grew even more and extended well beyond the private contemplation of a few *connoisseurs*. The circulation of prints ceased to be confined to an amateur

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ciascun Maestro, e tutto il suo andamento progressivo. Si paragonano altresì i differenti stili de' differenti Maestri, e si valutan meglio che per i loro originali già degradati" (MILIZIA 1797, p. 7).

74 MAZZOCCA 1981, pp. 323-327.

75 "Egli cercava nelle stampe, piuttosto che l'incisione, la pittura, e gli bastava talora che la stampa gli richiamasse alla mente il veduto originale, o anche solo gli risvegliasse qualche pittorico pensiero. Voleva per ciò stampe da studio, più che da galleria. L'esattezza del disegno, il movimento felice di una sola figura bastavano talora per lui" (MARINI 1997, pp. 92-93).

76 BENINCASA 1784, p. 5.

77 *Ivi*, n.p. In the second half of 1770s, Durazzo drew up a system to order Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen collection of prints, entitled *Scuola Pratica Universale del Disegno*, "which evokes an idea of a universal education in the history of art on the basis of selected print in chronological order and of masters classified according to schools" (MICHEL 2018, p. 195; see also CANEPA 2012 and MICHEL 2014). Durazzo's system served as model for others: see for example the engraver Stefano Mulinari's project to engraver and publish 50 drawings from the Uffizi collection under the title *Istoria Pratica dell'Incominanciamento e Progressi della Pittura* (see VERMEULEN 2012).

78 "[…] e ne spererei di potergli far vedere qualunque stampe rara di qualunque autore che mi potesse venir ricercata […] perochè una stampa mi basta averla bella ed una volta sola, non essendo di quei dilettanti, che fanno pompa, e si gloriano di avere una stampa rara tre, quattro, e più volte […]" (letter from Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder to Anton Francesco Gori, 22 December 1752, quoted in DE BENEDICTIS 2010 (1991), p. 283 and BORTOLUZZI 2012-2014, p. 113.

collecting level only and instead took up other scopes, from dissemination to illustration.[79] The production and 'consumption' of prints grew heavily as prints profited of the development of new techniques (such as wood engraving and lithography) combined with other technologies to fill in new spaces on the market:[80] the publishing sector underwent a great expansion, and "the exactly repeatable pictorial statement" became "a commonplace in books, in periodicals, and in the daily newspapers":[81] prints, both *d'invenzione* and translating other artworks were used to accompany historical-documentary books, newspapers, satirical pamphlets, or to create illustrated *recueils* of museum collections and old masters' artworks.[82]

No matter how much engravers combined different techniques to obtain non-linear qualities such as texture and tone to imitate paintings, no print could be the equivalent of a painting: this is why the terms 'translation' and 'interpretation' were in use since the previous century.[83] But the rise of photomechanical techniques had an overwhelming impact on the status of printmaking as a primary 'reproductive' medium. While photography helped broaden the reception of graphic works by providing good facsimiles of impressions that were beyond some collectors' reach,[84] at the same time it gradually took printmaking's place in the field of reproduction. As a consequence of this, neoclassical 'reproductive' line engraving declined from its dominant position at the apogee of graphic arts, as photography "First […] eliminated the draughtsman, and then […] the engraver from the making of exactly repeatable pictorial statements":[85] the main occupation of artists such as Luigi Calamatta (1801-1869), Francesco Rosaspina (1762-1841), Paolo

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79 SPALLETTI 1979, p. 427.

80 "I imagine that the number of printed pictures produced between 1800 and 1901 was probably considerably greater than the total number of printed pictures that had been produced before 1801. They were made for all class of society and for every conceivable purpose" (IVINS 1969, p. 93).

81 *Ibidem*.

82 See MAZZOCCA 1981, pp. 381-397; SPALLETTI 1979, pp. 428-429; MASSARI, NEGRI 2000, pp. 245-249; 271-276; BOREA 2009, p. 655.

83 On the use of these terms as opposed to 'reproductive', see GRIFFITHS 2016, pp. 464-465; 498-499. See also ARGAN 1970 and SPALLETTI 1979, pp. 416-430.

84 The very rarest prints were reproduced in series for institutions and private collectors by the International Chalcographic Society beginning in the 1880s (WRIGHT 2015, p. 114).

85 IVINS 1969, p. 93.

Toschi (1788-1854) and Michele Bisi (1788-1874), who worked in the footsteps of Raffaello Morghen (1758-1833) and Giuseppe Longhi (1766-1831) in the area of the Calcografia and fine art academies, declined after 1850.[86] While in Italy lithography took longer than in other countries to establish because of the resistance opposed by the *bulino puro* tradition, etching and woodcut revived.[87]

Following the stream of literature which had developed in the second half of the previous century, new reference tools directed to prints *amateurs* appeared, such as Abbott Pietro Zani's (1748-1821) *Enciclopedia metodico critico-ragionata delle Belle Arti* (Parma 1817-1825), Georg Caspar Nagler's (1801-1866) *Neues Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon* (Munich 1835-1852) and *Die Monogrammisten* (Munich 1858-1879); Charles Le Blanc's (1817-1865) *Manual de l'amateur d'estampes* (Paris 1854-1889) and Johann David Passavant's (1787-1861) *Le Peintre-Graveur* (Leipzig 1860-1864).

Along with the various principles that inspired and governed collectors belonging to the noble class, bourgeoisie, artists and art dealers' world – including, as it happened with drawings, wealthy foreign collectors –[88] a new arrangement criteria arose, that aimed at showing the history of the art of printmaking itself. Marquis Luigi Malaspina di Sannazzaro organised his collection of more than 6.000 prints (the core of the present day Musei Civici collection in Pavia) in such fashion, selecting sheets for their possibility to explain the development of each printmaking technique until the mid-18th century.[89] As he stated in his collection catalogue, prints in this kind of 'general collection' (that he acknowledged to be smaller than the princely collections, arranged by painters) should be organised by national schools and in chronological

86 It is quite telling that in 1873 there were only 17 pupils attending courses of engraving in the nine Italian fine art academies (BOREA 2009, p. 675).

87 MASSARI, NEGRI 2000, pp. 251-252, 256-258.

88 Such as Congressman George Perkins Marsh (1801-1882), whose collection of European engraving was eventually acquired by the Smithsonian in 1849 (see WRIGHT 1996; 2015) or the Boston-born writer, artist and patron of arts Thomas Gold Appleton (1812-1884) who in 1869 bought the entire collection of prints (10.600 sheets) of Cardinal Antonio Tosti (1776-1866) in order to place it at the Boston Public Library, thus creating the first nucleus of the Library Print Room (see DINOIA 2013). The American market for prints grew significantly around mid-19th century, as part of an increased general interest for arts and collecting that became well established after the Secession; see POMIAN 2003, p. 19).

89 See ALDOVINI 2014; 2018, pp. 205-209; 2019. An overview on Malaspina di Sannazzaro and his collections is provided in ALBERTARIO 2000; Malaspina also owned drawings, some of which were acquired because of their relationship with the prints: see TORDELLA 2012, pp. 404-408.

order; as shown by Laura Aldovini, further information provided in the catalogue as well as Malaspina di Sannazzaro's choice for of a special storage and display system imply that he came to consider his collection as an educational tool for art students.[90]

Collections representing history of printmaking developed in parallel with scholarship on early prints (i.e. what came before the generation of Albrecht Dürer, Lucas van Leyden and Marcantonio Raimondi). Until the 19th century, the origin of engraving and woodcut was a very much confused issue, and so was the debate on the primacy of Italy versus Northern Europe. But by the beginning of 19th century, two streams of scholarship were established: one concerned woodcut and its relationship with book printing, mainly discussed in German-speaking areas since Heinecken's studies; the other focused on the history of engraving, especially after Bartsch's introduction to volume XIII of *Le Peintre-Graveur* and William Young Ottley's *An inquiry into the origin and early history of engraving upon copper and in wood with an account of engravers and their works* (London 1816).

1.3 Storage and display: paper museums and cabinets for prints and drawings

Domestic displays, 15th-18th centuries

As highlighted above, drawings and prints were produced, used and assembled in different ways and each medium was cherished for its own specific reasons. Nevertheless, their similarity in format as well as their strong documentary value led to a shared kind of storage within collectors' homes: in fact, since the 16th century both mediums used to be mostly bound or pasted in books and albums. In spite of this predominant habit, evidence of display of prints and drawings can be found in written and visual sources since the 15th century. However, these sources can be highly imprecise: among written ones are to be recalled property inventories and travellers' diaries, but their authors rarely describe in detail the methods of framing. As far as visual sources are concerned, it is worth remembering that the engraved depiction of interiors was not yet in itself a recognized category of artistic production until the 19th century: until that time, the emphasis was more on the act of human viewing rather than on the act of collecting or on the collected items.[91] The sheets themselves, when they survived, can also serve the

90 ALDOVINI 2018 and 2019.

91 GORDON 2011, pp. 99, 106.

story of prints and drawings display: but the loss of primary evidence is actually the greatest problem when addressing the role these mediums played in interior decoration. As is now unanimously recognized, long term display practices adopted in the past led to heavy damage to the sheets:[92] glazing was not common until the price of glass fell in the 18th century, and thus the lack of protection caused surfaces to become abraded and dirty; instead of glazing, some works were varnished and this did not allow paper to survive; moreover, paper was often attacked by the acids employed for the wooden backboard on which the sheet had to be fixed when not protected by glass.[93] Many 16th-17th century interiors show single-sheet prints hung by a string on a hook as well as pinned or glued to the wall or on a piece of furniture (fig. 1.I): this was an inevitable choice in poorer households that could not afford to buy paintings,[94] and picked prints instead (see for example the hand-coloured *Madonna* mentioned by Bury). There is also evidence of prints and drawings displayed side by side combined with other artworks, as in Gabriele Vendramin's *camerino delle antigaglie* in his Palazzo at Santa Fosca in Venice.[95] In Vendramin' inventory, drawings are listed after paintings and before prints. It is uncertain, however, whether early forms of accumulation (such as Vendramin's) of prints and drawings can be assessed as a conscious act of seeking each of the two media for their own value.

To frame prints and drawings became more and more popular among wealthy classes during the 17th century, within a general shift towards a

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92 See SCHWEIDLER 2006 for an overview of current conservation issues related to works of art on paper (and compare with SHELLEY 1987, pp. 31-40, and especially with HOLBEN ELLIS 2014, where the collection of essays provides an historical perspective on conservation issues). In Italy, the topic was first brought to the public in 1981 with the exhibition *Restauro e conservazione delle opere d'arte su carta,* organised by the conservation laboratory of the Uffizi Gabinetto disegni e stampe (BACCI, BONI, HEBBLETHWAITE NOVELLO, PICCOLO, PETRIOLI TOFANI 1981); see also FIORENTINO 2019. The topic of damages to paper brought about by light will be further discussed throughout the present dissertation.

93 GRIFFITHS 2016, pp. 417-420 For an overview concerning the display of prints, see GRIFFITHS 2003, pp. 9-10; GRIFFITHS 2016, pp. 411-422. The literature is usually focused on the habits of one single country: for Britain, see *ivi*, p. 537, n. 1; for a case study in Spain concerning both prints and drawings, see HINDALGO CALDAS 2018. JAMES 1991a provides some more technical information on the framing of prints and drawings in an art-historical context.

94 GRIFFITHS 2016, p. 417. As Griffiths points out, prints were also some wealthy families' favourite choice to embellish back rooms and staircases.

95 See WINDOWS 2014.

more elegant living space where to entertain guests and within a society that increasingly appreciated prints and drawings as self-standing collecting category.[96] Until the 18th century, however, literature and artistic historiography written in Italian lacked essays and specific rules relating to the arrangement of drawings and prints, not just in terms of how a collection itself should look, but also where it should be placed.[97] That is also why, display-wise, there used to be several different combinations of drawings and prints. According to Carlo James, 17th-century texts describe more drawings than prints being displayed in Italian homes, a trend which is coherent with the different values attached to the two mediums.[98] In 1630, the *galleria* in Palazzo Pitti in Florence had a "stanzino" with drawings "in cornice";[99] in Rome, the collector Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600) who worked as consultant and librarian for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589) had his own drawings framed (the inventories describe them as "quadri in carta");[100] glazed and framed drawings are also mentioned in the 17th-century inventories of the Venetian collectors Ermanno Stroiffi (1616-1693) and Alessandro Savorgnan (1648-1690), as well as in the 18th-century collections of Zaccaria Sagredo (1653-1729), Sebastiano Ricci (1659-1734) and Johann Matthias von der Schulemburg (1661-1747).[101] Collectors could own both prints and drawings together, sometimes revolving around the same topic or subject-matter: according to their different perceived status, some collectors chose to put drawings on display and to keep prints in albums: in Venice, for example, Gaspar Chechel (ca. 1594-1657) member of a family of dealers) had the walls of his house decorated with framed drawings (*studi* for mythological episodes); at the same time, he kept prints of the same subjects in albums (such as Giulio Bonasone's *Amorosi*

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96 A collection of case studies on early modern Italian domestic interior between 1400 and 1700 is provided by CAMPBELL, MILLER, CONSAVARI 2013. Susan Bracken's *Collecting and the princely apartment* gives a wider overview by presenting essays relating to different European countries; see for example ROWELL 2011, pp. 31-40.

97 DE BENEDICTIS 2010 (1991), pp. 97-98.

98 JAMES 1991b, p. 125.

99 FORLANI TEMPESTI 1982, p. 19.

100 Quoted in FORLANI TEMPESTI 2012, p. 45.

101 DE BENEDICTIS 2010 (1991), p. 107. Mason points out that individual drawings in Venetian inventories were only mentioned when framed next to paintings. Those mounted in albums were instead listed in the inventories dedicated to libraries' books and manuscripts (MASON 2007, p. 27).

diletti degli dei), where he had prints by Dürer too.[102] A collector could choose to have his best – aesthetically speaking – drawings on display for his and his guests' personal enjoyment, while he could keep the rest of the collection in albums. This was the case of Antonio Tronsarelli in Rome: from his *post-mortem* inventory (dated 1601) we learn that he had 35 "quadri in carta sopra la tela" hanging just like paintings on his house walls, a privileged status which is confirmed by the fact that framed drawings are listed right after the paintings in the inventory itself.[103] Furthermore, Tronsarelli owned several unframed drawings, some of which were kept in an album with costly bindings, each drawing carrying a drawn frame ("cornice di penna") in the style of Vasari's *Libro de disegni*.[104] As far as prints are concerned, there was not a straightforward distinction between costly, 'artist prints' to keep in albums and less precious sheets to hang: some collectors had their prints by Dürer, Raimondi and Rembrandt put in frames and displayed,[105] such as the Florentine Matteo Botti's *studiolo*, which was decorated with prints by Dürer.[106] In other cases, less 'artistic' prints were chosen for domestic display, where religious images were suitable:[107] see for example "Uno quadrettino in rame, drentovi una stampa colorita con la Madonna, Nostro Signore e l'Adorazione dei Magi con adornamento di noce" which featured in the *camerino* of the Archduchess Maria Maddalena of Austria's (1589-1631) apartment.[108]

Drawings and prints within encyclopaedic collections

During the 16th century, prints and drawings could be stored together as part of encyclopaedic collections, where they both fitted into the general

102 MASON 2007, p. 37; see also BOREAN 2002.

103 LANFRANCONI 1998, p. 539. See also FORLANI TEMPESTI 2012, p. 45.

104 *Ivi*, pp. 540-541.

105 GRIFFITHS 2016, p. 417.

106 BORGHINI 1584, p. 635.

107 See GRIFFITHS 2016, pp. 417-419. CAMPBELL 2013 described the relationship between family viewers and the 17th-century interior in Bologna, where it was strongly recommended to have religious-subject prints and paintings hanging on the walls.

108 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 479 (*Inventario Villa di Poggio Imperiale*, 1625-1629), c. 8 s.

organisation chiefly by their illustrative aspect.[109] They are first mentioned as part of this encyclopaedic mentality in Fleming Samuel Quiccheberg's (1529-1567) *Incriptiones vel tituli theatre amplissimi* (Münich 1565).[110] In his classification system for a 'universal theatre', that is to say an ideal collection of encyclopaedic scope, representing every discipline and every form of human activity to promote universal knowledge,[111] Quiccheberg touched on the arrangement of a print collection as a distinctive entity: in his system, prints belonged to the last of the five classes suggested by him and had their own dedicated inscription. According to Quiccheberg, the variety of works on paper was the appeal of this type of material, which could be bought for its beauty too. All visual material (including bounded sheets, which were as important as a library for their value which rivalled the written word)[112] served the purpose of the encyclopaedic collection because of the information they could provide: it was to be included in the 'theatre' itself, together with the rest of the collection, rather than in the library, which Quiccheberg anyway described as an essential component of the knowledge theatre.[113] Therefore, he proposed a classification system based on subject-matter. Drawings were envisaged as part of the same group:[114] it is important to highlight that the theoretical debate stemmed from Vasari on the value of drawing, and drawings had initially less impact on collectors in Northern Europe, where encyclopaedic collections were more common than in Italy. At the same time, although some of Quiccheberg's principles can be found in later classification systems, it is hard to record the direct impact that they might have had on collectors: moreover, his

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109 JAMES 2014 (1992), p. 392. See also LUGLI 1983.

110 Quiccheberg served Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria in Münich and was responsible for the foundation and organization of the duke's library as well as the rearrangement of his art collections. On Quiccheberg's treatise see MEADOW, ROBERTSON 2013.

111 In this regard, Quiccheberg's theatre differs from Giulio Camillo Delminio's (*L'idea del theatro*, Venice 1550) which was based instead on the idea of an encyclopaedia of knowledge of philosophical and esoteric nature able to evoke images through memory.

112 HAJÓS 1958, p. 153.

113 This arrangement was at least present in Duke Albrecht's *Kunstkammer* and in Emperor Rudolf II's in Prague. According to Johann Baptist Fickler's 1598 inventory, "the first objects one saw on entering the Munich *Kunstkammer* […] were two large cases containing illustrated books, prints and drawings (JANSEN 1994, p. 185).

114 BURY 1985, p. 13.

book was quite rare and published in a single edition.[115] The example of the over 2.500 woodcuts commissioned by Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) for his *musaeum* in Bologna serves to confirm the predominant utilitarian function of graphic material within encyclopaedic collections: in Aldrovandi's case, the woodcuts were used to illustrate his *Historia naturalis*.[116] His watercolour drawings had a similar function that those of Manfredo Settala (1600-1680) had in his 'museum' in Milan, reproducing items from his eclectic collection and printed volumes, arranged in chronological order. However, Settala also had 'artistic' drawings and prints: "[…] stanno ivi riposti sette gran volumi in carta Imperiale, nelli primi sei dè quali si contengono più di ventimila fra dissegni e stampe dè più eccellenti Pittori e Architetti dell'Universo".[117] Quiccheberg also listed specialised storage facilities that could best house materials from any of the *Inscriptiones*: he recommended placing prints flat on shelves and in cases and drawers, according to their respective (subject) classes, but also suggested to bind the sheets into volumes once each series was filled out, leaving blank spaces for additions where appropriate: this same concern would later push collectors to switch from albums to portfolios in order to have more flexibility in assembling their collections.

Public access and secluded spaces

Though it is tempting to extend the notion of 'museum of graphic art' (meant as conscious disposition of works on paper) backwards into the early-modern era and discover museum-like functions in the framing and display habits of collectors, most probably the domestic display of prints and drawings is not where this trend can be explored. As highlighted above, the idea of a 'paper museum' was instead first established in the 16th century through collections held in albums by collectors such as Giorgio Vasari and, later, Sebastiano Resta, whose *Libro de' disegni* and *Galleria portatile* aimed at presenting 'art history through drawings', and in the 18th century through 'universal galleries' made up of prints such as Giacomo Durazzo's.[118] These forms of collecting

115 PARSHALL 1994, pp. 24-25.

116 See SIMONI 2016.

117 SCARABELLI 1677, pp. 270-271 (quoted in DE BENEDICTIS 2010 [1991], p. 268). Aimi, de Michele and Morandotti identifies books, prints, drawings and codice sas one of the groups of materials in Settala museum (AIMI, DE MICHELE, MORANDOTTI 2017, p. 26).

118 This kind of collections also entail the issue of how scholars pictured the artistic past: the topic is address by Ingrid Vermeulen in her book *Picturing art*

we have mentioned were essentially private, as the acquisition and arrangement were guided by the collector's own personal taste and choices. However, there is plenty of evidence of "sociable viewing", that Michael Bury defines as "rituals of using prints and drawings as objects of discussion".[119] According to Bury, these collections on paper were accessible to those who were interested in them, but it was up to the owner to decide how and to whom these objects could be shown. As suggested by Carlo James, the presence of a stronger backing in certain mounts suggests that those prints and drawings were not only chosen to be displayed but also to be passed around freely.[120] In Italy, where mounts were less common than in France, albums could be shown with the same purpose as suggested by Giulio Mancini in his *Considerazioni sulla pittura* (drafted between 1617 and 1621): "[…] dei disegni a mano ne farà libri distinti secondo le materie, tempi, grandezza di foglio, nazioni e modo di disegno, s'a penna, lapis e carbone, acquarella, chiaroscuro, tenta a olio così ancora nei disegni di taglio, che così sarà padrone di mostrarli e farli godere con gusto dei riguardanti […]".[121]

Mancini was also one of the first to suggest that albums of drawings, in spite of being a "natural adjunct"[122] a collection of paintings, should be kept in "luoghi ritirati"; paintings, on the contrary, were kept in *gallerie* "dove puol andare ognuno").[123] This was for example how the members of the Medici family kept their albums of prints, far away from audience rooms and stored in "stanzini molto appartati".[124] The idea that drawings and prints were to be kept in secluded, separate rooms focused exclusively on them was not yet popular at the beginning of the 17th century: as we have seen, until that time drawings and prints were usually stored or displayed together with other items, within collecting

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history, where the author approaches the study of paper art collections by matching historiography of art and the traditions of art illustration (VERMEULEN 2010).

119 BURY 2003, p. 82. See also BOREA 1979 and BAROCCHI 1983, pp. 39-40.

120 JAMES 2014, p. 390.

121 MANCINI [1617-1621] 1956, vol. I, p. 43. See also FILETI MAZZA 2009, p. 17.

122 BURY 2003, p. 79.

123 MANCINI [1617-1621] 1956, vol. I, p. 143. "[…] che dei desegni a mano ne farà libri destinti secondo le materie, tempi, grandezza di foglio, nationi e modo di disegno […], così ancora nei disegni di taglio, che così sarà padrone di mostrarli e farli godere con gusto dei riguardanti e facilità di chi mostrarà, quali libri si servaranno in luoghi più ritirati e da poter esser visti con commodo" (*ibidem*).

124 BARONI VANNUCCI 2011, p. 5.

spaces that bear some similarities with the medieval *studioli*, such as the case of Niccolò Gaddi's (1499-1552) house in Florence described by Agostino del Riccio (1541-1598) in his *Istoria delle pietre* (1597): "[…] ma, per tornare alla sua suntuosa ed onorata galleria, dico che è opera degna, poiché in quella vi si veggono tante anticaglie e cose moderne […] In questa galleria potrai vedere una quantità di stampe e di disegni d'uomini avveduti e savii, che tutti l'ha messi insieme e fatto onorati e bei libri, che paiono libri di chiese tanto son grandi".[125]

Again in Florence, Raffaello Borghini's (1537-1588) description of the Villa del Vecchietto (*Il Riposo*, 1584) mentions drawings and prints together with silver and golden vases, Oriental knives and swords as well as porcelain cups and vases, all stored together in a *scrittoio* (a small room with collecting and displaying function):

> Appresso ad altre stanze, in altra parte del palagio, è un simile scrittoio tutto adorno di vasi d'ariento e d'oro e di stampe e di disegni de' più eccellenti maestri, che abbia avuto la scultura e la pittura; e vi sono acque preziose stillate et oli di gran virtù, molti vasi da stillare, coltella bellissime venute d'oriente, scimitarre turchesche in vari modi lavorate, et un gran numero di coppe e di diversi vasi di porcellana.[126]

The same source reports that drawings were also stored in another room within the same house: "Da questo primo piano si scende più a basso in tre stanze, nelle quali si ritira il Vecchietto, quando egli vuole lodevolmente esercitarsi a lavorar di mano, in che egli molto vale. La prima stanza è tutta intorniata di modelli di Giambologna e di statue d'altri maestri e di pitture e di disegni […]."[127] This suggests that an individual could take an interest into drawings for different reasons, and thus the storing and display systems could change: in the Villa del Vecchietto, drawings were kept in the *scrittoio* together with prints for their aesthetic and historical value, while other drawings used as educational models for the artistic practice were stored in another room together with statues and paintings.

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125 Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, misc. 230, c. 79 v.; see DEL RICCIO 1979 (1597). A digital version is available online at: <http://www.memofonte.it/home/files/pdf/delriccio_istoria.pdf> (accessed 23 April 2019).

126 BORGHINI 1584, p. 14. See also BURY 1985, p. 18.

127 *Ibidem*.

Gabinetto dei disegni, Gabinetto delle stampe

Since the 18th century it was increasingly common to set up a reserved room to preserve albums and/or to display works on paper. The Medici Riccardi Palace on Via Larga in Florence had such a room (around 1752) with the walls covered with drawings *and* prints together, while other drawings were kept in *cartelle*: "Ottantaquattro disegni vari in ciascuna cartella e posti poi in due che una di cartone orlata di carta turchina e una di cuoio rosso nella quale è l'Accademia di Batoni" and further loose prints were "raccolte in involti" or put in books.[128] In 1767 in Rome, Palazzo Chigi al Corso had a *gabinetto dei disegni* built on the occasion of Prince Sigismondo Chigi's (1736-1793) wedding with Maria Flaminia Odescalchi: here the sheets (drawings only) were framed and under crystal glass and were hanging from the walls.[129] A *camera dei disegni* is mentioned in the inventory of the artistic property of Scutellare del 1771: "Nella prima Camera dell'Appartamento […] verso la Galleria volgarmente detta la Camera de' Disegni, ove esistono i seguenti cento cinquanta tre disegni numerizzati del N.o uno al 153 e tutti sono sotto cristallo" (drawings only, again).

In 18th-century Italy, the terms *camera* and *gabinetto* were almost used as synonyms to define a small room displaying or storing works of art within a private collection. The earliest definition of the Italian word 'gabinetto' was given by the Accademia della Crusca in the third edition of its dictionary, dating back to 1691: "Stanza intima. Lat. *penetrale*. Segner. Pred. I. Addirittura l'andò a trovare in un gabinetto segreto. §. E Gabinetto: per lo stesso, che Stipo. Lat. *scrinium, armariolum*".[130] The

128 ASF, Fondo Riccardi 276 (*Inventario di disegni e stampe che esistono nella prima stanza…*), c. 26 r., 22 September 1752. Quoted in De Juliis 1999, p. 20.

129 In the same room were also an ancient roman mosaic and small sculptures.

130 *Vocabolario Accademici della Crusca* 1691, vol. 2, p. 742. A more detailed definition, including several different meanings and examples, was only given in the fifth edition (1863-1923). In the Italian culture the cabinet too evolves from display practices belonging to the house realm (Peressaut mentioned Vitruvius' *tablinum* and Plinium's *cubiculum* and *pinacotheca* as first examples of collecting spaces within a private residence; Basso Peressut 2015, p. 99). But, compared to the gallery or the *studiolo*, the cabinet's structure and patterns are much less codified and have no "blueprint" in literary prescriptions (see MacGregor 2015). When the word was used in association with collectible objects and study activity it was sometimes connected with the *studiolo*: Liebenwein's description of mid-15th century studioli includes a range of different forms, including *Gabinetto antiquario* (Liebenwein 1992 [1977], p. 51); while in 1480 Liebenwein also pointed out that Francesco di Giorgio Martini too separated the *gabinetto* from the *studio* but at the same time acknowledged some elements in common among them (*ivi*, p. 52). In 17th-century Florence, Diacinto Maria Marmi "definisce 'Gabinetti' le

following edition (1729-1738) outlined the same two meanings: gabinetto as *stanza*, i.e. a physical space, and as a *stipo*, a piece of furniture. In French, the word *cabinet*, from which other translations stemmed (*cabinet, Kabinett, kabinet*), was much more nuanced since its first definition in 1609.[131] In spite of the house spaces being not yet precisely codified, the cabinet was mainly used to store specific categories of artistic objects: if the gallery was the place where to display paintings and statues, the small, intimate and secluded cabinet was instead the ideal environment where to keep smaller formats, in a monothematic fashion: "un cabinet […], d'armes, de curiositez, de raretez, d'antiques";[132] "[…] des médailles, des dessins, des estampes, des objets d'histoire naturelle";[133] "[…] des pierres gravées […]".[134] The French 1609 definition explains that *cabinet* was also used in reference to the content of the room,

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stanze destinate ad una attività privata, contigue alle camere da letto" (BAROCCHI, GAETA BERTALÀ 1990, p. 88; see also p. 90, fig. 48).

131 The first definition was given in the 1694 *Dictionnaire de L'Académie Française*. However the term was already in use in 15th century, and began spreading in Europe during the following century (OLMI 1996, p. 344).

132 *Dictionnaire de L'Académie Française* 1694, p. 137. That in 17th-century France the space-name also referred to the content is proved by other display places such as the *galerie*, as Quatremère de Quincy did in his *Dictionnaire historique d'architecture* (QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY 1832, p. 654-655). At first generally described as intimate spaces located near the master's bedroom in palaces and castles, cabinets became more and more frequently identified with rooms located at the corners of a building, as in Upper Belvedere, Vienna, or at the end of a gallery, as in Palazzo Colonna in Rome and in Versailles. Other 17th-century French dictionaries precisely described the cabinet as 'always' (SAVOT 1624, p. 94) and 'often' (RICHELET 1680, p. 301) at the end of a gallery (Richelet also compared *cabinets de conversations* to Vitruvius' *exedrae*). Cabinets could also be located inside gardens (*cabinet de jardin*, mentioned in Thomas Corneille's *Dictionnaire des arts et des sciences*, 1694, quoted in OLMI 1996, p. 344). A range of different activities could be performed in the cabinet, and thus several types of classifications are available in dictionaries: Diderot's *Encyclopedie* mentioned for example three main kinds of uses: the *grand cabinet,* where private conversations would take place, but also artistic objects and curiosities could be held; the *arrière-cabinet,* devoted to books and study activities; the *cabinet de toilette,* for sanitary facilities. According to its function, the cabinet would have been decorated in a different ways (see MEROT 1989) and would have had different sizes. During 17th century, the word cabinet was also used to describe not a single room but instead a series of rooms, containing a mix of spectacular objects or a specific category of artistic items.

133 *Dictionnaire des arts et peintures* 1792, p. 284.

134 *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts* 1806, p. 174.

and evidence shows that it became a synonym for collection, referring both to ideal – as the writer and engraver Florent Le Comte's (1655-1712) *Cabinet des singularitez d'architecture, peinture, sculpture et graveure, ou Introduction A la Connoissance des plus beaux Arts, figures sous les Tableaux, les Statues & les Estampe* (Brussels 1699), a treatise on European art and artists) –[135] and to real ones (as Michel Huber's 1801 *Catalogue raisonné du Cabinet d'estampes de feu Monsieur Winckler*).[136] "Cabinet" was used with the same double meaning by Heinecken in 1771, when in his *Idée générale d'une collection complete d'estampes* he gave guidelines for those who wanted to start "a cabinet" (a collection) and encouraged the use of drawings to enrich decorated cabinets.[137] He instead called the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett (meant as the physical space where prints were housed), a "Salon d'Estampes". Furthermore, he specified that by "Cabinet du Roi de France" it is meant "les volumes, que Louis XIV a fait publier à ses frais, & dont il a fait présent aux Cours étrangeres, & à des amateurs des arts".[138]

Although ancient Italian dictionaries did not include a variety of meanings for the word *gabinetto,* evidence proves that, as in French, by the second half of the 18th century the term referred both to collections (see for example *Raccolta di disegni originali di Fra.co Mazzola detto il Parmigianino tolti dal Gabinetto di sua Eccellenza il Sig. Conte Alessandro Sanvitale*, 1772)[139] and to the physical spaces where the collection was kept. Both Giuseppe Bencivenni Pelli and Luigi Lanzi used it when discussing the arrangement of storage and display spaces in the Uffizi:

> Questo Gabinetto dei disegni, il viaggiatore che lo saprà apprezzare deve osservarlo separatamente per non confonder le sue idee fra le pitture e fra i primi abbozzi e i primi studi che i pittori fecero per colorire le loro tele.[140]

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135 LE COMTE 1699.

136 HUBER 1801.

137 HEINECKEN 1771, from the *Preface* (n.p.); p. 6.

138 *Ivi*, from the *Preface* (n.p.); p. 10.

139 BOSSI 1772.

140 G. BENCIVENNI PELLI, *Catalogo delle pitture della R. Galleria compilato da Giuseppe Bencivenni già Pelli Direttore della medesima*, 1775-1792 (ABU, ms. 463, ins. 4 and 10; the text is available online <http://www.memofonte.it/home/files/pdf/pelli_pittura01.pdf>, accessed 5 July 2019; see FILETI MAZZA, TOMASELLO 2004).

> Né col nome di Museo si accordavan troppo altre camere […]. Tre gabinetti vi erano di pittura e scultura; ma quivi aveano pur luogo idoli di bronzo, e miniature, e disegni, e gemme, e lavori antichi e moderni, tutto ammontato piuttosto che distribuito: si saria detto che fossero tre raccolte di padroni diversi, ciascun de' quali vi andasse collocando i suoi acquisti.[141]

At the same time, however, other museums' collections of drawings and prints were not referred to as *gabinetto* but as *raccolta*, see for example how Algarotti describes prints and drawings in his *Progetto per ridurre a compimento il Regio Museo di Dresda* (1742):

> E prima io credo che il Re penserà a perfezionare la raccolta delle stampe, delle quali, benché moltissime ne abbia, parecchie gliene mancan pur tuttavia. […] Perfezionata la raccolta delle stampe, saria mestiero perfezionare anco quella dei disegni, i quali, se non hanno il merito cotanto utile della pluralità, come le stampe, hanno quello di emanare direttamente dalle mani e dall'ingegno del primario artefice, e di conservarci le idee della prima creazione, cotanto preziose a' conoscitori.[142]

Pietro Zani's advice on Gabinetti, "finto libro" and "armadio a bella posta"

In his unpublished *Discorso dei Metodi diversi, che comunemente si tengono, e si posson tenere nell'ordinare un Gabinetto, o uno Studio, o una Raccolta di stampe*, Pietro Zani clarifies the names of print collections according to their dimension, ownership, location and use, in order to suggest suitable guidelines for their arrangement. In the *Discorso,* he calls *gabinetto di stampe* those huge collections ("gran gabinetti") held in libraries ("1a Classe: Quella dei Gabinetti formali esistenti nelle grandi Biblioteche") and the princely collections ("2a Classe: Quelle dei Gabinetti di Gran Signori, ed anco di alcuni Particolari").[143] Smaller

141 LANZI 1782, pp. 6-7. By the first half of the following century, the term was well established also outside of the area of artistic collections: many reading cabinets such as the Gabinetto Vieusseux in Florence opened as a private reading room, to house books, magazines and debates.

142 ALGAROTTI 1792 (1742), pp. 353-354; 355. The text is available online at <http://www.horti-hesperidum.com/writable/Algarotti1742.pdf> (accessed 28 June 2019).

143 BPP, ms. Parmense 3641. This *Discorso* is the third out of four that Zani prepared as 'attachments' to the second part of his *Enciclopedia metodica e ragionata delle belle arti*, entitled *Catalogo ragionato universale delle stampe classiche*

collections are instead divided between *Studi* and *Raccolte*. The former belong to art professors: "3a Classe: Quelle dei Studi; e raccolte dei Professori tutti delle Belle Arti […] i quali bramano di formare essi pure, per erudizione, il loro studio di stampe, onde al bisogno vedere una qualche invenzzione, o il lavore del bulino, o della punta […]"; while the latter to *amateurs* and *dilettanti*: "4a Classe: Quelle delle Raccolte semplici di quegli Amatori, e Dilettanti, i quali lungi dal vedere le loro stampe rinchiuse nei libri, e nei portafogli, amano piuttosto averle sotto il cristallo, in cornice, onde poterle tutte come ad un colpo d'occhio, ammirare, e farle ammirare". Zani informs us that not all libraries (or cabinets furnished as libraries) had prints stored in albums; he recommends instead the use of a particular kind of box, which allowed a more practical storage system that could at the same time guarantee the safety of works on paper:

> […] entro una gran Scatola fatta di un grosso cartone, o di asse sottili coperte con bazzana, la qual scatola abbia la forma di un libro, che si apra da una parte, e nello stesso tempo si apran pure le tre piccole sponde e il tutto da fermarsi co' suoi piccoli rampini d'argento, o di ottone ed ecco, che le stampe sono rinchiuse in finto libro, ma sono nello stesso tempo libere, ed in nostro senso verrano ad essere di più utile, e comodo e a chi le possiede, e a chi vuole approfittare per mezzo dello studio delle medesime […].

Zani described a system that became increasingly popular during the second half of the 18th century (although it was much less common in Italy than in other countries, he might have seen it in Austria during one of his trips). These flattened boxes with rigid covers and sides, made in leather or wood, had been in use since the 16th century to keep larger sheets or to temporarily store sheets that awaited to be pasted in albums.[144] Box portfolios, where prints and drawings were pasted on flat backing sheets, had several advantages, including that they could be stored both horizontally and vertically, and that the order or consistency of the sheets could be easily modified. For this reason, they were increasingly adopted in public collections from mid-19th century

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antiche e moderne. The *Discorsi* only survive in manuscript versions, but the last one, *Se i Gabinetti pubblici di stampe debbano essere annessi alle Biblioteche pubbliche oppure alle Accademie delle Belle Arti*, which has not been retrieved yet. See CRISTOFORI 2005, pp. XLIX-LXIV, and CAPRETTI, MESOLELLA 2016.

144 GRIFFITHS 2016, pp. 425-426.

onwards, such as the Albertina and the British Museum,[145] up to the modern Solander boxes.[146] A pioneering application of this system in Italy can be found in Marquis Luigi Malaspina di Sannazzaro, whose prints were glued on cardboard mounts and originally housed in boxes made of leather and wood. Following the marquis' instructions, a special table was built to host the boxes vertically in a lockable cabinet (fig. 1.II).[147] Zani instead suggested to store portfolio boxes in a higher cabinet:

> […] un armadio a bella posta, il quale non fosse che all'altezza di un uomo, e con più piani, cosiché ciascuno potesse *capire un sol Portafoglio con un'assetta amovibile per potere con facilità levarlo, e riporlo nel suo luogo. L'armadio dovrebbe avere le sue serrande con ramata di ottone, e le sue cortine di seta, acciò a suo tempo si potessero tirare, acciò dentro vi giocasse l'aria. Nel piano delle cassette amovibili vi ponessimo un Cartello con sopra la scuola di cui è il Portafoglio, che vi sta sopra. Incima poi dell'armadio vi si potrebbero porre dei busti o d'Uomini illustri, o d'Imperatori, od anche il che sarebbe assai meglio un bellissimo giro d'intaglio con ornati in legno con diversi tondi, o ovati, e dentro di questi i Ritratti dipinti dei principali Maestri delle Belle Arti, e nel *giro più distinto quello dell'Amatore, che possiede lo studio.[148]

1.4 Towards public ownership

It is Zani again who informs us that several *amateurs* and collectors (those belonging to 'his' fourth class) kept their prints "esposte agli occhi di ciascuno" instead of storing them in albums. This 19th-century domestic display practice evolved from the one discussed above, but was inspired and guided by treatises published to accompany collectors who assembled their prints for pleasure and educational purposes, rather than to pursue a connoisseurship exercise. Some of these essays, whose approach has been judged more popular than scientific,[149] suggested ways

145 DOSSI 1998, p. 37; KOSEK 2004, pp. 8-9.

146 Daniel Solander (1733-1782), staff member of the British Museum, travelled with Sir Joseph Banks on Captain Cook's first voyage (1768-1771) and adopted these boxes with three rigid sides in order to keep botanical specimens collected during the trip (an overview of the use of Solander boxes for the conservation of drawings and prints is provided by CALDARARO 1993).

147 ALDOVINI 2018, p. 211.

148 BPP, ms. Parmense 3641.

149 BELLINI 1982, pp. IX-X.

to arrange displays of prints in order to match decorative and ornamental needs with didactic clarification:[150] the aim was to create the "gallerie di belle stampe siccome ornamento istruttivo, diletevole e prezioso di una civile abitazione",[151] as the one desired by Antonio Rosmini (1741-1818) in Padova ("si studiò di realizzare al possibile, e in parte, il grandioso pensiero di Antonio Rosmini, che era di fare una pinacoteca delle stampe raccolte dallo zio Ambrogio […]").[152] Giuseppe Longhi put it very clearly:

> Di qual piacere non ci ricolma una raccolta di scelte stampe collocate sotto lucido cristallo ad ornamento gentile delle civili abitazioni? In poche sale io raduno le incisioni di quanto vi ha di più squisito e non mercatabile ne' varj generi di pittura. […] Posso paragonar fra di loro molte opere di un solo pittore sparse in diverse e lontane contrade […]. Né a Principi soli è concesso l'unire simili raccolte; né importa per formarle l'intraprendere lunghi e faticosi viaggi; ma il può qualunque agiato Cittadino senza grave dispendio, e senza muovere un passo dalle sue mura.[153]

A lone voice in this context, Zani recommended not to put on display the "Capi d'Opera",[154] that is to say the best pieces from the collection, as their safety would be compromised by several factors such as the common use of glue to paste the print onto canvas; humidity; water or pieces of broken crystal.

At the same time when Zani and other authors elaborated guidelines to instruct collectors on how to arrange their prints and drawings, several individuals all across Italy decided to get rid of their precious albums. Since the 18th century, artworks in private hands, including drawings and prints, began to be sold all across the Italian peninsula, and

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150 MAZZOCCA 1981, p. 342-346.

151 FERRARIO 1835, p. CXI.

152 See MARINI 1997, pp. 111-113.

153 LONGHI 1830, p. 30. Along with Longhi's *La Calcografia propriamente detta…* and Ferrario's *Le classiche stampe, dal cominciamento della calcografia fino al presente…*, other essays were published in Northern Italy: the Vallardi brothers' *Catalogo dei più celebri intagliatori in legno e in rame… con alcune notizie sul modo d'intraprendere una raccolta di stampe* (Milano 1821), Antonio Marsand's *Il fiore dell'arte dell'intaglio* (Padova 1823).

154 BPP, ms. Parmense 3641.

increasingly to foreign collectors, especially from Northern Europe:[155] agents such as Pierre Crozat – who was sent to Italy by Philippe II Duke of Orléans (1674-1723) to acquire the Odescalchi family collection –, travelled from city to city buying artworks for their customers as well as for themselves.[156] Many of the albums which had been prepared according to certain criteria in the previous centuries, were broken up by heirs or split among different buyers. For example, following the 1762 sale Cardinal Alessandro Albani's (1692-1779) library to George III, King of England (1738-1820), most of the albums from Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Museo Cartaceo* ended up in Britain: dal Pozzo's well-known collection is now split up among Windsor Castle (where the bulk of the drawings are housed), the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, the British Library at the British Museum, the Library of the Sir John Soane's Museum, but also the Institut de France in Paris and a number of other public and private collections.[157] Inestimable losses resulted from the break-up of the albums, which not only meant damage to prints and drawings (such as tears, corners ripped off, etc.) but also the destruction of the collector's annotations and mounts.[158]

In more fortunate cases, private albums remained undisturbed as they were given *en bloc* as a gift to a public institution. Since most collections were stored in albums, the recipient of the gift was usually a library: collections of drawings and prints could come alone, or sometimes combined with books and other artworks, or even with the furniture in which drawings and/or prints were kept. In this sense, the bequest of drawings and prints to the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence is quite a telling example. Following instruction from his uncle Francesco

155 See ISMAN 2017, pp. 87-97 (the chapter *Ambasciator non porta pena, ma prende quadri*).

156 Adressing Pierre Crozat, Orlandi wrote: "[…] in questo vostro passaggio spogliaste le più ricche Gallerie, e impoveriste le pià nelle raccolte di Disegni, di Stampe, e di pitture" (ORLANDI 1719, p. 4). During his time in Italy, Crozat bought drawings and prints in Rome, Urbino, Verona, Venezia and Bologna, including the collection belonging to Vincenzo Vittoria and the one of Carlo Cesare Malvasia (see GAUNA 2011, pp. 166-173).

157 Part of the dal Pozzo library containing Cassiano's albums was acquired in 1703 by Cardinal (then Pope) Giovanni Francesco Albani (1720-1803), whose library in turn passed on to his nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Albani who performed the sale in 1762 (on the fortuna of Cassiano's paper museums see MCBURNEY 1993).

158 This kind of damage as well as change of mounts resulted also from collectors' decisions to take drawings off older mounts and put them on their own (see JAMES 1991b).

Marucelli's (1625-1702) will, in 1782, Francesco di Ruberto (1717-1783) bequeathed to the Library (which had opened in 1752) his family collection of drawings and prints, together with the furniture where they used to be kept: "[…] stampe tanto legate in libri che sciolte, e separate e in cartelle, come pure tutti i disegni che mi ritroverò avere alla mia morte, assieme con il Banco, o sia scaffale, ove sono situate".[159] Di Ruberto left around 1.000 drawings (16th to 18th centuries, arranged in six albums) and around 12.000 prints (niello prints, 15th-century engravings, 17th-18th-century Italian and foreign prints, arranged in 46 albums). The will highlighted the need to keep the collection together and not to break it up: "[…] non vada dispersa in qua, e in là una collezione per formare la quale, mi è costata tanti studi, pensieri e denaro […] Si tratta di un semplice Legato, che fa nobile corredo, e onore, ad una Pubblica Biblioteca, e assai giovevole al Pubblico Studio come lo è quello delle belle Arti". In order for his collection to be even more useful for the public and for the artists, Marucelli had even left instructions so that double books could be sold in order to acquire new prints.[160]

During the first half of the 19th century, more and more collections passed into public ownership, to libraries, museums, archives, art schools and fine art academies. Unfortunately, not all those who were in charge of these works had those qualities suggested by Zani ("Fedeltà, Talento per tali cose, Pulizia e Amore").[161] Works on paper rarely enjoyed the benefit of cataloguing, and accountability for them remained somewhat loose over the years. Not all collections were readily accessible, in some cases prints and drawings were available to visitors upon request, but generally they were not on display or interpreted for the public. However, by 1850s, not only was the public more aware of the value of prints and drawings because of their massive editorial circulation and the growth of dedicated publications, thanks to the *società promotrici* and fine arts academies, more Italians than before found opportunities to attend exhibitions that included selections of contemporary prints and drawings, while technical drawings and prints regularly featured in fairs and expositions. What was missing from the cultural scene was regular public access to old-master prints and drawings held in public institutions, at a time when these works,

159 Quoted in SFRAMELI 1984, p. 9.

160 Other bequests and purchases occurred since the end of 18th century, and the collection grew larger. Today it is made up by circa 3.000 drawings and 30.000 prints (circa 450 albums), plus 15.000 *figurini* of Gamba's collection (TODROS 1999, p. 35). On the history of the collection, see BERRETTI 2009 (with previous bibliography).

161 BPP, ms. Parmense 3641. See FAIETTI 2005.

originally conceived as means of imparting information along with the written word, were gradually coming to be sought-after for their intrinsic artistic value and increasingly studied by scholars.[162]

162 JAMES 2014, p. 391.

Chapter 2

Prints and drawings in State institutions: art academies, *regie pinacoteche* and *biblioteche governative* (1860-1890)

2.1 Art for the nation. Prints and drawings within the first debates on cultural heritage

Among the political and administrative challenges that the new-born Italian State had to face one was the definition of principles, practices and tools to manage the artistic, archaeological and monumental heritage inherited by the pre-Unification Italian governments.[1] From the birth of the State of Italy in 1861, the central government had to deal with several different cultural institutions across the territory, such as archaeological sites and museums, libraries, archives, music schools, art, scientific and literary academies, monumental sites. Many complex and

1 For an overview of the complex problems and issues relating to cultural heritage faced by the Italian State in the aftermath of the Unification, see EMILIANI 1974, pp. 66-97, and EMILIANI 1979a, focusing on the relationship between politics, conservation and the idea of 'heritage'; SETTIS 2002, who connects the role of heritage with national history and national identity up to present-day issues; TROILO 2005, on the concept of 'patria', memory and civic institutions; PAPI 2008, who discusses the most debated issues through an analysis of journals and annals such as *La Nuova Antologia*, *Arte e Storia*, *Archivio storico dell'arte*, *L'Arte*, *Il Marzocco*; GIOLI 2012 on the relationship with civic museums.

urgent issues had to be tackled, among which included the haemorrhage of artworks to foreign countries caused by uncontrolled exportation; the transfer of dynastic collections to the State (the so-called 'gallerie fidecommissarie'); the persistent lack of space to host collections, a matter which became especially serious after the suppression of religious orders in 1866. Administrative problems[2] were worsened by the lack of 'scientific structures' and specialised staff who could take care of the "cose d'arte".[3] Although cultural matters were considered less urgent than many other issues the Italian State had to address, culture was generally perceived as a powerful educational means to strengthen the bonds of national identity; therefore, the fact that the central government had to administer art and archaeological collections gave a strong symbolic meaning. In order to pursue the protection of Italian heritage, a new arrangement of cultural institutions was called for; museums, monuments and archaeological sites had to be open to the public, so that works of art created by Italian artists and architects, both past and present, could contribute to the *topos* of common roots that served the national identity discourse. Nationalistic and rhetorical arguments (above all the "nazionalismo archeologico" and "monumentalismo medieval-rinascimentale" described by Andrea Emiliani)[4] led to a relatively rapid settling of the archeological discipline, and *musei di antichità* were soon organised from the administrative and organisational point of view.[5] It took, however, longer to define the principles necessary to rearrange museums of ancient art.[6] In spite of the ongoing debate

2 For instance, certain pre-unification laws remained in use for some time to compensate the lack of new national regulations (see EMILIANI 1978; SPERONI 1984); as a consequence of this, the management of heritage was complicated by several other factors, including the overlap of jurisdiction of cultural heritage matters: for example, mosaics and buildings were initially administered by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, instead than by the Ministry of Public Education which was in charge of fine arts and related institutions. As remarked by Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle in 1863, this caused further delays: "Si dee poi togliere l'inconveniente che risulta dal lasciare nella dipendenza del ministero dell'interno le opere di architettura e di mosaico, mentre quelle di pittura sono di spettanza del ministero della pubblica istruzione, perciocché, siccome in molti casi guasti delle opere pittoriche provengono da difetto nella fabbrica, così ora per ripararvi si dee ricorrere a due ministeri: dualismo da cui, oltre tanti altri svantaggi, derivano dannosi ritardi" (CAVALCASELLE 1863, p. 6).

3 BOLOGNESI 2012, p. 8.

4 EMILIANI 1973, p. 1625; see also BALZANI 2016.

5 See CATONI 1993; CURZI 1998a.

6 For a reconstruction of the process that led to the definition and reorganisation

propelled by scholars such as Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle (1819-1897), Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891), Giuseppe Mongeri (1812-1888) and Massimo D'Azeglio (1798-1866), who discussed issues such as the role of museums, their relationship to art academies and the public, the improvement of administrative and curatorial roles within institutions, a real reorganisation of state art collections was overlooked in the first two decades after the Unification.[7]

In the aftermath of the Unification of Italy, contrary to other artistic items such as paintings and sculptures which already had a clear 'museological identity', prints and drawings were two classes of objects whose nature, uses and collecting practices had led to an extremely fragmented distribution across public, state-owned institutions.[8] As described in chapter 1, the most common storage system established since 16th century consisted of keeping prints and drawings in albums. This kind of format resulted in a great amount of works on paper eventually being considered as library items, which eventually ended up in public libraries such as Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence, the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma (which received the Ortalli collection of 40,000 prints arranged in 134 albums in 1828)[9] or in libraries attached to universities, such as the Biblioteca Universitaria in Turin (for which in 1762-1763 were acquired the albums of drawings and prints by Filippo Juvarra and his

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of State art museums between 1859 and 1882, see LERDA 2014-2015.

7 A fundamental support for any research in this field is provided by BENCIVENNI, DALLA NEGRA, GRIFONI 1987-1992, whose two-volume publication outlines the development of the "servizio di tutela" of Italian cultural heritage between 1860 and 1915.

8 Distribution is even more fragmented if we consider art collections which ended up in civic museums, libraries and archives, which however fall beyond of scope of this present study. An overview is offered by volumes 3.1 and 3.2 of the seminal survey *Il disegno. Le collezioni pubbliche italiane,* a census of drawings collections held in State, civic and private intitutions (PETRIOLI TOFANI, PROSPERI VALENTI, SCIOLLA 1993), updated by SCIOLLA 2003. To focus on one Italian region and one type of institution allows us to get an even clearer picture of the situation: for example, if one looks at the print collections housed in civic libraries of the Emilia Romagna region, one will find that several private collections were bequeathed to different small institutions on the territory, following the desires and often the personal connections of the donors: the Biblioteca Saffi in Forlì owns the Fondo Piancastelli, Dall'Asta Brandolini, Antonello Moroni; the Civic Library in Bologna the Fondo Gozzadini and Aldobrandini; the Biblioteca Panizzi in Reggio Emilia the Angelo Davoli collection (see BENASSATI 1988, pp. 88-89).

9 On the foundation of the library, see DE PASQUALE 2009; on its print collection see CRISTOFORI 2005 and 2014; for the drawings, CIRILLO 1991.

students).[10] Sometimes architecture and model drawings were instead donated to libraries attached to art academies and art schools, to be employed for educational purposes; museums attached to art academies could instead receive works on paper part of dynastic collections, such as the Estense drawings in Modena.[11] Nonetheless, it is not advisable to draft a clear-cut classification, as many other elements purely down to chance could play a role in the bequest and determine an unusual match between a donor's collection, his intentions and the kind of institution receiving the gift.[12]

We do not have to wait long for the first legislative proposal concerning cultural heritage, which was presented in 1868 by the Council of State to the Italian Parliament, to acknowledge the absence of drawings and prints as categories of artistic objects *per se* in the post-Unification debates concerning the protection and organisation of collections of public art. It is enough, instead, to examine the 1861 inventory of 'artistic objects' of the Umbria and Marche regions compiled by Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle and Giovanni Morelli, two of the main protagonists of the renewal of studies on visual art in 19th century, who were also much involved in the first debates revolving around artistic heritage.[13] The result of Cavalcaselle and Morelli's work on that occasion proves that inventories were already intended as a fundamental tool to set the basis for further actions of protection of national heritage; at the same time, it also shows that the very same idea of what was worth protection was very narrow. In their letter of appointment, we read that

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10 On the collection of works on paper see ASTRUA, D'AGOSTINO 1982; GIACCARIA 2004; TOMIATO 2004, pp. 291-297; on the *Corpus Juvarrianum*, DARDANELLO 2018; on the prints, TOMIATO 2009; PANERO 2008-2009; GIOVANNINI LUCA 2016, pp. 2-7; PANERO 2017. For a history of the National Library, see BASSI 1975.

11 See BENTINI 1989; 1998.

12 See the classification proposed by FORLANI TEMPESTI 1982, p. 193. Among State institutions, State archives too received drawings and prints, especially topographic material (on this see BALDACCI 1984): these collections are still quite unexplored and deserve closer attention (a reference to navigate these collections is again PETRIOLI TOFANI, PROSPERI VALENTI, SCIOLLA 1993-1994 and SCIOLLA 2003; the topic of drawings and archives was tackled by a recent conference: AGAZZI, FRANK, MARINELLI 2012).

13 On the political engagement of Cavalcaselle, see LEVI 1988, pp. 309-318; EMILIANI 1998; CURZI 1998b; LEVI 2004a; LEVI 2009; on Morelli's, see FENILI 1987; DALAI EMILIANI 1993; ANDERSON 1994. In 1864 Morelli was elected by Royal Decree as a member of a committee, where also Giuseppe Mongeri and Massimo D'Azeglio sat, aimed at preparing a new law on the conservation of artistic objects (see FENILI 1987, p. 57).

Cavalcaselle and Morelli were asked to compile "una nota particolareggiata di tutti gli oggetti d'arte qualunque sieno (anche libri corali, intaglio in legno, cesellature e simili)";[14] instead, the two scholars focused only on paintings dating back to the 14th up to the first half of 16th century, a sign of their taste in line with the current interest for Medieval and Renaissance art,[15] interpreted from the perspective of Risorgimento.[16] At this stage, the so-called 'minor arts' (including drawings and prints) were in general granted very little attention insofar as the protection of heritage was concerned; the predominant perspective was that of 'major arts' and this can be seen also in the composition of the many committees and sub-committees whose members used to be artists and *Professori* of art academies, usually painters, architects and sculptors.[17]

Painting was considered the best medium to represent the development of Italian art. For this reason, connoisseurs debated the function of the ideal museum of ancient art, a place where scholars could make

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14 Quoted in CURZI 2008, p. 64. On Cavalcaselle and Morelli in Umbria and Marche see LEVI 1987.

15 See EMILIANI 1973, pp. 1617-1618; CURZI 1998b, p. 55; CURZI 2008, p. 64. However, when commenting on his appointment, Morelli expressed to De Sanctis his patriotic enthusiasm at the thought of 'saving' not only paintings but also nielli and other kinds of works: "Penetrato quale sono già da tempo del sacro dovere che incombe ad un governo nazionale di tutelare seriamente, e assai più di quanto fu fatto fino al giorno d'oggi, quel preziosissimo patrimonio che ci lasciavano i gloriosi nostri avi in opere di mosaico, scultura, cesellatura, niello, in affreschi, non che in tavole e tele dipinte ecc" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., Beni delle corporazioni religiose, 1860-1890, b. 1, fasc. 1.1, Morelli to De Sanctis 15 April 1861; see ANDERSON 1994, p. 26). On the other side of the coin were those guidelines for inventories in which, beyond the taste of the time, it is possible to understand how much national rhetoric impacted the choice of artworks to protect: see for example the 1877 circular sent out by the Ministry of Public Education for the compilation of inventories by the Commissione consultiva conservatrice dei monumenti d'arte e d'antichità established in each Italian province: the works described had to be divided in "oggetti archeologici anteriori alla caduta dell'Impero Romano" and "monumenti e oggetti medievali […] oggetti d'arte offrono caratteri di eccellenza da meritare che lo Stato ne vegli la conservazione" (see CURZI 2008, p. 64).

16 ANDERSON 2000, p. 7.

17 See the documents published in BENCIVENNI, DALLA NEGRA, GRIFONI 1987, pp. 154-187 (1860-1865); pp. 230-270 (1865-1875). See also Cavalcaselle's proposal: "Si formerà una consulta od ispettorato, che ora manca al governo, di tre persone speciali d'arte: una per la storia dell'arte e per l'archeologia; la seconda per l'architettura; la terza per la pittura e la scoltura" (CAVALCASELLE 1863, p. 6).

comparisons among artworks, study the evolution of styles and the connections among regional painting schools. Cavalcaselle presented his view in his well-known *Memoria* published in 1863, a document that is now regarded as the first organic project for Italian heritage that matched historiography with museological issues such as the need for correct attributions, arrangement by schools, identity and completion of collections.[18] Paintings had to be arranged following the regional schools and in chronological order.[19] Moreover, Cavalcaselle outlined a decentralized system in which the Uffizi gallery should present 'the development of all national ancient art', while the other museums (Milan, Venice, Parma, Bologna, Naples and Turin) had to represent the evolution of local art.[20] Prints and drawings do show up in Cavalcaselle's *Memoria*, but not as two independent classes of objects with their own museological identity:

> IV. Bozzetti, schizzi, disegni ed altri studi preparatori e loro ordinamento. I bozzetti e gli schizzi, o pensieri per le opere, siano a matita ed a penna o fatti con altre materie, non che i cartoni, calchi od altri studi preparatori, dovranno essere ordinati e classificati coll'istesso metodo che si disse delle pitture. Si darà la grandezza e la larghezza di ciascuno, la scuola alla quale appartiene, e possibilmente il nome dell'artista, indicando per quali pitture tali studi sono stati fatti e dove trovansi le dette opere; il materiale col quale questi studi sono eseguiti, o sopra quale materia, e di che colore essa è; lo stato in cui si trovano ed ogni

18 EMILIANI 1974, pp. 71, 82-84. The *Memoria* published in 1863 on the *Rivista dei Comuni italiani* (CAVALCASELLE 1863) was an adapted version of another *Memoria* presented in August 1862 to the Ministry for Public Education, Carlo Matteucci, based in turn on another letter sent to Matteucci in June of the same year (ACS, MPI, Personale 1860-1880, I vers., b. 546 [Cavalcaselle, Giovanbattista], Cavalcaselle to Matteucci, 24 June 1862; see LEVI 1988, pp. 313-318; EMILIANI 1998, pp. 344-369; LEVI 2009 – with the text of the two versions of 1862, pp. 70-76).

19 "È da sperare che questo amore dell'arte antica diverrà sempre maggiore fra noi, sicché a breve andare l'Italia senta il bisogno di ordinare le gallerie e di compierle procacciando a ciascuna di esse quelle opere d'arte di cui mancasse. Per ben comprendere le scuole degli antichi maestri, da cui tanti vantaggi può ripromettersi l'arte moderna, è assolutamente necessario che nelle nostre gallerie le opere siano poste in ordine storico e cronologico che oggi manca più o meno in tutte" (CAVALCASELLE 1863, p. 17). Cavalcaselle's idea for the art museum explains his discontent when he was appointed director of the Museo del Bargello in 1866, as his scholarly interests in painting could not match the content of a collection such as the one at the Bargello (LEVI 1988, pp. 312-313).

20 CAVALCASELLE 1863, pp. 19-22.

> altra particolarità che avessero, come scritto, segnatura o monogramma. Si cercherà infine di completarne e classificarne le serie per scuole ed epoche. È importantissimo all'educazione dell'artista vedere gli studi preparatorii che si facevano dai nostri antichi maestri; oltre di che codesti studi possono far riconoscere l'autore d'una data opera, come all'opposto dall'opera si può conoscere l'autore del disegno. Si dovranno notare le contraffazioni e le copie, indicando l'epoca in cui furono fatte, e possibilmente l'autore, e sovra quali originali. Non bisogna neppure trascurare l'esame delle stampe e delle fotografie tratte da esse per conoscere i duplicati ed ottenere delle informazioni che fossero necessarie.[21]

Cavalcaselle understood sketches and drawings as tools to study paintings and for this reason included this kind of works on paper among the museum objects that had to be inventoried, following the same system adopted for paintings, that was, arranged by school and in chronological order, a criteria that as a matter of fact had been in use for drawings since 17th century. Drawings, for which Cavalcaselle gave a list of elements to be described in the inventory (size, technique, conservation state, inscriptions), are here meant both for the artists and for the scholarly public, who would be interested in looking at drawings for clues to solve authorship puzzles. Prints, on the contrary, must be examined insofar as they, just like photographs, reproduce another artwork and therefore serve as visual evidence. The same 'documentary' function for prints was described in the 1876 *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte della provincia del Friuli*, compiled by Cavalcaselle with the help of the painter Giuseppe Uberto Valentinis (1819-1901); according to the instructions the authors received, the inventory had to include "Documenti che provano l'autore dell'opera; autori che ne parlano ed indicazione delle incisioni ed altre riproduzioni".[22] With its 846 listed items comprising monuments, paintings, sculpture, *intaglio* works, jewellery and illuminated codex, this inventory was a step forward compared to the 1864 list which only contained paintings, but at the same time it confirmed that its authors' view on cultural heritage still privileged paintings, monuments and sculptures.

It is rather surprising not to find any reference to the museological arrangement and disposition of drawings in Giovanni Morelli's *Proposte d'ordinamento per le Pinacoteche e i Musei Nazionali*, presented in February

21 *Ivi*, pp. 18-19. On this passage see EMILIANI 1998, p. 357.

22 FURLAN 1998, p. 128-129.

1870 to the Minister of Public Education Cesare Correnti (1815-1888).[23] Morelli, a keen collector of ancient drawings, was deeply convinced of their importance for the study of old masters, as he considered drawings a fundamental support for the analysis and comprehension of the artists' style.[24] Moreover, he was well acquainted with graphic art collections of European museums, above all those in Munich, Dresden and Berlin, to which he would devote specific sections of his later publications.[25] However, in his *Proposte*, we only find a quick reference to drawings and prints:

> L'amministrazione delle raccolte, sia dal punto di vista scientifico che economico, è affidata ad un Conservatore, membro di diritto delle Commissioni conservative provinciali. Responsabile della corretta tutela delle opere, il Conservatore è incaricato di informare il Ministero in merito ai restauri necessari. Lo affianca un Segretario che si occupa delle pratiche d'ufficio e che cura le raccolte di disegni e stampe. I bidelli, infine, dotati di uniforme ufficiale, vigilano sul materiale conservato e sul decoro degli ambienti.[26]

"Raccolte" of drawings and prints appear here together, as it is proposed that both should be cared for by an administrative employee of the

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23 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 170, fasc. 1.1, *Proposte d'ordinamento per le Pinacoteche e i Musei Nazionali* (with attached *Relazione*), 9 February 1870. Cesare Correnti was in charge on the Ministry of Public Education between in charge 17 February 1867 and 10 April 1867; then again between 1 May 1869 and 18 May 1872). On Morelli as museologist, see ANDERSON 1994. At the same time, it is quite surprising to find the same lack of interest from the part of other members of the Italian political class such as Emilio Visconti Venosta (several times Foreign Affairs Minister between 1863 and 1901) and Marco Minghetti (Prime Minister in 1863-1864) who were admirers of Morelli and were acquainted with museums; Minghetti even published a study on Raphael and was interested in the drawings housed at the Accademia in Venice and attributed to him (ANGELINI 2013, p. 59; see also ANGELINI 2018).

24 On Morelli collector of drawings see BORA 1994a.

25 MORELLI 1880 (see BORA 1994b, pp. 3, 8). Morelli's hand-written observations are still visible on the old passepartout where drawings of the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett used to be mounted (see LOCATELLI 2014, pp. 9-10, fig. 1).

26 ACS, MPI, AA. BB. AA., I vers., b. 170, fasc. 1.1, *Proposte d'ordinamento per le Pinacoteche e i Musei Nazionali*, 9 February 1870.

museum, rather than a scientific one such as the 'conservator', who is in charge of the remaining artworks:

> […] in minor grado dotato delle qualità e delle cognizioni del Conservatore, tiene i carteggi d'ufficio […]. A lui in particolar modo sono affidate le raccolte dei disegni e delle stampe, sempre sotto la vigilanza e la responsabilità del conservatore, del quale funge le veci nel caso di assenza […].[27]

The extremely complex distribution of prints and drawings across public institutions, the predominant lack of interest towards them as works of art in their own right, and the confused administrative and organisational situation of cultural heritage management after Unification, contributed to delay a process that would lead, in the 1890s, to the acknowledgement of prints and drawings collections in Italian state museums as well-defined classes of artistic objects *per se*. In order to piece together the phases of this process, it is necessary to start by looking outside the political level. In 1864 there was an early attempt to raise awareness on the importance of granting regular access to public print collections, something that until that moment was missing from the Italian cultural scene. The appeal came from Giovanni Vico (1812-1893), artist, collector, vice-secretary of the Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti in Turin (since 1862) and librarian employed by the Ministry for Internal Affairs.[28] In his essay *Dell'intaglio all'acquaforte e di alcuni intagliatori delle provincie subalpine*, Vico pushed to take measures to facilitate access to the most important print collections of the country, as this was the way to increase the public's skills to look, understand and appreciate engraved artworks (both ancient and contemporary). Vico was convinced that prints were directed both to artists and to scholars, as a "mezzo efficacissimo di educazione artistica" and "argomento delle investigazioni dei dotti ed esperti conoscitori". As observed by Federica Panero, Vico's essay was stricly linked to the revival of etching in the Piedmont region, following the example of the Societé des Aquafortistes founded in Paris in 1862 (the Italian L'Acquaforte. Società degli Artisti

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27 The draft of the proposal is attached to a letter by Marco Guastalla to Cesare Correnti, Minister of Public Education (in charge 17 February-10 April 1867, and then 13 May 1869-18 May 1872), dated 17 January 1870 (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 170, fasc. 1.1).

28 See ASTRUA, D'AGOSTINO 1982; PANERO 2008-2009. On the etching revival in Piedmont (and Liguria), see GIUBBINI 1976.

Italiani started its activity in Turin in 1869).[29] Vico advocated not only for open access to collections but also for the application of a proper classification, as used in international cultural institutions. As we will see, Vico's position would have a major impact on the reception of public prints and drawings collections in the city of Turin, but his remark on works on paper, on the edge between two groups of users, artists and scholars, was a crucial point on which further debates and musealisation projects across the country would be based. These took place across different institutions where works on paper were stored, of which an overview is given here.

2.2 Prints and drawings for teaching. Graphic art at art academies

Prints and drawings for teaching

Over the centuries, prints and drawings remained basic tools in artistic education. As a result of a well-rooted tradition of theoretical formulation, the act of drawing itself was the fundamental skill every art student had to master, and therefore drawings were continuously produced and collected (sometimes even displayed: fig. 2.I)[30] within artist workshops. Prints offered models and patterns for apprentices to copy, and also served established painters to study other artists' work, as is demonstrated by the presence of large numbers of prints in the inventories of many artists' possessions.[31] The same functions were enacted at the art academies. Between the 1860s and the 1880s, nine Italian cities had a State academy of art (Florence, Milan, Venice, Parma, Bologna, Rome, Modena, Naples, Turin)[32] and in each of them, art teaching revolved around the primacy of drawing.[33] Throughout these decades the use of drawings and prints underwent a profound revision. Until mid-19th century, in all their classes (*nudo, ornato* etc.) students

29 PANERO 2017, p. 131. See also PANERO 2008-2009, pp. 64-66.

30 MONBEIG GOGUEL 1987, p. 27.

31 GRIFFITHS 2016, p. 468

32 For an overview on the history and role of Italian art academies between 16th century and the 1970s, see CARAMEL, POLI 1979; NICOSIA 2000 focuses on the developments of art teaching during 19th century; DALAI EMILIANI 2016 looks at the political and administrative history of the Accademie after the Unification of Italy with regard to their art collections.

33 See FUSCO, BOCCONI 2016; STRINGA 2016b, p. 519.

used to draw from models such as prints and plaster statues, in order to create finished drawings that were then exhibited in the *concorsi* and at the end-of-the-year exhibitions.[34] Following changes introduced in the 1850s by Pietro Selvatico (1803-1880), first secretary and then director of the Accademia in Venice (1849-1856), this tradition became gradually intertwined with and eventually replaced by another method; the *disegno dal vero* ("saper bene disegnare dal modello vivo"), classical statues and Italian art of 1400 ("tutte le lor produzioni regolavano colle norme infallibili della Prospettiva")[35] became the pillars of artistic education,[36] generating an increased demand for old-master drawings to store in the academies' collections for this purpose. As far as printmaking was concerned, the *scuole di incisione* had become more and more influential during the 18th century because of the prominent role played by 'reproductive' engraving and its visual-educational properties. During

34 STRINGA 2016b, pp. 520-521; on these exhibitions, see STRINGA 2016a, pp. 345-367.

35 BCIS, ms. L.X.54 (P. Selvatico Estense, *Sulle riforme da portarsi alle accademie di belle arti in Italia*), cc 1-36 (quoted in AUF DER HEYDE 2013, p. 170).

36 *Ivi*, p. 524. Pietro Selvatico had a fundamental influence in the debate revolving around the role and the structure of art academies: among other things, he proposed to cut the number of *accademie* ("A che dunque avere Istituti che educhino produttori, i quali un giorno non troveranno spazio alla loro produzione?", Pietro Selvatico, *Atti relativi alla Riforma da portarsi all'Accademia, discusse in Vienna nell'8bre del 1856*, in BCP, Carte Pietro Selvatico Estense, b. 15, ins. s.n., quoted in AUF DER HEYDE 2013, p. 253); he suggested to abolish some teachings (*incisione, anatomia, paesaggio*) and urged for a more theoretical and scientific approach in the study of *ornato* and perspective (see SELVATICO ESTENSE 1858; AUF DER HEYDE 2013, in particular pp. 169-186; 252-260; BELLIN, CATRA 2016; GIACOMELLI 2016). Selvatico's proposals were ideally directed to the academies of Venice and Milan, as a result of his connection with the Archiduke Ferdinando Massimiliano who wished to merge all academies in the Lombardo-Veneto Kingdom to create one institution in Milan for science, literature and arts (AUF DER HEYDE 2013, p. 256). But Selvatico was in contact with Tuscany too: in 1858 he was invited to Florence to present his plans to the Granduke Leopoldo II, moreover, his ideas were subsequently practiced at the Istituto di Belle Arti in Lucca, thanks to Selvatico's connection to Michele Ridolfi (see the letters at BSL, Fondo Ridolfi, Carteggio Michele Ridolfi, ms. 3601), secretary of the local Commissione d'incoraggiamento: "La commissione procurò i migliori esemplari ornamentali che potesse rintracciare, e i vari modelli in gesso dei più gentili ornamenti del quattro e cinquecento; cercò di tor via dalle scuole di figura i modelli incise che vi trovò, tratti dalle statue greche, sostituendovi per quanto i tenui assegnamenti gliel permisero, buoni disegni e mano e litografici, tratti dalle pitture dei quattrocentisti. […] Il disegno dal modello vivente stabile che fosse fatto nelle ore diurne, per evitare ai giovani il vizio di esagerare le ombre, che spesso contraggono copiano i modelli a lume artificiale" (RIDOLFI 1872, p. 17).

that time it was essential to instruct the new generations of artists in the art of the *bulino puro*; for this purpose, first-class artists such as Giuseppe Longhi (in Milan), Galgano Cipriani (1775-1857, in Venice), Paolo Toschi (in Parma) and Raffaello Morghen (in Florence) were employed as professors and chairs of the *scuole d'incisione*.[37] However, the distance between printmaking instruction and the technical developments triggered by an expanding market had led in the first half of 19th century to a significant decrease in the number of students enrolled to printmaking classes at fine art academies, causing many to push for their abolishment.[38] Nevertheless, prints kept being accumulated within academies, as the study from engraved (as well as plaster) copies was largely deployed in artistic traineeship.

Far from being merely training material, collections of works on paper assembled at fine art academies were of different nature, and included both teaching objects and groups of drawings and prints which could be used as models, or not used at all.[39] These collections had in fact two major raisons d'être: educational, on the one hand; and conservational, protection and promotion on the other.[40] The former group (*corredo* or *suppellettile didattica*) included prints and drawings directly made at the academy, connected to the students' training. As mentioned above, the act of drawing itself stood as foundation of art teaching, and drawings were produced all the time, in all classes – painting, *ornato*, architecture,

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37 MAZZOCCA 1981, pp. 359-365.

38 *Ivi*, pp. 360-361; BOREA 2009, p. 675; see also SALVAGNINI 1999 on the debate revolving around the position of wood engraving, etching and lithography at Brera; and DALMASSO 1982, pp. 46-51, for the same issue in Turin.

39 Perhaps because of their perceived value of interest for the art teaching world only, collections of drawings and prints housed in Italian fine art academies have been long neglected by literature compared to works on paper held at museums and libraries. The first explorations of these peculiar collections date back to the 1980s and were often connected with publications presenting the institution as a whole: see for example POLI 1982 for the Accademia Albertina in Turin; FEDERICI 1984 and MARTUCCI 1984 for the drawings at the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno in Florence, and AGOSTI, CERIANA 1997 for Brera; more recently, the collection of drawings of the Accademia di Belle Arti in Venice has been presented in STRINGA 2016. CASSESE 2013, pp. 36-38, provides an overview on the scope and current challenges collections of drawings and prints collections at the Accademia. The artistic heritage held in Italian art academies is now increasingly studied, starting with the 2013 conference organised by the Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage: *Patrimoni da svelare per le Arti del futuro. Primo convegno di studi sulla salvaguardia dei beni culturali delle Accademie di Belle Arti di Italia* (see CASSESE 2013 and 2016).

40 VALLI 1997, pp. 51-52.

etc. –. 'Finished' drawings and prints were made by students for their exams, prizes and *concorsi*; these sheets were archived for the use and could become models in turn. Many of them were destroyed by use itself, as some were pasted on wood or put on canvasses so that *ornato* or architecture students could train on them, make notes, or create further models. The latter group usually included a standard provision of 'reproductive' engravings by artists such as Raffaello Morghen, Paolo Toschi, Francesco Rosaspina, Pietro Perfetti (1721-1770). Prints by English and French printmakers, reproducing works by Raphael, Leonardo, Tiziano, Correggio, Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni, Domenichino, Luca Giordano, Anton Raphael Mengs and prints with subjects *di figura*, history subjects, portraits and landscapes could also be included, as well as engravings with patterns for fabrics and similar.[41] On the contrary, there was no 'tradition' as far as original drawings were concerned, and their presence depended mostly on purchases or bequests specific for each institution. These could originate from individuals connected to the academy, such as Carlo Bianconi (1732-1802, *segretario perpetuo* of the Accademia di Brera between 1776 and 1801)[42] and Giuseppe Bossi (secretary of the same academy between 1801 and 1807), who arranged for groups of drawings and prints to enrich the academy collections in Milan and in Venice.[43] If professors could not personally provide the academy with works on paper, they at least demanded them, such as Galgano Cipriani in Venice, who asked to increase "[…] almeno un piccolo numero di stampe di buoni autori per la suddetta Scuola, come per esempio d'Edelinck, di Masson ecc., siccome Essa non ha che sei o sette cattive stampe!".[44] Other donors instead could have no professional connection to the academy, but were willing either to create an art academy or to contribute to its teaching provisions, a practice ascertained since the 1563 statute of the Accademia delle arti del disegno in Florence ("[…] si fa una libreria dove chi vuole può lasciare, alla sua morte, il patrimonio di disegni, modelli […]").[45] This

41 See for example VALLI 1997, p. 117, and pp. 122-126, with the list of prints acquired at Brera between 1776 and 1926. According to the 1859 statute, the Scuola dell'incisione in Brera "[…] è fornita delle migliori stampe antiche e moderne di tutti i generi e stili" (see SALVAGNINI 1997, p. 131).

42 PERINI 1995, p. 230.

43 See VALLI 1999; CASSANELLI 2000; NEPI SCIRÉ 1982; NEPI SCIRÉ, TORRINI PERISSA 2004; POLETTO 2014.

44 In MAZZOCCA 1981, p. 361.

45 The statute, signed on 13 January 1563 by Duke Cosimo de' Medici, had the interesting clause that linked in perpetuity the bequest to the academy: "[…] non

is the reason why this kind of bequests comprised several different items, for example: in 1832, King Carlo Alberto of Savoy (1798-1849) donated to the Reale Accademia Albertina in Turin *cartoni* by Gaudenzio Ferrari and his school, all coming from the artist workshop in the area of Vercelli;[46] in 1855, Count Giovanni Secco Suardo (1798-1873) left architectonical drawings by Quarenghi and his school to the Accademia Carrara in Bergamo;[47] and in 1876 the architect Giuseppe Martelli (1792-1876) left to the Accademia in Florence plasters and 800 books (including precious editions of architecture essays and historical-critical works).[48]

The storage and display of the prints and drawings housed at fine arts academies was traditionally linked to their deployment in teaching. Until the first half of 19th century, these sheets were kept in classrooms, in the academy's library, or on view at in-house galleries. In classrooms, they could be stored in *cartelle* and drawers, while some were put on display to be readily available for the students. For example, engravings *sotto vetro* used to hang on the walls of the Scuola dell'Incisione at the Accademia di Brera,[49] and in the same way at the Accademica Scuola d'Intaglio in Venice ("non solo a conveniente addobbo, ma anco a profittevole addotrinamento in essa de' giovani alunni").[50] Certain drawings and prints could also be distributed across the different 'schools' within the academy. Again in Brera, in 1786, the Scuola dell'Architettura had 40 framed prints by Palladio, while 78 prints *d'après* Palladio were stored in the Stanza del Professore di Architettura "incollate su asse a comodo della gioventù", for the students to train;[51] in Florence, the 1785 inventory of the Accademia mentioned Charles Le

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si possono cavare di quel luogo senza licenza di S.E.I." (quoted in WAŹBIŃSKI 1978, p. 47).

46 ROMANO 1982.

47 The Accademia Carrara art collection started in 1780 when Count Giacomo Carrara had set up a Scuola di disegno with attached a Galleria; see RAGGHIANTI 1963.

48 MARTUCCI 1984, p. 36. For a chronological overview of the history of the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno, see ZANGHERI 2016.

49 VALLI 1997, p. 117.

50 AABAVe, b. 53, fasc. 1, purchase contract for 13 prints and 13 paintings, signed by Abbot Panise [head of the Parish of Crimate di Santa Barbara], Francesco Schiavo [nephew of the former], Bernardino Corniani [director of the Consiglio Accademico], Francesco Beltrame [Regio Aggiunto Delegatario], 21 July 1821.

51 ASAB, Carpi D V 13, *Nota delle stampe secondo i luoghi ove si trovano*, quoted in VALLI 1997, pp. 127-130.

Brun's battles, engraved by Gérard Audran ("incorniciate di noce con vetri") and a collection of prints by Mulinari reproducing the Uffizi's paintings, all of which were assigned to the 'drawing school'. For the same reason, some prints, in spite of being bound in books and part of textbooks, were not kept in the library but directly in the *scuole* where they were most often used: Dumont's *Libro delle Stampe di Architettura* was at the 'architecture school', and Carlo Antonini's *Ornamenti delle Fabbriche ad uso e comodo dei pittori e scultori* at the 'ornato school'.[52] Together with plasters, sculptures and paintings, drawings and prints could also fit in in-house *gallerie*, regulated by the academy statute or by special decrees.[53] Again in Florence, the 1791 inventory of the Accademia described a "Galleria a mezzogiorno", later called "dei Quadri", where 155 items were located, apparently without chronological order but divided in "Quadri Grandi, Quadri più Piccoli, Disegni, Cartoni, Stampe";[54] this gallery was under the responsability of a professor of painting and watched by a guardian who had to make sure nobody touched the items on display.[55] In 1779, the same academy had *prove di disegno* from plasters and prints on view in the Sala delle Statue,[56] while at Brera, prints by Le Brun, Poussin, Raphael and other masters were framed and put under glass in the Sala dei Gessi, together with plaster copies of ancient statues and with Bolognese *cartoni*.[57] Prints and drawings could even be granted their own dedicated *gabinetto*, as in Parma, whose Accademia had a "Gabinetto delle incisioni dei nostri accademici" (room 'H') and "Gabinetto dei disegni d'architettura dei nostri accademici" (room 'P') at least since 1812 (fig. 2.II).[58]

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52 MARTUCCI 1984, p. 32.

53 As for example the decree of 10 September 1803, applied in Venice on 12 February 1807, establishing that there had to be a painting gallery, "al comodo di chi si esercita a dipingere" attached to the art academy (MAZZI 2010, p. 156).

54 MARTUCCI 1984, p. 26.

55 CORTI 1984, p. 78.

56 *Nota delle stampe della Sala dei Gessi*, 20 January 1779; *Nota delle Statue, Busti e Bassorilievi, Disegni e Stampe che si trovano…*, 15 October 1779 (ASAB, Carpi D V 13, quoted in VALLI 1997, p. 120).

57 *Ibidem*.

58 See the map *Pianta dell'Accademia delle Belle Arti, del Museo d'Antichità e delle Scuole di Architettura, d'Ornato, e di Plastica riunite da D. Pietro de lama direttore delle medesime nell'anno 1812*, published in EMILIANI 1997c, pp. LXIV-LXV.

Gallerie delle accademie

Art academies also inherited fine art collections gathered by the dynasties ruling in the pre-unification states. The Galleria Nazionale di Quadri e Disegni in Modena, for example, opened to the public in 1854 on the initiative of Francesco V d'Austria-Este to house the eclectic art collections (comprising paintings, marble and terracotta sculptures, drawings, medals, ivories etc.) of the Dukes of Este. When the collection passed on to the Italian State, it became "proprietà e parte integrante dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena", which was founded in 1780. This kind of art collections, which could also include objects confiscated from religious congregations and public bodies of the city (as for example at the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice), were thought to serve art students, future creators and promoters of the national artistic language. As a result of the Enlightment mentality, according to which "critica e creazione, storia ed attualità" were meant to be together as one,[59] art collections and art schools were kept in the same place, and under the same director, because it was useful for the young students of art to "unificare come maggiormente si può i mezzi di cui dispone lo Stato per aiutarli nel loro tirocinio".[60] This could result in artworks being relocated freely from the museum to the academy classrooms for didactic purposes, a practice registered since the 18th century. Architect Giuseppe Soli (1747-1822), for example, was at the same time director of the academy and *conservatore* of the Galleria Estense in Modena: in 1787 he took away 1870 prints and 26 *cartoni* from the Duke d'Este's collection to "far uso di Scuola di Belle Arti".[61] Soon afterwards, many of these drawings ended up in the Louvre following the employment of the two Frenchmen Berthollet and Mojtte as "commissari".[62] As a result, in the guide published in 1872 only 323 drawings were reported to be in the gallery: "Oggi […] i disegni sommano a 323 […] Molto potrebbe dirsi de' disegni; basti accennare che ve n'è del Tiziano, di Leonardo, di Raffaello e con un schizzo del Correggio, moltissimi altri de' più celebrati artisti

59 EMILIANI 1998, p. 326. Protection of the past and encouragement of creativity had to go together. See for instance Pietro Selvatico's argument: in his proposal to reform the Academy of Venice, he insisted on the fact that, among other things, art academies had to be responsible for monitoring and restoring ancient monuments, as well as for promoting of making new ones, through the organisation of contests (see AUF DER HEYDE 2013, p. 256). For a comparison with the European situation on this issue, see JALLA 2016.

60 BOLLATI 1865, p. 583; see also LERDA 2014-2015, p. 17.

61 BENTINI 1989, p. 31. On the Galleria Estense in Modena between 18th and 19th century, see GASPAROTTO 2014.

62 BENTINI 1989, p. 31.

italiani".[63]

Between the 1860s and 1882 the Uffizi in Florence and the Pinacoteca in Turin were the only State collections of ancient art to be recognized as independent, while the others were, as in Modena, annexed to art academies or to art schools (such as the Istituto di Belle Arti in Lucca): the remaining collections depended on universities (as in Palermo) or on archaeological museums (as in Naples). The presence and role of art collections within the art academies was a much contested issue after the Unification, as not only were they a place where the arts were taught, but also the institutions where several ancient and modern artworks were kept.[64] The *accademie* stood therefore as the institution which so far had been in charge of the protection of artworks, on the one hand, and of creative arts, on the other. The government initially put them in charge of coordination and consultancy as far as the management of cultural heritage was concerned,[65] but scholars increasingly called for a separation between the 'art of the past' and contemporary artists' (see for example Morelli's position in 1862).[66] Following the establishment of a Direzione Generale within the Ministry for Public Education in 1875, conservation and teaching grew more and more apart but this situation lasted, at least officially, until 1882, when the art galleries were separated from arts academies. Until then, these art collections were in the hands of their directors of the Collegi Accademici, as the 1878 statute of the Academy of Venice shows:

> 1° Le raccolte di quadri, di disegni e di oggetti di scultura che formano la galleria annessa all'Istituto di Belle Arti di Venezia, dipenderanno, per la parte artistica dal Presidente del Collegio Accademico dell'Accademia medesima.
> 2° L'ordinamento dei suddetti oggetti è di competenza del Collegio Accademico, ma per ogni variazione, che si crederà di

63 ASIOLI 1872, pp. 10, 14.

64 MARTUCCI 1984, p. 32.

65 See EMILIANI 1998, p. 326-334; COLLAVIZZA 2016.

66 "Sappia dunque per sua norma che dietro invito del cessato Ministero io elaborai un progetto di legge concernente la conservazione degli oggetti d'arte in Italia; questo progetto di legge chiede la separazione delle Pinacoteche dall'Accademie, di modo che i Direttori di quelle non dipenderanno più dai Presidenti di queste, ma direttamente dal Ministero della p. Istruzione. L'Arte antica vuole assolutamente essere segregata dall'arte moderna" ([Giovanni] Morelli to [Gaetano] Giordani, 28 July 1862, in CAMMAROTA 2004, p. 417. See also CURZI 1998, p. 57).

> introdurvi, sarà sentito l'avviso del Direttore dell'Istituto e dell'Ispettore della Galleria. 3° L'Ispettore della Galleria dipenderà direttamente dal Presidente del Collegio Accademico. 4° Le domande per far studi o copie nelle Gallerie dovranno indirizzarsi al Presidente suddetto, e pei professori e scolari dell'Istituto di Belle Arti basterà la semplice domanda del Direttore di esso.[67]

In spite of the existence of a unified statute for the *pinacoteche* depending from *accademie*, regulated by royal decrees issued between 1868 and 1869, the composition of the museum staff differed from institution to institution. There used to be a *ispettore* (*alla galleria* or *alla pinacoteca*), sometimes assisted by the *aggiunto all'ispettore* (as in Parma); sometimes a restorer (called *pittore restauratore*, as in Modena and Parma) was employed too. The number of *custodi* changed according to the size of the museum (there were eight of them in Florence).[68] Only the Accademia in Modena had an employee specifically in charge of drawings, called *custode conservatore dei disegni*.[69] So art academies, the main institutions responsible for museum collections of ancient art in the Italian State, had no specialised staff in charge of the different classes of objects. Nor were the collections in the 'gallerie delle accademie' always known. A survey conducted by the Ministry of Public Education in 1870-1871 showed that the inventory situation of artistic collections housed in art academies was in general extremely poor: the gallery attached to the Accademia di Belle Arti in Rome did not have an inventory at all, while others had a more general inventory like the Gallery of the Accademia in Parma, where the listed artworks were divided in statues, paintings, prints and "modelli". Others had a more precise inventory divided by medium, for example the Galleria dell'Accademia in Bologna, with a list "della Raccolta delle incisioni in rame" and the Galleria dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno

67 Statute D.R. 8 September 1878, n. 451 that abolished the 1842 one. R.D. 9 novembre 1879, Galleria annessa all'Istituto di Belle Arti di Venezia, in *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, December 1879, p. 1181.

68 For Bologna see R.D. no. 4721, 22nd November 1868; for Parma: R.D. no. 4727, 22 November 1868; Modena: R.D. n. 4728, 29 November 1868; Florence: R.D. n. 4821, 3 January 1869. The statutes of the Accademie in Parma, Bologna and Modena were further modified with R.D. n. 4801, 23 September 1877, but the distribution of roles was left basically unchanged (an administrative figure in charge of economic affairs was added to the staff of the Regia Pinacoteca Parmense).

69 LERDA 2014-2015, p. 24.

in Florence, with separate lists for paintings, sculptures and drawings.[70]

Drawings for art students, drawings for the public

In spite of the great amount of works on paper housed in art academies, these institutions' complex administrative and organisational situation made it hard to take steps towards the definition of shared collecting and display practices. The strongest and most articulated input to organise an organic display of drawings came from Selvatico and was picked up by Cavalcaselle in 1863. While advocating against the use of 18th-century 'educational prints' in art teaching ("Qui, come per tutto, gli esemplari buoni mancano agli elementi, e bisogna buttarsi o a quel detestabile Studio di Morghen o alle Litografie francesi, quasi tutte ammanierate"),[71] Selvatico recommended instead to assemble, catalogue and display Renaissance drawings within the academy.[72] Since 1851, he worked to perfect the display and the catalogue of a collection of 395 drawings which had been on display since 1846 (both recto and verso visible) in the Sala delle Riduzioni Accademiche, which then became known as Sala dei Disegni:

> A questi leggerissimi mancamenti provvidi il meglio ch'io seppi fin dal 1851, valendomi di quel po' di esperienza che acquistai nello esaminare, con qualche pazienza, un gran numero di antichi disegni originali nelle varie raccolte private e pubbliche d'Italia e d'oltralpe.[73]

The display was used for the lessons, "per istruzione degli studiosi […] che avrebbero campo così di erudirsi nelle varie maniere e nei diversi stili delle scuole peregrine, il che non si può ottenere dalla sola voce del Professore", as he had said already in 1820, commenting on the newly acquired Bossi collection.[74] One of his models might have been the one in use in the *Akademie* in Düsseldorf, where professor Karl Ignaz Mosler

70 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 170, fasc. 2, scheme of the inventories, not dated [1871?].

71 BSL, Fondo Ridolfi, Carteggio Michele Ridolfi, ms. 3601 Selvatico to Ridolfi, 17 October 1850. See Auf der Heyde 2013, pp. 180-181.

72 See Auf der Heyde 2013, pp. 170-171.

73 Selvatico 1854, p. 10

74 Valli 1999, p. 302.

(1788-1860) used to accompany his lessons with drawings and watercolours:

> Perciò nella sala disposta a guisa di anfiteatro in cui svolge a' giovani le vicende e i trionfi delle arti grafiche, egli è circondato da molti acquarelli e disegni che mostrano cronologicamente il progredire ed il decadere d'ogni ramo dell'arte stessa, ma specialmente della pittura, su cui egli ferma più a lungo il discorso.[75]

Selvatico put a lot of effort both in the display and in the catalogue (published in 1854), in order to 'raise' the status of drawings from items of curiosity to documents worthy of aesthetical analysis, where it is possible to trace, read and understand the *manière* of each artist:

> Per eccitare gli osservatori, non molto impratichiti nell'arte, a fare quello, che d'ordinario non fanno, a guardare cioè con attentione questi disegni. Perché è destino delle opera di tal genere che i più dieno loro una sfuggevole occhiata, piuttosto come oggetti di erudite curiosità, che non come prodotti degni di estetica ammirazione. […] Eppure converrebbe tanto che non questi soli, ma tutt'i disegni dei grandi maestri, fossero considerati da chi ama l'arte, almeno con altrettanta attenzione di quella che si porta ai dipinti. […] Quale sia dunque da senno un artista, quali le sue qualità, i suoi difetti, può leggersi ben meglio in uno schizzo, che non in un Quadro […].[76]

Cavalcaselle was on Selvatico's same wavelength and included old master drawings in the *Norme generali che possono servire di base per la riforma dell'insegnamento* (an article comprised in his 1863 *Memoria*):

> Siccome non dappertutto possono aversi gli originali dei mosaici, degli affreschi e delle altre opere di pittura delle diverse epoche e scuola classificate in ordine storico e cronologico, sarebbe facile,

75 SELVATICO 1845, p. 359.

76 SELVATICO 1854, pp. 10-11. For the same reason he appreciated the fact that the Uffizi chose to put on display several drawings under the mandate of director Luca Bourbon del Monte, and hoped that they would be catalogued soon (AUF DER HEYDE 2013, pp. 170-171, n. 68). See also NEPI SCIRÉ 1982, p. 16; Valli 1999, pp. 304-305.

> col mezzo di copie e *fac-simili*, il porre sott'occhio del pubblico la storia completa delle arti dimostrata cogli esempi. Le pubbliche letture di questa storia illustrata a mano a mano dagli esempi stessi spiegherebbe non solo l'origine, i caratteri, le bellezze delle diverse scuole nelle differenti epoche, le biografie dei loro artisti e le bellezze dell'arte, ma servirebbe anche a promuovere l'amore per l'antico, e a dirozzare le masse, e verrebbe a formare la base e il cardine su cui si fonda tutto l'edificio della riforma dell'insegnamento quindi anche dell'accademia. […] Si dovrebbe avere per ciò una raccolta di disegni degli antichi maestri, cioè studi fatti da quelli, come di nudi, di pieghe, di composizioni, ecc., ecc.; alla mancanza di questi, supplirebbero le copie in fotografia. Ciò servirebbe per far apprendere ai giovani gli elementi del disegno, senza guastare l'occhio e la mano, come adesso si fa dando loro a copiare delle brutte litografie di opere moderne.[77]

Two elements are of particular interest here: firstly, the presence of photography ("sorella nella educazione dell'artista" according to Selvatico), a tool that was preferable to lithography (which still had trouble finding its way into art academies) to serve documentary purposes (not only in teaching, but also at exhibitions);[78] and secondly, the emphasis to go beyond the realm of arts academies, suggesting that a collection of original drawings should serve not only for the art students to learn "l'origine, i caratteri, le bellezze delle diverse scuole nelle differenti epoche", but also for the public to learn "l'antico". Perhaps in order to make the collection known not only in Italy but beyond its borders too, Selvatico's catalogue was followed by Antonio Perini's (1830-1879) *Catalogue des dessins originaux de Raphael, Leonard de Vinci, etc.* (1865) and Ferdinando Ongania's (1842-1911) *Raccolta di 120 principali disegni originali di Michelangelo, Raffaello, Leonardo da Vinci, Tiziano, ecc.* (1876). Two other facts contributed mostly to 'opening' the collection to the public. The former was connected to the entrance fee imposed to visitors entering the art museum of the Accademia in Venice in 1875 (it is worth remembering that artists and art students kept accessing the collections free of charge, while the category of *studiosi* would be granted free access only in 1896),[79] the introduction of an

77 CAVALCASELLE 1863, p. 48. See LEVI 1988, pp. 318-322. Selvatico openly expressed his appreciation for Cavalcaselle's *Memoria* (SELVATICO 1867; see also PAPI 2008, pp. 25-27; NICOSIA 2000, p. 193).

78 SELVATICO 1852, p. 25. On Selvatico and the use of photography, see SERENA 1997 and COSTANTINI 1985.

79 See Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei Deputati, XII Legislatura, sessione 1874-1875, *Documenti. Progetti di legge e relazioni*, n. 85. A. *Tassa d'ingresso nei Musei e nei*

entrance fee pushed to reconsider some organisational aspects of the art museum such as the itinerary that would be covered by the public during the visit. In order to avoid visitors doubletracking in the same rooms and to allow them to follow instead a circular itinerary, the Sala dei Disegni was opened to the public, while until that moment it could be accessed by art students only. Moreover, according to the director of the Accademia, by paying a ticket the public acquired the 'right' to see old master drawings too.[80] The latter episode might be connected to this, in 1881 the Ministry for Public Education asked the President of the Collegio degli Accademici to provide for all drawings to be put on display, even those currently held in folders, no matter their value and their author: "Prego la S.V. di disporre affinché vengano, come gli altri, esposti al pubblico anche i disegni raccolti nelle cartelle, qualunque sia il merito di essi e il loro autore".[81] To fulfil this request the Accademia commissioned two "lettorini in noce […] i quali devono essere solidi e presentare un aspetto aggradevole".[82] They would come with eighty frames and will: "[…] contenere in media 24 disegni per ogni cornice cioè 12 per parte, in complesso ogni lettorino n. 480 disegni […]. I lettorini sarebbero da collocarsi nella sala dove sono gli altri disegni, in prossimità delle tre finestre, ma posti in modo che non toglierebbero la luce alle pareti della sala."[83]

The two *porta-disegni* (sometimes also referred to as *porta-stampe*) were built in autumn 1881 (fig. 2.III) and placed in the Stanza dei Disegni in August 1882.[84] The case of Venice shows that the museological issues

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luoghi di Scavo del Regno, Relazione al Progetto della Commissione.

80 The episode is recalled by LERDA 2014-2015, p. 136. For the archival documentation relating to the discussion revolving around the application of an entrance fee at museums in Venice, see the *Relazione della Commissione consultiva di belle arti per la Provincia di Venezia*, 1 July 1875, in ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 176, fasc. 8.14. The fee was first introduced at the academy in Bologna in 1874: "Nelle Nuove sale poi vennero esposte al pubblico le più belle delle incisioni possedute dall'Accademia, e la parte più scelta dell'Armeria che oggi i visitatori dietro l'obbligo di pagamento all'ingresso della Pinacoteca vogliono vedere e che riescirà più comodo e decoroso raccogliere sotto la stessa custodia insieme alle incisioni e ai quadri" (Direttore supp.te [Panzacchi?] to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 10 August 1874; in CAMMAROTA 2004, vol. 2, pp. 504-505).

81 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 353, fasc. 245.2 [date illegible, but 1881].

82 *Ivi*, Gio. Ponti [R. Ingegnere Capo del Genio Civile] to the Presidenza della R. Accademia di Belle Arti, Venezia, 13 July 1881.

83 *Ibidem*.

84 "Si stanno poi disponendo i disegni sui mobili suddetti" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers, b. 353, fasc. 245.2, Bavazzi [President of Consiglio degli

connected to works on paper housed at art academies, as well as the will to have them catalogued, depended not only from a new way of understanding the role played by drawings and prints within the art teaching, but also from the increased awareness that public art collections were to impact the nation well beyond the artists community.

2.3 Art on paper at the art museum. Prints and drawings on display in Florence and Turin

The Uffizi: Drawings and prints between display and cataloguing

The Accademia delle Arti del Disegno in Florence had its in-house gallery and library equipped with drawings and prints, but the artistic provision of the *accademia* was not considered to be sufficient;[85] luckily, art students in the city could count on a much wider 'stock' of works of art on paper to look at, that is to say the prints and drawings housed at the Uffizi Gallery.[86] During the second half of 19th century, the number of works on paper on display grew significantly: from the 80 drawings which used to hang in the *gabinetto* described by Luigi Lanzi at the end of 18th century, to the 3007 on display in 1893.[87] Although the didactic

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Accademici, Venice] to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 2 August 1882.

85 In 1873, Cavallucci deplored the lack of such a *corredo*: "Era pure ordinato che nell'Accademia si facesse una raccolta di libri e di opere appartenenti alle arti, come raccolte di stampe, di disegni, di gessi, di modelli architettonici e di quanto potesse recar profitto alla studiosa gioventù; alla qual cosa, non fu mai data esecuzione" (CAVALLUCCI 1873, p. 31).

86 The core of the collection of drawings was the result of 25 years of acquisitions promoted by Prince Leopoldo de' Medici (1617-1675), Cardinal since 1667. Thanks to an international network of agents, Leopoldo systematically acquired drawings, with particular interest for early 16th-century Florentine art, *opere di genere* and by artists from Emilia and Veneto. His extraordinary vast *receuil*, arranged in albums, was meant to illustrate the development of the arts (see ALIVENTI, DA RIN BETTINA, FAIETTI, GRASSO, SASSI 2017, pp. 117-131, with previous bibliography; see also <http://euploos.uffizi.it/inventari-e-altri-documenti.php>, accessed 28 April 2019). The start of the collection of prints under Cosimo I was instead rather casual and based more on bequests and direct commissioning rather than on purchases on the market (see BARONI VANNUCCI 2011, pp. 3-65). Today, the collection collates more than 177.000 prints and drawings (<https://www.uffizi.it/pagine/gabinetto-disegni-e-stampe-degli-uffizi>, accessed 28 April 2019).

87 The early display (1775-1792) was described by Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni (the manuscript is transcribed in FILETI MAZZA 2009, pp. 273-279) and by Lanzi in 1782 (LANZI 1782, pp. 148-156; see also FAIETTI 2016, p. 224, n. 6, with a list of the

programme of the Academy explicitly provided for students to train at the Uffizi,[88] we must look beyond the arts teaching area to understand the reasons behind such a vast display of works on paper.

Until the beginning of 19th century, drawings and prints were just a 'sub-group of objects' within a very rich and complex collection: "un'appendice indifferenziata – priva, cioè, di una particolare fisionomia e di speciali esigenze di gestione – nella congerie degli oggetti d'arte appartenenti alla Galleria degli Uffizi".[89] Housed by Bencivenni Pelli in a "gabinetto a foggia di biblioteca",[90] by the mid-18th century the majority of the collection of works on paper was "racchiusa in volumi o cassette".[91] Luca Bourbon del Monte (director of the Uffizi between 1849 and 1860) organised the first organic display of 550 drawings, which were detached from their albums, framed and displayed in three dedicated rooms of the Galleria ("[…] è occorso distaccare quei disegni dalle antiche carte e porli sopra cartoncini per poi disporli alle pareti delle stanze a ciò ordinate").[92] Following up on remarks coming from abroad too,[93] he insisted on the

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catalogues of the Galleria between end of 18th and beginning of 19th century). Thanks to her research in the archives of the Uffizi, Miriam Fileti Mazza has minutely described the chronicle of the collection of drawings and prints between 1811 and 1915, focusing on acquisitions, displays and catalogues (FILETI MAZZA 2009 and 2014). For an overview of displays of the prints and drawings collection between 19th and 20th century, see also FAIETTI 2016. Ettore Spalletti focused instead on setting and display in other spaces of the Uffizi: see for example SPALLETTI 2009; 2010; 2014.

88 FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 55. In 1881, special desks were created for those who needed to copy drawings: see the reports presented in July 1881 (AGU, filza A 1881, ins. 9). See also AUF DER HEYDE 2013, p. 170, n. 68.

89 PETRIOLI TOFANI 1983, p. 424.

90 LANZI 1782, p. 148.

91 AGU, filza LXXVIII, parte I, ins. 35, Luca Bourbon del Monte to the Segretario di Stato per il Dipartimento delle Finanze, 20 October 1854. See also FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 44.

92 *Ibidem*; see also PETRIOLI TOFANI 1983, p. 427.

93 In 1854, an article published in the French magazine *L'Illustration* deplored the lack of drawings on display in Italian museums, observing that the Ambrosiana library "[…] est le seul musée d'Italie où soient exposés une série aussi importante de dessins des grands maîtres (Leonard de Vinci, Rapahēl, etc…) L'Italie doit sans doute posséder de grandes richesses en ce genre; l'exposition de ces dessins pourrait probablement former des galeries d'un très-haut interêt. Pourquoi cette autre source d'étude y est-elle généralement soustraite à l'admiration publique?" (DU PAYS 1854, p. 7).

importance of making drawings available, "per servire di studio ai cultori delle arti i quali in quei pochi schizzi vedono a ragione sviluppato il pensiero dei grandi maestri, e così bravamente espresso che non cesserebbero mai di meditarvi sopra e frane precipuo scopo dei loro studi pittorici".[94]

Under Aurelio Gotti (1833-1904, director between 1864 and 1878), the number of drawings on view rocketed up when 1723 sheets were installed in the Corridoio Vasariano in 1867:

> […] erano collocati in tre sale della Galleria alla fine del corridor che risponde sugli Uffizi corti e termina alla Loggia dei Lanzi. Erano disposti in tre e anche quattro file, per cui non tutti, a comoda altezza, avea buona luce e avea speranza di poterla avere anche migliore quando mi fosse stato di chiudere una parte delle finestre che lo illuminano, e poi quello che più mi premeva, io poteva aumentarli fino al punto di duplicarli e di esporre tutto quello che di meglio in fatto di disegni noi abbiamo […].[95]

Drawings on view (dating back to 15th and 16th centuries) were ordered by schools, with Italians by far more represented than the foreign ones. They were available for all kinds of visitors: "soddisfare la curiosità di moltissimi […] i vari studiosi nelle loro ricerche, […] chi gli copia, chi gli studia, chi gli ritrae in fotografia".[96] However, it was not just a matter of matching the needs of such a varied public. Two important events were in fact behind this extensive presentation. First of all, in 1866 Emilio Santarelli had donated to the Galleria his superb collection of approximately 13.000 ancient drawings, which deserved to be given adequate presentation to the public.[97] Secondly, in 1865 Florence had become the political capital of Italy; this meant that along with its

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94 *Ibidem*. Following his visit to the Galleria, Léon Lagrange published on *La Gazette de Beaux-Arts* a catalogue of the drawings he saw on display (LAGRANGE 1862).

95 AGU, filza A 1867, pos. 1, ins. 127. See FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 52.

96 AGU, filza A 1867, ins. 61, Gotti to the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 9 March 1867. See Pasquale Nerino Ferri's *Catalogo dei disegni esposti al pubblico nel corridoio del Ponte Vecchio e nella R. Galleria degli Uffizi con l'indice alfabetico dei nomi degli Artefici* (FERRI 1881b).

97 SANTARELLI, BURCI, RONDONI 1870. The 1866 handwritten inventory has been digitised and since August 2019 is available online (<https://euploos.uffizi.it/donazione-santarelli>, accessed 16 September 2019).

administrative role the city was supposed to become home to a 'national' gallery of ancient art. Following up on the debate between Cavalcaselle and Morelli,[98] and inspired by national museums in Germany, London and other European countries, Giuseppe Mongeri had called for a unification of all public artistic collections of Florence into one museum, to be built especially for the "educazione civile d'un popolo".[99] Both financial and scientific reasons led the director Aurelio Gotti to focus instead on a typological reorganisation of the Uffizi; he moved out modern objects to other museums, restructured the spaces dedicated to lesser known collections (including drawings and prints) and 'isolated' the collection of paintings, the objects that best represented the evolution of Italian art.[100] Drawings could serve the same function; by setting up the largest public display of drawings in the Italian State, the Uffizi strengthened their position of guardianship and portrayal of the evolution of Italian art.[101]

The display of prints went in the same direction.[102] In 1866 Gotti ordered

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98 While Cavalcaselle wanted the Uffizi to represent the most important artistic school, the Tuscan one, Morelli instead hoped that the Galleria would become representative of national art as a whole (see LERDA 2014-2015, pp. 49-57).

99 MONGERI 1865, n.p.

100 See ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 187, fasc. 33.19, Gotti to the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione [Cesare Correnti], 7 March 1867. See also the numismatist Marco Guastalla's letter to the Ministry, proposing a reorganisation in three Departments, and in one of them paintings are together with drawings and prints: "A me sembra che nelle nostre presenti circostanze sarebbe di necessità per la novella organizzazione e per il regolare ordinamento, di formare tre grandi Dipartimenti di tutti gli oggetti di cui sono ricchi i nostri Musei: Il primo sarebbe quello dei monumenti antichi e acquisterebbe il nome di Dipartimento degli Antichi e sarebbe formato dagli oggetti Egiziani-Etruschi-Romani comprendendo buona parte del Basso Impero. Il secondo Dipartimento del Medio-Evo e Rinascimento, incominciando dalle prime epoche cristiane venendo fino a noi. Il terzo Dipartimento sarebbe della pittura e sarebbe formato dai quadri, disegni, stampe, calcografia e di ogni altra cosa che riguarda il Disegno. Ciascheduno Dipartimento dovrebbe avere un conservatore ed i suoi particolari impiegati subalterni e che qualche d'uno di essi avesse la capacità di sapere fare da segretario" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., Accademie e Istituti di Belle Arti [Divisione arte moderna], 1860-1896, b. 6, Gotti to the Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Cesare Correnti], 6 January 1870).

101 See FAIETTI 2016, p. 225.

102 Already in 1811, Giovanni degli Alessandri (1765-1830, nominated President of the Commissione dei Monumenti di Scienze e Arti in 1810) had pushed for a "montatura e collocazione delle stampe" that were to be placed on new mounts ("nuovi ed eleganti fogli") "per esser quindi collocate nelli armadi nella sala detta

250 walnut frames "con due cristalli necessari ad accogliere una parte delle più distinte stampe incise dai celebri maestri antichi",[103] and prints were placed "in buona luce" in the Corridoio Vasariano (drawings were placed along the Ponte Vecchio, while prints were along Via degli Archibusieri).[104] But, according to some, the collection was not visible enough, and not in a proper order, a situation shared by other museum objects: "la ricca collezione delle stampe è ammonticchiata in grossi volumi che a nulla servono perché a nessuno è dato vederle, e in simile maniera potrei continuare a tenerle parola di ogni altra cosa di ogni altra località".[105] That is why, as the Etruscan objects were moved out of the Uffizi and reorganised to become the independent Museo Etrusco, Gotti suggested to replace them with new prints from the collection. According to him, they would have fitted perfectly between the section of drawings and that of paintings, in natural connection between the two:

> […] bisogna provvedere al modo di surrogare gli oggetti che via via si toglieranno con altri che più siano in accordo con le collezioni dei quadri e con l'altra dei disegni d'antichi maestri, le quali collezioni oggi sono suddivise dal Museo Etrusco. Al ciò ha già pensato la Direzione scrivente, facendo accomodare in apposite cornici un numero di antiche incisioni scelte nella ricca collezione che posseggono queste Gallerie e che mai furono, per mancanza di spazio, esposte al pubblico. Questa raccolta d'incisioni che è già in ordine e che può benissimo trovare il suo posto, come in casa propria, nel locale ora occupato dai Monumenti Etruschi e servire di nesso fra la collezione dei quadri e quella dei disegni ha bisogno di essere accresciuta, né altro manca che di poter far la spesa necessaria per nuove cornici e analoghi cristalli.[106]

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della Niobe". In order to make the collection available for those who requested to examine the sheets, prints were placed in a special piece of furniture, "composto di otto palchetti, si poteva chiudere a chiave con doppio sportello" (AGU, filza XXXVIII, ins. 55. See FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 3).

103 AGU, filza A 1866, pos. 2, ins. 128. See FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 52.

104 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 187, fasc. 33.19, *Relazione del Direttore delle RR. Gallerie*, [Aurelio] Gotti to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Cesare Correnti], 7 March 1867.

105 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 170, fasc. 1, [Marco] Guastalla to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Cesare Correnti], 17 January 1870.

106 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 188, fasc. 33.28, [Aurelio] Gotti to Ministro

The sheets were displayed by school and in chronological order, insofar as their size and the position of the windows allowed it.[107] The exhibit featured 1202 prints, from "Stampe antiche italiane, in legno e a chiaroscuro", to "Stampe italiane, moderne".[108] 'Modern Italian prints' included 'reproductive' prints up to Raffaello Morghen (1758-1833) and Luigi Calamatta (1801-1869), while paintings from the same period had been transferred to the Accademia di Belle Arti as they were thought to be "naturale strumento accessorio all'insegnamento artistico ed emanazione diretta dell'attività dell'Accademia". Furthermore, Gotti insisted with the Minister of Public Education and eventually obtained the approval to further enrich this 'last', modern part of the print collection by exchanging duplicates by Morghen to obtain some others 'of equal value' from a private collector: "Per chiudere la serie delle incisioni che si vanno esponendo in questa R. Galleria, mancano alla nostra collezione le migliori stampe di Samuele Jesi e del Calamatta".[109] However, no prints by contemporary artists were on display, but they were available on request: "le quali quando lo studioso lo desideri, possono vedersi presso l'ufficio del Conservatore ove trovasi altresì il grosso della raccolta repartita in volume cassette e tiranti".

In terms of quantity, these two wide displays were equal to none other in Italy; as far as drawings were concerned, the Louvre, which in 1797 had opened its first exhibition in the Galerie d'Apollon with 427 drawings and *cartoni* arranged sequentially by school and vertically by

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della Pubblica Istruzione [Cesare Correnti], 9 April 1870.

107 See P. Nerino Ferri, *Catalogo descrittivo delle stampe esposte* (1873) in GDSU, ms. coll. 68; see FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 56.

108 GOTTI 1872, pp. 277-278: "Le stampe esposte sono solamente 1202; e chi scende nel corridore dalla Galleria degli Uffizi le trova per tal maniera distribuite: 1. Stampe antiche italiane, in legno e a chiaroscuro. 2. Stampe in rame italiane, avanti a Marcantonio. 3. Stampe di Marcantonio, di Agostino veneziano e di Marco da Ravenna. 4. Stampe della scuola e degli imitatori di Marcantonio. 5. Stampe di Cornelio Cort e della sua scuola. 6. Stampe romane, dalla metà del secolo XVI alla metà del secolo XVIII 7. Stampe toscane, dal secolo XVI alla metà del secolo XVIII. 8. Stampe venete. 9. Stampe bolognesi e lombarde. 10. Stampe in legno ed in rame degli antichi e piccolo maestri tedeschi. 11. Stampe di Alberto Durero. 12. Stampe di Luca di Leyda e dei Fratelli Wierix. 13. Stampe di Rembrandt e de' suoi imitatori. 14. Stampe olandesi e fiamminghe. 15. Stampe delle opere di Rubens e dei suoi scolari. 16. Stampe francesi. 17. Stampe inglesi. 18. Stampe tedesche, moderne. 19. Stampe italiane, moderne".

109 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 188, fasc. 33.32, Gotti to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 2 May 1871 (and following letters).

size,[110] was the objective to reach and, possibly, to surpass (fig. 2.IV).

The collection of drawings and prints was considered so important that a dedicated *conservatore per i disegni*, Gaetano Palazzi (1832-1892) had been appointed already in 1860 by the temporary Tuscan Government. Both Palazzi and his successor Carlo Pini (1806-1870, who had been working at the Galleria since 1863) were painters and were employed at the Uffizi because of their technical background.[111] However, not only were they in charge of practical operations such as "lavare, smacchiare, incollare e pressare disegni e stampe";[112] they also had to deal with museum visitors, exhibit set-up and catalogues.

Commenting on the permanent exhibition of drawings in 1862, Lagrange had concluded his article inviting the Uffizi to go beyond the mere display and to start compiling complete catalogues ("Un catalogue raisonné et détaillé, enrichie de toutes les notes que l'art peut emprunter à l'histoire"):[113] according to him, catalogues were the tool that best supported scholars in the examination drawings, since observation alone could not be enough:

> Il ne suffit pas d'exposer les maîtres, il faut les rendre profitables à tours par de bonnes notices qui deviendront pour l'histoire de l'art une source de nouveaux et précieux documents, en même temps que les amateurs y trouveront un guide sûr. Le goût des

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110 BARBIER 2016, pp. 612-613; MCCLELLAN 2012, p. 229; on the first exhibition see *La décade philosophique* (17 August 1799), p. 365; PROPECK 1988. By 1850, the Cabinet des dessins of the Louvre consisted of a set of 15 rooms on the first floor of the Cour Carré, and two more rooms on the second floor (COURAL, DESSERRIÈRES, JULIER 2013, p. 325). It seems that Ferri never considered to set up a temporary display as the one suggested and put into practice by Frédéric Villot and Frédéric Reiset in 1849-1850 to fight against the harmful effects of light: "Le renouvellement des dessins, en faisant passer en revue tous ces chef d'oeuvres, assure leur conservation, car les dessins coloriées ou lavé au bistre ne restent pas impunément exposés à la lumière, la fraîcheur des tons s'altère et les demi-teintes s'evanouissent" (AMN, Cotes 20144779/1, *Rapport de F. Villot conservateur du département des peintures à Jeanron, directeur général des musées, concernant un projet de classification méthodique, de conservation, d'encadrement et d'accrochage des dessins dans les salles*, 7 May 1849; quoted with the old accession number D1, 1849, in COURAL, DESSERRIÈRES, JULIER 2013, p. 333, n. 28; on the Département des arts graphique of the Louvre see VAN TUYLL VAN SEROOSKERKEN 2016).

111 See NALDI 2015.

112 AGU, filza 1871, pos. 1, ins. 141, Pini to Gotti, 14 December 1871. See also FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 55.

113 LAGRANGE 1862, p. 462.

> dessins, plus intime et plus délicat que le goût des tableaux, offre à l'amateur des jouissances plus faciles, moins coûteuses, mais il l'expose aussi, faute de lumières suffisantes, à des terribles déceptions.[114]

In his attempt to deal with catalogues among all his other duties, Pini was joined by Pasquale Nerino Ferri (1851-1917), who had studied at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Florence and officially started working as *adiutore* in 1872.[115] Their joint work led to the *Catalogo descrittivo delle stampe di varii tempi e scuole esposte al pubblico nella R. Galleria degli Uffizi in Firenze* (2 vols., 1873), arranged by schools and presenting works in the same order as the visitor would find them at the museum.[116] This was the first of a series of catalogues, inventories and *schedari* prepared by Ferri between the 1870s and the 1910s. With their precise structure and a much deeper level of analysis compared to the former catalogues of the gallery collection, these 'tools' with their rigorous cataloguing norms were well suited to the specific features of works on paper.[117] Compared to the catalogue prepared by Pietro Selvatico in 1854 for the drawings collection in Venice, which Lagrange had suggested to take as a model, Ferri's description of drawings was much more detailed and organised. He outlined it to the Minister:

> 1. Il numero progressivo del disegno e quello della cornice che lo racchiude; 2. Il nome dell'autore, la scuola a cui appartiene, con le date di nascita e di morte; 3. Descrizione del soggetto che rappresenta il disegno; 4. Indicazione della qualità della carta e della materia e modo col quale fu eseguito; 5. Misura esatta a centimetri; 6. Citazione quando si sa della pittura per la quale fu eseguito; 7. Citazione delle tavole contenute nelle opera dello Scacciati e del Molinari, i quali riprodussero incise e fac simile gran parte dei disegni di questa Galleria, molto prima dell'invenzione della fotografia.[118]

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114 *Ibidem*. Lagrange described as a 'terrible deception' the condition of looking at a drawings without proper light. The historical-critical reception of some works was in fact very much influenced by their conservation status, which was worsened by permanent display, in turn determined by the prestige of those drawings (see FAIETTI, MARINI 2014, p. 23).

115 For a biographical overview, see ORBICCIANI 2007.

116 AGDSU, ms. coll. n. 68 and 69.

117 FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 61, 82.

118 AGU, filza B 1880, ins. 141. Selvatico's *Catalogo dei disegni* listed instead the

Efficient structure, clear definition of classification criteria, importance of updates, technical precision. With the help of these guidelines, Ferri aimed to cover the whole collection, revise attributions (also thanks to the help of photographs)[119] and give order; he would apply the same principles both to prints and drawings. The 1881 *Catalogo delle stampe esposte al pubblico nella R. Galleria degli Uffizi con l'indice alfabetico degli incisori* and the *Catalogo dei disegni esposti al pubblico nel corridoio del Ponte Vecchio nella R. Galleria degli Uffizi con l'indice alfabetico del nome degli Artefici* were followed by a descriptive catalogue and then by the general inventories of drawings *di figura*, ornament and landscape (1881-1912). Following up on Pini's projects, he also ordered architecture drawings, and published in 1885 the *Indice Geografico-Analitico Topografico dei disegni di architettura civile e militare*.[120] Convinced that drawings helped scholars to better understand old masters ("Lo studioso dei disegni conduce più presto e con maggior cortezza alla conoscenza giusta dei grandi maestri e delle loro scuole che non la considerazione dei loro quadri, in gran parte ritoccati e perciò guasti"),[121] Ferri supported the new director Ginori Lisci (in charge 1885-1890), "desideroso di ampliare questa mostra a utilità degli studiosi" with more drawings were taken out from albums

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number of the frame, that of the drawing, the school, the author and the subject; then followed general remarks ("osservazioni") which could include information on the paper, on the technique and on the subject, as well as Selvatico's own judgements ("di poca importanza"; "scorrettissimo nel contorno", "[…] assai brioso. Originale, ma scorretto"; SELVATICO 1854, p. 14).

119 "[…] inestimabile aiuto delle riproduzioni fotografiche le quali ci porgono modo di potere instituire utili confronti con opere d'incontestata originalità esistenti in luoghi da noi lontani" (FERRI 1890, p. 9). Since 1884 the *conservatore* of prints and drawings was also in charge of photographic reproductions of paintings and other artworks acquired by the Gallerie. Photographs of drawings from others collections were increasingly appreciated for the possibility of filling in gaps and facilitate comparisons, while those reproducing drawings from in-house collection were shown to copyists who did not necessarily need to examine originals in order to make a reproduction (see FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 69-70).

120 The full list of Pini's inventories, catalogues and *schedari* is available online at: <http://euploos.uffizi.it/inventari-e-altri-documenti.php> (accessed 19 June 2019).

121 The quote is reported by Fileti Mazza who read it on one of the two copies of Ferri's *Catalogo delle stampe esposte al pubblico…* housed in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi, rich in handwritten comments by Ferri himself (see FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 63). The sentence is almost identical to a passage in Morelli's *Le opere dei maestri italiani nelle gallerie di Monaco, Dresda e Berlino:* "Tali studi dei disegni conducono più presto e con maggior certezza alla conoscenza giusta dei gran maestri e delle loro scuole che non la considerazione dei loro quadri, in gran parte ritoccati e perciò guasti" (MORELLI 1886, p. 249).

and *cartelle* and put "sotto gli occhi del pubblico in apposite vitrine collocate lungo il primo ed il secondo corridoio della R. Galleria. Difatti un altro buon migliaio di disegni d'ogni genere appartenenti a diversi autori di tutte le epoche sono già stati scelti da tutta la massa".[122]

At European level, the increased availability of works on paper on public display and the presence of research tools such as catalogues and inventories favoured those scholars engaged in the study of Italian old-master drawings and concerned with authorship issues. This line of research descending from Passavant's work on Raphael was revamped in the 1880s thanks to Giovanni Morelli, whose comparative method and interest for drawings, instrumental so as to study and understand regional schools and to disclose the *maniera* of each artist, had several followers among German, Austrian and British scholars.[123] Franz Wickhoff's classification of Italian drawings held at the Albertina (*Die italienischen Handzeichnungen der Albertina,* 1891-1892),[124] marked the beginning of the systematic study of drawings collections, both public and private, explicitly focused on authorship, attribution and classification.[125] Although, as we have seen, the Italian Ministry for Public Education had never shown particular interest for works on paper, Wickhoff and other scholars' attraction to Italian drawings must have raised some concern in Rome. In January 1889, the Director General of the Belle Arti in Rome urged Ferri to complete the catalogue of drawings; rumor had it that Wickoff would soon publish a study on the Uffizi drawings ("[…] una specie di catalogo di quei disegni") and this would

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122 FERRI 1890, p. 12; see FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 77.

123 "Lo studio dei disegni originali non è soltanto indispensabile per la conoscenza dei singoli maestri: esso serve altresì a imprimere nell'animo nostro con maggiore precisione i caratteri peculiari delle singole scuole, poiché si ravvisano molto più chiaramente nei disegni e schizzi che nelle pitture i tratti particolari tanto spirituali quanto materiali dei diversi maestri e delle diverse scuole" (MORELLI 1886, p. 10). On Morelli's comparative method, to which he never really gave a theoretical formulation, see PAU 1993; ANDERSON 2000, pp. 28-29; on its relationship with the School of Vienna, see SCIOLLA 1993; on its fortune in Britain and in Germany, LEVI 1987. On his approach to the study of drawings, see SCIOLLA 1983 and 2009.

124 WICKOFF 1891-1892.

125 GRASSI 1993 (1956), pp. 274-275. The same approach was embraced by other scholars and would lead to Bernard Berenson's *Disegni dei pittori fiorentini* (1903-1938), Karl Frey's study on Michelangelo (1909) and Oskar Fischel's volumes on Raphael's drawings (started in 1913); see BERENSON 1903 (on this see the online catalogue: <http://florentinedrawings.itatti.harvard.edu>, accessed 26 June 2019); FREY 1909; FISCHEL, OBERHUBER 1913-1972.

have not been appropriate ("Sarebbe certamente poco decoroso che, essendo già in pronto un buon lavoro fatto da uno dei nostri impiegati, la pubblicazione del Ministero non precedesse ma seguisse quella del Wickoff").[126]

Overall, Ferri played a fundamental role in putting the Uffizi collection of prints and drawings at a higher level of consideration, although it was that of drawings which earned most approval, for instance from Wilhelm von Bode.[127] The number of drawings on display was higher than anywhere else, as Ferri observed: "[…] possiamo affermare come la nostra Raccolta di disegni supera di gran lunga, sì per quantità di pezzi come per numero di autori, una delle più celebri d'Europa qual è quella del Museo Nazionale del Louvre".[128] The established presence of dedicated staff contributed to make the Uffizi collection of works on paper a reference point both for the local artists community, with whom the bond was very strong,[129] and with other collections too, for which Ferri acted as 'consultant'.[130] Nevertheless, until the 1880s nobody officially referred to the collection as 'Gabinetto disegni e stampe', at least not in

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126 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 73, fasc. 1302, Direttore Generale [Antichità e Belle Arti] to Direttore Capo del Segretariato Generale, 10 January 1889. It appears that in Rome they got confused with Wickhoff's catalogue of the Italian drawings at the Albertina, as no publication by him concerning the Uffizi drawings is known to this day.

127 In 1883 Bode expressed his appreciation for the new arrangement of drawings within his general approval for the process of reorganisation of State collections in Italy, however delayed by administrative obstacles ("Der Italiener ist kein guter Bureaukrat", BODE 1883, p. 142). He was a careful observer of how other museums set up their collections of drawings and prints: after his second visit to the USA, in 1911, he wrote: "What the museums yonder should strive for are systematically assembled collections of engravings, wherein Boston alone has made a beginning. The New York Public Library collects only modern engravings and etchings; the Fogg Art Museums at Cambridge has worthy groups of old engravings, but lacks funds for their systematic augmentation" (SHERER 1915, p. 16).

128 FERRI 1890, p. 14.

129 As highlighted above, conservators came from fine arts academies; moreover, since 1860s the Uffizi were asked to suggest which engravers should be appointed by the city or by private individuals for particular commissions (see FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 78).

130 In 1887 he was asked to compile the catalogue of the Marucelliana library; in 1885 he was sent to Parma in order to assess the damages to the civic library collection of prints, some of whose items were reported stolen (FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 78)

the way we understand it now, that is to say a self-standing, independent department within a museum.[131] When Ferri signed letters or reports, he called himself "adiutore addetto alla collezione dei disegni e stampe della R. Galleria degli Uffizi" or "adiutore conservatore delle stampe e disegni";[132] there was not a definition of the department as such. Moreover, in spite of prints being by far outnumbered by drawings, and in spite of drawings being perceived as more valuable for their connection to the artists' styles, Ferri always referred to the collection as 'drawings and prints' together, as a whole unit.

Prints at the Regia Pinacoteca Nazionale in Turin

The great display of prints and drawings at the Uffizi received much attention from the press and from other museum professionals for which it was a model to look up to. In Turin, in the 1870s, Giovanni Vico was specifically interested in the arrangement of prints and wished that the Pinacoteca in Turin could have a similar one, not just for its evident appeal for the public: "[…] tante volte ho veduto in Firenze più gente ne' corridoj degli Uffizi, ove stanno i disegni e le stampe, che nelle stesse sale ove sono i quadri. E se avremo le ricchezze universitarie spero che accadrà anche a Torino ciò che accade a Firenze".[133] In the last part of his sentence, he referred to the prints held at the National University Library in Turin, that he hoped to transfer to the museum for good. This project was part of Vico's effort, shared with the museum director Francesco Gamba (1818-1887, in charge of the Museum between 1869 and 1887), to create in the "Pinacoteca Torinese una permanente esposizione delle migliori stampe italiane e straniere".[134] The former Reale Galleria in Turin (which became Regia Pinacoteca Nazionale in 1860 and was tranferred

131 Whereas prints and drawings were housed in an independent department at the British Museum (Griffiths, Williams 1987, p. 2). The Cabinet des dessins at the Louvre was instead for a long time under the Département des peintures and gained its independence only in 1968 (Coural, Desserrières, Julier 2013; van Tuyll van Serooskerken 2016, p. 110).

132 AGU, filza E 1884, ins. 7, pos. 2, 6 March and 2 May 1884.

133 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 25 April 1879. The letter is published in Panero 2017, p. 144. The catalogues of the Pinacoteca published between 1866 and 1884 never mention drawings or prints on display.

134 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 24 August 1875. The letter is published in Panero 2017, p. 142.

from Palazzo Madama to Palazzo dell'Accademia delle Scienze in 1865)[135] did not own a collection of prints and it was Vico who first suggested to start one, so that the public could grow used to the kind of artistic expression embedded in prints.[136] His idea was put into practice in 1870, during Francesco Gamba's mandate, a time in which the museum grew considerably by acquiring works of art primarily by Piedmontese Masters and also by other Italian schools. Starting in 1870 and constantly expanding until Gamba's death, thanks to his contacts on the national as well as European art market, Vico bought groups of prints stored in albums or portfolios and donated them to the museum. The first bequest consisted of a series of prints obtained from the copper plates for the architect Amedeo di Castellamonte's (1613-1683) *Venaria Reale*, based on local history and acquired for its documentary value.[137] The purchases that followed included prints by Canaletto and Stradanus and various sheets etched by Piedmontese and Ligurian artists. There was more than one reason behind Vico's generosity; first of all, to secure prints made by Italian artists was a way to protect them from being exported: "Mi fu richiesta una tale raccolta da alcuni francesi ma io ho risposto corna! Sono glorie italiane che non devono uscire di casa. Io ricordo ancora che in tempi andati tutti i Canaletti posseduti dal Prof. Pietro Palmieri passarono negli artigli di Hudson che li pagò benino, e se li portò via".[138]

Secondly, Vico hoped to inspire other individual collectors to follow in his footsteps and set off a chain of bequests "per tentare una raccolta di buone stampe". His plan worked out well. In 1874 Alfonso Sartirana di Breme (1831-1903) gave to the Gallery part of his father Ferdinando's (1807-1869) collection, including precious sheets by the Carracci, Castiglione, Salvator Rosa and foreign masters such as Dürer, Baldung Grien, Rembrandt, Rubens;[139] other bequests followed and exchanges with the Calcografia in Rome were promoted.[140] Vico chose the prints for the Gallery keeping in mind that such collections had to serve a specific audience, mainly "professori", that is to say the professional artists

135 On the history of the National Gallery in Turin, see TARDITO AMERIO 1984; DI MACCO 1991; 1993; GIOVANNINI LUCA 2015, pp. 35-83.

136 On Giovanni Vico and prints see ASTRUA, D'AGOSTINO 1982; TOMIATO 2004; GIOVANNINI LUCA 2016, p. 2; PANERO 2017.

137 PANERO 2017, p. 133.

138 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 31 May 1870.

139 ASTRUA, D'AGOSTINO 1982, p. 9.

140 PANERO 2008-2009, p. 68.

belonging to the Società degli Acquafortisti:[141] "non sarà male che venendo taluno d'essi in Galleria vi trovi l'intera raccolta completissima di tutte le vedute di Venezia del Canaletto avanti lettera e prima ancora che le piccole siano state staccate da loro fogli della prima tiratura".[142] But, as he had already stated in 1864, prints were not only a "mezzo efficacissimo di educazione artistica" but also an aide for scholars to study the origin and evolution of each national school:

> Il beneficio che deriva da una ben ordinata collezione di stampe è incalcolabile: sia come mezzo efficacissimo di educazione artistica, che come libro, e documento aperto alla cognizione di quanto può riferirsi all'origine, ai progressi dell'arte in ciascuna scuola presso ciascuna nazione, ne' vari gradi del suo perfezionamento e soprattutto poi come argomento delle investigazioni dei dotti ed esperti conoscitori, spesso sospinti dalla necessità di ricorrere ai confronti, affine di statuire con precisione attorno a una data o stato di una stampa, o nome dell'autore.[143]

In 1886 Gamba used the very same words to convince the Ministry for Public Education Michele Coppino (1822-1901)[144] to grant him the means to enrich the collection and store it in the proper spaces: "[…] è superfluo il dimostrare all'E.V. come la calcografia sia alle arti ciò che la tipografia è alla scienza e alle lettere, e quale benefizio ne derivi da questo mezzo efficacissimo di educazione artistica di cui andò privo sinora il Paese a pie' delle Alpi […]".[145]

As mentioned before, Gamba and Vico looked up to the Uffizi collection of drawings and prints and hoped to achieve a similar result (although they were mostly interested in prints, since drawings were rarely

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141 *Ivi*, p. 62; PANERO 2017, pp. 132-133.

142 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 31 May 1870. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 142.

143 VICO 1864, p. 25.

144 Michele Coppino was in charge of the Ministry of Public Education between 20 November 1876 and 24 March 1878; 19 December 1878-14 July 1879; 30 March 1884-17 February 1888.

145 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Coppino, 18 January 1886. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 148.

mentioned in their letters).[146] Nevertheless, in 1878, when Gamba set off to learn how to properly arrange works on paper in a museum, he did not go to Florence but went instead to Paris where he studied the methods in use at the Bibliothèque Nationale and at the Bibliothèque Mazarine where he observed how to store, display and catalogue prints.[147] Back in Turin, he decided to adopt the system of *reliure mobiles* for loose sheets, the same that Achille Devéria (painter and lithographer, 1800-1857, in charge of the Cabinet des estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in the 1850s) had introduced in the French imperial library, after adopting it for his own collection:[148] "[…] questo sistema di legatura adottato dalla biblioteca mazzarina di Parigi, e dalle principali d'Europa, è la migliore per la conservazione ed ordinamento delle stampe che vogliosi lascia studiare dagli amatori senza il pericolo di vederle sciupare". The same system would be recommended by Giuseppe Fumagalli (1863-1939), librarian of the Braidense in Milan, in his *Trattato generale di biblioteconomia* (fig. 2.V).[149]

Between 1882 and 1883, Gamba asked and obtained for the print collection (he never called it *gabinetto*, but instead *Collezione* or *Raccolta*) two reserved rooms on the third floor of the building:

> Questa pinacoteca mandando assolutamente di un locale adatto a disporre le pregevolissima e già numerosa Collezione di Stampe

146 "[…] di avere anche la consolazione di vedere la nostra Pinacoteca dotata di stampe e disegni" (SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 9 April 1870).

147 Grown around the collection of drawings and prints assembled by Michel de Marolles, bought by Jean-Baptiste Colbert on behalf of Louis XIV in 1667, and developed (?) around the prints obtained to the library by the *dépôt légal*, the Cabinet des estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale became an independent department within the library in early 18th century. Its first systematic inventories were compiled by Pierre-Jean Mariette in 1730s, and a comprehensive classification system was adopted by Jean Duchesne in mid-19th century, similar to the one set up by Heinecken in Dresden, but divided in 24 classes (and still in use today). For an historical overview of the collection of prints and drawings at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, see BEAUMONT-MAILLET 2003; see also DELABORDE 1875; BOUCHOT 1895; BABELON, BOUCHOT, MARCEL 1907.

148 BEAUMONT-MAILLET 2003, p. 16.

149 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Gamba to Vico, 3 November 1885. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 147.

> da Essa posseduta, il sottoscritto sin dall'epoca del trasloco del Museo di Storia Naturale e dei suoi custodi, i quali occupavano i locali soprastanti alla Galleria concessi loro come alloggio, aveva richiesto ed ottenuto dall'E.V. i detti locali allo scopo di ordinarli secondo il sovra esposto progetto. Ragioni di opportunità, di tempo e di finanza, si opposero a che tale divisamento potesse effettuarsi. Stringendo però la necessità di tale assetto definitivo alle dette Stampe, e permettendo le condizioni del nostro Bilancio pell'anno corrente, […] nei locali sopra accennati immediatamente superiori alle nuove Sale della Galleria, allo scopo di poter preparare l'intero locale colle modificazioni necessario per l'assetto definitivo, e disporre ed ultimare le prime due sale a servizio della Collezione delle Stampe. […] L'utilità anzi la continua richiesta di avere ordinata la detta Collezione di Stampe a beneficio degli studiosi, più che la necessità di presto por mano ai lavori mentre la stagione è ancora propizia, spinge il sottoscritto a sollecitare presso l'E.V […].[150]

The adjustments for the "locali destinati alla collezione delle stampe" were completed rather quickly by 20 October 1883;[151] in 1885, Gamba informed Vico that 'their' collection of prints ("la nostra collezione di stampe") – which by then counted around 10.000 sheets – was "compresa in 17 eleganti magistrali grandi e piccoli volumi a reliure mobile, divisi per scuole". To set up this system, Gamba was helped by [?] Sacco, "custode dei disegni e delle stampe"[152] who was permanently employed in 1885 and helped with the ongoing inventory. As far as the display was concerned, priority was given to Marcantonio Raimondi's prints (acquired in 1875 from Senator Michelangelo Castelli, 1808-1875, director of archives in Turin),[153] a selection of which was displayed in glass cases ("grandi vetrine collocate a guisa di paramento");[154] however, a lack of funds delayed the preparation of elegant frames designed by Vico:

150 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 346, fasc. 228.14, Gamba to the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 9 September 1882.

151 *Ivi*, Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici to Gamba, 5 November 1883. See ASTRUA, D'AGOSTINO 1982, p. 11.

152 This staff member was included in the organico of the Pinacoteca since 1875: *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione,* 1, 1875, p. 939.

153 See SABAP, XVII.7.5. *Incisioni di Marc Antonio Raimondi e della sua Scuola. Collezioni Castelli.*

154 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 27 January 1886. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 147.

"appena io potrò mettere da parte per questo scopo la occorrente somma procurerò di esporle separate in eleganti cornici vieux chêne delle quali ho già fatto il disegno, e faremo così onore al donatore ed all'incisore ed alla Galleria".[155] These frames were probably completed in January 1886, when Vico suggested to Gamba to have all of Raimondi's prints (and not just the best ones) displayed in proper frames, "come fossero tanti quadri", to decorate "le pareti delle sale a ciò destinate".[156]

2.4 Art in books. Prints and drawings in State libraries

> La Biblioteca Universitaria di Torino possiede e conserva in un oscuro gabinetto soprastante al salone di lettura una sterminata molte di cartoni e fasci di più migliaja di stampe, colà da tempo immemorabile gettata e ammonticchiata, sin dall'epoca forse in cui passarono per munificente donazione, nel secolo scorso, del Palazzo Reale, alla nuova sede dell'Università degli Studi.[157]

These words used by Francesco Gamba in 1886, as he addressed the Minister for Public Education, Michele Coppino, in order to raise awareness on the deplorable state in which prints were held at the University Library in Turin, were valid for several other libraries across the country. Since the 18th century, public libraries had been receiving bibliographic holdings of individual collectors, who wished their books as well as the annexed prints and drawings collection could serve all kinds of users. This was an ethical drive that sometimes made owners choose libraries over fine art academies, where graphic material would have been used by artists only. It was for example the case of the Duchess of Parma Maria Luigia, who in 1828 decided to give the prints collection of Massimiliano Ortalli to the Biblioteca Ducale rather than to the local art academy.[158] Conversely, other collectors such as Marucelli were

155 *Ivi*, Gamba to Vico, 3 November 1885. The letter is published in Panero 2017, p. 147.

156 *Ivi*, Vico to Gamba, 27 January 1886. The letter is published in Panero 2017, p. 147.

157 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 344, fasc. 226, Gamba to Coppino, 18 January 1886. The whole letter is published in Panero 2017, p. 148.

158 The Duchess had received the collection from the artist Paolo Toschi, who at that time played a fundamental role in the Accademia in Parma and had hoped

confident that even in a library, prints and drawings collections would be "assai giovevole al Pubblico Studio come lo è quello delle belle Arti".[159] Because of the way most drawings and prints were kept by collectors since 16th century (either pasted or bound in refined leather albums), graphic material came along through these bequests.[160] They ended up among books, but could not be treated as such, because of the preponderance of visual over written elements; at the same time, an established set of cataloguing norms for prints or drawings did not exist (as Zani repeated many times in his third *Discorso*, everyone was free to choose what they thought was the most suitable method to organise a collection). As a consequence of this, drawings and prints were assigned to different sections of the library according to their format and their visual content: bound albums used to be kept with books (which could even be borrowed by library users, which put the safety of the sheets at great risk) and single sheets could end up forgotten in drawers or on display.[161] Far from containing merely illustrative material, they could

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to see the Ortalli collection become part of it. Before the collection became public, he had declared: "In totale questa collezione mi sembra più convenire ad una pubblica accademia che ad un amatore di stampe. Poiché la prima avrebbe in essa direi come una biblioteca di Belle Arti che rendesi pur necessaria onde sì i Professori e sì gli Alunni possano sapere e conoscere quanto è stato fatto da' nostri antichi Maestri. Anzi se la stessa che è l'unica in questa città fosse mai venduta a qualche straniero, ciò sarebbe per noi una grave perdita" (see BPP, Fondo Moreau, cassetta 84, fasc. 1/i, 28 May 1828 and following letters; see also CRISTOFORI 2014, p. 46). The regulation was very strict as far as the use of prints by the art students was concerned: "Niuno studente dell'Accademia stessa o scolaro della Università degli studi potrà copiarle od esaminarle senza un attestato del Direttore delle Gallerie e scuole dell'Accademia, che facia fede della probità del chiedente e della utilità del suo scopo, ritenuto però che a niuno di loro sia concesso di copiare intagli osceni, o d'altra fatta riprovevole senza licenza speciale della Presidenza dell'Interno oltre l'attestato suddetto (BPP, Fondo Moreau, cassetta 84, fasc. 1/I, Cornacchia [Presidente dell'Interno, Ducati di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla], 28 July 1828; see CRISTOFORI 2005, pp. LXXXI-LXXXIII).

159 Quoted in TODROS 1999, p. 34.

160 See BENASSATI 1988, p. 87.

161 The same kind situation was common among civic libraries: see for example the 'dispersal' of prints within the collection of the Archiginnasio Library in Bologna: "Aggiungasi la diaspora subita dalle stampe a seconda della forma nella quale si presentavano: se rilegate a libro […] erano collocate nei depositi librari, in base all'argomento preponderante, trattate e catalogate come materiale bibliografico; se stimate di pregio venivano invece disposte fra le opere rare (sala 16), o ancora inserite nella sezione di Storia locale (sala 17) se ritenute utili alla comprensione della vita cittadina. La sala contenente opere di "Storia dell'arte"

include both 'reproductive' and 'original' prints, devotional images, prints of historical-local interest; architecture and ornament drawings; sketchbooks and books of models; personal cards and other kinds of *fogli volanti*, assembled to the collectors' taste, and arranged following different criteria; sometimes grouped by format, pasted or even trimmed to fit in certain albums. Furthermore, the first inventories rarely offered details on the consistency of the groups of sheets the library inherited *en bloc*; usually only the most significant items bore a proper title and were listed under the name of their author, while many others were simply and collectively described as *pacco* or *fascio* of prints and/or drawings, without any reference to the (probably unknown) authors.[162] As mentioned in chapter 1, collections could even come with their own *corredo* of furniture, as for example the Marucelli collection or the Ortalli collection, which came to the Biblioteca Ducale in 1828 stored in three cupboards "di noce con isportelli a gratiniata raccomandati a mastietti d'ottone, foderati […] di seta verde, ed aventi serrami di ferro alla francese; e i due altri […] di pioppo colorito, e chiusi pure con isportelli come sopra".[163] By 1850, the Marucelli and the Ortalli were probably the most important collections of drawings and prints received by a public library between the end of 18th and the first half of 19th century (circa 12,000 prints, in 30 albums, and 1,000 drawings, in six albums, the Marucelli bequest; circa 60,000 prints in 487 albums, the Ortalli) but[164] hundreds of other smaller but valuable collections ended up in civic libraries, distributed quite randomly even within geographically contained areas. This dispersal probably concurs with the fact that this

(sala 18) è quella che custodisce il maggiornumero di preziosi volumi sei-sette-ottocenteschi illustrati da stampe, che offrono una rassegna pressoché completa della storia dell'editoria di questo tipo" (RONCUZZI ROVERSI-MONACO 2001, p. 129).

162 RONCUZZI ROVERSI-MONACO 2001, p. 128. Fabia Borroni made a clear example of this: the catalogue of the Fondo Magliabechiano in the National Library in Florence listed an album as *Antiquarum statuarum urbis Romae liber primus* by G.B. de' Cavalieri: along with de' Cavalieri's plates, the album actually included, among others, a series of prints *d'après* Callot and Tempesta, ink sketches and watercolors by two other artists and a series of etchings by Mitelli (BORRONI 1961, pp. 113-114).

163 BPP, Fondo Moreau, cassetta 84, fasc. 1/I, declaration signed by Angelo Pezzana, Paolo Toschi and others, 8 August 1828; see DE ROBERTIS 2014, p. 42.

164 According to the document dated 21 July 1828, the Ortalli collection consisted of 64.975 prints in total: 16.906 prints of all Schools; 8.920 portraits; 3.227 "Paesi"; 35.742 prints in books; 180 single sheets (BPP, Fondo Moreau, cassetta 84, fasc. 1/I, *Convenzione della Presidenza dell'Interno*, 21 July 1828; see CRISTOFORI 2014, p. 48).

kind of collections held in Italian public libraries were largely unknown in Europe; in 1855, Duchesne, director of the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, praised the *cabinets des estampes* of some European cities but seems to ignore the Italian ones: "Il existe en Europe un grand nombre de Bibliothèques; celles de Vienne, Munich, Dresde, Londres, Lyon, Angers et Paris contiennent seules d'importantes collections d'estampes. Le goût des arts est maintenant si répandu, qu'il semble étonnant que des établissements de cette nature ne soient pas plus nombreux".[165]

The Unification and the subsequent attempts to reorganise the system of public libraries did not greatly affect the way prints and drawings were stored in these kinds of institutions. Following a first survey among library directors (conducted between 1863 and 1865) that assessed library holdings as massive, sprawling, incomplete and oppressed by financial difficulties as well as organizational ones,[166] national regulations concerning the scope and functions of *biblioteche governative* ('governmental libraries') were issued: first in 1869 (under Minister Cesare Correnti), then again in 1876 (under Minister Ruggiero Bonghi, 1826-1895, in charge 27 September 1875-20 November 1876) and in 1885 (under Minister Michele Coppino).[167] Overall, these three regulations show the effort made by the Ministry of Public Education towards a rationalization of the existing libraries, but they did not manage to define a clear plan for a national library system[168] and were not able, at all, to

165 DUCHESNE 1855, p. V.

166 *Statistica del Regno d'Italia* 1865.

167 A huge amount of thick and detailed norms that aimed at regulating the *biblioteche governative* chiefly in their administrative and organisational aspects were produced between the 1860s and 1880s. Important steps were taken as far as 'patrimonial responsibility' and professional skills of the employees were concerned, but these national regulations were received by library directors with a certain degree of opposition. According to them, the amount of different individual traditions, collections, spaces and functions of libraries across the country, as well as the specificity of each city and each local readership, made it impossible for libraries to follow organic regulations; instead, directors advocated for general guidelines relating to conservation, arrangement and descriptive issues, while all other aspects should be left for the individual institution to decide. Though the general feeling resulting from a survey in 1888 (*Circolare ministeriale* 10 December 1888 to library directors) was that all public libraries had to be recognized and called 'national', each individual institution cherished its autonomy and independence. For an overview on the history of State Libraries after the Unification, see SICILIA 2000; TOSTI-CROCE 2002.

168 The starting point of all regulations was a classification of libraries. According to the 1869 regulation (R.D. 25 November 1869 no. 5368, art. 3), first

define guidelines for special collections, including those of drawings and prints, held in libraries. Their existence, however, was not totally ignored, as the circular issued by Terenzio Mamiani (1799-1895, last Minister of Public Education in the Kingdom of Sardinia) on 22 July 1860 proves: "Tra le invidiabili e preziose ricchezze del nostro Paese è certamente quella dell'avere in tutte le sue principali città biblioteche cospicue, nelle quali si vennero accumulando fino da antichi tempi vari tesori di manoscritti e di stampe d'ogni maniera".[169]

Letters from the archives of the University Library in Turin and the Palatina Library in Parma prove that the Ministry did try to learn more about issues relating to prints, their value and their arrangement within a library, by making surveys among those libraries which were known to be more advanced than others in their care of prints. In 1860, the director of the Palatina was asked to inform the Ministry: "Se siavi in codesto uffizio apposito inventario delle novantamila stampe antiche e moderne che si conservano nella Reale Parmense Biblioteca; Quale di esse stampe siano le più rare ed importanti: di queste dovrà spedirsi, del che si prega, apposita nota con quegli appunti che valgano a dimostrare il pregio".[170] Two years later, in 1863, the Ministry asked the Director of

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class libraries were the university libraries in Turin, Pavia, Padova, Bologna, Naples, Cagliari. To the same group also belonged Biblioteca Braidense in Milan; Biblioteca Marciana in Venice; Biblioteca Palatina in Parma; Biblioteca Estense in Modena; and Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, Naples, Palermo. The 1876 regulation separated independent libraries from those attached to other institutions. In first group fell national libraries (in Florence, Naples, Rome, and the library of the University in Turin) and second-degree independent libraries (Brera and Marciana). On the other side were first-class university libraries (in Bologna, Naples Padova, Palermo, Pavia, Pisa, Rome), second-class (in Genova, Cagliari, Catania, Messina, Modena, Parma, Sassari) and those belonging to art and science academies and to schools. In 1885, the definitions changed again: art. 1 of R.D. 28 October 1885 no. 3464 identified a number of "biblioteche pubbliche governative", devided in "biblioteche autonome" ('national' libraries in Palermo and Turin; the Magliabechiana-Palatina, Mediceo-Laurenziana, Riccardiana and Marucelliana in Florence; Brera and Marciana; the 'Vittorio Emanuele' in Rome; Estense in Modena, Palatina in Parma; the Casanatense and the Angelica in Rome, the 'Governativa' in Lucca and Cremona) and "biblioteche che servono ad altri istituti" (the Vallicelliana in Rome, all university libraries based in Bologna, Cagliari, Catania, Genova, Messina, Modena, Napoli, Padova, Pavia, Pisa, Roma, Sassari and other libraries "annesse agli Istituti d'insegnamento del Regno"). Other libraries such as the Biancacciana in Naples were administratively joined to others.

169 Quoted in SICILIA 2000, p. 17.

170 BPP, Fondo Moreau, cassetta 84, fasc. 1/I, Ministero [della Istruzione Pubblica] to Direttore della Biblioteca Palatina, 21 June 1860. The letter also

the University of Turin to be informed on the "norme e precauzioni" adopted "per preservazione della collezione", so that nothing could go missing; the Ministry also wished to know which room "a suo avviso sarebbe più confacente a quest'uso […] per sapersi regolare nei provvedimenti opportuni".[171]

Perhaps in the attempt to collect information to draw guidelines for other libraries, the central government seemed eager to understand more about the value of prints as 'special items' within libraries, and their physical position with the institution; at the same time, the survey touched upon catalogues, which at this time were already perceived as the first conservation practice to preserve the integrity of the collection.[172] In spite of this effort, however, the official comprehensive regulations were extremely vague as far as special collections were concerned. According to the first one, issued in 1869, each library had to prepare 'special lists' for the following 'special items': illuminated codex, incunabula, parchments, prints and drawings, globes and maps, music and "[…] tutte le rarità bibliografiche". This means that specific values and thus specific needs were acknowledged for these kind of collections; in fact, if a library user requested rare books, manuscript codex, prints and drawings, the librarian had to issue a special permit; moreover, the items could not be requested and examined in the ordinary reading rooms, but instead in a separate area, "sotto speciale sorveglianza".[173] The following regulation (1876) added that librarians had to compile illustrated catalogues for special materials; however, priority had to be given to those describing printed books and manuscripts.[174] The 1885

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inquired on the state of the "opere in musica" held at the library (presence of an inventory and definition of value). Draft of the reply dated 27 July 1860.

171 ASUT, Corrispondenza, Carteggio 1861-63, b. 24, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione to Rettore dell'Università, 21 March 1863. Draft of the reply dated 28 March 1863.

172 This concept must have been very clear already in Parma in 1829, when the Ortalli collection came to the Palatina library, as its librarian was asked to promptly proceed with an inventory: "Entro un anno dal giorno della consegna sarà fatto un inventario particolarizzato della Raccolta stessa, nel quale sia distesamente desrcitta ogni stampa indicando 1; la dimensione sua 2; il suo Autore 3; la cosa che rappresenta" (BPP, Fondo Moreau, cassetta 84, fasc. 1/I, Cornacchia [Presidente dell'Interno, Ducati di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla], 28 July 1828).

173 R.D. 25 November 1869, n. 5368, art. 3, 12, 22.

174 "Le biblioteche governative che hanno già compilati gl'inventari e i cataloghi sopraddetti dei manoscritti e degli stampati, compileranno a parte indici speciali illustrati […]" R.D. 20 January 1876, no. 2974, art. 18.

regulation stuck to this very general guidelines, stating that the alphabetic catalogue for printed books could not include music sheets, maps, prints, drawings and photos published without text or, more generally, any item that required a kind of registration and description other than the one used for "libri propriamente detti".[175] The priority of printed books over other kinds of material was reiterated in art. 24, stating that library employees could attend to special collections only once the catalogues of printed books are 'in good order'. To prioritize among these indexes, the *bibliotecario* had to start compiling those relating to the "collezioni più numerose e più importanti possedute dalla Biblioteca".[176] Strangely enough, drawings and prints are not mentioned together in the 1885 regulation, but instead prints come with portraits while drawings are relegated at the end of the list, just before "legature artistiche", as working materials, perhaps in an attempt to assess the artistic values of the items. Furthermore, art. 172 forbade in fact the use of compasses, ink, colours and tracing to copy prints or drawings. The use of tracing, however, was allowed in case 'of absolute necessity, so as to create comparisons between different editions, fonts and prints, "con quei metodi e con quelle cautele che valgano ad impedire ogni danno ai libri".[177] The necessity to regulate these practices is telling about the presence of artists among the users of the libraries interested to the special collections.

The lack of precise guidelines concerning the management of prints and drawings collections within State libraries might also be connected with the failure of the survey which a special inquiry committee, the *Commissione d'inchiesta sopra le biblioteche e i musei e le gallerie del regno*, was in charge of preparing. Established in 1881 (R.D. 8 August 1881), the committee was led by the Minister and was supposed to:

> […] accertare in quali condizioni si trovino le biblioteche, i musei e le gallerie dello Stato, delle provincie e dei comuni, di vedere quali riforme si possano apportare agli ordinamenti di tali istituti in vantaggio degli studi e della conservazione dei tesori bibliografici, artistici ed archeologici della nazione, e di esaminare se le dotazioni stanziate per gli istituti suddetti corrispondano al loro vero scopo.[178]

175 R.D. 29 October 1885, no. 3464, art. 19.

176 *Ibidem*, art. 24.

177 *Ibidem*, art. 172.

178 ACS, MPI, Direzione Generale Istruzione Superiore, Biblioteche e Affari Generali, Biblioteche governative e non governative, 1881-1894, b. 9, fasc. 9,

The section in charge of libraries – composed by Nicomede Bianchi (1818-1866), Ferdinando Martini (1841-1928) and Filippo Mariotti (1833-1911) – started its analysis in 1882, assessing the Biblioteca Marucelliana and Ricciardiana Florence; their work went on with Naples and Rome in 1884. The proceedings of their meeting on 9 January 1882 show that indeed prints and drawings were inspected too:

> La raccolta di stampe e disegni della M[arucelliana] in 121 volumi di cui 113 di stampe ed 8 di disegni, fu numerata dacché venne bibliotecario il Chilovi ma manca di un buon catalogo da compilarsi da persona capace, essendo assai imperfetto quello esistente. Manca un inventario indicante lo stato di conservazione. In essa raccolta si riscontrano mancanze ed avarie; […]. Sarebbe al certo utile che questa raccolta fosse ceduta alle RR Gallerie, ma devesi tener conto delle disposizioni del testamento Marucelli, e le trattative finora fatte incontrarono non poche difficoltà.[179]

The short excerpt informs us of the two most urgent issues raised by observing the situation of the collection: firstly, the lack of a proper catalogue (to be compiled by a "persona capace", an expert, with an eye for conservation status); secondly, the question of the most suitable kind of institution where works on paper should be housed. The latter point was subject of discussion during the following meeting too, with two distinct opposing positions: on the one side, those (such as the archeologist Luigi Pigorini, 1842-1925, who was involved in the committee perhaps as consultant) who thought that the collection should be moved to the local art academy; on the other side, those who insisted that the best place would be the Galleria (such as a certain professor Saltini).[180] It looks like the discussion was abandoned; after two years of inactivity, the remaining members (some had passed away and were not replaced) of the committee resigned, accusing the Ministry of having neither given further instructions concerning their tasks, nor taken into account any of their suggestions. However, the debated issues would be

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Relazione della Commissione d'inchiesta sulle biblioteche, i musei e le gallerie del Regno fino a tutto l'anno 1883. See also Tosti-Croce 2002, pp. LXII-LXIV.

179 ACS, MPI, Direzione Generale Istruzione Superiore, Biblioteche e Affari Generali, Biblioteche governative e non governative, 1881-1894, b. 7, meeting proceedings, 9 January 1882.

180 *Ivi*, meeting proceedings, 15 January 1882.

crucial in the institutional development of public collections of works on paper over the following years.

Since State library regulations issued by the central government did not address the issue of catalogues of prints and drawings, cataloguing and inventory campaigns originated directly from the initiative of those who were already in charge of them. However, very few libraries engaged in this activity: by 1892, only 7 out of 33 State libraries declared to have a "Catalogo manoscritto a volumi" for prints and/or drawings.[181] Even though the arrangement by schools in chronological order was an established and shared practice, it was not applied homogenously. At the Biblioteca Universitaria in Turin, right after Unification, Giovanni Volpato decided to arrange prints partially by school and partially by subject-matter (the latter system was applied to *ornato* and decorative prints);[182] sometimes drawings and prints were approached together, such as at the Biblioteca Marucelliana were the inventory compiled by Angelo Maria Bandini in 1867 included 994 drawings and 11.884 prints listed together, ordered partially by author and partially by subject-matter.[183] As far as prints were concerned, the orders adopted showed that 'original' and 'reproductive' prints were still perceived at two separate levels. In 1869, Federico Odorici (1806-1884), director of the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, proposed to make up for the "informe pasticcio" (the subject-based system which had been in use before) introducing instead an "ordine sintetico […] in duplice sistema",[184] listing works by schools

181 *Statistiche* 1892, p. 368. These libraries were the Braidense, the National Library in Turin, the Marucelliana, the Estense in Modena, the Palatina, the Casanatense in Rome (which by 1892 still had not finished the "riscontro" of old-master prints) and the University Library in Padova. In 1887, the Marciana in Venice stated that they had almost finished to list drawings and prints, but this was not converted into a catalogue by 1892 (*Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* 1887, p. 663).

182 On Volpato, see SCIOLLA 1993. Volpato's system however was not evenly applied: Giovanni Vico, expressing his concerns for the situation in Turin, stated that "È dunque necessario che tutti i tesori d'arte che si trovano, in fatto di stampe (parti di volumi senza testo) nella R. Biblioteca siano minutissimamente registrati in modo che non una sola stampa possa impunemente esser tolta" SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, fasc. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 25th April 1879. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 144. Vico suggested that the legatori made mistakes (SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, fasc. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885; Vico to Gamba, 31 March 1883; see GIOVANNINI LUCA 2016, p. 4).

183 BRUNETTI 1990, p. 7; SFAMELI 1984, p. 122.

184 BPP, Fondo Moreau, cassetta 84, fasc. 1/I, Odorici to Ministro della Pubblica

and alphabetically, under the name of the engraver; while in 1881-1882, Alessandro Baudi di Vesme compiled the *Catalogue des estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Turin* which organised prints under the name of the *peintres-graveurs* instead than under the printmakers'.[185] Very few library directors and *prefetti* recognized the necessity to hire a specialist to care for drawings and prints, but in Florence Guido Biagi had the Ministry for Public Education send Paquale Nerino Ferri to the Marucelliana library whose collection of prints and drawings was enjoying increasing popularity.[186] Since December 1887 Ferri shared his expertise between the Uffizi and the Marucelliana. First of all, he separated the albums of drawings from those of prints. For the latter, he adopted the same criteria he had applied at the Uffizi and ordered them by schools and artists. He also prepared tools to research the collection, such as a list of the prints, compiled by order of acquisition. As far as drawings were concerned, he decided to maintain the order already present inside each album. For the description of drawings, he adopted a simplified version of the scheme in use at the Uffizi.[187] That Ferri acted as a connection between the two institutions, applying in a museum and in a library a system that he himself had set up for a collection of works on paper housed in a museum, shows that not only was he recognized as an authority in the field, but also that his method was repeatable. Ferri was implicitly proving that that prints and drawings, no matter the kind of institution they were housed in, could serve the same purposes and thus be arranged in the same way.

National library regulations issued by the central government did not address storing methods for prints. If these practices were regulated, this was probably done by internal regulations or following general literature on the topic. In part IV of his treatise *Trattato generale di biblioteconomia,*

Istruzione, 31 December 1869; see also Odorici 1873, p. 77, describing "l'uno a guise d'inventario a numeri progressivi, l'altro secondo gl'incisori", and CRISTOFORI 2005, p. LXVIII-LXX.

185 See GIOVANNINI LUCA 2017, pp. 151-157. Baudi di Vesme, author of *Le Peintre-Graveur italien* (1906), worked on behalf of the library *prefetto* Gaspare Gorresio, who had isolated Italian 15th-16th-century prints by locking them in a chest (GIOVANNINI LUCA 2016, p. 3, n. 12).

186 In 1886, the newspaper *Il Nuovo Osservatore Fiorentino* expressed with the lack of a specialised employer who could take care of the collection ("A conservatore di queste incisioni dopo il 1860 e per molti anni era un impiegato speciale, ma oggi non lo è più […]" (quoted in BERRETTI 2009, pp. 6-7).

187 BERRETTI 2009, p. 8. Ferri's drawings catalogue is available online at <http://www.memofonte.it/home/files/pdf/maru_inventario.pdf> (accessed 19 June 2019).

entitled *Collocazione dei libri* (Florence 1890), Giuseppe Fumagalli stated that there was no agreed upon system in use to store and catalogue prints, and thus he provided a description of the methods adopted abroad that he suggested could be followed. He praised the systems used at the British Musem, at the Albertina and at the Art Academy in Vienna; but, above all, he recommended to look up to the Bibliothèque National in Paris for their way of arranging prints in albums by subject, but especially for the way they dealt with loose sheets; he recommended the same system of "legature mobili",[188] introduced by Devéria in 1848 to allow an easy addition of new loose sheets, already in use at the Pinacoteca in Turin thanks to Francesco Gamba. Describing in detail the use of mounts, Fumagalli recommended to either paste the sheets at the edges or, even better, to use onglets. The only Italian library he mentioned in his book is the Vittorio Emanuele library in Rome, where prints (*vedute*) were held in folders or portfolios ("cartelle"), "riposti in grandi mobili sopra assicelli scorrevoli, come le tavolette di uno scrittoio, e provviste ai lati di due regoletti rapportati, che fanno da riparo alle cartelle, e al tempo stesso servono di guide per le assicelle".[189]

State regulations did not address at all the possibility of putting on display items from a library collection, a practice that had become more and more frequent since the first half of 19th century (at the Sala dei Punzoni Bodoniani at the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, for instance),[190] even though travellers' accounts provide evidence (however random and vague) of earlier displays.[191] For those who had been praising, since

188 FUMAGALLI 1890, p. 62.

189 *Ivi*, p. 61.

190 RICCI 2013.

191 A collection of prints could be very interesting for travellers: in 1796 the Franciscan friar Ireneo Affò (1741-1797) suggested tourists in Parma to visit the Sala di Dante in the Biblioteca Palatina if they were looking for 'gabinetti delle stampe': there, they would find prints along with precious 15th-century books; however, Affò does not specify if these prints were on display or not (see the study day on Ireneo Affò held at Università degli Studi di Roma 'Tor Vergata' in May 2019). On museum-like displays in libraries, see VIVARELLI 2013; DE PASQUALE 2015 and 2016, who also deals with very recent displays in libraries such as the Spazi900 project at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome, and the 'Sir John Ritblat' Treasures Gallery at the British Library in London. From an organisational point of view, it is interesting to remember that the 2014 'Riforma Franceschini' stenghtened the relationship between Italian public libraries and museums. This brought together several institutions under the same direction: for example, the Biblioteca Reale in Turin – with its special new caveau to display Leonardo Da Vinci's drawings – is now part of the Polo Reale Sabaudo; the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma is comprised under the same direction of the

17th century, the open access of libraries to the public, and the display of the library's treasures was just another way of promoting knowledge.[192] However, by 1892, only 9 out of 33 State libraries had one or more rooms "Per ostensione od esposizione di cimeli".[193] In the absence of any official guideline regulating this aspect, the decision to display some of the rare items from the library collection seemed therefore to come directly from the librarians' own initiative. In the 1860s, the *vice-bibliotecario* Bernardino Peyron at the University Library in Turin had the manuscripts room furnished with glass cases containing "oggetti preziosi di antichità, libri pregevoli per legatura o splendidezza di edizione", a display set up for those who visited the library 'out of curiosity'.[194] Museums dedicated to famous personalities opened too: on 5 November 1886 a bibliographic museum, the Museo Manzoniano, opened in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense[195] In the 1880s, Giovanni Vico managed to convince the director of the same University Library to put on display some first-state prints by Marcantonio Raimondi and some by the 16th-century French designer Jacques I Androuet du Cerceau, "in una vetrina così detta des livres d'heures nelle sale particolari del Prefetto della Biblioteca dell'Università", which were, it is assumed, accessible upon request.[196]

No matter where the initiative came from, Authorisation to display prints had to be obtained from the Minister of Public Education. In Parma, in 1869, Federico Odorici asked permission to have "Le molte e belle stampe della Palatina, od acquistate o avute in dono dai cessati

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Galleria Nazionale and of the Archeological Museum.

192 See for example Gabriel Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (1627) where the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Angelica in Rome and the Ambrosiana in Milan were praised as the most accessible in Europe (NAUDÉ 1627, p. 115). For the same reason, displays started to be adopted in State archives too, matching public access issues with the narrative of a new national identity: in 1873, Pietro Vayra was put in charge of setting up the Historical Museum of the State Archive in Turin, with ancient books, illuminated manuscripts, codex and precious bindings (VAYRA 1880).

193 *Statistica delle biblioteche* 1893, p. 364-365. These were the national libraries in Florence, Milan, Naples, the Mediceo-Laurenziana in Florence and the Palatina in Parma (two rooms available), those in Palermo, Turin and Venice (one room) and the Vittorio Emanuele in Rome (seven rooms).

194 DE PASQUALE 2015, p. 14.

195 *Statistica delle biblioteche* 1893, p. 69.

196 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 344, fasc. 226, Gamba to Coppino, 18 January 1886. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 148.

principi"[197] permanently displayed at the library, "nella gran sala di Maria Luigia",[198] on the occasion of the first Congresso Artistico Italiano and the Esposizione d'Arti Belle that would take place in Parma in 1870:[199] "La sua mercé, uno storico gabinetto dell'arte gentilissima dell'incisione, quale vantano gli stranieri, quivi pur nella patria del Toschi, e nell'occasione dell'Artistico Congresso sarebbe dischiuso" (fig. 2.VI).[200]

> Lavoro del resto la cui pratica entità non potrebb'essere misurata, se non mi fosse dato di esporre in qualche guisa ed in bell'ordine schierate a ragione di scuole, i più distinti lavori di ciascuna. Il perché, pigliata la solenne circostanza della grande esposizione artistica e del Congresso che verrà qui celebrato, mi proponeva un'elevata esposizione delle migliori di quelle stampe nella gran Sala così detta di Maria Luigia, lungo la duplice fila dei cassabanchi, mirabilmente rispondente ad una simile esposizione, cui servirebbero di base.

It was Fumagalli, again, who tackled this topic and provided examples from libraries abroad. For pedagogic reasons, he supported the idea of putting 'treasures' from the collection on display "affinché una ricca collezione […] possa riuscire veramente istruttiva": "libri preziosi",[201] ancient manuscripts, illuminated codex and other documents of historical-literary interest that could tell the story of books and that of writing. As far as the display of prints was concerned, he suggested to look at the British Museum for an arrangement model,[202] where the cases

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197 ODORICI 1873, p. 18.

198 "Sala di M. Luigia. Il primo Congresso artistico italiano e l'esposizione di belle arti qui tenuta nel 1870, suggeriva il pensiero che dei codici miniati e delle incisioni possedute dalla biblioteca (assai fornita dei primi, ricchissima dei secondi) si facesse pubblica mostra, ma con istabile collocamento, a testimonio dell'arte nazionale e ad istruzione de' suoi cultori. Ecco l'origine delle due raccolte dispiegate nella gran sala di Maria Luigia, le incisioni divise nelle Quattro maggiori scuole Italiana, Fiamminga, Tedesca, Francesce, presentano un eletta per ordine cronologico ad ogni scuola di stampe di ciascheduna" (*ivi*, p. 77).

199 See STRUKELJ 2010.

200 BPP, Fondo Moreau, cassetta 84, fasc. 1/I, Odorici to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 31 December 1869.

201 FUMAGALLI 1890, p. 34.

202 Displays of prints were organised in other countries too: the Bibliothèque Nationale de France had since 1807 "[…] un choix d'estampe que l'on peut

were divided as follows: blockbooks, old master prints from Germany, Low Countries, Italy, France, England, engraved books.[203] Fumagalli minutely described shapes and types of cases, suggesting that these should have green sliding curtains; he mentioned that they were already in use the British Museum, but the National Gallery had adopted them too and the same were used to protect drawings at the Louvre.[204] It is

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considérer comme servant de base à l'histoire de la gravure depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours. Cette exposition, composée d'abord de 40 estampes seulement, s'accrut successivement au point que, douze ans plus tard, en 1819, lorsque j'en publiai la description, elle était déjà composée de 160 estampes. En 1823, elle en contenait 207, et maintenant elle en offre plus de 400" (DUCHESNE 1855, pp. IX-X). Commenting on the 'universal utility' of the collection, Duchesne observed that it was appreciated by several groups of users: "[…] elle est sentie et reconnue par les amateur, qui y admirent un grand nombre de pièces rares; par les artistes, qui y viennent s'inspirer des oeuvres des grands maîtres; par les gens des lettres, qui y puisent des renseignements extactes sur les costumes, les monuments et les pays dont ils traitent dans leurs ouvrages; et par les savants, qui y trouvent réunies les diverses figures, dont ils font mention dans leurs dissertations et leurs mémoires" (*ivi*, p. XI).

203 *Ivi*, pp. 35. Perhaps he referred to the second semi-permanent display set up in the Northern Galleries of the British Museum between 1887 and 1892: the display included 609 prints used to illustrate the growth and development of the art of engraving from circa 1480 to circa 1850 (GRIFFITHS, WILLIAMS 1987, p. 15).

204 The National Gallery in London, which officially did not have a department for prints and drawings such as the one at the British Museum, was anyway interested by an early debate concerning the conservation of works on paper. In 1850s, John Ruskin (1819-1900) offered himself to study and arrange J.W. Turner's (1775-1851) collection of drawings and watercolours included in the so-called Turner Bequest. Although works on paper were not mentioned in Turner's final version of his will, on 25 September 1856 the Gallery's trustees took legal possession of nearly 300 oil paintings and around 30.000 sketches and watercolours, including 300 sketchbooks, basically all artistic works belonging to Turner at the time of his death. 19.049 "Drawings and sketches in colour and in pencil, including about 300 coloured drawings" were chosen to be put on display, both at the National Gallery and elsewhere in the United Kingdom, through touring exhibitions. Although Ruskin had no hesitation in dismembering the sketchbooks in order to suit his own interests and taste, and thus breaking up Turner's own annotated selections of their contents, Ruskin submitted to the National Gallery trustees very precise recommendations for the presentation in frames or cases, campaigning against the exposure of coloured drawings to light (see the letters in the National Gallery archive, for example NG5/131/6, Ruskin to Wornum, 8 December 1856, advocating permanent exhibitions but not in strong light; NG6/3/256, Wornum to [?], [name and date illegible], requesting that some kind of blind curtain is laid over the Turner drawings). See BLAYNEY BROWN 2012. Ruskin had even a special case built to house his own collection: "[…] in thin frames, which slide into ledges divisions in mahogany cases; are

interesting to consider his remarks concerning the safety of the pieces on display: if on the one hand it was necessary to pick a "sala luminosa" for a proper arrangement of the "mostra pubblica", on the other, paper-made items should not be displayed, "esposte direttamente alla luce del sole. Infatti la luce diretta scolorisce rapidamente gli oggetti sui quali cade, se non vi si hanno minuziose cure".[205] At this time, museum directors and conservators of works on paper such as the Uffizi and the Regia Pinacoteca in Turin did not seem preoccupied by the possible dangers of displaying drawings or prints in full light. In the 1860s, at the Uffizi it had been Bourbon del Monte's intention to take out drawings from albums also to preserve the sheets from being continuously flicked through. The kind of danger which was more often recalled was that of dust and insects, and for this reason in 1880s drawings at the Uffizi were put between two glass supports: "chiudendoli ermeticamente tra due cristalli […]. Nulla insomma venne trascurato per difenderli pienamente e permanentemente dal tarlo e dalla polvere per garantire nel miglior modo di ogni eventuale deperimento questi preziosi tesori artistici".[206] Ferri seemed however slightly more concerned than others about the dangers of light, as we could infer by the fact that he suggested putting curtains on the windows "allo scopo di modificare l'azione esiziale che una luce troppo viva e continua avrebbe sopra i disegni esposti".[207] Moreover, in the 1884 regulation for photographic reproductions, Ferri warned not to take the drawings in full sunlight ("[…] non esporre i disegni alla luce diretta del sole, ma illuminati a mezzo di riflesso").[208]

Fumagalli, who had a librarian background and perhaps more concerned with the classification of books rather than with display of

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accessible in a moment, and secure from light, fracture of glass, and dust" (NG5/131/6, Ruskin to Wornum, 8 December 1856; see fig. 2.VII). Green sliding curtains ("rideaux de soie verte") had been adopted in the Louvre already in 1799 to protect Raphael's cartone for the School of Athens (now housed at the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana in Milan), on display in the museum's Grande Galerie (PROPECK 1999); in 1850s, Frédéric Reiset (1815-1891), curator of the Cabinet des dessins at the Louvre, asked to use the same curtains over those drawings he had to leave on view for long (COURAL, DESSERRIÈRES, JULIER 2013, p. 326).

205 FUMAGALLI 1890, pp. 34.

206 FERRI 1890, p. 11. Moreover, this system maximized the visibility of the sheets: "[…] cosa che portò altresì il benefizio di render facile la vista di non pochi studi i quali tracciati come sono a tergo di altri disegni esposti restavano celati dalla tavoletta posta dietro il telaio della cornice".

207 Quoted in FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 81.

208 AGU, filza E 1884, ins. 13, 21 January 1884.

rare items, was among the very few who expressed concern for the conservation of precious works on paper, although he did not refer to any specific example of bad conservation practices in Italy. In 1889, Max Lehrs (1855-1938), director of the Kupferstichkabinett in Dresden,[209] used his article on the Maestro delle Banderuole's engraving in Ravenna, published on the *Archivio storico dell'arte*, to openly condemn the way many Italian public institutions kept their engravings, bringing forward evidence of what was happening to the prints in his own *Kabinett*.

> […] colgo l'occasione dal ricordo del modo con cui i fogli sono esposti fra due lastre di vetro, per osservare una cosa che pur troppo dovetti notare in quasi tutte le raccolte d'incisioni dell'alta Italia da me visitate. Nel museo civico di Bassano, nella pinacoteca di Bologna, negli Uffizi di Firenze, nella biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano, si trova esposta sotto vetro una gran quantità d'incisioni in rame, e per la massima parte appunto i fogli più rari e più preziosi. Questo modo di esporre le incisioni in locali illuminati dal sole, è la loro certa rovina. Pur troppo l'abbiamo provato con nostro rammarico a Dresda, dove alcune delle più belle incisioni di Rembrandt, fra cui la carta da cento fiorini, il borgomastro Six e il paesaggio con tre alberi, hanno perduto in trent'anni tutta la lucentezza e tutta la forza del colore. Le incisioni del secolo XV e del XVI divennero dure e fragili come una vecchia stoffa spelata, una incisione del Parmeggiano, sulla quale il sole andava a battere ogni giorno solo per pochi minuti, andò affatto distrutta. Se presso di noi, nel freddo delle regioni settentrionali e del cielo cupo di Dresda, il sole ha effetti così disastrosi, quanto più si dovrebbero difendere i monumenti dell'arte dai raggi del sole d'Italia, il quale avvolge bensì nel suo splendore le più belle creazioni dell'arte che sieno in terra, ma conduce a certa rovina le stampe ed i disegni esposti di continuo alla sua luce.[210]

He was referring in particular to the Biblioteca Classense in Ravenna, where he went in 1888 (under suggestion of the art historian Corrado Ricci, 1858-1934), and where he saw "[…] carte esposte, che sono circa 30, il cui fondo, come nella Madonna del Maestro alle Banderuole, è per lo più colorato in nero […]. 24 stampe sono tutte di grande formato".[211] This display was set up in 1886 by Andrea Zoli (1844-1914), librarian of

209 On Max Lehrs' activity as director in Dresden, see SCHMITT 2013.

210 LEHRS 1889a, pp. 165-166. See also AREFORD 2017, p. 1.

211 LEHRS 1888, p. 446. On the Classense woodcuts, see SCHIZZEROTTO 1971; GIGANTE 2010; AREFORD 2017 (with previous bibliography, p.65, n. 2).

the Classense,[212] who had decided to remove more than forty prints (both engravings and woodcuts) from three manuscript books of the library collection to paste them to sheets of paper dyed with a black pigment. Then he had each image framed between two pieces of glass, the two sides sealed with lead to avoid dust and insects.[213] Zoli had initially put these objects on display in the library, but the exhibition seems to have received little attention at that time because it was moved to a crowded upper room, "un piccolo museo", where Lehrs found the prints among ivory reliefs, medals, lace, majolica, enamels, bronzes, and other objects.[214] Both Lehrs and Fumagalli's remarks were exemplary and anticipated modern collection care, but it seems their comments received no feedback at that time.

2.5 Debating the place for art on paper. From libraries and art academies to museums

As outlined above, between the 1870s and the 1880s only a few State museums and libraries located in Florence, Turin and Venice, were concerned with the arrangement of their collections of drawings and/or prints, which were mainly considered a tool for the education of artists. However, works on paper housed in museums implicitly took part in the process that, during those decades, defined museums' multifaceted mission of *pubblica utilità*: museums had primarily a civilizing and identity-building function; they kept performing their educational role directed to art students, but were increasingly recognized as a place for study, research and public enjoyment.[215] According to the national discourse, Italian citizens had the right to enjoy their art treasures; the

212 BOTTASSO 2009, p. 465.

213 Also in France biological agents were identified as the main factors that led to the destruction of works on paper: already in 1793, a Temporary Committee for Arts underlined the importance of removing dust to prevent insects and humidity (COURAL, DESSERRIÈRES, JULIER 2013, p. 325).

214 *Ibidem*. Constant exposure to sunlight damaged these prints (fig. 2.VIII), which were not removed from display until 1937 thanks to the frequent appeals by the curator of the Vatican Apostolic Library Lamberto Donati (1890-1962), who obtained to have the woodcuts sent to the Vatican Apostolic Library for restoration (see L.D. 1936 pp. 156-158; the prints were exhibited again, this time temporarily, in 1939 fig. 2.IX).

215 This can be seen for example in the debates concerning the introduction of entrance fees to museums (1875), and especially which exceptions were granted (see LERDA 2014-2015, pp. 128-132).

museum, with its 'controlled' narrative on the development of Italian regional schools of art, was the best place to do so. This, on the other side, justified the "deportazione artistica"[216] that is to say the relocation of artworks to museums from other kind of institutions, a process that continued after the confiscation of religious properties in 1866.

The thinking around the mission of museums was strictly intertwined with the understanding and critical reception of the individual categories of artworks. In fact, the debates on which institution would be most suitable to house drawings and prints were not only a consequence of certain measures aimed at organising national heritage, such as those inspired by Giulio Rezasco's (1813-1894) directives,[217] nor were they simply the result of a rationalisation suggested in individual cases, such as the proposal to reunite all prints housed in public libraries of Tuscany into the library of the Florentine Accademia delle Arti del Disegno (1805).[218] These discussions were above all triggered by the multiple values of works on paper which were increasingly recognized as works of art *per se*, and so called for different uses and users. Already at the beginning of 19th century, in fact, Pietro Zani had written (or at least he had planned to write) a dissertation devoted to the place to house public print cabinets, entitled *Se i Gabinetti pubblici di stampe debbano essere annessi alle Biblioteche pubbliche oppure alle Accademie delle Belle Arti*. The fact that similar questions were debated in other European countries too is more evidence that this 'institutional issue' was not only an Italian one, but was instead embedded in 19th-century reception of drawings and prints in general. Although what happened in Germany, France, Britain, Sweden or Russia depended on a series of local and complex events, the main point in question was the presence of prints and drawings collections in libraries and their relocation to national museums.[219]

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216 EMILIANI 1973, p. 1620. See GIOLI 2013 for a case study on the Marche region.

217 Giulio Rezasco was the head of the Divisione delle Belle Arti in 1860-1862 and then again in 1863-1874. In 1875 the Divisione was split into Direzione degli Scavi e dei Musei del Regno (assigned to Giuseppe Fiorelli) and Provveditorato Artistico di Belle Arti, Biblioteche e Musei Medievali, led by Rezasco (see BENCIVENNI, DALLA NEGRA, GRIFONI 1987, pp. 280-281). Rezasco was in favour of relocation artistic items from libraries to art schools (ASTRUA, D'AGOSTINO 1982, p. 10).

218 AABAF, filza I (1805) fasc. 10. According to the 1807 statute, the library of the academy had to be open "a comodo di tutte le scuole e del pubblico" (quoted in MARTUCCI 1984, p. 32).

219 On the initiative of François Brulliot (1780-1836, author of the *Dictionnaire des monogrammes* in 1817 and *Inspektor* of the Kupferstichkabinett in Munich since 1822; see SEMFF, ZEITLER 2008, vol. III, p. 142), the prints without text among those

The reasons behind the proposed relocations as well as the obstacles faced by the proponents can be better understood looking at three different episodes, out of which only one was successful. As Francesco Gamba and Giovanni Vico were setting up a section for prints and drawings at the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Turin, they tried very hard to obtain for the museum the prints housed at the Biblioteca Universitaria, a collection which included precious sheets by Andrea Mantegna, Jacopo Caraglio, Agostino Carracci, Guido Reni, Nicolas Béatrizet, Nicoletto da Modena. These items were not easily accessible. The Library *prefetto*, Gaspare Gorresio (1808-1891) who was director between 1859 and 1891, kept the prints in a "misteriosa Cameretta"[220] located above the main reading room of the *biblioteca*; in the room (which was locked), albums and loose sheets were "assicurate con tanto di catena ferrea".[221] Vico, who deplored this situation, convinced Gamba that there was no use in keeping those artworks locked in the library: "[…] nessun utile […] ne

housed at the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek (today Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) in Munich were removed from their original albums and transferred to the Kupferstichsammlung (today Staatliche Graphische Sammlung) in the same city (SEMFF, ZEITLER 2008, vol. I, p. 165; the episode is also mentioned by BRAKENSIEK 2003, pp. 186-209 and AREFORD 2017, p. 3). In France, there were attempts to move the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale (dependent on the printed books departments since 1660s, but independent since 1719) to the Louvre (BEAUMONT-MAILLET 2003, pp. 11-12). At the British Museum, prints and drawings were for many years since its opening in 1759 part of the Department of Printed Books; in 1808 the collection became a subdivision of the Department of Antiquities (GRIFFITHS, WILLIAMS 1987, p. 1; MYRONE 2017). The royal Swedish collection of prints and drawings, mostly originating from the private collection of Carl Gustav Tessin, was initially housed in the Royal Library (1777) but in 1794 it was transferred to the Royal Museum, which opened in 1792 (see BJURSTRÖM 1969, pp. 7-10; BURÉN 2009). In Russia, during the first decades of 19th century, Catherine the Great's collection of drawings was sent from the library of the Hermitage to an independent department (no. IV) of the newly formalized and organised Museum (PHILIPS 2018).

220 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 23 December 1879. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 144; see also ASTRUA, D'AGOSTINO 1982, pp. 10-11.

221 *Ivi*, Vico to Gamba, 7 December 1881. In several of his letters to Gamba, Vico ironically called this room the "Sacrario" for its 'sacred' and unreachable condition. He even joked on the fact that, in the future, once the relocation would be done, they would place an inscription in the "cameretta" to remember that there "stettero e riposarono provvisoriamente molti cimelii dell'arte italiana, oggi collocati in più conveniente sede nella R. Pinacoteca di Torino" (*ivi*, 25 February 1883). The letters are published in PANERO 2017, p. 146

viene al publico dal sistema di mantenere come in segreto siffatte meraviglie che tanto bene figurerebbero in Galleria, dove tutte le arti e tutti i mestieri vi troverebbero il conto loro".[222] Furthermore, the value of those prints was very high, and it would have been impossible for the Pinacoteca to acquire them on the market, since the preparation of the *galleria per le stampe* had already caused economic problems. Both the University Library and the Pinacoteca belonged to the State, therefore, Vico and Gamba turned to their contacts at the Ministry of Public Education (to Rezasco first, then directly to the ministers Baccelli, Fiorillo and Coppino) to highlight this unmissable opportunity of having the prints added, at no cost, to the museum's collection: "[…] invece di dormire un sonno eterno potrebbero rimanersi fra mani sicure a edificazione del pubblico e a beneficio degli artisti, splendido esempio della potenza di primari maestri dell'intaglio che onorano non solo l'Italia ma altre nazioni".[223] Gorresio, who was no expert in prints or drawings since he had a literary-linguistic background, did not cooperate and repeatedly opposed any intervention on 'his' collection (in the letters exchanged between Gamba and Vico he is described as 'extremely jealous'). The unstable political situation did not help. In 1886, after having hopelessly suggested appointing a special committee to tackle the issue,[224] Gamba gave up, bitterly confessing to Vico that the minister, Coppino, had more important thoughts in mind than the situation of prints in Turin ("ed unico suo pensiero è tenersi in piedi, e non lasciarsi roversciare"). It was certainly a delicate moment for the reorganisation of State libraries and perhaps, given the situation the Minister was reluctant to remove Gorresio from his position.[225] After Gamba's death in 1887, Vico tried once more to put the project into practice by turning to Gamba's successor, Carlo Arpesani (1853-1924), but it never worked out.[226]

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222 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 20 March 1875. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 142.

223 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 25 April 1879. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 144.

224 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 344, f. 226, Francesco Gamba to Michele Coppino, 18 January 1886. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 148.

225 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Gamba to Vico, 5 February 1886. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 148.

226 PANERO 2017, p. 139. As she pointed out, the two collections are still apart,

A similar case took place in Florence, where many advocated for transferring the Biblioteca Marucelliana drawings to the Uffizi. The first attempt dated back to 1844, when Migliarini suggested to Antonio Ramirez de Montalvo, director of the Uffizi, to have the Marucelliana's drawings collection transferred to the museum.[227] In April 1879 Pasquale Nerino Ferri suggested to Luigi Pigorini, *commissario* of the Regie Gallerie e Musei in Florence, to have instead the "preziosa raccolta di stampe" moved to the museum, as at the present it was:

> […[quasi negletta e sconosciuta, perché fuori della sua sede naturale […]. Sono convinto che tale disposizione non potrebbe che essere bene accolta dagli artisti ed intelligenti, sì nostrani che esteri, i quali accorrono ad ammirare i capolavori racchiusi in questo tempio dell'arte, dove senza dubbio quella insigne collezione avrebbe più degna e conveniente sua sede.[228]

At that time Ferri was busy expanding the display of prints at the Uffizi; to join the Marucelliana prints with those at the Uffizi would have meant filling in the gaps in the collection and obtaining a complete series of "antichi e celebri incisori".[229] Ferri seemed not to mind about the possibility of breaking up the unity of the Marucelli bequest; as a matter of fact it was the donor's will that prevented any item from his collection to leave its 'residence' at the Marucelliana.[230] In contrast to the University Library in Turin, where the relocation of prints seems to have been blocked by Gorresio's attitude and by political circumstances, in Florence the librarian had no hesitation in supporting his refusal with a valid argument, and to present knowledge no further requests of this kind involved works on paper at the Marucelliana.

The relocation was, however, successful in Bologna. In 1802, after the Istituto delle Scienze was split into Accademia di Belle Arti and University, the collection of works on paper belonging to Pope Benedetto XIV Prospero Lambertini (which had come to the Istituto delle Scienze

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with persistent obstacles for their study.

227 BERRETTI 2009, pp. 4-5.

228 AGU, filza B 1879, pos. 1, ins. 60, Ferri to Pigorini, 3 April 1879. See FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 60.

229 *Ibidem*.

230 BRUNETTI 1990, pp. 10-11. See also CISCATO 1999, pp. 27, 29, and BERRETTI 2009, p. 5.

in Bologna in 1755-1756 shortly before his death) had remained at the University Library as it was assimilated to library material. Input from the Ministry in 1879 sparked a negotiation between the Accademia, the University and the Municipality of Bologna, aimed at giving to the new-born civic museum a collection of weapons owned by the University in exchange for the paintings, in turn to be given to the *pinacoteca* depending from the art academy.[231] Also thanks to the persistent requests of Anacleto Guadagnini (1832-1919), who had been working at the Galleria since 1873 (first as *custode* and then as *ispettore*),[232] who hoped to protect works on paper from the repetitive thefts occurring since 1868, the collection of drawings and prints was transferred instead of the paintings. However, the relocation, concluded in September 1881, was not complete, as some albums remained at the library.[233]

Rome. All prints in one place?

The three cases described above concerned the possible removal of prints and drawings from an existing institution to advantage another. The two plans carried out in Rome were of a different nature, as they were aimed at grouping prints coming from multiple public institutions in order to arrange them in a new facility. In 1875-76, Giovanni Vico was asked to perform a preliminary survey of the print collections housed in public libraries in Rome (most probably the Angelica, the Vallicelliana and the Nazionale). The aim of Vico's mission was to assess the possibility of

231 See documents in AABAB, Atti, 23 December 1879; 22 April, 4 July, 14 July and 30 November 1881, quoted in CAMMAROTA 2004, p. 129. On the origins of the collection, see ROSSONI 2008, with previous bibliography (for prints) and FAIETTI 2002 (for drawings). For an overview on the current Gabinetto disegni e stampe, rearranged in 1968, see EMILIANI 1979b. This decision to transfer drawings and prints from one place to another in order to protect them from thefts reminds of the foundation of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, which was first organised in 1808 as a separate entity detached from the Printed Books Department (where works on paper were locate) following indeed a series of thefts perpetrated by Robert Dighton (GRIFFITHS, WILLIAMS 1987, p. 1) At that point it was decided that prints and drawings should be kept in a separate sub-department within the Department of Antiquities (which was founded in 1807).

232 On Guadagnini (who became Director of the Pinacoteca in 1895), see CAMMAROTA 2007, with further bibliography.

233 EMILIANI 1979b, p. 43; ROSSONI 2008, p. 9. 240 prints from the former Scuola di Incisione of the Istituto di Belle Arti, collected by Francesco Rosaspina "a scopo d'insegnamento", were also moved to the Pinacoteca (KRISTELLER 1894-1895b, p. 165; see also: <http://www.pinacotecabologna.beniculturali.it/it/le-collezioni/disegni>, accessed 19 June 2019).

moving these prints to a dedicated building ("il locale del Lotto in Via Ripetta") depending from the local Istituto di Belle Arti "per formarne una Galleria da collocarvi tutte le stampe che si farebbero raccolta dalle varie Biblioteche".[234] It is not possible to ascertain whether the creation of this 'gallery of prints' with an explicit educational value came directly from the Ministry or if it was suggested by somebody else; Giulio Rezasco, Vico's counterpart at the Ministry for the *affaire* of the University Library, was certainly involved, as it is inferred by Vico's letter to Gamba "anche in Roma il Rezasco ha secondato il divisamento di togliere le stampe dale biblioteche per adunarle tutte all'Istituto di Belle Arti, bellissimo locale".[235] Although it was taking place in Rome, the project, which was supported by the Minister Ruggiero Bonghi (who generally agreed to measures aimed at rationalising the distribution of collections)[236] was crucial for Giovanni Vico, not only because of the prestige it entailed for himself (and in fact in 1883 he would advise on

234 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 9 April 1876.

235 SABAP, Miscellanea Vico, f. L inf I 25, mazzo 6, Vico, corrispondenza relativa alla Galleria dal 1870 al 1885. Vico to Gamba, 22 December 1875. The letter is published in PANERO 2017, p. 142. See also PANERO 2008-2009, pp. 72-74.

236 Ruggiero Bonghi proposed several measures to rationalize the organization of archaeological and library collections (see BIANCHI 2010, pp. 119-123 and 137-146). In the wake of Minister Giuseppe Natoli's suggestions concerning the rearrangement of the far too many public libraries and the creation of a "biblioteca modello" that could "emulare quelle delle capitali europee" (*Statistica del Regno d'Italia* 1865, pp. XXVIII), Bonghi pushed for an aggregation of resources. He believed that one or two National Libraries would be enough for a country such as Italy (in 1875 he had founded the Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele"); moreover, he was worried about the increased administrative costs caused by the excessive number of public libraries within one city: "La creazione di molte biblioteche in una città non è che uno sciupo di danaro, perché col danaro col quale si pagano le persone, si potrebbero pagare i libri. Ogni biblioteca richiede un servizio di persone molto costoso: e in due terzi, forse, delle biblioteche d'Italia la spesa capitale rispondente agli stipendi che si pagano alle persone per la custodia, è molto maggiore al valore capitale della biblioteca stessa… Biblioteche popolari ce ne potevano essere, e se ne dovevano anzi fondare; ma biblioteche di libri rari, biblioteche di libri che sono difficilmente letti, difficilmente studiati, biblioteche di codici, non si credeva utile che in Roma ce ne fosse altro che una" (*Atti Parlamentari Italiani. Discussioni della Camera dei Deputati*, 27 May 1884). Bonghi's perspective on public libraries had several points in common with Desiderio Chilovi (on Chilovi's definition of *biblioteca nazionale* and its relationship with civic libraries, see DEL BONO 2003).

the Corsini prints at the Accademia dei Lincei)[237] but also because its success would have set an important precedent on which to ground his and Gamba's plans for the prints of the University Library in Turin. However, as the new leftist government came to power in 1884, the building identified to host the prints of Roman libraries ("il locale del Lotto in via Ripetta") was allocated to the Ministry of Finance, and the project was abandoned.[238]

Perhaps its failure contributed to the push from painter and engraver Alberto Maso Gilli (1840-1894), Director of the Reale Calcografia in Rome since 1885, to propose to the Ministry to create a "Galleria di stampe d'incisione antiche unitamente alle stampe moderne" in Palazzo Corsini (Appendix, document 2).[239] In his letter, written in November or early-December 1887, Gilli suggested to use the not very well-known but very precious Corsini collection of prints ("stimata una delle più grandi d'Europa e che da pochi è conosciuta, forse per la ragione che non è citata nelle Guida come cosa speciale e pregevole di per se stessa, ma come parte audizionale alla Biblioteca Corsiniana") to which he would add modern prints: only together they would make a decent "Galleria di stampe d'incisione […] che darebbe un'importanza assai maggiore, che una Galleria di sole stampe moderne", while "Superfluo è il dimostrare l'utilità della mostra delle stampe antiche pei giovani studiosi". Palazzo Corsini had, according to him, suitable rooms for the purpose. Gilli carried on with details concerning the furniture necessary for the display, suggesting to adopt the frames already in use in Venice (for ancient drawings) and in Milan (for modern prints), "in alberi sostenuti su perno più cornici, come sono quelli in uso nelle Gallerie di Milano e Venezia, così per nulla si toccherebbero gli scaffali dei libri, anzi tali alberi servirebbero a maggiormente decorare quelle sale che di soli

237 See PANERO 2008-2009, pp. 72-74; PANERO 2017, p. 136. Vico suggested to stamp the pages of the albums instead of the surface of the prints and advised against assigning a number to each sheet using a "macchinetta con numeri mobili"; even if the stamp could be applied to less important prints if it overlapped the margins ("pel loro secondario valore artistico potrebbe essere fatta una eccezione"), he advised against this method, because the library employees in charge of stamping would not be able to assess the artistic value of the sheets. In order to avoid loss of material, he suggested to allow library users to look at the prints only under supervision of the "addetto al comparto stampe" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., II s., b. 329, fasc. 206.24, Vico to Fiorelli [Direttore Generale delle Antichità e delle Belle Arti], 1 June 1883).

238 *Ivi*, Giovanni Vico to Francesco Gamba, 9 April 1876. See ASTRUA, D'AGOSTINO 1982, p. 10; PANERO 2017, pp. 135-136. On the project's failure, see also letter by Giovanni Vico to Francesco Gamba, 11 December 1884.

239 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 330, f. 206.27. On Gilli, see FIORANI 1995.

scaffali sono guernite". However, the letters that follow Gilli's do not concern his project, but instead another plan to provide the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna (opened in 1883) with a selection of prints by modern and contemporary artists. It appears that Gilli's idea was misunderstood, or confused with another ongoing project; this would explain the handwritten note ("Questa lettera non sembra rispondere alla Min. 10 corrente") on another letter from Gilli, who on 14 December wrote again to the Ministry concerning the "nuova galleria d'incisioni d'arte antica in Roma".[240] Gilli's plan was dropped, but instead negotiations went on as far as the prints for the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna were concerned. Thanks to Gilli's collaboration, by April 1888 18th and 19th-century prints from the most important Italian schools of printmaking were collected and assigned to the museum, and the "albero girante ed i suoi accessori" were built following the example of the one in Venice.[241] In spite of the enthusiasm of the museum director Giuseppe Massuero, who called this a "stupenda idea",[242] the display accessories were left at the Calcografia Nazionale "per mancanza di locale […] sino a che il Governo non avrà previsto onde collocare più degnamente sì la Galleria Moderna, che la raccolta di stampe, ad essa destinate".[243]

Splitting collections. Drawings and prints from accademie to gallerie

Plans and requests to move prints or drawings from libraries into museums were driven by a specific reflection around the role and users of works on paper. The permanence of drawings and prints in libraries came in fact to be perceived by many as an obstacle to the educational role of these works, both ancient and contemporary, as well as their appreciation as works of art in their own right. Furthermore, as far as old master drawings and prints were concerned, their permanence in libraries entailed a predominant storage method (albums) which resulted in the sheets not being readily available to those who wished to

240 *Ivi*, Gilli to Ministero della Istruzione Pubblica, 14 December 1887.

241 *Ivi*, list of prints (*Nome degli incisori viventi e di quelli dai viventi conosciuti, le cui opere meriterebbero d'essere esposte in una apposita Galleria d'arte moderna*); Gilli to Ministero della Istruzione Pubblica, 7 April 1888.

242 *Ivi*, Massuero to Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, 31 December 1887.

243 *Ivi*, Massuero to Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, 19 April 1888. The need for a suitable building to host the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna remained an issue for quite a long time between the 1880s and 1890s: see archival records in ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA, I vers., b. 332.

study them. During the 1880s, the grouping together of several collections of works on paper was challenged as the *gallerie* in Milan, Bologna, Modena, Parma, Venice and other cities were officially separated from art academies in 1882 following R.D. n. 678 (13 March 1882): "Le gallerie, le pinacoteche ed i Musei archeologici, annessi alle Università, alle Accademie ed Istituti di Belle Arti, cesseranno di fare parte dei detti Istituti scientifici o artistici, ed avrannno amministrazione propria". This was the result of at least three decades of debates (which involved, among others, also Selvatico, Morelli and Cavalcaselle) concerning the role of art academies, both for their internal structure and teaching method and for the part they played in the conservation of national art collections. It was the starting point for the recognition of the state picture gallery as an independent public body.[244] It was a crucial moment in the process thanks to which the idea of 'tutela' became closely intertwined with that of 'nazione'. Monuments, paintings, antiquities and other forms of art had to be protected not because of their aesthetic qualities, but because they were part of national history.[245] However, rather than being the direct result of the *conoscitori*'s positions only, this separation was instead the consequence of several parallel processes (including administrative rationalisation, creation of a new source for revenues and reform of artistic teaching). Also, R.D. 679 cancelled the positions of *ispettori, conservatori* and *custodi* that used to work at the galleries: It was a turning point in the history of museums in Italy, and

244 LERDA 2014-2015, p. 230.

245 Some, such as Camillo Boito, kept opposing this measure and the debate on the involvement of artists in the protection of artistic heritage went on for many years. In 1896, Giuseppe Costetti reminded the Minister that art collections belonging to art academies had no catalogues, "*non havevano coscienza di sé*", while it was only after 1882 that they were at last arranged "*secondo i criteri che la scienza va determinando*" and they "*iniziano a conoscere sé stesse, la propria storia, il proprio valore*", as it happened in other countries. To support his position he quoted the cases of Mayer and Bode in Berlin, Lafenestre in Paris and of Bayersdorfer in Munich (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 170, fasc. 1, Costetti a Galimberti [Sottosegretario di Stato per la Pubblica Istruzione], 7 aprile 1896: *Relazione sui danni che vi sarebbero a riportare le gallerie nazionali insieme con le Accademie di belle arti*). In fact the debate went on in other countries too, for instance in Germany where the concept of Denkmalpflege was still in need for further clarification in 1905: "Heißt Denkmalspflege soviel als Denkmalsverschönerung – wie es tatsächlich lange die Meinung war – dann ist ohne Zweifel der Künstler der rechte Mann für sie; legt man aber den Schwerpunkt der Aufgabe in die Erhaltung, dann hat der Künstler nur mitzusprechen, insofern er einerseits Technicker, anderseits Stilkenner, d.h. Archäeloge ist – seine Künstlerschaft hat zu schweigen" (DEHIO 1905, pp. 22-23; see SCARROCCHIA 1995, pp. 355-356).

from that moment on, new appointed directors were art historians instead of artists.[246]

Although the separation of collections between art academies and art museums did not necessarily imply that artworks had to be moved from one place to another,[247] or at least not immediately, the change of ownership was the basis for profound transformations in the following decades. In general, the separation was supposed to keep teaching material in the art academies for training purposes, while other works such as old master drawings should have gone to the museum. Most probably, the provenance of the items played a role too. Objects acquired thanks to State funds or through bequests and suppressions were to be given to State museums. The academy had to keep instead what had been acquired through *premi, concorsi* and other activities strictly related to the academy teaching activity. However, there were no written guidelines and the handover took place in a situation which was already full of uncertainties concerning roles and responsibilities. These general criteria were not always followed and other contingent elements might have guided the separation of the collections. This is why, for instance, the Galleria in Venice received some students' training material too, while Giacomo Quarenghi's drawings and other fifty drawings from the Bossi collection stayed back at the Accademia.[248] Although this situation is far from the *déracinement* which involved artworks 'deported' from their original location into museums, the point is that the organic structure of a bequest was broken, but this seem not to have raised any concern.[249]

In spite of certain measures (such as those outlined above) which were not entirely supported by a coherent plan but were instead the result of rather random actions, during the first three decades following the birth of the Kingdom of Italy it is possible to register an increased attention towards museological aspects concerning drawing and prints housed in Italian State institutions. This process (consisting of display, catalogues and inventories, debates concerning the most suitable place and method to store works on paper) manifested itself across museums (Turin, Venice and Florence) and libraries (Parma and Florence again). All these

246 See LEVI 2013.

247 As for example in Brera, where artworks remained in the same place: see TRENTO 2012, pp. 40-41; TRENTO 2014, pp. 154-155.

248 NEPI SCIRÉ 1982, p. 16 (and p. 23, n. 142, 143, for the list of these drawings). On Quarenghi see the catalogue of the recent exhibition by CATRA, MARCHESE 2016.

249 EMILIANI 1976, p. 1620.

efforts, however, were isolated; at national level there were neither plans nor general guidelines to study, store or display prints or drawings. Furthermore, there were not many occasions for the general and specialised public to have access to old masters' sheets, apart from the few permanent displays set up in the above mentioned cities. The vast majority of temporary exhibitions consisted in fact of presentations of contemporary artists organised by art academies or *società promotrici*.[250] Nor were those efforts recognized outside the borders of the country; evidence for this is demonstrated in the fact that when the International Chalcographical Society was founded in Paris in 1884, no Italian collection was represented in its Committee. It consisted instead of directors of public collections of prints in Europe (from London, Paris, Belin, Basel, Amsterdam, Weimar, Dresden). The exclusion of Italy did not fail to raise concerned voices:

> La Società ha per oggetto di promuovere lo studio della Storia primitive della incisione, col mezzo principalmente della pubblicazione di fac-simili degli esemplari più rari e più interessanti dell'arte degli incisori nei secolo XV e XVI, che si conservano nelle varie raccolte pubbliche e private di Europa […] Egli è però assai da deplorarsi che l'Italia, culla della incisione, e ricchissima di raccolte di stampe, tanto pubbliche che private, non abbia avuto una rappresentanza officiale nel primo Comitato.[251]

250 The two notable exceptions, which however involved drawings and prints from private collections, were the 1880 Mostra di Arte Antica in Turin, organised within the Quarta Esposizione Nazionale di Belle Arti (see PRETE 2013, pp. 457-458) with prints on loan from the Savoy collection (see ANGELUCCI 1880, pp. 224-225; PANERO 2008-2009, p. 69-70; PANERO 2017, pp. 136-138) and the 1881 exhibition of old master drawings at the Poldi Pezzoli Museum in Milan, to which Giovanni Morelli and other Milanese collectors contributed with a selection of their own drawings (FRIZZONI 1881; MORANDOTTI 1993).

251 FISCHER 1888, p. 38. On the first publication of the Society, see LEHRS 1887.

Chapter 3

Towards a national collection of prints (1890-1895)

3.1 Adolfo Venturi: works on paper for art history

Dissemination of critical studies on drawings and prints

During the second half of 19th century there was an increased scholarly interest towards drawings and prints at European level. These two mediums shared close similarities insofar as storage and display methods were concerned; moreover, in certain private as well as public collections, prints and drawings served the same goal: to document and to represent the history of painting. Nevertheless, scholarship on drawings and prints ran on two separate tracks. Drawings, on the one hand, were instrumental to understand the *maniera* of each artist and thus helped to define art history as a development of regional and national schools. Both private and public collections of drawings were being systematically studied with an approach focused on authorship, attribution and classification. Prints, on the other hand, had always been appreciated more for their power of divulgation of models, *maniere* and *invenzioni* rather than for their technical or stylistic aspects. At the beginning of the 1890s, reproductive printmaking and the *classiche stampe* – a field whose cultural validity was being debated as photographic techniques were introduced and perfected – were still perceived in opposition to the work of *peintres-graveurs.* Following the approach launched by Bartsch in the first half of the 19th century, only painters-engravers were considered able to represent the essence of printmaking language, and this fact impacted the way most prints were catalogued. However, starting from the late 1880s, groups of prints

started to be studied under a different light that took into account neglected aspects such as history of techniques; for example, important books and essays on the history of woodcut were published after 1887 by Paul J. Kristeller (*Die Strassburger Bücher-Illustration im XV. und im Anfange des XVI. Jahrhunderts,* Leipzig 1888); Friedrich Lippmann (1838-1903; *The art of wood-engraving in Italy in the Fifteenth century,* London 1888); Paul Heitz (*Originaldruck von Formschneide-Arbeiten des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Strasbourg 1890-1899) and Wilhelm Schreiber (*Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure*, Berlin-Leipzig 1891-1911). This shift in the critical studies, interpretation and reception of prints and drawings was mainly rooted in the German tradition of art historical studies (the *Kunstwissenschaft*).[1] During the 1890s, Italian scholars started to take in the effects of this development. If one looks for instance in the articles and reviews relating to works on paper published on the *Archivio storico dell'arte* between 1888 and 1895, one observes that they were all signed by German-speaking authors Paul Kristeller, the Viennese Hermann Dollmayr (1865-1900) and Max Lehrs, and by the English scholar and collector Richard Fisher (1809-1890).[2] The *Archivio storico dell'arte*, a kind of journal dedicated to art history inspired by foreign journals such as the *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* and the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, was fundamental in defining the art historical discipline in Italy in the light of the *Kunstwissenschaft*, by publishing studies where art historical questions were answered through an approach that was grounded on documentary research and on the study of style and *forma*, considered in geographical context.[3] It also played a very important part in the dissemination of foreign studies on drawings and prints. In its pages, Franz Wickhoff's work on Italian drawings (1891-1892) was reviewed with two articles by Hermann Dollmayr; Wilhelm Schreiber's *Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur metal au XV siècle* was commented by Paul Kristeller; an overview on *Studi e memorie riguardanti l'arte italiana pubblicati nel 1892 nelle principali riviste di storia dell'arte in Germania* (which included essays on drawings and prints) was provided

1 On prints, see the overview provided by BELLINI 1998, pp. 177-187.

2 See for example KRISTELLER 1891; P.K. 1892a; P.K. 1892b; Kristeller 1892; Kristeller 1893; LEHRS 1893; DOLLMAYR 1893, pp. 63-67; VON FABRICZY 1893a, pp. 106-126. See also SCIOLLA 1999b, p. 81.

3 The *Archivio storico dell'arte*, defined by Sciolla "la prima rivista scientifica italiana di storia dell'arte" (SCIOLLA 1999a, p. VII), was founded in 1888 by the poet, librarian and art historian Domenico Gnoli (1838-1915) with the organisational support of Venturi and lasted for ten years; it was then transformed into *L'Arte* (see SCIOLLA, VARALLO 1999; SCIOLLA 2008; PAPI 2008, pp. 87-137). For an overview on art history journals in Italy between 19th and 20th centuries, see CIOFFI, ROVETTA 2007.

by the Hungarian art historian Cornelius Von Fabriczy (1839-1910) in 1892.[4] If compared to the rest of art historical topics discussed on the *Archivio storico dell'arte*, graphic art represented only a minority of the articles, but these did increase in number after 1890 – although bibliography on prints still shared the same section of gems, coins and medals in the final section of the journal.

As shown in chapter 2, the lack of coordination at national level as far as the museological arrangement of drawings and prints was concerned was probably one of the reasons that led to the exclusion of Italy from the funding committee of the International Calcographic Society in 1884. Certain articles written by Max Lehrs and Paul Kristeller on the *Archivio storico dell'arte* show that a delay was indeed perceived insofar as the storage and display of prints in Italian museums and libraries was concerned. Public libraries were the main object of their criticisms. In 1892 Kristeller wrote that "La grande rarità delle silografie edite in fogli staccati e la grande difficoltà di raccogliere quelle che si trovano sparse nella gran moltitudine dei libri delle biblioteche, hanno opposto degli ostacoli grandissimi allo studio di queste opere d'arte importanti e in gran parte graziosissime".[5] In the same year, when describing Venetian woodcuts, he observed that: "Devesi penetrare nel labirinto delle biblioteche, ordinate (quando lo sono) per studi di tutt'altro carattere e di cataloghi compilati senza alcun riguardo alla parte artistica dei libri, non trovando aiuto nemmeno delle bibliografie, che neanche si propongono di accennare l'ornamento".[6]

Kristeller's remarks were mainly directed to the state of woodcuts because that was the focus of his studies at that time, but his description of libraries in general as 'mazes' was a correct assumption, in spite of the exceptions presented in the previous chapter, such as Giovanni Volpato and Pasquale Nerino Ferri's work, respectively, at the National University Library in Turin and at the Marucelliana Library in Florence. In 1893, Max Lehrs (who had previously manifested his concern on conservation issues such as the permanent display of sheets) went even further, expressing the hope that one day all prints held in public libraries may be united in one collection, accessible to many, as was the case already in other countries (such as in France):[7] "[…] forse verrà il

4 DOLLMAYR 1891 and 1893; P.K. 1892; VON FABRICZY 1893b.

5 P.K. 1892a, p. 51.

6 KRISTELLER 1892, p. 96.

7 The Bibliothèque Nationale de France (at that time Bibliothèque Imperiale) in Paris did not pursue a proper programme of 'centralization', but some isolated episodes show that there were attempts to round up the 'central' collection using

giorno in cui il materiale, sparso nelle molte biblioteche italiane e accessibile soltanto a pochi privilegiati, sarà raccolto in una grande collezione d'incisioni, e la patria del Mantegna e di Marcantonio si troverà anche in questo al paro delle altre nazioni civili".[8]

These remarks are crucial because they show how, in the eyes of foreign scholars such as Lehrs and Kristeller the progress of studies on graphic art depended on a proper system of storage and arrangement of sheets within public institutions. This concept was all but new, as it had been originally applied to paintings when Italian connoisseurs advocated for an updated arrangement of museum collections in order to serve their studies. It seems however that these observations received no feedback on the *Archivio storico dell'arte*, not even by its Director Domenico Gnoli (1838-1915), who in 1891 thought about the possibility of having a "sezione di grafica" at the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II in Rome, that he had been directing since 1881.[9]

Adolfo Venturi's interest in drawings and prints

The Modenese-born Adolfo Venturi (1856-1941),[10] the 'father' of art history as university discipline in Italy, was one of the very few scholars

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'peripherical' ones: on 5 June 1861, following a ministerial Authorisation, 150 Oriental manuscripts were transferred from the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève to the Imperial Library; on this occasion, the Cabinet des Estampes chose freely from the drawings and prints owned by the Sainte-Geneviève Library and 'imported' drawings from the Ecole de Fontainebleau school and from Northern schools, as well as some prints and some rare books of engravings (BEAUMONT-MILLET, LAMBERT, BOUQUILLARD 2003, p. 21).

8 LEHRS 1893, p. 102.

9 At the Library, prints and drawings were already stored together, but were not ordered nor catalogued. In 1891 Gnoli launched a campaign to acquire drawings and prints on the market but he was above all interested in setting up a topographic collection (see TIBERTI 2014, p. 43) based on prints and drawings primarily cherished as documentary items, a quite different direction from the critical approach advanced by the German scholars. Gnoli suggested to circumscribe all loose sheets in a specific section: "che di tutte le produzioni grafiche non riunite in volumi esistenti in biblioteca si formi una sezione intitolata: Stampe" (BNCR, Archivio della Direzione, proceedings of the meeting [Domenico Gnoli, *prefetto*; Raffaele Ambrosi De Magistris, Giannini and Achille Ricci, *bibliotecari*; Giacomo Belli, *sottobibliotecario*; 8 April 1891 c. 71r; see BRECCIA FRATADOCCHI, PUGLISI 2013, pp. 13-14).

10 Art historian devoted to Italian Medieval and Renaissance art, museum director, *funzionario* at the Ministry of Public Education and first university professor of art history of his country, Adolfo Venturi was, in short, the

concerned with the importance of the match between scholarship and museological arrangement of works on paper. Venturi's position was above all the result of his belief that art museum collections had to be the starting point for Italian scholars to advance in their studies and make up for the delay they had if compared to foreign scholarship. As he observed in his 1887 article 'Per la storia dell'arte',[11] where he commented on the failed attempts to reach a unified system to manage cultural heritage in Italy and where he pushed for the acquisition of skills to study art history following the *Kunstwissenschaft* methods, the best studies on Italian art came from foreign scholars, especially German ones, while on the contrary Italy and Italians seemed to be practically unware of their own treasures. In this fundamental article, Venturi urged Italian scholars to advance in their studies by devoting their attention to museum collections, that had to be organised and protected, in order to serve both education of artists and development of the national "industrie".[12] Furthermore, going beyond the traditional approach which since Cavalcaselle's *Storia pittorica dell'Italia* had focused on history of painting only, the Modenese scholar believed that "[…] i maestri delle arti decorative, che erroneamente si dicon minori" had to be studied too, and that included, as he would later recall in his *Memorie*, prints as well as illuminations and medals: "tutti erano per me oggetto di assidua attenzione"[13] because "[…] invano si può comprendere l'arte senza seguirla in tutte le sue manifestazioni".[14] In his 1887 article, when describing an ideal art historical journal, Venturi planned to have a specific section dedicated to new, scientifically grounded research on *arti*

'innovator' of art history in Italy. Heir of a method promoted by Lanzi, Cavalcaselle and Morelli, he considered attribution and identification of artists styles the two founding principles of art criticism. Several different aspects of his approach will be discussed throughout this chapter; for an overview, see VALERI 2007 and SCIOLLA 2008; for a comprehensive list of Venturi's publications see VALERI 2006. Giacomo Agosti was the first to foster reconsideration of the impact Venturi had on the course of art history in Italy during the 20th century (see AGOSTI 1996); some of the issues presented by Agosti were further expanded and in-depth analysis on several aspects of Venturi's work is offered in the proceedings of the 2006 conference *Adolfo Venturi e la storia dell'arte oggi* (D'ONOFRIO 2008): here, see for instance the chapters on museums (DI MACCO 2008); on the art historical journals (SCIOLLA 2008; PAPI 2008); on the national catalogue of artworks (CURZI 2008).

11 See VALERI 2004, p. 31 and following pages.

12 VENTURI 1887, p. 230.

13 VENTURI 1911, pp. 55, 57

14 VENTURI 1891, p. 227.

minori, which "aspettano ancora lavori nuovi, frutto d'indagini serie intraprese con metodo".[15] The increasing space given in the *Archivio storico dell'arte* to articles concerning 'minor arts', including drawings and prints, must in fact be ascribed to Venturi, as he played a major role in managing the journal although it was formally run by Domenico Gnoli.[16] Venturi's activity as *funzionario* of the Italian Ministry of Public Education since the late 1880s made it possible to bring his ideas well beyond the area of scholarly articles. One of the many possible examples is Venturi's involvement in the preparation of the circular letter no. 865, *Norme per la compilazione delle schede del catalogo degli oggetti d'arte*, in which we read that: "Sarà tenuto conto anche degli oggetti, i quali, benché non appartengano alle classi delle arti maggiori, servono tuttavia allo studio sì delle manifestazioni dell'arte nelle varie sue forme, come de' costume, degli usi, della civiltà del passato".[17]

Let us now move to Venturi's specific interest for works on paper. Between the late 1880s and the early 1900s, Venturi engaged in preparing a reform on the reorganisation of the *Belle Arti*; his efforts are recorded by several notes, drafts and manuscripts held both in his personal archive in Pisa and in Rome, at the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica.[18] Among the many aspects he dealt with, he gave space to those collections which were normally not on display and stated that they had to be archived and catalogued in order to be easily accessible to those willing to study them:

> I musei e le gallerie che hanno raccolte numismatiche, epigrafiche, di incisioni, di disegni e in generale di materiali non tutti esposti alla pubblica vista, dovranno mettere a disposizione del pubblico un catalogo scientifico, secondo i principi invalsi per la classificazione delle diverse specie di oggetti e in modo che faciliti il rinvenimento di alcuno di esse e le operazioni di controllo, e risponda alle domande di chi studia sotto diversi aspetti la raccolta.[19]

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15 VENTURI 1887, p. 249.

16 See DALAI EMILIANI 2008, p. 26; DI MACCO 2008, p. 222.

17 See the *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, XIV, 1888, p. 523. The text is published in CURZI 2008, p. 66.

18 These documents are discussed in LEVI 2011, LEVI 2012 and MOZZO 2013.

19 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Pratiche Ministeriali, Documentazione varia non riordinata, *Ordinamento dei musei e delle gallerie. Per il catalogo.*

Not only had drawings to be described through their own scientific catalogue, so that they could be studied individually or in comparison to other drawings from the same collection. At the same time, drawing from Morelli's approach and in close similarity with the fourth point of Cavalcaselle's *Memoria*, Venturi's interest for drawings ("[…] sui quali oggi si va rintracciando la genesi delle creazioni dell'artista")[20] led him to suggest to include them within the 'ideal' museum catalogue entry that had to guide the visitor to the understanding of each displayed artwork, as he explained in 'Per la storia dell'arte':

> Infine, oltre le notizie materiali della forma, delle dimensioni e della tecnica, deve indicare i ristauri subiti, e come corredo delle indicazioni date, aggiungere notizia delle riproduzioni che ne furono tratte dall'autore, delle copie notevoli che ne furono ricavate, dei disegni di esse o degli schizzi originali che si conservano, del numero portato dall'opera d'arte ne' cataloghi manoscritti o a stampa ove venne descritta.[21]

Preparatory sketches and drawings held in public collections therefore assisted in the understanding of the genesis of paintings and their *fortuna* (Venturi even reflected upon the role of drawings which served merely documentary purposes such as copies and sketches from other artworks as well as plans for their restauration),[22] but they also helped to

20 VENTURI 1887, p. 249. The letters kept in the archive at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa also show that Venturi often discussed drawings' authorship issues with directors of museum collections all over Europe with whom he was in close contact (see for example: CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Colvin, Sidney; Hind, Arthur M.; see also Venturi's 1926 article, 'Scelta di rari disegni nei musei d'Europa', VENTURI 1926). During his European tours, Venturi visited several public and private collections of drawings, and later in his *Memorie* he remembered the "ore deliziose" in Vienna, looking at the drawings of the Albertina, and "una raccolta di disegni entro cornici; tra gli altri, alcuni bellissimi del Correggio ignorati" admired at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisboa (VENTURI 1911, p. 170, 173, 211). Venturi was also very concerned with divulgation of drawings and later planned a publication to illustrate drawings by great masters of all schools, to be made in collaboration with photographers (on this project and on the role of drawing in Venturi's university teaching, see LORIZZO, AMENDOLA 2014, pp. 24-27). This project did not work out and was put in place only in 1970 (Fratelli Fabbri Editori, edited by Walter Witzhum and Franco Russoli), see LORIZZO, AMENDOLA 2014, pp. 24-27.

21 VENTURI 1887, pp. 240-241.

22 Among the abovementioned documents held at the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, there is a text entitled *Base all'azione della Direzione generale delle Antichità*

reconstruct the story of princely collections. When he was a young *ispettore* at the Galleria Estense in Modena, in fact, Venturi dedicated several pages to drawings in *La regia galleria estense* (1882), the first history of the Museum and the first publication he compiled after his arrival in 1878, using the documentation he collected in the local State Archive. The study of archival documents, sources and inventories to reconstruct the identity of the collection and its history was one of the two pillars of Venturi's method that he first developed to plan the rearrangement of the art collections at the Galleria based on chronological order, to present Italian regional art schools with special attention to the Ferrarese one; the other was the principle of "vedere e rivedere", in close contact with the artwork.[23] Surprisingly enough, Venturi's plan for the *Ordinamento futuro della Regia Galleria Estense* (1887, now held at the Archivio Storico Comunale in Modena, with two maps attached) does not mention the collection of Estense drawings, which were housed in the "uffizio dell'Ispettore della Galleria".[24]

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e Belle Arti (ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi) which consists of a plan to redefine the structure, roles and management of the Direzione Generale (see Mozzo 2013, pp. 35-43). When discussing the configuration of the Direzione's offices, Venturi described the office in charge of the "Collezione di disegni e museo dei calchi", where documentary material should be housed: "Come le fotografie, dovranno conservarsi similmente i disegni delle opere d'arte, i progetti per le loro riparazioni, e le stampe delle opere d'arte" (*ibidem*). This kind of drawings had to be archived in a precise order and had to be connected with all other records; for a better organization, Venturi suggested to adopt a topographical approach and to place drawings next to inventories of catalogues ("schedari catalografici") and inventories of photographic collections. The structure is well explained by the scheme that uses the Marche region as example (fig. 3.I; one copy in ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi and one in CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Pratiche Ministeriali, Documentazione varia non riordinata; also discussed in Levi 2011, p. 74).

23 On Venturi in Modena, see Bentini 1990; Agosti 1996, pp. 42-49.

24 ASCoMo, AA, 945, pos. 6, Malatesta to the Mayor of Modena, 30 November 1882. The letter (published in Mezzetti 1976; Marcolini 1990, p. 136; Bentini 1990, pp. 127-134) describes the situation of the Regia Galleria Estense collections in 1882 after they had been moved from the Regio Palazzo (Palazzo Ducale) to the Regio Istituto di Belle Arti in 1880, causing a lack of space for the Istituto's own collections and activities "[…] non piccolo fu il sagrificio che fece l'Istituto in quell'occasione privandosi delle sue belle sale, dovendo per questo mettere in diversi posto ad uso di magazzino la collezione delle stampe degli affreschi di Correggio (opera Toschi), i saggi in pittura […], le grandiose fotografie dei cartoni di Raffaelo che sono a Londra […]" (*ibidem*). The drawings collection (today made up of 817 sheets) seem to have no specific destination in Venturi's 1887 plan (ASCoMo, AA, 945, pos. 6; published in Marcolini 1990, p. 138). He

Adolfo Venturi and prints

Venturi observed with much greater anxiety the delay of Italian scholarship in the field of printmaking history, and the subsequent lack of order of prints collections held in public institutions. In 1891, remembering the *honte* of Italy not counting among the founding countries of the International Calcographic Society (a gap which apparently had not been filled yet after seven years), Venturi deplored from the pages of the *Nuova Antologia* that:

> L'incisione […] ha ben pochi cultori in Italia. […] forse non vi è biblioteca alcuna del Regno che conservi le pubblicazioni della Società internazionale di calcografia, come non vi fu studioso italiano a rappresentare il nostro Paese fra i direttori dei gabinetti di stampe di Londra, Parigi, Berlino, Basilea, Amsterdam, Weimar e Dresda che nel 1884, adunatisi a Parigi, costituirono la Società internazionale di Calcografia, tanto benemerita dell'arte italiana […] il Lehrs ed altri tedeschi principalmente si affannano a schiarire ne' più piccoli particolari la storia dell'incisione in Italia.[25]

While the German and the English authors continuously published articles on Italian woodcuts and engravings, the Italians were lacking: updated study resources in Italian libraries; recognition at European level; scholars devoted to the study of printmaking. The situation looked extremely serious to Venturi, who since 1885 had been writing about early Modenese woodcuts as well as several other art historical topics on German (*Der Kunstfreund*, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, *Jahrbuch der Königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*), Austrian (*Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichteforschung*) and French (*L'Art*) journals.[26] In fact, Maria Goldoni's attempt to reconstruct Venturi's interest towards material aspects of printmaking history (that led to the Soliani acquisition for Modena) takes into account Venturi's contacts

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might have intended to place drawings either next to paintings, following the arrangement of the paintings or with the "rarità" (room 9). On the Estense drawings, see BENTINI 1989.

25 He especially referred to the studies by Lippmann, Kristeller, Hirt, Muther, Ephrussi and Beraldi (VENTURI 1891a, p. 227-228).

26 VENTURI 1885 (see GOLDONI 1990, pp. 147, 149). In the Fondo Adolfo Venturi in Pisa there is a handwritten draft entitled *Stampa ed incisione in legno*, not dated (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Materiale per testi editi), which could either date back to these early studies or be connected to the article 'Sulle origini della xilografia' that he published in 1903 on *L'Arte* (VENTURI 1903).

with German scholars and collectors in the field – which included for example Richard Fisher[27] and Max Lehrs, with whom Venturi would spend "ore fervide" studying in Dresden –, as well as his acquaintance with the Bartsch-Passavant approach to classification of prints; other German inventories and that were physically available in Modena; as well as Lippman's studies on woodcuts[28] ("xilografi, riesaminati dal Lippman").[29]

As far as museum collections' acquisition and display is concerned, evidence of Venturi's pioneering attention towards history of printmaking dates back to 1887, once again, when he was a young *ispettore* at the Galleria Estense in Modena, at that time directed by Adeodato Malatesta. Venturi was instrumental in acquiring for the Gallerie Estensi the Soliani collection, an ensemble of more than 2000 woodblocks which had been assembled by the Soliani typographers, based in Modena. Characterized by a great variety of materials related to sacred as well as profane subject-matters, these woodblocks were produced in Northern Italy and especially in the area of Venice, Ferrara and Bologna.[30] According to Venturi, there were two decisive reasons for obtaining the *legni,* which were owned by the *cartolaio* Barelli in Milan. Firstly, as he stressed when he described the collection to Malatesta, woodblocks were fundamental elements of the history of printmaking; from them had originated series of woodcuts such as "[…] fregi per ornamenti di libri divoti, di orazioni" that might be deprived of artistic interest but were an important part of the printed production; moreover, it was a very rare kind of documentation since those prints were made

27 In 1891 Venturi published his obituary on the *Archivio storico dell'arte* (VENTURI 1891C, pp. 79-80); he had especially appreciated Fisher's introduction to the catalogue *Early Italian Prints of the British Museum* (London 1886).

28 GOLDONI 1990, pp. 159-167. For the list of these early articles see NICODEMI 1944-1946, pp. 30-31.

29 VENTURI 1911, p. 57.

30 An account of the acquisition (which included also pieces added to the collection by Barelli, 2613 items in total) was published in the first issue of the *Archivio storico dell'arte* and was later recalled by Venturi in his *Memorie* (VENTURI 1911, pp. 59-60). The episode has already been described by GOLDONI 1990 and MOZZO 2017; see also the exhibition catalogue *I legni incisi della Galleria Estense*, 1986. The Estense collection of woodblocks and metal plates has recently been studied and digitized, see: <http://xilografiemodenesi.beniculturali.it/collezioni/la-raccolta-soliani-barelli/,> (accessed 19 June 2019) as well as the special issue of the journal *Memofonte Le matrici della Galleria Estense. Alla scoperta di un patrimonio nascosto* (GOLDONI, LEVI, MOZZO 2017).

to be used by the people: "Queste ultime non hanno l'interesse artistico delle prime, ma non sono senza importanza per la storia della xilografia; tanto più che quelle incisioni fatte pel popolo, per essere vendute sulla piazza, raramente sono pervenute fino a noi. Che si trovino poi i legni intagliati, che quelle incisioni produssero, è un fatto veramente più unico che raro".[31]

Secondly, the display of the collection would add scientific value to the museum, "essendo la raccolta d'alta importanza per la storia della xilografia […]. Per la prima volta si vedrebbe in un museo una ricca serie ordinate di legni incisi dai primordi dell'incisione al secol nostro".[32] After the collection was bought and displayed, international printmaking specialists and museum professionals such as Sidney Colvin (1845-1927), Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929), Hugo von Tschudi (1851-1911), Fritz Harck (1857-1917), Richard Fisher and Paul Kristeller visited the Galleria; this was certainly an important occasion for the young Modenese *ispettore* to meet established scholars in the field of printmaking.[33]

To bring the Soliani woodblocks back to Modena also meant to return to the city a part of its historical heritage that risked being dispersed. The topic of endangered art objects recurred very often in Venturi's essays starting from the 1880s and was the basis for many of his appeals and projects aimed at reorganising the *belle arti* in Italy. As highlighted above,

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31 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 241, fasc. 110a.33, *Comunicazione di Adolfo Venturi al direttore della Galleria Estense*, 18 July 1887. The whole report is published in MOZZO 2017, pp. 237-238. The triple value of the collection, (artistic, historical and for the history of woodcut) is even better stressed in the *Relazione di Adolfo Venturi sulle trattative per l'acquisto del fondo Soliani* (dated 20 September 1887).

32 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 241, fasc. 110a.33, Adeodato Malatesta [but written by Venturi] to the Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 29 September 1887. Collections of woodblock or copperplates were quite rare and the history of this kind of collecting still has to be fully understood. If we leave out blocks and plates assembled for commercial purposes (see BELLINI 2003, p. 76), interesting collections were located in Venice and Rome in the 17th century, as for example Cardinal Alessandro Orsini's (see AMENDOLA 2015).

33 They were, respectively, Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum; Director of the Department of Sculpture of the Royal Museums in Berlin; assistant to the former; German art historian specialised in the Ferrara school; collector of prints; scholar of early printmaking. This list of names is reported by MOZZO 2017, p. 223, who quotes GOLDONI 1990 and GOLDONI 2000. On Venturi's relationship with the German scientific community, see AGOSTINELLI 2013.

Venturi was particularly concerned with those forms of art "a torto dette minori" which were in great danger because of the little attention they were given by the community of art historians. Along with the *Archivio storico dell'arte*, Venturi placed great attention to this field through the *Le Gallerie nazionali italiane: notizie e documenti*, an annual journal he launched in 1894, drawing on the experience and the network of contacts built with the *Archivio storico dell'arte* and even more aligned with its German forerunners. Dedicated to making a census and to study Italian museum collections, the journal also attempted to give more room to areas of art history so far neglected such as illumination, decorative and graphic art; since its foundation, the journal published accounts of individual collections of graphic art as well as connoisseurship articles, based on sheets held in public institutions.[34] Following the dispersal of private collections and the abolishment of religious orders and organizations, foreign collectors and dealers stepped into the market and bought an enormous amount of objects belonging to the group of *arti minori*, negatively impacting on the places these artefacts came from, as he claimed in a 1891 editorial article of the *Archivio storico dell'arte* signed "La Direzione": "una gran quantità di cose utili e belle migrava all'estero e con esse sparivano le caratteristiche di contrade e di città, e si strappavano dai luoghi di origine e dalla storia locale".[35] There is a crucial passage in which Venturi included prints in his argument and mentioned Bologna and Parma as cities where important collections of prints had been sold and scattered in the past: "Così le raccolte di stampe di Bologna e di Parma vennero sfiorate infamemente, e oggi alcune celebri incisioni, uniche al mondo, sono ornamento dei gabinetti esteri di stampe pubblici e privati". In this article, Venturi deplored the lack of a central collection of prints that could serve two purposes: to support art history, and to deepen the study of printmaking as an independent artistic language: "E noi manchiamo di una collezione d'incisioni che serva per lo studio generale della storia dell'arte e della storia speciale dell'incisione; né riusciremo a formarla, se non ci affrettiamo, perché i gabinetti europei di stampe tendono a completarsi e quelli americani a formarsi senza guardare a spese di sorta".[36]

For the first time, Venturi publicly claimed the need for a central collection of prints, but he did not come up to this idea on his own: it was in fact the German art historian Paul Kristeller to sow the seeds of a plan

34 See COOKE 2013. On the journal, see FANTINI 2013.

35 VENTURI 1891b, p. 390. On this well-known article, see also PAPI 2008a, pp. 119-133.

36 *Ibidem*.

to rethink the role and the organisation of prints collections in Italian State museums.

3.2 Prints for the nation: Paul J. Kristeller and a German model for prints collections in Italy

Unlike his almost homonym Paul Oskar Kristeller (1905-1999), a far-famed scholar of Renaissance Humanism, the Berlin-born art historian Paul James Kristeller (1863-1931) is a much lesser known figure to this day.[37] Recognised as an expert on 15th-16th-century illustrated books and Italian early and Renaissance printmaking,[38] Paul James Kristeller's

37 Concise biographical entries on Paul J. Kristeller are published on the *Kürschners Deutscher Gelehrten-Kalendar*, and on the *Grosse jüdische National-Biographie* ('Kristeller, James Paul' 1979); see also BALLANTI 1999. Further information on Kristeller's biography is provided in his obituaries: see HIND 1931; FRIEDLÄNDER 1931; S.R. 1932. At present, Kristeller's personal archive has not been traced yet; it might have gone lost when part of his study material, including hundreds of photographic reproductions of *nielli* and other artworks, books, auction catalogues, handwritten catalogues of Italian illustrated books, as well as woodcuts, letters, study notes, sketches and the drafts of his most important books (*Die Strassburger Buch-Illustration*, 1888; *Die italienischen Niellodrucke und der Kupferstich des XV. Jahrhunderts*, 1894; *Early Florentine Woodcuts*, 1897; *Die Lombardische Graphik der Renaissance*, 1913; Die *Apokalypse. Älteste Blockbuch-Ausgabe*, 1916) was auctioned in Basel in May 1934 (AUKTION KATALOG N. 437, pp. 4, 111-112). For the purpose of this study, in the absence of such a crucial archival source, the many letters written by Kristeller to Adolfo Venturi and to Corrado Ricci between 1889 and 1898 are the main documentary source to reconstruct Kristeller's activity in this time span. These letters, written in Italian and extremely rich in details concerning both work and private life, are held in the Fondo Adolfo Venturi at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa and in the Fondo Corrado Ricci at the Biblioteca Classense in Ravenna.

38 Along with studies on early illustrated books (*Die Strassburger Bücher-Illustration im XV. und im Anfage des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1888; *Biblia pauperum Unicum der Heidelberger universitäts-bibliothek*, Berlin 1906), Kristeller's scholarly interests were devoted to Italian publishers' mark (*Die italienischen Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen bis 1525*, Strasbourg 1893); early and Renaissance Italian printmaking (*Das Werk des Jacopo de' Barbari*, Berlin-New York 1896; *Early Florentine Woodcuts*, London 1897; *Andrea Mantegna*, London 1901 and Berlin 1902; *Giulio Campagnola*, Berlin 1907; *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in 14. Jahrhunderten*, Berlin 1905; *Die lombardische Graphik der Renaissance*, Berlin 1913). Kristeller published extensively on German-speaking art history journals, among which the *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*; *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*; *Das Museum*; *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst; Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, but also Italian ones such as *Le Gallerie nazionali italiane: notizie e documenti*

contribution to the arrangement of Italian public prints and drawings collections has been briefly discussed in reference to his activity in Bologna (at the Pinacoteca Nazionale) and in Rome (at the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe).[39] As a matter of fact, Kristeller was much more than a mere facilitator or a helper in these two institutions; he was instead instrumental in outlining and applying a museographical model that contributed to shaping the current arrangement of prints and drawings collections in Italian State museums. From the very beginning of Kristeller's collaboration with Italian museums, he was encouraged and assisted by Adolfo Venturi, who granted institutional support to the ambitious project.

After having studied in Berlin, Leipzig and Munich, in 1888 Kristeller published in Leipzig his first major study dedicated to book illustrations made in Strasbourg between 15th and 16th centuries (*Die Strassburger Bücher-Illustration im XV. und im Anfage des XVI. Jahrhunderts*). The study was very well received and, perhaps, this gave him the possibility to start working at some point between March and early May 1889[40] as a volunteer assistant at the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, a quite a young collection if compared to other European ones but *à l'avantgarde* in terms of organisation.[41] Founded in 1830 thanks to Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835),[42] in May 1850 the Kabinett was officially established in a

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featured a few essays written by him.

39 Kristeller's actions in Bologna and Roma have been described, respectively, by FAIETTI 2002 and MARIANI 2001; see also MOZZO 2009.

40 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 4 May 1889. It is very likely that Kristeller received no salary for his work at the Kupferstichkabinett, in fact his name does not appear among the archival records related to employees and collaborators of the Berlin museums (SMB-ZA, V. Archivische Sammlungen, Sammlung zu Personen und Museumsmitarbeitern).

41 The Kupferstichkabinett was included, together with the collection of drawings at the Albertina in Vienna, in the comparative study *Étude comparative des cabinets des dessins de Berlin, Vienne, et Paris indiquant l'importance de leurs collections, le nombre de fonctionnaires chargés de leur conservation et leurs ressources budgétaires,* not dated and presumably conducted on behalf of the curators of the Cabinet des dessins in Paris (see AMN, Cotes 20144779/2).

42 On 21 August 1830, Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Prussian philosopher and diplomat who was responsible for the organisation of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, wrote to King Friedrich Wilhelm III to convince him of the importance of adding a collection of drawings and prints to the Königliches Museum (today Altes Museum) located in the Lustgarten and originally thought to house paintings and antiquities only: "Zu den bis hierher durchgegangenen Bestandtheilen des Königlichen Museums – den Gemälden, Antiken, Vasen und

dedicated section of the Neues Museum (built by Friedrich August Stüler) under the name Abteilung für Handzeichnungen, Miniaturen und Kunstdrucke, although the name Kupferstichkabinett was always preferred, in spite of its limits.[43] Upon Kristeller's arrival, the Kupferstichkabinett was under the direction of Friedrich Lippmann, in charge since 1876. The 1870s were a crucial time for Berlin and its museums; since Berlin was the capital of Prussia, the leading state of the new Reich, the city became the capital of Germany as well following the 1871 Unification. The German government decided to build up the Berlin museums on the Museuminsel to rival those in London and Paris; even if the Kupferstichkabinett in the Neues Museum was not the most ancient or the first institutionalized Kabinett of the German speaking area (that was the one in Dresden, founded in 1720), the Reich's efforts and resources focused on it. But it was not just a matter of expansion and transformation of an institution brought about by its geographical location and symbolic power; what really pushed the Berlin

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kleineren Bildwerken – muß man, wenn der Vollständigkeit der Königlichen Sammlungen nicht win wesentlicher Theil abgehen soll, noch Kupferstiche und Handzeichnungen hinzufügen. Beide sind für das künstlerische Studium unentbeherlich und tragen schon, weil sie sich über eine große Menge von Meistern und Werken verbreiten können, in gewisser Art selbst mehr, als die Gemälde, zur Verbreitung der Kunstkennis und Kunstbildung bei" (quoted in DÜCKERS 1994, pp. 17-18). On the history of the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, see also WESSELY 1879; LIPPMANN, VON SEDLITZ 1880; VON LOGA 1910 (where the organisational structure is explained); *Das Kupferstichkabinett* 1922; MÖHLE 1963; SCHULZE ALTCAPPENBERG 1995 (on the collection of drawings, which in 1876 was split into old master and modern ones; the latter were transferred to the Nationalsgalerie); SCHULZE ALTCAPPENBERG 2011 (on a reconstruction of the layout of the Kupferstichkabinett's rooms and the historical location of their furnishings).

43 In 1912 Max Lehrs commented upon the use of the name Kupferstichkabinett for the Dresden print room, but his remarks can be equally applied to the Berlin institution: "Der Name "Kupferstichkabinett" für eine öffentliche Sammlung von Kupferstiche, Steindrucken, Holzschnitten, Handzeichnungen, Miniaturen, illustrierten Büchern und Photographien scheint unausrottbar, obwohl er geeignet st, die unklare und abschreckende Borstellung des Publikums, das sich darunter einen mit langweiligen Linierstichen nach Raphael behängten Raum denkt, zu stützen. Man hat vielfach versucht, ihn durch einen besseren zu ersetzen, aber eine knappe und befriedigende Bennenung noch nicht dafür ausfindig gemacht. Der in Müchen eingeführte Name "Königlich graphische Sammlung" scheint mir nicht glücklich gewählt und ist auch sprachlich anfechtbar. Vielleicht findet doch noch ein Sprachgewandter das erlösende Wort für jene Art von Sammlungen, die unter allen Museen am meisten geeignet sind, das Publikum für das Verständnis und die Liebe zur Kunst vorzubereiten und zu erziehen" (LEHRS 1912, p. 84).

Kupferstichkabinett forward was the unprecedented learning and scholarship possessed by its staff. As recognized by Max Lehrs already in the early 20th century, Lippmann was able to turn the Kabinett into a "jeder Richtung mustergültigen und vorbildlichen Sammlung",[44] a model for other public collections of prints. Counting on a generous budget, strengthened by the sale of doubles (in 1873 and 1886), Lippmann promoted acquisitions that focused on German and Flemish drawings and prints and the collection grew pretty quickly. He adopted methods in use in other public collections to have all sheets rationally arranged and ordered: from the British Museum he 'imported' the system of mounting sheets on passepartouts where to inscribe attributions and literature;[45] he had weak portfolio boxes and bound albums replaced with sturdier boxes (called *Kastenmappen*; the replacement of albums with portfolios was in use at the Louvre too since 1849);[46] he set up a series of rooms ("eine ganze Flucht von Zimmern") that he used for a restoration atelier and for book binders; improved the system to transfer the print boxes to the reading room (see the depiction of the cart in fig. 3.II);[47]

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44 *Ibidem*. Lehrs was Director of the Kupferstichkabinett in Dresden between 1896 and 1903 and also later between 1908 and 1923; in 1904, after Lippmann's death, he took his place and directed the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin for a few years. Lehrs 'imported' Lippmann's method to Dresden, which too became a 'school' for curators of museum collections of prints and drawings: Arthur M. Hind, for example, spent an year studying with Max Lehrs before he joined the British Museum in 1904; somewhere at the beginning of the 20th century, the restorer of the Kupferstichkabinett of Dresden went to Basel to teach his colleagues there how to create suitable passepartout for the sheets (I am grateful to Gudula Metze, curator of Italian drawings and prints of 15th-18th century at the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett, for sharing with me this piece of information. On Lehrs and the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett, see ZOEGE VON MANTEUFFEL 1923; SCHMITT 2013).

45 The Sloane, Fawkener, Crackerode and Payne Knight collections, that make up the nucleus of the British Museum Print Room, were originally in albums; during the first half of the 19th century an early method of separate mounting was applied. It consisted in edging "[…] the print or drawing onto thin card with no top mount. This solution fulfilled the requirements of security but did little for the protection of the object. The method was to paste an area of about 3 mm wide along the four verso outside edges, position the drawings onto a piece of card, and then place it under pressure to complete the process, usually in a screw press. Despite the obvious inadequacies of this system, it served to keep the material separated and, with careful handling, in good order" (HARDING 1987, p. 139).

46 COURAL, DESSERRIÈRES, JULIER 2013, p. 327.

47 "Er führte die zuerst in London gebräuchliche Montierung der wertvolleren Blätter auf abwaschbaren Passepartouts mit aufgedruckten Künstlernamen und

organised temporary exhibitions; and started to catalogue the collection with a triple-entry system (each work was thus listed under engraver's name, author's name and subject-matter).[48] It must have been an extremely vibrant place for a young scholar like Kristeller not only to get acquainted with the way the collection was managed, but also to meet connoisseurs and scholars: those who attended the Studiensaal for their own research as well as the *Assistenten* and *Wissenschaftliche Hilfsarbeiter* who worked at the Kupferstichkabinett such as Valerian von Loga and Ludwig Kämmerer.

Kristeller quickly became convinced by the efficiency of the method used in Berlin to preserve and store prints, whose efficacy he had tested against other methods of arrangement of prints collections in use elsewhere. Through the letters he sent to Venturi and to Ricci, we learn in fact that he travelled extensively across Europe and especially in Italy in order to examine woodcuts, engravings and illustrated books that he later used for his publications.[49] Thanks to these research trips he observed the methods used to manage prints in Italian museums and in libraries; he remarked the striking difference with the systems adopted instead in German collections, that he knew well, but also in the British Museum, whose Print Room he had visited in the summer of 1888.[50] Describing his 'traineeship' in Berlin, as early as May 1889, Kristeller

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Literaturnachweisen ein, sowei die staubdichten Kastenmappen mit Riegelverschluß an Stelle der altern Klebebände oder der unsoliden Mappen mit beweglichem Rücken und Bändern. Er erdachte ledergepolsterte Tische zum Schutz gegen Reibung der Mappen und leichtbewegliche Wagen mit Gummirädern, auf denen die Aufseher bequem zwanzig und mehr Mappen zugleich aus den hinteren Räumen in den Studiensaal rollen konnten. Er richtete eine ganze Flucht von Zimmern unter dem Dach des Museums zu Restaurationsateliers, für die Buchbinder und Druckarbeiten ein, die mit den neuesten und zweckmaßigsten Maschinenm, Waschvorrichtungen usw. ausgestattet wurden" (LEHRS 1912, p. 84).

48 Lippmann did not import the system originally in use at the British Museum to acquire three impressions of each prints and to place one in each of the three possible locations (arranged by engraver' name, author's name, subject-matter). The scheme drained in fact too many precious resources and could not be carried through even at the British Museum (GRIFFITHS, WILLIAMS 1987, p. 7).

49 In the first letter he sent to Venturi, Kristeller reported the details of a trip to Italy, during which he visited art collections in Parma, Florence, Bologna, Modena, Rome, Pavia and Milan (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 3 March 1889).

50 The visitors' books at the British Room Print Room archive show that Kristeller visited the collection at least on 25-30 June and then again between July and August 1888 (BM, Print Room Archive, Visitors Books, vol. 8).

shared with Venturi his enthusiasm for what he found a deeply enriching experience, both in terms of skills acquired and the network of contacts:

> Adesso lavoro come volontario nella collezione delle stampe e dei disegni dei R. Musei di Berlino, sotto la direzione di Lippmann. Credo che imparerò qui molte cose e che farò conoscenze importante per me. L'organizzazione di questa collezione richissima mi pare essere eminente e può servire di modello. Ho fatto la conoscenza dei Signori Direttori ed Assistenti dei Musei (un numero assai grande di storichi dell'arte!) ed anche di S. Bode con cui ho parlato di Lei. Sarei felice, carissimo mio Signore, se potessi essere di qualche uso a Lei ed ai di Lei amici qui a Berlino o dove mai mi troverò, e sarei ancor più felice se potessi rivederla e salutarla una volta in questa città degna di esser visitata da lei.[51]

While praising the Berlin print collection for its richness and quality of pieces, Kristeller openly suggested that the way in which the Kabinett was arranged could serve as model for other collections, and at the same time that he was ready to be of help in any way. We do not know if at this point Kristeller had already in mind to present Venturi a project to arrange prints in Italian State museums, but we could imply that the German art historian was well aware that he could find in Venturi a very interested counterpart when discussing issues revolving around early Italian printmaking and the arrangement of museum collections, especially after Venturi moved to Rome to work for the Ministry of Public Education.[52] Not only must Kristeller have been conscious of Venturi's position in the Italian scientific community, but he must also have been aware of the scholar's wide network of contacts both in Rome and in other Italian cities, since Venturi had proven to be both willing and able to facilitate Kristeller's research trips to museums and libraries all around the central-northern part of the country (Appendix, document 3).[53] The two scholars had known each other personally at least since 1887, when Kristeller had visited, together with other German and British

51 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 4 May 1889.

52 Venturi had moved to Rome in order to work at the Direzione Generale dei Musei e delle Gallerie, with the specific task of preparing the *Catalogo generale del Regno* but he was in fact busy with several other commitments: for an overview on this phase of his career, see Levi 1994 and Levi 2013.

53 See CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 4 May 1889.

scholars, the Galleria Estense in Modena to examine the Soliani woodblocks Venturi had just acquired for the museum. By 1889, the two scholars must have been well aware of their shared interest for early Italian printmaking: in 1885 Venturi had already written in the *Kunstfreund* about three woodcuts found in Modena, and Kristeller's 1888 book was known and appreciated by the Italian scholar, so much so that he published a review in the *Archivio storico dell'arte*. Here, he praised Kristeller's rigorous research and presentation method, and he chose to focus on how the analysis of woodcuts could serve to identify the style of the school of Strasbourg.[54] In short, he referred to Kristeller's book as a 'model' that should inspire further studies in the same area.

The letter Kristeller sent on 12 April 1890 (Appendix, document 4) contained the first draft of a project that served as basis not only for a national collection of prints (the to-be Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome), but also for a scheme to set up other State collections across the country. Furthermore, the project had many similarities with what Venturi was pursuing in terms of rearrangement of museum collections. For these reasons, the letter deserves greater attention. Observing that a collection of prints should be the "fondamento" of a possible "instituto od […] apparato per la storia dell'arte medievale e del Rinascimento" - an institution that, according to Kristeller, Italy should absolutely create on the model of the archeological institute in Rome, in order to facilitate art historical studies - Kristeller suggested Venturi to set up a "Museo Calcografico". This definition now reminds us of the 'paper museum' type of collection assembled between 16th and 18th centuries:[55] but, if

54 "Trattando delle incisioni di Strasburgo nel secolo XV e nel principio del XVI, l'A. si propone come scopo principale, non già di far notare alcuno dei migliori prodotti dell'arte dell'incidere in legno di quel tempo, bensì di determinare in generale lo stile della scuola di Strasburgo e quello dei singoli gruppi di essa; ed è un giusto principio da cui l'A. è partito. Per tal modo egli ha condotto il suo paziente ed accurato lavoro tenendosi sempre strettamente al metodo proposto; perciò nessuno sviamento, nessuna divagazione; la ricerca procede seria e sicura, fondata sempre su documenti e su dati di fatto; va lodato quindi il dottor Kristeller per questa sua pubblicazione, che, per il sistema nel quale è tenuta, si potrebbe felicemente prendere a modello da quanti s'occupano di tali studi" (VENTURI 1889, p. 89).

55 Perhaps Kristeller was inspired by Lippman's project for a 'museum of graphic art', as outlined in the text *Denkschrift uber die Errichtung eines Museums für graphische Kunst in Berlin*. Here Lippmann reflected upon the function of print rooms, not anymore a mere archive of reproductive images to serve the field of fine arts, but instead a tool for art history and art education. Lippman explained how the structure of the Kupferstichkabinett should be therefore improved by combining original artworks with an all-encompassing collection of photographic reproductions as well as a specialised art library, merging items

those collections aimed either to represent history of painting ("una quasi universal galleria!") or to carry out documentary purpose, Kristeller's proposal put the two aspects together: "Una collezione di stampe è per sé non soltanto un museo storico dell'arte ma anche una parte indispensabile del apparato storico, un espediente per molti studi anche negli altri rami della scienza storica".

After highlighting the sense of such a museum collection, Kristeller went on to consider conservation and accessibility issues. Having travelled quite a lot around Italy and having visited many private and public prints and drawings collections, housed both in museums and in libraries, he had enough elements to deplore (as other foreign scholars had done before, for instance Max Lehrs in 1889) the poor state in which those 'printed treasures' were kept:

> Anche non credo necessario di dire una parola sul stato attuale delle collezioni in Italia. Ho veduto qualche di queste collezioni e mi pare che vi siano nascosti grandi tesori! Purtroppo non solamente nascosti ma anche esposti a grandi pericoli! Per Lei non bisogna d'addurre esempi. Credo che sarebbe una cosa necessaria e di grande importanza di far ordine in queste cose.[56]

With enthusiastic words – where we can read not only a profound interest for Italian art but also an extremely passionate will to be of help to Venturi, to his colleagues, more in general to the national artistic heritage – Kristeller proposed Venturi a well-defined plan, aimed at setting up a 'central' collection in Rome (using the prints of the Corsini Library) or in Florence (using those of the Uffizi). Kristeller had a comprehensive vision of graphic heritage on the Italian territory: the central collection would be the richest in terms of quantity and quality of the pieces, while the 'satellite' ones (he mentioned Milan, Bologna and Venice but also 'other Italian cities') would be more representative of the

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from different museum collections into one museum of graphic art (LIPPMAN 1881). The project was too revolutionary to be put into practice, for it would have meant to restructure a great part of the Berlin museum and library landscape. Kristeller's idea was also very close to the *musée de l'estampe* set up by Jean Duchesne, conservator of the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque National de Paris, in mid-19th century, where the *chefs-d'oeuvre* were permanently displayed (see BEAUMONT-MAILLET 2003, p. 15).

56 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 12 April 1890.

local artistic tradition.[57] In order to achieve this aim, Kristeller suggested that the 'peripheric' collections should exchange their pieces with doubles from the central collection, so that both could round up their holdings towards completeness, as other museums and libraries in Europe had already done.

> M'immaggino che sia primo inventarisato tutto ciò che appartiene al Governo (ciò che sarà fatto fra poco) e che poi siano formate diverse collezione, una centrale colla Biblioteca storica dell'arte e coll'apparato di fotografi ecc. (a Roma od a Firenze), ed altre collezioni a Milano, Bologna, Venezia ecc. od in queste città che anno adesso collezioni. In modo che gli pezzi che mancano alla collezione centrale (di cui il fondamento sono le collezioni Corsini e degli Uffizi) siano cambiati per duplicati dalla centrale. Quanto io cognosco le collezioni italiane sarà possibile senza comprare qualche cose di formare una collezione che sarà una delle più grande e belle. Spero anche che, se una volta l'organizzazione è incominciata non mancheranno le donazioni dei privati.[58]

This practice of using doubles shows us that curators, scholars and artists were not interested in the integrity of collections, as already proved by the attempts to relocate collections of drawings or prints from libraries to museums or by Paolo Toschi's request to transfer double prints from

57 Fileti Mazza 2014, p. 93.

58 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 12 April 1890. The same centralization was pursued by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris since the 1860s, while the exchange of doubles was in use since the 18th century, when Hugues-Adrien Joly, in charge of the Department des estampes, decided to merge together series of works on paper from of different origins (for example the Marolles and Béringhen collections together with the *estampes de privilège*) in order to take out doubles useful to make exchanges (Beaumont-Maillet 2013, p. 13) In the 1890s, in the Netherlands, the Director of the Rijksprentenkabinet Johan Philip van der Kellen (1831-1906), was permitted to move prints and drawings to the Museum from other institutions: he received Italian prints which were housed at the Fine Art Academy since 1711, and topographic material from the Ministry of War. The Director also managed to swap doubles with Leiden University in order to fill in gaps in the collection of Dutch prints (see Boon 1964; Korthals Altes 1998; fig. 3.III). The exchange of doubles was instead prohibited at the British Museum, although some wished this could be done (see Wedmore 1879).

the Ortalli collection to the Art Academy to serve the needs of students (Appendix, document 1).[59]

The issue of accessibility, as well as a scheme on central and peripherical national collections was already enough to catch Venturi's interest, keen as he was both in promoting access to less visible collections but especially in supporting the 'organised' enrichment of Italian State galleries, whose mission was to represent "una faccia del prisma in cui si riflette il genio italiano".[60] It was fundamental to establish a "piano generale per l'incremento de' musei e delle gallerie" in order to prevent museums from growing randomly, with "opere scelte a caso, senza una norma prestabilita, ispirata alle loro tradizioni storiche, al loro carattere, alla loro speciale importanza scientifica".[61] In order for museums to serve an educational purpose, and based on the theory that the artwork itself is the best documentary source to study, Venturi would in fact promote acquisitions and arrangements so that each gallery could outline the development of all Italian regional painting schools, by organising the display on geographical and chronological principles. While respecting the identity of each single region and its historical inheritance, the galleries could avoid creating a concentration of paintings celebrating one individual local artistic production: both acquisitions and displays should focus instead on the Primitivi and early Cinquecento artists across all schools. In this sense, all museums were to be national galleries. The centre-periphery structure fueled by exchanges among

59 BPP, Fondo Moreau, cassetta 84, fasc. 1/I, Toschi to Direttore delle Gallerie e delle Scuole della Ducale Accademia di Belle Arti and to the Presidente dell'Interno [Ferdinando Cornacchia]. By proposing this measure, Paolo Toschi stated he wanted to avoid loan requests every time art students or professors needed to use them, as further highlighted in the letter the President of Internal Affairs Ferdinando Cornacchia (1768-1842) sent to the head of the Library: "[…] che siccome nella raccolta delle stampe Ortalli trovansi de' duplicate, così quelli i quali non sono d'importanza relativamente alla raccolta stessa, venissero ceduti alla Ducale Accademia di belle arti. E si nota che per buona sorte esistono in doppio le stampe più utili alla scuola di composizione e di pittura; le quali dove concedute fossero all'Accademia, questa verrebbe ad essere mediocramente proveduta, onde meno spesso ricorrerebbe alla collezione, per la quale avverrebbe di mandar più di raro alla Biblioteca" (BPP, Fondo Moreau, cassetta 84, fasc. 1/I, Presidenza dell'Interno [Ferdinando Cornacchia] to Rettore della Biblioteca, 23 November 1829). The negotiation lasted between 1829 and 1847, when the approved system was extended to the Balestra collection too, and found a strong opposition in the Bibliotecario Angelo Pezzana (CRISTOFORI 2014, p. 50).

60 VENTURI 1892, p. 52.

61 *Ibidem.*

museums, as described by Kristeller and supported by Venturi, was not far away from those principles outlined by Giovan Battista Cavalcaselle in his *Memoria* of 1863, among which a policy of exchanges among museums could help to fill in the gaps.[62] But the same issue was central already in 1861, in the first meeting of the Consulta sopra le belle arti (a consulting organ created in 1860 to deal with issues revolving around the role of art museums in the administrative reorganisation).[63]

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62 See LEVI 1988, pp. 313-318; LEVI 1994, p. 28. The debate on these issues had touched the archaelogical field as well: in 1870s, Gian Carlo Conestabile della Staffa (professor of archaeology in Perugia) and Giuseppe Fiorelli (*soprintendente agli scavi* in Pompei and then Direttore Generale alle Antichità e Belle Arti), while discussing if archeological musems had to carry on paedagogic or custody mission (see CATONI 1993; PAPI 2008a, pp. 27-33), touched upon the circulation of antiquities not only among the country, but even beyond its borders. Conestabile supported Minister Ruggiero Bonghi's proposal to promote "*scambi* fra i Musei del Regno, e fra questi ed i Musei esteri. […] tal Museo che si distingue in modo più particolare dagli altri, ed in cui meriterebbe di esser completato con il mezzo appunto degli scambi stessi, ad oggetti di rendere più utile lo studio di quella parte di scienza, alla quale spettano soprattutto gli elementi da esso forniti". To this, Conestabile added the "scambio di *originali*" and the relocation of "*duplicati* dai Musei che posseggono diversi esemplari di qualche classe di monumenti, in altri che non ne hanno punto […] allo scopo di fornire alla cultura di popolazioni che ne sono lontane una idea reale degli usi dell´arte e dell´industria" of ancient cities, Pompeii above all (CONESTABILE DELLA STAFFA, 1874; on Bonghi's mesures for archaelogical heritage, see BIANCHI 2010, pp. 119-121). Fiorelli supported instead the preservation of archaeological collections in their original provenance (SETTIS 2007). The question of exchanging items among similar institutions touched libraries too: see the issues raised by Alfonso Miola (1844-1934) who in the late 1890s proposed to turn the "biblioteche claustrali" and those named "monumentali" into "musei bibliografici […] tutte poi cosiffatte biblioteche debbano formare quasi una federazione o consorzio, in guise da facilitare fra esse i prestiti, il cambio de' duplicate e de' cataloghi, ed alter scambievoli funzioni" (MIOLA 1897, pp. 5-6).

63 "Più volte fu parlato di permute molto giovevoli di quadri ed altri oggetti fra una ed altra Galleria e Museo. La Consulta reputa ciò veramente profittevole? Lo stimola agevole a farsi, e in che modo?" (quoted in BENCIVENNI, DALLA NEGRA, GRIFONI 1987, p. 146; see also LERDA 2014-2015, p. 33). The Ministry established the Consulta in December 1860 in order to provide for the lack of technical staff that could tackle issues relating to the reorganisation of *belle arti* in post-Unification Italy. Most of its members came from Turin; they were painters from the fine art academies (Roberto D'Azeglio, Ferdinando Gattinara di Breme, Francesco Gamba, Adeodato Malatesta, Luigi Mussini, Ferdinando Strozzi) and responsbile for museums (Giuseppe Fiorelli, Paolo Feroni, Massimo D'Azeglio). This consulting organ lasted until 1871, without ever having a real impact on the themes it was called to discuss (see MUSACCHIO 1994, p. 87).

Kristeller went on outlining what had to be done, step by step, once this system of central and peripheric collections was defined: to proceed with the inventory, to adopt conservation measures, to arrange prints 'scientifically' so that they could serve for the *studi*.

> Una cosa di questo genere dev'essere instaurata con calma, eseguita con pratica e connoscenza e con entusiasmo - e sarà effetuata! -. Le cose importante sono: L'inventarisazione, affinché niente possa perdersi; la conservazione (attaccare le stampe e disegni su cartoni, guardarle in cassoni etc.), affinché non siano più danneggiate; l'ordinamente scientifico, affinché possan esser messi a profitto degli studi.

Kristeller was implicitely defining the 'mission' of a 'calcographic museum': to make sure that its content is known (through the inventory), safeguarded (through conservation) and accessible to scholars, who were the ideal recipient for further studies (that he himself was pursuing). In order to put into practice such an ambitious plan (compared to the situation in which most prints collections were at that time), Kristeller suggested to look at collections of other countries, generally described as more advanced in this field because they had already gathered enough experience: "Per tutte queste cose esperienze sono fatte a sufficienza dalle grandi collezioni di Europa. Si deve solamente conoscerle e far uso di loro". Practically, he proposed to apply the 'German method' of storing prints, scaling it to the very specific situation of art collections in Italy.

Kristeller concluded his long letter by asking Venturi for feedback and expressing his satisfaction for contributing to the kick-off phase of such an important project:

> Carissimo amico, temo che abbia già troppo abusato la sua pazienza con questo piccolo abbozzo per l'organizzazione di una collezione e d'un apparato storico, ma sono sicuro che il suo interesse per la buona cosa e la sua amabilità perdonerà il mio zelo forse troppo ardente! Sarei felice di aver dato un impulso per l'attuazione di questo progetto e vorrei ben sapere il suo parere sopra questa cosa.

By intersecting the letters kept in Venturi's archive in Pisa and those kept at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome, it is possible to understand how Venturi proceeded in the subsequent months. In May 1891, on

behalf of the Minister of Public Education (who at that time was Pasquale Villari), Venturi wrote to Kristeller asking the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin to provide the Ministry with "[…] i modelli usati in Germania specialmente nel gabinetto di stampe di Berlino, per la conservazione delle antiche incisioni; e cioè i modelli del bollo e dell'inchiostro usati per far i segni sull'incisioni, delle strisce per attaccare ai cartoni e dei cartoni *stessi*, dei cassetti per sicurtà dei cartoni, delle cassette per conservarli".[64]

This was not the first time that the Italian government or museum professionals sought the help of foreign models. As we have seen in the previous chapter, in the 1860s the director of the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Turin turned to France and chose to adopt the storage methods for prints used in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. During the same decade, the government had been in touch with the British Museum, the National Museum in Stockholm, the Metropolitan in New York and the National Gallery of Victoria (Australia) to examine their regulations.[65] This time, however, the situation was much different. In this case, it was not a museum director acting independently on 'his' museum own behalf, or an advisory committee such as the Consulta recommending to inquire on a matter (museum regulations) by asking the most famous museums in the world to offer advice. Conversely, this time a single individual, albeit holding an official position within the Ministry, had unofficially

64 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [but written by Venturi] to Kristeller, 11 May 1891. Kristeller gave a precise description of all these tools, in particular of the *coltellini* (used to remove the prints from the pages they were pasted on) and of the *cassette* (the ancestors of the modern Solander boxes) in the letters he adressed to Venturi on 13 July 1891 and 4 April 1895 (both in CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi). He enriched his explanation with sketches (figg. 3.IV and 3.V).

65 The possibility to get in touch with foreign museums to study their regulations was also mentioned in *Appunti per le Conferenze della Consulta sopra le Belle Arti*, a document listing topics to discuss in the meetings of the Consulta sopra le Belle Arti: "Parrebbe utile similmente rivedere i regolamenti di ciascuna Galleria e Museo, e col lume che riflette segnatamente dalle comparazioni giungere ad alcuna pratica riforma. Le comparazioni dovrebbero essere moltiplicate eziandio coi regolamenti dei grandi Musei forestieri" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., Accademie e istituti di belle arti, Divisione arte moderna, 1860-1896, b. 6, *Appunti per le Conferenze della Consulta sopra le Belle Arti*, not signed and not dated. In BENCIVENNI, DALLA NEGRA, GRIFONI, 1987, p. 146 and in Lerda 2014-2015 - who quotes the former – the document is linked to the letter that Terenzio Mamiani sent to the members of the Consulta di Belle Arti on 2 March 1861). The correspondence between then Ministry of Foreign Affairs and foreign museums relating to the exchange of regulations and statutes is in ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., b. 173, fasc. 5.3.

discussed a project with a potential national impact with a foreign scholar, and then sought and obtained institutional support for that specific project, starting with the exchange of specific museum tools from a specific source, that was considered to be *à l'avantgarde* in that field. In its 12 August issue, the *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* informed that Lippman, through Kristeller, had sent a "modello, secondo il metodo tenuto in quel Gabinetto per la conservazione delle incisioni antiche, del bollo e dell'inchiostro usati per far segni sull'incisioni, delle striscie per attaccarle ai cartoni, dei cartoni stessi, dei coltelli per levarle da cartoni, e delle cassette per conservarle".[66] Venturi was able to bring Kristeller's project right into the heart of the central government and find institutional support for it: the plan was on its way.

A couple of weeks before the 'conservation kit' arrived from Berlin, Kristeller informed Venturi that Bode and Lippman had accepted to act as reference for him, so that Kristeller could be introduced to the Minister with a proper institutional support from his country: from this we can imply that both Bode and Lippman were aware of, and openly supported, the negotiations in progress and that Venturi must have promised Kristeller he would be put in charge of such an ambitious project (Appendix, document 5).[67]

From the letters sent to Venturi during the summer of 1891 – in which Kristeller seems to become more and more confident with his Italian colleague and in which he continuously expresses his strong enthusiasm for the project, reiterating how much he would be honoured and happy to be ready to help in any possible way – we learn that Kristeller travelled to Florence, Milan, Bologna and Reggio Emilia in order to study the print collections and their state. Meanwhile, he asked Venturi to get him a list of all state collections where prints were held, including those belonging

66 "Il Ministero aveva richiesto questi modelli per dare al più presto possibile un ordinamento scientifico alle raccolte governative d'incisioni antiche esistente in Italia" (*Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, III, 2, 1891, p. 90). The objects were received by Venturi at the Ministry on 4 August and Kristeller was reimbursed for the expenses he faced by the Ministry of Treasury (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, 4 August 1891 [the note was written by Venturi]; Costetti to Ministero del Tesoro, 26 September 1891). The models were kept at the Ministry with the aim of being analysed by the Commissione Permanente (*ivi*, note written by Direttore Capo della Divisione per l'Arte Antica [signature illegible], 20 October 1891).

67 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 19 July and 23 July 1891.

to civic museums and libraries (Appendix, document 8).[68] He intended to travel across Europe once more before the appointment (which had not been made official yet) in order to visit again the print rooms in Amsterdam, London, Dresden and Vienna to become more familiar with their conservation facilities, general regulations and arrangement methods.[69] In Vienna, he observed how hard and complicated it was to study prints when they are pasted in albums:

> Ho sperimentato di nuovo qui a Vienna come sia difficile di studiare le stampe, ed impossibile di confrontarle l'una all'altra, se si trovano conservate in dei volumi, siano anche fatti con tanto lusso come nella Albertina. Al rovescio di ogni foglio si può vedere una contraprova della stampa attaccata sul foglio seguente!

Kristeller's aim was to come up with a system inspired by European museums but adapted to the specific situations he would encounter working with Italian collections. He understood for example that the subsidies available for the project would not allow him to replicate exactly all the features of foreign print rooms: therefore, he proposed Venturi to adopt new solutions, as it was the case of an easier, less elegant but yet very practical way to prepare the models for *cartoni* and *cassette* and *cornici per le esposizioni* (Appendix, document 6).[70]

Early in August, Kristeller summed up the results of his investigation and his proposed method in a technical report (which unfortunately has not yet been found):

> Ho finito il progetto del Regolamento per la Conservazione delle Coll. di Stampe ed ho pregato il Lippmann di leggerlo ed di dirmi il suo parere. Ne sono sicuro che non lo studierà, ma credo che l'approverà anche così e questa approvazione potrà esser utile. Ho l'intenzione di mostrarlo anche al Lehrs ed anche ad alcuni altri conservatori. L'ho scritto in Italiano (nel mio italiano-tedesco!).[71]

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68 *Ivi*, Kristeller to Venturi, letter not dated [but 1891].

69 *Ibidem*.

70 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 10 July, 23 July 1891.

71 *Ivi*, Kristeller to Venturi, 2 August 1891.

The next step Venturi took was to present the report, which likely came with the approval of other "conservatori" such as Lippmann and Lehrs, to the Commissione Permanente per le Antichità e le Belle Arti, a special committee created in 1881 and made up by four painters, four sculptors and four architects.[72] On 5 January 1892, the Commissione was summoned to address the following issue (the text which was written by Venturi):

> La conservazione delle incisioni delle raccolte esistenti nei musei e nelle biblioteche del Regno lascia molto a desiderare; sì per modo con cui le stampe sono attaccate al cartone; sì pel modo con cui sono segnati i bolli e fatte le indicazioni del numero degli inventari, sì per modo con cui sono esposte al pubblico. L'ordinamento loro manca d'ogni norma scientifica e d'ogni conformità. L'inventario e il catalogo non servono l'uno alla necessità del controllo, l'altro a quella di facilitare l'uso agli studiosi delle raccolte. Occorre quindi: fissare le norme per la riparazione, la conservazione, l'ordinamento, l'inventario e il catalogo delle raccolte di incisioni, determinare quali delle raccolte del Regno debba proporsi di arrivare a scientifico completamento; determinare lo scopo delle singole raccolte, fatti gli inventari in modo conforme di esse; determinare il modo da seguirsi nella distribuzione dei materiali acquistati per l'incremento delle collezioni.[73]

The meeting (*adunanza*) took place on 10 January. Eugenio Beltrami (1835-1900) member of the Accademia dei Lincei (of which he would be President between 1898 and 1900), presented Kristeller's report to the members of the Consulta. Producing a document entitled *Ordinamento delle raccolte d'incisione in Italia*,[74] the Consulta ruled that Kristeller's project should be put in practice and that the best collection to serve the role of 'national' collection for prints in Italy was the Corsini library

72 The Commissione, whose structure showed how persistent the trend to keep together the concept of heritage protection and that of artistic education, was set up with R.D. no. 505, 24 November 1881, and was then abolished in 1893, without really having the opportunity to have a great impact on the issues discussed (see BENCIVENNI, DALLA NEGRA, GRIFONI 1987, pp. 9-13, 42, 86-87).

73 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, notes directed to the Commissione Permanente di Belle Arti, 5 January 1892. Published in MARIANI 2001, pp. 129-130.

74 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, *Ordinamento delle raccolte d'incisione in Italia*, 10 January 1892.

instead of the Uffizi collection (Kristeller had suggested to choose one of the two).

The Corsini collection (which Zani in 1802 had described as "la più ricca di quante ne potesse vantare l'Italia, anzi l'Europa, eccettuate le imperiali di Parigi e di Vienna, e la elettorale di Dresda")[75] officially started with Cardinal Neri Maria Corsini jr. (1685-1770), who in 1733 inherited the Biblioteca including prints and drawings from his uncle Cardinal Lorenzo Corsini (1730-1740), then Pope Clement XII.[76] It belonged to the Accademia dei Lincei since 1883, when Prince Tommaso Corsini left his family's collection of paintings and the library to the Italian State, "al pubblico perpetuo uso".[77] In Venturi's words, the "grande fondo di stampe" had been preserved so far "secondo vecchi e vieti metodi, senza cura alcuna per la conservazione, la riparazione e la classificazione".[78] Both drawings and prints too were pasted on albums' pages and arranged mainly according to authors and their school (arrangement by subjects was used only in a few cases).[79] It is not documented but it can be quite easily inferred that the Corsini collection was chosen for two main reasons which were strictly connected: firstly, because Rome was supposed to be not only the political capital city of Italy but the city of

75 Quoted in PEZZINI BERNINI 2001, p. 81.

76 On the history of the collection, see PEZZINI BERNINI 2001, pp. 70-84, with previous bibliography (on p. 85, n. 4 and 5); ANTETOMASO, MARIANI 2004.

77 From the *Atto di cessione* signed on 17 September 1883; quoted in NICITA 2010, p. 51. Although it appeared as a bequest, the donation was in fact a purchase agreement (see BERNINI 1997, pp. 13-14; NICITA 2010, pp. 49-52; BALZANI 2018, pp. 21-26). In exchange, the State had agreed to buy the family palace, Palazzo Corsini alla Lungara. The collection would be later (1949) transferred to Palazzo Barberini, where it was joined by other art collections. Only in 1984 the picture gallery was created as an independent body and returned to Palazzo Corsini alla Lungara (now the two museums are Palazzo Barberini and Galleria Corsini, see BORSELLINO 2002; NICITA 2014).

78 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Venturi to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Ferdinando Martini], 3 January 1893. The letter is published in MARIANI 2001, p. 131.

79 The first consistent revision of the collection was made by Luigi Maria Rezzi (1785-1857), librarian of the Corsiniana (between 1836 and 1857), who had not only rearranged the arrangement of prints in volumes by following engraving techniques (and, within this, national schools and within monographic volumes and alphabetic order) but also promoted acquisitions aimed at filling the gaps (and using Bartsch's volumes as main reference). Before Rezzi, the collection was arranged "per serie di Pittori e loro scuole; e quando gl'Intagliatori sono stati eccellenti, anche per invenzione […]" (QUERCI 1759 [1755], p. 58).

science and of art too. Secondly, the Uffizi collection was already inscribed in an existing institution, while to pick the Corsini Library would have meant to include graphic art in Venturi's plans for a brand new entity, a Galleria for national medieval and modern art, which Rome was still lacking.[80] After 1870, the existing city museums belonged either to the Pope (Musei Vaticani) or to the Comune (Musei Capitolini); in the 1870s and 1880s new State museums were opened, but for archaeology and contemporary art only.[81] So, the national collection of prints had to be located in Rome and it had to be inscribed within a (planned) national gallery. This would contribute to push Rome as a modern, dynamic capital, at the same level as other European cities. According to its supporters, the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, along with other museums and cultural institutions founded in the capital after 1870, could contribute to make Rome represent all artistic-historical phaenomena that evolved in Italian history.

At this stage, the project was clearly defined in all its parts and was on its way to gain proper institutional approval. In is interesting to consider that the memorandum *Ordinamento delle raccolte d'incisione in Italia* mentioned drawings too; it said that Kristeller's report revolved around "l'ordinamento delle collezioni di incisioni e disegni" and the "conservazione delle stampe e specialmente dei disegni");[82] moreover, the Corsini collection was proposed to serve as a prototype that contained both prints and drawings. However, drawings are only seldom mentioned in these documents. Going back to the time when Kristeller and Venturi began to exchange ideas on the arrangement of Italian collections of graphic art, it is quite clear that the two scholars were mostly concerned about prints rather than drawings as far as the museographical level is concerned, as the latter are only seldom mentioned in their letters. In 1890, Kristeller had included drawings when describing the restoration phase of his plan ("la conservazione: attaccare le stampe e disegni su cartoni, guardarle in cassoni etc."),[83] and the following year he had asked to be sent a list of all Italian public institutions which owned both prints and drawings ("Sarà possibile di comporre dai atti del Ministero un elenco di tutte le Coll. governative dove si trovano delle stampe, delle Coll. comunali e delle biblioteche

80 On the foundation of the National Gallery of Ancient Art in Rome see NICITA 2010, especially pp. 111-176.

81 See BERNINI 1997, p. 7.

82 *Ibidem*.

83 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul, Kristeller to Venturi, letter not dated [but 1891].

dove si può supporre che siano conservate delle stampe, dei disegni, miniature ecc.?”).[84] However, drawings seem to slip away from all official documents and private letters. Being a scholar of early Italian woodcuts and engravings, Kristeller was far more concerned about prints rather than drawings. Furthermore, having spent his museum apprenticeship at the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, which contained both prints and old master drawings (modern drawings were instead moved to the Nationalsgalerie in 1876), it appears that Kristeller took for granted that drawings deserved to be housed in a museum. Therefore, he may have not considered it urgent or important to insist on the presence and role of drawings when drafting a plan to arrange prints, whose status as works of art *per se* within museums was not recognised yet.

On 21 January, 1892, Venturi wrote to Francesco Brioschi (1824-1897), President of the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome (which owned the Corsini collection) on behalf of the Minister Pasquale Villari to inform him that the Corsini collection had been identified as prototype where to apply a new method for the conservation and storage of prints that will serve for the whole country:

> La On. Commissione Permanente di Belle Arti, nell’adunanza delli 10 Gennaio p.p., studiò il modo di provvedere alla necessità dell’ordinamento delle raccolte di incisione in Italia […] esaminato il modo seguito nel R. Gabinetto delle stampe di Berlino, tanto per la riparazione e la conservazione, come per l’ordinamento e la classificazione, si trovò commendevole, e si raccomandò all’attenzione del Governo; ed espresse il parere che la collezione della biblioteca Corsini dovesse essere ridotta così da servire come di prototipo alle altre raccolte del Regno, ed essere mano a mano completata in tutte le sue parti.[85]

The statement was supported by two main arguments:

> […] necessità che si fa di giorno in giorno più grande, tanto per lo studio speciale dell’arte dell’incisione come per quello generale della storia artistica. Ai gabinetti esteri di stampe del British Museum, del Louvre, di Berlino, di Dresda ecc. sistemati nel modo

84 *Ivi*, Kristeller to Venturi, 12 April 1890.

85 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I serie, b. 239, f. 4075, Ministro [Pasquale Villari, but written by Venturi] to Brioschi, 21 January 1892. The letter is published in MARIANI 2001, p. 130 (see also FIORANI 2004, p. 80).

> scientifico più rigoroso, l'Italia non può contrapporre alcuna delle sue collezioni; e non potrà contrapporre in seguito, se non si affretta a sistemare e a completarne alcuna a causa della diminuzione evidente de' migliori materiali dell'incisione sui pubblici mercati, e delle insistenti ricerche che ne fanno raccoglitori d'Europa e i nuovi collettori d'America.

Art historical research on the one hand, protection of Italian heritage on the other. Firstly, to set up a national system of public print collections and thus to make these objects available to scholars would first of all facilitate a deeper comprehension of the art of printmaking itself and more generally of art history. But, as he pointed out, to guarantee public access was not enough: both these goals could be reached only by giving a rational order to the collection. The museographical arrangement of prints collections was thus considered crucial to pursue art historical studies: "Perché agli studiosi della storia artistica non manchi l'invocato aiuto d'una raccolta d'incisioni ordinata secondo le esigenze scientifiche". Secondly, the proposed system would also prevent foreign collectors from Europe and USA getting their hands on the best prints available on the market, because they would be safely acquired for the nation. Venturi observed the market carefully and was well aware of the fact that the national heritage was in danger as private collections were being sold; [86] as he did for paintings collections, he argued for the establishment of an organic plan in order to define policies for new

86 Ancient and modern prints were among the art objects ("opere in marmo e alabastro, dipinti a olio, sedie a intarsio, lavori in ferro, mosaici, terrecotte, bronzi, stampe antiche e moderne, acquerelli, cornici dorate, busti") which left the harbour of Livorno to reach New York, Boston, Philadelphia and other cities (STUMPO 2005, p. 267 – see this essay for an overview on the art market in Italy after the Unification; on exports around 1900 in Rome, see COEN 2013. For data on the exported artistic items (but dated between 1898 and 1907), see archival records in ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., bb. 323-494). Prints and drawings very easily fell outside of the very broad guidelines given to the Uffici di esportazione di oggetti d'arte, which in the years after the Unification were affected by the same problem of all the other central and peripherical offices of the Ministry: lack of competent employees, with many counting on a juridical-administrative background rather than in the field of fine arts (see MUSACCHIO 1994, pp. 24-25). One case is very meaningful: in January 1894, three prints were stopped at the Ufficio di esportazione in Ancona, and the Ministry was asked to define and specify their "pregio", and if they were needed in one of the State museums ("[…] e se ne bisogni alcuna alle gallerie dello Stato"). The reply came a few days later: the prints were not rare and could thus be accorded "licenza di esportazione" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 3, fasc. 37, letters of 16 and 19 January 1894).

acquisitions that would serve both to protect the national heritage and allow for development of the educational function of museums for society. The risk of losing precious sheets to foreign collectors was high: already in October 1891 Venturi presented to the Ministry the opportunity to buy the complete series of Marcantonio Raimondi's prints, together with other Italian prints, belonging to the Richard Fischer collection, which would be auctioned in London in 1892. In his letter, Venturi urged the Ministry to decide whether the Corsini collection would be chosen to serve as "collezione modello", to be arranged and completed: this would be the starting point to establish criteria in order to judge which acquisitions were suitable.[87]

Another, but less scientific, aspect was present in Venturi's argument: it was clear enough that the issue of rearranging collections had also become a question of prestige for Italy, whose 'museographic image' had to compete with that of other European countries. As effectively described by Donata Levi, "Al Ministero ci si era resi conto dunque che le gallerie potevano essere dei fiori all'occhiello dell'amministrazione pubblica. L'Ordinamento museale era funzionale alle esigenze di ostentazione dell'attività del Ministero".[88]

In the following months some further steps were taken but the negotiations proceeded quite slowly: in May 1892, Kristeller was officially thanked for his technical report, and informed that his proposed method would be applied "nei musei, pinacoteche, gallerie e biblioteche del Regno"; meanwhile the Ministry got in touch with the Accademia dei Lincei to facilitate an agreement on the use of the Corsini prints. In October, Venturi informed the Ministry that, as agreed with the President of Lincei, the Corsini would be relocated and be put in one room of the to-be Galleria Corsini: in the general lack of space, room for prints would be found by removing less-precious paintings. Early in 1893, Venturi himself suggested that the Ministry to hire Kristeller for the job, "non avendosi purtroppo in Italia alcuno che seriamente si sia dedicato allo studio delle antiche incisioni".[89] However, Kristeller's

87 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I serie, b. 239, fasc. 4075, Venturi to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, two letters dated 18 November 1891.

88 LEVI 1994, p. 28. See also NICITA 2010, p. 128. The relationship between art history and national discourse is a very wide and complex issue that took many forms in the decades after the Unification: see TROTTA 2008.

89 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Pasquale Villari, but signed Pulle] to Kristeller, 10 May 1892; Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Pasquale Villari] to Presidente Accademia dei Lincei [Francesco Brioschi], 10 May 1892; Venturi to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Ferdinando Martini], 7 October 1892 and 3 January 1893 (see also MARIANI 2001,

appointment (and so the foundation of the Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe) was put on hold for several months. Between 1892 and the first half of 1894, the restless German art historian kept travelling across Italy to become more and more acquainted with graphic art collections. At the same time he used those trips to work on his own research projects and kept paying visits to the British Museum and other foreign museums where he might have had the chance to discuss his project for Italy with other scholars and colleagues, for example with Bode who in summer 1892 wrote to Venturi saying that he had given some suggestions to Kristeller concerning his plans.[90] In the letters he wrote to Venturi, Kristeller was generous with comments and observations about the collections visited as well as about the articles he was writing both for German journals and for the *Archivio storico dell'arte*.[91] Along with scholarly content, Kristeller's letters are filled with outbursts of uncertainty and confusion towards his future ("Tutta la mia vita si tira avanti in una nebbia che non mi lascia vede il mio avvenire. Non posso decidermi per alcuna parte che potrei prendere e così resto fra le mie carte e fotografie che mi annegano quasi").[92]

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pp. 130-131).

90 "Ho trovato Kristeller ha Londra e gli ho dato qualche istruzione, che, spero, gli saranno utili" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, von Bode, Wilhelm; von Bode to Venturi, 27 July 1892). As he did with Venturi, Kristeller used to keep Bode updated on his research trips to Italy too (see for example SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3067, Kristeller to Bode, 28 June 1892.

91 Along with the articles and reviews mainly devoted to early Italian woodcuts, mentioned in the first paragraph, it is worth noting that he also wrote accounts of conservation and organizational issues of the collections he visited: for example in 1892, when in the *Miscellanea* section of the *Archivio storico dell'arte* he described the different systems adopted by print rooms in Berlin, Dresden and London to archive the photographic reproductions of rare prints. He concluded hoping that "[…] continuando i cambi fra le collezioni, e col concorso degli studiosi ed amatori, che ritraggono da simili collezioni il maggior vantaggio, si riuscirà a mettere insieme una raccolta relativamente completa delle incisioni dei primi tempi dell'arte" (P.K. 1892, p. 60).

92 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 1 June 1894; 1 August 1893.

3.3 Paul Kristeller at the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna

Two other Italian collections had always caught Kristeller's attention: those housed at the Galleria Nazionale in Bologna and at the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, whose prints show up very often in Kristeller's letters to Venturi. In particular, he was very interested in the sheets by old German masters held in Bologna comprised in the Lambertini albums and in the Ortalli prints in Parma, with which he was particularly well acquainted for he had visited the city quite a few times.[93] From time to time, Kristeller inquired whether there were any updates regarding the promised appointment to rearrange the Corsini prints in Rome. His question to Venturi: "Dell'incarico per Bologna o per Parma non si è concluso niente?"[94] allow us to infer that in the meantime it must have become more likely for him to be appointed for the reorganisation of the collection in Bologna or in Parma, perhaps because both those collections already belonged to the State (while the Corsini was a private one) and because the to-be-Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome was not formally established yet (its official foundation would happen only in June 1895, see 3.5). In spite of what looked like an easier way to get to work for the Italian Ministry of Public Education, Kristeller had to wait until the summer of 1894. On 27 July, the Minister wrote to Anacleto Guadagnini, *ispettore* of the Regia Galleria in Bologna, to inform him that Kristeller had been appointed (with a 300 lire-monthly wage) to rearrange the print collection of the Museum. Through this position, advertised by the German press too,[95] Kristeller had to apply the same methods already in use at the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, so that 'scholars of history and artistic iconography could appreciate (and make us of) proper materials' "di studio e di riscontro":

> Questo Ministero desidera che codesta collezione di stampe sia ordinata coi metodi, che si seguono nelle gallerie dall'estero, e classificata secondo le ricerche scientifiche moderne. È necessario che la storia dell'arte dell'incisione, ch'ebbe in Italia alla fine del secolo scorso e al principio del nostro, insigni cultori, ritorni in onore; e lo sarà tosto che le nostre collezioni saranno messe in

93 See CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi 3 March 1889; 15 June 1894.

94 *Ivi*, Kristeller to Venturi, 1 June 1894.

95 See for example the short article published on *Der Gemeindebote*, Berlin, 28 September 1894 ('Korrispondenzen und Nachrichten' 1894).

> accordo con quelle progredite dell'estero, conservate con ugual metodo e disposte così che gli studiosi della storia e della iconografia artistica apprezzino "giustamente" i materiali di studio e di riscontro.[96]

The print collection which Kristeller assumed charge of had arrived to the Museum from the University Library in 1881 at the request of Guadagnini, who acted also upon Venturi and Ricci's suggestion.[97] The relocation of the prints was demanded for security reasons, as several thefts had occurred at least since 1868 while the sheets were kept at the University Library. Not only did Kristeller know the collection, he was also aware of these issues thanks to Max Lehrs' essays. In his 1889 article published on the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Lehrs deplored the thefts and stated that, among the circa 800 pieces taken away from the Museum, of those most affected was a group of ancient German prints, of which he had seen some specimens on display (including two prints by the Master E.S. and other 16th-century sheets that Karl von Heinecken had described one century earlier) in a 'boring corridor'.[98] Until 1888 the prints were in fact kept, together with drawings, in a section of the museum which was not included in the visitors' itinerary, but was instead used for offices and storages, and the catalogue guides published in the 1880s and early 1890s do not mention any other section of the museum where one could find works on paper.[99]

Soon after his appointment was officially confirmed, Kristeller wrote to Venturi to present him his plan for the Pinacoteca (Appendix, document 9):

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96 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I serie, b. 29, fasc. 522, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Baccelli] to Guadagnini, 27 July 1894.

97 "[…] com'era anche suo desiderio, coll'amico Corrado Ricci" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Guadagnini, Anacleto, Guadagnini to Venturi, 18 March 1893).

98 "So reiste ich den im Mai dieses Jahres von Venedig mit dem Umweg über Bassano das sich auch noch einer bis dahin von seinem Sachsverständigen eines Blickes gewürdigten prächtige Kupferstichsammlung, der Raccolta Remondiniana, erfreut, nach Bologna – Schon in dem den Besuchern der Pinakothek wohlbekannten, langweiligen Kupferstichkorrido (denn wer hätte in Italien Zeit für Kupferstiche!) fand ich manches sehr bemerkenswerte Blatt des 15. Jahrhunderts […]" LEHRS 1889, p. 15 (a translation of Lehrs' article is published in EMILIANI 1967, pp. 115-116).

99 See the museum floor plans published in EMILIANI 2006, pp. 182-190.

> La mia idea è quella di fare una prima scelta delle stampe migliori, di inventarizzarle (se possibile anche le altre tutte quante) e di catalogarle, di mettere queste stampe scelte su cartoni, di esporle ben ordinate colle iscrizioni occorrenti, giungendo ad ognun gruppo una nota istruttiva intorno alla tecnica ed all'importanza storica di esso, al posto che occupa nello sviluppo storico dell'arte. Spero che in quello modo dalle stampe della collezione, giungendovi alcune riproduzioni, si potrà mettere insieme una piccola esposizione, che darà una idea, un quadro storico della storia dell'incisione. Mi pare che sarà necessario, specialmente in questo primo tentativo, d'un riordinamento, di fare una mostra di questo genere, per fare vedere ciò, che abbiamo fatto, e per svegliare, se possibile, un po' l'interesse delle persone amanti l'arte […]. Ti prego di dirmi, se sei d'accordo con me, o se desideri, che si faccia il lavoro in un modo diverso. Io vedo il mio compito specialmente nel determinare l'autore ecc. delle stampe, e nell'ordinarle scientificamente nel fare la scelta secondo il valore.[100]

Kristeller's plan:

> per l'ordinamento della collezione delle stampe […] secondo i sistemi moderni usati nei gabinetti esteri di stampe, e col duplice scopo di fare una mostra di esemplari tipici della storia dell'incisione per il gran pubblico e di servire agli studiosi speciali di quest'arte, col raccogliere ordinatamente tutto l'altro materiale[101]

reflected what he had already presented to Venturi in his previous letters: to order prints by engravers' names, to remove the most valuable sheets from the albums in order to put them "su cartoni" (for this purpose he had the Berlin models for the boxes sent from Rome to Bologna)[102] and eventually to put them on view, following a display scheme that he had seen, most likely, in Berlin. Given the very large amount of prints held in the Lambertini albums, it was impossible for

100 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 31 July 1894.

101 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 29, fasc. 522, [sender unknown, letter sent from Bologna] to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, November 1894.

102 "Servono agli operai che dovranno partecipare all'ordinamento della collezione" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 29, fasc. 522, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Baccelli] to Regia Galleria in Bologna [Guadagnini], 9 October 1894), "perché non se ne trovano di buoni" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 19 January 1985). Probably the model boxes remained only temporarily in Bologna and were then returned to Rome.

the scholar to complete the project during his short time at the Regia Pinacoteca (he left Bologna presumably in June 1895 when he was called to Rome). 3250 prints in total were removed from the volumes and put in the folders built following the Berlin models; some of the sheets were washed and some were sent to the restorer Carlo Maré (Appendix, document 10),[103] who was also in charge of preparing "cartoni à passe partout, di tinta avorio, utili per l'esposizione delle stampe di codesta raccolta".[104] Kristeller managed to complete a card index ("schedario […] rapido e preciso")[105] with movable entries; drawing on the list of engravers and the list of authors Giuseppe Gaetano Roncagli had started to compile in 1848-1861, he prepared three copies for each entry, and ordered them according to engravers' name, authors' name and subject-matter. "L'incisione, arte a sé, non può più servire efficacemente per lo studio delle opere di altra arte, poiché queste vanno riprodotte adesso coi mezzi meccanici. È necessario dunque tenere conto in primo luogo della tecnica dei semplici incisori e dei pittori-incisori […]".[106] Each *scheda mobile* described therefore:

> […] il nome dell'incisore; secondo, quello del pittore a cui appartiene il disegno originale; terzo, il soggetto. Oltre a ciò vi è indicato il genere (rame o legno), il numero dell'inventario, lo stato dell'impressione, e vi è nota della letteratura dove la stampe è descritta, della provenienza (da quale volume sia stata tolta od in

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103 "Intanto andiamo avanti con tutta la precauzione possibile, soltanto lavando le stampe e lasciando da parte le cose difficili, che ti manderemo presto per Maré" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 9 October 1894). Prints sent to be restored on 29 October 1894 included sheets by Mantegna, Marcantonio, Francia, Campagnola and some anonymous engravers (11 sheets in total); by the end of November, 24 other sheets were sent (prints by Marcantonio Raimondi, various monogrammists as well as anonymous pieces). In her analysis of the first volume of the Lambertini bequest, *Stampe bolognesi di Giulio Bonasoni*, Sabrina Borsetti observed that the removal of the prints sometimes provoked tears and abrasions, while other prints still bear the signs of violent washes (BORSETTI 2008, p. 108). On the restoration activities performed on the collection in the 1980s, see FAIETTI 1990.

104 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 29, fasc. 522, Costantini to [Guadagnini?], 5 December 1894.

105 EMILIANI 1979b, p. 45

106 KRISTELLER 1894-1895b, p. 164.

> qual modo sia stata acquistata), della filigrana della carta, infine dello stato di conservazione.[107]

Throughout this process, Kristeller was supported by Guadagnini, who as many other *ispettori* had arrived at the museum with the background of an artist (he had been pupil of the Bolognese engraver Francesco Rosaspina). In learning the care for the "speciale rame della storia dell'incisione",[108] Guadagnini became a sort of pupil of Kristeller, who later expressed to Venturi his satisfaction regarding the *ispettore*'s improved skills.[109]

Kristeller would submit to Venturi any plan he had before putting it in practice. In October 1894, for example, he came up with the idea of preparing a general stamp for all graphic art collections in Italy (that could bear the inscription "R.R. coll. d. stampe e d. disegni") – a sign that, as he worked in Bologna, he still had in mind the more general frame – as well as a specific stamp for each collection:

> Non vuoi che le stampe siano bollate? Una parte è purtroppo sul dritto rovinato per il bollo pontificio, altre non hanno bollo del tutto specialmente quella della Accademia. Tu hai fatto procurare alle Biblioteche, se mi ricordo bene, quelle stampiglie di gelatina, che ti avevo proposto? Si vuol per questo una matrice di ferro tagliata molto bene. Forse si potrebbe introdurre un bollo generale per tutte le collezioni di disegni e di stampe, ma poiché ognuna collezione ne avrebbe bisogno di uno si potrebbe far fare anche per ognuna collezione suo. Per esempio in questa forma (così piccolo come possibile!)[110]

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107 *Ivi*, pp. 163-164.

108 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 29, fasc. 522, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione to Kristeller, 27 July 1894.

109 "[…] pare che faccia molto bene nel restaurare le stampe" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 9 October 1894); "[…] ha acquisito una bella pratica adesso e fa molto bene" (*ivi*, Kristeller to Venturi, 14 February 1895). Guadagnini and Kristeller must have remained on good terms, as in his letters to Venturi, Guadagnini always remembered his German colleague with kind words (see CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Guadagnini, Anacleto; Guadagnini to Venturi, 5 and 30 January; 1 July; 17 December 1896).

110 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 9 October 1894. All prints from the 81 volumes of Lambertini collection already had an oil stamp, often applied between the sheet edge and the album

Next to the 'material' management of the collection, another aspect worth mentioning regards its identity: what the collection was made of and what it represented. In line what he had proposed to Venturi in the fundamental letter of 1891, Kristeller pursued a mission of "completezza" for each collection and for the 'system' of Italian collections as a whole. This purpose was two-fold: on the one hand, Kristeller aimed at organising a complete display to represent the evolution of printmaking techniques ("mostra al pubblico una serie, quanto possible, completa di monumenti dell'arte dell'incisione");[111] to do so, he planned to fill the gaps using reproductions (a practice that was already in use in museums, especially those abroad, and for other media too). On the other hand, Kristeller proposed to acquire and exchange some prints in order to obtain a precise identity of the collection. The reality, however, differed from what Kristeller had imagined for Italian 'peripherical' collections. From a quantitative and qualitative point of view, the most significant groups of prints at the Pinacoteca in Bologna were, firstly, an 'almost complete' group of prints by Bolognese artists from the second half of 16th to 18th century (Carracci, Barocci, Guercino, Parmigianino, Guido Reni, their pupils and followers), "la quale forma un complemento opportuno, anzi necessario alla galleria dei quadri dei medesimi artisti, posseduti dalla Pinacoteca";[112] secondly, a group of 15th-16th century rare German prints played an important part too, and the acquisition of a *Sant'Eustachio* by Dürer was indeed put into practice in order to strengthen that part of the collection ("Incisione importantissima, rara perché bella prova, anche se restaurata in molte piccole parti"). His other suggestions show that he wanted to take advantage from what was on the market to fill in "alcune delle principali lacune nella collezione di stampe di codesta Pinacoteca". He therefore suggested to buy a *Trionfo di Cesare* by Mantegna ("Per completare la serie dei trionfi di Cesare di Mantegna); a portrait of the painter Jordaens by Pieter de Jode, already in the collection but "Stato anteriore rispetto a quello già posseduto"; and a Cain and Abel by Lucas van Leiden "Prova non tanto buona ed un poco corrosa. Si propone l'acquisto perché il bollo pontificio prova che dovesse aver già fatto parte della collezione di Stampe di codesta Galleria".[113] In February 1895 Kristeller also obtained

page (EMILIANI 1979B, p. 44).

111 BSL, Fondo Ridolfi, Carteggio Enrico Ridolfi, ms. 3642, c. 50, Kristeller to Ridolfi, 3 February 1895.

112 KRISTELLER 1894-1895b, p. 167.

113 All these acquisitions were proposed by him in December 1894 (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 29, fasc. 525, Kristeller to Ministero della Pubblica

permission to exchange nine double prints with the Uffizi for two double Tarocchi, proving not only that exchanges among State museums of this kind of artworks were indeed possible, but also that he was fully recognised as somebody who had the authority and skills to propose them and to lead the negotiations.[114]

Venturi was not the only scholar Kristeller kept up-to-date regarding his work in Bologna. The German art historian was in touch with Corrado Ricci too, who at that time was Director of the Regia Galleria in Parma. Kristeller in fact had not given up on the possibility to take care of the Palatina collection of prints, which was still very dear to him:

> Se fosse consegnata la collezione sarebbe già fatto un grande passo avanti si potrebbe pensare di utilizzarla per lo studio. Avevo grande voglia di dedicarmi proprio a quella raccolta di fatto sconosciuta nel mondo scientifico, ma adesso farò il primo saggio qui in Bologna. […] Spero anche che presto le potrò mostrare qualche risultato del mio lavoro qui.[115]

Istruzione, 16 December 1894). The acquisition was completed on 15 September 1895.

114 "Mi pare che sarebbe importante, in caso che si comprano le stampe di distribuirle fra le collezioni per aver dopo il diritto di cambiare ecc." (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 3 December 1894). Before proceeding with an official request, Kristeller contacted Enrico Ridolfi in order to assess the possibility of exchanging duplicate prints with the Regie Gallerie in Florence in order to obtain the two Tarocchi for Bologna (BSL, Fondo Ridolfi, Carteggio Enrico Ridolfi, ms. 3642, c. 50, Kristeller to Ridolfi, 3 February 1895). Following Kristeller's suggestions, in February 1895 the Director of the Pinacoteca proposed an exchange between the museum and the Uffizi: the Uffizi was asked to give two double *Tarocchi* in exchange for nine doubles (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 29, fasc. 527, Direttore della Pinacoteca di Bologna [Guadagnini] to [Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione?], 25 February 1895). The exchange was immediately approved (*ivi,* Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione to Direttore della Pinacoteca di Bologna [Guadagnini], 27 February 1895; see also the *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, I, II, 1895, p. 389, and FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 93).

115 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 100, c. 19080, Kristeller to Ricci, 3 October 1894.

In October 1894 Kristeller also wrote to Sidney Colvin (1845-1927), Keeper of prints and drawings at the British Museum between 1883 and 1912, which Kristeller had visited several times in the previous years:[116]

> Dear Sir,
>
> Perhaps it will be of interest to you to know that I have got the order by the Minister of the Public Instruction of Italy to order the collections of engravings of the R. Pinacoteca in Bologna. It is but a small part of the project which has been proposed by Venturi and myself to the Ministero, but it is a beginning. I hope that perhaps it may have consequences for the other collections of the italian government. […] I would be very glad if you would help me in this work with your precious advices. As far as possible I count to order the collection after the model of the British Museum and the Berlin collections. Naturally [*I] have to make many concessions to the Italian spirit and to the old habits used in this kind of collections.[117]

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116 "E in questa città gigantesca io sono venuto per cercare le cose piccole e fini" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 20 July 1892). The visitors' books held at the British Museum Print Room's archive show that Kristeller visited the collection at least on 25-30 June 1888, July-August 1888 (BM, Print Room Archive, Visitors Books, vol. 8), 21 July 1892, August 1892 (all month), 2 and 17 September 1892, 15, 19, 24, 26-27 May 1893, June, July 1893, together with Max Lehrs (BM, Print Room Archive, Visitors Books, vol. 10).

117 BM, Print Room Archive, Letters received, vol. 1893-95, n. 255, Kristeller to Colvin, 10 October 1894. One year before, Kristeller had confessed to Venturi that he did not have a very high opinion of Colvin ("[…] non credo che alcuna opinione che mette fuori come la sua, sia mai nata nel suo proprio cervello" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 1 August 1893). Despite his low opinion of the Keeper of prints and drawings, Kristeller must have admired, supported and taken inspiration from several measures adopted in the management of the British Museum Print Room, to which Sidney Colvin was what Friedrich Lippmann was to the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin. As pointed out by Anthony Griffiths, if Henry Josi (1802-1845) was "the first founder of the Department, Colvin must unquestionably be seen as its refounder", as he was responsible for the scholarly recognition of the Print Room (Griffiths 1996, p. 14). Not only was he able to attract several gifts and skillfully build up the collection; he also stopped the employment of outside authors to work on the collection catalogue and recruited instead university-trained art historians. He also managed to convince the Museum Trustees to hire two extra attendants to join the Print Room staff, which developed a specialised knowledge in the field (*ivi*, pp. 14-15).

In roughly one year, Kristeller planned and put in place a series of actions (described in a report he published on the third issue of the *Le Gallerie nazionali italiane: notizie e documenti*)[118] that had a huge impact on the subsequent conservation and display history of the print collection at the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna. After the German art historian moved to Rome, Guadagnini (who became Director of the Pinacoteca in 1895) went on to arrange the prints and prepare them for the display following Kristeller's instructions. The growing interest towards the history of printmaking techniques that characterized studies on prints since the late 1880s seems to find here its first practical application in Italian State museums; the arrangement of the sheets on display could in fact provide an historical framework of printmaking history, and visitors would be guided to its understanding thanks to proper labels and explanations relating to each technique. In his catalogue-guide of the Pinacoteca published in 1899, Guadagnini described how corridor no. 5 was "dedicato alla mostra delle incisioni"):

> Nella lunga parete che sta di fronte alle finestre, sono esposte in ordine cronologico stampe italiane; cominciando dagli anonimi del sec. XV, fino alle acqueforti del sec. XVIII. In alto è disposta una numerosa raccolta di ritratti. Al lato destro di chi guarda le finestre è raccolto un gruppo di pregevoli e rare stampe straniere. Negli spazi che stanno fra le finestre, si vedono stampe Inglesi, Francesi e Italiane dei secoli XVIII e XIX.[119]

Strangely enough, Lehrs's remarks on the danger of exposing the prints in full light seem to have had no effect on Kristeller and Guadagnini's decisions.

3.4 Evidence from other State museums: Turin, Naples and Parma

While Paul Kristeller was working in Bologna, Adolfo Venturi kept negotiating with the Ministry of Public Education and with the Accademia dei Lincei in order to define the details of the deal to transfer of the Corsini collection from the Accademia to the to-be Gabinetto

118 KRISTELLER 1894-1895b.

119 GUADAGNINI 1899, p. 128. The reproductions that Kristeller had planned to use are not mentioned here anyway.

Nazionale delle Stampe attached to the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica. Venturi's professional position within the Ministry was growing stronger; this meant that even before his appointment in 1895 as Director "dei Musei e delle Gallerie" he could have a say when somebody was chosen as Director in one of the Gallerie Nazionali.[120] He was thus able to have Corrado Ricci appointed at the Galleria in Parma (1894) and to have the painter and scholar Giulio Cantalamessa (1846-1924) sent first to Modena (1893) and then to Venice (October 1894) with the same assignment. In 'their' museums, Ricci and Cantalamessa directed a rearrangement of collections in line with Venturi's principles and based on what he had already planned for the Galleria Estense in Modena. In Turin, Alessandro Baudi di Vesme (1854-1923), who was in charge of the Pinacoteca after Francesco Gamba's death in 1886, moved on from Venturi's teachings too and had frequent exchanges with him.[121] In spite of this proximity between Venturi and the directors of Gallerie Nazionali, there is no sign of an attempt on Venturi's part to inform his close network of colleagues about his and Kristeller's plan to create a national system for prints collections; at this early stage, he perhaps he preferred to wait until the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe was established, since that was to be the model collection from which other museums would derive their methods and tools. In the meantime, each museum director proceeded and arranged (or did not arrange) 'his' collection of prints according to his own interests, methods and available resources.

Turin and Naples

It seems that only one museum director wrote to the Ministry to enquire on Kristeller's methods, after the *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* informed its readers of the arrival of the Berlin 'tool kit' in 1891. Baudi di Vesme had a special interest for prints and for the history of Italian printmaking, which he developed during his work on the prints of the Biblioteca Universitaria in Turin, and which would eventually lead to his book *Le peintre graveur* (1906).[122] In the absence of a dedicated figure who could take care of the prints of the Pinacoteca, Baudi di Vesme was the only one responsible for it. The lack of funds

120 VALERI 2007, p. 637.

121 FANTINI 2010, pp. 223-226. Baudi di Vesme was first appointed Vice-director of the Regia Pinacoteca in 1887, then *direttore reggente* in 1888 and eventually Director in 1895.

122 *Ivi*, p. 222, n. 4 e 5 (with previous bibliography).

prevented him from promoting a proper acquisition campaign, that he would have liked to direct towards with local art and local history as he did with the museum collection of paintings, diverging from Venturi's suggestion to focus instead on national art, of which some bequests would follow only in 1896-1897, and later. The Director invested instead in the acquisition of specific bibliographic resources to support the study and knowledge of works on paper; not surprisingly, considering that his predecessor had 'imported' from France methods used in public collections to arrange prints (the *reliures mobiles*), he mainly bought works by French authors, including the fundamental manuals written by Dutuit, Delaborde, Le Blanc, Duplessis, Robert-Dumesnil and Firmin Didot; and he himself focused on the revision of authorships and conservation criteria.[123] When in 1892 the *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* informed its readers that the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin had sent models for conservation and display of prints to Rome, Baudi de Vesme asked the Minister to receive the models in order to have an idea "[…] del metodo adottato per la conservazione della grandiosa raccolta del Gabinetto berlinese. Se quel metodo verrà trovato pratico e conveniente (cosa di cui non dubito) lo si potrà adottare per le incisioni che in avvenire verranno in possesso di questa pinacoteca […]".[124]

The models arrived in Turin only in 1897[125] after Baudi di Vesme filed a second request (having not received an answer to his first one); no further action relating to conservation and display is registered to have taken place during the first half of 1890s. Surprisingly enough, no trace of connections have been found relating to this topic between Baudi di Vesme and Venturi (who was aware that the Pinacoteca in Turin was one of the few museum where "i preziosi fogli incisi sono corredo delle raccolte governative d'arte") or between him and Kristeller.[126]

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123 GIOVANNINI LUCA 2015, pp. 169-171.

124 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Baudi de Vesme to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 30 April 1892; the letter is published in MARIANI 2001, p. 130.

125 "Per assecondare la richiesta da Lei fatta a questo Ministero, mi pregio di inviarle alcuni de' cartoni usati al gabinetto nazionale delle stampe" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers. I s., b. 295, fasc. 5058, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Emanuele Gianturco] to Baudi di Vesme, 7 March 1897; Baudi di Vesme's reply in *ivi*, Baudi di Vesme to the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 12 March 1897). See also GIOVANNINI LUCA 2015, p. 172. I am grateful to Federica Panero for the fruitful exchange on this topic.

126 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Baccelli, but written by Venturi] to Direzione per le Biblioteche

On the contrary to Turin, where the director of the Pinacoteca was himself a scholar of prints and therefore more keen in developing the in-house collection of works on paper according to national and European standards, the print collection at the National Museum of Naples (today MAN – Museo Archeologico Napoli) clashed with the nature of the institution it was housed in. Until 1956, in fact, archaeological objects and a picture gallery (where prints belonged) coexisted in the same building;[127] the archaeological profile was predominant, and, as a consequence of this, directors were chosen among archaeologists (Giuseppe Fiorelli, September 1863-May 1875, Giulio de Petra, May 1875-December 1910, and Ettore Pais, March 1901-June 1904). During the 1890s no measure was taken to study the collection of prints or to change its former arrangement. As it can be inferred by the numerous museum guidebooks published between the 1870s and the 1890s, the Pinacoteca (located on the first floor of the museum) had only a room dedicated to prints, where also *cartoni* (attributed to Michelangelo, Raphael and Parmigianino) were on display on the walls. The room, which was probably set up following the arrival of the Firmian collection of prints

e gli Affari Generali, 23 May 1894.

127 The Pinacoteca, housed in the Palazzo degli Studi since the first half of 19th century, was part of the Real Museo Borbonico (established in 1816) and was managed by the Reale Accademia di Belle Arti, located in the same building until 1864. The Biblioteca Nazionale, also housed in the Palazzo degli Studi. Under Gioacchino Murat the Pinacoteca was supposed to be a Galleria dei Pittori Napoletani (as described by Filangieri di Candida in 1902), that through its paintings from the Farnese and Borbone collections and from the supressed monasteries represented the local territory, the capital of the Kingdom. As the Real Museo Borbonico became Museo Nazionale, the collection was changed to take part in the narrative of national history and identity (see BARRELLA 2013, pp. 288-290). After the Unification, the Pinacoteca which belonged to the 'new' Museo Nazionale was re-arranged by the painter Demetrio Salazaro (1822-1882). The picture gallery was transferred to the Museo di Capodimonte in 1956. Among the objects moved to the "Musei e Gallerie di Capodimonte" there were 19 boxes of albums and books containing bound prints as well as loose sheets, drawings, copper casts and watercolours coming from the "Salone delle stampe e disegni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli" (AMC, APB, Capodimonte, cart. 1bis, fasc. 4/5, report of the delivery, 6 October 1956). On the history of the Gabinetto stampe e disegni at the Museo di Capodimonte after its re-organisation in the 1950s-1960s, see MUZII CAVALLO 2007 for an overview; see also MOLAJOLI 1958, pp. 49-51 (with a map of the museum following its reopening in 1957); MUZII CAVALLO 2000. On the collection, see also MUZII CAVALLO 1987; MUZII CAVALLO 1994, SPINOSA 2000; MORMONE 2009. On the meaning of the picture gallery within the Museo Nazionale in the late 19th century, see CIOFFI 1995; BARRELLA 2013. Today, the collection is made up by over 2.500 drawings and around 25.000 prints.

given as a gift to the museum by King Vittorio Emanuele II in 1864,[128] is always referred to as "Collezione di stampe" or "Raccolta di stampe e disegni antichi" (fig. 3.VI):[129] "La collection des estampes est nommée collection Firmiana, parcequ'elle a appartenu au Comte Charles Firmian […]. Ce recueil est renfermé dans une grande armoire comprenant 19,320 pièces, reliées en 227 volumes, et trois magnifiques plaques en argent avec gravures provenant de la maison Farnese".[130]

The prints belonging to the Collezione Firmiana were stored in albums kept in a special piece of furniture: "[…] armadio di mogano che dalla Reale Biblioteca Privata di S. M. si passa al Museo Nazionale di Napoli per effetto dell'Uffizio dell'Intendente Generale di Casa Reale del 24. febbraio 1864, quale armadio è quello stesso ove si conservava la collezione di stampe del Conte Carlo de Firmian composta di dugentoventisette volume diversi […]".[131]

But Firmian's were not the only prints housed at the museum. The prints belonging to the Fondo Farnese and the Fondo Orsini were most likely stored in the museum library, located on the same floor, next to room where the Firmian prints were housed; the same hypothesis could be made for those prints which entered the museum between 1880 and 1890, including engravings by Rosaspina depicting historical subjects, geographical maps, engraved portraits of Federico I Borbone and other royals, maps of Pompeii and one "incisione della Madonna di Foligno".[132] If the guidebooks' lack of details concerning prints is not *per se* a sign of little interest from the museum administration towards works on paper, the absence of archival material documenting any 'use' of the Firmian collection combined with the analysis of accessions suggest that the object print was mainly included in the museum collections for its

128 The Firmian collection, assembled by the Austrian politician Count Carlo Giuseppe Firmian (Karl Joseph von Firmian, 1718-1782), imperial ambassador in Naples (1754-1758) and Governor of Lombardy, was organised in albums, prepared under the supervision of Carlo Bianconi and Venanzio De Pagave (1722-1803), who worked for Firmian as art advisors (see EPIFANI 2015, on drawings, and the essays by Rossana Muzii Cavallo, former director of the drawings and prints collection at the Museo di Capodimonte, on prints: MUZII CAVALLO 1982; MUZII CAVALLO 1984).

129 *L'Arte al Museo nazionale di Napoli* 1880, p. 70.

130 MONACO, MONTAGNE 1890, p. 223.

131 AS-MANN, IV A6, 54, *Descrizione dell'armadio*, 1864. The documents referring to the decoration of the room in 1864 are in AS-MANN, XVI A2, 20.

132 AS-MANN, II B5, 3, *Sottoconto dell'inventario Generale del Museo Nazionale: disegni, stampe, lucidi e lastre fotografiche; nn. Tra 109251 e 132216*, 1880-1890.

documentary value. It does not come as a surprise, therefore, to learn that in 1899 a foreign visitor to the museum wrote to the Ministry deploring the state of prints: "Viene riferito a questo Ministero che un illustre straniero, cultore dell'arte, visitando la raccolta delle stampe in codesto Museo, poté constatare che le incisioni giacciono guaste per deplorevole incuria, ed aggiunse che se a tanto danno non si porrà riparo, fra poco tutto sarà perduto".[133]

Corrado Ricci at the Galleria Nazionale in Parma

Among the other Regie Gallerie, only the one in Parma (now part of the Complesso Monumentale della Pillotta) had one room dedicated to prints, 'inherited' from the art academy from which the Museum depended from until 1882. The Toschi rooms (called "Raccolte Toschi" on the 1896 catalogue) named after the engraver Paolo Toschi and his school were actually two: one contained "Incisioni di Paolo Toschi e della sua scuola" (room no. XIV and one was for "Acquerelli di Paolo Toschi, e disegni" (room no. XV). The 90 prints in room no. XIV were engraved by Toschi and other artists within the Scuola dell'Incisione of the Arts Academy of Parma; some subjects were invented by the same engravers (such as the Ritratto di Paolo Toschi, by Raimondi, cat. no. 1) but most reproduced works by Raphael, Mantegna, Poussin, and, above all, Parmigianino and especially Correggio.[134] These rooms were already set-up when Corrado Ricci arrived as *coadiutore* at the Galleria in Parma in June 1893 (he became Director in 1894, a position he maintained until 1896); they were in fact set up between 1885 and 1890, thanks to Lucio Pigorini, former Secretary of the Accademia di Belle Arti, using a room that was obtained to the Gallery either by the Demanio (State property) or from the Regio Istituto di Belle Arti.[135] Together with the collection of portraits, they were the only exceptions to an order which was "nè

133 AS-MANN, IV C1, 4, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Carlo Fiorilli] to Direttore del Museo Nazionale e degli Scavi Napoli [Giulio de Petra], 22 February 1899. The director replied two days after, stating instead that the prints were in "buono stato […]. Raccolte in volumi solidamente rilegati di cuoio forte sono custodite in un elegante armadio di mogano con vetri, allogato in una bene aerata ed asciutta sala del mezzanino di questo edificio […]" (*ivi*, Direttore to S.E. il Ministro [Carlo Fiorilli], 24 February 1899, draft).

134 See RICCI 1896, pp. 268-281; pp. 282-289; pp. 290-306. See FORNARI SCHIANCHI 2008, p. 147.

135 RICCI 1896, p. X.

troppo logico nè troppo utile agli studiosi".[136]

With his appointment in Parma (only temporarily interrupted by missions in Modena and in Ravenna)[137] began what Andrea Emiliani called Corrado Ricci's "decennio e poco più (1893-1906) prettamente museografico".[138] There, for the first time, Ricci engaged with the re-organisation of a whole museum tackling several issues ranging from the display order to research activities, from restauration interventions to a new inventory, gathering the expertise which would pave the way for his following appointments in Milan, Bergamo, Modena and Florence.[139] Upon his arrival in Parma, Ricci found a quite confused situation, where the lack of logical order within the museum was worsened by the still rather strong interference of the art academy.[140] Drawing on the same

136 *Ivi*, p. XIV.

137 See LEVI 2004b, p. 53, nn. 8-9. On Corrado Ricci's activity in Parma, see CERUTI 1894; EMILIANI 1997c; FORNARI SCHIANCHI 2008. His arrangement, concluded in 1896 with the publication of the catalogue of the Museum (RICCI 1896) was very well received: Bernard Berenson called the Gallery "the best kept and best labelled in Italy" (BERENSON 1895, pp. 56-57; see also LEVI 2004b, p. 51).

138 EMILIANI 1997b, p. 32.

139 On Corrado Ricci's museographical activity see GAMBA 1935; EMILIANI 1997b, pp. 31-40; LEVI 2004 and the essays in EMILIANI, SPADONI 2008.

140 "Questa R. Pinacoteca non è ordinata nè cronologicamente nè per iscuole. […] il tutto alternato, costellato quasi di quadri moderni e di copie di lavori classici fatti dagli scolari dell'Istituto di Belle Arti. Oltracciò frequenti i battesimi audaci e falsi e l'abuso di grandi nomi, con relativi errori di grafia e di date nei cartellini, alcuni dei quali mi sono già affrettato di correggere" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers, I s., b. 159, fasc. 2608, Ricci to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione; see also CECCHINI 2013b, p. 105). "Ma purtroppo qui c'è un'ingerenza dell'Accademia sulla Pinacoteca che non mi garba. Quando si vuole distaccare un quadro e decidere un restauro pretendono che si convochi il Consiglio Accademico. Ma in che razza di regolamento è tale pasticcio? La Pinacoteca non è forse autonoma? Quand'è che ci manderete un regolamento definitivo?" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Ricci, Corrado; Ricci to Venturi, 23 February 1893; quoted also in LEVI 1994, p. 34, n. 47). The issue of dependency of the Pinacoteca from the Accademia took quite a long time to be solved. Again in May, Ricci wrote to Venturi: "Nel 1877 un decreto Coppino accomunava il personale dell'Istituto di Belle Arti di qua a quello della Pinacoteca. Direttore, Segretario ecc. erano in comune, quindi tutte le richieste si dovevano rivolgere al Direttore dell'Istituto di Belle Arti. Anzi il regolamento nostro era incluso nello *Statuto della R. Accademia di Belle Arti*, nel quale era scritto (all'art. 93) che per proporre e collaudare ristauri si richiedeva il parere di una commissione che il collegio degli accademici eleggeva nel proprio seno. Ma (attendi bene) un decreto del 13 marzo 1882 (di 5 anni posteriore al primo) abrogò l'altro, stabilì un ruolo nuovo d'impiegati e rese autonoma la Pinacoteca levandola naturalmente dalla

principles that had guided Venturi in the arrangement of the Galleria Estense, Ricci's action was based on the combination of direct study of the artwork, on the one hand, and archival research, on the other, both instrumental to properly attribute each artwork and then to give it the correct position within the museum.[141] Ricci's intervention can also be registered in more material aspects, such as the choice of colour for the museum rooms: instead of "sangue cotto" red that had invaded museum all over Europe, he preferred clay, which let paintings' colours stand out.[142] His letters to Venturi, whom Ricci kept constantly updated on his activity, disclose a man who is determined to complete his tasks in the best way possible and turn the museum into an exemplary collection for management practices and arrangement solutions.[143] Albeit his close acquaintance with Venturi and his 'method', Ricci had gathered his own experience on European museographical models, also thanks to his travels to Vienna in 1889 and then to Munich, Dresden and Berlin in 1893-1894.[144] This drove him to organise the Galleria in Parma applying

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dipendenza dello Statuto dell'Accademia di B.A. Ma invece di badare ai ristauri, qui in Pinacoteca credettero bene di lavarsene le mani continuando contro le nuove disposizioni e il nuovo decreto a fare delle grandi adunanze per proporre ristauri anche di cerotti e poi per collaudarli con discussioni bizantine, dichiarandosi forse essi stessi commissari, annoiati di quella briga. Ora domani o lunedì verrà al Ministero una lettera in questo senso, nella quale si chiede se noi siamo veramente indipendenti, cioè se pei ristauri dipendiamo solo da Roma o da questa curiosissima commissione. Non dubito che tu solleciterai i miei sforzi nell'eliminare l'ingerenza che l'Accademia vuole esercitare con danno in Pinacoteca" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Ricci, Corrado; Ricci to Venturi, 6 May 1893).

141 As Venturi, Ricci too went beyond Morelli's 'theory' of visual comparison (see Levi 2004, p. 54, who reports Ricci's thought on his meeting with Morelli in 1885).

142 Ricci 1894, p. 20; for an overview on the role played by colour in museum displays across the centuries, see Di Macco 2014.

143 "Io non fatico che per la Pinacoteca. Entro in ufficio alle 8 ½ per uscirne alle 6 di sera e poi giro per le chiese e per le case in una delle quali ho trovato un Parmigianino soavissimo ch'io capisco si avrebbe per poco. […] Credi che all'inalterata mia onestà (lo dico liberamente) i sotterfugi di questa gente danno una nausea spaventosa e credi che non ti ho scritto tutto. Io voglio esser l'anima di questo ufficio per farne un ufficio esemplare nella serietà del personale e nell'esattezza e pulizia e logica d'ordinamento" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Ricci, Corrado; Ricci to Venturi, 7 June 1893).

144 Emiliani 1997b, pp. 25, 40 (and pp. 29-31 for an overview on Ricci's relationship to Venturi). In her 1991 essay, Giovanna Bosi Maramotti analysed their correspondence: as she observed, Ricci owed Venturi his approach to the study of Italian art history, and in particular the 'tools' to read a painting (Bosi

two different systems: most rooms were arranged by schools and in chronological order, while six rooms were inspired by historical-memorial criteria. Ricci 'imported' the models seen in at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and at the Town Hall in Vienna to set up, respectively, a section of portraits (rooms nos. IX-XIII)[145] and a topographic room (no. XXVI)[146] dedicated to the city and its territory; by reconstructing contexts (the city and the history of the collection), he wanted the museum to serve a pedagogic function.[147] This may be the reason why he decided did not modify the Toschi rooms, which also fell outside the chronological arrangement but qualified to be comprised among the "documenti artistici e memorie";[148] as he specified, only minor interventions were required: the display arrangement was slightly

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MARAMOTTI 1991, p. 24). At the end of his introduction to the 1896 catalogue of the Galleria in Parma, Ricci thanked Venturi (and Frizzoni) for their suggestions on the re-design of the museum, but by then their relationship had already deteriorated following the quarrel over the re-organisation of the Museo Nazionale in Naples.

145 "All'incontro convien sapere come la maggior parte dei ritratti rappresentano personaggi della casa Farnese e di quella dei Borboni […]. Ora, non era possibile disseminare questa serie storica di ritratti per tutta la galleria. […] Formano quindi un insieme storico che sarebbe rovinato qualora venisse disagregato [sic]" (RICCI 1896, pp. XLIII-XLIV).

146 "È la famosa raccolta congenere che il Municipio di Vienna ha fatto nel suo palazzo; ma se la capitale dell'Austria ha saputo e potuto fare una cosa magnifica, non è buon argomento perché non si debba, anche in poco, cercare d'imitarla. Avesse così fatto in Italia ogni città di provincia, e magari ogni piccolo comune e castello! Quale dovizia di documenti artistici e memorie! A traverso i secoli, città e borghi si trasformano; con le persone muoiono i costumi, altri e nuovi ne sorgono, e nessuno cerca di provvedere con raccolte speciali per far veder ai posteri di quello che i luoghi furono nei diversi tempi. Della loro importanza è prova la passione onde oggi si cercano le più piccole orme grafiche di un edifizio caduto o demolito" (RICCI 1896, p. XLI).

147 See LEVI 2004, pp. 58-60; CECCHINI 2013b. Ricci's approach laid the bases for such arrangement, further developed by others at a later date (see for example Achille Bertini Calosso's *Raccolta Storico-Topografica della Città e del Territorio di Perugia* at the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria in the 1940s; DRAGONI 2012, pp. 53-59).

148 "[…] ho potuto mettere insieme una raccoltina di dipinti che, uniti a quelli che già la galleria possedeva, hanno raggiunto il numero di cinquantotto e formano una speciale sezione storico-topografica di Parma, riproducendo funzioni e avvenimenti di qualche importanza, o luoghi della città e dei dintorni" (RICCI 1896, p. XLI).

modified ("ritoccare qua e là la disposizione")[149] and a window was closed so that the surface could be used to hang more prints ("La finestrella sarà a muro invisibile e sopra ci torneranno le incisioni").[150] The prints made by Toschi and other artists from the Parmense academy perfectly fitted the historical and documentary purpose of this iconographic section of the museum, as they showcased reproductions of the most important frescoes made in Parma by Correggio and Parmigianino; actually they made up the widest visual documentation of Parmigianino's works, 'poorly' represented at the Galleria by two original paintings only (and his drawings). The next room, no. XV, featured 46 watercolours ("la raccolta di questi acquarelli è e sarà sempre considerate opera utile ed insigne"),[151] that is to say the studies for the engravings of the previous section (figg. 3.VIIa and 3.VIIb).

Although Ricci's interest towards printmaking seems here to come strictly from its power of documenting other artworks and the local territory, since 1893 he pursued the relocation of the Ortalli prints from the Biblioteca Palatina to the Museum in order to set up a room dedicated to old master prints, an idea which might have come from the examples he saw abroad, as suggested by Sandra Sicoli.[152] Ricci immediately submitted his project to Venturi, who supported the creation of a collection of old master prints that could serve the purpose of illustrating

149 Ricci 1893-1894, p. 20.

150 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Ricci, Corrado; Ricci to Venturi, 7 June 1893.

151 "Quarantasei acquerelli a colori: su carta: copie dei principali affreschi conservati in Parma e dovuti al Correggio, al Parmigianino e all'Anselmi. Tali mirabili copie, che si possono considerare vere e proprie miniature, hanno servito per le incisioni descritte nel precedente specchio. Tre poi sono rimaste inedite. Potranno alcuni osservare che il Toschi e i suoi collaboratori hanno sostituito qualche volta l'impressione loro, la loro individualità e scuola, alla riproduzione scrupolosissima dei tratti originali; ma, a loro scusa, sta il fatto che di fronte a certe parti pressochè distrutte si è dovuto più che riprodurre, interpretare. Comunque sia, la raccolta di questi acquerelli è e sarà sempre considerata opera utile ed insigne" (Ricci 1896, p. 283). For the purpose of documenting Correggio's paintings, in 1894 Ricci obtained to set up a photographic archive of all Correggio's artworks housed in museums as well as in private collections all around Europe. The collection "da disporsi in questa R. Pinacoteca in vantaggio degli studiosi" was initiated thanks to the financial support of the Municipality of Parma in view of the celebrations held for the 4th anniversary of the artist's birthday (MPI, AA.BB.AA., II v., I p., b. 159, fasc. 2614, Il Ministro [f.to Baccelli] to Ministero degli Affari Esteri).

152 "L'idea di una sala dedicate alle stampe, a complemento della Pinacoteca, era un vecchio progetto del Ricci ispirato a quello che lui stesso aveva visto nei musei olandesi" (Sicoli 2013, p. 227).

the history of printmaking and to helping scholars in the study of art history. Shortly after his appointment at the Galleria, Ricci wrote to Venturi to inquire on how to start the process for transferring the prints from the Biblioteca Palatina to the Pinacoteca: "Ricorderai che dalla Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna passò a quella Pinacoteca la raccolta delle Incisioni. Ora in questa Biblioteca di Parma ne esistono 80 mila che dovreste far passare in Pinacoteca. Lo stesso […] Bibliotecario mi diceva che per loro sarebbe una seccatura di meno. Per ottener ciò, come debbo fare?"[153]

Venturi was very well aware of the Ortalli prints because Kristeller often reminded him of the necessity to move them to the Pinacoteca;[154] he replied the following day:

> Benone per il divisamento di portare in pinacoteca le incisioni della Biblioteca; ma per dare ad esse un degno e moderno aspetto, converrà che si dia relazione su quello che si è determinato qui per le collezioni di stampe. Ne discorreremo a lungo! Nulla toglie però che tu e il bibliotecario d'accordo chiediate al Ministero il passaggio delle stampe alla Pinacoteca. Il passaggio però si dovrebbe fare solo quando si potesse provvedere a compilare un verbale di consegna sul serio.[155]

Venturi obviously referred to Kristeller's project, officially approved by the Ministry in 1892. However, the problem in Parma was not just the "verbale" that was needed in order to start the relocation process: the Galleria lacked an available space where to put the prints. Perhaps right after Venturi's letter Ricci started to negotiate with the Demanio (State property) and the Ministry of War, which occupied several spaces of the adjacent San Giovanni Monastery, including the Libreria that Ricci identified as a suitable space to house works on paper.[156] The project was put on hold and roughly one year later, on behalf of the Minister of Public Education Guido Baccelli, Venturi sent a letter to the Direzione per le Biblioteche e gli Affari Generali with the request to approve the

153 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Ricci, Corrado; Ricci to Venturi, 7 June 1893.

154 See CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 31 July 1894;

155 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 199, c. 36998, Venturi to Ricci, 8 June 1893.

156 See the records of the negotiation, in ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401.

transfer of the prints from the Palatina Library to the Regio Museo Parmense, perhaps convinced of the feasibility of the plan by the fact that in 1893 other art objects had been moved from the Palatina to a Museum (the Parmense Museo di Antichità).[157] In his letter, Venturi explicitly mentioned the need for a "gabinetto delle stampe" as a necessary completion of art collections:

> La R. Biblioteca di Parma possiede una ricca collezione di stampe antiche, che meriterebbero d'essere ordinate e classificate, secondo i metodi usati dagli studiosi dell'arte dell'incisione. E questa Divisione farebbe del suo meglio, perché quel materiale di tanta importanza per gli studi artistici tornasse di utilità ai ricercatori e agli amatori dell'antico, se codesta On. Divisione fosse propensa a cedere quel materiale al R. Museo parmense. Come negli istituti esteri, il gabinetto delle stampe si considera quale appendice necessaria alle collezioni artistiche; così in Italia, a Torino, a Firenze, a Napoli i preziosi fogli incisi sono corredo delle raccolte governative d'arte […] per il bene degli studii.[158]

Kristeller was in touch with Ricci and closely followed the development of the issue: "Ho parlato il Ricci, che ha voglia e energia ma mi disse che non c'è un locale per le stampe; della consegna si sa nulla ancora".[159] No reply came from the Direzione Generale Biblioteche, and a reminder was sent by Capodivisione Fiorilli in February 1895 and again in June 1895,[160] a delay that, according to Kristeller, upset Ricci ("Ricci in Parma mi parve seccato assai, che domandando dal Bibliotecario l'assegno della coll. di stampe alla Pinacoteca, il Ministro non ha dato a lui alcuna notizia. Mi pare che la sua domanda sia giusta").[161]

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157 *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, 21, 1893, p. 1012.

158 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [but written by Venturi] to Direzione per le Biblioteche e gli Affari Generali, 23 May 1894.

159 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Ricci, Corrado; Ricci to Venturi, 15 June 1894.

160 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401, Fiorilli to Direzione per le Biblioteche e gli Affari Generali, 18 February 1895 and 17 June 1895.

161 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Ricci, Corrado; Ricci to Venturi, 31 July 1894.

3.5 The foundation of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe

At last, the negotiations that had been continuing for years led to R.D. no. 371, dated 6 June 1895. It stated that, following the 'bequest' to the Italian State of the "Pinacoteca esistente nel palazzo Corsini in Roma" and to the Accademia dei Lincei of the "pregevole raccolta di stampe e disegni", the Galleria di Arte Antica (Galleria Nazionale di Roma) was officially founded in Palazzo Corsini alla Lungara.[162] Article no. 2 of the same decree declared that "alla detta galleria sarà unito un gabinetto nazionale di stampe e disegni, nel quale verrà depositata la raccolta già Corsini, di proprietà della regia accademia dei Lincei".[163] The relocation of prints and drawings was based on an agreement which had already been signed on 8 April 1895; it established that the Accademia dei Lincei would formally keep the ownership of the graphic art collection, while its management would be 'outsourced' to the State ("a titolo di deposito e custodia").[164] As a consequence, the Galleria Nazionale would be in charge of all expenses relating to restoration, custody, display and arrangements of the sheets.

From that moment on, the Corsini collection of drawings and prints belonged to the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica. However, the sheets were not mixed with other artworks, as the Gabinetto was granted a dedicated room within the Galleria; the collection also had its own specific purposes, as Francesco Brioschi clearly explained a few days later to Prince Tommaso Corsini (1835-1919). On 9 July 1895, when the Galleria opened to the public, Brioschi wrote to the Prince that:

> […] d'accordo col Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione si è convenuto di depositare le stampe in apposita sala della Galleria Corsini, e ciò nel doppio intento che le stampe stesse non avessero a deperire tenendole unite in libri, e nell'altro di rendere possibile il loro studio con quei mezzi che sono attualmente in uso presso i

162 The Galleria would comprise not only paintings and statues from the Corsini family collection, but also artworks coming from the Torlonia family and the Monte di Pietà. On the creation of the Gallery, see NICITA 2010, pp. 111-124 and BORSELLINO 2012, pp. 321-347.

163 Regio Decreto n. 371, 6 June 1895. The Decree was published in the *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, II, 27, 1895, pp. 1085-1086.

164 NICITA 2010, p. 130. By agreeing to transfer the collection to the Galleria, the Accademia dei Lincei was implicitly admitting not to have the necessary resources in order to take care of such a vast collection (on the story of the Accademia dei Lincei in Palazzo Corsini, ROMANELLO 2016).

> principali musei d'Europa. Non può essere dubbio infatti che se uno studioso si presenterà alla Biblioteca per esaminare alcune delle stampe, non sarà soggetto a pagamento di tassa, ma godrà dei vantaggi del nuovo loro collocamento.[165]

Ginevra Mariani defined the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe the 'first print room in Italy':[166] undoubtedly, it was the first time that a collection of works on paper housed in a State institution was given the prestigious title of 'Nazionale'; this brought Italy at the same level of other European countries such as France and even Hungary, whose collections were already called 'national' (a fact that Venturi never failed to remark).[167] The primacy highlighted by Mariani, however, should come with some further considerations. The first is related to the meaning that lies behind the adjective 'national'. This was crucial in the definition of the new institution (apart from Kristeller, only Venturi once referred to the collection as "centrale" instead).[168] By becoming the most important institution devoted to the study of printmaking, the Gabinetto in fact could contribute to strengthening national identity as much as the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, which had to represent national art ("[...] nel modo più degno che sia possibile, rappresentare l'arte nazionale") through paintings.[169] As a matter of fact, prints could serve this purpose even better, since the Galleria Nazionale included paintings acquired from the Corsini, Torlonia and Monte di Pietà collections; these privileged in fact 17th and 18th century Classicism and this fact prevented Venturi to provide a full and complete display of the evolution of a national, Italian artistic language, that had its roots in Medieval art

165 ASANL, titolo 27, Galleria arte antica [Galleria Corsini], Gabinetto delle stampe 1887-1938, b. 1, fasc. 5, Brioschi to Corsini, 9 July 1895.

166 MARIANI 2001, p. 18.

167 For example, Venturi referred to the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque National as "Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe di Parigi" (VENTURI 1899, n.p.) and called "Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe e dei disegni" the one at the National Gallery in Budapest (VENTURI 1900a, p. 196).

168 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Venturi to Fiorilli, 12 January 1894, in MARIANI 2001, p. 131. It is interesting to note that the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, created in 1975 as a result of merging the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe with the Calcografia Nazionale, since 10 December 2014 changed its name into Istituto Centrale per la Grafica (DPCM 29 August 2014, no. 171, art. 30).

169 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Minister Baccelli [but written by Venturi] to Brioschi, 22 March 1895 (in MARIANI 2001, p. 131).

and its apex in Renaissance.[170] The same principle, however, had already inspired the display of prints at the Uffizi Gallery, which ranged from "Stampe in rame italiane, avanti Marcantonio" until "incisori Italiani […] moderni non viventi".[171]

A second consideration concerns the organisation of the Gabinetto. Technically speaking, the print room in Rome was a separate entity from the Galleria Nazionale; it was meant to keep the most precious prints on display (the "sala nona" of the Galleria Corsini was chosen for this purpose);[172] while the rest would be archived in *cassettiere,* following Kristeller's method, so that the works could be available to those wishing to see and study them. This was, anyway, the same structure of the Uffizi collection of drawings and prints, although albums and boxes were stored in a very messy way because of the lack of space. The institutionalisation of the Corsini prints in a Gabinetto delle stampe followed *de facto* that of the Uffizi, whose name Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe was officially in use since 1892, when it started to appear on letterheads (fig. 3.VIII) and within the museum archive.[173]

In referring to prints only, the official name of the Gabinetto delle Stampe was also very close to the English word 'print room', to the German 'Kupferstichkabinett' and to the Dutch 'prentenkabinet' (all already in use at that time). All these departments, however, contained both drawings and prints, sometimes also illuminations and photographs. The collection that was transferred from the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei to the Galleria Nazionale was not made up by prints only. In 1884, the holdings of the Corsini Library had been quantified in 17.733 drawings and 138.687 prints; in 1895, the Gabinetto obtained "[…] n. 970, cartelle n. 15, Disegni n. 6491, Stampe 56.974. Restano in Biblioteca Stampe n. 75.222".[174]

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170 NICITA 2010, pp. 125-126. Moreover, Venturi had to keep the Corsini collection separate from the Torlonia, and this impacted even more his original plan for a national gallery that could display all the best examples from Italian national schools, distributed in a coherent geographical and chronological order.

171 RIGONI 1891, p. 224.

172 "[…] si potrebbero convenientemente esporre nella nona sala della galleria Corsini le stampe principali della raccolta, conservata nella biblioteca, e disporre le altre nel modo tenuto al gabinetto delle stampe di Berlino entro cassette, in ordine di tempo e di autori" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Minister Baccelli [but written by Venturi] to Brioschi, 22 March 1895; in MARIANI 2001, p. 131).

173 See FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 86.

174 See MARIANI 2001, pp. 18-19. On the Corsini drawings, see PEZZINI BERNINI

The istitutionalisation of such a collection in the new capital city of Italy, which was the result of some three decades of debates and attempts (however limited to very few individuals), definitely contributed to raising the status of prints from items bearing documentary value only to artistic objects *per se*, with their own right to be displayed in a museum as well as to be made available for study purposes. This certainly was a step forward compared to those State museums which still lacked a collection of prints (such as in Venice and in Milan) and to those where prints were on display primarily because of their documentary value (such as in Parma). As the abovementioned quote has shown, not all prints were moved from the Accademia dei Lincei to the Gabinetto. The division happened according to whether the images were valued as autonomous art or formed supporting evidence for largely text-based research. Grounded on this principle, the Accademia dei Lincei refused to include in the deal those prints with "valore documentario, storico e scientifico", which included all illustrated books except those picturing art collections of princely galleries and museums. "[…] le carte geografiche, le piante topografiche ed iconografiche i libri che trattano d'archeologia e di architettura, e di quanto ha di preferenza carattere scientifico e letterario" were not transferred to the print room, because these genres were thought to be better represented at the Library. Kristeller agreed with this decision as he dismissed these kinds of images as mere resources, lowly and insignificant. This division separated a homogenious collection that for over two centuries had made a coherent ensemble, resulting from the taste and choices of the Corsini family. At the same time, this separation broke the connections between certain works on paper and their own documentation contained in albums (inventories etc.). The collection as a historical 'unit' was not taken into account, yet, while the study of paintings collecting was explored only in order to assess the provenance and the history of the items and to reconstruct the history of artistic commitment.

What was really new about the Gabinetto was that behind its name and its organisation there was a coherent plan that potentially involved all State collections. According to Kristeller, in fact, the Corsini collection was selected to become the 'central' collection of Italy: this meant that its methods would be adopted by all other museums; that it would grow thanks to exchanges with satellite collections; and that it would be the

2001, p. 79 and PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ 2004.

reference point for all scholars of printmaking, thanks to its study tools ("[…] colla Biblioteca storica dell'arte e coll'apparato di fotografi ecc.").[175]

As mentioned above, the director Scipione Tadolini (1822-1895) was officially responsible for prints too; in reality, the collection was managed by Paul Kristeller, whose appointment was officially approved in the spring of 1895.[176] Together with him, two other members of the 'team' Kristeller had worked with in Bologna were also asked to temporarily work in Rome to start the arrangement of prints and drawings: Anacleto Guadagnini came from Bologna to help 'for some twenty days',[177] while the restorer Carlo Maré started working full time at the Galleria for "il restauro delle stampe". His direct 'manager' was Kristeller himself.[178] Another restorer, Luigi Bertolucci, was asked to join the group.[179] Later in 1895, Kristeller was supported by a new assistant, sent to learn how to study, attribute, catalogue and display prints and drawings: Federico Hermanin (1868-1953). Adolfo Venturi succeeded in putting into practice the first act of his and Kristeller's plan for an organised system of collections of prints and drawings; at the same time, Kristeller started creating around him a 'school' to replicate the 'German method' of managing works on paper. The next step, theoretically, would have been that of exporting this model to other museums; in reality, as we have seen, the same methods were already in use in a 'peripherical' collection (Bologna), while other cities (such as Florence and Turin) had already been pursuing their own organisation of departments for graphic art. The real challenge that laid was that of coordinating a centre and

175 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 12 April 1890.

176 "Il Dr Kristeller, che ha già ordinato in degnissimo modo, secondo le norme scientifiche più scrupolose, la collezione delle stampe della galleria di Bologna, potrà quindi, grazie all'autorizzazione della S.V. Illma, mettere mano senz'indugio al lavoro di riparazione delle stampe, alla loro scelta e alla loro classificazione rigorosa" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Baccelli to Brioschi, 30 March 1895; also in ASANL, titolo 27, Galleria arte antica [Galleria Corsini], Gabinetto delle stampe 1887-1938, b. 1, fasc. 5; the letter is published in MARIANI 2001, p. 132).

177 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA, II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Il Ministro [f.to Costantini] to Direttore della Pinacoteca di Bologna, 10 May 1895. The letter is published in MARIANI 2001, p. 133.

178 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA, II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Fiorilli to Kristeller, 13 April 1895. The letter is published in MARIANI 2001, p. 133.

179 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Fiorilli to Bertolucci [but written by Venturi], 30 March 1895 (see NICITA 2010, p. 132).

periphery in a country which still (or already) had many ‘centres’.

Chapter 4

A network of prints and drawings collections in Italy? (1895-1900)

4.1 Early life of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe: conservation, display and exhibitions

Organisation, conservation and identity

Located on the first floor of Palazzo Corsini alla Lungara, the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe was still under the same roof of the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, with which it shared the director and the budget, and from which it would become independent only in 1941 when the art historian and engraver Alfredo Petrucci (1888-1969) was appointed Director of the collection of prints and drawings.[1] As in many other Italian museums of that time, everyday tasks at the Galleria Nazionale (and therefore at the Gabinetto too) had been subject to constraints due to the lack of economic resources and of specialised staff. However, a group of skilled and dedicated museum professionals was gradually developing around the collection of works on paper, managed by Paul Kristeller. Between 1895 and 1898, Kristeller worked at the

1 Alfredo Petrucci (1888-1969) entered the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in 1923 as *primo segretario*, until he was given responsibility for the collection in 1934 (he still depended from Emilio Lavagnino, Director of the Regia Galleria). He promoted a careful study of engravers and their techniques, organised cataloguing campaigns, published several studies on 19th century Italian printmakers, and contributed to building up the collection of modern Italian printmakers by acquiring works by Fontanesi, Fattori, Signorini, De Nittis, Rayper, Avondo (see MARIANI 2001, pp. 39-41; FIORANI 2007).

Galleria as "ordinatore" of the Gabinetto,[2] but he also performed other tasks normally assigned to the Director Scipione Tadolini, who was very ill at that time. The German art historian was therefore in charge of all processes concerning conservation, display and cataloguing of prints and drawings; moreover, he proposed and accepted bequests, gifts, purchases and exchanges aimed at the expansion of the collection through the Fondo Nazionale (this was the name given to the collection made up by all prints and drawings that entered the Gabinetto since 1895, since the Corsini prints and drawings were a 'closed' group).[3] According to Venturi's plans, the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica was to become the place where Italian art was represented in its entire development and the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe had to play its part in this scheme. However, considering the fact that the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea still lacked a properly arranged collection of prints and drawings, Kristeller suggested that it should be the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe to acquire contemporary artworks, "saggi elettissimi della produzione odierna, incoraggiando gli artisti e dando loro il modo di confrontare la loro produzione con quella d'altre epoche e giovarsene, e progredire",[4] a direction that the Uffizi had already taken with drawings at least since 1893.[5] In this choice we can also see the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe diverging from the mission of the Galleria, which focused on Italian art until the 17th century; the Gabinetto was instead starting to develop its own defined identity, i.e. to be the central Italian institution for works on paper, both ancient, modern and contemporary. In advancing this proposal, Kristeller was most likely oblivious that he was drawing from Alberto Maso Gilli's 1887 project to create a "galleria delle stampe antiche e moderne"; in some way, both Kristeller and Gilli anticipated what would happen only in 1975 when the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe merged with the Calcografia Nazionale to create the Istituto

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2 HERMANIN 1895-1896, p. IV. See also *Compensi per lavori straordinari occorrenti per la schedatura delle stampe, catalogazione, ecc.* (quoted in MARIANI 2001, p. 154; the document should be located in ICG, ASGS, but as of October 2019 it has not been retrieved).

3 MARIANI 2001, p. 24. On bequests, see the documents held in ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA, II vers., I s., bb. 240-241; III vers., II s., bb. 211-212. See also the register of acquisitions (ICG, ASGS, Vecchio Inventario); a selection of the most significant ones is published in BOCCONI 2001.

4 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 240, fasc. 4092, Kristeller to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Baccelli], 17 January 1896 (see MARIANI 2001, p. 135).

5 See FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 90.

Nazionale per la Grafica (since 2014 Istituto Centrale per la Grafica).[6] Moreover, Kristeller's desire to encourage artists by acquiring modern prints and putting at their disposal ancient works sounds very similar to the argument used by many in 1870s and 1880s to describe the benefits of keeping fine art academies and art galleries together, defending a principle that was at least formally denied since R.D. no. of 1882. Although Kristeller, as a scholar himself, had always been on the 'side' of art historians, he never said that collections of prints should be ordered to serve scholars only; instead, he wanted history of printmaking to be known both by the art historians community and the artists, although he was well aware that the development of more advanced systems of photographic reproduction was bringing about a change in the habits of artists attending museums. What he was undoubtedly in favour of was a rationalisation of institutions which somehow complemented each other. This could be why Kristeller, who had already proved to be mindful of the limited funding available to the Italian Ministry of Public Education, suggested to acquiring contemporary prints at no cost from the Regia Calcografia, with whom the Gabinetto shared the goal of "Aiutare la produzione degl'artisti italiani a presentare loro e agli studiosi in genere le più importanti opere dell'arte estera e nostre".[7]

Kristeller was not alone in his task. In December 1895, Federico Hermanin, a recent graduate in Latin Literature who in 1896 would attend Venturi's course *Perfezionamento nella storia dell'arte medievale e moderna*, joined the staff of the Gabinetto as "applicato onorario […] desiderando di approfondirsi nello studio della storia dell'incisione".[8] Hermanin supported Kristeller in managing the graphic collection; he

6 See De Marchi 2002 on the history of the building overlooking the Trevi Fountain, where the Calcografia was originally housed, and where the Gabinetto delle Stampe was later transferred; see De Marchi, Mariani 2009 for a comprehensive history of the institution and all its departments.

7 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 410, Kristeller to Ministry, 17 January 1896 (see Mariani 2001, p. 135). However, not later than 1891 he expressed the wish that the Calcografia could be abolished soon so that part of its funding could be allocated to the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe ("Non dimenticare nell'abolizione della R. Calcografia che sarà effettuata, spero, presto, di riservare una parte del fondo annuale per le Coll. di stampe!" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 11 August 1891; Appendix, document 7). An interesting comparison could be made with the role of the Chalcographie at the Louvre, *versus* the mission and identity of the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Imperiale in Paris: see Vermeulen 2011.

8 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 240, fasc. 4088, Hermanin to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Baccelli], 19 October 1895.

would later become *vice-ispettore* of the Galleria under Venturi's directorate (1898) and then Director from 1904 to 1933.[9] As far as the conservation of prints and drawings was concerned, Kristeller could count on the help of Luigi Bertolucci, restorer of prints and frescoes who was already employed by the Galleria Corsini (and who would pass his skills on to his son, who would also be employed at the Gabinetto too), and on Anacleto Guadagnini, to whom Kristeller had taught the care of drawings and prints while in Bologna.[10] This was a specialised staff, not yet on the same level as that in Berlin, Dresden or London, but certainly on its way to a habit to hire a new breed of university-trained scholars, on the one hand, and restorers specialised on works on paper, on the other. The Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe became unquestionably central and national for both these aspects: drawings and prints were sent from Bologna and Naples to Rome for conservation treatments,[11] and scholars spent time in the institution to learn about its methods in order to apply them elsewhere (such as Count Santorre di Santarosa in 1903); viceversa, members of the staff were sent to other State collections to advise their *conservatori* on good practices for conservation and accessioning (for instance Federico Hermanin, who obtained from the Ministry "la concessione di studiare le collezioni di stampe che trovansi in Napoli, Firenze, Parma, Ravenna e Bassano […] affinché possa redigere utili proposte per la tutela e l'incremento" (Appendix, document 32).[12]

Conservation was Kristeller's very first concern. Dust, woodworm and mechanical problems, caused by internal pressure and contact of the sheets within the albums and by moving the album pages, had determined "uno stato cattivissimo di conservazione" that required immediate action to be taken.[13] The same conservation measures applied in Bologna were therefore adopted in Rome too. Kristeller and his 'team'

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9 On Federico Hermanin's activity at the Galleria Nazionale, see NICITA 2010, pp. 177-182, with bibliography of previous studies and a list of the articles by Hermanin concerning the collections of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe (pp. 253-254, n. 2).

10 FIORANI 2001, pp. 102.

11 See MARIANI 2001, p. 135.

12 AS-MANN, IV A6, 86, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Baccelli, but signed by Bernabei] to Direttore del Museo Nazionale di Napoli [Giulio de Petra], 24 July 1899.

13 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Kristeller to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 12 November 1895 (see Kristeller's report on the conservation condition published in Mariani 2001, pp. 134-135).

detached several prints and drawings from the albums, cleaned the sheets, washed those which needed a deeper treatment, mounted them in new passepartout and placed them in wooden or carton boxes (*cassette*) which were then stored in closets (*armadi*). The break-up of the volumes, which would continue throughout the first half of following century involving over 3.000 sheets (almost half of the total) was only part of the treatment; some album pages were detached too, while other had labels and inscriptions added to the original ones.[14] Prints were 'stamped' with special celluloid stamps provided by Wilhelm Kunkel, whose technical expertise was 'imported' from Berlin (fig. 4.I).[15]

Permanent display and temporary exhibitions

As he had done in Bologna, Kristeller organised a permanent display focused on the history of Italian printmaking from 15th to 17th century, which took up two walls of the room. Another wall was used to display foreign schools, while the fourth one was devoted to presenting specimens of the different printmaking techniques, including *chiaroscuro*, following a scheme that he must have seen in London.[16] The display

14 FUSCONI, CANEVARI, RENZITTI 2011. For a more detailed description of the washing procedures, see FIORANI 2001, p. 101. During the 1950s, the Director Lidia Bianchi, who was very keen in conservation issues, promoted a tighter collaboration between the Gabinetto nazionale delle Stampe and conservation institutes such as the Istituto di Patologia del Libro and the restoration laboratory of the Vatican Library (BIANCHI 1968, pp. 36-38). She decided to interrupt the process of detatchment of the sheets from their albums, having observed that "[…] lo stato di conservazione degli esemplari rimasti nei volume risulta in genere migliore di quello degli esemplari che da oltre un sessantennio sono stati collocate su cartoni […]" (BIANCHI 1968, p. 42, n. 22; see also MARIANI 2001, pp. 44-45; for a biographical overview on Lidia Bianchi, see FIORANI 2007).

15 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Baccelli] to Director of the Galleria Nazionale e del Gabinetto delle Stampe, 23 October 1895. Kristeller had other tools sent from Berlin, both for Bologna and for Rome, for example the carboard to build passepartout (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 14 February and 4 June 1895).

16 Between 1887 and 1892 the British Museum hosted such an exhibition in the four rooms of the Northern Galleries (Smirke building), vacated around 1883 by the natural history collections and since that moment allocated to the display of prints and drawings until 1892. The 1890-1892 exhibition "illustrated the growth and development of the art of engraving from c. 1480 to c. 1850, according to various processes (woodcuts, line-engravings, etchings and aquatints, mezzotints). The catalogue, *A guide to the historical collection of prints exhibited in the Second Northern Gallery* (37 pp.; first edition 1887, new edition 1890) included

adopted in Rome, which had a very high educational potential, also drew on Kristeller's own interest for material aspects of printmaking history and especially towards its origins, a topic which was more and more present in scholarship and in museum displays (see for example the 1894 exhibition *Early German and Italian schools* at the British Museum).[17]

> Per la esposizione sono state scelte le stampe italiane più notevoli e rare del '400 ed alcune delle incisioni più belle e tipiche degli artisti più valenti posteriori e di alcuni incisori stranieri. Per quanto era possibile, si è cercato di esporre solo opera di pittori-incisori, stampe di cui l'invenzione e il disegno, come esecuzione tecnica, sono dovute allo stesso artista, mostrando così, per quando lo permise lo spazio ristretto, un esempio di ciascun genere, di ciascuna epoca e di ciascun artista importante. […] La quarta parete, fra le due finestre, è stata adoperata per mostrare alcuni saggi di diverse tecniche dell'incisione, anzitutto delle incisioni "a chiaroscuro" stampate con diverse lastre di legno a varî colori […].[18]

The prints were framed and put on two levels (fig. 4.II): "Le stampe sono esposte in cornice di noce di tre differenti grandezze, collocate in due file sopra gli armadî, la fila inferiore in pendenza contro la parete, quella superiore verso il visitatore, per evitare, quanto possibile, i riflessi della luce".[19] The upper level of the room was occupied by "due grandi stampe di Gio. Batt. Piranesi, vedute della città di Roma, tanto per ornamento della sala, quanto per complemento della mostra delle incisioni italiane". This line is far from neutral, as it confirms again Kristeller's taste and judgement on artistic *genres* that had led him to select only certain albums of prints and drawings when he took them from the Biblioteca Corsini in the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei to the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe. In spite of this, the topic of Roman *vedute* was a very dear one to the Roman public because of the radical changes

609 prints, ending with twelve plates from the Liber Studiorum by J.M.W. Turner" (GRIFFITHS, WILLIAMS 1987, p. 15). As mentioned above Kristeller visited the Print Room several times in 1890-1891, so he must have been aware of that exhibition.

17 GRIFFITHS, WILLIAMS 1987, p. 16.

18 KRISTELLER 1894-1895, pp. 141-142.

19 *Ibidem.*

experienced by the city skyline in those years.[20] This was in fact the object of the first temporary exhibition of the Gabinetto, curated by Federico Hermanin.

Starting with the 1897 *Esposizione delle vedute di Roma: XXIX gennaio – XXXI marzo 1897* (fig. 4.III) the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe launched a series of temporary exhibitions "Per far si che il gabinetto nazionale delle stampe torni utile agli studiosi nel miglior modo possibile",[21] but the exhibition was in reality open to all. The *vedute* of Rome (dating back to 15th and 18th century) displayed between January and March included both drawings and prints; they allowed visitors to follow the "[…] trasformazioni della città moderna e ritrovare nei disegni e nelle incisioni quei luoghi non più visibili";[22] for its predominant iconographic and documentary interest, it was close to the topographic sections designed by Ricci in museum collections, for example in Parma. It was not an original topic, but it was definitely an absolutely innovative approach, as until that moment Kristeller had only designed permanent displays of prints; the display in Bologna and the one planned for Parma were in fact inspired by the necessity to present and to explain the development of printmaking history, in line with what Venturi and his colleagues were applying in other State museums as far as the history of painting was concerned. The choice to organise temporary exhibitions around specific themes seems to have stemmed not from conservation reasons but instead from the lack of space in the Gabinetto, that prevented the Corsini collection, "la più ricca e la più preziosa delle raccolte esistenti in Italia",[23] to be fully known and appreciated. The permanent display in fact only allowed a "corsa rapida attraverso la storia della incisione" and Kristeller desired instead to have the exhibited pieces rotated in order to present other artists and other

20 See RACHELI 1982; LUGLI 2000.

21 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 422, Venturi to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, January 1897. On the exhibition activity of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, see PARMA 2001; MOZZO 2009.

22 CAPPUCCINI 1897. These first exhibitions, advertised on the *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* (I, 5, 1897, pp. 211-212), were positively reviewed by the press (for example on the *Fanfulla della Domenica, Emporium* and *L'Illustrazione Italiana*) and the new arrangement of the Gabinetto was also presented in the foreign press (VON FABRICZY 1895). However, the number of visitors seems to have remained below the expectations (PARMA 2001, p. 108). Precise numbers could be drawn from the books of visitors; one could then compare them with the tables reporting figures for total visitors of the Galleria Corsini (ICG, ASGS, B-Economato, fasc. 82).

23 KRISTELLER 1894-1895, p. 139.

topics: "[…] converrà cambiare ogni tanto questa esposizione di stampe, e riunire nella mostra ogni volta un numero di incisioni scelte da un certo punto di vista, per illustrare un certo periodo della storia dell'incisione, lo sviluppo d'un artista, la storia di un certo genere di rappresentazioni nei diversi paesi, ecc".[24]

The first exhibitions "di serie differenti di stampe, in ordine cronologico e geografico, così come si usa nei grandi gabinetti di stampe in Londra, Berlino e Dresda"[25] aimed at "[…] avvicinare il pubblico alle opera d'arte conservate nelle artistiche raccolte" and they included both prints and drawings. On the contrary to foreign institutions such as the British Museum, where exhibitions were accompanied by catalogues since the 1880s, at the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe there was no such thing as a proper exhibition catalogue, but between 1897 and 1899 Hermanin published a selection of catalogue entries of *vedute romane* from the Corsini collection on the *Le Gallerie nazionali italiane: notizie e documenti*.[26] The same documentary taste inspired the second exhibition, *Ritratti incisi e disegnati. Dal secolo XV al XIX* (fig. 4.IV). It was curated by Kristeller, whom the Ministrer of Public Education Emanuele Gianturco invited to tackle such topic, even though it is more likely that Kristeller himself pushed to organise this kind of show:

> Alla fine di Marzo, quando si rinnoverà la serie delle incisioni esposte, sarebbe grato a questo Ministero che si esponessero le stampe di ritratti dalla fine del secolo XV al principio del secolo nostro. Una esposizione di tal specie è ora tenuta a Berlino, nel Kupferstichkabinett; e sarà opportune di associare i risultati delle ricerche che là si otterranno, a quelle che qui si possono ottenere con altri materiali.[27]

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24 *Ibidem*, p. 143.

25 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4078, Venturi to Direttore Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti, [Felice Bernabei], 21 January 1898. Berlin had started temporary exhibitions since 1877, with drawings by Dürer (LIPPMAN 1877) while the first recorded public display of art on paper of the British Museum dates back to 1858, presenting 145 drawings, 263 prints and a series of *niello* plates and casts (GRIFFITHS, WILLIAMS 1987, pp. 14-15).

26 HERMANIN 1895-1896; HERMANIN 1896-1897. The persistent lack of funds prevented the Gabinetto to publish catalogues for these exhibitions until 1953 (see PARMA 2001, p. 107)

27 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I serie, b. 239, fasc. 4078, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [f.to Galimberti] to Kristeller, 13 February 1897.

A similar exhibition was in fact taking place at the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin; moreover, Kristeller published on *L'Arte* a review of the *Catalogue de la collection des Portraits français et étrangers conserves au Dép. des estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (1896-1897, 2 vols.) edited by the *conservateur* Georges Duplessis:[28] both exhibition and catalogue offered an interesting scientific comparison. Perhaps more importantly, the exhibition succeeded in placing the Italian national collection of prints at the same level of foreign ones. At the same time, the choice of another quite popular topic shows that the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe wanted to present itself as an institution accessible to any kind of public; it might have been also part of a strategy to retain visitors, to make them loyal to the institution and hopefully to be able to attract gifts in the future. A chronological order was chosen: "[…] secondo la successione dei diversi autori, cosicché si vede a colpo d'occhio il nascere, il crescere e le varie vicessitudini di un'arte che ebbe tanti insigni campioni"[29]. Kristeller's choice to include drawings (Pietro da Cortona, Salvator Rosa, Bernini, Guercino) in the show was very much appreciated: "Il Kristeller, in mezzo alle stampe, senza tenersi vincolato pedantescamence [sic] a un sistema, ha creduto di far luogo ad alcuni disegni". The same could be said about portraits of a less formal nature:

> In mezzo al succedersi continuo, e direi quasi monotono, di ritratti, molti dei quali in atteggiamenti grandiosi, non istà male una nota umoristica; e il prof. Kristeller ha avuto cura perciò di esporre alcune caricature del Bernini, rappresentanti un cavaliere francese, il Cardinale Antonio Barberini, il Card. Virginio Chigi; ed altre del Ghezzi e del Pinelli.[30]

The third exhibition, which took place in 1899, was the first monographic display of the Gabinetto and even anticipated the 1899 Esposizione

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28 DUPLESSIS 1896-1897; the catalogue was reviewed by Kristeller on the first issue of the journal *L'Arte* (P.K. 1898). Kristeller's way of conceiving prints collections within one country as a comprehensive macro-collection made him remark that "Dei cataloghi fatti nelle diverse collezioni e biblioteche si potrebbe alla fine comporre un catalogo generale di tutti i ritratti incisi che esistono", which sounds very much like an anticipation of integrated databases of collections on which museums and libraries have been working these years. A further observation regarded the fact that Duplessis also included in the category of portraits also biblical characters such as Adam: according to him, phantasy portraits should have been excluded by this kind of study that had such a clear "utilità […] per gli studi storici e artistici" (*ibidem*).

29 G.B. 1898, p. 60. See also MANCINI 1898.

30 *Ibidem* (both quotes).

Berniniana, usually referred to as the event that launched monographic shows in Italy.[31] Curated by Hermanin, the exhibition presented prints and drawings by Francesco Bartolozzi ("E bene si potrà studiare lo sviluppo del suo ingegno nell'Esposizione romana, perchè, oltre le incisioni, saranno presentati al pubblico disegni del Bartolozzi sin qui sconosciuti").[32]

Another observation is possible. Since 1898, the Gabinetto managed to borrow works for exhibitions and at the same time it was asked give some others on loan: this happened for example in 1898 with the print portraying the Queen of Sweden, borrowed by Baron von Bildt (from the Italian Embassy of Sweden and Norway) for the portraits exhibition[33] and with Bartolozzi's drawings borrowed by Architect Canevari;[34] the following year, Bernini's drawings were lent to the "Sala degli Orazi e Curiazi in Campidoglio, per formar parte della esposizione Berniniana".[35]

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31 For example CANTUCCI 2013, p. 542. The Esposizione Berniniana in Palazzo dei Conservatori was a documentary exhibition and presented a great amount of drawings (many loaned by the collector Giovanni Piancastelli) and prints (reproductions, architectural plans and projects) together with paintings and manuscripts.

32 'Esposizione dell'opera del Bartolozzi' 1898, p. 498. See also ARTIOLI 1899. Archive records related to this exhibition are in ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 422. On Bartolozzi prints from the Corsini collection, see PEZZINI BERNINI 1995.

33 ICG, ASGS, B-Mostre, 1899, Venturi to Bildt, 26 June 1899, and Bildt to Venturi, 31 January 1899.

34 *Ivi*, Venturi to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 29 December 1898; Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione [signed by Costantini] to Venturi, 13 January 1899. This loan was authorized in spite of the Ministry not agreeing in principle "[…] al deposito temporaneo di quadri di proprietà privata in un Istituto pubblico".

35 *Ivi*, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Baccelli, but signed by Fiorilli] to Venturi, 17 April 1899; Venturi to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 19 April 1899; see also the following letters (until June 1899). This loan is very interesting because it involved prints from the Corsini collection, so formally owned by the Accademia dei Lincei. A similar episode would occur in 1911, when Hermanin asked the President of the Accademia dei Lincei to lend some drawings and prints for an exhibition in Castel Sant'Angelo (see documents in ASANL, Titolo 27: Galleria Arte Antica. [Galleria Corsini] Gabinetto delle Stampe, 1887-1938, b. 1, fasc. 12). The Gabinetto even lent volumes of drawings and prints for study reasons, as for example with the "volume di disegni del maestro di scuola dell'Italia settentrionale e del primo del sec. XV" lent to Giulio Bariola, Director of the Gallerie Estensi, in 1901 (see ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Venturi to Bariola, 29 October 1901 [draft] and following letters of 11 January, 1 and 2

This confirmed the prestige acquired by the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe not only through its exhibitions, but also through authorship studies, published on *L'Arte*, and its conservation measures, which kept receiving support and approval from the Ministry.[36]

Besides the activity of exhibition-making, Kristeller continued to study and to list the prints in an inventory. As he described in the article published in *Le Gallerie nazionali italiane: notizie e documenti*, the priority was given to prints on display (as Nerino Ferri had done with the catalogues at the Uffizi, by starting with the catalogues of drawings and of prints on display, published in 1879 and 1881) and to those which were taken out of the albums and put on passepartouts:

> È stato incominciato un catalogo provvisorio, a schede mobili, degli incisori, con l'indicazione del volume in cui si trovano le loro opere. È iniziato pure l'inventario secondo la numerazione antica delle stampe, fatta anni addietro dalla Direzione generale delle belle arti. Le incisioni esposte, o messe nelle cassette, o preparate per esser poste su cartoni, sono catalogate tutte in schede mobili una a una, nel modo col quale sarà catalogata in seguito la collezione intera e che è descritto nella relazione sulla collezione di stampe della R. Pinacoteca di Bologna.[37]

The *schede mobili* that he prepared, following the example of those he had made in Bologna, included information on states and watermarks too; the latter elements were instead not listed in the 1898 *Regolamento* prepared by Adolfo Venturi, who strangely enough did not take into account elements that he considered crucial for the analysis of artefacts on paper:

> Di ogni stampa saranno indicati possibilmente l'autore, la scuola, il maestro che eseguì il modello, il luogo della stampa, le sue

February 1902).

36 "[…] un valente studioso dell'arte" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 240, fasc. 4092, Direttore Capo della Divisione Scavi, Musei e Gallerie, Direzione Generale per le antichità e belle arti, to Direttore Divisione Monumenti e Scuole D'Arte, February 1896; see MARIANI 2001, p. 135); "[…] prendo occasione per confermarle l'alta lode da Lei sempre meritata nei lavori d'ordinamento del ~~Gabi~~ detto istituto" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Emanuele Gianturco, but signed by Costetti] to Kristeller, 15 April 1897 [draft]).

37 KRISTELLER 1894-1895a, pp. 143-144.

> dimensioni, l'ampiezza de' margini, la condizione di conservazione. In una speciale rubrica della pagina dell'inventario, saranno indicate le variazioni avvenute nella stampa, per restauro e per il loro trasporto, dai volumi o dalle cartelle nel cassetto.[38]

Judging from the document *Compensi per lavori straordinari occorrenti per la schedatura delle stampe, catalogazione ecc.*, Kristeller carried out this work on his own. Only in 1898 the records register the presence of "Dott. Enrico Mauceri", *vice-ispettore* of the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica between 1897 and 1899, in charge of "schedatura delle stampe e dei disegni" (for which he was paid on 19 April and 2 December 1898); as far as cataloguing activity was concerned, however, Mauceri shared his time between the prints entries and the "Bozze per il catalogo generale della Galleria", a fact that further underlines the persistent lack of dedicated staff for the different sections of the museum.[39]

4.2 Spaces for drawings

Drawings in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe

The decision to include drawings in the temporary exhibits programme of an institution such as the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, that only featured the word *stampe* in its official denomination, brings up the issue of drawings and their place in Italian State museums during the 1890s. Did drawings play any part in Kristeller and Venturi's master plan for Italian prints collections? Was there any discussion going on about their arrangement or their ideal display? Were there any common trends across State museums in the country?

Although the name chosen for the institution hosting the Corsini albums at the Galleria d'Arte Antica was Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, drawings were not only present in this collection, but they too were

38 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 221, fasc. 416.3, *Regolamento per il Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe in Roma*, dated 19 July 1898 but signed on 24 August 1898 by Costantini (on behalf of the Minister of Public Education), E. Monaci (President of the Commissione di Vigilanza), A. Venturi and C. Tenerani (members of the Commissione di Vigilanza). The *schede mobili* remained in use until the digital catalogue was completed in 1989 (Law no. 41, 1986, "Giacimenti Culturali", art. 15).

39 *Compensi per lavori straordinari occorrenti per la schedatura delle stampe, catalogazione, ecc.* (quoted in Mariani 2001, p. 154; the document should be located in ICG, ASGS, but as of October 2019 it has not been retrieved).

subject to the same display and conservation treatment designed by Paul Kristeller. Ugo Fleres (1857-1939), at that time *viceispettore alle Belle Arti* for the Ministry of Public Education,[40] in issue no. 1 of *Le Gallerie Nazionale Italiane: notizie e documenti* (1894-1895) described the alignment of drawings at the Galleria Corsini following the foundation of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe. Right after Kristeller's article dedicated to the presentation of the Corsini prints, Fleres listed the selected drawings displayed in a "apposita sala della Galleria".[41] 80 sheets[42] were chosen among those pasted on the 54 Corsini albums; the drawings were detached[43] and framed in "sessanta cornici giranti, con vetro dall'una e dall'altra parte, in guisa da poter osservare il recto e il verso con la massima facilità […]", that allowed both recto and verso to be seen. There was one artist per frame and one drawing for each artist, with the following exceptions: two or more drawings for the Florentine School of 15th century, as well as for Jacopo da Pontormo; Pier Leone Ghezzi and Johann Paul Schor. Complying with the same criteria that inspired the presentation of prints, and in line with Kristeller's own taste, priority was given to drawings by Italian schools, dating between 15th and the first half of 17th century; only very few sheets by foreign artists were displayed (drawings by Jacques Callot, Johann Paul Schor and Jan van der Straet). There was no doubt that the Corsini drawings were *de facto* considered part of the Gabinetto rather than of the Galleria ("Di questo [Pontormo] il Gabinetto Nazionale possiede un gran numero di disegni […]"),[44] but still there was very little discussion around how and why they had to be displayed in that context. Undoubtedly Kristeller had

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40 The Messina-born Ugo Fleres started his career in the Ministry in 1892: he first became *viceispettore* (1892-1903), then *ispettore di prima classe* (1903-1908); in 1908 he was appointed Director of the Galleria d'Arte Moderna, where he remained until 1933, with a break during the First World War when he served as Director of the Museo Antiquario di Castel Sant'Angelo (PICCIAU 2007; RUSSO 2012).

41 FLERES 1894-1895, p. 144; see also MARIANI 2001, p. 20. Fleres included in the article notes by Morelli on the same drawings, thus making it quite clear which approach he chose to adopt to study drawings.

42 The number is deduced by the catalogue (FLERES 1894-1895, pp. 145-162).

43 For an example of the kind of mounts used in the Corsini albums see PACE 2001, pp. 198-199. See also the website of the Corsini Project, where some Corsini volumes have been digitized and virtually reconstructed (8 albums, 1.300 drawings as of 2011) so that it is possible to see how they looked like when they entered the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe compared to how they are now (following the detachments occurred from 1895 on): <http://corsini.grafica.beniculturali.it> (accessed 26 April 2019).

44 FLERES 1894-1895, p. 152.

drawings on his mind; when in Bologna, he had sent to Venturi a sketch for the stamp that he intended to use to mark both prints and drawings (fig. 4.V), and it featured the text "R.R. COLL. D. STAMPE E D. DISEGNI", both in its 'national' and 'local' version (i.e. the stamp designed for the Corsini collection and that for other State collections).[45] Also after the foundation of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, there is further evidence of the fact that Kristeller personally directed the array of drawings. In 1897, he sent to Venturi "un campione definitivo del cartone doppio con finestra e celluloide per i migliori disegni a due lati […] costa 5 lire e si adopererà solo per i disegni più preziosi (circa 50)"[46] (a sentence which also shows that he kept Venturi updated on all steps of his work, even if at that point his reputation was well established). Kristeller was involved in assessing the authorship of some sheets; moreover, he decided to include drawings in the exhibitions he organised at the Gabinetto. However, as highlighted above, prints were Kristeller's primary field of study and they always remained his first concern, especially in the Corsini collection where prints significantly outnumbered drawings.[47]

Since at present we are not able to know how Venturi precisely responded to Kristeller's letters mentioning drawings, his museological interest towards drawings should be looked for in other documents. Although his letters to the Ministry of Public Education (5 January 1892) and to the President of the Accademia dei Lincei (21 January 1892) only referred to prints and prints collections, his notes for the Commissione Permanente di Antichità e Belle Arti (*Ordinamento delle raccolte d'incisione in Italia*) dated 10 January 1892 stated that Kristeller's report revolved around "l'ordinamento delle collezioni di incisioni e disegni" and that the "conservazione delle stampe e specialmente dei disegni" was becoming a matter of particular importance.[48] Considering Venturi's professional position and the role he played in putting in practice the plan, we could suppose that he must have had a certain influence in the preparation of R.D. no. 371, dated 6 June 1895, which established the foundation of the Galleria Corsini and the Gabinetto. This text always refers to prints *and* drawings, both as far as the content and the name of

45 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 9 October 1894.

46 *Ivi*, Kristeller to Venturi, 27 May 1897.

47 Kristeller did not write very much on drawings; see *Giulio Campagnola: Kupferstiche und Zeichnungen* and *Eine Zeichnung von Johann Stephan von Calcar zum Titelblatte der Anatomie des Andreas Vesalius* (KRISTELLER 1907b and 1908c).

48 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, *Ordinamento delle raccolte d'incisione in Italia*, 10 January 1892.

the collection are referred: "Considerata altresì la utilità di unire alla detta galleria la pregevole raccolta di stampe e disegni donata col citato atto 19 maggio 1883 […] Art. 2 Alla detta galleria sarà unito un gabinetto nazionale di stampe e disegni".[49] From this, it seems that for Venturi the space for drawings within public collections had to be highlighted as much as that of prints. However, *disegni* disappears from all further official communications and reports, as they are not mentioned neither in Kristeller's description of the perilous conservation situation of the Corsiniana, nor in the letters relating to the Committee of Inquiry which was established later (see below); Venturi did not even include them in the first regulation of the Gabinetto, which was issued in 1898.[50]

The absence of an organic plan of shared practices for managing public collections of drawings can also be noted when examining acquisitions. Instead of following a well-defined goal, accessions mostly depended on what could be acquired on the spot, by chance. In some cases drawings were perceived as something that should be coherent with the museum collection they belonged to; this is for example why Gustavo Frizzoni in 1899 said to Venturi that the "libretto di disegni del Veronese" that he wanted to sell would better suit the Regie Gallerie in Venice, focused on Venetian art, rather than the Galleria Nazionale in Rome, where Venturi wished the *libretto* to be.[51] Venturi's appointment as director of the Galleria Nazionale (and therefore of the Gabinetto delle Stampe too) in 1898 brought about an increase in the number of drawings acquired (parallel to their growth within the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna, thanks to Guadagnini), coherently with Venturi's interests. At times, he referred to the Gabinetto as "di stampe e disegni", rather than mentioning only prints.[52] Anyway, acquisitions were directed by the taste of the director, who tended to look at his own institution only rather than at the national situation. This can be better understood looking at Venturi's request to buy a 16-page codex for the Gabinetto delle Stampe; the Minister of Public Education Baccelli reacted wondering whether the codex would better suit the Uffizi, implying that the few resources

49 See MARIANI 2001, p. 133.

50 These documents (letters and meetings' proceedings) are transcribed in MARIANI 2001, pp. 134-135, 138-142, 143-144.

51 "D'altronde c'è pure a Venezia una raccolta di disegni, ed io mi domando se non sarebbe più natural che la serie dell'artista Veronese andasse a finire là piuttosto che altrove" (ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Frizzoni to Venturi, 16 June 1899, published in MARIANI 2001, p. 145).

52 See for example ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Venturi to Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica [Guido Baccelli], 20 June 1899.

allocated to the Galleria Nazionale in Rome could be instead invested to enrich the collection of prints rather than on its "piccola raccolta" of drawings.[53] The reason given by Venturi to have the codex is quite telling: "Poiché le collezioni italiane sono sprovviste di disegni di quel tempo, io avrei molto caro di acquistarli per questo gabinetto di stampe e di disegni, rendendolo così a tutti gli altri superiore, almeno per questa speciale ricchezza".[54] The purchase was for the greater good of Italian collections, but the right place where to keep it was, according to him, the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, even though, at least in terms of quantity, the 'national' collection of drawings was, in fact, the Uffizi. Eventually, the codex was acquired for the Gabinetto in Rome.

Examples of displays in the 1890s: Modena, Venice, Turin and Parma

Looking at the other Regie Gallerie where Kristeller and Venturi worked, evidence demonstrates that during the 1890s there was not a shared plan for the presentation of drawings and that the reasons and the choices behind the display were based on different facts. A trend can be however noted in those museums whose rearrangement was mostly impacted by Venturi's influence. Let us then first consider how drawings were managed in Modena, Venice and Turin.

In Modena, Venturi had worked on a new arrangement of the Regie Gallerie Estensi, which was then put in practice by Giulio Cantalamessa before the Museum opened to the public in April 1895.[55] Although Venturi's first description of the proposed arrangement (15 February 1887) did not mention drawings at all,[56] in 1893 Cantalamessa explained to the Ministry that drawings would be put in one dedicated room, according to the method adopted by "Lippmann nel Gabinetto delle stampe a Berlino sia per le forme di conservazione sia per le norme di ordinamento".[57] In between, Venturi had developed the 'prints project'

53 On acquisitions see CATELLI ISOLA 1980, p. 8.

54 ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Venturi to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Baccelli], 20 June 1899. See MARIANI 2001, p. 145.

55 See MEZZETTI 1976; *Gli anni modenesi di Aldolfo Venturi* 1994; BERNARDINI 2008a; BERNARDINI 2008b; CORRADINI 2013. Documents relating to Venturi's arrangement are published in MARCOLINI 1990.

56 ASCoMo, AA, 945, pos. 6, quoted in MARCOLINI 1990, p. 138.

57 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., II s., b. 122, fasc. 2044, Cantalamessa to Ministero della Istruzione Pubblica, 22 July 1893. See also MOZZO 2017, pp. 224-225.

with Kristeller so it is likely that Cantalamessa was instructed by him to look at that specific model for drawings too. The room chosen was no. XII, "Disegni di varie scuole" (fig. 4.VI)[58] where, using Venturi's words, the "migliori disegni ad essa [the Gallery] appartenenti, ridotti nella pristina forma [...]" were displayed.[59]

The "pristina forma" mentioned by Venturi could be the same objective he had while he tended to the arrangement of the Gallerie in Venice (between the second half of 1894 and April 1895), again in collaboration with Cantalamessa. Reporting on the collection of drawings of the Gallerie, Venturi explicitly pushed for a specific museum arrangement as sole condition to properly study the drawings, which needed careful reconsideration after Pietro Selvatico's 1854 outdated description. According to Venturi, Selvatico's judgments "si riferirono alla forma, secondo che più o meno si accostava ai canoni accademici, e non al carattere proprio de' disegni e alla determinazione loro, per via dello studio delle abitudini particolari degli artisti"; that is to say, Selvatico's approach still lacked "un esame analitico dei disegni":[60]

> Intanto, perché la discussione possa trarre pro di ogni elemento fornito dai fogli preziosi, fu mia cura, nel dirigere il riordinamento della raccolta, di far togliere quelli e gli altri disegni dai fogli ov'erano appiccicati. Nell'eseguire questo lavoro, avvenne che nel verso del disegno di Leonardo, composto di varî studî per il quadro, che si vede nel Louvre a Parigi, "La Madonna delle Roccie", si trovò uno scritto della mano di Leonardo stesso, purtroppo in istato di frammento […] Vi sono molte questioni da risolvere in fatto di antichi disegni, anche per la ricostruzione ideale dei quaderni degli artisti dispersi in tutte le gallerie d'Europa; e perciò si deve tener conto di ogni elemento che ne aiuti la soluzione. I disegni, che forniscono la genesi delle opere d'arte, sono fogli preziosi, tante volte, per lo studio delle opere d'arte che ne derivarono e non al carattere proprio de' disegni e alla

58 See the map of the museum showing the Venturi-Cantalamessa display, held in the archive of the Galleria Estense of Modena and published in MOZZO 2017, p. 247 (fig. 1, reproduced here as fig. 4.VI). The same map also shows that other drawings , probably of lesser value, were kept in room no. 11, a "Magazzeno" hosting frames and other paintings.

59 VENTURI 1893-1894b, p. 49.

60 VENTURI 1894-1895, pp. 44, 46.

determinazione loro, per via dello studio delle abitudini particolari degli artisti.[61]

The drawings Venturi worked on were held in the Sala delle Adunanze Accademiche; most of them came from Giuseppe Bossi's collection. At that time, several framed drawings (dating back to 15th-18th centuries) already hanged on the walls, while others were "posti in telai appesi, a guisa di sportelli mobili, intorno a due colonnine"[62] that used to be kept pasted in volumes or mounted in *cartelle* placed in "due mobili a ventaglio, in mezzo alla sala".[63] From Cantalamessa's report to the Ministry, we learn that Venturi "si occupò di aggruppare per scuola i disegni, scegliendo i più meritevoli di essere messi in vista, e diresse

61 *Ibidem.*

62 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA. II vers., I s., b. 317, fasc. 5414, Cantalamessa to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, 11 October 1894 (draft in ASPMV, Inventari, cataloghi e beni immobili, b. 1, fasc. 1).

63 *Catalogo delle RR. Gallerie di Venezia* 1887, p. 261; the 1893 catalogue describes the "Sala IV (dei disegni)" as follows: "i disegni sono disposti intorno alle sale e nel centro. Cominciando da quelli esposti nelle cornici che sono intorno alla sala, abbiamo nelle prime cornici alcuni disegni di architettura e d'ornato di varie scuole e di varie epoche. Nella prima cornice sul banco abbiamo il mirabile disegni di Raffaello già attribuito al Perugino, rappresentante Apollo e Marsia, figure di gran bellezza. Continuando troviamo un maraviglioso studio di Michelangelo per una Sibilla. Quindi alcuni studii di Michelangelo e una prima idea per la volta della Sistina (disegno scoperto recentemente). Seguono i disegni di Leonardo Da Vinci, cominciando dagli schizzi per la Battaglia d'Anghiari sino agli studii per la Vergine delle rocce. Dopo i disegni di Leonardo sono esposti alcuni disegni della scuola di Leonardo. Gli altri gruppi di disegni ora esposti dovranno essere più rigorosamente ordinati e classificati e saranno anche accresciuti notevolmente. Però non possiamo nel presente catalogo darne una indicazione precisa. Ci riserbiamo di far ciò in una seconda edizione. Per ora indichiamo, oltre ai disegni di cui abbiamo parlato, la serie degli studii eseguiti da Raffaello giovine nella bottega di Pietro Perugino, studii che riproducono cose del maestro, alcune del Pinturicchio e due di Luca Signorelli, oltre a tre ricordi dell'antico. Oltre a questi disegni, che appartengono ai più belli anni del rinascimento umbro, sono notevoli due disegni attribuiti a Giovanni Bellini, due disegni attribuiti al Pordenone e uno attribuito a Moretto bresciano. Abbiamo anche uno studio di Tiziano, rappresentante un piccolo cinghiale, eseguito col brio e la rapidità che Tiziano metteva nei suoi disegni. Sono anche notevoli nella nostra raccolta alcuni disegni di scuola straniera, i quali sono raccolti in cornici speciali. Meritano anche un particolare esame alcune teste del Piazzetta, due disegni di Tiepolo e alcune improvvisazioni facili del Cambiaso" (CONTI 1895, pp. 26-27):

assiduamente quanto si riferiva ad esporli bene".[64] To pursue the "pristina forma", therefore, meant to pick drawings out of volumes and *cartelle*, to clean them and to arrange them by schools, giving a priority to aesthetic criteria, thus following the same procedure put in place with paintings.[65] While in Venice, Venturi is likely to have instructed Cantalamessa on these procedures, as Kristeller was teaching Guadagnini how to deal with prints at that same time. In order to best prepare the collection for further studies, Cantalamessa decided to compile a new inventory, also to make sure that the process of detaching the drawings did not cause loss of precious sheets and misinformation in registering the ones put under frame ("[…] ed ogni libro indica il numero dei disegni già contenutivi […]. Ma di che mai ci rassicura la sola vidimazione del numero? […] ma sono carte volanti e mutabili, senz'autenticità" (Appendix, document 11)[66]. The preparation of the inventory took much longer than expected, at least for the initial phase of the work: Cantalamessa put the blame on Angelo Conti, *coaudiutore* employed at the Gallerie, who proved to be far too slow in his task.[67] In 1898 Cantalamessa deplored the fact that the study of drawings collection was still incomplete: "Ma intanto quella benedetta questione dei disegni di venezia rimarrà sempre insoluta…? Io andava facendo le mie osservazioni, col proposito di farne trattazione speciale, dopo aver pubblicatio il catalogo delle pitture […]".[68] In 1900, the same Angelo Conti

64 ASPMV, Disegni, b. 1, fasc. 6, Cantalamessa to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 26 July 1895 (draft).

65 "Il criterio iconologico e topografico, nella classificazione delle opera d'arte deve essere considerate di minore importanza del criterio stilistico; perché anche in uno stesso tempo si hanno opera che contrastano tra loro, per essere uscite ora dalla mano di chi seppe rendere francamente le forme nuove, ora d'altri inceppato da vecchie convinzioni, e pure in uno stesso luogo vedonsi in contrasto ideali influssi svariatissimi, tendenze diverse. Soltanto lo studio dello stile può chiarire I rapporti reciproci delle opera d'arte, e collegarle tra loro senza che alcuna di esse si trovi a disagio nella compagnia, anzi facendo sì che tutte sembrino animate da un moto stesso, illuminate dalla stessa luce, e che questa luce vaghi da un'opera all'altra con passaggi tenui, armonicamente" (VENTURI 1896-1897, p. 47; also quoted in MOZZO 2017, p. 168).

66 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA. II vers., I s., b. 317, fasc. 5414, Cantalamessa to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 11 October 1894 (draft in ASPMV, Carte vecchie, b. IIb, fasc. 14).

67 *Ibidem*; see also following letters in ASPMV, Carte vecchie, b. IIb, fasc. 14 (31 October 1894; 13 February 1895, 26 July 1895; Appendix, documents 12, 13, 14). See also NEPI SCIRÉ 1982, pp. 16-17; MAZZANTI 2003; PERISSA TORRINI 2013; on Angelo Conti, see MAZZANTI 2002.

68 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Cantalamessa, Giulio; Cantalamessa to

published a description of the Gallerie, where drawings seem to have kept the same disposition as before, but for Quarenghi's, which were removed from the *corridoio* in order to save up room for other works. All the other sheets were left in the same room because no other object could have suited a space with such a poor light.[69] Conti still described the arrangement as temporary ("Les autres groups de dessins actuellement exposés, devron être plus rigoureusement ranges et classée et seront aussi notablement accrus").[70]

Venturi was not directly involved in the arrangement of the Regia Pinacoteca in Turin as he was in Venice, but he however solicited its director Alessandro Baudi di Vesme in proceeding with the organization of the museum. As explained by Giovannini Luca, Baudi di Vesme's actions were inspired by Venturi's museological scheme, although in the end Baudi di Vesme prioritised the Piedmontese school over other regional styles.[71] In spite of the very close personal and professional bonds that linked the two scholars and in spite of Venturi's supervision in the organisation of the Pinacoteca, the only reference to drawings and prints in their correspondence is not related to the permanent collection, but instead to the (failed) organisation of a temporary exhibition of drawings from the Royal Library: "Ricorderai forse che l'anno scorso ti annunziai che avrei intrapreso pratiche per ottenere dalla Real Casa la cessione in deposito dei disegni della Biblioteca del Re. Ho il dolore di dirti che ho fatto fiasco".[72] As far as the permanent collection was

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Venturi, 29 April 1898.

69 MOSCHINI MARCONI 1955, p. XXIV.

70 CONTI 1900, p. 40. Drawings of the Regie Gallerie received proper attention only starting from 1980s (see the series of books *Catalogo dei disegni antichi,* edited by Giovanna Nepi Scirè and Francesco Valcanover, published by Electa and the catalogues of recent exhibitions such as the 2018 dedicated to Giacomo Quarenghi's drawings, see CASSANI, MUNARI, ZANON 2018).

71 GIOVANNINI LUCA 2015, pp. 35-56. See also FANTINI 2010.

72 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Baudi di Vesme, Alessandro; Baudi di Vesme to Venturi, 6 February 1895 (the letter is transcribed in FANTINI 2010, p. 272). Baudi di Vesme managed to obtain the precious drawings of the Royal Library later in 1898 (Appendix, documents 30 and 31) to display them during the *Esposizione generale nazionale* which took place in Turin in that year (see LOESER 1899, pp. 13-21; TORDELLA 2009, p. 265; GIOVANNINI LUCA 2015, pp. 50, 172-173). The exhibition was very positively reviewed on *La Stampa*: "Un avvenimento artistico di non comune importanza: intendiamo l'esposizione temporanea di disegni di artisti celebri, che da tempo si trovavano, quasi ignorati e dimenticati, nella Biblioteca del Re, e che ora, col sovrano assentimento, vengono per alcun tempo affidata alla Pinacoteca perché ne faccia pubblica mostra. Questa raccolta di disegni è del

concerned, Baudi di Vesme decided to put drawings and prints in the "Sala Nona" (fig. 4.VII), dedicated to "Incisioni e disegni di scuole ed epoche varie. Gli oggetti d'arte esposti in questa sala si cambiano periodicamente".[73] This very short line, which makes up the only information that the catalogue provides on the room, is far from neutral. It justifies the absence of a list of works and informs us that the display changed periodically: however, it is not clear yet whether this was due to concern for the conservation state of the sheets or to the desire to show a greater amount of drawings and prints from the museum collection, it may have been inspired by the temporary exhibitions launched at the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe. The decision to have drawings and prints together in this specific room, however, seem to have derived from the fact that room no. IX and the one next were the only ones that could be warmed up by using radiators, whose presence was deemed necessary in order to allow copyists to work. Since paintings were believed to be far too fragile to cope with such climatic situation, "[…] col nuovo ordinamento più non si metteranno in quelle due stanze che oggetti refrattari a differenze di temperature, cioè […] le incisioni di Marcantonio e della sua scuola provenienti dall'eredità del comm. Michelangelo Castelli".[74]

In spite of the above mentioned contact between Adolfo Venturi and Corrado Ricci as far as the arrangement of prints in the Regia Galleria of Parma is concerned, the disposition decided by Ricci for drawings between 1894 and 1896 seems to have had no connection with the contemporary displays of drawings set up in other State museums. In Parma academic drawings were mixed with ancient ones, and they did not have a dedicated room; furthermore, there was neither a specialised curator responsible for drawings and/or prints, nor does a cataloguing

più alto interesse. Nei riguardi della storia dell'arte essa riesce un utile complemento alla collezione dei dipinti. Artisti che mancano in questa, figurano in quella; altri che sono rappresentati da quadri, ci appaiono qui nella domestica intimità degli "studi": ed il loro temperamento ci si rivela più immediate, più libero e schietto, come colto istantaneamente nell'attimo del lavoro e della preparazione […]. L'esposizione abbiamo detto, è temporanea, perché temporanea è la regia concessione. Dopo, i gloriosi disegni, in cui vibrano o palpitano ancora tante grandi anime di artisti insigni, conosceranno di Nuovo l'oscurità e l'oblio di qualche chiuso ripostiglio. Raccolgano essi almeno – in questi brevi giorni di luce che loro si accorda – l'ammirazione reverente di quanti in Torino serbano il culto dell'arte" (A.F. 1898).

73 BAUDI DI VESME 1899, p. 68.

74 BAUDI DE VESME 1895-1896 (1898), p. 28. For a description before the new arrangement, see JACOBSEN 1897, where neither drawings nor prints are mentioned.

campaign appear to have been pursued at this stage. According to the 1896 catalogue of the museum, which reflects the arrangement organised by Ricci, room no. XV included "Acquerelli di Paolo Toschi, e disegni".[75] These drawings are listed in the catalogue under the title "disegni vari", because in fact they consisted of a mix of academic and ancient drawings that Ricci added to a room that housed watercolours.[76] Drawings included sheets by Domenico da Passignano, Federico Barocci's school, Domenico Fiasella, the Bolognese school, Guercino, Cavalier D'Arpino, Giulio Cesare Procaccini, Jan van der Straet (many of them coming from the Sanvitale collection); academic drawings came mainly from the fine art academy (many "premiati"), but there were also four drawings by the Parmense painter Biagio Martini (1761-1840) deposited by the Biblioteca Palatina in 1882. The following room, no. XVI, was entirely dedicated to Parmigianino and contained two paintings attributed to him, next to several copies of his artworks. The lack of original works by Parmigianino in the Museum was cause for concern;[77] this might be the reason why Ricci decided to put 35 drawings by Giuseppe Mazzola in this room, displayed together with paintings, on the lower side of the room ("Nella linea inferiore ho disposti gl'incantevoli disegni provenuti in gran parte da casa Sanvitale").[78]

Drawings at the Uffizi between display and conservation

Interestingly enough, the arrangement of drawings at the Uffizi was never mentioned by Venturi or by Kristeller, although the organisation of the collection as well as Pasquale Nerino Ferri's expertise could represent a solid and fertile ground for exchange and confrontation. Moreover, well before the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe was established in Rome in June 1895, the Uffizi had their collection of works on paper called Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe (1892); the name

75 RICCI 1896, n.p. (map of the museum).

76 *Ivi*, p. 290.

77 The lack of artworks by Parmigianino pushed Ricci to look for exchanges with other State museums, for example with the Uffizi: "Questa Galleria non possiede nessuna opera di Parmigianino assolutamente autentica e segnata" (BSL, Fondo Ridolfi, Carteggio Enrico Ridolfi, ms. 3651, c. 102, Ricci to Ridolfi, 17 April 1894); Ricci tried tried to obtain *La Madonna del Collo Lungo* from the Gallerie Fiorentine, in exchange for two works by Cima da Conegliano (see *ivi*, letters of 26 May, 29 July, 18 October, 19 December 1895 and 12 January 1896).

78 RICCI 1893-1894, p. 29; see also RICCI 1896, p. XXIII. The drawings are listed in *ivi*, pp. 307-322. On the artworks from the Sanvitale collection entering the Museum, see FORNARI SCIANCHI 1997, pp. XLVIII-LI.

gave equal importance to drawings and prints, although drawings undoubtedly represented the most precious part of the collection, both in terms of quantity and quality. Technically speaking, this made the Gabinetto of the Uffizi the first institutionalised collection of graphic art in Italy, although also other Italian collections of works on paper are referred to as 'gabinetto' in the recent literature, even though they did not have the same status as the collection of the Uffizi or of the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica.

During 1890s, the section of drawings grew even more. A new display project was approved in 1889 and directed by the *conservatore* Pasquale Nerino Ferri:

> Il criterio da me seguito nel fare tale scelta, è stato quello di porre sotto gli occhi del pubblico i pezzi più salienti della raccolta, sia rispetto agli autori ed all'epoca, sia rispetto all'importanza del soggetto, come per una più condotta esecuzione, dalla quale più spiccate si rivelino le caratteristiche e la maniera dell'artefice, dando sempre la preferenza a quei disegni che servirono di studio e di preparamento per opere conosciute. […] In tal guisa si verrebbe ad ottenere di rappresentare con i disegni la completa storia dell'arte dal suo risorgimento al suo tramonto.[79]

This display consisted of the best drawings among the *disegni di figura*, architecture, ornament and landscape (the same categories to which Nerino Ferri dedicated specific inventories and indexes). In total, around 1670 sheets belonging to 500 different authors, out of which 300 had never been displayed before, were made available to the museum visitors, with *recto* and *verso* both visible (fig. 4.VIII). Shortly afterwards, Director Enrico Ridolfi (who would remain in charge of the Gallerie until September 1903, when he retired) and Nerino Ferri decided to raise the number of drawings on display to 3007 (1893). The new settling was organised according to geographical and chronological order, and it was split up in three sections, in order to "eliminare lo sgradevole effetto che suol produrre vedere accanto ai disegni del XIV e XV secolo, quelli della decandenza dell'arte": three rooms hosted framed drawings from the 13th to the first half of the 16th century; the *corridoi* "di levante e di ponente" had drawings dating back to the second half of 16th up to the

79 AGU, filza C 1889, pos. 2, ins. 8, Ferri to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Baccelli], February 1889. The negotiation and preparation of the new display are documented by the records held in the same archive folder; see also the reconstruction provided by Fileti Mazza 2014, pp. 81-82.

18th century in *bacheche*; while the Sala della Niobe presented architecture and ornamental drawings, placed in "colonne giranti", and *cartoni* removed from the Accademia di Belle Arti.[80] In addition to this, in 1895 two new rooms for *bozzetti* and pastels were opened (fig. 4.IX).[81] This kind of display was unique in Italy. It resulted, in the first place, from the historical origins of the collection: special consideration for drawings existed in fact the since the time of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici; over the centuries, the collection, which grew extraordinarily in terms of quantity and quality, had been in the hands of dedicated conservators and scholars (Baldinucci, Pelli Bencivenni and Lanzi). Secondly, it is crucial to remember that between 1865 and 1870 Florence was the capital of Italy. The same goal pursued by Venturi with a National Gallery in the 1890s was therefore already a key interest for the Uffizi during those years, when the scope of the collection grew to represent the whole nation.[82] Thirdly, one must consider the width of the collection: sheets on display went up to the 18th century and on the area of acquisitions an

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80 The display are described in RIDOLFI 1893-1894; [LA DIREZIONE] 1893; for the arrangement of *cartoni* and *bozzetti*, see RIDOLFI 1894-1895, pp. 4-5 and RIDOLFI 1905, p. 17: "In conseguenza poi al riordinamento accennato della Galleria già dell'Accademia di Belle Arti, effettuai la riunione dei vari cartoni di Lorenzo di Credi, di Fra Bartolommeo, della scuola di Raffaello, che ivi trovavansi in una piccola sala, alla collezione dei disegni de' grandi maestri esposta agli Uffizi; dalla quale collezione non vi era ragione che stessero questi cartoni separate. Venne così negli Uffizi a formarsi, accanto alle altre tre, una quarta sala di splendidi disegni degli antichi maestri, che allora fu cosa graditissima a molti studiosi. Infatti si esposero sulle pareti di quella quarta sala I cartoni anzidetti, nonché parecchi altri molto pregevoli conservati nelle cartelle; e sembrò opportuno di unir loro circa cinquanta bozzetti eseguiti a olio in chiaroscuro, facendo una scelta dei molti che giacevano nei locali di deposito, Si ebbe così un'altra pregevole raccolta, che ha coi disegni grande attinenza, e di cui fanno parte lavori del Bassano, del Beccafumi, dei Carracci, del Caravaggio, del Barocci, del Lanfranco, del Parmigianino, del Rosa, del Salimbeni, del Tintoretto e d'altri assai. Nella parte centrale poi della Sala furono collocate due colonne girante, munite di grandi cornice bilicate, a doppia facia, contenenti 245 disegni architettonici e di ornamenti, scelti amorosamente nelle cartelle […]" (p. 18). The catalogue, including drawings on display in other Florentine museums, was prepared by Nerino Ferri between 1895 and 1901 (*Catalogo dei disegni, cartoni e bozzetti esposti al pubblico nella R. Gallerie degli Uffizi ed in altri musei di Firenze*, AGDSU, ms. coll. no. 72; transcribed in FILETI MAZZA 2014, documentary appendix, no. XXVI). See also TORDELLA 2009, pp. 243-244; GUICHANÉ 2012-2013; FAIETTI 2013, p. 382; FAIETTI 2016.

81 *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, II, 35, 1895, p. 1464. See FILETI MAZZA 2014, pp. 89-92.

82 FAIETTI 2013, p. 382.

early interest for contemporary artists could be registered. While in other Gallerie only ancient drawings were sought (in Venice the Clausen collection was refused in 1892 because the artists represented "[…] non appartengono al periodo migliore dell'arte"),[83] since 1893 the Uffizi had started a "Raccolta di disegni di artisti moderni".[84]

In spite of this coherent and organised display, the Uffizi collection was not exempt from harsh criticism on the side of conservational issues. The scholar and collector Charles Loeser (1864-1928)[85] was a keen observer of museological practices, and more than once he condemned the use of permanent displays, especially in Italy, where "[…] i raggi del sole sono assai più temperati" (than in Northern Europe).[86] His 1897 article on the John Malcolm collection of drawings and prints, acquired in 1895 by the British Museum, is particularly meaningful in this regard.[87] His remarks covered all aspects of collections management: from the choice of sheets on display ("Viene esposta al pubblico una massa di oggetti, che poco può interessarlo"); their disposition, which hinders scholars' work ("Succede, coi disegni così esposti, che un lato del foglio si trova per sempre nascosto, sul quale pure in tanti casi si trovano disegni di grande interesse. Spesso pure vengono collocate in alto sulle pareti, dove difficilmente si possono esaminare"); the dangers of keeping drawings inside crystal cases ("[…] e quanto a quelli messi in piano sotto cristallo, presto o tardi sono destinati a guai irrimediabili per la spensieratezza dei visitatori […] quando, appoggiandosi coi gomiti sui vetri, fracassano questi ed insieme i sottoposti disegni"). Loeser suggested instead temporary exhibitions like it was customary practice abroad ("I disegni

83 See letters in ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA. II vers., I s., b. 298, fasc. 5090.

84 Fileti Mazza 2014, p. 90.

85 On Charles Loeser and collections of drawings see Oberhuber 1978; Oberhuber 1979; Tordella 2009.

86 Loeser 1897, p. 341.

87 In order to acquire this collection comprising almost 1,000 drawings and more than 400 prints, in 1895 the British Parliament voted a special grant of £25,000 so that the British Museum could obtain this precious collection, part of which had been already displayed in the White Wing rooms of the British Museum the year before. It included drawings by Sandro Botticelli, Andrea del Verrocchio, Michelangelo, Rembrandt, Leonardo da Vinci, Watteau and Claude Lorrain; it was therefore considered a very important addition to the British Museum holdings of old master drawings (see Royalton-Kisch 1996; Coppel 1996, pp. 161-168; Davies 2001). Giovanni Morelli, who had fruitful relationships with British collectors and connoisseurs, studied the Malcolm drawings and received by Malcolm in person a copy of the 1867 catalogue of his collection (now at the library of the Brera Academy; see Fumagalli 2004).

sono messi in mostra pochi alla volta e, se per lunghi periodi, sono protetti da cortine") and the creation of a proper study room such the one in Rome, which was definitely recognized as a model to look up to. Loeser brought his argument to a provocation, suggesting that, considering the given conditions of Italian public drawings collections, it was not so damaging for the country if the Malcolm drawings, "la quale in gran parte ha avuto origine in Italia, abbia trovato stabile sede fuori del paese". His elitist views of drawings as solely an object of study for a few connoisseurs made him even doubt about the advantages of 'bringing drawings public' ("[…] anche i disegni si trovano trascinati colla medesima corrente. Ci sia lecito di conservare dei dubbi sul vantaggio finale di questo passaggio, dalla proprietà private nella pubblica, di oggetti di un interesse così speciale").[88] Only a few years later, however, he recommended bringing the best drawings of the Biblioteca Reale in Turin to the Regia Pinacoteca, so that they could be accessible for study purposes.[89]

4.3 A network of print collections?

As planned by Venturi and Kristeller, the activities undertaken at the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe (but already experimented in a 'local' collection, the Regia Pinacoteca in Bologna) had to serve as prototype to arrange prints housed in other State museums. Liberated from the label of reproductive medium, printmaking was recognised as "arte a sé", that could not serve "per lo studio delle opera di altra arte, poiché queste vanno riprodotte adesso coi mezzi meccanici".[90] For this reason, prints now required their proper museum arrangement. However, in the 1890s not all Italian State museums owned old master prints: the Regie Gallerie in Venice, Milan and Parma, for example, only owned those prints they had inherited from the fine art academy they used to be administratively attached to until 1882. Considering this, Kristeller and Venturi's plan was to be carried out on a double level: on the one hand, to arrange existing public prints collections following Kristeller's methods; on the other, to provide other State museums with a group of prints, considered a natural 'complement' of the collection of paintings, by extracting them

88 LOESER 1897, p. 341.

89 LOESER 1899. See also TORDELLA 2009, where an Italian translation of Loeser's article is provided (pp. 264-276).

90 KRISTELLER 1894-1895b, p. 164. On the issue of reproducibility, see the seminal work by BENJAMIN 1935.

from the institutions considered the least ideal for keeping prints: public libraries.[91]

Until that moment, the Regie Gallerie in Florence still featured the largest display of prints of the country (and possibly of the whole of Europe), "mille e duegentocinquanta stampe *antiche e moderne*", out of the 30,390 prints (of which 15,716 loose sheets)[92] registered in Pasquale Nerino Ferri's *Inventario generale* compiled in 1895.[93] This is likely to be the reason why the Uffizi was the first museum the Ministry got in touch with. On 2 July 1895, less than one month after the foundation of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, the Minister of Public Education Guido Baccelli (1830-1916, in charge between 15 December 1893 to 10 March 1896)[94] wrote to the Director, Enrico Ridolfi, in order to ask him to set up proper spaces for prints, as their current location (the two rooms and the first part of the "corridore o passaggio alla Galleria Pitti")[95] "non sembra conveniente, nel corridoio anche le opere più belle spariscono e nel buio della scala spariscono".[96] The letter went on with details on which kind of prints had to be displayed, and how: "Determinato il locale si dovrà determinare con una scelta rigorosa le stampe da esporsi, la esclusione di quelle di poco valore artistico e storico, delle quali basterà l'esposizione di tipici esemplari". The exhibited prints ranged from

91 This plan might have also inspired other episodes in which the Ministry engaged in providing public institutions with prints, but for other reasons: for example, in 1896, Minister Guido Baccelli had two boxes of prints ("una scelta collezione di tutte le migliori incisioni e stampe possedute", including prints by Calamatta, Morghen and the "opera intera di Giovanni Battista Piranesi in 27 volumi") sent from the Regia Calcografia in Rome to the Accademia di Belle Arti in Ravenna (AABAR, Carteggio 1895, b. 8, prot. no. 62, Baccelli to the Mayor of Ravenna, 30 November 1896; *ivi*, prot. no. 68, *Nota di stampe per l'Accademia di belle arti di Ravenna*, 14 November 1897; see CERONI 1991, p. 19, and CERONI 2000, p. 241, n. 2). From the letter sent by Baccelli, it looks like he promised to send equipment during a visit to Ravenna, in order to enrich the didactic equipment of the Accademia by providing art students with the best examples the Calcografia could offer.

92 "[…] cioè: Stampe in volume, pezzi 14.674; Stampe sciolte, pezzi 15.716, totale 30.390" (AGU, filza B 1895, pos. 8, ins. 5, Ferri to Ridolfi, 14 June 1895). See also FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 95.

93 RIGONI 1891, p. 223.

94 On Guido Baccelli see BRASCA 2017.

95 RIGONI 1891, p. 223.

96 AGU, filza B 1895, pos. 8, ins. 7, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione to Ridolfi, 2 July 1895. See also FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 95.

ancient woodcuts to chiaroscuro prints and engravings (first and second room), from prints by Marcantonio Raimondi and his school, Agostino Veneziano and Marco da Ravenna to Roman and Tuscan prints until the first half of 18th century, from ancient German woodcuts and engravings to Dürer, from Lucas von Leyden to Rembrandt and Rubens, from English prints to works by modern Italian, German and French printmakers.[97] This selection also included prints up to the 19th century, a category which Kristeller had excluded when he prepared the permanent exhibit of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe. Baccelli's request also took into account what we would now call 'exhibition design': "Nell'esposizione converrà attenersi al principio che le piccole incisioni perdono troppo del loro effetto, se collocate in grande numero e quindi sarà bene di far uso di cornici di piccole dimensioni. E il tutto dovrà essere ordinato cronologicamente […] poi di apporle su cartoni di colore chiaro, perché quello grigio-turchino dei cartoni oggi in uso, tolgono effetto anche alle stampe più forti di tono". A further request concerned the way these prints had to be repaired and mounted: "[…] sarà d'uopo di riparare codeste stampe, di farle cioè lavare e tergere da macchie".

The peculiar situation of the Florentine museums, especially the persistent lack of space (some rooms had paintings displayed on multiple levels, almost up to the ceiling), could not allow Ridolfi to welcome the Baccelli's requests to reserve several adjoining rooms to prints only. The "due sale che sono in mezzo della scala" could not be used because of poor light, "attesa la poca luce che hanno nelle giornate buie".[98] Instead, Ridolfi defended the "[…] Galleria chiamata corridoio che discesa la scala si estende fino al Ponte Vecchio […]" as "adattissimo

97 "Ripiano e prima Sala. Stampe antiche in legno e a chiaroscuro. Seconda Sala. Stampe in rame italiane, Avanti Marcantonio. Corridore. Stampe di Marcantonio, di Agostino Veneziano e di Marco da Ravenna. Id. della scuola e degli imitatori di Marcantonio. Id. di Cornelio Cort e della sua scuola. Id. Romane dalla metà del XVI alla prima metà del XVIII Secolo. Id. Toscane dal XVI alla prima metà del XVIII Secolo. Id. Veneziane. Id. Bolognesi e Lombarde. Id. in legno e in rame degli antichi e piccolo maestri Tedeschi. Id. di Alberto Durero. Id. di Luca di Leyda e dei Fratelli Wierx. Id. di Rembrandt o dei suoi imitatori. Id. delle opere di Rubens e dei suoi scolari. Id. Francesi. Id. Inglese. Id. Degli incisori Italiani, Tedeschi e Francesi moderni non viventi" (Rigoni 1891, p. 224). The complete description is in Nerino Ferri's 1881 *Catalogo delle stampe esposte al pubblico nella R. Galleria degli Uffizi con l'indice alfabetico degl'incisori* (Ferri 1881a). The inventory is transcribed in Fileti Mazza 2014, documentary appendix, no. XXIV.

98 AGU, filza B 1895, pos. 8, ins. 5, Ridolfi to Ministry, 6 July 1895. Also published in Fileti Mazza 2014, p. 96.

e bellissimo per l'esposizione delle stampe tutte". He anyway agreed on re-organizing the display according to the given criteria, "in ordine di scuola e per successione di tempo, limitandosi ad esporre quei tipici esemplari che possano meglio servire a dare una giusta idea dell'importanza della raccolta e del progressivo svolgimento dell'arte di incidere nelle varie scuole", replicating the system Carlo Pini had applied in 1871.[99] Nerino Ferri proposed to break the display into two parts, dividing Italian prints from foreign ones. He also asked to be allowed to go to Bologna and to Rome in order to see for himself the new arrangement put in place there and understand it better ("allo scopo di prendere esatta cognizione dell'ordinamento stesso") as well as to learn 'the new system' for stamping prints ("nuovo sistema di bollare le stampe"), a process that had not been possible at the Uffizi because of the huge amount of prints already framed.[100]

The Minister approved Ridolfi's plan; however, Baccelli insisted on the importance of pursuing a "generale riordinamento", so that "si trovino già definiti i criterii particolari per la sistemazione delle varie raccolte, ad evitare distrazione e contraddizioni fra l'ordine e lo sviluppo dell'una e l'ordine e lo sviluppo delle altre".[101] It was crucial that all prints collections across the country presented the same order and organisation. In a certain sense, the Uffizi, with their very wide displays of prints and drawings, competed with the Gabinetto in Rome for the presentation of 'national art'. At this stage the two collections were already too big and rooted within their museums that there was no attempt to discuss a strategy of 'non-concurrency' so that they could develop in different directions, as for example it happened in London between the British Museum and the Victoria & Albert Museum.[102]

As explained before, the second line of intervention was to provide museums with a collection of old master prints, if they lacked one. Although some attempts to move prints from libraries to museums had already taken place in the 1880s, this was the very first time that this kind of project was carried out systematically and at national level, following a scheme that, to present knowledge, has no parallel in any other European country. It was also the first time that the request to relocate prints was not based on the needs of one individual institution (as it had

99 *Ibidem*.

100 AGU, filza 1895, pos. 8, ins. 7, Nerino Ferri to Ridolfi, 24 July 1895.

101 *Ivi*, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione [signed by Costetti] to Ridolfi, 13 July 1895.

102 See WARD-JACKSON 1979, p. 7.

happened for example with the Regia Pinacoteca in Turin), but was instead grounded on well-structured and precise arguments, that connected art historical value of prints, protection and care of works on paper in general, public access to collections. For this reason, it was aimed to impact not one but all State libraries, that depended on the Direzione Generale Biblioteche. The appeal was drafted for the Minister Emanuele Gianturco (who took Baccelli's place following the beginning of Rudinì's government in March 1896) by Paul Kristeller in May 1896 (Appendix, document 17). Kristeller used several elements to support the thesis that "collezioni pubbliche di stampe e di disegni già esistenti, come per quelle che si formeranno in futuro […] debbono conservarsi presso le Pinacoteche e Gallerie di belle Arti".[103] First of all, Kristeller outlined the way prints, as artworks, needed to be studied; as with paintings, the focus was put on the identification of authorship and the comprehension of style, which are only possible if artworks are compared with one another:

> Le singole opere d'arte acquistano maggior valore per lo studio, se riunite con altre omogenee, e non possono essere perfettamente intese, se non l'una in relazione con le altre, facendo tutte parte d'un continuo e logico sviluppo. Lo studio delle opere d'arte consiste essenzialmente nel confrontarle l'una con l'altra, per scoprire le loro relazioni di somiglianze e di differenze, per trovare gli autori e tessere la storia.[104]

If prints are to be studied, then public access must be provided; but that is impossible to obtain, since works on paper in Italy are dispersed across several libraries. The distribution in different cities *per se* was not an issue in Kristeller's view; as he had remarked on more than one occasion, he conceived State prints collections as one, and it did not matter to him if a print was held in Bologna or in Rome, provided that it contributed to get that collection towards completeness. What concerned him was the presence of prints in other public institutions than museums:

> Per tutti gl'istituti pubblici non può valere altro che il solo principio dell'utilità pubblica, affinché tutti gli oggetti esistentivi rendano il maggior frutto possibile per l'insegnamento e lo studio.

103 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424, Kristeller to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 30 May 1896.

104 *Ibidem*.

> Perché dunque deve essere reso impossibile, o difficile, o meno vantaggioso lo studio per la dispersione di opere d'arte dello stesso genere in diversi istituti di carattere differente?[105]

Kristeller described collections of prints housed in libraries as inaccessible; when accessible, they were hardly easy to study because they were not ordered; they lacked a scientific catalogue (only few of them had one, for example the Marucelliana) and "libri di consultazione"; and were not cared for by specialists. On the contrary, he was creating a network of prints professionals, with Hermanin in Rome and Guadagnini in Bologna; he knew that collections in Turin and in Florence were in good hands too, as they were cared for by Baudi di Vesme and by Nerino Ferri.

In order to strengthen his point, Kristeller recalled precedent cases of works on paper being moved from one Italian institution to another, but among those he mentioned, only in one case where artworks were permanently moved (including their ownership) from one institution to another, that is to say the Biblioteca Universitaria in Bologna (1881). In fact, the Corsini prints were on a long-term deposit, which excluded ownership; while the relocation at the Palatina Library had been authorized but had not taken place yet. Furthermore, he added that this 'distribution system' from libraries to museums was applied also in Germany, France and England ("Questo sistema di distribuzione della suppellettile artistica di proprietà pubblica fra i diversi istituti governativi è seguito anche in Germania, in Francia e in Inghilterra"). This was indeed true (and it also took place in Sweden and in The Netherlands) but, as far as we know, these relocations did not depend on a national project but were instead the result of site-specific and sometimes rather casual circumstances. Kristeller, however, did not mention any specific case; to say that it happened abroad seemed to be enough to give a reason for its necessity.

Kristeller touched upon another point that Venturi had already presented to the Commissione Permanente per l'Antichità e le Belle Arti in 1892: the dramatic increase of the number of prints sold to foreign collectors, especially American ones, defined as "avversario formidabile". As already explained by Venturi on that occasion, to study and to catalogue prints was a priority, as this was the only possible way to know the content of each collection and therefore be active on the

105 *Ibidem.*

market to buy what was necessary to fill in the gaps before the items went beyond the Italian borders.

The second part of Kristeller's appeal turned to a more practical level. The German scholar gave details on which kind of prints should be relocated from libraries to museums, repeating the same scheme that had led him to select which prints should be transferred from the Biblioteca Corsiniana to the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe. "[…] stampe o serie di stampe, le quali hanno non tanto valore artistico quanto un interesse speciale per la storia del luogo o la scienza, come p. es. carte topografiche, riproduzioni architettoniche, botaniche ecc." should be left to libraries; at the same time, maybe as a form of reparation, museums and galleries should give up such collections. He also specified the format in which these prints should come:

> Come incisioni s'intendono quelle pubblicate originalmente come singoli fogli o serie di stampe, le quali, benché abbiano la forma di libri, non sono da considerarsi come tali, o perché le singole stampe sono incollate posteriormente nei libri o perché sono unite soltanto a mezzo d'un frontispizio inciso o stampato, d'una prefazione ecc., in modo che il testo non serve che per introdurre le incisioni; in somma tutte le stampe o serie di stampe, nelle quali il valore letterario sparisce in confronto al valore artistico. In pratica non sarà difficile di stabilire di caso in caso la differenza fra serie di stampe e libri illustrati.

According to Kristeller, these instructions would be enough to allow library employees, non-specialists of prints, to recognize which prints should be "segregate" from the bibliographic part of the collection. Furthermore, Kristeller included in his letter a list of public libraries that, according to his sources, owned prints which could be of interest for relocation.[106] For some libraries he provided very detailed information;

106 Kristeller's first source was the 1893 *Notizie storiche, bibliografiche e statistiche sulle Biblioteche Governative del regno d'Italia* edited by the Ministry of Public Eduation. In order to prepare the list, Kristeller is likely to have also used his own research and experience, since he had visited many public libraries across the country, and also lists given to him by his Italian and German colleagues (for example by Lippmann). Probably upon Venturi's suggestion, Kristeller only listed those libraries classified as 'governative autonome' (Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele', Biblioteca Alessandrina, Biblioteca Angelica, Biblioteca Casanatense, Biblioteca Vallicelliana; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Biblioteca Marucelliana, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Biblioteca Laurenziana; Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Biblioteca Universitaria and Brancacciana; Turin, Biblioteca

for example he mentioned the "284 stampe di Dürer, 82 cosiddette carte di Tarocco, ed alcune altre del '400, 16 volumi di ritratti" housed at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. For other institutions, on the contrary, the available data on works on paper were far more vague or not known at all, especially for libraries located in the southern part of the Italian State ("Raccolta numerosa di stampe" at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples; "Non si sa se vi siano delle stampe" at the Biblioteca Universitaria and the Biblioteca Brancacciana in Naples and at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Palermo) but also elsewhere ("Raccolta di stampe" at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice; "una numerosa collezione di stampe, di libri di merlette ecc." at the Bibliotheca Angelica in Rome).

What lacked completely from Kristeller's argument was the acknowledgment of the historical memory of the collections, the perception that the value and the meaning of a group of prints could be more than just the sum of its parts. The selection process that prints were supposed to undergo would have broken those connections given by the original collector through his act of choosing the prints that responded to his taste, and through his way of arranging them in albums. The issue was strictly connected with the break-up of albums of prints and drawings since the time of Kristeller's appointment in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna: to separate the prints (or the drawings) from their ancient mounts meant to erase the historical values they entailed.[107] The project had the approval of Venturi, as it can be inferred from the remarks he added on Kristeller's letter to the Direttore Generale per le Antichità e le Belle Arti: "Comunicare in merito alla Div. per le Biblioteche la proposta, è d'aiuto per il bene delle istituzioni artistiche e dell'arte". This proves that, in the field of prints, Venturi lacked that attention he had towards collections of paintings, their provenance and origins (in Modena, he underlined that "occorreva […] di scoprir per ogni quadro i nomi degli autori, le date, le ragioni del soggetto, i ricordi della provenienza e le vicende molteplici"),[108] although, as highlighed by

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Nazionale; Venice, Biblioteca Marciana; Cremona, Biblioteca Governativa; Lucca, Biblioteca Pubblica; Modena, Biblioteca Estense; Parma, Biblioteca Palatina; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria; Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria), and he left out others even if they had important collections, such as the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (see *Statistica delle biblioteche*, vol. I, pp. 72-73).

107 See, on the contrary, the recommendations given in mid 19th century by Frédéric Villot (1809-1875) and Frédéric Reiset at the Louvre department of drawings, aimed at replacing unsuitable mounts respecting, at the same time, the value of ancient mounts coming from important collections such as Vasari, Jabach or Mariette's (COURAL, DESSERRIÈRES, JULIER 2013, pp. 329-330).

108 VENTURI 1882, p. 9.

Donata Levi, his interest in collectors was not directed to reconstruct collecting processes or its "forme istituzionali" but it was instead aimed at providing "genealogie" for the artworks.[109]

The Direttore Generale per le Antichità e le Belle Arti rephrased Kristeller's very same arguments in order to prepare the official request for the Direzione Generale in charge of libraries (Appendix, document 18):

> Lo studio di un'opera d'arte consiste quasi esclusivamente nel confronto di essa con altre opere omogenee, a fine di stabilire i rapporti di somiglianza e le differenze fra loro, fissare i caratteri e determinarne gli autori. […] Le opera delle arti grafiche sparse nelle biblioteche sono lontane dal corrispondere a tale scopo, perché rimangono per lo più inaccessibili, e sovente gli studiosi non possono avere cognizione della loro esistenza. […] Già da diversi anni, in più occasioni, questo Ufficio ha riconosciuto ed annunciato la necessitò di tirare fuori dagli armadi delle Biblioteche governative i tesori dell'arte antica che vi rimangono ancora nell'ombra, di rimetterli in luce, di esporli pubblicamente, aggregandoli alle collezioni omogenee delle R.R. Gallerie. […] Vegga, dunque, codesta On. Direzione Generale se può aderire al desiderio della Direzione scrivente, ordinando alle varie amministrazioni delle Biblioteche governative si segregare dalla loro suppellettile letteraria tutte le singole incisioni o serie d'incisioni, per inventariarle separatamente, e consegnarle poi alle rispettive collezioni di stampe o alle Pinacoteche esistenti nella stessa città.[110]

However, not all the libraries listed by Kristeller were asked to proceed with the separation of their collections of prints (Appendix, document 19).[111] In December, the Direzione Generale per le Antichità e le Belle Arti

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109 See LEVI 2004, p. 55-56. At museographical level, the respect of collecting connections among artworks had already got in his way, for example when he had to keep the Torlonia paintings separate from the rest of the chronological arrangement of the Galleria d'Arte Antica, to suit the former owners' requests (NICITA 2010, p. 144).

110 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424, Direttore Generale [Antichità e Belle Arti, Felice Bernabei, but signed by Costetti] to Direttore Generale per l'Istruzione Superiore le Biblioteche e gli Affari Generali, 26 June 1896 (draft).

111 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424, Direttore Generale [per l'Istruzione Superiore le Biblioteche e gli Affari Generali] to Direttore Generale Antichità e Belle Arti [Felice Bernabei], 11 July 1896 (draft). Naples, Palermo and

received the results of the survey: most libraries refused to split their collections ("i Signori Direttori della Marciana di Venezia, della Nazionale di Torino, della Nazionale Centrale, della Riccardiana, della Mediceo-Laurenziana e della Marucelliana di Firenze, dell'Alessandrina, della Lancisiana, della Angelica e della Casanatense di Roma, e della Estense di Modena"), either because they did not acknowledge the presence of any prints such as those described by Kristeller; or for 'technical reasons'; or for "vincoli testamentari e di fondazione" (Appendix, document 24).[112] The Marucelliana, for example, must have used the same argument that had 'saved' its collection already in the 1840s and 1880s; the same for the National Library in Turin. Three libraries declared to possess prints of no artistic interest (the Braidense in Milan, the Marciana in Venice and the Governativa in Lucca, but the tone of their replies reveals a very general way of understanding and classifying prints ("Se per stampe si deve intendere una rappresentazione figurata o di [*pregio] tale da dare un contributo all'arte come lavoro a sé […]"; Appendix, document 20)[113] that could hardly lead to a conscious choice of prints to send to the museums; at the same time, it is likely that the librarians preferred to avoid disclosing any further details, either not to show that they had actually no knowledge of their library's holdings of works on paper, or not to add an additional task to the many they already had. Only two libraries, the Vallicelliana and the Vittorio Emanuele II in Rome, were ready to 'segregate' part of their prints to relocate them to the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe. For this reason, the Direzione Generale decided to send the two recognized experts to assess the situation: Adolfo Venturi was sent to the Vallicelliana to examine the antique prints held in the attic floor of the Library, in order to assess if they were suitable to be transferred;[114] Paul

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Pavia were not considered in the request. For Pavia, the reason might be that the relocation would have involved moving the objects from a State to a civic institution, a fact that could have further complicated the process.

112 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424, Direttore Generale per l'Istruzione Superiore le Biblioteche e gli Affari Generali to Direttore Generale per l'Antichità e le Belle Arti, 18 December 1896 (in reply to the letter sent on 9 October 1896; Appendix, document 23).

113 BSL, Archivio storico, Anno 1896, Boselli to Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica [Emanuele Gianturco], 17 July 1896.

114 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424, Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica [Emanuele Gianturco, but signed by Costetti] to Bibliotecario della Vallicelliana, 30 December 1896. We suppose the acquisition did not take place as it is not registered in the acquisition records of the Gabinetto (ICG, ASGS, Vecchio Inventario, vol. I).

Kristeller was told to go to the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele II, which was willing to give up some prints in exchange for others that could enrich the topographic collection that Domenico Gnoli had started in 1890.[115] Since it would have been impossible to select some prints from the Corsini collection for this purpose ("Le stampe Corsini non si possono dare, senza che avvenga il finimondo"),[116] the exchange was only possible thanks to Kristeller himself, who decided to donate to the Gabinetto (and so to the Italian State) seven prints from his own collection, so that the Ministry of Public Education could use them for the proposed exchange. Once more, Kristeller demonstrated how much he believed in the necessity for public collections within the same country to exchange artworks, as well as how much he himself was devoted to this cause.

In Venice, in spite of Director Carlo Castellani's refusal to move prints from the Biblioteca Marciana to the Gallerie, stating that the Library owned none of artistic value (Appendix, document 21)[117] the request from the Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti was backed up by the museum Director Giulio Cantalamessa. Since Cantalamessa and Venturi had worked together in Venice in 1894-1895 in order to prepare the new arrangement of the Gallerie, it is likely that, following the establishment of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, the two scholars could have discussed together the possibility of having a collection of prints installed at the museum in Venice. In December 1896, Cantalamessa sent to Rome an appeal to set up a print collection. His letter (Appendix, document 25) is very interesting because Cantalamessa insisted very much on the 'mission' of the collection of prints, that had to go along with the paintings of the gallery:

> […] oramai una galleria ha la necessità di accompagnarsi ad una raccolta di stampe, non ecletticamente racimolate, ma

115 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424, Direttore Generale [per l'istruzione superiore, le biblioteche e gli affari generali] to Direttore Generale per le Antichità e le Belle Arti, 6 February 1897; *ivi*, Ministero [f.to Costetti] to Kristeller, 15 February 1897).

116 *Ivi*, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione to Direttore Generale Antichità e Belle Arti [with handwritten note on the left, added by Venturi], 31 March 1897. On Kristeller's gift, see *ivi*, Kristeller's note to Fleres (not dated); Direttore Generale antichità e belle arti [Felice Bernabei] to Direttore Generale per l'Istruzione Superiore, le Biblioteche e gli Affari Generali, 10 April 1897 (draft); Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica [Emanuele Gianturco, but signed by Costetti] to Kristeller, 15 April 1897 (draft).

117 BMV, fasc. D - Cose diverse - a. 1896, Castellani to Direzione, 18 July 1896 (draft).

> meditatamente scelte e rispondenti all'indole e al carattere dei quadri di cui la galleria è formata. […] la galleria qui non può essere che veneta, e le sarà titolo di alta ammirazione giungere a rappresentare completamente tutta la pittura veneta; al quale intanto questa direzione mirerà sempre, ogni volta che le accadrà di proporre al Ministero un acquisto, un deposito, un cambio. Similmente la direzione, ove il Ministero volesse aiutarla nel proposito di adunare una collezione di stampe, non vorrebbe che quelle le quali sono direttamente legate all'arte di questa regione italiana; e se le avvenisse, nella vicenda, dei casi, di avere stampe lombarde, bolognesi, toscane ecc. volentieri le cederebbe alle altre gallerie, ov'esse sarebbero più profittevolmente esposte; e chiederebbe in ricambio quelle che ad essa particolarmente sono vantaggiose.[118]

Of all projects analysed so far, Cantalamessa's was the only well-defined one that expressed the need for a local, 'peripherical' collection, connected to that idea of central *versus* satellite collections drafted by Kristeller in 1891 and of which Cantalamessa must have heard through Venturi. As the collection in Venice would have been part of a national scheme, Cantalamessa understood and supported the possibility of exchanging pieces between museums, in order to pursue the completeness of each local collection, which should represent above all its own regional school. To give his proposal a more solid ground, he explained where the prints would have been displayed within 'his' museum. He even knew what kind of furniture the display would have required, and this again could have been suggested by Venturi, as the description matches the equipment used in Rome:

> […] può essere disposta in varie stanze attigue alla sala dei disegni; e in tal modo il collocamento non potrebb'essere più opportuno. Ma, pur espediente provvisorio, si può disporla nel corridoio, nella sala Aristo, nella loggia palladiana; né vi sarebbe la necessità di muovere nemmeno un quadro dalle pareti, giacché profitterei degli spazi di mezzo, facendo mobili di poco volume, con due facce poste obliquamente, a guisa dei pioventi d'un tetto.

Finally, Cantalamessa openly backed up the proposal of transferring prints from libraries to museums, underlying the principle that prints

118 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 313, fasc. 5347, Cantalamessa to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 27 December 1896 (draft in ASPMV, Affari generali, b. 1, fasc. 7).

were finished artworks, and that for this reason deserved to be housed in a museum:

> In quasi tutte le biblioteche governative c'è una collezione di stampe. Se queste formano parte del libro stesso, conviene che gli restino congiunte; perché sarebbe barbaro scindere le membra di un organismo ch'è nato in quella forma, ed il tutto sarebbe privato di quel soccorso dell'incisione che lo scrittore ha reputato necessario; ma le incisioni che [*hanno] una vita a sé, affatto indipendente dà libri, a che prò continuano a stare accumulate nelle biblioteche? Non è il loro poto. La biblioteca è il deposito del pensiero scritto, non dell'opera d'arte. Ad accogliere quest'ultima ci sono musei e gallerie, ove l'incisione prende spontaneamente l'ufficio che le appartiene, e si affratella con dipinti o con sculture.

Following Cantalamessa's appeal, the Ministry authorized the Director of the Gallerie to get in touch with the Director of the Biblioteca Marciana (Appendix, document 27),[119] only to discover just a little later that the works on paper held at the Marciana could not satisfy Cantalamessa's needs and wishes; it was not made up of etchings by Carlevaris or Canaletto, 'champions' of Venetian *vedute*; instead, it contained lithographs, reproductions after neoclassical painters, portraits and other subjects of 'historical interest' (Appendix, document 28):

> Si tratta d'una collezione di litografie: ritratti di scrittori illustri dei primi anni di questo secolo, di maestri di musica, di cantanti; vedutine di ville signorili, di teatri, di paeselli; riproduzione di quadri dell'Appiani o d'altri pittori di quell'infausto periodo; un gran numero di ritratti di Napoleone I e di personaggi militari e politici storicamente schierati intorno a lui; e in mezzo a tal folla appare qua e là, come cosa sperduta, qualche incisione del secolo scorso: un Morgagni, per esempio, inciso da Angelica Kauffmann, un Savonarola di altro settecentista. Nulla di pregevole insomma, nulla che si connetta alla storia della pittura veneziana![120]

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119 ASPMV, Affari generali, b. 1, fasc. 7, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione to Direttore delle RR. Gallerie Venezia [Cantalamessa], 16 January 1897.

120 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 313, fasc. 5347, Cantalamessa to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 21 January 1897. Draft in ASPMV, Affari generali, b. 1, fasc. 7. There used to be many more prints at the Marciana; those belonging to the Legato Molin (which consisted of 3,835 prints, 408 drawings, 136 geographical maps and several ancient books and other precious objects)

Given the situation, there was no point in pursuing a relocation of prints that in no way could match the identity of the Venetian Gallerie, whose main feature was the presentation of the development of art in Venice and Veneto between 14th and 18th centuries.

4.4 Kristeller's plan for a Gabinetto delle Stampe in Parma

The case of Parma is particularly significant because it allows a better understanding of issues, balances and struggles at stake in the national plan that aimed at moving prints from libraries to museums in order to set up Gabinetti delle stampe. Since Corrado Ricci had first tried to obtain the print collection of the Biblioteca Palatina for the Regia Galleria in Parma in 1893, backed up by Adolfo Venturi, all further attempts to succeed in that goal had failed. From the very beginning, two main obstacles contrasted the project: one was the lack of a proper room within the museum, where the collection could be hosted; the other, the reluctance of Edoardo Alvisi, who had always refused to collaborate. Once the Direzione Generale Biblioteche accepted to support the Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Paul Kristeller was sent to Parma in order to visit the Palatina and prepare a report for the Ministry of Public Education: "Gradirei ora ch'ella visitasse la raccolta parmense, e mi informasse della sua importanza particolare, del modo migliore con cui si potrebbe ottenere il suo assetto, della spesa che importerebbe l'assetto stesso" (Appendix, document 15).[121] Kristeller's report included remarks on the content of the collection ("[…] è una delle più numerose e pregevoli, che possiede l'Italia. Vi sono 40.067 stampe in 195 volumi, più 20 volumi di ritratti e 19 cartelle con circa 2500 incisioni"), on its value ("Quanto al valore delle incisioni la collezione è meno ricca di opera del '400 e del principio del '500 che le collezioni di Roma, di Firenze e di Bologna, essa contiene però un numero grande di stampe bellissime e rarissime ed è ricca specialmente di incisioni italiane della seconda metà del '500 del 600 e del 700"),[122] and on its conservation status. He recommended the same kind of treatment used on the prints in Bologna and in Rome, and gave precise details on the quantity of *cartoni*, *cassette, frames* and *armadi* which would be necessary, and all relating

belonging to Ascanio Molin (1778-1851) were transferred to the Museo Correr in 1886-1889 (see ZORZI 1987, pp. 394-396; GAMBIER 1986).

121 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione [but written by Venturi] to Kristeller, 26 June 1895.

122 *Ivi*, Kristeller to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 25 July 1895.

expenses (Appendix, document 16.).[123] Between summer 1895 and spring 1896, the Ministry of Public Education negotiated with the Ministry of War in order to obtain the Sala della Biblioteca of the San Giovanni Evangelista Monastery, the space chosen to set up the print room of the museum (fig. 4.X). The 16th-century Benedictine monastery was located right next to the Museum and was being used as military barracks.[124] The monastery library (fig. 4.XI), a space of 21x12x6 meters, divided in three naves by two lines of five columns and decorated with oil frescoes by the 16th-century Bolognese painters Ercole Pio and Giovanni Antonio Paganini, was believed to be the best solution to host the print collection ("la quale ha spazio, luce e decoro"),[125] but the Ministry of War was reluctant to give it up.[126] As it had happened in 1893-1894, Kristeller took the matter very seriously, almost on a personal level; back in Rome, he wrote to and met several times with Venturi and Fiorilli to discuss details and to keep updated about the negotiation.[127] He discussed the same

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123 *Ivi*, Kristeller to Ministero della Pubblica istruzione, 19 July 1895.

124 The Benedectine Monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista (St. John the Evangelist) is attached to the Church of the same name (built 1490-1519) and revolves around three cloisters (del Capitolo, di San Giovanni or della Porta, and di San Benedetto, built 1500-1538). It is interesting to note that today the Monastery has a 'Galleria delle Stampe Emilio e Giulia Ferroni', created thanks to the 1980 bequest by the engineer Emilio Ferroni, on the millenium of the Abbey. This collection includes prints by Toschi and his school, reproducing the dome of Parma's Cathedral and of San Giovanni's church, as well as frescoes by Parmigianino. On the Church and Monastery see GIUSTO 2010 and <monasterosangiovanni.com> (accessed 21 June 2019); on the Library and its frescoes, see CALZOLARI 1999; PRATIZZOLI 2003.

125 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione [fto. Costetti] to the Ministero della Guerra, Divisione Generale Artiglieria e Genio, 25 July 1895 (draft).

126 The negotiation is well documented in the letters exchanged between the two ministries, held in ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401.

127 "L'altro giorno vidi con Venturi il capo sezione della nostra divisione e parlammo della sala per la coll. di stampe di Parma. Mi disse che sia stato ceduto il locale ma che le spese dell'adattamento sarebbero troppo gravi, e che perciò abbiano abbandonata per adesso l'idea. Voi ne saprete più di me. Ho pregato – poiché il momento tanto poco favorevole per far delle spese – di trascinare almeno l'affare per non perdere il locale di nuovo […]. Verrà o speriamo!"; "Ieri ho parlato con Fiorilli, che mi disse ciò che seppi già dall'Ambrosi. Mi assicurò Fiorilli che, se anche per il momento non si potrà far tutta questa spesa necessaria per l'adattamento e per rendere accessibile il locale, non si abbandonerà il progetto e si terrà il locale con tutta forza. Me ne sono rallegrato ed ho parlato al Fiorilli della bellezza del locale scoperto da voi. Speriamo che i tempi permetteranno che si faccia un bel museino di questo posto" (BCR, Fondo

issues with Ricci too,[128] who remained in Parma as director of the Gallerie until 1896. At the same time, Kristeller's words show how much his time at the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe was difficult, in spite of the advancement of the work and the way it was positively received by the press, both in Italy and abroad.[129] Exhaustion, frustration and irritation for the lack of resources and the slowness of all procedures exploded in his letters to Ricci in particular: "Qui i soliti dispiaceri amministrativi […] Sarei dispiacente assai se non potessi continuare bene e come si deve il mio lavoro qui che mi sta a cuore"; "Sono assai contento che ho dimenticato il Gabinetto delle Stampe di Parma, col tempo un po' alla volta si riuscirà […]. Io intanto lavoro qui, lottando continuamente con tante difficoltà e seccature".[130]

In summer 1896 the Sala della Biblioteca passed from the Ministry of War to the Ministry of Public Education, but the amount of expenses necessary to connect the library to the museum (the Library was located on the first floor and a stair had to be built) caused further delays.[131] On 1 November, Ricci announced that the work was completed:

Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 100, c. 19084, Kristeller to Ricci, 3 May 1896 and c. 19085, Kristeller to Ricci, 5 March 1896).

128 "Raccontatemi una volta qualche cosa della coll. di stampe quando c'è qualche cosa di nuovo"; "Ho piacere anche di ciò che mi dite della sala dell'ex Convento di S. Giovanni. Speriamo che adesso le cose vadano avanti altrettanto bene, ma un poco più lestamente che finora"; "Spero anche che potrò passare a Parma; quando vado via di qui" (BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 100, c. 19095, Kristeller to Ricci, 5 December 1896; c. 19098, Kristeller to Ricci, 16 May 1897; c. 19099, Kristeller to Ricci, 26 May 1897).

129 See for example the article 'Von den Kupferstichsammlungen in Italien', signed M.J.F. and published on the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* in 1895, which positively reviewed Kristeller's activity in Italian museums, and especially in "Palazzo Corsini", thanks to which the interest of the Italian public and of scholars towards prints would be soon be 'woken up': "Mit glücklichem Griff hat die Verwaltung sich die Hülfe [sic] Paul Kristeller's gesichert, dessen eindringliche Forschung dem italienischen Kupfertstiche zugewendet ist […]. Unter Leitung Paul Kristeller's sind die besseren Blätter aus den Klebehänden entfernt und auf Kartons und in Mappen gelegt worden. […] Um das fast ganz entschlafene Interesse der Italiener am Kupferstiche zu wecken, ist nicht geeigneter als die übersichtliche und glückliche Ausstellung, die nun in den Räumen des Palazzo Corsini eröffnet worden ist. […] Viel bleibt zu thun" (M.J.F. 1895, pp. 409-410).

130 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 100, c. 19083, Kristeller to Ricci, 18 April 1898; 17 December 1898.

131 Eventually the staircase was built exploiting one empty room located on the floor below, at the end of the ancient Farmacia of the Monastery, which passed

> Ora è da pensare, come si stabilì sin dal principio, di raccogliere in essa sala le quarantamila stampe che si trovano nella Biblioteca Palatina di Parma, creando così un gabinetto che, pei locali e per contenuto, sarà uno dei principali d'Italia. Già un primo esame e i necessari appunti sulla qualità e quantità delle stampe fece il dotto Paul Kristeller che potrebbe, con tutta competenza, compiere l'opera intrapresa, qualora codesto Ministero volesse soccorrere al nuovo lavoro coi fondi straordinari disponibili per le Gallerie.[132]

Kristeller, who over the previous months had pushed Ricci not to give up on the project, enthusiastically complimented him on his success and pushed to proceed with the relocation: "Bravo Ricci. Adesso bisognerà fare la presa in consegna della collezione con cura per pigliarsi tutto e non lasciare niente nella Biblioteca".[133] On 12February 1898, Kristeller was officially requested to start work on the collection in Parma:

> Avendo la S.V. condotto a termine i lavori per la seconda esposizione delle incisioni nel Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe in Roma, è giunto il momento ch'Ella inizi l'assetto delle incisioni che si conservano nel gabinetto di Parma. Prego quindi la S.V. di recarsi in quella città al più presto possibile e di prendere gli opportuni accordi con la Direzione di quella R. Galleria pel sollecito adempimento del compito a Lei affidato.[134]

The letter detailed the tasks Kristeller would have to carry out in Parma: to make comparisons between the existing lists or catalogues and the entity of the collection; quantify it; prepare the documents for the relocation; and draw up a list of planned costs.[135] The letter was signed by

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from the Demanio (State property) to the Ministry (see ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401, Mariotti and Ricci to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 9 July 1896; further documents in ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401.1 give details on the whole process).

132 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II p., b. 204, fasc. 401.1, Ricci to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1 November 1897.

133 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 100, c. 19012, Kristeller to Ricci, 5 November 1897.

134 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 203, fasc. 398, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione to Kristeller, 12 February 1898.

135 "[…] la sua opera è necessaria a Parma affinché il direttore del Museo possa prendere delle stampe esistenti nella Biblioteca Palatina la regolare consegna. Necessità perciò che Ella faccia i debiti riscontri pel catalogo e che, compiuti gli

the Minister Nicolò Gallo, but was in fact written by Venturi, as many other messages sent to Kristeller in these months concerning his job in Parma; this proves that Venturi's engagement in this 'national plan for prints' was definitely not over with the foundation of the Gabinetto Nazionale, but that he cared for and closely followed the development of all further steps of the plan.[136] Venturi also suggested the Minister to prepare the ground for Kristeller by writing to the Director of the Gallerie, Mariotti, and to the Bibliotecario of the Palatina, instructing him that "[…] la collezione di stampe posseduta da codesta Biblioteca dev'essere consegnata alla R. Pinacoteca, la quale a tal fine ha ottenuto a ridotto in buono stato la sala detta della biblioteca nel Monastero di San Giovanni […] per dare alla preziosa collezione un assetto conveniente e definitivo".[137]

The display project prepared by Kristeller (and that he first submitted to Venturi) provided an arrangement on several levels (Appendix,

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atti per la regolare consegna, determini bene la entità del materiale formulandone il piano di assetto col preventivo della stessa per eseguirlo" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 203, fasc. 398, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Nicolò Gallo] to Kristeller, 5 March 1898).

136 This in spite of Venturi's vocation to devote himself to teaching entirely, as proved by his letter to Ridolfi: "Sappi innanzi tutto che ho deliberato di tentare di uscire dal Ministero […]. Dopo quattro anni che impegno all'Università come libero docente, mi sono persuaso che dalla cattedra si può fare più bene che da questa scrivania. Aggiungi che ho necessità di conquistare la mia libertà di studioso, di non portare più il peso della responsabilità degli altri" (BSL, Fondo Ridolfi, Carteggio Enrico Ridolfi, ms. 3659, c. 138, Venturi to Ridolfi, 27 July 1895). A further clue on Venturi's perspective on teaching in the early 1890s is offered by a letter he sent to a former Minister of Public Education, Ruggiero Bonghi, in 1895: "[…] per potere insegnare con metodo sperimentale, per dare a' miei numerosi uditori il modo di formarsi cognizioni pratiche, spendo del mio per portare nella scuola fotografie e stampe in gesso di opere d'arte. […] l'ex Ministro Martini giudicò lo studio dell'arte più proprio delle Accademie, ove niuno sognerà mai a ragazzi usciti dalla quarta elementare d'insegnare storia e critica d'arte. Il Ministro Martini non comprese che per dare alla coltura dei giovani forma e colore nazionale conviene volgersi allo studio dell'arte. […] Io ho insegnato con tutta coscienza, ho vegliato le lunghe notti per potere insegnare a Roma la scienza a me cara, ho fatto sacrifici per veder tutto ciò che all'estero si trova de' nostri monumenti, ho lavorato molto; […]" (ASN, Fondo Ruggiero Bonghi, I-Lettere a Ruggiero Bonghi, b. 17, Venturi, Adolfo; Venturi to Bonghi, 19 December 1894). This letter is also quite telling as regards the distance between part of the Italian political class and the establishment of art history as a university discipline (on this topic see AGOSTI 1996; LEVI 2013).

137 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 203, fasc. 398, Ministero della Pubblica istruzione [Nicolò Gallo] to Bibliotecario Palatina, 22 March 1898.

document 29).[138] He proposed to put glass cases (*bacheche*) between the columns, in order to obtain a 93 meter-long display dedicated to the history of printmaking; furthermore, he suggested to prepare another display along the walls to present the history of *ornato*, "utile per l'educazione degli artisti".[139] Prints stored in albums, *cartelle* and *cassette* would be kept in the *armadii* placed along the rooms. The beauty of the library and of its frescoes made Kristeller announce that the print room in Parma would become "il più bello gabinetto delle stampe che esiste" (fig. 4.XII).[140] The permanent display focused on the presentation of the history of printmaking drew from the other displays Kristeller had organised before, but the amount of available space allowed him to add something new. By creating two separate permanent exhibitions, one for the "svolgimento storico dell'arte dell'incisione" and one for the "stampe di ornati, che formano una speciale ricchezza della collezione", Kristeller was taking prints out of the only public discourse that had involved their museographical arrangement since 1891. By suggesting a deeper comprehension of their multiple values and uses, Kristeller implicitly wanted to take the artists back into the museum (as he wished to do in Rome by acquiring modern artworks) proposing a display readable in parallel by different categories of users, one of which being the artists for whom he planned the *ornato* display too. Careful and mindful of all constraints and possible changes, Kristeller proposed a plan B and a plan C, even combinable between them. For plan B, passepartout would be replaced with simpler *cartoni*, in order to save up resources. Plan C (fig. 4. XIII) revolved around the possibility of arranging a temporary display in the Sala Toschi of the museum, which hosted prints by Toschi and his school. According to this solution, old-master prints and academic prints would be together in the same room, thus maintaining these two features of prints alive: prints as model for the artists, on the one hand, and prints to study as works of art *per se,* on the other; both categories fully entitled to be represented in a State museum.

For this plan to be carried out, Kristeller listed a few conditions, the first being the immediate re-housing of the prints from the library to the museum ("[…] che sia consegnata quanto prima la collezione alla Galleria"). In spite of the instructions received by the Minister Nicolò Gallo and by the Direzione Generale Biblioteche, Alvisi refused to give up the collection. A telegram sent by Mariotti put it quite clearly:

138 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 8 April 1898.

139 *Ivi*, 17 April 1898.

140 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II p., b. 203, fasc. 398, Kristeller to Ministry, 14 May 1898.

"Bibliotecario Palatina chiesti schiarimenti Ministero attende risposta frapporre difficoltà consegna stampe alla Galleria rende lento difficile lavoro professore Kristellei [sic] – prego affrettare disposizioni".[141]

As it had happened in Turin in 1880s when Giovanni Vico and Francesco Gamba had tried to move the prints from the University Library to the Pinacoteca and their project was obstructed and eventually blocked by the *prefetto* Gaspare Gorresio, Alvisi tenaciously opposed the relocation of the Palatina prints. We assume that it was to Gorresio's successor, Francesco Carta (1847-1940), that Alvisi wrote for help in summer 1896, when the negotiations in Parma were picked up again after the Ministry of War agreed to give up the Sala della Biblioteca; this would explain the letter held in the archive of the Biblioteca Palatina, "Riservata al Cav. Alvisi", not signed and dated 22 July 1896, that contains a series of arguments used against the relocation of the prints from the Biblioteca Universitaria in Turin to the Regia Pinacoteca.[142] This letter looks like the draft of the message sent by Francesco Carta from the Biblioteca Universitaria in Turin to the Direzione Generale Biblioteche, in answer to the request of transferring the library prints to the Regia Pinacoteca (see above). Through this letter (Appendix, document 22) Carta gave several reasons why libraries were the best place to keep prints: because printmaking derives from bookmaking; because entrance to libraries was free of charge and this made them more accessible than museums; because to split the collection would have meant to destroy that 'history of culture' that bound the Library to the former owners of the collection; because of the lack of interest of professors (in charge of museum collections) towards 'minor arts'; because the Ministry did not have enough specialists to take care of prints (and that was why the re-arrangement was in the hands of a foreigner). Interestingly enough, he observed how the method of housing prints in libraries was spread all around Europe because of the Italian history of print collecting; nevertheless, he failed to mention that, if in certain institutions prints were originally housed in the department of books (for instance at the British Museum and at the Bibliothèque Imperiale of France), they were later moved to an independent section when collections of works on paper were institutionalised (forming, for example, the Department of Drawings and Prints at the British Museum and Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Imperiale):

141 *Ivi*, Mariotti to Ministero della Istruzione Pubblica, 4 April 1898.

142 BPP, Archivio storico, Varie, 1896, letter not signed [Francesco Carta?] to Alvisi, 22 July 1896.

> Ad ogni modo l'uso di conservare le stampe nelle Biblioteche è istituto prettamente Italiano; e bibliotecari italiani furono i più grandi collettori e [*illustratori] di stampe dal sec. XVI a tutto il sec. XVIII. E fu appunto ad imitazione delle nostre grandi Biblioteche che le grandi Biblioteche di Parigi, di Londra, di Vienna, di Pietroburgo, di Madrid che abbiano ed hanno annesso i gabinetti delle stampe; poiché se è vero che le stampe isolate servono alla storia dell'arte, è pur vero che servono, come è noto ai bibliografi, anche più alla storia del libro, di cui l'incisione è figlia primogenita.

However, the argument was successful and in fact the relocation in Turin did not take place. Some other elements were quite weak, for instance the remark on the lack of specialists and the assumption that "se è vero che le stampe isolate servono alla storia dell'arte, è pur vero che servono, come è noto ai bibliografi, anche più alla storia del libro, di cui l'incisione è figlia primogenita". What is really striking is how clear to the *bibliotecari* was the importance of keeping together the historical memory of the collection of works on paper, a concept that was totally missing from Kristeller and Venturi's plans. Perhaps because of the nature of the collections they were responsible for and because of the challenges of their work, librarians involved in this project appeared to be more sensitive to the re-housing of works under their custody, especially if this meant to distort the identity of a collection by splitting it up.[143] Moreover, the letter exchanged between Carta (?) and Alvisi lets us assume the possibility that library directors, or at least some of them, were concerned so much so that they made up a close-knit group, whose members shared a strategy to reply in a compact, unite way to what, to them, looked like an unfair request.

By 20 April 1898, Kristeller finished the first part of his task and was planning to move back to Rome to tend to the Corsini collection, hoping to come back to Parma in the summer to resume and complete his work there.[144] Waiting for Alvisi to give in, the Ministry instead made Kristeller stay in Parma; this upset the art historian who could advance neither in the rearrangement of prints nor in his own research:

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143 See BORRONI 1961, p. 114.

144 "Io sono ora, come vede, a Parma, ma soltanto per poche settimane per preparare l'assetto del Gabinetto delle stampe. Forse tornerò nel luglio per qualche mese. Fra pochi giorni spero di essere di ritorno a Roma" (BSL, Fondo Ridolfi, Carteggio Enrico Ridolfi, ms 3642, c. 51, Kristeller to Ridolfi, 13 April 1898).

> Non posso darmi ad uno studio particolare della raccolta, senza avere la libertà di esaminarla e lo spazio necessario, ciò che le disposizioni del Sig. Bibliotecario non mi concedono, e non posso terminare qui il mio progetto per mancanza dei libri necessari di altri aiuti. […] La collezione è quasi priva di qualsiasi riordino, si trova in uno stato pessimo di conservazione, che ne rende difficilissimo lo studio e le parti di essa sono conservate in tre parti distanti della Biblioteca. Avendosi verificate delle lacune nella numerazione, non sarà conveniente di muovere le stampe dai loro posti, prima che sia stabilita la entità del materiale e che sia fatta la consegna alla Galleria. Prego l'E.V. che voglia disporre che quanto prima sia fatta la consegna, finché io possa terminare il mio lavoro e tornare a Roma, ove la mia presenza è necessaria nel Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe.[145]

Kristeller openly expressed his fatigue and frustration by writing to Ricci ("Infinite difficoltà con l'Alvisi, che tratta tutti da cane come sapete bene")[146] and Venturi ("Puoi figurarti, come sto male con questo antipatico, e come perdo il mio tempo prezioso. Mariotti e tutti gli altri della Galleria e del Museo invece sono tanto gentili verso me che quasi ricompensano per le villanie di quell'altro").[147] The situation worsened abruptly at the end of April, when Bernabei (head of the Direzione Generale Biblioteche) reported to the Ministry what Alvisi had written him to warn about the possible dangers of moving the collection to the Pinacoteca:

> Al Direttore della Pinacoteca, che più di me si mostra preoccupato dalla immancabili rimostranze della città, gelosissima dei suoi

145 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II p., b. 203, fasc. 398, Kristeller to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 20 April 1898.

146 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 100, c. 190104, Kristeller to Ricci, 31 March 1898. Alvisi's bad temper must have struck Ricci too: among his personal papers there are two clippings from a local newspaper (*L'Idea*, dated 18 November 1905 and 19 May 1906) reporting episodes of bad manners and inappropriate language by Alvisi, "[…] Signor Bibliotecario, noto a Parma per le sue stramberie" (BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carte Ricci, b. 24, fasc. 17, s.fasc. 3).

147 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 31 March 1898. And again: "Quel cane ha cercato in ogni modo di impedire il mio lavoro e continua a farlo" (16 April 1898); "[…] tutta questa eccitazione delle settimane, dei mesi passati mi ha causato una nervosità tale, che ho continuamente mal di testa, non posso né pensare né lavorare sul serio, né dormire o mangiare […]" (25 April 1898).

> istituti, ho detto della circolare ministeriale del 15 luglio 1896 ora comunicatami; la quale del resto si riferisce alle collezioni che si considerano di proprietà assoluta dello Stato, mentre queste due di Parma furono direttamente regalate alla Biblioteca da due Sovrani, da Maria Luisa e da Vittorio Emanuele, né si possono alleviare senza un decreto reale.
>
> Anzi il Sig. Direttore del Museo mi ha narrato che, interrogato una prima volta per l'opportunità della cessione, mandò al Ministero il suo parere contrario; e che questa volta, ricevuto all'improvviso l'ordine della consegna, dovrebbe venire appositamente a Roma, per ottenere che, almeno, anche a me si mandasse la lettera di notifica del 22 marzo scorso.
>
> Egli di nuovo ha insistito nella proposta di far cedere alla Biblioteca la sala di S. Giovanni; ma per meglio persuaderlo della insalubrità del luogo, l'ho condotto a vedere i libri dei monaci benedettini, che erano in quella sala trent'anni sono, e vennero di là in gran parte così guasti dalle muffe, che molti ne furono distrutti.
>
> A sgravio della mia responsabilità, prega S.E. di voler fare riesaminare la questione da un ispettore del Ministero, il quale venga qui e decida.[148]

Eventually, in order to 'defend' the Palatina collection, Alvisi decided to insist on the safety of the collection and explained that the chosen room was believed to be humid, while on the contrary Kristeller had praised it for being well dry, and full of light. This issue, together with the constraints deriving from the origin of the collection (which was given as a gift to the library by two sovereigns) prevented an immediate re-housing of the prints as it was hoped by Kristeller, Venturi and Ricci too, and all negotiations to rehouse the collection were interrupted. At the beginning of May, Kristeller was instructed to go back to Rome, and the project for a Gabinetto delle stampe antiche in the Regia Pinacoteca in Parma was definitely abandoned.[149]

148 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 203, fasc. 398, Bernabei to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 23 April 1898.

149 *Ivi*, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione to Mariotti, May 1898.

4.5 The Committee of Inquiry and Kristeller's resignation

Since 1895 Kristeller had been expressing irritation for the obstacles encountered in his work in Rome (such as the lack of staff and of subsidies),[150] but his letters to Ricci show that the situation worsened during 1897. In July, he wrote that he had "mani e piedi legati" and that he could not carry out his tasks the way he wanted "per tutte le intromissioni e le ingerenze".[151] In November, troubles seemed to have become a daily matter for him: "[…] le solite noie, dispetti e maltrattamenti, che oramai mi pare inseparabile dal Gab. Naz. delle stampe!".[152] Back from Parma, in spring 1898, he wrote to Ricci that the situation had become almost unbearable to him, and that he only carried on for the sake of his love for art: "[…] come al solito nuovi impicci, dei quali non vi parlo per non annoiarvi. Sono cose indegne che si fanno. Se non fosse l'interesse del pubblico, che mi sostiene, non potrei resistere. Ma se mi conforta l'amore dell'arte, che vedo in tutti, cercherò di lottare finché posso e casco!".[153]

The main reason for his increased frustration was the investigation started out in May 1898 on behalf of the Minister Nicolò Gallo, aimed at shedding light on Kristeller's actions and methods at the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe. Doubts on his results and expertise could originally have been raised by the Accademia dei Lincei, whose relationship with the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe had remained very problematic since its foundation in 1895. Discontent and disagreement from the Accademici were fuelled by conceptual as well as practical issues: a very telling example is the use of the adjective

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150 Already in August 1895, the Ministry did not allow the restorer Andrea Terzi to start his work at the Gabinetto because of lack of funds (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I serie, b. 239, fasc. 4075, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione [signed by Fiorilli] to Terzi, 27 August 1895. Terzi sent his application on 22 August and had to postpone payment to the company providing *legature e schedari* (*ivi*, Staderini to Ministry, 17 December 1895; Tadolini to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 21 December 1895). Once instructed to prepare the portraits exhibition, Kristeller asked to the Ministry for extra funds as the ordinary allowment would not be sufficient to cover expected expenses (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4078, Kristeller to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 15 February 1897).

151 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 100, c. 19012, Kristeller to Ricci, 7 July 1897.

152 *Ivi*, 5 November 1897.

153 *Ivi*, c. 19107, 6 June 1898.

'national' within the institutional name of the Gabinetto delle Stampe. According to the Lincei, this definition undermined the bond between the collection of prints and the Corsini family: "[…] l'indicazione abusiva 'Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe' dovrebbe essere modificata in modo da fare capire al pubblico che la cospicua e grande raccolta, salvo le poche aggiunte, è quella della famiglia Corsini".[154] Despite their complaints to the Ministry, the Lincei did not succeed in changing the name of the collection. Venturi played an important part in defending the name of the Institution and in reassuring the Lincei, through the Ministry, that the Corsini prints were kept well separate from the rest of the collection and that, therefore, there was no risk of misunderstanding the nature of the collection:

> Le stampe Corsini formano un capo a sé e ben distinto nella Galleria e quelle esposte si trovano nel Gabinetto dedicato allo studio dell'incisione e ornato dal busto in bronzo del principe Corsini, sotto cui sta un'epigrafe a ricordo del suo atto munifico. Quelle non esposte sono pure conservate a parte, e soltanto lo schedario richiamo sotto il nome di un autore e sotto le serie di incisioni, distinte per materie, le poche che sono state acquistate dal Governo e che sono inventariate in apposito registro e bollate con timbro speciale.[155]

He might have even suggested Fiorilli to focus on the official name of the print collection, where in fact the word 'national' was only associated to the Museum of ancient art – although, in reality, the print collection was practically always referred to as Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe:

> Dopo la donazione allo Stato della pinacoteca Corsini, avvenuto con istrumento l'11 maggio 1883, la pinacoteca si chiamò Galleria Nazionale d'arte antica. Dopo il deposito delle stampe, fatto da codesta R. Accademia al detto Istituto con atto 8 aprile 1895, al titolo citato si aggiunse: e Gabinetto delle stampe. Infatti nell'Annuario Ufficiale di questo Ministero l'istituto fu sempre indicato: Galleria nazionale d'arte antica e Gabinetto delle stampe; non Gabinetto nazionale. Quindi nessun abuso fu commesso, e nessuna modificazione occorre.[156]

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154 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 211, fasc. 416.8, Beltrami to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 23 June 1899.

155 *Ivi*, Venturi to Fiorilli, 4 July 1899.

156 *Ivi*, Fiorilli to Beltrami, 11 July 1899; the transcription of these letters is

On the practical side, quarrels included matters such as the request for furniture for the Galleria; the Accademia dei Lincei had not left any to the museum, and the persistent lack of funds made it hard for Venturi (who in the meantime became Director in 1898) to provide all necessary equipment.[157] The situation was unstable, to the point that it was even proposed to return the prints to the Biblioteca Corsini in the Accademia; this made room for jealousy and misunderstanding towards Kristeller, whose nationality did not help at all his situation. He was a foreigner taking care of the Italian national heritage, a fact that raised quite a few eyebrows (see also the letter sent to Alvisi from Turin). As precisely described by Mariani, in 1898 the Minister Nicolò Gallo appointed a special commission, led by the Latin literature professor Ernesto Monaci (1844-1918), to assess if the procedures followed by Kristeller had brought about permanent damage to the Corsini prints. After two months of investigation and questioning involving both Kristeller and his collaborators and other 'consultants' from the Accademia dei Lincei and the Regia Calcografia (whose exclusion from the management of the Gabinetto was judged a severe mistake), the Commission of Inquiry resolved that no serious damage had occurred to the prints, but that not enough care and attention were put in directing and running conservation activities. In particular, the absence of established guidelines was criticised, and so was the separation of prints and drawings from the volumes, because it had not been registered properly. Another committee (called Commissione di vigilanza) was then appointed to supervise all further operations.[158] In spite of all his actions having been first submitted to Venturi and then approved by the Ministry of Public Education, Kristeller felt his reputation was damaged. At the end of June he decided to resign and he immediately informed Ricci of his decision:

> Intanto qui le cose sono per come andate tanto male, che oggi rimetto il mio incarico nelle mani del ministro ed abbandono definitivamente il servizio italiano. Non ho la forza dei nervi di lottare contro bugie, calunnie ed intrighi! Con tutti i mezzi si cerca

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provided by MARIANI 2001, p. 146.

157 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 425, Venturi to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1 December 1898.

158 MARIANI 2001, pp. 21-24; see letters in ASANL, titolo 27: Galleria Arte Antica. [Galleria Corsini] Gabinetto delle Stampe, 1887-1938, b. 1, fasc. 6, published in MARIANI 2001, pp. 138-142; see also FIORANI 2001, p. 102, who gives details on the conservation processes that were suggested to the Commission in order to better treat the prints to restore.

> di farmi la Guerra di muovermi dal posto. Ho la coscienza buona, ho fatto tutto il mio dovere verso la scienza, e me ne vado tranquillamente […]. Sono dolente, che non posso aiutarvi nel Vostro progetto eccellente per la Coll. Di Parma, ma capirete […] La mia dignità non mi permette più di rimanere in queste condizioni. Venturi mi ha abbandonato, come non poteva essere diversamente, restiamo amici lo stesso.[159]

Mariani suggested that Venturi did not openly defend Kristeller because at that time he was in contrast with Barnabei, Director General at the Ministry of Public Education, and with the Minister himself, Nicolò Gallo. But already on 1 July, the new Minister Luigi Cremona appointed Venturi director of the Galleria d'Arte Antica and of the Gabinetto delle Stampe. With a letter to the Minister of Public Education (who meanwhile changed again, as Guido Baccelli took Cremona's place starting from 28 June 1899) Venturi tried to support Kristeller, highlighting the very experimental nature of his job, which had never been done before, and the lack of a competent technical and administrative direction within the Italian cultural institutions which could provide proper guidelines.[160] The decision to turn to the Minister to ask for an acknowledgement of Kristeller's work might have also been motivated by the fact that Venturi wanted to clarify his position in the eye of the German scientific community (where he had an established reputation), which sided with Kristeller. Kristeller himself had put it quite clearly and suggested him to contact Bode to explain that it was not Venturi's fault if Kristeller's work in Italy was interrupted.[161]

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159 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 100, c. 19108, Kristeller to Ricci, 27 June 1898. Kristeller also informed Venturi about his decision, on June 1898 (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Kristeller to Venturi, 30 June 1898).

160 ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Venturi to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, August 1898.

161 "Non so, se sarà bene compreso da te, se ti raccomando di spiegare in una lettera, forse al Bode, o, se stai in correspondenza con lui, al nostro Direttore generale, Eccellenza Schöne, le nostre relazioni personali. Franco, come sono, lo desidero per te e per me, per te perché molti dei nostri comuni amici – col Bode non ho parlato, egli si trova ancora a Costanza – attribuiscono le mie contrarietà in Italia ad un tuo desiderio di mettere altri al mio posto, malgrado le mie spiegazioni in proposito […] Tante volte m'ai espresso la tua soddisfazione del mio lavoro, che passo per passo è andato compiendosi sotto i tuoi occhi e colla tua approvazione, che non avrai difficoltà di sorta di metterti sulle mie parti innazi ai tuoi amici tedeschi" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 5 October 1898).

The lack of documentation makes it hard to understand what became of Kristeller after he left Italy. After the summer, Kristeller wrote to Ricci again admitting that he was struggling to find some peace to work; his words reveal a man who is still deeply shocked by the "cose di Roma" of which he is "disgustatissimo del modo indecente, indegno tanto di me, quanto di loro stessi, come mi hanno trattato queste ……!..... Lasciamo stare, non c'è più giustizia nel mondo!".[162] At some point between 1898 and 1899 he must have been back in Berlin for a while, as he received a payment for his activity as cataloguer at the Kunstgewerbemuseum.[163] His research interests certainly pushed him to travel often, at least until the outbreak of the First World War.[164] He wrote about a *Biblia Pauperum* and three books of woodcuts from the University Library in Heidelberg (1906 and 1907); about drawings by Mantegna housed in the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona (1908); about prints published in a codex held at the Bibliothèque National in Paris (1908); about Venetian 15th-century woodcuts held in Nurnberg; about bookblocks of the Staatsbibliothek in Münich (1917); and he wrote extensively about drawings and prints held in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin. Next to his major works dedicated to 15th and 16th century-Florentine and Lombard woodcuts and engravings, he wrote several articles, mainly in German, but also a few in Italian, on the *Bollettino d'arte* (the official journal published by the Ministry of Public Education, which evolving from the *Le Gallerie nazionali italiane: notizie e documenti*

162 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 100, c. 19109, Kristeller to Ricci, 8 September 1898.

163 "wiss. Hilfsarbeiter bei der Herstellung von Katalogen, KGM" (SMB-ZA, Datenbank der Museumsmitarbeiter; also in SMB-ZA, Generalverwaltung, Kassenbücher Kunstgewerbemuseum, 1898-1899). Perhaps Kristeller's tasks were in connection with the exhibition *Die Kunst im Buchdruck*, which took place between November and December 1898 at the Kunstgewerbemuseum.

164 From the letters he kept writing to Ricci, one could try and draw the map of Kristeller's travels: although most of the letters are posted from Berlin (Victoriastr. 24 until December 1898, then Nürnbergerstr. 7 until December 1903, then Uhlandstr. 40-41 until 1913; the 1931 Berlin Jewish address book reports a Paul Kristeller registered in 1930 at Halensee, Joachim-Friedrich Straße 20: <https://digital.zlb.de/viewer/image/34039536_1931_1932/334/LOG_0023/>, accessed 19 Juen 2019), some come from Milan (April 1901); Florence (June 1906); then again Milan (April 1907); Spoleto (June 1913) and in these Kristeller tells Ricci about his other trips and visits, mostly around Italy.

and was founded by Corrado Ricci in 1907)[165] and on *Rassegna d'Arte*.[166] Despite the regrettable conclusion of his professional relationship with the Italian public authorities, his authority remained well recognized (above all in Germany, where the press had reported his story blaming 'the Italians');[167] this could explain why, already at the end of 1898, he negotiated with the Russian Imperial family to be appointed in Saint Petersburg to arrange the Imperial print collection, perhaps thanks to the support of Bode or of Lippman: "Aspetto qui l'esito delle trattative coi Russi per andare in Pietroburgo per ordinare la Imp. Coll. delle stampe".[168] After 1918 he retired in Meersburg (Lake Constance, Switzerland), where he died on 2 October 1931.[169]

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165 On the *Bollettino d'arte* see BOREA 2004 and IMPERA 2004. In spite of the way Kristeller's Italian appointment was terminated, he could still publish on the most important Italian journal on art history, which was issued by the Ministry of Public Education; this happened certainly thanks the close bond between the German scholar and Corrado Ricci, but also because what happened in 1898 must have not compromised his authority among Italian art historian as he had feared.

166 Respectively KRISTELLER 1906; KRISTELLER 1907a; KRISTELLER 1908a and 1908b; KRISTELLER 1917; among the articles on sheets from the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, see for example KRISTELLER 1915; for articles published on Italian journals, see KRISTELLER 1909 (on *Rassegna d'Arte*), KRISTELLER 1910 (on *Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*) .

167 "Certamente bisogna conoscere la nazione italiana nei suoi migliori e più degni rappresentanti per poter resistere alla tentazione di trarre le più gravi considerazioni da un fatto simile che è poi da considerare come isolato. Se il Dottor Kristeller avesse avuta chiara la visione dell'abisso che separa il Latino dal Nordico, abisso sul quale ben raramente si può gettare un ponte, gli sarebbe stata risparmiata un'esperienza così amara": this is Venturi's translation of an article published in the *Kunstchronik* (STEINMANN 1899), that the scholar sent to the Minister (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 211, fasc. 416.10, 11 June 1900).

168 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 100, c. 19116, Kristeller to Ricci, 27 December 1898. Kristeller had informed Venturi of this possibility already in October (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 27 October 1898).

169 Obituaries were published on *The Times*, *Revue Archéologique* and *Kunst und Künstler: illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* (HIND 1931; FRIEDLÄNDER 1931; S.R. 1932). In his obituary, Max J. Friedländer remarked that Kristeller's efforts in Italy were not properly recognized ("In jungen Jahren hat er in Italien mehr al seine Staatliche Sammlung von Kupferstichen geordnet, aber wenig Dank [*geerntet] für seine selbstlose Bemühung") and infers that this and other professional disappointments, as well as the economic crisis that struck

Even after he had left his job in Italy, Kristeller kept asking Ricci about the situation of prints in Parma ("Non sapete nulla, cosa è diventato della collezione di Parma?"),[170] while at the same time stressing again the importance of public access to prints and drawings ("Spero che vi troverete bene a Milano, e che vi farete del bene. Ce n'è da fare abbastanza. Nell'Accademia debbono essere dei disegni fotografati dal Braun, che non ho mai visto... É tanto strano che si nascondono sempre le cose importanti destinate allo studio").[171] This shows once more that the scholar's generous interest and enthusiasm for Italian collections of prints did not derive from casual circumstances, but rather from his will to "fare del bene e promuovere gli interessi dell'arte in Italia", as he had once said to Venturi.[172] Kristeller's final goal eventually was to "[…] condurre il lavoro dell'organizzazione delle collezioni delle stampe in Italia al punto, che dopo l'amministrazione avrebbe potuto andare bene senza il mio aiuto".[173] Although he had to leave Italy beforehand, he definitely managed to create a 'school' of specialised museum professionals who pursued his method, however wrong this may be judged now; thanks to his engagement, he also contributed to raising awareness around the fact that prints, far from being merely documentary material, required their own museological identity.

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him after the War, were the causes of Kristeller's early retirement (FRIEDLÄNDER 1931).

170 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 100, c. 19116, Kristeller to Ricci, 23 November 1898.

171 *Ivi*, c. 19114, Kristeller to Ricci, 27 December 1898.

172 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul, Kristeller to Venturi, 16 October 1898.

173 *Ivi*, 5 October 1898.

Chapter 5

New perspectives for public collections of works on paper: from permanent displays to conservation issues (1899-1909)

> Da quattro anni il Ministero ha tenuto di mira le collezioni di stampe italiane, per evitare le dispersioni [*a cui] andavano soggette e per comporre con esse la raccolta generale delle incisioni. Ha condotto a buon punto l'assetto della raccolta di Bologna; ha dato qualche incremento a quella di Firenze; ha ricevuto dall'Accademia dei Lincei e iniziato l'ordinamento del gabinetto nazionale delle stampe in Roma; ha ottenuta la cessione delle stampe della Biblioteca di Parma […]. La proposta del Cantalamessa viene a completare il disegno stabilito, perché all'Italia non vengano meno i prestigiosi materiali di studio artistico, quali sono le incisioni antiche.[1]

This letter, which is not signed and whose handwriting has not been recognised yet, described the situation of the 'national project' for prints as of 7 January 1897 (Appendix, document 26), the year before it collapsed following Kristeller's resignation. By summing up the reasons behind the project (such as to avoid prints to be dispersed by sales) and by listing the museums involved, the letter shows that Kristeller and Venturi's was indeed a unique attempt to organise collections of prints

1 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 313, fasc. 5347, [?] to Direttore Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, 7 January 1897.

at national level (a "disegno stabilito"), by providing standard and shared guidelines. The letter is also quite important because: first of all, the list does not include Turin, where director Baudi di Vesme not only was in charge of a small collection of prints and drawings at the Regia Galleria, but also had concretely shown interest in Kristeller's methods. Secondly, drawings are never mentioned, although – as we have seen in the previous chapters – they were housed together with prints and managed in the same way. Despite the failure of the following step of the project failed, as library print collections were not re-housed in museums as Kristeller's had foreseen, during the first years of the 20th century, State museums kept developing their collections of works on paper, although at a different pace. If no significant measures were taken in Bologna, Turin, Parma and Venice, a novel interest for drawings led instead to the formation of a permanent exhibition of old master drawings at the Pinacoteca di Brera thanks to Corrado Ricci and Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri. Only the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome and the Gabinetto disegni e stampe of the Uffizi in Florence saw a radical change in the organisation of dedicated departments for prints and drawings, which eventually took into account determining safety issues, thereby creating the basic structure of modern *gabinetti disegni e stampe*.

5.1 The Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe at the beginning of 19th century

Exhibitions and new accessions: towards an independent collection of drawings and prints

Following Paul Kristeller's resignation, Adolfo Venturi directed the Galleria Nazionale in Palazzo Corsini (and thereby the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe) until he resigned in November 1904; Federico Hermanin, who had given up on the post of director of the Museo Artistico Industriale in Rome, first became director *ad interim* and then (in December) director of the Galleria Nazionale.[2] Although both Venturi and Hermanin were not in charge of works on paper only but were instead responsible for the whole Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (the Gabinetto only became independent in the 1940s), between 1899 and 1909 they managed to promote important measures that contributed to shape the collection's mission. Exhibitions and new acquisitions are the two fields in which this evolution can be best understood.

2 NICITA 2007, p. 307.

Although at first the lack of funds seemed to undermine the possibility of pursuing the organisation of exhibitions ("Quest'Istituto è nell'impossibilità, per mancanza di fondi, di provvedere ad una seconda esposizione del gabinetto delle stampe"),[3] extra-ordinary subsidies allocated by the Ministry of Public Education combined with other measures aimed at saving resources (such as adopting cheaper cardboard to prepare passepartouts) allowed Venturi and Hermanin to prepare on average two temporary events per year. Since the money was barely enough to set up the exhibitions, no catalogues were published on these occasions; consequently, all the information we have about these events is provided by archival records and by the reviews published on newspapers and magazines such as *Emporium, L'Illustrazione Italiana and Il Giornale d'Italia*. Between 1899 and 1909, the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe presented to the Roman public three monographic exhibitions, which were extremely well received (*Esposizione dell'opera di Francesco Bartolozzi*, 1899; *Esposizione delle incisioni di Alberto Dürer*, 1899; *Esposizione delle stampe a colori di Francesco Vitalini*, 1901); four exhibitions focused on schools (*Esposizione delle Stampe Venete dei secoli XVII e XVIII,* 1901; E*sposizione delle Stampe Francesi del secolo XVII*, 1902; *Esposizione delle Stampe Olandesi*, 1905 and 1906); three exhibitions focused on printmaking techniques (*Esposizione delle stampe a due tinte*, 1900; *Esposizione delle stampe colorate*, 1900; *Esposizione delle stampe a fumo*, 1904); three 'documentary' exhibitions (*Incisioni con ritratti ed episodi dell'epoca napoleonica,* 1903; *Esposizione di incisioni con le opera di Antonio Canova e con i ritratti dei suoi mecenati e contemporanei*, 1908); one 'didactic' exhibition (*Esposizione d'Arte Decorativa*, 1903), and two exhibitions

3 ICG, ASGS, B-Mostre, 1900, Venturi to Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica [Guido Baccelli], March 1900 (draft). See also the letter sent by Venturi to the Minister in February 1899, in which the director complained of the decreased allocated funds to the Galleria: "Codesto On. Ministero ricorda come questa Galleria avesse una riduzione della sua dotazione da lire 5000 a lire 1000, riduzione che come dovetti dichiarare toglie a questa direzione il modo di provvedere degnamente ai bisogni dell'istituto. […] senza l'aiuto invocato, ogni incremento di questi istituti, ogni loro moto è impedito. Ricorro perciò alla E.V., persuaso di non raccomandare invano gl'interessi dell'arte e degli studi" (ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Venturi to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 4 February 1899; see also MARIANI 2001, p. 145). A misunderstanding had even further damaged the few available resources: until 1900, the public had free access to the exhibitions (why normally visitors paid a ticket, or *tassa d'ingresso*, to visit the museum). In December 1900, the Commissione di Vigilanza requested to have visitors pay for the exhibitions "tanto per la tutela delle cose esposte, quanto per la necessità di aumentare più che sia possibile il reddito della tassa d'ingresso" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II p., b. 211, fasc. 416.11, Il Presidente [Monaci] to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, Direzione Generale per le Antichità e Belle Arti, 27 December 1900).

presenting a more general selection of drawings and prints (*Esposizione pubblica di disegni di grandi maestri posseduti dal Gabinetto delle Stampe*, 1899; *Esposizione di Stampe e Disegni di autori diversi dei secoli XV e XVI*, 1906). As observed by Marco Mozzo, the novel elements introduced in such a varied programme, above all the choice to set up monographic exhibitions, must be read in continuity with the thread opened by Kristeller in the first years of activity of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe; within Dürer's exhibition, for instance, the choice to isolate a series of portraits and to separate, wherever possible, engravings from woodcuts, recall, respectively, the portrait exhibition of 1897 and the display divided by technique that Kristeller had appreciated in London and Berlin and that he proposed for Italian museums too.[4] The 1898 regulation for the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, compiled by Venturi and approved by the Commissione di Vigilanza, stated that temporary exhibitions had to be strictly connected to the daily activity aimed at taking prints and drawings out of their albums: "Le esposizioni saranno fatte tenendo di mira la distribuzione definitive della raccolta, così che si debbano considerare parziali lavori utili allo scopo generale della classificazione scientifica".[5] According to the regulation, therefore, exhibitions had the precise task to present what was happening 'behind the scenes'; this meant not only to present sections of the collection which were being mounted on passepartouts (such as the prints from the Veneto School shown in May 1901 and the Dutch prints presented in spring 1905 and 1906), but also to display works that had just been acquired for the Gabinetto (such as Marten van Heemskerck's drawings presented in the 1906 *Esposizione di Stampe e Disegni di autori diversi dei secoli XV e XVI*).[6]

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4 MOZZO 2009, pp. 366-367.

5 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II p., b. 221, fasc. 416.3, *Regolamento per il Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe in Roma*, dated 19 July 1898 but signed on 24 August 1898 by Costantini (on behalf of the Minister of Public Education), Monaci (President of the Commissione di Vigilanza), Venturi and Tenerani (members of the Commissione di Vigilanza). See MARIANI 2001, pp. 143-144.

6 The connection between arrangement of the collection and the exhibition activity was clarified in a letter Venturi sent to the Minister: "La Commissione di vigilanza propone ad unanimità il seguente programma per il Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe, nell'anno finanziario 1900-1901: Assetto di tutte le stampe colorate inglesi da esporsi e di quelle del Bartolozzi, che non furono esposte nella passata esposizione. Assetto delle stampe veneziane del secolo XVIII da esporsi. Assetto di tutte le stampe dei piccoli maestri tedeschi, stampe che furono distaccate dai volumi e non ricevettero mai la loro degna sistemazione […]" (ICG, ASGS, Miscellanea, n. 19, Commissioni di Vigilanza, Commissione di vigilanza [but written by Venturi?] to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica,

However, judging from what it has been possible to understand about the content of each exhibition, those abovementioned were not the only reasons for choosing exhibition topics. Part of the programme of those years was in fact still aimed at catching the public tastes and interests – which appeared to be the leading criteria behind the first three events organised during Kristeller's years. This principle could for instance explain those exhibitions of historical-topographical subject, an extremely popular topic which not only met Hermanin's personal taste – he was very keen in increasing the section of *vedute* and landscapes –[7] but also that of other institutions too (see for example the *Mostra di topografia romana* organised in 1903 by the Biblioteca 'Vittorio Emanuele' in Rome, and the 1905 Esposizione Italo-Bizantina at the Badia Greca in Grottaferrata curated by Antonio Muñoz, where prints and drawings played a mere documentary role alongside photographs).[8] Prints and drawings by Francesco Bartolozzi were presented in 1899 acknowledging that the artist "[…] ha ricevuto all'estero tanti [*nuovi] tributi di ammirazione ai nostri giorni. Poiché questo istituto, […] segna i progressi e desideri degli studi e dell'arte, si è devisato di presentare al pubblico una serie di elettissimi saggi del celebrato maestro";[9] the exhibition on English coloured prints wanted to disclose a *genre* whose works were "[…], tanto apprezzate, ricercate e studiate in questo momento. E la Esposizione servirebbe a dar nuovo lustro a questo gabinetto nazionale delle stampe, e a richiamare qui gli amatori dell'arte".[10] Other exhibitions were organised in connection with other

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Direzione generale, 3 July 1900). As Hermanin pointed out in his 1906 report concerning the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, the Venetian prints from 17th and 18th centuries were among the first prints to be taken out of the albums and mounted ("estratte dai volumi e sistemati sui cartoni", ICG, ASGS, Miscellanea, n. 19, Commissioni di Vigilanza, *Al Signor Presidente della Giunta di Vigilanza del Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe in Roma* [signed by Hermanin], 1906); see PARMA 2001, p. 111.

7 NICITA 2010, pp. 180, 205-206.

8 See CANTUCCI 2013, pp. 543-544; 545-546. The 1903 exhibition was the occasion to present part of the library collection of drawings of Roman *vedute* and monuments by Gaspar van Wittel (there were twenty on display), acquired (55 drawings in total) ten years before from Francesco Gentiletti (see GNOLI 1903; BRECCIA FRATADOCCHI, PUGLISI 2013, pp. 22-23).

9 ICG, ASGS, B-Mostre, 1899, Venturi to Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica Guido Baccelli, 27 January 1899.

10 *Ivi*, Venturi to Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica [Guido Baccelli], March 1900 (draft). For the occasion, since the exhibition was so promising, the Minister approved an usual practice, that was to allow to display a high number of drawings on loan by a private individual (Architect Canevari; *ivi*, Ministro [f.to

events, both in-house and related to other institutions. This was for example the case of the 1908 exhibition of prints depicting artworks by Antonio Canova and of portraits connected to him; the event took place while Canova's masterpiece *Ercole e Lica* (which had been moved from Palazzo Torlonia in Piazza Venezia to the Galleria Corsini in Trastevere) was being presented to the public in a brand-new section of the museum.[11] Another example was the 1899 exhibition on drawings, proposed by Venturi in order to seize the moment in which certain drawings were being published in London ("Tornerebbe quindi di lustro a questa Galleria, e servirebbe ad attrarre visitatori e ad accrescere i nostri redditi, la esposizione dei disegni medesimi, in questo momento in cui si fa tanto discorso della Cronaca figurata di Londra").[12]

The topics presented through these exhibitions show that the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe was more and more directed to represent works of art on paper in their variety of styles and techniques, with a marked predominance of prints. The works presented to the public did not belong to the Italian Renaissance or Baroque art only – in spite of the twist Hermanin gave to the Gallery after Venturi resigned –;[13] therefore, art on paper at the Gabinetto was less and less considered as a subsidiary kind of collection that echoed the Corsini paintings, or as a way to document local history and local territory. Furthermore, the way the collection was presented shows that both Venturi and Hermanin tried to take into account different audiences interested in prints: for instance, by setting up the didactic exhibition on ornamental prints, explicitly thought of for artists, and with exhibitions focused on printmaking techniques, therefore appealing both to artists and to scholars. As described by the review published on *L'Arte*, the exhibition on chiaroscuro prints was for instance a privileged occasion indeed for Italian and foreign scholars to reflect upon the debated origin of this kind of technique; at the same time, by putting on view lesser-known masterworks of ancient Italian art, that exhibition had the task to inspiring contemporary artists and guiding their achievements:

Costantini] to Direttore della Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica e del Gabinetto delle Stampe [Venturi], 13 January 1899).

11 PARMA 2001, pp. 113-114; on the relocation of the *Ercole e Lica* at the Gallerie, see PEZZINI BERNINI 1984, p. 56; NICITA 2010, p. 162.

12 ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Direttore [Adolfo Venturi] to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, Direzione Generale [Antichità e Belle Arti], 13 December 1898 (see MARIANI 2001, p. 144; PARMA 2001, pp. 108-109).

13 See the chapter *Una pinacoteca per il Barocco. La Galleria Nazionale nella prima metà del Novecento* in NICITA 2010, pp. 177-264.

> La Mostra delle stampe a chiaroscuro […] ha attirata nelle sale della Galleria Nazionale di Roma una vera folla d'intelligenti e di studiosi italiani e stranieri. […] Gli storici stranieri dell'arte dell'incisione, discordi ne' particolari, ma concordi nella quistione di massima, vogliono attribuire solo in parte agli italiani il merito della invenzione delle stampe a chiaroscuro, mentre dal loro stesso ragionamento risulta in modo chiarissimo come la testimonianza del Vasari sia attendibile e sia conforme alla verità. […] Dobbiamo in verità augurarci che si moltiplichino codeste mostre speciali, destinate a rimettere in luce le minori ma non meno pregevoli produzioni artistiche del genio italiano, acciocchè possano contribuire efficacemente alla coltura artistica del nostro popolo e a guidare l'arte moderna, povera cieca adorna di acconciature smaglianti, omai [sic] sperduta tra gli sforzi vani e contraddittori dell'eclettismo, alle antiche origini e alle antiche glorie.[14]

Certain display choices, however, let us deduce that the public of art historians was privileged. Thanks to the reviews of the exhibitions, published on *Emporium*,[15] we can learn that the aim of these events was not only to present a number of sheets from the collection but to indeed to give the possibility to read them at multiple levels. This is how we should understand, for example, the opportunity given to scholars to make comparisons between different states of the same print, and between different phases of the printmaker's work. At the exhibition of Bartolozzi's work, his print *La morte di Lord Chapman* was presented in two versions: halfway through its creation and completed. That the Gabinetto was turning into the seminal headquarters of the history of printmaking is also proved by the fact that in 1906 Federico Hermanin requested permission to teach his University classes inside the exhibition rooms of the Gabinetto – on Mondays and Fridays, when it was closed to the public: "Poiché quest'anno il mio corso libero di storia dell'arte all'Università si svolgerà specialmente sulla storia dell'incisione, così credo opportuno, col consenso di codesto On. Ministero di poterlo tenere in uno dei locali del Gabinetto stesso, dove mi è possible di mostrare ai miei allievi le nostre maravigliose incisioni" (Appendix, document 37).[16]

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14 FRASCHETTI 1900, pp. 171, 178.

15 See ARTIOLI 1898; 1899; 1900; 1901; RUSCONI 1907. On these reviews see MOZZO 2009.

16 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 211, fasc. 416.30, Hermanin to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, 17 January 1906. His request had already been approved by the Commissione di vigilanza the previous year: "Il Dr. Hermanin chiede alla giunta di poter tenere in una delle sale del gabinetto delle stampe un certo numero di lezioni del su corso libero universitario sulla storia

While the Corsini drawings and prints, a 'closed' collection, were being taken out of their albums, restored and put on display, the Fondo Nazionale kept growing thanks to the acquisitions made on behalf of Venturi and Hermanin, and new sheets were progressively stored in *cartelle* and ordered alphabetically by author (for drawings) or printmaker (for prints). As highlighted in the previous chapter, Venturi's interest for ancient drawings led him to acquire precious sheets in spite of the issue raised by the Ministry concerning of the 'concurrency' with the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi (another debated case was the acquisition of 30 drawings attributed to Michelino da Besozzo, acquired through Giacomo Frizzoni in 1899). Until Venturi remained in charge, it was not easy for 19th-century drawings to make their way into the Fondo Nazionale; the 57 drawings (by the Tuscan painters Bernardino Nocchi, Agostino and Stefano Tofanelli, Teodoro Matteini) offered by the Fornari family were initially refused and then acquired only because they were considered relevant in the process of making of engravings.[17] The policy changed when Hermanin was appointed *direttore incaricato* after Venturi resigned in November 1904. Proposing to the Giunta di Vigilanza (another name under which the Commissione di Vigilanza was known) to acquire a number of litographs and engravings made in the 19th century, he justified his suggestion stating that:

> […] il gabinetto delle stampe non deve considerarsi semplicemente come una collezione che raccolga solamente opera d'intrinseco valore artistico, ma deve bensì sempre più cercare di raccogliere tutto ciò che può riuscire interessante per la storia delle arti grafiche non solo, ma per anche qualunque disegno, incisione o litografia che anche sprovvista di valore artistico ci dia l'immagine di oggetti, persone, monumenti ecc. interessanti per la storia, la topografia ecc.[18]

Although the acquisition of ancient drawings and prints was not interrupted, important groups of works acquired between 1906 and 1909

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dell'incisione. Egli chiede ciò per potere mostrare agli studenti esemplari di stampe conservate nella collezione. La Giunta approva" (*ivi*, meetings proceedings, 25 November 1905, MARIANI 2001, p. 151). See also NICITA 2010, p. 180.

17 ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Venturi to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale per le Antichità e Belle Arti, 5 July 1901 (draft).

18 ICG, ASGS, Miscellanea, n. 19, Commissioni di Vigilanza, proceedings of the meeting of the Giunta di Vigilanza, 25 November 1905 (see MARIANI 2001, p. 151).

were more closely bound with the city of Rome (such as Marten Heemskeck's drawings for the Settizonio Severiano and works by Polidoro da Caravaggio) and with its uses and traditions (such as the drawings and prints depicting the 'Roman carnival').[19] But the number of modern prints and drawings was still unsatisfactory for Hermanin; he complained both with the Ministry and with Venturi that since the Galleria d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea in Rome had no suitable spaces to host and to display drawings and prints, it was unacceptable that the Gabinetto could not play its part and fill that gap:

> […] non è concepibile, che il Gabinetto debba fermare colle sue raccolte, nella prima metà del secolo decimonono […] Non mi pare poi conveniente di destinare tali opera d'arte alla Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, dove non esistono comodità né per la conservazione né per l'esposizione al pubblico".[20]

Again, the argument of Italian collections not being at the same level of European and American ones was used to strengthen a request: "Lei sa bene che il nostro Gabinetto delle stampe manca di opere moderne e sa

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19 See BOCCONI 2001, p. 185, with the trancription of the relevant entries from the *Registro Cronologico Generale di entrata* and from the inventories of prints and drawings: "Opere acquisite: 504 tra incisioni e litografie singole, conservate in cartelle, e raccolte in volume, disegni singoli, montati in passe-partout e conservati in scatole, e raccolti in volume, da FN 7027 a FN 7530. Autori: autori vari sec. XVIII/XIX, Ghezzi, Pinelli, ecc. Soggetti: carnevale romano, vedute di roma, caricature. Provenienza: Libreria antiquaria P. Luzzietti (vendita antiquario P. Pieri). Acquisto, archivio 1905 […] Opere acquisite: 462 incisioni e 10 litografie da FN 10896 a FN 11367. Autori: Autori vari, italiani, francesi e tedeschi, dei secoli XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX Blanchard, Cottafavi, Della Bruna, Fischer, Gregori, Langlois, Moneta, Passini, Perugini, Rossellmann. Soggetti: battaglie, vedute, soprattutto di Roma, ritratti. Provenienza: A. Fiori (collezionista). [Acquisto 1909]. […] Opere acquisite: 997 disegni raccolti in 4 volumi di grande formato. Da FN 11468 a FN 11471. Autori: Boguet. Soggetti: paesaggi e vedute, prevalentemente di Roma e dintorni. Provenienza: C. Rossignani (erede) acquisto archivio 1908". Between 1907 and 19010, the journal *L'Arte* duly reported on the purchases made by the Gabinetto delle Stampe: see HERMANIN 1907a AND HERMANIN 1907b; BARTOLI 1909.

20 ICG, ASGS, Fascicolo Hermanin, Hermanin to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale per le Antichità e Belle Arti, 30 November 1907 (see MARIANI 2001, p. 152).

meglio di me come ciò è un grande diffetto, che lo pone in posizione d'inferiorità rispetto a tutti i Gabinetti d'Europa e d'America".[21]

In the field of acquisitions as well as in that of exhibitions, the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe was diverging more and more from the mission Venturi had foreseen for the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica the Gabinetto belonged to. It might not be a coincidence the fact that over the years more and more letters referred to the print collection as Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, even if its official name had always been Gabinetto delle Stampe: its identity of 'national' collection was more and more autonomous and established. The two institutions, however, converged towards one common goal: by acquiring artworks, they both continued to save Italian heritage from being dispersed abroad; while the Gabinetto acquired works for its Fondo Nazionale, the Galleria had been receiving paintings (including what remained from the Sciarra collection) and fragments of frescoes (from Palazzo Altoviti).[22] Indeed because of the high number of artworks which had entered the Fondo Nazionale (6,220 sheets between 1895 and 1906), the lack of space became a compelling issue for the Gabinetto, which was located within the exhibition spaces of the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica – this added to the permanent lack of space of the Galleria itself, worsened by the difficult relation with the Accademia dei Lincei.[23] But the clash between Gabinetto and Galleria involved other problems too, namely the shared budget and staff.

Exporting expertise. Adolfo Venturi from Rome to Naples

Not only was the low budget allocated to the museum shared between the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica and the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe; moreover, even if staff members such as Bertolucci had been gathering experience in the treatment of drawings and prints, they were officially employed by the Galleria Nazionale and thus had to share their time between paintings and works on paper.[24] The issue of specialised background and skills for museum professionals was a very dear one to Venturi and since the late 1880s he had advocated for a suitable match

21 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Hermanin, Federico; Hermanin to Venturi, 10 July 1909.

22 NICITA 2010, pp. 148-153.

23 See the failed plans to expand the Galleria, drafted between 1899 and 1903 (NICITA 2010, pp. 156-161).

24 See *ivi*, pp. 147-148 for a sample of the restoration activity performed by Bertolucci on the paintings of the Galleria.

between the background of the *funzionari* and their allocated tasks at the Ministero.[25] That the museum staff could enjoy a permanent position in order to focus on specific tasks was another very important point for Venturi, who understood that that was the only way to maximise the few human resources available to museums. In May 1904, he openly stated that: "È desiderio della Commissione che restino al Gabinetto sempre le stesse persone, che hanno pratica e conoscenza del materiale prezioso".[26] A few months after, through the Commissione di Vigilanza, he sent a more articulated request to the Ministry of Public Education, asking that the Gabinetto and the Galleria be formally separated in terms of staff, administration and budget:

> La Giunta di Vigilanza […] fa voto perché dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione sia concesso:
>
> 1° che, essendo necessario che il personale addetto al Gabinetto, tanto per la direzione, quanto per l'ordinamento ed il restauro delle stampe e dei disegni, abbia speciale preparazione tecnica, conoscenza completa del materiale e particolare abilità nel vigilarlo, esso resti stabilmente all'Istituto e non sia esposto a mutamenti e trasferimenti.
>
> 2° che essendo la parte principale delle incisioni e dei disegni non di proprietà governativa, e quindi il Gabinetto stesso in condizioni affatto diverso a quelle della Galleria a cui è unito, l'amministrazione di esso proceda, per quanto è possible, distinta da quella della galleria, e che in ispecial modo ne siano separate la dotazione e il bilancio, e ciò per maggiore tutela degli enti a cui risalgono le proprietà.[27]

As Kristeller before him, Venturi was not only interested in helping in-house staff to further develop their skills to better serve the needs of the museum, but he was also keen in opening the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe to external collaborators, including university students. In the same way as Federico Hermanin, Gino Fogolari and Antonio Filangeri di Candida had previously worked at the Gabinetto "come apprendisti",

25 See his 1887 essay *Per la storia dell'arte* (VENTURI 1887, pp. 236-238).

26 ICG, ASGS, Miscellanea, n. 19, Commissioni di Vigilanza, proceedings of the meeting of the Commissione di Vigilanza, signed by Venturi and Hermanin, 27 May 1904; see MARIANI 2001, p. 149.

27 ICG, ASGS, Miscellanea, n. 19, Commissioni di Vigilanza, Monaci, Tenerani, Di Lorenzo to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 3 November 1904; see MARIANI 2001, pp. 149-150.

Venturi managed to have Goffredo Grilli study and work at the Gabinetto as an assistant in order to learn classification methods:

> La Giunta di vigilanza, su proposta del Prof. Adolfo Venturi, delibera di far nuove e vive premure presso il Ministero dell'Istruzione pubblica perché sia concesso al Signor Goffredo Grilli, secondo le proposte già fatte dalla Commissione stessa, di potere non solo studiare nel Gabinetto delle stampe, ma anche di lavorarvi come assistente volontario per apprendere i vari metodi di catalogazione e ordinamento. La Giunta delibera che si concede al Grilli ciò che in tempi addietro fu concesso al Dr Hermanin, al Dr Filangeri di Candida e al Dr Gino Fogolari, perché ritiene cosa utile che, colle dovute precauzioni si permetta a giovani studiosi di frequentare come apprendisti il Gabinetto delle stampe.[28]

By then Venturi might have been aware that, given the peculiarity of each museum collection, the most effective way in which the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe could really work as a national model was to keep breeding an informal 'school' of future museum professionals who could then export to other collections those methods and best practices they learned in Rome. Venturi had pointed this out already in 1898, shortly after his appointment:

> Le gallerie italiane e i musei medioevali e moderni si sono composti secondo la varia ricchezza de' singoli luoghi; e le tendenze de' raccoglitori e le loro preferenze furono da per tutto differenti. Donde la necessità che gli uomini, i quali devono conservare e dare incremento alle nostre collezioni abbiano la educazione richiesta ne' singoli casi, e trovino nell'inamovibilità loro la tranquillità occorrente per l'acquisto di speciale, sicura e compiuta esperienza. L'organico unico dei Musei e delle Gallerie in generale accoglie invece uomini, che hanno un grado o un numero d'ordine: parecchi di essi potranno amministrare, non dare scientifica prosperità ai nostri istituti.[29]

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28 ICG, ASGS, Miscellanea, n. 19, Commissioni di Vigilanza, proceedings of the meeting of the Commissione di Vigilanza, 13 May 1903. Although no documents have been retrieved so that have details concerning Goffredo Grilli's apprenticeship at the Gabinetto delle Stampe, we could infer that it was probably focused, among other things, on drawings by Polidoro da Caravaggio, especially those acquired by the Galleria in (see GRILLI 1905; FARINA 2016, p. 9).

29 ICG, ASGS, Miscellanea, n. 19, Commissioni di Vigilanza, proceedings of the

A very telling example of 'exported shared expertise' concerns the rearrangement of the collection of drawings and prints in Naples, whose Museo Nazionale had never been included in the debate concerning the creation of a network of public prints and drawings collections in spite of the Firmian collection housed in a dedicated room. Venturi had been looking forward to reorganising the museum art collection at least since 1893, as shown by the letters exchanged with director Giulio De Petra ("Il tuo intervento qui pel riordinamento tanto reclamato di questa Pinacoteca, lungi […] dal farmi dispiacere, non può non riuscirmi gradito […]");[30] however, his appointment was made official already in 1897 and only started in 1901[31] – further spoiling the already compromised relationship between him and Ricci. In fact Ricci had been studying the artworks of the Pinacoteca since 1893 and, following a formal request from the Ministry of Public Education, in 1897 had compiled a *Proposta di riordinamento della galleria del R. Museo di Napoli*.[32]

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meeting of the Commissione di Vigilanza, 8 July 1898. See AGOSTI 1996, p. 137.

30 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, De Petra, Giulio; De Petra to Venturi, 14 November 1893.

31 As it happened in the past, Venturi was called to work as museological consultant while at the same time he held another position in another museum. For the purpose of this study we have focused on State institutions only, but civic museums could, if they needed, ask the Ministry to send an expert ("persona tecnica") to support the arrangement of the collection: Venturi for example was sent to the civic museum (today Pinacoteca Civica 'Melozzo degli Ambrogi') in Forlì in 1893, which had officially opened to the public in 1846 (SANTARELLI 1895-1896, p. 141). Although Venturi's main task on that occasion was to focus on the paintings, he must have appreciated the way prints were displayed in the museum, where "Un corridoio per le incisioni, di m. 42 x 3.40" had been set up in 1842 thanks to the bequests by count Pietro Guarini and thanks to the museum director Giuseppe Marri. The print collection, "venuta sempre aumentando per liberalità di cittadini", and which was referred to as "Galleria delle stampe" (CALZINI, MAZZATINTI 1893, p. 65; the prints are listed on pp. 66-71), was displayed "in quadri nel corridoio che adduce alla sala dell'Ebe" (SANTARELLI 1895-1896, p. 155). The group of 480 prints included sheets by Dürer, Raimondi, Edelinck, Rembrandt, Rosa, Wille, Volpato, Morghen, Longhi. Other prints by Morghen were placed in a separate room, together with all the items donated by the physician Maurizio Bufalini, kept in a separate area from the rest of the museum collection according to the trend that preferred all objects from the same bequest kept in the same room. The museum also had "Una piccola camera, con disegni e bozzetti" with drawings by Carlo and Felice Cignani, Andrea Sacchi, Guercino, Maratta and Grandolfi, together with five albums donated by the Forlì-born scholar Melchiorre Missirini, with sketches and drawings by artists of his time, including Canova. On Venturi's engagement with civic museums, see LEVI 2013, pp. 66-71.

32 SANTUCCI 2008, p. 166. Benedetto Croce commented the episode as follows: "Il

Venturi took on the task of reorganising the Pinacoteca "[…] più disordinata, più negletta e più guasta d'Italia",[33] but could not complete what he had in mind. He managed to work on six small rooms in the western part of the museum, focusing on 15th and 16th-century paintings and reducing the number of works on display dating back to 17th and 18th century, especially those from Southern Italy ("[…] abolì l'antica disposizione dei quadri in cinque o sei file che rendeva imposssibile uno studio accurato […] Nell'aggruppamento – compatibilmente con le ragioni dello spazio e della disposizione estetica – seguì il criterio di scuola e di epoca […]").[34] His preference for a presentation of national art instead of a comprehensive display of the Neapolitan school was strongly criticized, but that was only one of the many issues that characterised his task. Sharp criticisms and arguments hit the museum director Ettore Pais too and eventually they both resigned in 1904.[35] Within this difficult situation, the rearrangement of art on paper must have played a minor role in Venturi's plan, and documentary evidence concerning his intervention in that section of the Museo Nazionale is quite fragmented; however, it looks like Venturi indeed drafted a project for prints and drawings too, and that he had his two assistants Gino Fogolari and Antonio Filangeri di Candida help him fulfil it. The Modenese scholar was immediately aware that the collection of prints and drawings needed to be included in the reorganisation of the museum ("Nel preventivo per l'assetto della Galleria di Napoli […] misi in conto la spesa per rendere pubblica la parte più bella della raccolta delle stampe e dei disegni colà conservata […]").[36] After the first inspection, he asked for a stamp to be sent from Rome to Naples "per

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Ricci ebbe finanche un invito dal Ministero a proporre il progetto di riordinamento e a fare il preventivo della spesa. Ma il Venturi che allora prestava servizio presso il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, e del quale è nota la gelosia, o diremo la gara, col Ricci, si agitò e andò gridando che l'incarico dato al Ricci sarebbe stato uno smacco fatto a lui, Venturi; e reclamò per sé l'onore di riordinare la Pinacoteca di Napoli" (Croce 1900, p. 146). On the development of the relationship between Venturi and Ricci in these years, see Bosi Maramotti 1995, pp. 30-31.

33 ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Venturi to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 29 April 1902.

34 Serra 1904, p. 410.

35 See the articles written by Croce on *Napoli Nobilissima* accusing Pais' administration (Croce 1900 and Croce 1903); see Cioffi 1995; Del Vivo 1995; Rossi 1996, pp. 265-270; Barrella 2013.

36 ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Venturi to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 15 January 1901.

contro segnare le stampe"[37] and demanded the authorisation to bring certain drawings and prints to Rome to restore them ("A trasportare a Roma, sotto la mia personale responsabilità, le stampe e i disegni che devono essere riparati dal sig. Luigi Bartolucci in questo gabinetto delle stampe").[38] His proposal was not immediately accepted, perhaps because of the risks the works (especially those donated by the King Vittorio Emanuele II) might have encountered during the journey to Rome, but Venturi justified his request reminding the Ministry that the restoration laboratory at the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe was the only state-of-the-art facility of the country ("[…] in tutt'Italia, a Roma soltanto si è con dispendio non lieve e dopo lunghe prove, composto un laboratorio per la riparazione delle antiche stampe e degli antichi disegni a seconda dei metodi usati nei principali Gabinetti d'Europa [...]").[39] By the end of 1902, Fogolari and Filangeri di Candida, who played an important role in supporting Venturi at the Museo Nazionale, appear to be involved in the reorganisation too. Fogolari must have been in charge of reorganising prints, as among his planned tasks he mentioned works on paper too: "Finito colle cornici, e messe a posto le stampe, io passerò a raccogliere e ordinare tutti i quadri che rimangono nei magazzini […]".[40] It is instead harder to figure out what Venturi asked Filangeri di Candida to do as far as the Firmian collection was concerned; he must have been knowledgeable about it and might have been studying it too, since Venturi asked him to assist Alessandro Baudi di Vesme during his visit in Naples ("desidera per ragioni di studio di visitare la raccolta delle incisioni di codesto museo").[41] While the reorganisation of paintings proceeded, albeit with several problems, the arrangement of works on paper must have been somehow stuck if by August 1903 Venturi's plan to create a display of prints was still being discussed.[42] Judging from a

37 *Ivi*, Venturi to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 16 February 1901.

38 *Ivi*, Venturi to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 15 January 1901.

39 *Ivi*, Venturi to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 16 February 1901.

40 CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Fogolari, Gino; Fogolari to Venturi, 23 September 1902. Both Fogolari (1875-1941) and Filangeri di Candida attended Venturi's art history specialising course the University in Rome and both were trainees at the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe (Manieri Elia 2006, p. 259; Varanini, Franco 2007). The Neapolitan art historian provided important support to Venturi at the museum, as he permanently lived in Naples while Venturi never really moved there.

41 ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Venturi to Ettore Pais, 15 November 1902 (draft).

42 "[…] che mi sia dato […] di incorniciare delle stampe, le quali [*comporteranno] circa lire 1200" (ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, Venturi to

later letter written by Pais, it seems that Venturi wanted to create a "gabinetto delle stampe" distributed in two contiguous rooms but after August 1903 there is no more evidence of Venturi's involvement in the re-arrangement of the Firmian collection; it might also be possible that, because of the many obstacles encountered, he decided to drop that part of the work, and this might explain why Count Santorre di Santarosa entered the story during 1903, after King Umberto I in person requested him to tend to the Firmian collection that his predecessor Vittorio Emanuele II had donated to the museum in 1866.[43] With the support of the Minister Nasi, Santorre di Santarosa presented a rearrangement project based on the same principles of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe (Appendix, document 33).[44] In spite of Pais' initial opposition,[45] he started work at the museum in September 1903[46] with the help of Filangeri di Candida and of Fogolari; Venturi gave his approval (Appendix, document 34).[47] Following Venturi's resignation in 1904, the museum remained closed; a committee was appointed to supervise the new arrangement which was curated by two local artists, Edoardo Dalbono and Orazio Ferrara, who increased the space dedicated to

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Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, 7 August 1903).

43 AS-MANN, IV A6, 86, Pais to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 10 November 1903. The King's decision must have been even precedent to Venturi's arrival in Naples: commemorating King Umberto I after the latter's death in 1900, Venturi himself wrote that Umberto I "[…] ebbe desiderio di vedere in assetto le stampe e i disegni del palazzo di Capodimonte, e ne affidò l'incarico all'illustre conte Santorre di Santarosa, sapiente quanto modesto signore" (VENTURI 1900b, p. 317).

44 AS-MANN, IV A6, 86, Nasi to Pais, 18 April 1903.

45 AS-MANN, IV A6, 86, Pais to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, 18 April 1903.

46 Il conte di Santarosa è qui da due settimane a studiare la raccolta delle stampe […]. Egli ha domandato al Pais di poter occupare con un altro mobile – armadio, o che so io, – la stanzetta attigua a quella ora data alle stampe – quella, se ricorda, dove era l'altare […] Desidererebbe esporre come quadro in detta saletta qualche stampa delle più interessanti, dice, di autori napoletani. Benché lo spazio non abbondi mi sembra un giusto desiderio, e anche che le stampe si possano in qualche posto vedere ha credo una necessità per il completo riordinamento delle raccolte. A questa esposizione fatta da lui, potrà il future ispettore sostituire un'altra che meglio gli piaccia (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Fogolari, Gino; Fogolari to Venturi, 26 September 1903).

47 AS-MANN, IV A6, 86, Pais to Santorre di Santarosa, 15 November 1903.

Neapolitan art.[48] By 1907, the new arrangement of the Pinacoteca included "le piccole Sale […] dei disegni e delle stampe […] che l'ostinata buona volontà della Commissione è riuscita a creare superando la difficoltà dello spazio che pareva invincibile".[49] The wish expressed by the supervising committee in 1905 to create temporary exhibitions following the example of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe ("[…] esposizioni periodiche di stampe e di disegni delle quali lo stesso Venturi alla Galleria nazionale romana ha dato in questi ultimi anni lodevole esempio")[50] seem to have partially succeeded: a 1911 English guidebook to the museum described that the "drawings exhibited in the show cases" in the Drawing Room (room no. XXV) are "so often changed".[51] The catalogue however mentions neither the Firmian collection nor other prints on display. As remembered by Mazzacapo in 1907, the Museo Nazionale was above all an archaeological museum, and, beyond the critical issue that affected Venturi's work, the art collection kept suffering for the lack of space and resources:

> Due di queste collezioni, quella cioè delle antichità (museo), e quella dei libri (biblioteca), sono grandiose e in continuo aumento così da avere bisogno ogni anno di nuovi locali per collocare quanto annualmente si aggiunge alla ricchezza esistente. Ugualmente non avviene per la R. Pinacoteca, verso la quale né il governo, né le autorità locali di Napoli, né, diciamolo pure, il pubblico ha mostrato quell'interesse, ch'essa merita, per cui gli acquisti per arricchirla, e completarla sua collezione delle varie scuole di pittura, furono assai scarsi, né sempre fortunate ed opportuni.[52]

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48 "[…] e particolarmente prodigate le cure allo svolgimento dell'arte Napoletana costituisce per essi non soltanto un merito artistico, ma anche altamente patriottico. Dico patriottico, perchè, oso affermare, l'opera compiuta svela agl'italiani un Tesoro che possiedono, e di cui sino ad oggi, non hanno saputo menarne il vanto, di cui a buon diritto possono andare orgogliosi" (MEZZACAPO 1907, p. 13).

49 *Ivi*, pp. 10, 17.

50 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carte Ricci, b. 22, fasc. 165, s.fasc. 5, *Relazione sul nuovo ordinamento della Pinacoteca di Napoli*, signed on 2 April 1905 by Felice Bernabei, Camillo Boito, Luigi Cavenaghi, Alfredo D'Andrade, Gustavo Frizzoni, Primo Levi, Ugo Ojetti, n.p.

51 RUESCH 1909, p. 205.

52 MEZZACAPO 1907, p. 3.

New spaces for the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe

Since its foundation in 1895, the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe was split into two parts: the bulk of the collection of drawings and prints was stored in the director's room, while exhibitions took place in one of the room of the Galleria Nazionale (originally the ninth, then the tenth), on the first floor. The lack of space to host such a collection which kept on growing was the most evident problem affecting the Gabinetto in the early years of the 20th century. In 1904, Venturi was the first to suggest that there was no point in keeping the wardrobes containing prints and drawings albums in the exhibition room, and he proposed to move them to the director room; furthermore, he suggested to add shelves in order to give a decent order to the boxes which until then had been lying on the ground. The most precious drawings and prints ("le stampe ed i disegni di maggiore valore")[53] were to be left in the exhibition room. Once implemented, this solution, which anyway Hermanin described as "nè comoda nè utile alle preziose raccolte",[54] could not help to solve another issue that had become quite urgent: as Hermanin reported in his 1906 report, several prints were found covered in mold, as the rooms faced north and were therefore far too humid for paper artifacts ("[…] tre grandi saloni della parte di questo palazzo esposta a tramontana e quindi freddissimi e umidi. […] si riconobbe che questo stato di cose recava grave danno ai disegni ed alle stampe, che si coprivano di fitti strati di muffa […]".[55] Thanks to the collaboration of the Ministry of Public Education, the collections were moved to new rooms, previously occupied by the Istituto storico italiano, a research institution founded in 1883 (today Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo):

> Ora […] le collezioni di incisioni e di disegni saranno trasportate nei locali asciutti e ben areati, occupati sinora dall'Istituto storico italiano, il quale passerà invece nei locali dove il Gabinetto delle stampe è stato finora. […] I nuovi locali sono sullo stesso piano ed esposti a mezzogiorno. Essi presentano anche il vantaggio di un maggior numero di camere per cui non solo mi sarà possibile di collocare convenientemente tutte le collezioni, ma anche di

53 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 211, fasc. 416.24, proceedings of the meeting of the Commissione di Vigilanza, signed by Venturi and Hermanin, 27 May 1904; draft in ICG, ASGS, Miscellanea, n. 19, Commissioni di Vigilanza; see MARIANI 2001, p. 149.

54 HERMANIN 1907c, p. 29.

55 ICG, ASGS, Fascicolo Hermanin, Hermanin to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale per le Antichità e le Belle Arti, 12 January 1909.

> trasportarvi la sala d'esposizione delle stampe che sinora si trovava in Galleria. Nei nuovi locali potrò esporre volta per volta molte più incisioni che non per lo addietro, come era richiesto dagli amatori e studiosi. Vicino alle sale d'esposizione sistemerò anche in convenienti locali gli uffici di direzione.[56]

The relocation took place during summer 1906, and the new Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe opened on 9 December of the same year: "alle ore 10.30 del mattino, si apriranno al pubblico i nuovi locali di esposizione del Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe con una mostra di incisioni e disegni italiani dei secoli XV e XVI".[57] Thanks to the description published by Hermanin on *L'Arte* and the images that accompany Emidio Agostinoni's article on *L'Illustrazione Italiana* (fig. 5.I),[58] we know exactly how the spaces were organised:

> I nuovi locali si compongono di undici vani; quattro salette, a cui si accede dalla loggia superiore del gran vestibolo delle statue, sono destinate ad accogliere le esposizioni temporanee di stampe e disegni. Seguono a queste due sale per gli studiosi, in cui, entro armadi e scaffali, è collocate una parte delle collezioni. Perché agli studiosi riescano più facili le ricerche, nella seconda sala si trovano anche gli schedari per materia ed una piccolo biblioteca di consultazione, tutta di libri che si riferiscono all'incisione. Il rimanente delle collezioni è disposto lungo il corridoio che unisce gli uffici, che si compongono di tre camere per la direzione e la segreteria e di un laboratorio per il restauro dei quadri e delle incisioni.[59]

At last scholars could study prints and drawings in fully-furnished study rooms, which were independent from those of the staff, who worked in other dedicated spaces; research tools and study resources (the *schedario* and a specialised library) were available to users too. The Gabinetto

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56 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 211, fasc. 416.28, Hermanin to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale per le Antichità e le Belle Arti, 13 July 1906.

57 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 211, fasc. 416.28, Hermanin to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, 3 December 1906 (see HERMANIN 1907c and HERMANIN 1908).

58 AGOSTINONI 1907, p. 232.

59 HERMANIN 1907c, p. 29.

Nazionale delle Stampe was at that point a state-of-the-art facility in the country as far as the storage, study and display of prints was concerned; its composition resembled very much the *enfilade* of rooms of which the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin was made up the since the 1880s. For Hermanin, the new arrangement and the availability of space (which however started running out again by the beginning of the 1920s)[60] was also the basis to start thinking about expanding the collection in a way others had tried in the 1880s and 1890s, that is to say by recovering in the Gabinetto all print collections housed in State libraries in the city of Rome:

> In un recente colloquio Ella mi chiese se i locali del Gabinetto Nazionale delle stampe a Palazzo Corsini potevano essere sufficienti ad accogliere le collezioni di incisioni sparse nelle varie biblioteche governative di Roma. Ora il trasferimento del Gabinetto delle stampe dalla sua antica sede nei locali più ampi […] mi dà modo di potere con tutto agio di accogliere e sistemare quelle collezioni.[61]

It was a sign that the principles behind Kristeller's plan to move prints from libraries to museums were not only shared by others, but also that the debate they informed was not yet concluded; after decades, the identity of prints was still contested between libraries and museums.

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60 In 1923, Hermanin complained about the lack of proper spaces to work: "E per certo non si può concepire un organismo ben funzionante quale deve essere un buon Gabinetto delle Stampe incappato dalla mancanza più assoluta di ambienti dove distendersi, di una sala conveniente per gli studiosi di un adatto locale per lo smistamento, le riproduzioni, i restauri ecc." (ICG, ASGS, Miscellanea, n. 19, Commissioni di Vigilanza, Hermanin to the Commissione di Vigilanza, 31 May 1923, draft; see MARIANI 2001, p. 164).

61 ICG, ASGS, Fascicolo Hermanin, Hermanin to Commendatore [?], 10 September 1906; see MARIANI 2001, p. 152.

5.2 Corrado Ricci and Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri at the Pinacoteca di Brera: drawings between display and communication

Corrado Ricci and the relocation of drawings from the Accademia to the Pinacoteca

> Chi possiede un oggetto di valore procura di venderlo, e l'ignoranza e il poco rispetto dell'antico e del bello conduce privati, municipi, enti religiosi, a trasformazioni, a dispersioni, a rovine, e a far mercato di ciò che una volta costituiva il loro orgoglio. La vigile opera dello Stato e le sue leggi severamente proibitive ne sono l'indice, perocché è chiaro che se tutti amassero l'arte, ciò che di bello si trova nel nostro paese, non correrebbe alcun rischio. Divulgare, dunque, conviene per educare e risollevare il buon gusto, e, con questo la passione […][62]

With these words, introducing a small illustrated catalogue of masterpieces from the Pinacoteca di Brera (not dated), Corrado Ricci highlighted the crucial role played by the dissemination of culture (a goal for which the catalogue was implicitly instrumental) for the protection of national heritage. Many people, he wrote, did not understand the importance of the artefacts they owned; consequently, they did not love those objects and did not mind getting rid of them. If the Italian State, with its strict laws, tried to limit the consequences of this reckless attitude, divulgation was the only other shield to prevent dispersion of heritage, and thereby the only means to educate and to make citizens passionate about their own art and national treasures. That Ricci wrote this to introduce a museum catalogue tells quite a lot about the mission he believed museums should carry out. In spite of the disorder he found upon his arrival in Brera as director in 1898,[63] during a few years he managed to turn the State art museum of Milan into a crucial tool for dissemination of culture – ordered and organised according to the predominant trend in art historical studies. Soon after he took the post in Milan, Ricci realised that the interference of the art academy on the art

62 RICCI [not dated], n.p.

63 "Eccomi a Brera ed al lavoro da due giorni. Credevo di trovare qualcosa di più decente ed ordinate di quello che avevo trovato a Parma, ma mi sono illuso. Lo stesso ufficio è un ammasso di carte, di fotografie, di stampe senza un ordine possibile. Eppure si tratta di Milano! […] Ma, santo Dio, che cosa fanno gl'Impiegati dello Stato nel bell'Italo Regno?" (ACS, Archivi di famiglie e di persone, Fiorilli Carlo, b. 45, fasc. 1329, Ricci a Fiorilli, 1 January 1899).

museum and especially on its allocated spaces was still quite strong. Deeply convinced of the need to keep the two institutions separate – as separate were their two missions – Ricci rationalised the organisation of the collections and radically restructured the museum and its spaces, aligning it with the European standard of museums of ancient art.[64] In detail, he allocated more rooms to old masters, by winning space from the Accademia and by moving out of Brera a number of artworks (such as modern paintings, sculptures and plasters); redesigned the itinerary for visitors; arranged the vast majority of paintings according to painting schools and, within schools, he followed a chronological order – not forgetting visibility issues relating to the size of the artworks: "E poiché pensiamo che l'ordine delle gallerie debba corrispondere all'indirizzo degli studi predominanti, cos' abbiamo diviso il grande materiale di Brera nelle varie scuole e nei diversi periodi".[65]

Within his plan to give to the museum what it was intended to collect, Ricci personally requested and oversaw the relocation of 585 drawings to the Pinacoteca from the Accademia, where they had remained after the R.D. no. 678, 13 March 1882 – unfairly, according to him. Until Ricci's arrival, the only drawings on display in the Pinacoteca were recognised as property of the Accademia as they were related to teaching activities; consequently, they had been assigned to the Accademia according to the 1889 *Prospetto delle variazioni agli inventari*.[66] *Disegni di figura che ottennero il premio dal 1805 al 1859* (academy *disegni di figura*, which won a prize between 1805 and 1859) were on view in room no. XIV at least until 1896; two drawings by the Milanese painter Francesco Lodonio (1723-1783) were located in room no. XII and two drawings attributed to Parmigianino could be seen in room no. XVI.[67] This kind of display, where old masters and Lombard painters' works were mixed together with paintings and drawings made by art students for training and competitions, contributed to the overall confusion of the Pinacoteca that Ricci condemned since his arrival, as such an incoherent arrangement

64 On Ricci in Brera, see GIOLI 2004; BALESTRI 2006; ARRIGONI 2008. For a general overview on the foundation and development of the Pinacoteca, see ARRIGONI 2009; ARRIGONI 2010.

65 RICCI 1907, p. 258.

66 TRENTO 2012, pp. 37-38.

67 *Catalogo della R. Pinacoteca di Milano* 1896, pp. 153, 141, 12. The 1892 *Catalogo* listed the same elements; while the 1872 *Guida* had "Opere di scultura e disegni di figura che ottennero il premio" between 1805 and 1871 (n.p.). Four *cartoni* by Andrea Appiani, also mentioned by the 1896 catalogue, were kept on display and put in the first room of the Pinacoteca according to Ricci's arrangement.

did not help at all those who needed to study paintings ("per nulla rispondente alle esigenze degli studiosi").[68] On 12 February 1901 Ricci filed a request to the Ministry of Public Education in order to obtain old-master drawings housed at the Accademia:

> Procedendo nel lavoro di riordinamento della R. Pinacoteca di Brera sento il dovere di muovere una domanda a codesto Ministero. Tutte le Pinacoteche del mondo, anche le più modeste, oltre ai dipinti posseggono i disegni dei maestri antichi lasciati sempre in mostra in apposite vetrine per dar modo agli studiosi di fare confronti immediati. Non solo agli Uffizi di Firenze, a Venezia, a Roma, ma pure a Modena, a Parma, a Ravenna, i disegni dei pittori vecchi sono affidati alla Galleria, cui spettano per la loro natura stessa. Ora non così accade a Milano, dove per una singolare negligenza o dimenticanza passati, i disegni, che debbono far parte delle raccolte pittoriche, sono rimasti alla R. Accademia che li han chiusi in libri, senza che nessuno dei centomila forestieri che visitano Brera, li possa ammirare e tirarne quei vantaggi di ricerca e di studio senza i quali la storia dell'arte può dirsi incompleta. Io perciò, sicuro della ragionevolezza della domanda, prego codesto ministero perché disponga che i disegni dei pittori italiani sino a tutto il secolo XVIII (che si trovano nella R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera) siano passati alla R. Pinacoteca, sicché si possano pubblicamente esporre in vetrine. Non dubitando che il Ministero vorrà disporre a che, in tale cosa, la Galleria di Brera possa essere messa al pari delle altre, ringrazio sin d'ora.[69]

Three elements stand out. Firstly, the hyperbolic wording used to introduce the request: all art museums in the world have a collection of drawings, and Brera does not. Secondly, the examples Ricci used: apart from the museums in Florence, Rome and Venice, he mentioned Modena, Parma and Ravenna, three cities in whose museums he had worked to rearrange art collections. As far as drawings were concerned, however, the situation of these three museums could not be compared to that of Florence and Rome, and to a certain extent not even of Venice: from the point of view of the 'scientific' understanding of the collection, in none of the three museums in fact Ricci had promoted the preparation

68 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 198, fasc. 385.8, Ricci to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 19 January 1899. See GIOLI 2004, pp. 107-108.

69 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers, II s., b. 195, fasc. 374.10, Ricci to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 12 February 1901 (also in SICOLI 2013, p. 227, n. 90; draft in ASPB, Archivio vecchio, II parte, pos. 8, fasc. 163; see also GIOLI 2004, p. 122).

of catalogues or *ad hoc* exhibition programme. Lastly, if Ricci's research on painting collections was based on archival research, aimed at returning the artworks' genealogy – there was not enough interest for forms and patterns of collecting practices – his words bear instead no reference to a similar method to analyse drawings. His priority was to put them on display in order to make them permanently available ("lasciati sempre in mostra"). Following the positive reply from the Ministry, which used Ricci's same words to express agreement on the proposal,

> Quando in virtù del R. Decreto 13 marzo 1882 n. 678 serie 3 A, furono [*deposti] agli istituti di insegnamento da quanto concerne la conservazione dei monumenti e delle opere d'arte, e furono di conseguenza rese autonome le Pinacoteche, vennero assegnati ad esse anche i disegni degli antichi pittori, allo scopo di dare modo agli studiosi di fare confronti immediati […][70]

Ricci selected 585 drawings from the Accademia and moved them to the Pinacoteca.[71] His choice fell on Renaissance drawings as well as other sheets up to the 18th century: he ignored instead the more 'academic' kind of sheets such as architecture and *ornato* drawings, *prospettive* and *scenografie*. The relocation of the works took place on 1 April 1901; the report compiled on that occasion listed 59 drawings by Guercino; 160 by Simone Cantarini (out of which 79 "in quarto", 81 "in 8° e in 16°"), and several other drawings "di autori diversi" of different size: 90 drawings "in 16° ed in 8°"; 202 "in quarto"; 67 "in folio" and seven framed drawings ("sotto vetro").[72] Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri (1867-1928), the Reggio-Emilia born scholar who arrived to the Pinacoteca as *ispettore* in May 1903, ascribed the collection to Carlo Bianconi and Giuseppe Bossi, who indeed between 1776 and 1807 assembled several sheets old-

70 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., b. 198, fasc. 385.8, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione to Direttore Accademia (Boito?), 19 February 1901.

71 PESCARMONA 2015. Gioli instead wrote that Ricci chose 587 drawings. These numbers however do not include the *cartoni* by Andrea Appiani which the Pinacoteca already owned and which were located at the entrance of the museum, in the same room where the ticket counter was housed. See also RUSSOLI 1959, n.p., and TRENTO 2014, p. 156.

72 ASPB, Archivio vecchio, II parte, pos. 8, fasc. 163, 585 *Disegni di maestri antichi di proprietà della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano che vengono consegnati alla Direzione della R. Pinacoteca dietro l'ordine della lettera del R. Ministero dell'Istruzione N° 2286/2926 del 19 febbraio u.s.*, 1 April 1901.

masters for academic uses (such as for the *Elementi di figura* course).[73] But thanks to the studies of Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua and Franco Russoli in the 1950s (which led to the exhibition *I disegni del Seicento Emiliano*), the origins of the group of drawings by Cantarini were instead connected to the 18th century collector Flippo Acqua from the Marche region, whose nephew sold the sheets to the Accademia of Brera.[74] The abundance of Bolognese drawings represented a sort of "genetic code" (to use Francesca Valli's definition) for Brera: *feuille d'études par excellence,* Bolognese drawings had been recognised by entire generations as particularly suitable for artists to learn.[75] For Ricci, these drawings – along with other old masters' – needed to be reconnected with paintings in the museum, where they would be enjoyed by "studiosi" to exert the inalienable rights "di ricerca e di studio senza i quali la storia dell'arte può dirsi incompleta".[76] Ricci's interest for old master drawings excluded, on this occasion, those drawings that, combined with prints and photos, could lead to the formation of a topographical section that could outline the relationship between the museum and the city. For Brera, he did not plan to set up such a display, on the model of the *Raccolta storico-topografica di Parma e dintorni* (set up in room no. XXVI of the Galleria Nazionale in Parma)[77] and similar to what he would do in Siena in 1904 for the temporary exhibition *Mostra storico-topografica di Siena e dintorni*

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73 MALAGUZZI VALERI 1906, s.p. Malaguzzi Valeri had started his career in the Ministry of Public Education in 1892, when he had entered the State Archive of Bologna as *alunno* to study illuminated codices. For a biographical overview, see CIAMMITTI 2007; see also the proceedings of the 2011 conference *Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri (1867-1928) tra storiografia artistica, museo e tutela* (ROVETTA, SCIOLLA 2014).

74 See also CIAMMITTI 1994; 1997. Only 120 of the drawings were later ascribed to Cantarini, while the remaining sheets were attributed to artists from his school or who worked under his influence.

75 VALLI 2016, pp. 40-41.

76 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers, II s., b. 195, fasc. 374.10, Ricci to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 12 February 1901 (also in SICOLI 2013, p. 227, n. 90; draft in ASPB, Archivio vecchio, II parte, pos. 8, fasc. 163; see also GIOLI 2004, p. 122).

77 See CECCHINI 2013a, pp. 52-57; LEVI 2004b, pp. 58-60. Ricci proposed something similar for Naples too: "Dell'importanza di tali raccolte è prova la passione onde oggi si cercano i più piccolo documenti grafici che possano illustrare una storia […]. Formato il primo nucleo […] si verrebbe ad ampliare di disegni, quadri e fotografie e vi si preparerebbe agli studiosi d'oggi ed ai futuri, largo pascolo di ricorsi, di riflessioni e di mezzi illustrativi alle opere di argomento napoletano" (BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carte Ricci, b. 22, fasc. 165, s.fasc. 5, *Relazione intorno al modo e alle condizioni necessarie pel riordinamento della quadreria raccolta nel R. Museo di Napoli*, 23 March 1897).

("Nessun'altra cosa potrebbe meglio preludere a una mostra d'arte antica d'una città, che una raccolta di documenti grafici e iconografici intesi a mostrare, per quanto è possibile, il suo aspetto antico, le sue trasformazioni, i suoi costumi, o i suoi uomini più famosi").[78] The increasing attention towards photography as a means to document the territory and its monuments led him to create instead a photographic cabinet (the "ricetto fotografico") which would develop in the subsequent years thanks to several bequests to include pictures documenting the territory and artworks.[79] Rather than a form of artistic expression with its own independent characters, Ricci believed photography to be instrumental to historical and critical studies of works of art:

> L'invenzione della fotografia e dei mezzi affini di riproduzione ha giovato fortemente agli studiosi ed ai critici d'arte […]. Ma se la grande invenzione è stata ed è in mille guise dai singoli istituti o dai privati utilizzata ed applicata, non vedevamo però che si fosse pensato a raccolte pubbliche dove i prodotti di essa si trovassero in numero cospicuo e disposti con ordine.[80]

By 1907, the photographic archive was made up of three sections: "geografica (con le vedute delle singole citta, dei castelli e dei paesaggi), iconografica ed artistica, tutte tre disposte alfabeticamente, ossia per nomi di luoghi, di persone ritratte e d'artisti".

Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri: a temporary display for drawings and a project for prints

When the Pinacoteca di Brera opened its doors to the public in June 1904

78 RICCI 1904, p. 55

79 See CURZI 2008; see Ricci's essays on photography: RICCI 1899; RICCI 1905.

80 RICCI 1907, p. 277. Already in 1887, Adolfo Venturi urged his fellow scholars to take advantage of photography in their work: "I Tedeschi corrono l'Europa, su e giù pei Musei, con rotoli di fotografie; e gl'italiani invece sono divenuti sedentari, e poco fanno uso della fotografia che rafforza la reminiscenza" (VENTURI 1887, p. 231). On the use of photography by art historians between the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, see FERRETTI, CONTI, SPALLETTI 1985; LEVI 2010).

to present its new arrangement,[81] old master drawings were not yet on view: the display would be set up only in 1904 thanks to Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri. A few months after his arrival to Brera, Ricci obtained permission to relocate to the Uffizi and the new director, Giorgio Sinigaglia, took over his position as director among sharp criticism.[82] Ricci left instructions on how to proceed with the arrangement of drawings, which was closely curated by Malaguzzi Valeri. Gustavo Frizzoni, Ludovico Pogliaghi and Luigi Cavenaghi collaborated with him in selecting 319 drawings out of the 585, as Ricci described in his letter to the Ministry of Public Education:

> Visitati i disegni stessi, per mia preghiera, dai signori Frizzoni, Pogliaghi e Cavenaghi, essi pure furono d'avviso che solo una parte di essi fosse opportuno di esporre; e il dott. Francesco Malaguzzi, ispettore, fu di ciò incaricato. Il lavoro è riuscito benissimo e sarà certo utile agli studiosi, che da tempo reclamavano l'esame di una raccolta, che senza essere della primissima importanza è però assai notevole, da troppo tempo rimasta nascosta negli scaffali dell'Accademia.[83]

Not only must have Ricci discussed with Malaguzzi Valeri how to prepare the drawings for display; even after his departure, Ricci was updated on every step of the procedures:

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81 The event was highly praised in the press and specialised journals: see for example MALAGUZZI VALERI 1903; COMANDINI 1903; see also SICOLI 2013, p. 221, n. 40.

82 Sinigaglia, who remained in charge until 1908, was not considered suitable to direct the Pinacoteca di Brera because of his background and studies; he was criticized, among other things, for not having a proven track record of art historical publications relating to art represented in the collection of Brera. The reactions to his appointment are well described by SICOLI 2013, pp. 218-219. See also the article Luca Beltrami published on *Il Marzocco* in November 1903, entitled 'Il Direttore X della Pinacoteca Y' (BELTRAMI 1903).

83 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 195, fasc. 374.10, Ricci to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, 12 February 1904. The remaining drawings were "custoditi in cartelle a forma di scatole che debitamente li riparano e a disposizione di quegli studiosi che – dietro autorizzazione e sotto sorveglianza diretta – desiderassero farne oggetto di osservazione" (ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, *Relazione dell'Ispettore dell'esposizione di disegni antichi nella R. Pinacoteca di Brera,* 5 June 1904).

> Terrò conto delle tue osservazioni a proposito dell'esposizione di un certo numero dei disegni di Brera. Avevo già in animo, ad ogni modo, di coprirli con grosse tendine verdi da alzare soltanto di volta in volta che qualcuno volesse esaminarli: aggiungi poi che ben pochi son fatti con tecniche delicate e con lumeggiature a biacca, tolta la cena di Gaudenzio e qualche altro. Ma comunque vorrei anch'io che l'esposizione fosse temporanea come tu mi consigli e sarà così. Intanto sto classificando e ordinando i disegni. Procedo anche nel catalogo.[84]

This letter is crucial: firstly, it shows that cataloguing activities proceeded in parallel with plans for the display; secondly, it reveals that, in spite of his request to the Ministry to keep drawings "sempre in mostra", Ricci was indeed concerned with the possible dangers deriving from permanent display (on the contrary to Kristeller, according to whom temporary display was primarily useful for the possibility of extending the amount of sheets of display). Furthermore, Malaguzzi Valeri mentioned that he came up with the idea of using green curtains to protect the drawings, the same which were in use in several museums abroad (see for example John Ruskin's recommendation for the National Gallery, discussed above).

In May 1904, a first group of drawings was put in glass cases ("bacheche di cristallo") in room no. XVII, which hosted paintings of the Lombard school. The promised green curtains were not already in place, because the light there was not judged to be particularly harmful, and that was one of the reasons why room no. XVII had been chosen. The room was also wide enough to have the cases in the centre, leaving enough space to museums visitors to walk around and enjoy paintings or drawings, according to their interest.

> Sto curando l'esposizione dei disegni. Son già a posto le vitrine, nella sala XVII, nel mezzo. Il Cavenaghi avverte che, non essendoci disegni a bistro, non avranno a temere l'azione della luce che dal vetro là è moderata: poi provvederò per le tendine. Avrei avuto caro che tu li vedessi ancora prima di esporli. […] Ordinai i disegni per scuole e seguendo, in piccolo, il tuo ordinamento generale.[85]

Malaguzzi Valeri informed Ricci that the drawings were ordered "per

84 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, vol. 110, c. 21029, Malaguzzi Valeri to Ricci, 17 March 1904.

85 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, vol. 112, c. 21027, Malaguzzi Valeri to Ricci, 16 May 1904.

scuole", to match the general arrangement adopted by Ricci for the museum paintings. A sign on top of the cases gave the name of the painting school, while a smaller sign placed under each drawing provided the name of artist, dates and brief information about the artist and the subject. The display started with the Veneto school and continued following geographical areas ("[…] scuola veneta, lombarda, parmigiana, ferrarese, Bolognese, Genovese, romana, napoletana e francese"),[86] in chronological order, until the end of 18th century. Apart from two monochromes by Lucas van Leyden and a few others drawings, which were placed next to their related painting schools because of their size,[87] this overview of art on paper ("[…] preziosi per la conoscenza intima dell'artista" and "[…] aiuto insperato alle ricerche dei caratteri delle diverse scuole")[88] was all concentrated in one room, together with "[…] preleonardeschi […] leonardeschi" and "[…] i pittori di Cremona e di Lodi".[89] As mentioned before, room no. XVII was chosen because of its moderate amount of light and because its size, but according to Malaguzzi Valeri stylistic similarities played a role too:

> […] per il fatto che accoglie anche quadri dei tardi pittori lombardi del periodo eccletico, mi sembrò la più adatta a dar ricetto a disegni che per la maggior parte spettano appunto ad artisti dei quali l'eccletismo è il carattere principale. Alla scelta di questa sala influirono anche altre considerazioni: le sue vaste dimensioni, - così che le vitrine disposte in quadrato all'ingiro, verso il mezzo del locale, non inceppano la circolazione e non tolgono di osservare da qualunque punto di vista i dipinti appesi alle pareti – e il fatto che la luce vi piove moderatamente dall'alto e acconsente di osservare in modo perfetto tanto i disegni stessi quanto i pochi che – per esser riprodotti sul retto e sul tergo dello stesso foglio – fu necessario collocare, fra due cristalli, in apposite vitrine nel centro della sala stessa.[90]

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86 RICCI 1907, p. 273.

87 "Quanto a due interessanti monocromati di Luca di Leyda […] pel carattere della loro esecuzione e per esser tirati su telaio e in cornice, ho pensato che sia preferibile dar loro posto fra i quadri delle relative scuole, tanto più considerato che altri disegni, che per le loro dimensioni male si adatterebbero sotto vetrina, si trovano già appesi alle pareti, in cornice e sotto cristallo, fra i dipinti delle scuole cui appartengono" (ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, *Relazione dell'Ispettore dell'esposizione di disegni antichi nella R. Pinacoteca di Brera,* 5 June 1904).

88 MALAGUZZI VALERI 1906, n.p.

89 RICCI 1907.

90 ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, *Relazione dell'Ispettore dell'esposizione di disegni*

By the end of the month, the arrangement was completed:

> Ho ultimato la disposizione dei disegni. La raccolta è riuscita bene e piace: vetrina, carta di fondo e ordinamento piacquero a Frizzoni e compagnia bella. Ne ho esposti circa la metà, i migliori con cartellini (stampati) esplicativi e altri, con indicazioni della scuola generiche, in latta come quelli dei quadri.[91]

A second *tranche* of drawings was set up in September 1904, when the director Giorgio Sinigaglia requested the Authorisation to buy new glass cases:

> […] alcune vetrine e adattamento di altre già esistenti, per la esposizione dei disegni antichi nella sala XVI di questa Galleria […]. La predetta spesa [300 *lire*] è di assoluta necessità, non potendosi tenere oltre occulti agli studiosi tali preziosi disegni e provvedere nello stesso tempo alla loro conservazione e sicurezza date le numerose richieste di artisti e visitatori.[92]

Dividing his time between office work and field inspections, Malaguzzi Valeri managed to complete a report on the drawings, that Sinigaglia sent to the Minister Fiorilli so that it could be published on *Le Gallerie nazionali italiane: notizie e documenti*. Before being published, the *Relazione dell'Ispettore dell'esposizione di disegni antichi nella R. Pinacoteca di Brera* had to be approved by Venturi, whose handwritten editing and comments to the text show that he did not like it at all. Venturi sharply criticised the text, both for its content and the method used by its author,[93] especially

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antichi nella R. Pinacoteca di Brera, 5 June 1904.

91 BCR, Archivio Corrado Ricci, vol. 110, 21028, da Malaguzzi Valeri a Corrado Ricci, Milano, 26 maggio 1904.

92 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II p., b. 195, fasc. 374.10, Direttore della Pinacoteca [Giorgio Sinigaglia] to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 24 September 1904.

93 See the copy of the text stored in ICG, ASGS, Documenti Venturi, *Relazione dell'Ispettore dell'esposizione di disegni antichi nella R. Pinacoteca di Brera,* 5 June 1904. Venturi corrected the essay in several points ("La scuola del Costa si tenne non a Ferrara ma a Bologna!"; "Ma non è difetto particolare del Bastianino!"); he also criticised the use of certain terms ("Foga nel Guercino? O freschezza?"; "dubbio significato?"; "come domandavano?") and even added some grammatical remarks. It looks like he stopped the revision once reached half of the text, as he

for not making proper comparisons among drawings and for not taking into account further crucial elements necessary for an all-around analysis of drawings: paper, watermarks and collecting stamps. The *Relazione*, however, served as basis for the 1904 article *I disegni della Pinacoteca di Brera* published on *Rassegna d'Arte*;[94] confronting the two texts (at least in the first part), it seems that Malaguzzi Valeri accepted most revisions made by Venturi. The important value attached to the display of drawings as well as the open minded attitude towards the educational power allowed by photographical tools, led Malaguzzi Valeri and Sinigaglia to publish the 1906 catalogue *I disegni della R. Pinacoteca di Brera* even before the comprehensive catalogue of the Pinacoteca (published in 1908).[95] The catalogue contained, however, only a selection (94 sheets) of the total amount of drawings owned by the Pinacoteca and it included some of the Italian drawings originally housed in the Accademia di Brera as well as others which had arrived in the meantime as bequest. Lavishly illustrated (a reproduction was provided for each listed drawing), the catalogue is introduced by a short text by Malaguzzi Valeri, where reasons are given for his choices (why a catalogue of drawings, why a museum display, why that kind of selection, why that kind of format). Combining together the 1904 article and the 1908 catalogue, we find once more underlined the value attached to drawings ("I disegni son documenti preziosi per la conoscenza intima dell'artista […]"),[96] but also some interesting insight on the categories of public for which catalogue and display were designed:

> […] il divulgare i migliori esemplari della collezioni di Brera contribuirà precisamente al controllo delle attribuzioni e alla

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wrote down: "non vale la pena di rivedere questo cestone di bucce!".

94 MALAGUZZI VALERI 1904.

95 MALAGUZZI VALERI 1906; MALAGUZZI VALERI 1908. In 1907, the publisher Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche distributed *La Pinacoteca di Brera*, a history of the museum ("sulla scorta dei documenti") written by Corrado Ricci (RICCI 1907). The 1906 catalogue of drawings was the first of a series of museum catalogues of drawings collection, in handbook format, made by the publisher Alfieri& Lacroix based in Milan; the following ones were devoted to the drawings of Palazzo Bianco in Genoa (GROSSO, PETTORELLI 1910); of the Musei Civici in Pavia (SORIGA 1912) and of the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice (FOGOLARI 1913).

96 "[…] in essi egli rivela spontanea, genuina l'anima propria che si estrinseca – spesso con una foga che non si troverà nel quadro di cui quel disegno è la prima idea – senza preoccupazioni e senza vincoli di scuole. La critica moderna ha trovato negli schizzi degli antichi maestri un aiuto insperato alle ricerche dei caratteri delle diverse scuole […]" (MALAGUZZI VALERI 1904, n.p.).

> maggior conoscenza delle opera d'arte a vantaggio degli studi: ciò ch'è la ragion d'essere delle pubbliche raccolte. […] Per le riproduzioni si è scelto un formato piccolo […] al fine di render più comodo e pratico l'albo e, rendendolo tascabile, permettere con facilità i confronti diretti fra questa e le altre raccolte.[97]

The concept of the catalogue required a small format so that the portable book could be used to make comparisons among drawings and among drawings and paintings, an activity shared by all kinds of visitors. The 1904 article, however, also highlighted that the drawings display was especially appreciated by artists ("già attirano la viva attenzione dei visitatori e l'interesse degli studiosi, in particolar modo degli artisti");[98] moreover, in 1905 Sinigaglia asked the Ministry to approve the publication of an *albo* reproducing (through the heliotype process) at the expenses of the publisher Luigi Battistelli thirty of the best drawings on display in room no. XVII; the book, which was then put on sale at the museum, was "pensato in modo particolare per gli artisti, mentre il catalogo descrittivo generale della pinacoteca sarebbe informato ad altri criteri e rivolto più che altro agli studiosi".[99] In spite of the principles behind the R.D. of 1882, that also informed Ricci's decision to remove drawings from the Accademia (i.e. ancient art should be separate from contemporary art), these displays were enjoyed by art historians and artists alike.

Once the display was set up and the catalogue published, Malaguzzi Valeri (who became director of the museum in 1908) did not stop caring for the ancient drawings. Although they kept being described in relation to paintings (in 1909 the director called the collection "un'appendice importante della Pinacoteca"),[100] and apart from the supposed match with Lombard paintings, Malaguzzi Valeri wished to set up an independent room to present them: "Non rimane che augurarci che sia possible […] disporre i disegni in una sala apposita dove il visitatore possa osservarli senza esser distratto dai dipinti appesi alle pareti".[101] Lack of space, time

97 MALAGUZZI VALERI 1906.

98 *Ivi*, p. 161.

99 ACS, MPI, AABBAA, III vers., II s., b. 197, Sinigaglia to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 17 April 1905. It was perhaps the Ministry's refusal to exempt the publisher from paying reproduction taxes that interrupted the project (the only *albo* published in this period of time was the 1906 one by Alfieri&Lacroix).

100 MALAGUZZI VALERI 1909, p. 144.

101 *Ibidem.*

and resources prevented Malaguzzi Valeri to turn his project into reality, nor did he manage to set up a similar dedicated department to prints, as Paul Kristeller had suggested ("Raccolta numerosa di stampe, la quale sarebbe da unirsi con quella dell'Accademia di Belle Arti").[102] The Pinacoteca di Brera owned a few prints only, resulting mainly from bequests, casual acquisitions and relocation from the Accademia. It was again Kristeller who in 1896 had suggested to enrich the collection by acquiring prints from the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense – the relocation never happened, perhaps because the prints were considered of little interest for the museum. Described in the 1892 *Statistiche* as "[…] una collezione di stampe, non spregievole per numero ma composta quasi esclusivamente di incisioni e litografie della fine del secolo scorso e presente",[103] the collection was made up of *Vedute*, historical subjects, devotional prints, portraits, reproductions of artworks. The vast majority of prints housed in the library had arrived there during the first sixty years of 19th century, as a result of *the legge sul deposito obbligatorio degli stampati delle calcografie* of the Lombardo-Veneto Kingdom.[104] Malaguzzi Valeri was mostly interested in prints reproducing artworks, and he also wished he could add all those produced in Lombardy.

> […] se i mezzi oggi certamente non adeguati alla importanza della galleria lo permetteranno, sarà vantaggioso pensare a raccogliere, come altra appendice alla Pinacoteca e utile materiale di studio, le vecchie stampe, che oggi si van facendo sempre più rare e di cui da pochi fortunate raccoglitori si fa volentieri incetta, sottraendoli a quella libera osservazione che solo in una pubblica galleria è possibile. Un primo nucleo, molto modesto, s'è già raccolto presso la Galleria Braidense; ed è quello delle vecchie stampe che riproducon quadri della Pinacoteca. Intorno a quel primo nucleo s'è aggiunto qualche altro esemplare per doni e per acquisto. La serie potrebbe essere arricchita almeno con le stampe eseguite nella regione e con quelle, ancor facilmente rintracciabili a mite prezzo, del secolo XVIII che così felice ed esuberante produzione lasciò in questo ramo piacevolissimo dell'arte.[105]

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102 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424, Kristeller to Ministero della Istruzione Pubblica, 30 May 1896.

103 *Statistiche* 1892, p. 68.

104 MAZZOCCA, GOZZOLI 1979, p. 13. On the prints of the Braidense, see MAZZOCCA 1991; FALCHETTI 1991.

105 MALAGUZZI VALERI 1909, p. 144.

Overall, Malaguzzi Valeri proved to be keener on the creation of a separate departments for prints than Ricci, in spite of the latter's deep involvement in the failed attempt to set up a print room in Parma. But neither the Count nor his successors managed to launch a coherent programme of acquisitions to enrich the Pinacoteca of Brera with prints. Bequests were rather casual, although some donors were truly inspired by the possibility of setting up a "gabinetto delle stampe"; in 1904 "La Marchesa Matilde Stixa Malvolti di Milano dona 56 incisioni di scuola italiana e Francese, diverse del Della Bella, del Mariette, del Viviani ecc. con l'augurio che presso la R. Pinacoteca di Brera si trovi modo d'istituire un gabinetto delle stampe come in altre grandi Gallerie".[106] But the situation remained confused for quite some years. The first inventory of prints and drawings, compiled by Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua in 1937 (*R. Pinacoteca di Brera / Milano / Disegni*, manuscript copy) shows that prints and drawings were both stored and registered together: the "armadio dei disegni" contained prints too ("Altre incisioni sciolte, nell'armadio dei disegni"); the *registro dei disegni* also contained "Incisioni entro una cartelletta segnata A, sulla costola", listing 41 sheets.[107]

The relationship with private collectors: Morelli's drawings and Frizzoni's deposit

> […] questa collezione di disegni, segue quel progresso che è necessità di tali grandi istituti, pei quali i perfezionamenti consigliati dagli studi e dalla pratica son ragione della loro esistenza. E come il favore sempre più consolante del pubblico che v'accorre è prova della giusta fama che il nome glorioso di brera vanta già nel mondo intellettuale, così è da augurarsi che al grande istituto sia dato modo, anche per l'avvenire, di mantenersi sempre

106 ASPB, Archivio deposito, pos. 15-Pinacoteca, I s., cart. 3, fasc. 6, s.fasc. 2, *Elenco di opere donate del 1904* (report signed by Giorgio Sinigaglia), 17 June 1904. See TARDITO 1991, p. 64; CERIANA 2004, p. 82 (bequest's entry; the author acknowledges that there is no information whatsoever on the donor and on the precise quantity of prints gifted to the museum); PESCARMONA 2015, n.p. All records related to bequests of this period are quite general and lack details: another document listed "24 stampe di diverse epoche" which entered in the museum between 1903 and 1907 ("23 o 56 incisione di scuola italiana e francese": ASPB, Archivio deposito, pos. 15-Pinacoteca, I s., cart. 3, fasc. 14).

107 PESCARMONA 2015, p. 2. The location of the Dell'Acqua's inventory, normally stored in the archives of the Pinacoteca of Brera, is at the present moment (May 2019) unknown.

degno della sua rinomanza.[108]

With these words, Malaguzzi Valeri concluded his 1904 article on *Rassegna d'Arte* devoted to the collection of drawings displayed at the Pinacoteca di Brera. Not only did he praise the importance of putting drawings on view to fulfil the mission of cultural institutions such as the Pinacoteca di Brera; he also stated that the increasing amount of visitors proved how valuable and popular the collection had become. Starting from the following year, Malaguzzi Valeri faced another significant piece of evidence demonstrating the excellent reputation the museum had established: several collectors decided to bequeath their drawings (and, less often, their prints) to the Pinacoteca; by 1909, the collection comprised 850 sheets. To the *ispettore*, this flow of gifts was a consequence of 'his' display of works of art on paper, which was extremely well received among collectors in Milan: "[…] ne fu talmente apprezzata l'utilità per gli studi di confronti con incominciaron presto a pervenire numerosi doni da benemeriti collezionisti – i fratelli signori Grandi, il cav. Giulio Sambon, il signor Luigi Battistelli, il cav. Francesco Dubini, il nob. Guido Cagnola, l'arch. Luca Beltrami, il prof. Francesco Novati".[109] Besides, the city had a rooted tradition of drawing connoisseurs, whose elitist view of museums had anyway led them to support initiatives aimed at disclosing their private treasures for the city (see for instance the 1881 exhibition at the Poldi Pezzoli Museum).[110] As

108 MALAGUZZI VALERI 1904, p. 164.

109 MALAGUZZI VALERI 1906, n.p. See CERIANA, QUATTRINI 2004, where a short entry is given for each of these donors (Battistelli: pp. 93-95; Beltrami: pp. 33-35; Cagnola: pp. 61-64; Dubini: pp. 96-100; Grandi: pp. 82-86; Novati: pp. 101-102; Sambon: pp. 102-105).

110 Gustavo Frizzoni reviewed the 1881 exhibition on the French art history journal *L'Art*, praising the importance of such rare occasions to see drawings in a public display, considering that they had been neglected by State collections for a long period of time: "Que les nations civilisées se préoccupent de plus en plus de compléter le domaine matériel de leur patrimoine artistique, c'est une chose aisée à comprendre et qui en fait s'est accomplie dans la mesure du possible. Mais comme malheuresement ce précieux domaine s'est trouvé de tout temps plus exposé que tout le reste aux accidents causés tantôt par l'ignorance, tantôt par les vicissitudes du temps, il faut reconnaître qu'il ne nous est parvenu que bien diminué et défiguré par des mutilations et des lacunes. C'est un sujet de regrets des plus vifs pour l'histoire de l'art. Si l'on songe encore qu'une grande partie de ce qui en reste tombe entre les mains de simples particuliers, et est ainsi presque toujours soustraite aux études des observateurs, ceux-ci doivent saisir avec gratitude toutes les occasions qui leur sont offertes de voir ces collections éparses réunies dans une exposition publique" (FRIZZONI 1881, p. 307). On drawings

the incoming gifts required to be communicated to the public, bequests were included in the 1909 catalogue compiled by Malaguzzi Valeri; at the same time, plans were made to put them on display, especially those by ancient masters, perhaps because they created continuity with the first group of drawings obtained from the Accademia di Brera. Francesco Dubini, for instance, gave "41 disegni di antichi maestri, tra cui un disegno attribuito a Boucher, due schizzi del quattrocento, un ritratto di scuola francese, un "battesimo" dell'Albani, un disegno a penna del Lanino, un altro del Carpioni, e un nudo di scuola michelangiolesca", shortly after the bequest was formalised, the museum director Sinigaglia informed the Ministry that, once obtained the necessary funds to prepare the display cases, the gifts would be put on view ("Essi […] saranno esposti nelle maggiori sale della Pinacoteca").[111]

Among the numerous bequests of drawings which came to the Pinacoteca during the 1910s, the most important one was made by Gustavo Frizzoni, who chose to adopt the formula of a temporary deposit rather than of a permanent bequest: "[…] un deposito preziosissimo da parte del dott. Gustavo Frizzoni che volle dare una nuova prova del suo affetto per la collezione Braidense, consegnando un buon nucleo di disegni di antichi maestri amorosamente raccolti e sapientemente indentificati dal senator Morelli".[112] Frizzoni had inherited the precious collection of ancient drawings (including sheets by Raffaello – then recognised as forgeries made in the 17th century – Pollaiuolo, Parmigianino, Lucas Cranach, Perin del Vaga, Jacques Callot, Adriaen Van Ostade, Claude Lorrain, Agostino Carracci, Domenico Piola, Luca Cambiaso, Tiepolo, Giulio Bonasone) gathered by his mentor Giovanni Morelli, after the latter's death in 1891. The complex events that eventually led Morelli's drawings to be split up between the Castello Sforzesco, the Pinacoteca di Brera, the Ambrosiana, the Uffizi and the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, have already been reconstructed by Cristina Rodeschini Galati,[113] but some further elements can be added to the story, in particular as far as the Pinacoteca di Brera

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collections in Milan and the so-called 'Morelli circle', see MOTTOLA MOLFINO 1993; MORANDOTTI 2008 (1993); ANGELINI 2013.

111 ASPB, Archivio deposito, pos. 15-Pinacoteca, I s., cart. 3, fasc. 6, s.fasc. 2, Sinigaglia a Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 26 March 1906 (draft). See also *ivi*, Toesca to Dubini, 14 march 1906.

112 MALAGUZZI VALERI 1906, n.p

113 On the collection of drawings assembled by Morelli see ROSSI 1987, BORA 1988 and 1994, in particular the essays by Giulio Bora and Cristina Rodeschini Galati (BORA 1987; 1988; 1994a; RODESCHINI GALATI 1987; 1988; 1994).

was concerned. Morelli had assembled his drawings for study purposes (not to "farne una galleria, ma per studiare meglio le specialità tecniche di quei maestri")[114] and had wished to give the drawings to the civic museums of Milan, in whose collections he had put much effort (for example by suggesting a project to set up a civic museum of sculpture).[115] Indeed Frizzoni gave some of those drawings to the Museo Artistico Municipale (at that time located at the Giardini Pubblici in Milan), as proven by a letter (not dated) written by Ugo Frizzoni to Charles Loeser and by the 1899 catalogue of the museum ("La sala d'angolo è riservata ai disegni di maestri antichi raccolti dal senatore Giovanni Morelli che li lasciò al dott. Gustavo Frizzoni, il quale volle anticiparne la donazione al Museo").[116] However, despite Morelli's will, in June 1905 Frizzoni offered 75 of the remaining drawings to the Regia Pinacoteca. Malaguzzi Valeri described the proposed gift to the Ministry as follows:

> […] avendo constatato l'utilità dell'esposizione al pubblico degli antichi disegni di questa Pinacoteca e approvatane la collocazione e la cura con cui sono custoditi e perfettamente riparati dalla luce […] il dottor Frizzoni che da principio aveva pensato a favorire la collezione municipale del Castello Sforzesco si è indotto ora a preferire la Pinacoteca Braidense come quella che, lontana dalle influenze esterne e dai possibili cambiamenti d'indirizzo per mutamenti di pubbliche amministrazioni, offriva migliore garanzia di stabilità, a pro' degli studi d'arte.[117]

The letter gives an insight into two of the presumably various and complex reasons why Frizzoni preferred Brera to the Museo Artistico Municipale. The former is related to the way the drawings were kept at the Pinacoteca: it seems that Frizzoni appreciated both their location and their order (arranged by schools in a room comprising paintings from the Lombard school) and the measures taken to protect them from light

114 See AGOSTI 1985, p. 35.

115 See FIORIO 1994; ANDERSON 1994.

116 CAROTTI 1899, p. 405. The letter, held in the private archive of the Frizzoni family, is quoted by RODESCHINI GALATI 1994, p. 57, n. 13 ("[…] poco tempo dopo la morte del maestro, egli si affrettò a consegnare al Museo Civico di Milano buona parte dei disegni lasciatigli dal Morelli […]"). The drawings are now part of the Gabinetto dei disegni of the Castello Sforzesco: see ROSSI 2012 and SALSI, GIACON 2018.

117 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908-12), b. 44, fasc. 15, Malaguzzi Valeri to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, 19 June 1905.

(such as the glass cases equipped with green curtains). On the contrary, Morelli's drawings at the Museo Artistico Municipale were housed in the so-called Sala della Torre, located on the first floor of the Corte Ducale (today room no. XX). The room was occupied by "monete, le medaglie e le placchette", while "attorno sono esposti lungo le pareti molti disegni di maestri antichi",[118] including those of Morelli. It is likely that Frizzoni considered the display method adopted at the Pinacoteca far more suitable for the scholars who wished to enjoy drawings without being distracted by objects of minor importance such as medals and coins. Another reason may be that, according to Frizzoni, the sheets could better suit the collection of drawings already housed at the Pinacoteca, rather than the rather casual profile of the collection of the Museo Artistico, which resulted from heterogeneous bequests from citizens and from abolished religious institutions in the local area.[119]

From his words it is possible to infer that indeed Malaguzzi Valeri's display choices and conservation measures adopted played a crucial role in stimulating the growth of the collection (as it happened in Rome too). As a connoisseur, Frizzoni's goal was to "[…] sottoporre al giudizio e al godimento del pubblico intelligente" precious drawings by putting them on display. In the official request, which reached the Pinacoteca in October 1905, he therefore asked if the museum was ready to "[…] accoglierli ed esporli, colle debite norme e precauzioni, nella sale di codesta pinacoteca, ricevendoli come semplice deposito temporaneo, non inferiore a un anno, garantendo al Sottoscritto stesso il suo inalterato diritto di proprietà dei suaccennati disegni, in modo ch'egli abbia la facoltà di ritirarli, ogni qualvolta lo credesse opportuno".[120] The drawings were brought to the Pinacoteca on 13 December 1903.

The "deposito preziosissimo"[121] by Gustavo Frizzoni, which had contributed to study and communicate the collection, was however still property of its owner; as such, no law or regulation could forbid him from taking back what was his. The conditions of the deposit stated in fact that Frizzoni was allowed to "ritirare la collezione quando non la credesse sufficientemente custodita e apprezzata o per altra ragione

118 CAROTTI 1900, p. 307. After 1906, drawings were moved to another room together with paintings, in the big Sala della Cancelleria (today room no. XXVI). See FIORIO 1994, p. 20.

119 See ROSSI 2012, pp. 51, 56.

120 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908-12), b. 44, fasc. 15, Frizzoni to Direzione Pinacoteca di Brera, 22 October 1905 [copy forwarded to the Ministry; the original letter is in ASPB, but its location is unknown].

121 MALAGUZZI VALERI 1906, n.p.

analoga indipendentemente da limiti di tempo".[122] In 1911 Malaguzzi Valeri's hopes for the promised bequest were destroyed when Frizzoni decided to take away almost all Morelli's drawings from Brera:

> [Frizzoni] desidera ritirare i disegni da lui dati in deposito nel 1905 a questo Istituto, e ciò allo scopo di ordinarli, catalogarli e tenerli per suo godimento in casa propria. Manifestai al F. il rincrescimento mio e del Ministero per tale sua deliberazione […]. Il dott. Frizzoni ha accennato al suo desiderio di riavere i disegni per goderseli, ma in realtà noi siamo convinti che, in vista delle sue condizioni economiche poco floride, egli abbia intenzione presto o tardi di venderli, nonostante il desiderio del Senatore Morelli – un desiderio soltanto – che il fondo dei suoi disegni, lasciato per testamento in proprietà al dott. Frizzoni, restasse con destinazione pubblica a Milano.[123]

Only three sheets (two heads by Giulio Romando and Carlo Dolci's David with Golia's head) were left to the museum. Of the remaining drawings from Morelli's collection, the majority was sold on the market and the bulk of the sheets went to Charles Loeser and then to the Fogg Art Museum.[124]

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122 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908-12), b. 44, fasc. 15, Frizzoni to Direzione Pinacoteca di Brera, 22 October 1905 [copy forwarded to the Ministry; the original letter is in ASPB, but its location is unknown].

123 *Ivi*, Modigliani to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, 26 April 1911.

124 See RODESCHINI GALATI 1988 AND 1994; M.C. 2004 (with a biographical overview on Frizzoni). In 1905, Frizzoni had spoken at the International Artistic Conference in Venice in favour of private collectors 'threatened' by the 1904 *Catalogo degli oggetti di sommo pregio per la storia dell'arte appartenenti a privati* (Law no. 242, 27 June 1903, published on the *Gazzetta Ufficiale del* Regno no. 307, 1903) hoping for a mediation-negotiation between the Government and private collectors (see AGOSTI 1994, pp. 47-48). The *Catalogo* included prints and drawings too (but not those owned by Frizzoni): in a letter written on 29 June 1903, Count Santorre di Santarosa was asked to point out "[…] quali stampe e incisioni di importanza veramente grandissima, così da avere il carattere di sommo pregio richiesto dalla legge, si trovano presentemente in Italia in proprietà di privati" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 237, fasc. 476, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione to Santorre di Santarosa, 29 June 1903).

5.3 Corrado Ricci from the Uffizi to the Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti: steps forward in the conservation of art on paper

Corrado Ricci director of the Gallerie Fiorentine: new spaces for the Gabinetto disegni e stampe

On 12 October 1903 Corrado Ricci was appointed Soprintendente of the Regie Gallerie di Firenze, which included not only the Uffizi but also the Gallerie di Palazzo Pitti, the Accademia and the Museo Nazionale del Bargello.[125] Many of the urgent problems he had to tackle were common to most museums in Italy, and several of them concerned issues of access and safety of the collections: risk of fires; lack of space, of proper light conditions and of staff; degradation of the buildings. However, the situation of the Uffizi gallery was even more complex than elsewhere because of the large amount of artworks housed there and because of the reputation of the museum and of the city of Florence. During his short time as Soprintendente (in October 1906 he was appointed Direttore Generale per le Antichità e Belle Arti at the Ministry of Public Education), Ricci planned and performed a radical rearrangement of all art collections housed in the Uffizi: he selected which artworks were worth being kept on display; verified and updated their attribution; arranged paintings by regional schools following a chronological order; and promoted several acquisitions directed, above all, to less represented Italian schools.[126] Florentine paintings were in fact the real protagonists of the museum, but Ricci also wanted the Uffizi to show the development of national art as a whole, in line with those principles he had learned from Venturi – in spite of their recent disagreements. Along with the 'scientific' side of collection management, Ricci also coordinated significant conservation and restorations measures, a topic he was particularly keen on and on which he had been writing since the beginning of the 1880s on the *Fanfulla della Domenica*.[127]

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125 The Superintendencies were the novel kind of peripherical offices of the Ministry, with a completely new kind of tasks and distribution system on the territory. Established in 1903, they were divided in three categories: for monuments; for archaeological museums and sites; for painting galleries and art objects (see DALLA NEGRA 1992, pp. 184-185).

126 On Ricci's activity in Florentine museums between 1903 and 1906, see INNOCENTI 2003; STROCCHI 2005; PAOLUCCI 2008; FAIETTI 2013, pp. 383- 384.

127 See the series of articles entitled 'Ristauri e ristauratori', published on the *Fanfulla della Domenica* between October 1883 and January 1884 (listed in PAPI 2008a, pp. 145-148); see also CECCHINI 2012, pp. 151-155.

Although he only stayed in Florence for roughly three years, Ricci played a fundamental part in redesigning the organisation of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi. As his previous experiences in Parma and in Milan had shown, Ricci was strongly interested in drawings and prints for their documentary value; this led to the creation of the *Raccolta storico-topografica fiorentina*, a topographic section made of prints and photographs housed in the collection of drawings and prints ("una sezione iconografica di stampe e fotografie da conservarsi nel gabinetto dei disegni e stampe").[128] Moreover, as he had done at the Pinacoteca di Brera, Ricci set up an *Archivio fotografico*, a photographic cabinet aimed at archiving photos depicting artworks, places, and events to support all kinds of scholars in their research.[129] He placed a great value on both these new sections of the Gabinetto, and took care that the funding allocated to the Gabinetto – which had its own budget autonomy, in contrast to the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe – could be divided among its sections according to their respective needs.[130] The importance given to documentary genres impacted new accessions, which, as reconstructed by Miriam Fileti Mazza, were directed to strengthen the new-born topographic and iconographic sections (see for example the 11,000,000 portraits bought from the Brugnoli librarian in Bologna). But this was not all, and the Gabinetto grew in other fields too. Keen on enriching the museum with modern and contemporary artworks, which were chosen both among paintings (such as those by Franz von Stuck and John Singer Sargent) and works on paper, Ricci promoted significant acquisitions:

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128 This section grew intensely also through accessions of drawings, pastels and oil paintings (see GAMBA 1935, p. 154).

129 "I vantaggi che s'avrebbero da questa specie d'archivio fotografico sono evidenti. Ognuno potrebbe ricercarvi molti dei documenti grafici che gli abbisognano pei suoi studi; né solo gli sprovvisti di mezzi vi troverebbero un giusto aiuto ; ma tutti indistintamente, ricchi e poveri, dalla quantità del materiale raccolto e dalla regolare disposizione d'esso, sarebbero grandemente agevolati nel lavoro e nella ricerca" (AGU, Filza 1903, pos. 1, dir. 41, Ricci to Direttore dell'Ufficio Regionale per la Conservazione dei Monumenti; a full transcription is provided by INNOCENTI 2013, p. 373; see also FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 113).

130 See the distribution of subsides in the first financial year after Ricci left the Uffizi (1907-1908), which also included the raccolta iconografica and the library: "Durante l'ultimo esercizio finanziario venne apportato un notevole incremento alle varie collezioni grafiche degli Uffizi con una spesa complessiva di oltre L. 13000, così ripartite: a) per il gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe, compresa la raccolta storico topografica fiorentina, L. 7814; b) per l'archivio fotografico, L. 937; c) per la raccolta iconografica, L. 186; d) per la biblioteca artistica, L. 4234" (*Notizie. Musei e gallerie* 1908, p. 398).

among them, eight coloured engravings by Carlo Lasinio (1759-1838), 206 drawings by Michele Ridolfi (father of Enrico Ridolfi, vice director of the Florentine Gallerie in the 1880s) and eleven etchings by Anders Zorn (1860-1920), a contemporary Swedish artist, selected by Ricci himself. Nevertheless, he did not fail to recognize the importance of purchasing ancient drawings and prints when these were available on the market; before he left Florence at the end of 1906, Ricci entrusted to the museum 500 old master drawings belonging to the Bolognese marquis Francesco Malvezzi as well as the collection of the Guidi family from Faenza, which included Italian, German and French prints from the 16th and 17th centuries.[131]

The crucial contribution Ricci gave to the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe was the reorganisation of its spaces through the creation of a proper study room and new storages where the great amount of works on paper could be allocated. Upon his arrival in 1903, a selection of the best drawings from the Medici collection was permanently displayed in the last rooms along the *terrazza* on the Loggia dei Lanzi; prints instead were "nei ripiani dello scalene [sic]" and in the first part of the corridor that leads to Palazzo Pitti. The rest of the collection was housed in separate rooms, shared with the museum staff, with complex issues of accessibility that affected both staff and scholars. Remembering the way the collection was stored, in 1910 Roberto Nobili described it as a "piccionaia, a cui si accedeva con una scala a chiocciola, – chi non ricorda le pericose ritorte di certi scalini così prodighe di ruzzoloni agli studiosi –";[132] a situation remembered also by Carlo Gamba in 1935, who described the Gabinetto as "Stanzacce da retrobottega". The situation, in short, was considered almost embarrassing, given the prestige of the Uffizi and of its holdings, which were visited and studied by the most prominent scholars of the time (for instance the by then permanent resident in Florence Bernard Berenson, who in 1903 published his *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters of the Renaissance*):

> Il deposito dei disegni e delle stampe costituenti la più anziana e la più celebre, se non addirittura la più cospicua, tra simili raccolte sarebbe stato indecente per qualsiasi museino di provincia;

131 See Ferri's letter to Ricci in March 1906, proposing and motivating the acquisition (AGU, filza 1906, pos. 7, ins. 8, Ferri to Ricci, 28 March 1906). In order not to waste the opportunity, Ricci paid out of his own pocket (*ivi*, committment letter signed by Ricci and Malvezzi, 4 March 1906). Ferri prepared a report also to support the acquisition of the Raccolta Guidi (*ivi,* pos. 7, ins. 4, Ferri to Ricci, 17 July 1906). See FILETI MAZZA 2014, p. 115.

132 NOBILI 1910.

> figurarsi per uno dei principali Istituti artistici governativi! Stanzacce da retrobottega arredate nel modo più rozzo nelle quali si scendeva per una botola mediante una scala a chiocciola posticcia. Pensare che ivi risiedeva un Ispettore addetto e che ivi convenivano i più illustri studiosi, allora per lo più stranieri, per esaminare i nostri tesori, che facevano invidia al Mondo intero![133]

The increasing amount of scholars visiting the Gabinetto called for an update of the spaces where the collection was stored; the lack of study rooms for the close examination of drawings and prints had been deplored already in 1897 by Charles Loeser, who wished Italian museum could have one "ordinata sul tipo di quelle di Londra, di Berlino e di Dresda, dove si possano senza difficoltà studiare i disegni, come nelle biblioteche si va per consultare i libri".[134] In the eyes of the director, however, the relocation of drawings and prints was an urgent matter not only for the needs of its visitors and for its status (according to Gamba, Ricci wanted "un vero e proprio gabinetto dei disegni e stampe, degno di stare a petto dei meglio organizzati stranieri"),[135] but also to pursue a more rational organisation of the museum spaces in general: "Gl'ispettori non hanno modo di stendere libri, schede, fotografie. La libreria si trova lontana, in un altro locale, cui non si accede che con gran Perdita di tempo e tutto l'Archivio fotografico è confinato nel cavalcavia che conduce al Palazzo della Signoria".[136] For this reason, in 1905 Ricci asked permission to move the collection of drawings and prints, together with the library and the photographic cabinet, from their respective locations to the rooms on the upper floor of the nearby Palazzo di Giudici, previously occupied by the apartment where Desiderio Chilovi, former director of the Biblioteca Nazionale, used to live. This rehousing of different kinds of study material would have allowed a better distribution of resources available to scholars, on the one hand, and more suitable space for the museum employees, on the other. But since the apartment was eventually assigned to the Biblioteca Nazionale, in 1909 the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe was moved to the four rooms on the first floor of the Uffizi, previously occupied by self-portraits which were moved to "nuove sale appositamente costruite".[137]

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133 GAMBA 1935, p. 153.

134 LOESER 1897, p. 342.

135 GAMBA 1935, p. 153.

136 AGU, filza 1903, pos. 2, Ricci to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione [Leonardo Bianchi], 8 June 1905. Quoted in INNOCENTI 2013, p. 347.

137 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carte Ricci, b. 19, fasc. 123, s.fasc. 1, *La mostra delle*

Discussion around the rationalisation and re-organisation of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi took place roughly at the same time as the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome; the new print rooms opened to the public in December 1906 (in Rome) and in December 1909 (in Florence). What is important to underline here is not which one of the two institutions first decided to create a study room or first decided to concentrate all functions and services of the Gabinetto in a series of adjacent rooms; it is far more interesting to note that archival records (both personal and official ones) as well as articles in the press and specialised journals do not mention any contact or connection between the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica and the Uffizi in this regard. If on the one hand Rome was the political and administrative capital of Italy, on the other it was hard to affirm that Italy had one sole cultural capital, and that the primate entirely belonged to Rome. The appeal of Florence was still extremely strong and, more concretely, the concentration of masterpieces at the Uffizi made it, for some, *the* Italian museum of national ancient art. As shown in the previous chapter, around 1899 it was already quite clear that the two institutions were implicitly competing with each other to acquire certain drawings and prints; by 1903, when the German model had been understood an partially adopted by each of the two institutions, the two museums were run by Ricci and Venturi, who were at the worst point of their professional and personal relationship. It might be possible, then, that while in other museums such as in Naples nobody failed to acknowledge that the idea to organise temporary displays was inspired by what Venturi did in Rome, the tacit rivalry between Ricci and Venturi and between Florence and Rome might have led Ricci to never openly admit that those changes he promoted at the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi also derived from the direction taken by the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe. Only the art critic Ugo Ojetti (1871-1946), in his article published on the *Corriere della Sera* (10 December 1903), quickly mentioned the 'nice example' offered by Venturi in Rome as far exhibitions were concerned.[138]

The display of art on paper is another aspect that must be taken into account when analysing Ricci's activity at the Uffizi Gabinetto disegni e stampe. Shortly after he joined the Florentine Gallerie on 1 November 1903, Ricci made his intentions for the Uffizi public, and his plans for the collections of art on paper resounded in the Italian press as well as English, German and American.[139] In Italy, both the article published by

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stampe di Francesco Bartolozzi.

138 OJETTI 1903.

139 See for instance the articles published on *Il Giornale d'Italia*, 20 April 1905; *Il*

Ojetti and the one, not signed, which appeared on the *Il Marzocco* ten days later, mentioned the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe and the foreseen temporary exhibitions: "Anche i provvedimenti intesi a tutelare l'integrità dei disegni van lodati incondizionatamente, come va lodata l'idea delle mostre periodiche […]".[140] After insisting on the lack of decorum of the current arrangement of drawings, Ojetti provided some more interesting details. He specified in fact that time had come to remove drawings as well as prints from their eternal display, as it caused damages to the paper and to the visible signs too:

> Molti dei disegni adesso sono esposti in misere bacheche indegne della magnificenza del luogo e del contenuto, lungo le vetriate dei corridoi; altri nel salone e nelle tre sale in fondo al corridoio occidentale. Ora è impossibile lasciarli, come le stampe eternamente lì dove il bistro s'illanguidisce, la biacca si ossida, la punta d'argento svanisce, e la carta si ingiallisce e fiorisce. Nelle due nuove sale, disegni e stampe saranno chiusi in armadi eleganti ed adatti, e se ne potranno – sull'esempio dato a Roma alla galleria nazionale di Palazzo Corsini di Adolfo Venturi – organizzare due o tre volte all'anno mostre speciali, con abile vicenda.[141]

It was the first time that physical and chemical decay were so strictly associated with permanent display of art on paper, and perhaps the first time that the topic made it to the national news. It was a turning point, which was soon followed by a similar announcement, made in a far more official context.

The 1906 circular letter on the damages of light on works on paper

On 25 June 1906, the Direzione Generale per le Antichità e le Belle Arti issued a circular letter signed by the Minister Guido Fusinato, entitled *Danni che l'azione della luce produce sui disegni e le incisioni esposte in pubblico* (Appendix, document 38). Judging from the pre-typed sentence in the lower lefthand corner of this document (which reads: "Al Direttore della RR Galleria di"), we can assume that all directors of the ancient art

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Piccolo della sera, 2 May 1905; *Neue Bürcher Zeitung*, 7 February 1904; *The Times*, 25 April 1905, p. 6; *Boston Evening Transcript*, 16 November 1904 (excerpts of these articles are in BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carte Ricci, b. 19, fasc. 123, s.fasc. 3).

140 'I propositi di Corrado Ricci' 1903, p. 5.

141 OJETTI 1903, pp. 1-2.

Regie Gallerie of the Italian State were meant to receive this rather short letter, which informed them of the harmful effects of light and of certain storage systems on art on paper. The *incipit* of the letter reports that the Commissione Centrale per i Monumenti e per le Opere di Antichità e d'Arte, a consulting committee established by the R.D. no. 341 of 17 July 1904,[142] after having tackled the topic of conservation of drawings and prints, had concluded that both mediums were subject to two kinds of serious damages:

> La Commissione Centrale per i monumenti e per le opere di antichità e d'arte, in una delle sue ultime adunanze, ha richiamato l'attenzione di questo Ministero sui danni gravissimi, che l'azione della luce produce sui disegni e le incisioni esposte al pubblico, e su quelli non meno rilevanti che si hanno dal tenerli ammucchiati e in contatto fra loro negli albi e cartelle, o compressi in volume.[143]

The warning does not include remarks on dust and insects, which over the 19th century were the first cause of conservation concern related to

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142 Established in 1904 through the *Regolamento per l'esecuzione delle leggi 185/1902 e 242/1903*, and approved with R.D. no. 431, 17 July 1904, the committee was composed by 18 members led by the Minister of Public Education. Apart from the Direttore Generale per le Antichità e Belle Arti, all other members were appointed by Royal Decree and they were chosen among experts in the fields of art history, history and archaeology. Divided in two sections (one for monuments and the other for antiquities and art), the activity of the committee ran parallel to the Superintendencies and the other organs of the Ministry; its members formed in fact a sort of advisory board, as they had to provide guidelines and suggestions concerning issues relating to protection and conservation of national heritage. When it was established, the committee was composed by Felice Bernabei (president), Arduino Colasanti (secretary), Luigi Adriano Milani, Antonino Salinas, Giulio De Petra, Emanuele Loewj, Giacomo Boni, Gherardo Ghirardini (*Sezione per le antichità*); Emilio Visconti-Venosta (president), N.N. (secretary), Gustavo Frizzoni, Luigi Cavenaghi, Adolfo Venturi, Camillo Boito, Alfredo D'Andrade, Antonio Fradeletto, Corrado Ricci, Benedetto Croce, Ugo Ojetti, Primo Levi (*Sezione per i monumenti e le opere d'arte del medioevo e dei tempi posteriori*). Together with another advisory organ, the Giunta Superiore di Belle Arti, the Commissione Centrale was replaced by the Consiglio Superiore delle Antichità e Belle Arti, established by the Minister Rava as a result of R.D. no. 386, 27 June 1907 (see DALLA NEGRA 1992, pp. 187-188; RAGUSA 2011, pp. 108-109).

143 ICG, ASGS, B-Mostre 1906, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Fusinato] to Direttore della Regia Galleria d'arte antica Roma [Hermanin], 25 June 1906. This is one of the two copies retrieved (the other one is in the archive of the Pinacoteca di Brera: ASPB, Archivio vecchio, I parte, pos. 2, fasc. 2).

art on paper; the text is focused instead on harm caused by light, on the one hand, and by unsuitable storage systems, on the other. These were all but new issues for Italian museum collections: already in the 1880s, German scholars had warned against permanent display of prints and drawings; likewise, in 1892 Venturi had described to the Commissione Permanente per le Antichità e le Belle Arti the inadequacy of the system for the "conservazione delle incisioni", in the step with Kristeller's remarks on the frictions caused to prints pasted in albums.[144] Until the beginning of the 20th century – apart from a few observations made by Pasquale Nerino Ferri – *ispettori* and museum directors did not seem to be overtly preoccupied by light or by storage conditions; however, starting in 1903 both issues had been brought up – although sporadically – by Corrrado Ricci, Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri and the safety committee of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe. The 1906 circular letter was the first official document in which safety of works on paper – both drawings and prints together, on the same level – was not only presented as a priority *per se*, but was also considered so important to be worth of a specifically devoted communication issued by the Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti. The only aim of this letter was to raise awareness on this crucial issue; this was in contrast to the above mentioned remarks, which were comprised either in private letters exchanged between museum directors and *funzionari,* or in broader contexts (such as Venturi's discussion on conservation methods, which in fact was aimed at pushing for an update of display and storage practices in order to bring Italian museums on the same level as other European countries).

The statements contained in the letter lack details concerning which kinds of paper or ink, or which kind of technique, were most affected by exposure to light. Thanks to the progress made in conservation science since the 1950s, knowledge of chemical and physical aspects of paper has considerably improved; it now allows museum curators and restorer to better understand how to tackle issues related not only to restoration but also to handling, display, storage and loans. Among other things, we

144 ACS, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, notes for the Commissione Permanente di Belle Arti, 5 January 1892 (published in MARIANI 2001, pp. 129-130). As explained in chapter 1, if on the one hand the collecting practice of assembling albums allowed drawings and prints to survive, on the other it was the very first cause of degradation. Some measures adopted by collectors such as cutting, pasting, framing (probably on chemically unstable materials including cardboards, tapes, adhesives), folding, mounting (with acid migration from materials surrounding the paper artefact), and unmounting had brought about physical, above all, but also chemical damages to the paper (see JAMES 1991b, pp. 109-126).

now know that the introduction of straw and wood fibres in the paper-making process after the 1850s made paper much more unstable if compared to paper produced from pure textile fibres. Furthermore, we know that there are relatively light-stable works (i.e. old master black ink on paper prints; old master drawings in black white, or sanguine chalks on paper; India ink drawings on good quality paper), while other media and supports are more sensitive to light (i.e. coloured ink drawings, drawings and prints on coloured or acidic paper/boards, watercolours, pastels, Japanese prints and any work which is frequently exhibited).[145] We also know that, in spite of these distinctions, all works on paper are subject to cumulative and irreversible damage from exposure to light (among its immediate effects there are alteration of pigments; discolouration and photosynthesis processes); and that, given its hygroscopic nature, paper can easily absorb and eject the humidity present in the air. Since the 1980s, when conservation science applied to art on paper jumped forward, curators and restorers started to fully grasp safety problems related to display and storage practices: for example, that prints and drawings framed and exhibited in the past have been damaged not only by light but also by being in contact with the glazing, which was one of the causes of moisture condensation; that the use of storage furniture made of wood brought about the risk of contamination through insects; and that the first metal shelves and boxes might have contributed to create moisture too.[146] It is hard to figure out to

145 See the *Guidelines for lending works of art on paper* issued by the Print Council of America, 2015, no. 2.4.6, *Intensity of Exposure*. See also BRÜCKLE 2001; HOLBEN ELLIS 2014 (with short essays and excerpts providing an historical perspective in the conservation of works of art on paper). Short and controlled exposure to natural and artificial light has been used, combined with a high degree of humidity, to help whiten certain kinds of paper produced before the mid-19th century (see HORTON 1988). I am grateful to Gabriella Pace for the fruitful exchanges on these topics during my visiting period at the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome.

146 Several manuals of paper conservation were published during the 1980s: see for example Federici and Rossi's *Manuale di conservazione e restauro del libro* (1983), Crespo and Viñas' *La preservación y restauración de documentos y libro en papel* (1984); the American Institute for Conservation's *Paper Conservation Catalog* (1984) and Zappalà's *Introduzione agli interventi di restauro conservativo di beni culturali cartacei* (1990). This rich collection of studies on conservation issues went in step with the first attempts to create guidelines not only within individual institutions (such as exhibitions policies adopted at the Louvre in the 1970s – see COURAL, DESSERRIÈRES, JULIER 2013, p. 334, n. 60), but on national and international level too: in 1974, the International Advisory Commitee of Keepers of Public Collections of Graphic Art issued *A code of practice for the transportation and care of drawings and prints loaned for temporary exhibitions*, whose paragraphs 11 and 12 provide instructions, respectively, on display and lighting

what extent Italian *conservatori* understood these chemical and physical processes and in particular the reactions brought about by sun rays, artificial light and temperature variations – whose fluctuations increased considerably after the introduction of radiators. Since the beginning of the 19th century, the European debate revolving around restoration practices was mostly limited to the field of private collecting – before the arrival of restoration handbooks in France, auction catalogues used to feature a series of remarks on the physical state of prints –[147] and it was more concerned with restoration of prints and books rather than of drawings, whose damages were perhaps considered irreversible.[148] At least in France and in Germany, the most popular manual on restoration of prints was the *Essai sur l'art de restaurer les estampes et les livres,* first published in Paris in 1858 by the writer, collector and bibliophile Alfred Bonnardot (1808-1884), and translated in German in 1859,[149] while modern and freshly-researched manuals on paper restoration directed to museum curators appeared only in the later 1930s (such as 1937 *The Conservation of Prints, Drawings, and Manuscripts* by Harold Plenderleith). In Italy, neither the dedicated care of Bencivenni Pelli and of his successors for works on paper, nor chemists' discoveries – such as Antonio Porati's (1742-1819) remark on fading iron-gall ink – were enough to build the basis for a professional debate that only sparked during the 20th century. Some of the abovementioned concerns for the safety of sheets show that some scholars in Milan and Rome were indeed aware that certain objects were more fragile than others ("Il Cavenaghi avverte che, non essendoci disegni a bistro, non avranno a temere l'azione della luce che dal vetro là è moderata: poi provvederò per le tendine"; "[…] ben pochi son fatti con tecniche delicate e con

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(MACANDREW 1974, pp. 17-21). Nowadays, most countries have developed their own guidelines concerning storage, display and lending practices for works on paper, but these regulations are rarely binding; for Italy, see the *Atto di indirizzo sui criteri tecnico-scientifici e sugli standard di funzionamento e sviluppo dei musei* – especially Ambito VI, Sottoambito I, "*Gestione e cura delle collezioni*" – drafted by a working group established with Decreto Ministeriale of 25 July 2000 (JERVIS, ARAMINI 2002, p. 175).

147 See FOURCADE 1995.

148 PETRIOLI TOFANI 1981, p. 22.

149 BONNARDOT 1858; Christopher Sokolowski studied Bonnardot's *Essai* in the light of its contemporary context and evolution of scholaship (SOKOLOWSKI 2013). In Germany, the concern for deterioration of paper was especially felt for documents and records; this led to the establishment (1880s) of a research center sponsored by the German State in order to study paper qualities (see MAYER 2013, p. 157)

lumeggiature a biacca";[150] "Assetto di tutte le stampe a fumo, perché più soggette a deperimento entro ai volumi, per il contatto di altri fogli"),[151] but this kind of specialised conservation knowledge was not officially established. Although this must have been the main reason why the 1906 letter described light and storage-related harm in such a broad way, it is also worth remembering that the Minister sent the letter to all art museum directors of Italy, who were not necessarily specialists in conservation of works on paper; consequently, the communication strategy must have been that to be concise enough in order to effectively convey the main issue to all: permanent display of drawings and prints, as well as their permanence in ancient albums, caused harm to the sheets.

Before moving to the concluding part of the 1906 letter, it is worth asking what were the sources of such a novel preoccupation for this category of artistic objects. The fourth issue of the 1906 volume of *L'Arte* informs us that Corrado Ricci played a crucial role in this situation: "Nell'ultima adunanza del Comitato centrale per le belle arti, Corrado Ricci molto opportunamente richiamò l'attenzione de' colleghi sui danni apportati dalla luce a disegni esposti al pubblico. Speriamo che sieno prese disposizioni per evitare i danni manifesti".[152] The meeting of the Commissione took place in September 1906, an important month for Ricci: on 8 September, he was nominated director of the Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, a post he officially took up on 1 October.[153] This was the beginning of a key season for the Italian history of protection of cultural heritage. As shown by Roberto Balzani, Ricci's position – on the top of the pyramidal structure that administered cultural heritage within the Ministry of Public Education – combined with the action of two other liberals, Giovanni Rosadi and Luigi Rava, was decisive for the elaboration, in three years, of the fundamental law no. 364 of 20 June 1909, the so-called *Per le antichità e le belle arti*. Thanks to this pivotal law, the clash between the rights of the nation and private

150 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 110, c. 21027, Malaguzzi Valeri to Ricci, 16 May 1904; *ivi*, c. 21029, Malaguzzi Valeri to Ricci, 17 March 1904.

151 ICG, ASGS, Miscellanea, n. 19, Commissioni di Vigilanza, Commissione di vigilanza [but written by Venturi?] to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, Direzione Generale [Antichità e Belle Arti], 3 July 1900.

152 'Cronaca' 1906a, p. 310.

153 'Cronaca' 1906b, p. 234. The precise dates are also available in Ricci's personal folder in the archive of the Italian Senate, see: <http://notes9.senato.it/web/senregno.nsf/All/765EED7F44D52FDE4125646F005EF8F4/$FILE/1890%20Ricci%20Corrado%20fascicolo.pdf> (accessed 2 June 2019).

property was solved with the victory of the former.[154] What interests us about Ricci's move from the Gallerie Fiorentine to the Direzione Generale is that soon after his new prestigious appointment he decided to raise the issue of conservation of prints and drawings in the Commissione Centrale; this was in fact the best place where the point in question could be turned into a recommendation valid for all State museums in the country. Some documents held in Ricci's personal archive prove that indeed he devoted time and effort to study the problem of conservation of works on paper, and of drawings in particular. Among his notes there is indeed a handwritten report (whose handwriting has not been identified yet) entitled *Riproduzioni di otto disegni degli Uffizi assai deteriorati dall'azione della luce per essere stati esposti al pubblico dall'anno 1866 al 1892 (26 anni)*, which describes the damages caused by light on drawings from the Uffizi collection kept on display for several years. Accompanied by photographic reproductions mounted on four cardboards (figg. 5.II-5.IV), the report analysis the physical state of eight loose sheets made with different techniques and on different kinds on paper; moreover, it compares some of them to other drawings which had never been on display. On the first cardboard there is the reproduction of a *San Girolamo kneeling down* in pen and watercolour on paper, made by Parmigianino, which is described as "Quasi del tutto svanito". On the second, the photograph of a watercolour drawing by Jacques Callot depicting a 17th-century nobleman is pasted right next to a very similar drawing made by the same artist, but never displayed in the museum; the label reads ("Quasi del tutto svanito come risulta anche dal confronto con l'altro disegno simile […] conservato in cartella"). The third and the fourth cardboards have, respectively, four and three four drawings by Beato Angelico, made of pen on parchment.[155]

Two other facts might have contributed to pushing Ricci to present his claim and to convince other members of the Commissione of the urgency of the point in question. Firstly, it is important to remember that those

154 DALLA NEGRA 1992, pp. 198-204 (see pp. 212-244 for the transcription of all laws passed between 1902 and 1908); BALZANI 2003; both the bill and the law are also transcribed in EMILIANI 2015, pp. 179-235. In 1906 Corrado Ricci was also appointed member of the committee in charge of studying possible amendments to laws no. 185, 12 June 1902 and no. 242, 27 June 1903, related to the conservation of monuments and artistic objects (see 'Cronache' 1907a and 1907b).

155 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carte Ricci, b. 19, fasc. 123, s.fasc. 3. The cardboard with the two drawings by Callot is published, but without any remark, in STROCCHI 2005, p. 32. The drawings are available on the Euploos online catalogue (inv. no. 2491 F; 1028 E; 96 E; 102 E; 95 E; 98 E; 99 E; 100 E; last inv. no. is unknown).

years were characterized by an increased attention for the safety of State museum and library collections. Greater awareness on safety-related issues derived from individual episodes (such as the fire occurred on 25-26 January 1904 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin); from the impossibility to further postpone pre-existent problems (for instance the presence of apartments inside museums, used by guardians or *ispettori*); and from the introduction of technologies that improved visitors' experience and facilitated museum staff in their work, such as heating or artificial lighting systems.[156] Secondly, it is worth remembering that only a few years previously the Italian Parliament passed the first comprehensive laws for the defence of art since the creation of the Italian State: law no. 185 of 12 June 1902 *Per la conservazione dei monumenti e degli oggetti d'antichità e d'arte* – the so-called 'legge Nasi', which established the *Catalogo unico* – and law no. 242 of 27 June 1903, *Sull'esportazione degli oggetti di antichità ed arte* – the so called 'leggina'. These two laws had defined which categories of objects were by law considered cultural heritage of the nation; they really made a difference with the previous measures taken – as shown in the second chapter – mainly to catalogue and to protect archaeological items and paintings.[157] Both laws included

156 See for example the special committee led by the physicist Pietro Blaserna (1836-1918) appointed in 1904 by the Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando (1860-1952, in charge 3 September 1903 - 27 March 1905) in order to study safety measures to be applied in State institutions (*Relazione della Commissione per lo studio delle norme di sicurezza da seguirsi nell'applicazione dei sistemi di illuminazione e di riscaldamento dei monumenti nazionali, musei. Gallerie, biblioteche, archivi e collezioni di proprietà ed alla dipendenza dello Stato*, in *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, II, 27, 1904, pp. 1435-1437). See also the circular letter of 21 October 1903 sent by the Minister Nasi to museum directors, stating the necessity of assessing external conditions before planning restoration measures (ASPB, Archivio antico, II parte, cassetta 14).

157 Before 1861 some pre-Unification laws concerning the protection of cultural heritage included prints. The so-called 'first' Editto Pacca (*Editto sopra le scritture, e i libri manoscritti*, 8 March 1819), issued by Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca, whose aim was to deprive the Vatican State of documents and other archival materials, extended its scope to "libri stampati […] carte incise in Rame, o colorate […]" (see EMILIANI 2015 [1978], pp. 79 – the law is transcribed on pp. 77-80; SPERONI 1984); in order to fight against the loss of artworks from the territory, between 1817 and 1819 the Kingdom of Lombardy and Veneto passed a regulation that prevented the export of artistic objects, and that included prints too: "[…] oggetti d'arte tanto in [*ordine] di Pittura, Scultura, Incisioni, come di Tipografia e Codici manoscritti […]" (11 November 1817, see EMILIANI 2015 [1978], p. 124 – the law is transcribed on pp. 124-125); "Resta d'ora in avanti proibita in tutta l'estensione della Monarchia l'estrazione all'Estero di Quadri, Statue, Antichità, Collezioni di monete, ed Incisioni, Manoscritti rari, Codici e prime Edizioni […] quegli oggetti d'Arte, e Letteratura, che contribuiscono al decoro, ed

prints ("[…] stampe ed incisioni rare e di pregio") belonging to public institutions, religious bodies, brotherhoods and *fabbricerie*,[158] while drawings were never explicitly mentioned – likely because they were implicitly included within the category of paintings. A further observation is here possible. A multiple, complex and varied object such as a print is only defined through the adjectives "rare e di pregio": so, a print was considered (and it still is, according to the 2004 *Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio*, Legislative Decree no. 42, 22 January 2004, art. 10.4.c) to be a national treasure, worth protection, because of its rarity and its aesthetic qualities. The execution regulation of both laws, issued in 1904 but never applied, provides further details on the value of prints. It introduced in fact a distinction between prints made before the year 1500 and those made after: article no. 255 of the *Regolamento* stated that "[…] le stampe, le incisioni […] non posteriori all'anno 1500" – so implicitly considered more valuable - were subject to an export tax; while article no. 256 stated that "[…] le stampe e le incisioni dal 1500 al 1800", although not subject to an export tax (together with paintings, sculptures and any other artistic object made by living artists but created within 50 years) had to be submitted to the "R.R. Uffici di esportazione" or "Uffici speciali per l'esportazione" in order to obtain an authorisation (*nulla osta*) before the exportation.[159]

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all'ornamento dello Stato, […]" (10 February 1819, see EMILIANI 2015 [1978], p. 137 – the law is transcribed on pp. 137-138). A similar regulation was adopted in Emilia-Romagna in 1857: "Resta sin d'ora proibita l'estrazione dallo Stato dei quadri, statue, antichità, collezioni di monete, medagli e incisioni, manoscritti rari, codici e prime edizioni, in generale di quegli oggetti appartenenti alle arti belle e alla letteratura, la perdita dei quali si conosca difficilmente riparabile" (art. 12 of the *Tariffa daziaria degli Stati Estensi*, 1857; see EMILIANI 2015 [1978], p. 176).

158 Prints are mentioned in article no. 32 (*Regolamento…* 1904, p. 14). See BORSELLINO, PAPI 2013, pp. 45-102.

159 "Oltre agli oggetti colpiti da tassa a norma degli articoli precedenti, devono essere presentati per ottenere il *nulla osta* per la esportazione: […] *b)* i libri stampati o manoscritti, i codici non miniati, le stampe e le incisioni dal 1500 al 1800. Per gli oggetti indicati alla lettera *a* e per le stampe e le incisioni indicate alla lettera *b* il nulla osta è rilasciato dai R.R. Uffici di esportazione o dagli Uffici speciali per l'esportazione di cui all'art. 15;" (*Regolamento…* 1904, p. 103). The concept of rarity applied to prints has not the same features of rarity related to drawings or to paintings: it cannot only imply the amount of artworks made by the artist but should also take into account all technical aspects specific to print production (e.g. the meaning of 'originality'; the variety of print runs according to the technique used; the collaboration among different professionals – designer, engraver, publisher). The complex issues revolving around the definition of a print according to the Italian law cannot be here discussed in

Let us go back to the letter sent on 25 June 1906 to museum directors. The second part of which informs us that some members of the Commissione were put in charge of drafting a special regulation for the conservation of drawings and prints: "La stessa Commissione ha stabilito di affidare ad alcuni dei suoi Componenti l'incarico di formulare uno speciale regolamento per la conservazione dei disegni e delle incisioni esistenti nelle raccolte dello Stato". This passage reveals that the foreseen regulation (and perhaps the circular letter too) would be only directed to State collections, excluding therefore civic museums. In the last paragraph of the letter, the Minister asks museum directors to provide the Commissione centrale with a report on the solutions so far adopted to protect drawings and prints: "Riservandomi di far conoscere alla S.V. le ulteriori proposte della Commissione e le deliberazioni del Ministero sull'argomento, prego intanto di riferirmi con cortese sollecitudine quali metodi in codesto Istituto sono stati adottati per impedire i danni lamentati".[160]

Only two replies have been retrieved so far: the drafts of the letters sent back to the Ministry from the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe and from the Pinacoteca di Brera (Appendix, documents 39 and 40). On 26 June, Malaguzzi Valeri replied to the Ministry (but the letter is signed by the director Giorgio Sinigaglia) describing the arrangement provided for drawings in Brera, which was *de facto* prepared in close collaboration with Ricci himself:

> A pena compiuto il lavoro di identificazione e di riordinamento della raccolta d'antichi disegni, prima cura di questa direzione fu d'impedire appunto l'azione deleteria della luce eccessiva su gli esemplari destinati alla pubblica esposizione. […] per fatto di ricever luce dall'alto per mezzo di un lucernario da cui la luce piove sempre modestissima data la sua esposizione […]. Ma pei disegni della Pinacoteca di Brera la maggior garanzia di buona conservazione è data soprattutto dalle vitrine che li accolgono ideate a doppio spiovente e su cui la luce non che di conseguenza direttamente e – che ha più interesse – coperte di continuo da fitte tendine verdi che intercettano del tutto la tenue luce che viene dall'alto.[161]

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detail; for a brief overview of these aspects, especially connected to the art market, see FORTE, MANTOVANI 2004, pp. 227-230.

160 ICG, ASGS, B-Mostre, 1906, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Fusinato] to Direttore della Regia Galleria d'arte antica Roma [Federico Hermanin], 25 June 1906.

161 ASPB, Archivio vecchio, I parte, pos. 2, fasc. 2, Sinigaglia [but written by

The letter also mentions the presence of a guardian who supervised visitors observing the drawings with the curtains open. Further on, the director explains that the less worthy and valuable drawings were safely stored in big folders kept in boxes, ordered by schools: "ampie buste di pelle e cartone, perfettamente al riparo dalla polvere e [*divisi] entro speciali cassette, per scuole di modo che il loro esame, per colui che desiderasse consultarli, risulti facile". In the last part of the draft, Malaguzzi Valeri stated that, according to him, this way to store works on paper was so efficient (and praised by so many scholars) that it should be suggested as a model ("oso dichiarare che il Sistema adottato da questa direzione è veramente da indicare a modello del genere"). This paragraph, however, is striked through; perhaps, the director of Brera, aware that the new Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe was being prepared in Florence, decided to erase those words in order not to 'compete' with the project curated by his 'mentor' Ricci. A few days after, on 4 July, Hermanin replied and described the well-known method "in uso nel Gabinetto delle stampe di Berlino"; furthermore, he added that the danger of light was fought by organising temporary exhibitions (which however, as we now know, stayed put for several months). In contrast to Malaguzzi Valeri, Hermanin seems not to care to present the practices in use at the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe as a national model; instead, he used the letter to ask for more funds, which at the present moment prevented the separation of sheets from their albums to proceed at full speed (implying that this delay was putting the collection at risk).[162]

As of now, no further evidence has been retrieved concerning the announced "speciale regolamento per la conservazione dei disegni e delle incisioni esistenti nelle raccolte dello Stato", neither in the Archivio Centrale dello Stato nor in State museums' archives; while further archival research might help to fill in the gap, we might already suggest that the supposed interruption of the survey concerning conservation measures for works on paper might have been due to the suppression of the Commissione Centrale per i Monumenti e per le Opere di Antichità e d'Arte, which occurred only one year after the circular was issued.

Malaguzzi Valeri, to the Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti], 26 June 1906 (draft).

162 ICG, ASGS, B-Mostre, 1906, Hermanin to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, 4 July 1906.

The 1909 exhibition on Francesco Bartolozzi at the Uffizi and the reception of Ricci's measures

In 1909 there was a concrete attempt to share and promote the message contained in the circular letter also beyond the relationship between the Direzione Generale and State museum directors: the first temporary exhibition of the Uffizi Gabinetto disegni e stampe, dedicated to the Florentine artist Francesco Bartolozzi. When Ricci moved to Rome in autumn 1906, Pasquale Nerino Ferri took over as director *ad interim* of the Florentine museums, until Giovanni Poggi officially took the post in 1909. During those years as *direttore incaricato*, Ferri carried out Ricci's plan for the collection of drawings and prints, in spite of his own initial resistance; through Poggi, Ricci supported the project all the way to completion: "Godo a sentire che le stanze delle stampe e dei disegni vengono bene. Così il Ferri si persuaderà che avevo ragione d'insistere quand'ei […] nicchiava".[163] The "Difficoltoso trasporto delle collezioni dei disegni e delle stampe nella nuova e più decorosa sede ad esse destinata ed i vari lavori di riadattamento e di addobbo" that continued "senza interruzione" gained momentum in August 1909 ("[…] mese più adatto a tali lavori, per la scarsità dei visitatori e degli studiosi"), and after one last reminder urging Ferri to conclude the relocation as quick as possible, the new headquarters of the Gabinetto disegni e stampe officially opened their doors in December 1909.[164] For the first time since the 1850s, the Uffizi had no more drawings or prints on permanent display; alternative sections of art on paper were instead to be presented through temporary exhibitions set up in large room preceding the study room. The inauguration of the new spaces took place at the same time with the opening of the exhibition *Mostra delle stampe incise da Francesco Bartolozzi* (fig. 5.V). Prints by Bartolozzi had already been successfully displayed at the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome in 1899; without ever mentioning the former exhibition, the introduction to the 1909 catalogue stressed that the 218 prints presented in Florence were "rare impressioni e di perfette prove", part of an almost complete collection that Bartolozzi himself had praised.[165] Moreover, in contrast to the events of the

163 AGU, Archivio Giovanni Poggi, Serie I, Carteggio, b. 17, Ricci to Poggi, 3 November 1909.

164 AGU, filza 1909, b. 345, pos. 7, ins. 2, Ricci to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 21 October 1909; *ivi*, Poggi to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 9 August 1909; *ivi*, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione to Ferri, 19 October 1909.

165 DI PIETRO, FERRI 1909, p. 5 (the draft of the text is in AGU, filza 1909, b. 345, pos. 7, ins. 1). The collection, made up by 1110 sheets in total, used to belong to Marquis Carlo Torrigiani, who in 1866 bequeathed the prints to the Uffizi. See also FILETI MAZZA 2014, pp. 120-121.

Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, a catalogue (fig. 5.VI) was available in Florence, "da offrirsi in dono agli invitati". According to Nerino Ferri's plans, other copies of the catalogue would also be put on sale over the duration of the exhibition ("al Prezzo, da segnarsi in copertina, di cinquanta centesimi") in order to raise money to invest on the subsequent catalogues ("e così dar luogo ad una serie di altri consimili cataloghi da pubblicarsi e vendersi successivamente in occasione delle deliberate periodiche mostre di stampe e disegni").[166] The reasons behind the choice for such an exhibition were disclosed in the introduction to the catalogue, signed by Pasquale Nerino Ferri and his new assistant at the Gabinetto, Filippo Di Pietro:

> La nuova sede più ampia e decorosa, veramente degna per così importanti collezioni, ha reso possibile di destinare una sala per lo studio delle medesime, come pure di effettuare, nel vasto salone che la precede, temporanee e speciali mostre di stampe e disegni. Con tale provvedimento, che riescirà indubbiamente di maggiore comodità per gli studiosi, si ottiene lo scopo di evitare alle preziose carte il danno di una troppo prolungata azione della luce.[167]

The text also specified that the decision to interrupt the permanent display of sheets was not the result of a new museum regulation issued by Ferri or by Poggi, but derived instead from an official and definitive source:

> L'onorevole Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione su parere del Consiglio superiore per le antichità e Belle Arti, deliberava che venissero tolti dalla esposizione permanente tanto i disegni quanto le stampe, essendosi constatato che la continua azione della luce è causa di sensibile deperimento per gli uni e le altre.[168]

The choice of a popular engraver, the importance of the museum, the international recognition acquired by Pasquale Nerino Ferri[169] and the

166 AGU, filza 1909, b. 345, pos. 7, ins. 1, Ferri to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Antichità e Belle Arti, 14 December 1909.

167 Di Pietro, Ferri 1909, pp. 3-4.

168 *Ivi*, p. 4.

169 See sections 9 and 10 of the online exhibition *The World of Yesterday": Rare Book Collection of the Library on view* (<https://www.uffizi.it/en/online-

monographic format (which reveals "assai più l'anima dell'artista di quello che non faccia un quadro isolato in una sala")[170] made the exhibition a real success both in number of visitors and reviews in the press. Riccardo Nobili (1859-1939, author of the 1922 *The gentle art of faking*), describing the first "esposizione *rotativa*"[171] of the Uffizi, commented in great detail the works on display and praised the concept of the exhibition; he underlined that several features of the Bartolozzi exhibition were especially appealing for scholars, who appreciated the curators' choice to present all techniques used by Bartolozzi ("potrebbe essere per lo studioso materia di osservazioni interessanti, di raffronti tecnici") and the possibility to compare drawings ("Quello studio che Giovanni Morelli disse il più solido che si possa fare per la conoscenza dell'arte"). At the same time, he admitted that the choice of subjects, including a section on portraits, attracted common visitors too, for whom the discussion on technique was a "noia di erudizione che sciupa il godimento dell'arte".

Appreciation for the exhibition and for the new arrangement was also manifested by other members of the Ministry. Among them, the Florentine historian Guido Carocci (1851-1916), who in December 1910 wrote an article on *La Nazione* to praise the new organisation and the choice of temporary displays to safeguard art on paper:

> Esposti di continuo alla luce sfasciata del sole, ai riflessi delle muraglie, que' fragile disegni perdevano di vigorìa, le deboli tinte illanguidivano, le vecchie carte sulle quali erano tracciate deperivano rapidamente […]. Così i disegni vennero tutti dalle vitrine, chiusi in quaderni, in cartelle, in armadi e affidati interamente a chi da lunghi anni dedica loro cure affettuosamente paterne [Nerino Ferri]. C'era anche da compensare il cosiddetto diritto del pubblico ed a questo si è provveduto con esposizioni parziali.[172]

In Venice, Gino Fogolari (1875-1941, *ispettore* at the Regie Gallerie dell'Accademia from July 1905, director *ad interim* from May 1906 and

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exhibitions/the-world-of-yesterday-rare-book-collection-of-the-library-on-view#11>, accessed 2 June 2019).

170 NOBILI 1910.

171 MAFFII 1910.

172 CAROCCI 1910; see DI CAGNO 1991, p. 99.

eventually director from December 1909)[173] implicitly took into account Ricci's principles when he informed the Minister of his plans for the architecture drawings by Giacomo Quarenghi (Appendix, document 41). The drawings, all framed, ended up in a closet somewhere on the second floor of the museum ("[…] ho tolto dal ripostiglio, dove stavano accatastate dietro gli assiti, che sostengono i grandi dipinti della Scuola di Don Giovanni Evangelista, i disegni architettonici posti dentro le cornici e sotto vetro, per metterli un poco in ordine").[174] Surprised by the way these drawings had been disposed of, and pleased of the interest demonstrated by an attaché of the art academy of Saint Petersburg – who asked them on loan – he announced that it was high time to give them a proper arrangement. Drawings would not be put, however, in frames, but in special folders, so that they could be safely stored and studied, in order to compile a catalogue ("Non più nelle cornici ma i disegni andranno posti nei cartoni da mettersi in apposite scatole, in modo che stieno bene negli armadi e si possano facilmente conservare e vedere. Così quando saranno riordinati e se ne sarà fatto il catalogo […]").[175]

Other individuals instead supported the 'right of the public' to have permanent and easy access to the collections, and therefore did not agree with Ricci's decision. In response to Carocci's article on *La Nazione*, the philosophy scholar and politician Alessandro Chiappelli (1857-1931) wrote a card to Carocci firmly defending the right of the public – and of

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173 For a biographical overview on Fogolari, see MANIERI ELIA 2007; on his first years of career in the Regie Gallerie (including these years in Venice), see VARANINI 2007. For an account of the drawings in Venice in the early 1900, see the article by Charles Loeser, 'Note intorno ai disegni conservati nella R. Galleria di Venezia' (LOESER 1903).

174 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I div (1908-1912), b. 51, fasc. 1055, Fogolari to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 20 July 1908. Allegedly for safety reasons, Quarenghi's drawings were not borrowed by the Art Academy of Saint Petersburg; the Ministry suggested to take pictures and send them to Russia so that photos could be displayed instead of drawings: "Quanto alla richiesta dei disegni stessi, fatta dall'inviato all'Accademia di belle arti di Pietroburgo per farli figurare nell'Esposizione di architettura che avrà luogo in detta città nel venuto anno, questo Ministero, dopo il doloroso esperimento all'Esposizione di Milano, non reputa conveniente di accoglierla. Si potrà solo consentire che si eseguano le fotografie dei disegni prescelti e si mandino all'Esposizione di Pietroburgo" (*ivi*, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione to Fogolari, 26 August 1908). The decision to send photographic reproductions instead of original drawings is a sign that the general increased attention for conservation aspects was also being extended to the practice of loaning artworks for exhibition purposes.

175 ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I div (1908-1912), b. 51, fasc. 1055, Fogolari to Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 20 July 1908.

the artists in particular – to freely enjoy works on paper at the museum; this priority, according to him, should even outweigh conservation issues. But Chiappelli also had a solution for the problem: he suggested, firstly, to paint the museum windows in red in order to prevent ultraviolet rays from hitting drawings on display, and secondly, to use green protective curtains:

> Plaudo a quanto ella ha scritto nella Nazione di stamani sulla mostra agli Uffizi, e plaudo caldamente. Solo qualche […] vorrei fare sul divieto deciso dal Ricci circa una più lunga esposizione permanente dei disegni degli antichi maestri. Su questo argomento intendo di tornare pubblicamente un'altra volta. Ma intanto deploro che si sottragga alla ispirazione degli artisti e alla educazione, e direi al diritto del pubblico, un tanto tesoro riservando solo l'esame agli studiosi della storia artistica. Se si tratta di proteggere i disegni dall'azione che si dice deleteria della luce, i chimici […] risponderebbero bastare che i vetri delle sale ove stanno esposti i disegni siano leggermente colorati in rosso, per impedire l'azione dei raggi violetti: altri direbbe che basta fare anche coprire le scansie di tendine verdi che si potessero aprire e chiudere agevolmente. In ogni modo un mezzo protettivo non può mancare. E d'altronde nei cartolari v'è il danno, credo ben più grave, dell'attrito, quando si deve estrarre o riporre un disegno. La cosa, sempre è degna di controversia: la questione merita d'essere discussa.[176]

The suggestion to use protective curtains was reasonable, and indeed they were already in use elsewhere (for example in Brera); on the contrary, the idea of painting windows in red sounded almost amusing to Carocci, who forwarded the card to Ricci, introducing Chiappelli's proposal with the following words: "[…] è bene che tu legga anche per giudicare la serietà dei criteri che egli crederebbe d'adottare per continuare l'esposizione permanente dei disegni. Ci pensi tu alla galleria circonfusa della luce rossa dei cristalli?".[177]

In the absence of an established body of knowledge on the hazards of public display, it is understandable that a few temporary exhibitions and some articles in the press were not enough to allow an immediate revolution to take place. As explained above, the only written guidelines were those produced in the field of private collecting, which was more

176 BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 35, c. 6865, Chiappelli to Carocci, 9 December 1910.

177 *Ivi*, c. 6864, Carocci to Ricci, 10 December 1910.

concerned with waves of taste rather than with safety measures applied in museums. It must not come as a surprise, therefore, to find a discrepancy between the direction suggested by the Direzione Generale concerning safety of works on paper and the recommendations for an optimal aesthetic enjoyment of prints as provided in the most popular guide for collectors of prints in Italy, *Brevi cenni sulle stampe (incisioni)*, written by the Lucchese lawyer and collector Ferdinando Pasquinelli, first published in Lucca in 1905 and then again in 1907. At the beginning of the sixth chapter, 'Di poche notizie che possono interessare il raccoglitore di stampe', Pasquinelli distinguished prints in "*stampe* comuni" and "stampe *propriamente* dette", suggesting to preserve the latter category "in Quadro a cornice con cristallo; e infatti per vedere il vero effetto e far risaltare la bellezza delle stampe bisogna osservarle chiuse in cornice e sotto un cristallo ben chiaro. Il cristallo dona non poco alla stampa facendola brillare".[178] Deploring certain white-washing procedures that damaged the sheets (in use for example in France since the first half of 19th century), he stated that sunlight made a print actually look better:

> Le stampe acquistano bellezza coll'azione del sole. Una stampa che abbia preso il color gialliccio normale derivante dalla luce del sole è molto più pregevole e artistica di una prova nuova uscita allora dal torchio. Per esempio: Le stampe che per anni stanno nelle vitrine della R. Calcografia di Roma, senza ripari dal sole e solo difese dal cristallo, acquistano un'intonazione di colore uniforme e sono più belle e preferibili a quelle bianchissime che si conservano nelle cartelle.

Praising the retention of the object's *patina* more for its aesthetical quality rather than for its value of evidence of the object's history, Pasquinelli suggested that a yearly cleaning was enough to guarantee the protection of the sheets: "Inutile raccomandare e ricordare che le stampe perché siano ben conservate, in ispecie se si tengono in cornici a cristallo, debbono ogni anno essere tolte momentaneamente dal quadro, esposte all'aria, e spolverate leggermente con una piuma affinché si preservino da probabili infezioni".[179] Pasquinelli was firmly convinced of the suitability of prints within public museums, as prints were, according to him, "estimabili come *cosa artistica*, al punto che nelle gallerie par giusto e conveniente di considerarle meritevoli di occupare un posto d'onore

178 PASQUINELLI 1907, p. 38; on Pasquinelli as a collector, see NERI 2006.

179 PASQUINELLI 1907, p. 40.

subito dopo i *quadri* e le *statue*". However, not only were his remarks far away from the first attempts of public collections to update their safety measures in terms of conservation of prints and drawings; he also described in great detail the prints collection the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris – quoting its *conservateur* Henri Delaborde several times - rather than referring to the two biggest and most complete *Gabinetti disegni e stampe* of Italy, which he only briefly mentioned.[180] In spite of the wording chosen for the 1902 law, where the use of the adjectives 'rare and aesthetically pleasant' indeed show a connection with the appreciation of old-master prints – whose mainstream of collecting practices had progressively narrowed over the centuries to prefer the best prints by the best masters in the best impression – contemporary collecting of prints in Italy was expanding towards new genres (*affiches*, illustrated books, postcards and litographs and etchings) which were not yet fully acknowledged within museums.[181]

Although the groundwork for scholarship,[182] museological models and conservation issues relating to prints and drawings had been already

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180 *Ivi*, pp. 33-35.

181 See what Vittorio Pica wrote in the introduction to the new section of *Emporium*, entitled *Taccuino dell'amatore di stampe*, devoted to this kind of prints: "Dopo un periodo assai lungo di disdegnosa indifferenza, le stampe, sia in bianco e nero, sia a colori, ottengono di nuovo, così in Europa, come in America, le simpatie del gran pubblico, riaccendendo in pari tempo gli entusiasmi dei buongustai raffinate e dei collezionisti. La forma eminentemente aristocratica dell'acquaforte come quella democratica della litografia trovano ogni giorno nuovi geniali cultori e suscitano ammirazioni vivaci, mentre, accanto alle svariate applicazioni divulgatrici ma non sempre di eletto buon gusto della fotografia all'illustrazione del libro, l'austera e caratteristica incisione in legno riafferma i suoi diritti d'impareggiabile decoratrice delle pagine stampate. […] Tal ritorno di favore verso la stampa artistica e tale sempre più interessante rinnovazione e sempre crescente divulgazione di essa meritano, a parer mio, di essere aiutate in tutti i modi, specie in Italia, in cui soltanto da due o tre anni gli esempi di Francia, d'Inghilterra, di Germania e di America trovano qualche ardimentoso imitatore, lottante, con successo ancora mediocre, contro l'indifferenza scettica del nostro pubblico indolente ed affatto dimentico delle patrie gloriose tradizioni d'arte" (PICA 1900, p. 72).

182 This did not mean, however, that prints and drawings were universally perceived as works of art in their own right. A meaningful example is the 1912 International Congress of Art History held in Rome. Neither drawing nor printmaking were included in the congress sessions (on the absence of drawing see FAIETTI 2014, p. 18; FAIETTI 2015). The only reference made to these two mediums concerned the possibility of using drawings, prints and photographs in museums as "quadretto illustrativo" or "commento grafico illustrativo", as suggested by the art historian Giulio Carotti (1852-1922) in his speech. According

laid down by 1909, at this point only two State museums in Italy had officially set up a *gabinetto disegni e stampe.* Other State collections of drawings and prints were kept on display: either among paintings (such as in Milan) or in a separate space, which however was not equipped with a dedicated room for study and consultation. The latter was the case of the Regia Pinacoteca in Bologna, whose 1906 guidebook shows that prints were still located in corridor no. 5, "Dedicato alla mostra delle incisioni",[183] referred to as "Galleria delle stampe" in the museum map

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to him, works on paper should be displayed next to a painting or next to fragments of frescoes to provide some context; furthermore, he proposed to equip this documentary evidence with a little curtain. His concern, however, seems not to be motivated by safety issues; instead, he thought that the curtain would help to avoid aesthetic nuisance: "[…] in un museo o galleria, l'effetto del bianco e nero o del grigio o del tono della fotografia nuoce: basterà che tale disegno o fotografia racchiuso in sottile cornice e sotto cristallo sia coperto da tendina a molla" (CAROTTI 1912, p. 462).

183 GUADAGNINI 1906, p. 132. The arrangement remained unaltered when Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri became director of the Pinacoteca in 1914. He hoped to expand the collection by acquiring drawings from the local art academy as they would suit the museum collection better than the Accademia ("Tu sai che l'accademia di Belle Arti possiede la raccolta ricchissima di disegni e albi di stampe del Bartoli. Ho finito in questi giorni di esaminarla, facendone numerosi appunti, io mi son convinto che diversi schizzi, acquerelli, stampe con vedute di Bologna dello scorcio del '700 o dei primi decenni dell'ottocento prendono le mosse da quella raccolta, che completa magnificamente le precedenti del Panfili, del Savini ecc. […] ma l'accademia non se ne vale per l'insegnamento […] non sarebbe preferibile che l'Accademia cedesse la sua raccolta o almeno gli albi con vedute bolognesi, trattenendo i grandi atlanti con progetti di decorazioni di stanze, dato che questi giovino solamente alle scuole? E (poiché una ciliegia tira l'altra) non sarebbe preferibile che gli stessi disegni dei Bibbiena e d'altri prospettivisti che non servono alla scuola di prospettiva posseduti dall'Accademia venissero dati alla Pinacoteca dove avrei in animo di metterli in onore e comunque di facilitare quell'esame al pubblico – per lo meno agli studiosi – che ora non è possibile?" (BCR, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carteggio, vol. 111, c. 21145, Malaguzzi Valeri to Ricci, 22 [December?] 1915). His wish to set up a proper *Gabinetto disegni e stampe* was only put in practice by his successor, Enrico Mauceri (1869-1966, in charge since 1929). Mauceri set up a series of rooms exclusively devoted to drawings and to prints, increasing the space given to 17th and 18th-century drawings, especially those made by Bolognese artists: "Nella prima sala a pianterreno è disposta in cornici a vetri e in bacheche una raccolta di disegni, in gran parte di pittori bolognesi dei secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII. […] In complesso, trattasi di pezzi che concorrono a lumeggiare la pittura bolognese del Seicento e del Settecento […]. La sala contigua e le due del piano superiore (corr. 26) sono destinate ad esposizioni di incisioni. La ricca collezione delle stampe, appartenente alla Pinacoteca, conservata in due apposite sale, contigue alla XXVIII in seguito a recente sistemazione, e, dietro richiesta consultabile […] è costituita di pregevoli esemplari di tutte le epoche, ma la parte più preziosa è

(fig. 5.VII). Where a request to set up a print room was indeed sent to the Ministry, such as in 1904 by Laudadeo Testi, the director of the Regia Galleria in Parma, lack of funds (or of concrete interest?) blocked the implementation of the project (Appendix, documents 35 and 36).[184]

Indeed safety and conservation issues raised by Corrado Ricci in 1906 took quite some time to turn into common shared standards across State collections. But another point is worth being raised. Concern over deteriorating prints and drawings should have been extended to every form and specimen of art of paper housed in public institutions, no matter if drawings and prints were housed in a civic museum or in a State library. As a matter of fact, Paul Kristeller's very first project, resulting from a comprehensive vision of Italian national heritage that went beyond the borders of State or civic ownership, aimed at including prints housed in all kinds of public museums and libraries in the country.[185] Instead, the points raised by the Commissione Centrale in 1906 were

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formata da numerose rarissime incisioni tedesche dei secoli XV e XVI, fra cui mirabili esemplari di Albrecht Dürer e della sua scuola" (MAUCERI 1935, p. 203; see also MAUCERI 1932a; 1932b; 1932c; 1933; 1934; 1935. On Mauceri as director of the Pinacoteca, see CIANCABILLA 2007; on drawings, see in particular pp. 220-221).

184 "[…] tanto tesoro grafico è completamente sepolto in profondi armadi e solo rari studiosi possono approfittarne. La nostra pinacoteca è poco frequentata, quando venisse arricchita d'una grande sala o gabinetto delle stampe, acquisterebbe nuovo lustro e approfittando della sala si potrebbe far conoscere più largamente, che ora non siano, i tesori artistici della nostra Galleria. […] Negli armadi si riporrebbero le cassette, uguale nella forma e disposizione a quelle della raccolta Corsiniana a Roma, ma molto meno costose. Una semplice tinta, di fondo azzurrognolo, servirebbe a far staccare le stampe in cornice, coperte opportunatamente d'un velo quando non vi fossero visitatori" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 203, fasc. 398; Testi to Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, 13 December 1904).

185 In a letter sent from Vienna in 1891, the German scholar asked Venturi to give him a list of all public print collections located in Italy, including those housed in civic museums and libraries. Ideally, Kristeller wanted to use the list to better understand the distribution of print collections across Italian cities, in order to come up with a scientific and administrative plan inspired by "un concetto ragionevole ed scientifico" (CASNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, not dated [but written in 1891]) that would have involved all institutions, no matter if they belonged to the State or to the City; for instance, he suggested to collect the prints from the Biblioteca Universitaria in Pavia (a State library) in order to give them to a civic museum, "in deposito alla Galleria Malaspina, la quale già possiede una pregevolissima raccolta" (ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II p., b. 213, fasc. 424, Kristeller to Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica, 30 May 1896). During his time in Italy, Kristeller visited several civic museums and libraries for his studies on early Italian woodcuts. At the present moment, no evidence relating to Kristeller's direct intervention on

initially thought to concern State museums only. To which extent were other institutions – such as libraries and civic museums – aware of the risks the sheets were running by being permanently on view? The answer to this question would require a considerably wider scope than this present study, but some examples can be used to suggest how complicated the situation was. Evidence shows in fact that certain institutions did not hear of or did not follow the warning issued by the Commissione centrale and, as a consequence, drawings and prints were kept on display for other decades; notable cases include the Biblioteca Classense in Ravenna, where 15th-century woodcuts were displayed under glass and lead cases until the second half of the 1930s);[186] the *Leda* ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci, which in 1926 was still reported to be on display "entro decorosa cornice intagliata in legno di noce naturale, nella saletta dei pittori lombardi su apposito cavalletto" in the Museo Artistico Municipale in Milan;[187] and the self-portrait by Leonardo da Vinci at the Biblioteca Reale in Turin, part of a group of drawings to which Volpato had devoted great care, which was permanently exhibited in 1929-1930.[188]

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civic prints and drawings collections has been found. However, the importance of civic museum's collections in shaping Italian citizens' 'local' identity was very clear in Venturi and his contemporaries' mind; therefore, it cannot be excluded that the rising attention towards the array of drawings and prints (prints in particular) in State museums might have had an impact on local museum collections too.

186 When at last Lamberto Donati's appeals advocating for a better conservation system were listened to, the woodcuts were removed from permanent display and sent to the Vatican Library for restoration, "gettando nella campagna sottostante i vetri ed i piombi che barbaramente imprigionano i più famosi monumenti della zilografia italiana" (DONATI 1936, p. 244; this was Donati's third call for better conservation and display policies of the Classense's woodcuts). During the restoration, the black pigment that covered part of the woodcuts was removed, thus erasing all evidence of the former owner Jacopo Rubieri's manipulations (see AREFORD 2017, pp. 21-39, in particular pp. 25, 34-37).

187 See FIORIO 1994, pp. 15-23.

188 See the report written by Mario Zucchi in 1932: "La Biblioteca tende a trasformarsi così gradatamente […] in un salotto, le cui pareti vengono ornandosi dei migliori disegni, tolti dalla vecchia raccolta e incorniciati in una funebre cornice di nero. Persino il famoso autoritratto di Leonardo da Vinci, sottratto alla sua gelosa custodia, viene chiuso in una modesta cornice ed esposto ai bei raggioni di sole, che entrano a fasci, di primo mattino, dalla finestra di fronte. La cosa, enorme in sé per il danno che ne poteva venire all'opera d'arte vinciana dall'azione lenta e inesorabile della luce, giunse a notizia di un Accademico d'Italia che, a scongiurare la grave e irreparabile jattura, si proponeva di chiedere l'intervento del collega Ugo Ojetti, allora – salvo errore – direttore del Corriere della Sera. Fortunatamente, prima che ciò avvenisse, la cosa fu da persone

At the same time, other examples show that indeed Corrado Ricci's reorganisation of the Gabinetto disegni e stampe at the Uffizi had an impact on civic museums too: in Genoa, for instance, Orlando Grosso (head of the Genoese Ufficio di Belle Arti e Storia) planned to set up a Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe in Palazzo Bianco Museum (1910) taking into account conservation issues raised by the Commissione Centrale. From his notes, we understand that Grosso was aware of the debate concerning the conservation of drawings and prints:

> L'esperienza ha dimostrato che luce ingiallisce ed annerisce le carte togliendo tutti i delicati effetti di [*mino nero], le inaridisce ancora rendendole friabili, consuma i disegni ad inchiostro ed ad acquarello asportando le parti tutte. Corrado Ricci si è dichiarato favorevole alla costituzione dei Gabinetti di stampe e disegni, adottati in Francia ed in Germania, ed il Lippman [sic], il Max Lehrs, il Colvin si dichiaravano contrari alle esposizioni dei disegni. É notevole sentire quello che il Lehrs diceva nel 1889 della Galleria degli Uffizi […]. La Commissione centrale per i monumenti nel 1906 faceva voti "perché si richiamasse l'attenzione dei direttori delle gallerie sui danni gravissimi che l'azione della luce produce sui disegni e sulle incisioni esposti al pubblico.[189]

However, this case also proves that the state-of-the-art methods applied at the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi and at the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe were not acknowledged everywhere; as a matter of fact, when it came to decide how to design the spaces to house

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autorevoli portata a notizia del generale Renzi nel tardo autunno del 1930; il generale Renzi disponeva immediatamente che l'Autoritratto, tolto dalla cornice e dal luogo ove si trovava in piena luce, fosse restituito alla sua primitiva sede" (BRT, Archivio storico [1831-1975], fasc. 3182, report signed by Mario Zucchi, 8 May 1932 (draft); quoted in VITULO 2012, p. 26).

189 BBG, Fondo Orlando Grosso, Carteggio, Relazioni, Relazioni del mio viaggio a Parigi, cassetto 21, cart. 34, fasc. 2, *Collocazione dei disegni. Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe*, 12 October 1910. Presumably in 1909, Orlando Grosso had already planned to reorganise the display of works on paper at Palazzo Bianco Museum by setting up "Sale dei disegni", where drawings "[…] uniti a quelli attualmente esposti nelle sale della Galleria, si dovrebbero distendere nelle quattro sale […] del piano superiore", and a "Sala delle Stampe", where the prints already belonging to the museum would have been joined by others, to be acquired on the market in order to provide the museum with a "ricchissimo strumento per la storia dei costume, dell'armi e delle costumanze […]" (*ivi*, *Sala dei Disegni*, not dated [but 1909?]).

drawings and prints, Orlando Grosso went to Paris to study the system in use at the Louvre and at the Petit Palais instead of looking at the models present in his own country.[190]

190 After studying several systems, Grosso decided to adopt the one in use at the Louvre: "L'Ufficio di Belle Arti ha studiato vari sistemi che qui espone, proponendo per come più ragionevole, meno dispendioso la costituzione d'un gabinetto di stampe e disegni ordinato usando il Sistema del Museo du Louvre"(BBG, Fondo Orlando Grosso, Carteggio, Relazioni, Relazioni del mio viaggio a Parigi, cassetto 21, cart. 34, fasc. 2, *Collocazione dei disegni. Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe*, 12 October 1910; fig. 5.VIII. See also PRIARONE 2016, p. 155).

CONCLUSIONS

The new arrangement of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome and of the Gabinetto disegni e stampe of the Uffizi in Florence, put into practice between 1906 and 1909, mark the end of a first phase in the development of *Gabinetti disegni e stampe* in Italian museums. At this point, in fact, these two institutions defined the modern typology of this specific museum department, whose structure and organisation derived – scientifically, one could say – from study and conservation requirements intrinsic to the artefacts preserved and displayed.

This thesis has shown that this accomplishment was the result of a two-phase process. The former consisted of an explicit plan, suggested and elaborated by Paul Kristeller, and partially implemented during the 1890s thanks to Adolfo Venturi, aimed at establishing an organised national system of public collections of prints (and drawings) grounded on the methods in use in other European countries. Its application led to immediate and concrete results: this 'museological turn', with the foundation of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe at its core, fostered research around prints and drawings stored in Italian collections. Within this frame, another important fact was the acknowledgment of the importance of specialised and skilled staff for the care of graphic art, both on the side of art historians (not anymore recruited from art academies) and of restorers too. The latter phase, which took place during the first decade of 20th century, was built on the 'conquered' autonomy of prints and drawings as art museum objects, and on the consequent acknowledgment that the prime function of a print room was not to provide visual historical information to be drawn on by practising artists, but instead to provide resources for art historians. During this period of time, the increased attention for conservation aspects led to admitting at central level (i.e. at the Ministry of Public Education) that to display works on paper for a long period of time could cause irreparable damages to the sheets; this would become, in time, the base principle to arrange and display graphic art safely.

In between these two phases lies the unsuccessful part of Kristeller and Venturi's project, which was aimed at solving the problems derived from the fragmentation of 'graphic heritage' across Italian institutions. Kristeller's solution consisted of two steps. Firstly, Kristeller tried to transfer artistically valuable prints from libraries to museums, with a concrete gain in terms of accessibility of the collections, but also with a loss (of which neither Venturi nor Kristeller seemed to be aware of) in

terms of collections' historical memory. Men and means – as well as adequate knowledge of the collections – were lacking for such a purpose; eventually, this resulted in a conflict between the management of museums and that of libraries, whose directors – who in most cases opposed the relocation – seemed much more concerned to preserve the history of the collection intact. Secondly, the rational arrangement pursued by Kristeller and Venturi was grounded on a system of centre and periphery, which reflected what Venturi tried to implement when he organised the *Regie Gallerie* of the country. As far as the content of the collections is concerned, this objective was not feasible. The prints of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe definitely represented history of printmaking in the most complete way, but the Uffizi could boast the same as far as drawings were concerned. As various as the other museums and libraries themselves was the diversity of works on paper kept in them: the stories behind them were too many, too diversified and too rooted within their own institutions to allow a collection to be strictly labelled as 'peripherical/local'; quite often, their consistency was the result of compromise rather than vision, and in their early days they grew rather casually and not at all in a planned way.

The comparison with foreign countries has shown that the issues faced by Italian cultural institutions as far as the management of works on paper was concerned were similar to those of museums abroad during the 19th century (such as the exchange of double prints, the centralisation of collections in the capital city, the relocation of graphic art from libraries to museums). The fact that these were shared problems make them stand out as typical of drawings and prints themselves; and it highlights even more the complexity of Italian artistic heritage, whose present status and organisation is the result of a unique combination of local resistances and institutional developments. The foundation and development of public *Gabinetti disegni e stampe* in Italy is therefore a story made of many stories: each collection is the result of a national discourse applied, adapted and translated to match several elements; the kind of works present in the collection since the beginning of its public ownership; the spaces available in the museum; the taste of its directors; the relationship with other institutions of the same city; and the impact of other countries resulting from previous cultural and political contacts.

To extend the analysis across five decades has allowed the possibility to observe the development of recurring issues such as the distribution of prints and drawings between libraries and museums, a topic which was repeatedly raised and would also be present beyond the chronological limit of this dissertation (in 1923 Hermanin would suggest to bring prints from the Lincei library together with those in the Gabinetto Nazionale

delle Stampe).[1] Another crucial point is the process of dismembering albums of prints and drawings, considered a state-of-the-art practice in Kristeller's times, later condemned but never unanimously, as relatively recent cases demonstrated not only in the art market world but within the institutions too.[2] That these issues reappeared again after decades is a sign of an ever present clash between conservation, administrative and managerial aspects of collections, on the one hand, and the needs and expectations of scholars, on the other hand.

These examples anticipate possible future directions that the continuation of the analysis should take into account. This thesis has traced the process that led to the creation of the Italian model for *Gabinetti disegni e stampe* by 1909, but the road to the current set-up of prints and drawings departments in museums was still a long one. Some future research lines can be therefore suggested. Firstly, as far as the given time frame (1860-1909) is concerned, the analysis can be further developed in two directions. The access to new archives (such as private ones, for instance that of Federico Hermanin, as well as the archives of the Gallerie Nazionali in Bologna and Parma – which were not available at the time this research was conducted) will provide new documentary evidence to confirm the hypothesis made in this thesis and to enrich the reconstruction of the events. Furthermore, it will be useful to systematically scrutinize collections of art on paper housed in civic museums across the country. In this dissertation a general pattern emerged as far as the management of collections of graphic art is concerned, but to expand the research towards local museums will allow to test the circulation of models and ideas and verify the possible impacts of the debate at local level.

Secondly, considering that this dissertation proceeded in chronological order, its most natural extension will take into account the decades after 1910 in order to detect the development of museum departments for prints and drawings. Two phases may be worth being considered. From

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1 ICG, ASGS, Miscellanea, n. 19, Commissioni di Vigilanza, Hermanin to Commissione di Vigilanza, 31 May 1923 (see MARIANI 2001, p. 165).

2 The collection of caricatures by Anton Maria Zanetti belonging to the Fondazione Cini in Venice was dismembered for exhibition purposes in 1969 (see JAMES 1991a, p. 10); between 2002 and 2009, Sebastiano Resta's *Galleria Portatile* belonging to the Ambrosiana Library was also unmounted after the restoration at the Opificio delle Pietre Dure (Florence), in spite of the system proposed by the restorers who suggested to reconstruct the binding. The owner chose instead to have certain drawings mounted separately (see: <http://www.opificiodellepietredure.it/index.php?it/288/codice-resta>, accessed 14 July 2019).

the point of view of museology, it will be crucial to explore the impacts of principles elaborated at international level in the 1930s and codified in Italy starting from the 1950s, following the 1953 ICOM conference at Palazzo Bianco in Genoa and at the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan, which resulted in the publication of the official report *Musei e Gallerie d'Italia. 1945-1953* edited by Guglielmo de Angelis d'Ossat.[3] During these decades, the 19th century conception of museum was gradually abandoned, to adopt instead display and organisational solutions of a more social value, deriving from the idea that museums belong to all citizens. From the point of view of legislation, in order to reflect upon the place occupied by drawings and prints within cultural heritage, the crucial moment to investigate starts with the 1960s and the issues raised by the Commissione Franceschini, the Investigation Committee established with Law no. 310, 26 April 1964, and active until 1967. The Committee carried out a careful investigation regarding the census and status of cultural heritage in Italy, producing 84 declarations on the protection and enhancement of historical, archaeological, artistic and landscape heritage; the first declaration defines the concept of *bene culturale*. This was a crucial time for cultural heritage in Italy: the Commissione Franceschini defined in fact an innovative approach to national culture where, overcoming precedent idealistic paradigms, the right of citizens to access culture was established, which also entailed collective responsibility for heritage protection.[4] The Commissione Franceschini did not fail to acknowledge the complex position of prints and drawings, halfway between the context of libraries and that of museums. Considering it pointless to try and merge the collections, the Committee suggested instead "collaborazione in tutti i casi di interferenza":[5]

> E si auspica che, entro un unico grandissimo organismo di tutela dei Beni culturali, si possa attuare la fungibilità tra il settore delle Belle Arti e quelli delle Biblioteche e degli Archivi, che pure posseggono notevoli fondi di stampe e disegni, affinché tutte le esperienze sinora acquisite, e i miglioramenti che verranno, siano riuniti e coordinati nel comune e identico interesse di tutela di questa parte insigne del patrimonio artistico della Nazione.[6]

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3 See DRAGONI 2015, pp. 150-155, with bibliography.

4 See *Per la salvezza dei beni culturali in Italia* 1967; the acknowledgment of this collective of responsibility is well outlined in DRAGONI 2011).

5 *Per la salvezza dei beni culturali in Italia* 1967, p. 582.

6 *Ivi*, pp. 379-380.

APPENDIX

To our best knowledge, all archival documents transcribed in this section are previously unpublished. The documents, presented here in chronological order, are reproduced as found, with no editing. Abbreviations and grammar mistakes have been left unchanged, as well as underlining and strikethrough text. Less interesting parts of the text are omitted and marked with square brackets: […]. Illegible words are marked with an asterisk; where possible, an interpretation proposal is given between square brackets: [*abc].

1829

[1]

Parma, Complesso Monumentale della Pilotta, Biblioteca Palatina, Fondo Moreau, cassetta 84, fasc. 1/I

Al Direttore delle Gallerie e delle Scuole della Ducale Accademia di Belle Arti
A sua Eccellenza il Sig. Barone Comm.re Ferdinando Cornacchia, Consigliere di Stato, Consigliere [*f.to] di Sua Maestà
Presidente dell'Interno

Parma, li 10 Novembre 1829

Oggetto: Domanda di Duplicati della Raccolta di Stampe Ortalli

Eccellenza

Poiché nella Raccolta delle Stampe Ortalli si trovano dei duplicati, io propongo che quelli che non sono d'alcuna importanza relativamente alla raccolta stessa vengano ceduti alla Ducale Accademia delle Belle Arti. Per buona sorte esistono in doppio le stampe più utili alla scuola di composizione e di pittura. Potendole quindi ottenere, l'Accademia nostra verrebbe ad essere provveduta non mediocremente di stampe che le abbisognano, e risparmierebbesi l'uso delle stampe della Collezione, mentre assai più di raro si avrebbe d'uopo di mandare a prendere nella Biblioteca.

L'E.V. si degni proteggere questa proposta, ché tale si è il desiderio de' Professori Maestri. Anzi, se fosse necessario, potrei

presentare a V.E. il voto de' medesimi che fosse il resultato di una seduta accademica.

Intanto co' più profondi sentimenti di perfetta stima ed ossequiosa considerazione ho l'onore di rassegnarmi di V.E.

Umilissimo Devmo Servitore

Paolo Toschi

1887

[2]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, I vers., b. 330, fasc. 206.27

Progetto di istituire una Galleria di stampe d'incisione antiche unitamente alle stampe moderne

Visto che al massimo si potrebbe, in una Galleria moderna, riunire solamente circa un cento stampe d'incisione, e che tal numero, per una nazione quale è l'Italia, potrebbe ritenersi poca cosa.

Visto altresì, come in Roma esista già una collezione completa di stampe, la Corsiniana, stimata una delle più grandi d'Europa e che da pochi è conosciuta, forse per la ragione che non è citata nelle Guida come cosa speciale e pregevole di per se stessa, ma come parte audizionale alla Biblioteca Corsiniana.

Sarebbe cosa non solo degna, ma assai conveniente che la Galleria delle stampe si facesse nell'istesso palazzo Corsini, ove esistono sale sgombre e quali fatte a bella posta, esponendo stampe antiche unitamente alle moderne, che darebbero un'importanza assai maggiore, che una Galleria di sole stampe moderne.

La mostra delle stampe si potrebbe fare in alberi sostenuti su pernio più cornici, come sono quelli in uso nelle Gallerie di Milano e Venezia, così per nulla si toccherebbero gli scaffali dei libri, anzi tali alberi servirebbero a maggiormente decorare quelle sale che di soli scaffali sono guernite.

Superfluo è il dimostrare l'utilità della mostra delle stampe antiche pei giovani studiosi.

Superfluo è il dire che le stampe si vedrebbero meglio e che assai meglio si conserverebbero, che quando stanno soggette alla legatura, poiché così si evitano gli strappi che facilmente avvengono sfogliando i

volumi, si eviterebbe anche molto lavoro agli impiegati ed incomodo al visitatore.

Qualunque sia il conto mi voglia il Ministero dare a questo progetto, lo scrivente tiene pregevole l'opportunità di poterlo presentare.

Con tutta osservanza

Il Direttore della R. Calcografia
Gilli

1889

[3]

Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, Centro Archivistico, Fondo Adolfo Venturi; Kristeller, Paul

Gross. Lichterfelde bei/Berlin
Jungfernstieg 22.

4.V.89.

Carissimo Signor Prof. Venturi!

Ritornato a casa mia ho il desiderio di salutarla ancora una volta e di ringraziarla della sua grande gentilezza verso me. Il mio soggiorno a Roma è stato così istruttivo e piacevole per me in particolare anche per la sua et la di suoi amici amabilità. Con gioia ed desiderio ripenso spesso a questo tempo felicissimo, quando ho studiato nella patria sua bellissima ed a quelli giorni che sono stato nella sua compagnia.

Ho finito il mio viaggio con molto piacere e credo di aver molto imparato. Soltanto la mia salute troppo debole ha qualcosa diminuito il mio piacere.

Dott. Frizzoni a Milano è stato molto amabile con me; il S. Ongaro a Padova è stato con me quasi tutto un giorno colla più grande gentilezza; ha promesso di visitarmi se verra a Berlino. Ringrazio tante volte Lei e D. Baldoria della raccomandazione.

Adesso lavoro come volontario nella collezione delle stampe e dei disegni dei R. Musei di Berlino, sotto la direzione dii S. Lippmann. Credo che imparero qui molte cose e che farò conoscenze importante per me. L'organizzazione di questa collezione richissima mi pare essere eminente e può servire di modello. Ho fatto la conoscenza dei Signori Direttori ed Assistenti dei Musei (un numero assai grande di storichi dell'arte!) ed anche di S. Bode con cui ho parlato di Lei.

Sarei felice, carissimo mio Signore, se potessi essere di qualche uso a Lei ed ai di Lei amici qui a Berlino o dove mai mi troverò, e sarei ~~anche~~ ancora più felice se potessi rivederla e salutarla una volta in questa città degna di esser visitata da lei. Sarebbe un grande piacere per me di aver una volta, quando permette il suo tempo prezioso, qualche righe di Lei, per sapere come sta e come vanno le cose dell'arte nella Italia bellissima.

Terminando La prego di aver indulgenza di questa lettera più tedesca-italiana, temo, che italiana, ed di salutare da parte mia Signor Prof. Baldoria ed i altri Signori di nostra conoscenza.

Stia bene e sia salutato mille volte.

Dal suo devotissimo

Paul Kristeller

NB Spero che Lei ha ricevuto la mia lettera da Piacenza

1890

[4]

Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, Centro Archivistico, Fondo Adolfo Venturi; Kristeller, Paul

Gr. Lichterfelde bei Berlin. Jungfernstieg 22.

12. IV. 90.

Carissimo Signor Venturi!

Quasi un anno fa che ho ricevuto la sua gentilissima lettera. Sperava ognora di poter' mandare oltre grazie e saluti anche un articolo l'Archivio, che ho letto sempre col più grande interesse. Ma finora non ho potuto finire nessuno dei miei lavori. Il mio tempo era consacrato al lavoro nella collezione delle stampe ed alla compilazione di un catalogo di fotografi per la casa di Amsler e Ruthardt a Berlino. Credeva di rende un servizio alla scienza con questo lavoro penoso ed ingrato e di imparare molto. Ma la fatica è stata molto più grande che ho veduto. Sono lavorante serio e non voglio scrivere che cosa buona. Così vengo tardi ed anche adesso ~~colle~~ a mani vuote! Ma sono sicuro che anche così sarò accolto da lei colla sua solita amabilità!

Oltre il desiderio di salutarla e di parlare un poco con Lei da lontano anche una cosa seria della scienza m'incita a scrivere a Lei. Poco tempo fa è stato mandato da Bologna a Berlino un volume con incisioni

per la riproduzione di qualche stampe rare. Tutti che anno veduto questo volume pieno di stampe uniche e di un valore imprezzabile, erano empieti di gioja e di ammirazione. Questo volume mi ridusse in memoria tutto ciò che ho veduto in Italia nelle collezioni di stampe e che ho parlato spesso con Lei e con altri signori Italiani intorno a questo oggetto. Colgo l'occasione di chiamare di nuovo la sua attenzione sopra questo punto.

Sono sicuro che lei non prenderà per pretenzione, se io come amico della storia dell'arte e del suo paese bellissimo mi frammetto in cose interne! La scienza sia internazionale! Spesso si deve soltanto, che un uomo animato d'un vivo interesse per la cosa pigli l'iniziativa per muovere una cosa importante. Perciò spero che Lei accoglierà le mie parole con benevolenza.

~~Cognos~~ Sa benissimo quante fatiche Lei si a già dato nel promuovimento degli studi sulla storia dell'arte. È di grande importanza non soltanto per l'Italia medesima ma anche pegli altri, che siano facilitati gli studi della storia dell'arte, che siano educati uomini valenti per l'amministrazione delle collezioni, e che gli stranieri abbiano un centro, un punto d'appoggio pegli suoi studi. Sono già a Roma instituti archeologici ed storici di varie nazioni. Perché non un instituto od un apparato per la storia dell'arte medievale e del Rinascimento? E perché non può pigliare l'iniziativa l'Italia medesima? Non mi pare una cosa difficile o dispendiosa di creare un apparato pel studio della storia dell'arte (fotografi ecc.) ed una biblioteca per questo genere della scienza. Soltanto con questo apparato sarà possibile l'istruzione scientifica della storia dell'arte. Apparati di questo genere si trovano nelle università di Germania ecc. ed anche al cabinetto delle stampe e dei disegni di Berlino è annessa una biblioteca ed una collezione di fotografi ecc. Mi pare che questo unione sia di grande importanza, che la collezione di stampe sia il fondamento di questo apparato. Una collezione di stampe è per sé non soltanto un museo storico dell'arte ma anche una parte indispensabile del apparato storico, un espediente per molti studi anche negli altri rami della scienza storica.

Mi sembra assolutamente inutile di spiegare l'importanza di una collezione di stampe e la sua necessità pegli studi a Lei che è talmente pregiato come conoscitore e promotore della storia dell'arte, voleva soltanto accentuare questo punto di vista. Anche non credo necessario di dire una parola sul stato attuale delle collezioni in Italia. Ho veduto qualche di queste collezioni e mi pare che vi siano nascosti grandi tesori! Purtroppo non solamente nascosti ma anche esposti a grandi pericoli! Per Lei non bisogna d'addurre esempi. Credo che sarebbe una cosa necessaria e di grande importanza di far ordine in queste cose. So benissimo che sono anche altri oggetti ancora più preziosi che debbono esser inventarisati e conservati. Ma credo che questo sarebbe il meglio comminciamento, perché è più facile da farsi che altre cose. Quando una

volta è incomminciato e la necessità della inventariazione e del ordinamento è capita il tempo verrà anche pegli quadri, sculture ecc.

Le spese per una inventarisazione e per la ristaurazione e pegli altri lavori non saranno grande e possono esser coperte per parte per la vendita di duplicati. Anche il cabinetto di Berlino vende i suoi duplicati.

M'immaggino che sia primo inventarisato tutto ciò che appartiene al Governo (ciò che sarà fatto fra poco) e che poi siano formate diverse collezione, una centrale colla Biblioteca storica dell'arte e coll'apparato di fotografi ecc. (a Roma od a Firenze), ed altre collezioni a Milano, Bologna, Venezia ecc. od in queste città che anno adesso collezioni. In modo che gli pezzi che mancano alla collezione centrale (di cui il fondamento sono le collezioni Corsini e degli Uffizi) siano cambiati per duplicati dalla centrale. Quanto io cognosco le collezioni italiane sarà possibile senza comprare qualche cose di formare una collezione che sarà una delle più grande e belle. Spero anche che, se una volta l'organizzazione è incominciata non mancheranno le donazioni dei privati.

Conosco tutte le difficultà! Ma è stato creato la biblioteca Nazionale, la biblioteca musicale di S. Cecilia da piccoli incomminciamenti (come tutte le grande collezioni del mondo), sarà anche possibile l'organizzazione d'un Museo Calcografico!

Una cosa di questo genere dev'essere instaurata con calma, ~~se~~ eseguita con pratica e connoscenza e con entusiasmo - e sarà effettuata! -

Le cose importante sono: L'inventarisazione, affinché niente possa perdersi; la conservazione (attaccare le stampe e disegni su cartoni, guardarle in cassoni etc.), affinché non siano più danneggiate; l'ordinamento scientifico, affinché possano esser messi a profitto degli studi. Per tutte queste cose esperienze sono fatte a sufficienza dalle grandi collezioni di Europa. Si deve solamente conoscerle e far uso di loro.

Carissimo amico, temo che abbia già troppo abusato la sua pazienza con questo piccolo abbozzo per l'organizzazione di una collezione e d'un apparato storico, ma sono sicuro che il suo interesse per l buona cosa e la sua amabilità perdonerà il mio zelo forse troppo ardente! Sarei felice di aver dato un impulso per l'attuazione di questo progetto e vorrei ben sapere il suo parere sopra questa cosa. Sarò sempre alla sua disposizione quanto posso come in ogni altra cose anche in questa. È la mia idea prediletta, ridondata del amore per la scienza e per l'Italia, di voler concorrere anche da lontano a conservare all'Italia anche questi tesori dell'arte calcografica ed a cavar profitto da loro per la scienza.

Adesso mi preparo per un viaggio a Parigi per studiare i Musei, la Biblioteca ed il Cabinet d'Estampes ecc. Può essere che verrò nel prossimo invento in Italia; ma finora non ho grande speranza che sarà

possibile per me. Sarei felicissimo di rivederla e gli altri amici tutti sani ed allegri! Avrei a raccontare moltissimo.
Spero che anche la sua famiglia si trova benissimo.

Faccia i miei complimenti al Sgr. Baldoria ed agli altri signori che si ricordano di me e sia salutato caramente

al suo devot.mo affez.mo
Paul Kristeller

Dico un "Miserere" pegli sbagli che si trovino in questa epistola!!

1891

[5]

Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, Centro Archivistico, Fondo Adolfo Venturi; Kristeller, Paul

Berlin. W. Lenné Str 4.

19.VII.91.

Carissimo amico!

Mille grazie per la Tua cara lettera che mi ha fatto il più grande piacere. Spero che Tu e la Tua famiglia stanno benissimo e che Tu non lavori troppo in questa staggione calda! Credo che possa supporre che il Tuo progetto per la riforma dell'administrazione delle Belle Arti sia approvato e che Tua stai adesso effettuandolo? Almeno ho inteso così. Ti auguro ogni felicità ~~per~~ nel Tuo lavoro per Te e per la cosa! Mi ha dispiaciuto molto di aver mancato le Tue lettere ed anzi la Tua persona. Davvero mi sono dato fretta per non far spese non necessarie ed anche perché dopo un'assenza lunga dopo un viaggio di 3 mesi si ricomincia di divenire inquieto!

Ti ringrazio moltissimo per la revisione della mia relazione; sono molto felice che abbia trovata la Tua approvazione, ~~fa~~ magari che non sia derivata più dalla Tua bontà che dal ~~contento~~! contenuto! Ho preferito di astenermi di asserzioni di cui non potrei rispondere, e di non far l'apparenza di onniscienza! Mi sono immaginato la Tua cara persona [*sendendo] e correggendo il mio ms.! Vorrei stare con Te molto presto! Mi sento molto male qui; è strano, non posso lavorare in questa aria in quest'atmosfera di [*burocrazione] e d'egoismo. Per me è deciso che non resterò a Berlino in nessun caso. Come va la mia intenzione da lungo tempo! A Roma od a Londra! La mia relazione con Te ha accresciuto

molto la mia considerazione quì tra questi giovani dal Museo (sono stupidi!) benché abbiano sempre riconosciuto il mio lavoro scientifico, si deve ~~marche~~ segni uffiziali di stima per poter imporre a questi! Del resto forse Tu non sai stesso come Tu sei stimato qui!

Spero che sarà possibile di mandare nei prossimi giorni a Roma i modelli che ho composti. Io non giungerò che l'espiegazione necessaria per Te che Tu sappia mostrarlo agli altri. Giungerò anche la relazione che ho copiato. Ho cambiato soltanto qualche dettaglio, col Tuo permesso: due collezioni non possono contenere nel medesimo tempo lo stesso esemplare di una stampa, esemplare vuol dire, come termine, la singola prova; inoltre ho aggiunto qualche parola intorno una incisione rarissima che si deve trovare dal Angiolini, ma che non ho potuto trovare. Ti manderò anche la fotografia desiderata insieme con altre che credo siano d'interesse per Te. Hai ricevuto questa mia lettera ~~che~~ da Firenze in che si trovavano 3 fotografie?

Posso figurarmi come Tu ai lavorato sul viaggio e sono desideroso di udire qualche cosa delle Tue nuove scoprite. Sei felice di poter lavorare così con tale successo! Ma non si deve faticarsi troppo, gli effetti della fatica eccessiva non si manifestano che più tardi!

La relazione tecnica vorrei non ancora mandarti. Sono facendola e vorrei ancora pensare molte cose ed, se possibile, studiare ancora una volta le Coll. di Amsterdam, Londra, Dresda Vienna etc. Per ora basterà la relazione che abbiamo fatto insieme in Roma. Una grande difficultà porge la conservazione dei foglio del grande sesto; il sistema escogitato dal Lippmann, di cui ~~fa~~ si compiace molto, non mi pare una soluzione soddisfacente del problema.

Aggiungo il computo delle mie spese per ~~ta~~ il carico. Ho messo il viaggio, Tu avrai la bontà di mettere per il soggiorno che è uso di dare in Italia.

Il Bode era in viaggio da più che 6 settimane, deve esser ritornato ~~tu~~ ieri; ~~fra~~ dopo qualche giorni ho l'intenzione di trovarlo. Sicuro che la sua assenza ad Berlino era la ragione che non ha mandato questo documento che Tu ai domandato per me.

Oltre di ordinare e di continuare le mie note sui libri con incisioni italiani ho lavorato anche per poter fornire qualche articolo per l'Archivio. Avrei già finito questo piccolo lavoro sulla incisione riproducente in Torso di Belvedere, se non, infortunamente, ~~fosse~~ l'esemplare di Berlino fosse dappertutto ritoccato, così che debbo prima vedere od aver una riproduzione d'un altro esemplare migliore (di Parigi od di Vienna (Bibliot.). Spero anche di finire un abbozzo intono i libri con incisioni in legno stampati in Milano, che sono interessantissimi e di cui ho già riunito in fotografie od in descrizione una grande parte, ma anche per questo si deve un nuovo soggiorno a Milano. ~~Come~~ Quello è l'uso

dell'Archivio Storico quanto alle riproduzioni? Sarebbe possibile di far fare qualche riprod. fotogr. a Vienna od a Londra?

Un amico m'ha raccontato d'una collezione di stampe che si trova a Palermo nel possesso del Sr. d'Ondes, che a appartenuta al ~~p~~ Direttore (passato) del Museo in Palermo.

Continuando la mia bibliografia generale dell'arte dell'incisione ho trovato un articolo del M. d'Adda (Gaz d. Beaux-Arts 1868 II. p 145) in cui dice di aver visto nel 1863 nel Archivio di S. Maria presso S. Celso in Milano un volume ms. con incisioni in rame di grande valore. Se deve tenere conto di questa notizia e far ricerche se si ha l'occasione. Forse l'On. Beltrami potrebbe far quelle ricerche.

La Coll. di stampe della Ambrosiana che è colà splendida ~~che~~ come è piccola anche ella si trova in un stato deplorabile, vetri rotti ecc.

~~Si ha~~ È molto lavoro da farsi! Ma si deve ricominciare una volta con forza e con allegrezza. Ti ringrazoi della Tua gentilezza e del Tuo voto di farmi incaricare di questo lavoro. Non ho bisogno di rpetere la mia prontezza, il mio zelo e che posso assicurarti almeno della mia coscienziosità e della mia premura di servire la scienza. Quando alla mia propria persona sono felice di fare ogni cosa senz'altro per amore della scienza e per amicizia per Te, ma Tu sai bene che ~~s~~ non sono indipendente e che si deve aver riguardo a tante cose e persone. Per questo mi sarebbe grato che fossi incaricato uffizialmente dell'organizzazione delle coll. di stampe così presto che potrei ancora aver tempo per poter studiare differenti Raccolte pubbliche. Io ne sono sicura che Tu farai il meglio per la cosa e per me; in cose di questo genere si deve aver pazienza e calma! Non debbo dirti quanto sarei felice di vederti qui a Berlino e poter andare con Te a Londra! Ieri ho parlato Tschudi che mi domandò di Te; anche lui esprimè il suo desiderio di vederti a Berlino.

Avrei ancora un'altra pubblicazione per l'Archivio: In un libro fiorentino del XV. Si trova una incisione in rame dappertutto sconosciuta. Di questo libro due esemplari sono conservati nella Magliabechiana in Firenze. Non ho potuto fotografarla. Forse sarebbe possibile di far riprodurla dalla ~~Par~~ parte dell'Archivio. Il fotografo Ciardelli in Firenze mi pare abile e degno che si possa incaricarlo di riproduzioni.

Scusi che scrivo così saltante dall'una cosa all'altra, ma debbo spesso interrompere la mia lettera per guardare dietro le mie fotografie che stanno nel sole per copiarsi. Debbo due copie di ogni fotografo alle differenti biblioteche.

Addio, mio caro amico, spero che Tu stai molto bene e che anche tutti gli amici che Ti prego di salutare caldamente dalla mia parte, si trovano bene! Se Tu avrai alcuni minuti libri Tu mi farai un piacere

infinito mandandomi qualche notizia di Te; la più grata fosse quella che mi annunzierà il tuo arrivo qui a Berlino.

Ti saluto come il Tuo amico
Sicuro e divoto

Paul Kristeller

Ho studiato il libro del Fisher; è un repertorio di una grande qualità di materiale, un libro scritto con zelo, diligenza e conoscenza, ma io non posso capire come si può contentare di riferire soltanto senza pronunziare le sue opinioni proprie che valgono sicuro altrettanto che le [*visioni] stupide degli altri che molto fuori senza nessuna critica!

[6]

Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, Centro Archivistico, Fondo Adolfo Venturi; Kristeller, Paul

23 Luglio 1891

Caro amico!

Ieri è stato spedito al Tuo indirizzo al Minist. Dell'Istruz. P. ~~il~~ a grande velocità il pacco coi modelli che ho fatto comporre quì a Berlino. Spero che arriverà in buono stato e che Tu sarai ~~satis~~ soddisfatto della mia scelta e che farà impressione sui signori che lo vedranno.

Non debbo ripetere che ~~questi~~ queste cose siano soltanto modelli e che al mio parere tutti questi lavori siano fatti con troppo grande lusso; spero di poter far fare dai legatori Romani cartoni e casse non meno buone ma meno costose. Lo stesso credo quanto alla cornice per le esposizioni. Ma questo non è ancora necessario di pensare. Vorrei soltanto che Tu sappi che questi modelli non sono riguardati da me che come una mostra. Sono questi i risultati del primo tentativo di [*conservare] le stampe di valore, che hanno serviti come modello anche per altre collezioni tedesche ed estere. SI deve imparare da questi modelli e tentare di farli fabbricare miglior mercati e più pratici.

Spero di aver esplicato ogni cosa ~~abbe~~ abbastanza che Tu possi capirlo.

Le lamelle con aperture al rovescio della cornice sono ~~f~~ destinate per appendere le cornici a mezzo di catene.

Non ho potuto comprare una lametta (coltello per levare le stampe), si deve darle in commissione; ma è una cosa semplicissima: un coltello molto sottile e uguale senza punto.

Per stampare col bollo si deve fuori dell'inchiostro e delle lastre di cristallo un [*rullo di materia elastica] (Walzenwappe … in italiano?); il manubrio per questo rullo non va possibile di poter avere così presto e senza farlo fare. Credo che la nostra/mostra batterà per l'insegnamento.

Ho parlato due giorni fa il Bode, che era molto gentile, ma mi ha detto che avanti di partire abbia incaricato Lippmann di procurare la raccomandazione dal Ministro! Il Lippmann non ha parlato con me di questa cosa, credo che Tu puoi domandare di nuovo fra sei mesi! Il L. ha dato la domanda ~~la~~ al Direttore Generale, ne sono sicura non sarà effettuata (se mai!) che fra un mezz'anno! Conosco quegli signori! Mi dispiace molto che il L. sia pregato di fare qualche cosa per me personalmente. Ho evitato finora ~~an~~ rigorosamente di domandare dal L. qualche compiacenza per me. Che non si può più cambiarlo!

Spero che Tu e la Tua famiglia come tutti nostri amici stiano benissimo. Ti prego di salutarli tutti dalla mia parte. Ti stringo la mano

Il Tuo devotiss^{mo} ed affett^{mo}
Paul Kristeller

Nel Pacco si trova, come Tu vedrai, la relazione; il foglio in che ho spesso le spese del mio viaggio; non sia possibile di sapere qui da Berlino i prezzi dei biglietti della ferrovia da Roma a Reggio ed à Milano.

Molti saluti
Il Tuo

Kr.

[7]

Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, Centro Archivistico, Fondo Adolfo Venturi; Kristeller, Paul

Berlin W. Lenné St 4.

Carissimo amico!

Ho ricevuto la Tua lettera ieri e ti ringrazio molto della Tua bontà verso me. Mi dispiace che la cassetta Ti ha fatto spettare tanto. Non posso capire perché il viaggio abbia durato così lungo tempo. Anche la tua lettera ha ritardata di arrivare; dal 5 sera fin al 10 matina mi pare troppo lungo!

La Tua gratitudine, che Tu chiami poca cosa, in verità per me è cosa grande; io sono molto felice di poter servire a Te ed al bene dell'arte in Italia! Mi credi sempre alla Tua disposizione, quanto è in mio potere.

Mi dispiace tanto che Tu non verrai a Berlino, ~~che~~ mi sono imaginato col più grande piacere di esser il Tuo guida qui a Berlino! Mio bravo, Tu lavori troppo! Non vuoi darti un poco di riposo! Forse nel prossimo estate possiamo viaggiare tutti e due insieme da Roma a Berlino!

Porterò al Lippman i Tuoi complimenti ed parimente al Bode ed al Tschudi. Ho finito il progetto del Regolamento per la Conservazione delle Coll. d. stampe ed ho pregato il Lippmann di leggerlo ed di dirmi il suo parere. Ne sono sicuro che non lo studierà, ma credo che l'approverà anche così e questa approvazione potrà esser utile. Ho l'intenzione di mostrarlo anche al Lehrs ed anche ~~a deg~~ ad alcuni altri conservatori. L'ho scritto in italiano (nel mio italiano-tedesco!) ma non ancora finito le parti che trattano dell'amministrazione generale ecc., che non vorrei mostrare ~~agli stra~~ a delle persone strane al vostro uffizio. Mi fa grande piacere che la fotografia Ti abbia servito, è una scoperta interessantissima! Ti ringrazio molto della communicazione intorno il quadro del Licinio, cercherà di ottenere la fotografia, è una cosa importante per il piccolo lavoro! Se l'Archivio potrebbe far fare e publicare una reproduzione della stampa dal esemplare a Vienna od a Londra potrei fornire l'articoletto fra poco. Anche qualche altre cose saranno finite fra poco se potessi aver le riproduzioni. Per questo vorrei sapere l'usanza dell'Archivio in questo riguardo.

Giungerò al conto (saldato) per la cornice finché Tu possi servirtene come documento. Mi pare che anche io dovrò rinunciare al mio viaggio a Londra. Sarebbe importantissimo per me di vedere la coll. e la Biblioteca ecc. per i miei studi intorno il modo di conservazione come per i miei lavori scientifichi, che non avanzano non un solo passo qui a Berlino. Anche a Vienna vorrei studiare qualche settimana la Albertina e la Coll. della I.R. Biblioteca. Spero che ancora sarà possibile!

Ne sono sicuro che Tu esporrai benissimo alla Commissione ed al S.E. il Ministro la necessità di ordinare e di conservare in un modo scientifico le Coll. di Stampe. La pittura e la scultura ancora si deve in primo luogo studiare in Italia; per studiare la storia dell'incisione ecc. si deve andare a Londra od a Parigi! Credo che questo epigramma farà impressione e che il senso giustificherà la scelta d'un straniero, d'un giramondo!

È da vergognarsi ~~di~~ comparando agli lavori del bravo Zani, del Cicognara e di tanti altri del XVIII sec. e della I. parte del nostro il lavoro che è uscito qualche tempo fa in Italia.

"Di alcuni incisori monogrammisti ital. e "[*Artisti] d. sec. XV e XVI. da Al. Bedetti Bologna Zanichelli 1890.

Per sbaglio è stato comprato a Berlino ha eccitato la più grande ilarità. Ti raccomando lo studio dell'articolo sopra A. Dürer!

Mio caro Venturi, Tu non puoi immaginarti quanto piacere io sento dalle Tue lettere!

Ti mando i miei più sinceri auguri per il Tuo lavoro e per la Tua persona e la Tua famiglia che, spero, si trova benissimo Come sta Baldoria?! Mando mille saluti per lui e per tutti gli altri Signori a Roma dell'Archivio ecc.

Ti saluto! A rivederci!
Il Tuo devotiss.mo ed affett.mo amico

Paul Kristeller

Non dimenticare nell'abolizione della R. Calcografia che sarà effettuata, spero, presto, di riservare una parte del fondo annuale per le Coll. di stampe!

11.VIII 91.

[8]

Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, Centro Archivistico, Fondo Adolfo Venturi; Kristeller, Paul

n.d. [1891]

Wien, I Wallfischgasse 11.

Carissimo amico!

Credendo che adesso Tu sarai ~~ari~~ ritornato a Roma mi metto a responderti alla Tua cara lettera del 6/IX. Da qualche giorno mi trovo qui a Vienna, la "Sybovis moderna" come l'appellava il mio vecchio Professore Springer. Sono stato qualche giorni a Dresda. Nella biblioteca non ho trovato che pochissimo, ma le due Coll. di stampe, quella del R. Cabinetto delle stampe e quell'altra del Re Federigo Augusto II sono ricchissime di stampe Italiane. Nella Coll. Fed. Aug. è un'opera di Mantegna splendidissima! Ho fatto due fotografie: una ~~terza~~ quarta incisione delle cena ed una incisione del XVI, un ritratto del papa Leone X, finora sconosciuto; se volete potrei pubblicarlo nell'Archivio. Il Lehrs è stato molto gentile con me; a lui ho esposto i nostri progetti, e lui mi ha mostrato il più vivo interesse ed ha espresso i suoi ardenti voti per

l'effettuazione; ~~e~~ si congratula della Tua sollecita cura per il promovimento dello studio delle Belle Arti in Italia. Il Lehrs ha studiato il progetto per l'administrazione delle Coll. d. st. e l'ha provato tutto intero. Mi ha promesso di porgermi ~~la~~ il suo aiuto. È un uomo molto sincero e valente!

Quì a Vienna sto studiando la biblioteca e le Coll. di stampe richissime della Austria e della Bibl. Imp. Sono collezioni splendidissime! Ho trovato anche un altro stato dell'incisione del torso e ne farò una fotografia. Sono molto curioso di vedere il quadro della Borghese. Verso 1530 il torso va già nel Belvedere; il quadro può essere anteriore? Forse l'artista ha usato un disegno più vecchio?

Mio caro amico, spero di non averti seccato colla mia lettera del 2/IX. Ne sono persuaso che Tu abbia le migliori intenzioni e che Tu agirai così bene che possibile. Anche per me ~~un af~~ è un'affare del cuore.

Si scrive male di cose sottili; per questo vorrei ~~parlare~~ preferire di parlare ~~e non~~ con Te. A Vienna mi piace poco questa volta, farò furia quanto possibile e verrò in Italia per studiare con voi qualche tempo e, se possibile, di restare fra voi.

Nei primi dell'Ottobre lascerò Vienna per recarmi a Venezia; spero di poter lavorare bene nella biblioteca. Se sarà ancora tempo vorrei visitare ancora una volta Milano. Sarò a Roma nella metà dell'Ottobre. Spero che Ti saro importuno il mio venire, naturalmente vengo sulla mia propria responsabilità e per Te no deriva dal mio venire nessun obligo morale. Questo si intende da se.

Secondo il tuo voto Ti mando il progetto d'un Regolamento per l'administrazione delle Coll. di stampe e dei disegni e per l'administrazione generale di tutte le Coll. Italiane. Mi sono dato tutto l'impegno per farlo così bene e completo che possibile e di esporre le ragioni così persuasivo che possibile. Non so se sia riuscito. Sarei felice se Tu potessi trovare il tempo per studiarlo e communicarmi le Tue osservazioni: Saranno importantissime per la cosa e per me le Tue correzioni!

Il modo di composizione potrà essere semplificato il confronto a quello di Berlino. Si farà ogni cosa con tutta la economia possibile evitando ogni lusso.

Mi sono fatto la fatica col più grande piacere, sperando che ~~sar~~ fosse possibile di effettuare almeno una parte de progetti esposti.

L'Italia sarebbe frai primi paesi dove le Coll. sono conservate e amministrate scientificamente; ma sarebbe il primo dove tutte le coll. di st. insieme sono amministrate secondo un ~~prog~~ concetto ragionevole ed scientifico. Sarei felice di poter contribuire alla effettuazione d'un tale progetto e vorrei ~~farei~~ fare ogni sacrifizio possibile a me per promuoverlo! Molte cose vorrei discutere con Te a voce! Sarà possibile di comporre dai atti del Ministero un elenco di tutte le Coll. governative

dove si trovano delle stampe, delle Coll. comunali e delle biblioteche dove si può supporre che siano conservate delle stampe, dei disegni, miniature ecc.? Il Lehrs m'ha communicato il suo elenco delle Coll. di stampe in Italia. Sarebbe cosa grata a me, se si potesse copiare il Regolamento. Ho promesso al Lippmann di mandarlo a lui finché possa studiarlo, ha mostrato anche lui un vivo interesse per questo lavoro spezialmente.

Ho sperimentato di nuovo qui a Vienna come sia difficile di studiare le stampe, ed impossibile di confrontarle l'una all'altra, se si trovano conservate in dei volumi, siano anche fatti con tanto lusso come nella Albertina. Al rovescio di ogni foglio si può vedere una contraprova della stampa attaccata sul foglio seguente!

Se Tu ai qualche cosa a communicarmi sarebbe il meglio di scrivere a Vienna; non so dove alloggiare a Venezia, ma domanda sempre alla posta delle lettere per me. Altrimenti a rivedere a Roma! Saluti tutti gli amici a Roma e mi conservi la Tua affezioni; lo prego e Ti stringo la mano

Il Tuo devotissimo Paul Kristeller

1894

[9]

Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, Centro Archivistico, Fondo Adolfo Venturi; Kristeller, Paul

Stachlberg. Canton Glans. Svizzera

31.VII.94.

Carissimo amico.

L'altro ieri ho ricevuto la lettera del Ministro, che mi invita di cooperare all'ordinamento della coll. d. st. di Bologna. Spero, che con questo primo passo sia fatto un buon principio, e che una bella volta potremmo vedere farsi quello che abbiamo ideato da tanto tempo. Supponendo che la lettera sia scritta da te aspettai anche di pugno tuo ulteriori notizie intorno al modo, ~~in~~ come si deve fare il lavoro e quando e che cosa avrei da rispondere. Io sono poco pratico di queste cose burocratiche.

Ho l'intenzione di ritornare adesso a Berlino, dove ho da fare qualche cosa, e di venire a Bologna verso la metà del Settembre. Fammi il piacere, di dirmi, se ti piace così o che ne ai altre idee.

Quanto tempo avrei da impiefare, dipende naturalmente di ciò che mi è proposto di fare, fin a che punto avrei da condurre i lavori.

La mia idea è quella di fare una prima scelta delle stampe migliori, di inventarizzarle (se possibile anche le altre tutte quante) e di catalogarle, di mettere queste stampe scelte su cartoni, di esporle ben ordinate colle iscrizioni occorrenti, giungendo ad ognun gruppo una nota istruttiva intorno alla tecnica ed all'importanza storica di esso, al posto che occupa nello sviluppo storico dell'arte. Spero che in quello modo dalle stampe della collezione, giungendovi alcune riproduzioni, si potrà mettere insieme una piccola esposizione, che darà una idea, un quadro storico della storia dell'incisione. Mi pare che sarà necessario, specialmente in questo primo tentativo, d'un riordinamento, di fare una mostra di questo genere, per fare vedere ciò, che abbiamo fatto, e per svegliare, se possibile, un po' l'interesse delle persone amanti l'arte. Per questo, si capisce, occorre un po' di danaro per i lavori necessari del legatore ecc. Ti prego di dirmi, se sei d'accordo con me, o se desideri, che si faccia il lavoro in un modo diverso. Io vedo il mio compito specialmente nel determinare l'autore ecc. delle stampe, e nell'ordinarle scientificamente nel fare la scelta secondo il valore.

Spero, che troverò una parte dei libri più necessarii nella Biblioteca e spero anzitutto che la Bibl. Vitt. Eman. potrà prestare dei libri alla Pinacoteca.

Debbo rispondere subito alla lettera del Ministro? e in che modo?

Ricci in Parma mi parve seccato assai, che domandando dal Bibliotecario l'assegno della coll. d. stampe alla Pinacoteca, ~~non è stato~~ il Ministro non ha dato a lui alcuna notizia. Mi pare che la sua domanda sia giusta.

Non so, se ti ho detto tutto ciò che sarebbe da dirsi, ma di certo sarà ancora necessaria una piccola corrispondenza fra noi.

Spero che stai bene; sei andato per finire i tuoi lavori per l'Annuario o ti trovi nei monti in compagnia della tua famiglia, che in ogni caso ti prego di salutare moltissimo di me?

Qui si sta benissimo nei monti, ma incomincio già di annoiarmi fra tanta gente noiosa che si trova qui.

Sono lieto che finalmente un principio ~~si~~ è fatto, spero che le fatiche tue e le mie non saranno vane.

Ti saluto con affetto e resto

Il tuo fedele amico
Paul Kristeller

[10]

Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, Centro Archivistico, Fondo Adolfo Venturi; Kristeller, Paul

Bologna. Via Gattisasso 2.

9.X.94.

Caro Venturi.

Scriverò subito al Graul, che adesso, quando so, è in vacanza via di Berlino; almeno m'a detto che voleva andare a Colonia al congresso. Il Graul è poco puntuale nel rispondere alle lettere ed un tipo poco serio (fra noi), in somma un'altro Fleres! Anch'io in questo momento sono in collera col Graul per un articolo che glio ho dato per il suo Periodico. È un uomo abile che scrive bene, non sa molto ma sa fare uso di quello che a, e chi è intelligente; ma quanto al suo carattere c'è poco da fidarsi, non c'è energia in lui, è gentile, debole, molle! Si può far con lui quel che si volte vuole, ma per lettera poco. Ma in questo caso spero che basterà ricordargli di far mandare il danaro a te, perché è il Segretariato a Vienna che conduce gli affari non lui; temo che il tuo Fleres non si abbia sia già fatto pagare tutto! In ogni modo sarai servito.

Credo che tu ai molto da fare. Io lavoro qui con piacere e la cosa va avanti, soltanto questo lavoro di catalogazione ecc. costa un tempo immenso, se si vuol farlo accuratamente, così che lavoro un po' nervosamente queste cose formali. Ho scritto al Maré per i cartoni per sapere ciò che ha scelto lui per i disegni dallo [*Stradini]; lui deve conoscere le fabbriche italiane.

Ho dimenticato fra altre una cosa: Non vuoi che le stampe siano bollate? Una parte è purtroppo sul dritto rovinato per il bollo pontificio, altre non hanno bollo del tutto specialmente quella della Accademia. Tu hai fatto procurare alle Biblioteche, se mi ricordo bene, quelle stampiglie di gelatina, che ti avevo proposto? Si vuol per questo una matrice di ferro tagliata molto bene. Forse si potrebbe introdurre un bollo generale per tutte le coll. di dis. e di stampe, ma poiché ognuna collezione ne avrebbe bisogno di uno si potrebbe far fare anche per ognuna collezione suo. Per esempio in questa forma (così piccolo come possibile!).

Te ne parlo per dimenticare niente; a me in somma importa poco, ma forse sarà necessario.

Oggi sono stato a Zola per vedere il Palazzo già Albergati ed una coll. di stampe e quadri, che mi aveva indicato gentilmente il S. Malagola, ma non c'è assolutamente nulla, soltanto il palazzo è bello.

Ho incontrato Piancastelli oggi stesso in strada.

Loga mi scrive che il tuo articolo è tanto lungo che non vuol mettermi addosso un tale lavoro e che lui stesso sta facendolo; ma non credo che lui ne sia capace e gli scriverò di mandarmi il manuscritto in ogni caso.

Fammi il piacere di dire i miei complimenti al Com. Fiorilli e di salutare tutti gli amici.

Il Guadagnini pare che faccia molto bene nel ristaurare le stampe; vedo che è molto abile, molto cauto e prudente e, pare, che conosce abbastanza bene la materia. È un uomo tanto modesto che non fa l'apparenza di quello che sa. Intanto andiamo avanti con tutta la precauzione possibile, soltanto lavando le stampe e lasciando da parte le cose difficili che ti manderemo presto per Maré.

Tutti saluti per te e la tua famiglia
Dal tuo aff^mo^ amico

Paul Kristeller

[11]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, II vers., I s., b. 317, fasc. 5414
(draft in Venice, Archivio Storico del Polo Museale, Carte vecchie, b. IIb, fasc. 14, Riordinamento gallerie 1895, carte 1894-96)

Al Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, Divisione per gli Scavi, Musei e Gallerie

Oggetto: Nuovo inventario dei disegni delle RR Gallerie di Venezia

Venezia, lì 11 ottobre 1894

Ho stimato necessario commettere subito un nuovo inventario della collezione dei disegni. Quella parte di questi che è stata sempre appesa alle pareti, entro cornici, ha una sufficiente descrizione nel vecchio inventario, la quale guida al riconoscimento: imperfetta, ad ogni modo, perché non sono indicate le misure. I disegni invece che da alcuni anni sono posti in telai appesi, a guisa di sportelli mobili, intorno a due colonnine, erano fino a pochi anni fa custoditi entro libri; ed ogni libro indica il numero di disegni già contenuti, regolarmente vidimato dall'accademia.

Ma di che mai ci assicura la sola vidimazione del numero? La mia verifica in questo caso non è stata che una serie di addizioni, che mi

hanno condotto ad una somma giusta. Nulla di più si poteva fare! È vero che a principio di ogni libro c'è un elenco che dà i soggetti dei disegni, ma sono carte volante e mutabili, senz'autenticità.

Non iscrivo queste parole perché io abbia alcun sospetto che qualche disegno buono abbia ceduto il posto ad altro di merito inferiore, ma purtroppo oramai non resta che accettare lo stato presente delle cose, affrettandosi subito ad eliminare ogni possibilità di colpa; e fa meraviglia che la direzione non abbia provveduto prima a questo bisogno.

Ho perciò dato istruzione al sig. Angiolo Conte, coaudiutore in questa galleria, che rediga senz'altro indugio un nuovo inventario regolarissimo, per puro uso amministrativo, di tutta la collezione.

Confermo i profondi sentimenti del mio rispetto.

GCantalamessa

[12]

Venice, Archivio Storico del Polo Museale, Carte vecchie, b. IIb, fasc. 14, Riordinamento gallerie 1895, carte 1894-96

Sig. Cav. Giulio Cantalamessa, RR. Gallerie, Venezia

Oggetto: Nuovo inventario dei disegni delle RR. Gallerie

Roma, addì 31 ottobre 1894

Sta bene quanto la S.V. mi comunica col foglio controsegnato, ed approvo che Ella abbia ordinato la compilazione di un nuovo inventario della raccolta dei disegni, conservata in codeste RR. Gallerie. Ma, affinché questo nuovo inventario valga come documento ufficiale, sarà opportuno che esso sia compilato negli acclusi moduli, prescritti dal Regolamento sulla contabilità generale dello Stato.

D'ordine del Ministro
C. Fiorilli

1895

[13]

Venice, Archivio Storico del Polo Museale, Carte vecchie, b. IIb, fasc. 14, Riordinamento gallerie 1895, carte 1894-96

Al Cav. Giulio Cantalamessa, RR. Gallerie, Venezia

Oggetto: Per il catalogo dei disegni

Roma, addì 13 Febbraio 1895

La S.V. m'informò che l'adiutore straordinario sig. conti attendeva a compilare il catalogo dei disegni. Spero ch'egli vi accudirà con ogni cura; ma desidero di esserne informato, e di ricevere, alla fine d'ogni mese, la parte del lavoro da lui compiuto. Tanto, perché questo Ministero si possa fare un'idea adeguata dell'opera del personale di concetto delle gallerie nazionali.

Il Ministro
Constantini

[14]

Venice, Archivio Storico del Polo Museale, Carte vecchie, b. IIb, fasc. 14, Riordinamento gallerie 1895, carte 1894-96 (draft)

Al Ministro dell'Istruzione. Divisione per gli Scavi, Musei e Gallerie

Venezia, lì 26 luglio 1895

Diedi lettura all'adiutore sig. Angelo Conti della lettera ministeriale 13 febbraio, N. di prot. 958; m'impegnai di infervorarlo ad attendere di proposito all'inventario descrittivo dei disegni, e gli dissi anche il tenore della risposta giustificativa ch'ero per dare al Ministero, e che diedi difatti con lettera del 19 febbraio, N. 366. Dipoi gli feci leggere la successiva ministeriale del 23 febbraio N. 1017/1168, e fortemente lo stimolai ad adempiere al suo dovere.

Non sarebbe giusto dire che da quel tempo egli non si sia mai occupato dell'inventario dei disegni, ma certo ha proceduto assai stracco e svogliato tanto che la somma di lavoro a tutt'oggi è si meschina da non meritare che sia presentata al Ministero. Né ad infondere lena al sig.

Conti hanno giovato in alcun modo i miei frequenti richiami, né il rappresentargli la bellezza di tale incarico che gli dava occasione di fare uno studio accuratissimo sulla raccolta dei disegni, né l'allettamento della buona opinione che il Ministero avrebbe concepita di lui, quand'egli avesse da valente uomo compiuta l'opera sua.

Per dare più equo giudizio di tale condotta del sig. Conte, il Ministero consideri anche che nel mese di aprile, finché l'Ispettore Cav. Venturi rimase a Venezia, il sig. Conte non avrebbe potuto attendere a tale lavoro, giacché si occupò di aggruppare per scuola i disegni, scegliendo i più meritevoli di essere messi in vista, e diresse assiduamente quanto si riferiva ad esporli bene. Similmente, non avrebbe potuto attendervi nel corrente mese di luglio, perché si è ammalato di pneumonite, ed è tuttora convalescente. Tre dunque sono i mesi, di cui egli avrebbe potuto tirare profitto: il marzo, il maggio, il giugno. È vero che qualche incarico accidentale che ho dovuto dargli, arreca nei tre mesi la sottrazione di pochi giorni, ma certo è che al sig. Conte rimaneva un lungo margine libero da cui egli non ha tratto alcuna utilità.

Rinnovo le dichiarazioni del mio rispetto.

Il direttore reggente
Cantalamessa

[15]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401 (draft)

Roma, addì 26 Giugno 1895

Al D. Paolo Kristeller, R. Galleria di Bologna
Urgentissima

Oggetto: Per la collezione parmense delle stampe antiche

La S.V. Ill. conosce gl'intendimenti di questo Ministero per l'assetto delle collezioni italiane di stampe, e conosce come per quella di Parma si abbia il desiderio di addivenire ad un ordinamento uguale a quello compiuto a Bologna, e iniziato a Roma, grazie alla cooperazione gentile da Lei dateci. Gradirei ora ch'ella visitasse la raccolta parmense, e mi informasse della sua importanza particolare, del modo migliore con cui si potrebbe ottenere il suo assetto, della spesa che importerebbe l'assetto

stesso. E colgo l'occasione per porgerle i miei sentiti ringraziamenti per la instancabile e illuminata operosità sua, ch'Ella si compiacque di prestare a questa amministrazione, perché potesse raggiungere i suoi fini per il bene delle artistiche istituzioni e degli studii.

Il Ministro
Fto Costetti

[16]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401

Berlino, 19 ~~Ago~~ Luglio 1895

Riscontro alla lettera N. 3521 del 26 giugno 1895
Divisione per gli Scavi, i Musei e le Gallerie
Oggetto: Per la collezione parmense delle stampe antiche

[Al Kristeller Victoriastrasse, 24 Berlin, W
Per ringraziare AV]

Eccellenza,

Dietro l'invito dell'E.V. mi sono recato a Parma per prendere in esame la collezione parmense delle stampe, e mi affretto di sottoporre all'E.V. il mio parere sulla importanza della raccolta, sul modo migliore, con cui si potrebbe ottenere il suo assetto e sulla spesa, che importerà l'assetto.

La collezione di stampe della R. Biblioteca Palatina in Parma è una delle più numerose e pregevoli, che possiede l'Italia. Vi sono 40.067 stampe in 195 volumi, più 20 volumi di ritratti e 19 cartelle con circa 2500 incisioni. Quanto al valore delle incisioni la collezione è meno ricca di opere del '400 e del principio del '500 che le collezioni di Roma, di Firenze e di Bologna, essa contiene però un numero grande di stampe bellissime e rarissime ed è ricca specialmente di incisioni italiane della seconda metà del '500 del 600 e del 700. Ciò che dà un pregio speciale alla collezione è, che le incisioni quasi tutte sono buone prove ed in stato buonissimo di conservazione.

Fra le incisioni italiane del '400 la collezione possiede anzi tutto una prova d'un niello fiorentino importante, forse di mano di Antonio Pollaiolo, prova unica e non descritta (N. 20946 dell'Inventario), poi la incisione del Pollaiolo, firmata da lui stesso (Bartsch XIII p. 202 n. 2) (N.

978 bis) ed una incisione interessante del '400, non descritta, rappresentante S. Agostino (N. 20947.). Vi sono alcune incisioni del Mantegna (1523-38, 1550-53), di Zoan Andrea (1555 e cartelle 9 N. 1130, 5 N. 397.), di Giovanni Antonio da Brescia (1542), di Jacopo de' Barbari (20980 e 81.), Benedetto Montagna (20962 e 76.). Del Maestro, J.B. all'uccello vi sono due prove d'una incisione in legno, riprodotta nel catalogo della raccolta Fischer e venduta siano bene conservate e messe in luce, credo, che saranno press'a poco 4000 incisioni, le quali in primo luogo meriterebbero di essere conservate ed ordinate in un modo tradizionale come le opere più importanti per lo studio degli amatori e degli scienziati. Le altre intanto si potrebbero lasciare nei volumi, finché sarà possibile di sistemare anche questa parte meno importante della collezione.

I lavori del ristauro delle stampe importanti non saranno tanto difficili e costosi, poiché le stampe per lo più si trovano in buono stato di conservazione. Credo che in un anno da una persona intelligente potrebbero essere eseguiti tanto il lavoro del ristauro delle stampe più importanti quanto quello del metterle su cartoni ecc.

Per le 4000 stampe scelte vi occorreranno circa 2000 cartoni più o meno grossi, secondo il valore ed il genere delle incisioni, i quali importeranno una spesa di circa £. 1500.

Per conservare queste stampe messe su cartoni vi sarà necessario di provvedere circa 60 cassette, fra grandi e piccole e cartelle, le quali importeranno una spesa di circa £ 700.

Le spese per gli armadi, nei quali saranno conservate le cassette ed i volumi, sarebbero da calcolarsi diversamente, se gli armadi, che servono attualmente alla raccolta, saranno consegnati insieme colla raccolta stessa, o se saranno da farsi nuovamente. Nel primo caso i cambiamenti da praticarsi coi vecchi armadi non saranno molto costosi, nel secondo caso la spesa dipende dal materiali e dal genere della fabbricazione. Gli armadi fatti in noce per la prima sala della Collezione delle Stampe del Gabinetto Nazionale in Roma hanno costato circa £ (1900) (comprese le cornici per l'esposizione).

Per la esposizione di un numero delle stampe migliori della raccolta occorreranno almeno circa 100 cornici di differenti grandezze, le quali, fatte di noce, per se faranno una spesa di circa £ (800).

Basteranno le cornici stesse per la esposizione, se potranno essere disposte sopra gli armadi lungo le pareti di una sala. Nel caso, che si potrà usufruire del locale proposto dalla Direzione della R. Pinacoteca di Parma per questo scopo, nel quale locale le pareti fra la finestra per la luce poco favorevole, ed anzi tutto perché dipinte con degli affreschi interessanti non potranno servire per la esposizione delle stampe, sarà necessaria la fabbricazione di bacheche da essere disposte fra le colonne della sala.

Le spese per il materiale per la catalogazione (carte, cassette, schede ecc.) ed il materiale per il ristauro delle stampe non eccederanno la somma di £ 200.

Non si calcolano le spese eventuali per l'addobbamento del locale nonché quelle per la mano d'opera.

Anzitutto mi pare necessario, che sia destinato un locale opportuno e degno per la conservazione e per la esposizione delle stampe, il quale dia lo spazio tanto per i lavori dell'assetto quanto poi per la esposizione e per lo studio delle stampe conservate nelle cassette e nei volumi.

Il locale proposto dalla direzione della R. Pinacoteca di Parma, la sala della vecchia biblioteca dell'ex-convento di S. Francesco [sic], la quale attualmente fa parte della caserma, [*reca] facilmente così due chiostri che ~~la fiancheggiano~~ si trovano ai lati della sala si potrebbe segregare da essa, mi pare bellissimo ed assai idoneo allo scopo in questione e con poca spesa da addattarsi all'uso di gabinetto delle stampe. Con ciò sarebbe anche conservato e restituito allo ~~ate~~ studio dell'arte un locale di pregio artistico e storico.

Trasportata la collezione nel locale destinato per essa, saranno da iniziarsi i lavori dell'inventariazione e della catalogazione provvisoria, la scelta delle stampe migliori, le quali, catalogate e ristaurate, saranno conservate nelle cassette supraindicate o esposte in un modo conveniente per mostrare negli esempi più belli e più tipici lo sviluppo dell'arte dell'incisione. Per questo lavoro principale e preliminare, il quale mette in luce e conserva in modo definitivo le stampe migliori e rende facilmente accessibile la parte rimante della collezione, credo che basterà il tempo di circa 10 mesi.

Paul Kristeller

1896

[17]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424

Roma, lì 30 di Maggio 1896

Comunicare in merito alla Div. per le Biblioteche la proposta, e d'aiuto per il bene delle istituzioni artistiche e dell'arte. AV.

Eccellenza

Per rendere di pubblica utilità i tesori dell'arte antica e trarne prò per l'educazione e la coltura dello spirito e del sentimento, è necessario che questi monumenti, in quanto sono di proprietà pubblica, siano resi non solo materialmente visibili a tutti, ma anche accessibili all'intendimento a mezzo d'un ordinamento adatto ai bisogni degli studiosi.

Le singole opere d'arte acquistano maggior valore per lo studio, se riunite con altre omogenee, e non possono essere perfettamente intese, se non l'una in relazione con le altre, facendo tutte parte d'un continuo e logico sviluppo. Lo studio delle opere d'arte consiste essenzialmente nel confrontarle l'una con l'altra, per scoprire le loro relazioni di somiglianze e di differenze, per trovare gli autori e tessere la storia.

Le opera delle arti grafiche sparse in varie biblioteche governative in Italia sono tanto lontane dal corrispondere a questa fine, che per lo più sono praticamente inaccessibili, tanto che spesso gli studiosi non posso avere cognizione della loro esistenza. E quand'anche accessibili, la mancanza di un ordinamento ragionevole, di cataloghi, di libri di consultazione o dell'aiuto di specialisti ne rendono lo studio difficilissimo agli studiosi, quasi impossibile ed inutile agli amatori. Il gusto dell'arte, il godimento di tutte le sue opera deve altamente contribuire alla coltura dell'intelletto e dell'anima, che invece di nasconderle e di rendere arduo l'accesso, si avrebbe il dovere, di offrirne l'aspetto quanto più è possibile al pubblico, e invitare questo con ogni mezzo visitarle.

Per tutti gl'istituti pubblici non può valere altro che il solo principio dell'utilità pubblica, affinché tutti gli oggetti esistentivi rendano il maggior frutto possibile per l'insegnamento e lo studio. Perché dunque deve essere reso impossibile, o difficile, o meno vantaggioso lo studio per la dispersione di opere d'arte dello stesso genere in diversi istituti di carattere differente?

Già da diversi anni il Ministero della P.I. in più d'una occasione ha riconosciuto ed enunciato la necessità di tirar fuori dagli armadi delle biblioteche i tesori dell'arte antica che vi rimangono ancora nascosti, di metterli in luce, alla vista di tutti, aggregandoli alle collezioni omogenee, cioè alle Pinacoteche e Gallerie. Così già nel 1881 la importante collezione di stampe della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (essendosi verificati gravi furti) passò per ordine del Ministero della P.I. alla R. Pinacoteca di quella città, e vi furono unite le poche ma pregevolissime stampe della Scuola d'Incisione dell'Accademia di Belle Arti. Nell'anno passato la collezione di stampe della Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei (Corsiniana) fu data in consegna alla Galleria Nazionale in Roma, poiché la necessità di conservarla e di ordinarla meglio che non era possibile nella Biblioteca si riconosceva anche dall'amministrazione stessa della Biblioteca. Vi fu fatta una esposizione di alcune delle stampe di maggior

valore, e adesso si continuano i lavori dell'ordinamento. Una decisione simile fù già presa tempo fa dal Ministero per la ricca collezione di stampe della Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, e si aspetta solo l'assettamento d'un locale idoneo per esporre anche questa collezione aggregandola alla R. Galleria di parma.

Nonostante questi principî, così per lo sviluppo delle collezioni pubbliche di stampe e di disegni già esistenti, come per quelle che si formeranno in futuro è necessario di stabilire la massima, che esse debbono conservarsi presso le Pinacoteche e Gallerie di belle Arti.

In parecchie biblioteche governative si trovano piccole raccolte di stampe pregevoli, singole stampe d'alto pregio, adesso quasi sconosciute, le quali, se riunite con le collezioni ne accrescerebbero considerevolmente, senza spesa, il fondo, pur liberando le biblioteche d'un peso inutile per loro, e potrebbero in questo modo essere meglio studiare, servirebbero in fine per completare la serie di stampe da per sé o per mezzo di cambi fra le varie collezioni nazionali.

Questo sistema di distribuzione della suppellettile artistica di proprietà pubblica fra i diversi istituti governativi è seguito anche in Germania, in Francia ed in Inghilterra.

Sul mercato ai tempi nostri molte delle incisioni più preziose si offrono forse per l'ultima volta in vendita. Le grandi collezioni nazionali dell'estero, che già hanno raccolta gran parte dei fondi disponibili di stampe antiche, assorbono sempre più gli ultimi avanzi delle antiche collezioni private, e più avidamente ancora da quando anche l'America si è mostrata sul campo come avversario formidabile. Se in momenti propizii, permettendolo i fondi disponibili, il Governo volesse prendere parte alle vendite per ricuperare al paese alcune delle opere d'arte più pregevoli, anzitutto occorrerebbe la conoscenza esatta di quello, che già è posseduto dalle Collezioni Nazionali, per colmare le lacune e poter fare gli acquisti con la scrupolosità necessaria. Per avere queste conoscenza delle stampe già esistenti in possesso pubblico sarebbe indispensabile di tirar fuori anche quelle conservate nelle biblioteche, catalogarle e studiarle.

Nelle biblioteche in generale le incisioni non sono e non possono essere conservate coi debiti riguardi, mancano alle loro amministrazioni le conoscenze ed i mezzi per assicurare gli avanzi, quasi sempre mezzo rovinati, da ulteriori danni. Nelle collezioni di stampe, se ordinate secondo i criteri riconosciuti da lunga pratica ed approvati dal Ministero della P. Istruzione, quei saggi sarebbero molto più sicuri, meglio conservati ed esposti artisticamente, ed anzi tutto, come già si è detto, sarebbero in tutt'altro modo accessibile agli amatori e studiosi, per i quali questi tesori in mezzo a tanti altri dello stesso genere, col corredo di libri, di riproduzioni necessarie per lo studio, acquisteranno valore ed utilità molto maggiore che non avevano prima.

Le collezioni di stampe invece debbono cedere alle Biblioteche, dandosi il caso, stampe o serie di stampe, le quali hanno non tanto valore artistico quanto un interesse speciale per la storia del luogo o la scienza, come p. es. carte topografiche, riproduzioni architettoniche, botaniche ecc.

Sarebbe necessario adunque di far noto alle amministrazioni delle biblioteche governative, che le singole incisioni o raccolte di incisioni debbono esser segregate dalla suppellettile letteraria della Biblioteca, ed inventariate separatamente, per essere consegnate a tempo utile alle rispettive collezioni di stampe o alle Pinacoteche esistenti nella stessa città.

Come incisioni s'intendono quelle pubblicate originalmente come singoli fogli o serie di stampe, le quali, benché abbiano la forma di libri, non sono da considerarsi come tali, o perché le singole stampe sono incollate posteriormente nei libri o perché sono unite soltanto a mezzo d'un frontispizio inciso o stampato, d'una prefazione ecc., in modo che il testo non serve che per introdurre le incisioni; in somma tutte le stampe o serie di stampe, nelle quali il valore letterario sparisce in confronto al valore artistico. In pratica non sarà difficile di stabilire di caso in caso la differenza fra serie di stampe e libri illustrati.

Per le biblioteche di proprietà libera del governo non vi sarà difficoltà, stanti i casi precedenti delle Biblioteche di Bologna, Corsini, e di Parma; per le biblioteche autonome, in primo luogo la Casanatense in Roma e la Marucelliana in Firenze, forse si potrebbe trovar modo, che le incisioni fossero consegnate alle Pinacoteche a titolo di deposito, rimanendo proprietà delle Biblioteche stesse.

Per quanto si può desumere dalle "Notizie storiche, bibliografiche e statistiche sulle Biblioteche Governative del regno d'Italia (1893 Roma) e da altre ricerche, ecco quali di esse possiedono stampe:

Roma: La Biblioteca Naz. Cent. Vitt. Em: (fuori dalla Collezione Romana, che deve restare nella biblioteca) possiede una piccola raccolta di circa 300 stampe, fra le quali alcune di qualche valore

Bibl. Alessandrina: due volumi con 116 stampe (di A. Dürer ecc.)

Bibl. Angelica: una numerosa collezione di stampe, di libri di merletti ecc.

Bibl. Casanatense, benché per furti anteriori molto scemata, conserva una ricca collezione di stampe, ricordata dal solo Zani (una incisione unica della raccolta è stata riprodotta nell'Archivio Storico dell'Arte 1892).

Bibl. Lancisiana, Vallicelliana e di S. Cecilia: non possiedono stampe, in quanto sappiamo

Firenze: Bibl. Naz. Centrale:

284 stampe di Dürer, 82 cosiddette carte di Tarocco, ed alcune altre del '400, 16 volumi di ritratti

Bibl. Marucelliana:
collezione importante di circa 80.000 stampe, poco meno pregevole di quella delle RR. Gallerie degli Uffizi

Bibl. Ricciardiana:
alcune stampe tedesche del '400, uniche (V. Lehrs Repertorium…)

Bibl. Laurenziana
Una incisione del '400, rappresentante Dante, incollata in un codice, solo un altro esemplare si conosce, a Vienna nella Bibl. Imperiale.

Milano Bibl. Nazionale Braidense
Raccolta numerosa di stampe, la quale sarebbe da unirsi con quella dell'Accademia di Belle Arti.

Napoli Biblioteca Nazionale
Si fa cenno nel suindicato libro ad una larga raccolta di stampe, la quale potrebbe accrescere quella del R. Museo

Biblioteca universitaria e

Bibl. Brancacciana. Non si sa se vi siano delle stampe

Palermo, Bibl. Nazionale (idem)

Torino. Biblioteca Nazionale

Collezione di 10.321 stampe.

Venezia Bibl. Marciana

Raccolta di stampe, una di incisione di scuola veneziana del '400, incollata in un libro, è stata (pubblicata dal Prefetto Capellani, ed in altri libri).

Cremona. Biblioteca Governativa
106 stampe di Rembrandt (già consegnate alla Pinacoteca di Cremona?)

Lucca Bibl. Pubblica (da farsi delle ricerche

Modena Bibl. Estense (non possiede delle stampe)

Parma Bibl. Palatina. L'ordine per la consegna della ricchissima collezione alla R. Pinacoteca è già stato dato dal Ministero della P.I.

Bologna. Bibl. Universitaria

La collezione di stampe fu consegnata alla R. Pinacoteca già nel 1881.

Pavia Bibl. Universitaria

3930 stampe (Forse potrebbero essere date in deposito alla Galleria Malaspina, la quale già possiede una pregevolissima raccolta.

Ricerche, se esistono delle stampe, sarebbero da farsi anche nelle Biblioteche seguenti:
Pisa, Padova, Genova, Messina, Cagliari, Catania, Sassari.

Paul Kristeller

[18]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424 (draft)

Alla Direzione Generale per l'Istruzione Superiore le Biblioteche e gli Affari Generali. Ministero

Oggetto: Collezioni di antiche stampe nelle Biblioteche governative

Roma, addì 26 Giugno 1896

Lo studio di un'opera d'arte consiste quasi esclusivamente nel confronto di essa con altre opere omogenee, a fine di stabilire i rapporti di somiglianza e le differenze fra loro, […] il carattere e determinarne gli autori. In tal modo soltanto è reso evidente il continuo e logico sviluppo dell'arte nei secoli andati, e ne è resa possibile e sicura la storia.
Le opere delle arti grafiche sparse nelle varie biblioteche governative d'Italia sono lontane dal corrispondere a tale scopo, perché rimangono per lo più inaccessibili, e sovente gli studiosi non possono avere cognizione della loro esistenza. Quand'anche accessibili fossero, la mancanza di un ragionevole ordinamento, di cataloghi, di libri da confrontare, e dell'aiuto di specialisti, ne rendono lo studio difficilissimo ai periti della materia, e quasi impossibile e inutile agli amatori. Eppure il gusto dell'arte e il godimento di tutte le sue produzioni contribuiscono altamente alla cultura dell'intelletto e dell'anima; ed invece di tenere nascoste queste produzioni e di renderne arduo l'accesso, sarebbe un dovere di esporle per quanto è possibile, alla vista del pubblico, e di facilitarne ed incoraggiarne il concorso.
Già da diversi anni, in più occasioni, questo Ufficio ha riconosciuto ed annunciato la necessitò di tirare fuori dagli armadi delle Biblioteche governative i tesori dell'arte antica che vi rimangono ancora nell'ombra, di rimetterli in luce, di esporli pubblicamente, aggregandoli alle collezioni omogenee delle R.R. Gallerie. Nel 1881 la preziosa raccolta di stampe della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, dopo gravi furti verificatisi, passò, per ordine del Ministero, alla R. Pinacoteca di quella città. E furono ad essa unite i pochi ma pregevolissimi cimeli della Scuola d'incisione dell'Accademia di Belle Arti. Nell'anno decorso la collezione di stampe della Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei (Corsiniana) fu data in consegna alla Galleria Nazionale di Roma, perché la necessità di conservarla e di ordinarla meglio che prima non fosse, era anche riconosciuta dalla stessa Amministrazione della Biblioteca. Ivi sono esposte alcune stampe fra quelle di maggior valore, e ora i lavori di

ordinamento continuano. Una decisione simile fu già presa tempo fa, d'accordo con codesta On. Direzione Generale, per la cospicua raccolta di stampe della Biblioteca Palatina di Parma, e si aspetta frattanto l'adattamento di un locale opportuno per esporla al pubblico, aggregandola alla RR. Galleria di quella città.
Ma in parecchie altre Biblioteche governative si trovano piccole raccolte di stampe pregevoli e taluna d'altro pregio, che ora sono quasi sconosciute, ma che riunite con le collezioni delle R.R. Gallerie, ne aumenterebbero considerevolmente senz'alcuna spesa, l'entità ed il valore, pur liberando le Biblioteca da un peso e da una responsabilità inutile per esse; e le piccole raccolte su dette sarebbero in tal modo più e meglio studiate, e servirebbero a completare le serie di stampe già esistenti o non gli esemplari unici che di esse vi fossero, o per [*fare] cambi fra le varie collezioni nazionali.
Le stampe che le Biblioteche governative potrebbero cedere alle R.R. Gallerie sono quelle o isolate o legate in serie, di natura puramente artistica, escluse quindi tutte le altre che sono speciali per la scienza o per la storia locale, come, ad esempio, le carte topografiche, le riproduzioni anatomiche, botaniche, ecc.
Vegga, dunque, codesta On. Direzione Generale se può aderire al desiderio della Direzione scrivente, ordinando alle varie amministrazioni delle Biblioteche governative si segregare dalla loro suppellettile letteraria tutte le singole incisioni o serie d'incisioni, per inventariarle separatamente, e consegnarle poi alle rispettive collezioni di stampe o alle Pinacoteche esistenti nella stessa città. Stavì in attesa di conoscere in proposito l'avviso di codesta On. Direzione Generale.

Il Direttore Generale
F.to Costetti

[19]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424

Al Sig. Direttore Generale per le Antichità e Belle Arti. Ministero.

Oggetto Collezioni di antiche stampe nelle biblioteche governative

Roma, addì 11 Luglio 1896

Conformemente alla proposta fatta da V.S. nella lettera indicata di fianco, il Ministero ha invitato i bibliotecarii delle biblioteche pubbliche governative di Firenze, Lucca, Milano, Roma, Torino, Venezia a cercare se nella suppellettile dei rispettivi istituti esistano delle incisioni o serie d'incisioni, le quali possano essere convenientemente cedute in deposito alle locali R. Gallerie o R. Pinacoteche, segregandole dal resto della suppellettile della biblioteca, ed inventariandole separatamente. […]

Il Direttore Generale

[20]

Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, Archivio Storico, 1896 (draft)

Lucca, 17 luglio 1896

A S.E. Il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Roma

Se per stampe si deve intendere una rappresentazione figurata o di [*pregio] tale da dare un contributo all'arte come lavoro a sé, allora questa biblioteca non ne possiede alcuna. Ma essa conserva 9 volumi d'incisioni, dalle quali una parte avevano […] frontespizi di libri, altra vignette tolte ad antichi volumi. Zibaldoni, insomma, di scarso valore.

Sono 16 i volumi da me raccolti contenenti ritratti di principi, di prelati e di altri uomini illustri; ma tenendo conto delle notizie biografiche che sono di corredo a ciascuno, è opinione mia che tale collezione giovi assai più alla storia civile che a quella dell'arte.

Abbastanza pregevole è, a parer mio, uno "Schema aller Uniform der Kaiserl. Konigl. Kriegsvölkern" Wien, 1792, in 16°, ricco di 129 incisioni colorate.

Il Bibliotecario
Boselli

[21]

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Archivio Storico, fascicolo D – Cose diverse – a. 1896 (draft)

Ven 18 lugl 96

Risposta a lettera

Collezioni di antiche stampe

Questa biblioteca non possiede al presente alcuna collezione o serie di antiche stampe ne possedeva già una provenuta dal legato di Sig. Ascanio Molin (1883), ma passò nel 1885 al Civico Museo Correr in seguito a convenzione firmata tra il R. Governo e questo Municipio.

Tanto in risposta alla lettera circolare notata a fianco.

Il bibl
Castellani

[22]

Parma, Complesso Monumentale della Pilotta, Biblioteca Palatina, Archivio Storico, varie 1896 (draft?)

22 Luglio 96
Riservata al Cav. Alvisi

Il pensiero di raccogliere nelle Gallerie e Pinacoteche dello Stato le stampe sparse nelle Biblioteche Governative è certamente lodevole, se è determinato, caso per caso, da ragioni scientifiche ed amministrative, se lo scopo è limitato a quella sola suppellettile che non ha valore esclusivamente artistico, che non è ordinata, che è quasi [?] negl'istituti.

Tale pensiero però credo non sia applicabile alla insigne raccolta che è in questa Biblioteca, e che non ha bisogno di cure speciali, perché fu ordinata da quello stesso Giovanni Volpato a cui si deve l'altra raccolta di pregevoli disegni che si conservano nella Biblioteca privata di S.M. il Re in Torino; perché di essa si possiede un diligente catalogo compilato dal Conte Alessandro Vesme; perché i frequentatori hanno sempre avuto perfetta libertà di studio; e perché essa anche per le legature artistiche e per altre opere d'arte forma un tutto unito con la libreria, la quale non è altro che la Biblioteca dei Reali di Savoia, donata da […] II all'Università (1720).

Scindere questa collezione dalla Biblioteca sarebbe come spezzare tutta una storia di [cultura?] che ci lega alla storia della Casa Reale, e quel che forse più importa, senza alcun vantaggio per gli studi, giacché il disporre questa come qualunque grande collezione, nella Galleria o Pinacoteca [importerebbe?] limitarne lo studio a pochi privilegiati.

Lasciando stare infatti che nelle Gallerie e nelle Pinacoteche si paga l'ingresso, è noto a tutti che in esse non vi è, [?] colle Biblioteche, alcun [esempio od aiuto?] per parte d'impiegati, giacché il visitatore [?]

sé stesso. Lo feci per esperienza che, andato per due volte, pur troppo a mie spese, alla Galleria di Firenze ed all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano, non mi riuscì di vedere le stampe colà conservate; mentre ottenni con quella stessa facilità con cui si ottiene un libro, di poter esaminare quelle esistenti nella Biblioteca Corsiniana di Roma, nella Marucelliana di Firenze, nell'Ambrosiana e Trivulziana di Milano. Credere quindi che le stampe siano più accessibili in una Galleria che in una Biblioteca, è per me una vera e propria illusione.

Ad ogni modo l'uso di conservare le stampe nelle Biblioteche è istituto prettamente Italiano; e bibliotecari italiani furono i più grandi collettori e [illustratori?] di stampe dal sec. XVI a tutto il sec. XVIII. E fu appunto ad imitazione delle nostre grandi Biblioteche che le grandi Biblioteche di Parigi, di Londra, di Vienna, di Pietroburgo, di Madrid che abbiano ed hanno annesso i gabinetti delle stampe; poiché se è vero che le stampe isolate servono alla storia dell'arte, è pur vero che servono, come è noto ai bibliografi, anche più alla storia del libro, di cui l'incisione è figlia primogenita. Sarebbe quindi [?] ed utile che il provvedimento, come pare sia anche la circolare, fosse limitato alle piccole raccolte, e soprattutto alle piccole raccolte che non hanno storia, se per ciò è consentito dalle Leggi e dai Regolamenti. Dico così perché il provvedimento mi pare contrario all'art. 8 della legge sulla stampa e all'art. 24 del Regolamento organico delle Biblioteche. È per effetto della legge della stampe che le Biblioteche Universitarie hanno diritto ad un esemplare delle arti riproduttive e sono obbligati a formare le collezioni [cartacee?]. Ed è per effetto dell'art. 12 del Regolamento, che sono obbligate a catalogare le antiche e le moderne.

Turbare quindi con i [cambiamenti?] questo indirizzo e questa condizione giuridica di cose credo possa riuscire pericoloso. Vero è che si tratterebbe di semplice deposito, ma anche un deposito può essere amministrativamente pericoloso per diversi riguardi che [?].

Se il Ministero ha mezzi e modo di dare assetto nuovo e moderno alle raccolte di stampe conservate nelle Biblioteche, nulla impedisce che si istituiscano nelle medesime Gabinetti speciali e riservati, perché se è vero che ora gli specialisti sono scarsi nelle Biblioteche, è pur vero che sono scarsissimi nelle Pinacoteche e per modo che l'assetto delle stampe, certo con poca gloria [paesana?] e non senza pericolo è affidato ad uno straniero. Si sa poi che i Direttori e gl'impiegati delle Gallerie, quando non sono letterati, sono troppo innamorati dell'arte grande per portare [?] affetto alle arti minori.

Io stesso avrei provato una iniziativa per stabilire con criteri moderni un Gabinetto delle stampe, se non avessi osservato che il Ministero è impotente a provvedere non alle sole stampe, ma alla conservazione di questi manoscritti in genova, a quella dei calchi manoscritti di Bobbio in imperia; e soprattutto ai bisogni più elementari

e più urgenti dell'Istituto. E il Ministero non ignora che la mia corrispondenza ufficiale dal 1893 a questa parte giustifica tale giudizio.

Tuttociò credo avvenga perché le Biblioteche, a differenza degli Archivi e delle Gallerie e Pinacoteche non hanno né consiglio ufficiale presso il Ministero, né alcun rappresentante presso il consiglio superiore, né ebbero mai per il papato un serio ispettore tecnico, e però si trovano abbandonate ora alle illegittime influenze di professori universitari, ora alle invadenze di servizi più [?], più organizzati, o meno occupati dello stesso Ministero.

Questo giudizio sommario e queste mie impressioni non possono essere […] dal fatto che la Raccolta di Stampe dell'Università di Bologna fu già spostata in quella R. Pinacoteca, perché anzi le conferma e le giustifica. Si va bene che quella povera Biblioteca non ha neppure un catalogo decente de' suoi tesori manoscritti, ma non per questo, a luogo si […] di farne una registrazione […], ora il caso di depositarli altrove. Potrei dimostrare, se il Ministero volesse, che tali depositi nascono spesso economicamente, amministrativamente e scientificamente disastrosi.

Mi perdoni il Ministero questa che parrà forse eccessiva franchezza; la quale però è solo ispirata all'amore vivissimo ed oggettivo che io porto alle Biblioteche e dal dovere che ha ogni ufficiale di provincia di esprimere intero ed aperto il proprio giudizio all'amministrazione centrale. D'altra parte il Ministero sa che io sono altrettanto libero dell'esprimere le mie opinioni quanto sono leale, scrupoloso ed egregio esecutore degli ordini ministeriali.

[23]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424 (draft)

Al Direttore Generale per l'Istruzione Superiore le biblioteche e gli affari generali. Ministero.

Oggetto: Collezioni di antiche stampe nelle biblioteche governative

Roma, addì 9 ottobre 1896

Gradirei conoscere se i Direttori delle pubbliche biblioteche di Firenze, Lucca, Milano, Roma, Torino e Venezia, obbedendo all'invito della S.V., abbiano fatto ricerca delle incisioni o serie di incisioni, eventualmente

esistenti nelle biblioteche stesse, per essere depositate nei locali delle R.R. Gallerie o delle Pinacoteche, ove troverebbero sede più naturale.

Il Direttore Generale

[24]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 213, fasc. 424

Al Direttore Generale per l'Antichità e le Belle Arti. Ministero.

Oggetto: Collezioni di antiche stampe nelle biblioteche governative

Roma, addì 18 Dicembre 1896

All'invito rivolto ai Sig.ri Bibliotecari, di cui è parola nella mia lettera del 17 Luglio u.s., Prot. Gen. N. 13371, per la cessione delle incisioni o serie di incisioni, hanno risposto negativamente i Signori Direttori della Marciana di Venezia, della Nazionale di Torino, della Nazionale Centrale, della Riccardiana, della Mediceo-Laurenziana e della Marucelliana di Firenze, dell'Alessandrina, della Lancisiana, della Angelica e della Casanatense di Roma, e della Estense di Modena, parte per mancanza di materiale, parte per motivi tecnici o per vincoli testamentari e di fondazione.

Degli altri:

il Sig. Bibliotecario della V. Emanuele di Roma, ha risposto che in quella Biblioteca esistono incisioni e serie d'incisioni che possono essere cedute al locale Gabinetto delle stampe, ed egli sta provvedendo ad inventariarle;

il Sig. Bibliotecario della Braidense di Milano avverte che quella Biblioteca possiede solo un certo numero d'incisioni staccate di scarsa importanza artistica, secondo il parere del Comm. Bertini, Direttore della Pinacoteca locale;

il Sig. Bibliotecario della Governativa di Lucca annunzia che quella Biblioteca possiede 9 volumi d'incisioni, delle quali una parte avevano ad essere frontespizio di libri, altre vignette tolte ai antichi volumi; zibaldoni, insomma, di scarso valore: ed un pregevole "Schema aller Uniform der Kaiserl. Konigl. Kriegsvölkern! (Wien, 1792), in 16°, ricco di 129 incisioni colorate.

In fine il Sig. Bibliotecario della Vallicelliana di Roma ricorda di avere in data del 25 Febbraio u.s. inviata al Ministero una nota di oggetti

ingombranti la soffitta della Biblioteca fra cui molte pitture e stampe incollate su tavolette di legno, e di aver chiesto che s'inviasse persona competente a stimarle. La nota di cui sopra non è più negli atti di questo ufficio. Del resto, allora non fu provveduto alla stima degli oggetti in questione; e poiché adesso il Sig. Bibliotecario della Vallicelliana rinnova la preghiera fatta nel Febbraio, io lascio a S.V. di giudicare sulla opportunità d'inviare sul posto una persona competente o vedere se si tratti di oggetti degni d'essere raccolti e conservati; e in caso Le paia conveniente, La prego di voler Ella direttamente provvedere.

Il Direttore Generale

[25]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, II vers., I s., b. 313, fasc. 5347
(draft in Venice, Archivio Storico Polo Museale, Affari generali, b. 1, fasc. 7)

Venezia, 27 dicembre 1896

Oggetto: Proposta di aggiungere alle R.R. Gallerie una raccolta di stampe.

L'Arte dell'incisione, sorta appena, camminò sempre accompagnata con l'arte del dipingere, ne tradusse col bulino tutti gli svolgimenti e tutte le varietà, diffuse largamente la conoscenza dei capolavori, a mano a mano che questi nascevano. Operò qualche volta per suo conto, senza obbligarsi a riprodurre un esemplare pittorico; ma, anche quando fu originale, la concezione recò visibilissimi i caratteri del periodo artistico in cui quel tentativo di indipendenza fu fatto, sicché anche in quei capi l'incisione resta per noi come arte indivisibile dalla pittura; della quale essa è ora la verace rappresentante, ora la commentatrice, ora la sorella che ne compie e ne estende con i suoi mezzi il pensiero.

Un'idea pratica che può emergere da queste considerazione è che oramai una galleria ha la necessità di accompagnarsi ad una raccolta di stampe, non ecletticamente racimolate, ma meditatamente scelte e rispondenti all'indole e al carattere dei quadri di cui la galleria è formata. La fortunata unione che il R. Ministero ha potuto fare a Roma e a Bologna, completando utilmente due raccolte di pitture con due raccolte di stampe, mi fa nascere il desiderio che qualcosa di simile si faccia anche

a Venezia. Dichiaro subito che sono lontanissimo dall'aspirare alla formazione di una raccolta ricca e varia come quelle che ho nominate: la galleria qui non può essere che veneta, e le sarà titolo di alta ammirazione giungere a rappresentare completamente tutta la pittura veneta; al quale intanto questa direzione mirerà sempre, ogni volta che le accadrà di proporre al Ministero un acquisto, un deposito, un cambio. Similmente la direzione, ove il Ministero volesse aiutarla nel proposito di adunare una collezione di stampe, non vorrebbe che quelle le quali sono direttamente legate all'arte di questa regione italiana; e se le avvenisse, nella vicenda, dei casi, di avere stampe lombarde, bolognesi, toscane ecc. volentieri le cederebbe alle altre gallerie, ov'esse sarebbero più profittevolmente esposte; e chiederebbe in ricambio quelle che ad essa particolarmente sono vantaggiose.

Iniziare una novità di questa specie a me sembra tutt'altro che difficile. Non occorre che un amichevole accordo tra due divisioni ministeriali. In quasi tutte le biblioteche governative c'è una collezione di stampe. Se queste formano parte del libro stesso, conviene che gli restino congiunte; perché sarebbe barbaro scindere le membra di un organismo ch'è nato in quella forma, ed il tutto sarebbe privato di quel soccorso dell'incisione che lo scrittore ha reputato necessario; ma le incisioni che [hanno] una vita a sé, affatto indipendente dà libri, a che però continuano a stare accumulate nelle biblioteche? Non è il loro posto. La biblioteca è il deposito del pensiero scritto, non dell'opera d'arte. Ad accogliere quest'ultima ci sono musei e gallerie, ove l'incisione prende spontaneamente l'ufficio che le appartiene, e si affratella con dipinti o con sculture.

Facendo una così razionale divisione di parti, il Ministero provvederebbe poi al bisogno, che c'è, di conoscerle davvero queste incisioni; giacché nelle biblioteche il vederle resta spesso un desiderio inappagato. Non so, per esempio, se vi sia uno studioso il quale possa vantarsi di aver veduto quelle della Biblioteca Marciana. Nascondere stabilmente un tesoro equivale a sopprimerne l'esistenza.

Una galleria invece non accoglierebbe incisioni, se non a patto di tenerle continuamente esposte agli occhi di tutti. Quanto beneficio da questa continua familiarità con l'opera d'arte, da questa colleganza immediata ch'essa acquista con altre opere d'arte, in virtù del luogo ove effettivamente non abita che l'arte! Nel caso particolare della galleria di Venezia, la raccolta delle incisioni (qualora approdassero a buon fine le ricerche che si vanno facendo, per apparecchiare una nuova sede all'Istituto di belle arti) può essere disposta in varie stanze attigue alla sala dei disegni; e in tal modo il collocamento non potrebb'essere più opportuno. Ma, pur espediente provvisorio, si può disporla nel corridoio, nella sala Aristo, nella loggia palladiana; né vi sarebbe la necessità di muovere nemmeno un quadro dalle pareti, giacché

profitterei degli spazi di mezzo, facendo mobili di poco volume, con due facce poste obliquamente, a guisa dei pioventi d'un tetto. Spererei che in tale modo mi divenisse facile esporre tutta la parte migliore veneta; e a mettere in vista il rimanente compito che si provvederebbe in avvenire, quando ci sarà dato ampliare lo spazio della galleria, come, non solo per questa, ma per altre ragioni è molto da desiderare.

Rinnovo le dichiarazioni del mio profondo rispetto.

Il Direttore
Cantalamessa

1897

[26]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, II vers., I s., b. 313, fasc. 5347

Al Signore Direttore Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti

7 gennaio 1897

Da quattro anni il Ministero ha tenuto di mira le collezioni di stampe italiane, per evitare le dispersioni andavano soggette e per comporre con esse la raccolta generale delle incisioni. Ha condotto a buon punto l'assetto della raccolta di Bologna; ha dato qualche incremento a quella di Firenze; ha ricevuto dall'Accademia dei Lincei e iniziato l'ordinamento del gabinetto nazionale delle stampe in Roma; ha ottenuta la cessione delle stampe della Biblioteca di Parma, le quali si ordineranno convenientemente nel locale che il Ministero della Guerra è disposto a cedere a questo Ministero. La proposta del Cantalamessa viene a completare il disegno stabilito, perché all'Italia non vengano meno i prestigiosi materiali di studio atistico, quali sono le incisioni antiche, e perché possa stare degnamente a riscontro con le altre nazioni, le quali a Berlino, a Dresda, a Monaco, a Parigi a Londra hanno collezioni cospicue e sin qui invidiabili.

[written by Adolfo Venturi]

[27]

Venice, Polo Museale di Venezia, Archivio Storico, Affari generali, b. 1, fasc. 7
(draft in Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, II vers., I s., b. 313, fasc. 5347, dated 30 December 1896)

Al Direttore delle RR Gallerie Venezia

16 gennaio 1897

Approvo e lodo la proposta della S.V., e La invio a trattare con la direzione della Biblioteca Marciana per la cessione delle stampe; usando quel garbo che Le è consueto e che perciò è inutile raccomandarle. Prima di rivolgermi direttamente al Direttore di quella Biblioteca avrei caro di conoscere se egli sia disposto alla cessione, se non mova difficoltà, oppure se metta condizioni e quali. Avute tali notizie, l'azione del Ministero potrà svolgersi più sollecita.

[28]

Venice, Polo Museale di Venezia, Archivio Storico, Affari generali, b. 1, fasc. 7 (draft)

Al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione

21 gennaio 1897

Il signor Prefetto della Biblioteca Marciana, sarebbe, in massima, favorevole a cedere le incisioni alle R.R. Gallerie, permassissimo che tali manifestazioni artistiche sieno più accostate, per la loro natura, a quadri che a libri; ma mi ha subito osservato che quante stampe pregevoli la Biblioteca conservava, sono state cedute, per sentenza di tribunale, al Museo Civico, essendo tutte provenute dal legato di Ascanio Molin.

Io sapeva che in quella obbligatoria cessione la Biblioteca s'era privata di stampe pregevolissime e numerose; ma presumevo sulla fede del detto altrui, che molte altre gliene fossero rimaste non appartenute al Molin. Il sig. Prefetto ha desiderato che coi miei occhi mi disingannassi, e difetti la delusione è stata delle più inaspettate e spiacevoli!

Si tratta d'una collezione di litografie: ritratti di scrittori illustri dei primi anni di questo secolo, di maestri di musica, di cantanti; vedutine di ville signorili, di teatri, di paeselli; riproduzione di quadri

dell'Appiani o d'altri pittori di quell'infausto periodo; non gran numero di ritratti di Napoleone I e di personaggi militari e politici storicamente schierati intorno a lui; e in mezzo a tal folla appare qua e là, come cosa sperduta, qualche incisione del secolo scorso: un Morgagni, per esempio, inciso da Angelica Kauffmann, un Savonarola di altro settecentista. Nulla di pregevole insomma, nulla che si connetta alla storia della pittura veneziana! […].

Tale è lo stato delle cose e ne avverto il R. Ministero.
Confermo i sentimenti profondi del mio rispetto.

Il Direttore
Cantalamessa

1898

[29]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 203, fasc. 398

A Sua Eccellenza Il Ministro della Istruzione Pubblica Direzione Generale di Antichità e Belle Arti

Roma, addì 14 maggio 1898

Oggetto: Collezione di stampe di Parma
[Allegato]

La Collezione delle stampe della biblioteca […]
Il mio compito per l'ordinamento della collezione, appena che la Galleria l'abbia ricevuta in consegna, consisterebbe nel seguente:
Fare un catalogo provvisorio a schede mobili secondo i nomi degli artisti, determinando gli autori delle stampe alla scorta delle attribuzioni fatti dagli scrittori competenti.
Provvedere al collocamento opportuno della collezione (definitivo o provvisorio).
Comporre un piano storico per l'ordinamento definitivo della collezione.
Iniziare i cataloghi ed inventarii definitivi, come saggio nel modo da seguirsi.

Scegliere una serie delle stampe più preziose e caratteristiche e belle per fare una Esposizione nel locale destinato a questo scopo, sorvegliare il lavoro del ristauro.

Iniziare l'assetto definitivo della collezione, disponendo un numero di stampe importanti sui cartone a passe-partout in cassette, in quanto vi sarà del denaro e del tempo per questo lavoro.

Procedere alla sistemazione della collezione, riunendo le opere degli artisti provvisoriamente nei volumi, ed indicando questi spostamenti nell'inventario numerico, il quale sulla base dell'antica numerazione deve comprendere tutta la collezione.

Per il metodo da seguirsi in questo lavoro mi regolerò secondo i principi approvati dalla Giunta Superiore di Belle Arti, ed espressi nelle mie relazioni sull'ordinamento delle collezioni di Bologna e di Roma, sottoposte al Ministero di P. Istruzione.

La Sala della antica biblioteca dell'ex- Convento di S. Giovanni Evangelista, preparata già da tempo per servire come Gabinetto delle stampe, si presta meravigliosamente a questo scopo, e sarà, senza dubbio, il più bello gabinetto delle stampe che esiste. È situata al primo piano e accessibile per la antica farmacia e per una scala larga, essa è illuminata da sei grandissime finestre, che danno luce ed aria in abbondanza alla sala. Come mostra già la perfetta conservazione degli affreschi, il locale è completamente asciutto e sicuro in ogni rispetto. Due file di 10 colonne dividono la sala in tre navate, ed offrono così quattro linee per l'esposizione delle stampe. Lungo le pareti saranno disposti gli armadii, nei quali saranno conservate le cassette, i volumi e le cartelle contenenti la collezione delle stampe Sopra questi armadi rimane spazio soltanto per una fila di cornici, poiché le pareti, ornate di affreschi interessanti, naturalmente non possono essere coperte. Vi saranno disposti quattro armadii di circa 4,20m. ognuno e due di 4,60m fra le finestre sulle pareti più lunghe, due di 5,30m sulla parete più corta in faccia alla porta d'ingresso, e due più profondi, di 3,20 m. per le cartelle grandi, a destra e a sinistra della porta d'ingresso.

Negli spazi fra le dieci colonne vi saranno disposte 8 bacheche parallele alle pareti più lunghe della sala. Ognuna delle bacheche, lunghe 2,90 m, offre posto per 4 file di cornici.

In complesso vi sarà spazio fra le colonne di 92.80 m, e lungo le pareti di 36,20 m.

La divisione dello spazio disponibile per l'esposizione ha suggerito l'idea di fare due mostre differenti, corrispondenti l'una con l'altra, cioè di disporre sulla bacheche fra le colonne una serie delle stampe più interessanti e belle della raccolta, illustranti lo svolgimento storico dell'arte dell'incisione. Due file saranno riservate alla scuola italiana, due per le scuole oltramontane, francesa, tedesca, fiammingaolandese. Lungo le pareti saranno esposte stampe di ornati, che formano

una speciale ricchezza della collezione, le quali, cronologicamente ordinate mostreranno lo svolgimento dell'ornamento nelle differenti scuole dal '400 fino al nostro secolo. Questa seconda mostra avrà ancora una speciale importanza per lo studio pratico, e tornerà utile assai agli artisti ed industriali. Con notizie e schiarimenti di ogni genere cercherò di agevolare lo studio e di mostrare la via per ulteriori ricerche fra le altre stampe conservate nei volumi.

In tutto la esposizione metterà in mostra da 400 a 500 stampe.
[Preventivo]

Progetto B. Le stampe esposte potrebbero essere messe provvisoriamente soltanto in cartoni semplici fini a £ 0,60, o su cartoni grandi a £ 1, 50, in modo che rinunciando al saggio delle stampe su passepartout e in cassette la spesa di £ 1545 per cartoni e cassette si ridurrebbe a £ 440. […]

Progetto C.

Nel caso che la sala di S. Giovanni non potesse essere messa in assetto o che manchino i fondi per fare fronte a queste spese per le quali in ogni modo la Galleria deve contare su un aiuto straordinario del Ministero, propongo il progetto seguente, il quale ha carattere affatto provvisorio. Per non ritardare troppo l'ordinamento della collezione e mettere in mostra al pubblico di Parma, dal quale l'idea è stata accolta già con grande soddisfazione, almeno una parte dei tesori ora nascosti e male conservati, si potrebbe provvedere al collocamento provvisorio della raccolta nelle due camere del Direttore della Galleria, sui scaffali e negli armadi esistenti e non occupati, e di fare una

Esposizione provvisorio nella Sala Toschi della Galleria stessa.

La Sala offre 27,73 m di parete in linea retta, cioè due file di una lunghezza complessiva di oltre 55 m. Un armadio posto in mezzo alla sala (tipo D. di 3,20 m di lunghezza e di 1,30 di profondità, per le cartelle grandi) offre uno sazio di più di 6 metri, in modo che sarebbe disponibile spazio di 61 m. per circa 160 cornici con più che 200 stampe.

Cartoni, cornici e l'armadio sono servibili senza alterazione anche per la Sala di S. Giovanni, quando sarà provveduto all'assetto definitivo in quella locale: […]

Se l'E.V. approva questo mio progetto e volesse dare le disposizioni opportune che la Galleria di Parma sarà autorizzata incominciare subito i lavori necessarii, potrei promettere di finire tutto il lavoro suindicato fin alla fine di Ottobre di questo anno, in modo che in un giorno da destinarsi alla fine dell'ottobre potrebbe avere luogo la inaugurazione della Esposizione nella Sala di S. Giovanni Evangelista.

Per ottenere questo scopo sarebbe necessario che sia consegnata quanto prima la collezione alla Galleria.

Che siano approvati i preventivi per il finimento della Sala stessa come per l'assetto della collezione.

Che sia disposto che il ristauratore delle stampe sia a disposizione della Galleria di Parma, o in questa città stessa o in Roma nei locali del Gabinetto Nazionale. Debbo osservare che in questo lavoro del ristauro conto sull'aiuto valente del Prof. Guadagnini, Direttore della R. Galleria di Bologna, il quale anche questa volta offre gentilmente la sua opera.

Che sia disposto, che i libri necessari siano dati in prestito per il tempo indicato, tanto dalla Biblioteca Palatina in Parma quanto anche dalle Biblioteche Governative di Roma, alla R. Galleria di Parma.

Che io possa recarmi a Parma in principio di luglio e di lavorare sul posto fin alla fine di Ottobre, con un mese di vacanza nell'Agosto-Settembre. […]

[30]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 216, fasc. 430.1

19 luglio 1898

Al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione

Come senza dubbio è noto all'E.V., S.M. il Re d'Italia possiede nella sua privata Biblioteca in Torino una raccolta di disegni di meravigliosa bellezza e di inestimabile valore. Se non che, sia per l'indole dell'istituto in cui è conservata, sia per non essere esposta in vetrine ma ammonticchiato in guardarobe, essa è poco o punto accessibile agli studiosi. Per ben due volte negli ultimi anni trascorsi io ho di mia iniziativa rivolto domanda a S.M. il Re pregandola di acconsentire che quella raccolta fosse trasmessa a tutolo di precario deposito a questa pinacoteca, la quale ne avrebbe curata l'esposizione nel miglior modo; ma ottenni sempre un rifiuto deciso, per quanto dato in forma cortese.
Nella primavera scorsa ho pensato che l'Esposizione Nazionale che stava per aprirsi e l'imminente ampliamento e riordinamento di questa galleria erano occasioni opportune per ritornare una terza volta alla carica. Ma per avere maggiore probabilità di riuscita ho limitata la mia domanda al numero di cento disegni, da scegliersi da me, e da tenersi presso questa pinacoteca soltanto per la durata dell'Esposizione.

Ieri finalmente ho ricevuto dal Reggente il Ministero della Real Casa una lettera la quali mi annunzia che l'Augusto Sovrano, con un segno di speciale favore verso questo istituto, degnossi accogliere in massima la mia domanda, e che per quanto riguarda le formalità della consegna dovessi trattare con Sig Barone Carutti Bibliotecario di S.M.
A questo fine oggi stesso mi presenterò al Barone Carutti e se non sorgeranno imprevedibili difficoltà, spero che poi il giorno 20 del corrente mese i disegni potranno essere visibili in pinacoteca.
Il loro collocamento non costerà spesa alcuna poiché essi saranno posti entro le vetrine della Sala VIII, al posto delle incisioni di Marc'Antonio e della sua scuola, le quali verranno temporaneamente ritirate.
Riguardo all'importanza dei cento disegni dirò soltanto che vi sono opere universalmente riconosciute autentiche, di Leonardo da Vinci (ne fa parte il celebre autoritratto, che ben puossi dire il più prezioso disegno che esista al mondo), Pisanello, Carpaccio, Francia, Raffaello, Michel Angelo, Correggio, Gaudenzio, Tiepolo, Dürer, Rembrandt, Van-Ostade, Rerydael Potter, Van Dyck, Claudio di Lorena, Velasquez, etc. etc.
Durante il tempo, breve purtroppo, in cui mi sarà dato albergare quei disegni, non vi sarà nessuno fra i sommi maestri di qualsiasi scuola che non sia rappresentato nella galleria di Torino con qualche disegno o dipinto.
Con la massima osservanza,

Il Direttore
Vesme

[31]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 216, fasc. 430.1

Roma, 23 Luglio 1898

Al direttore della R. Pinacoteca di Torino

Lodo la S.V. per la premura adoperata a fin di ottenere, per codesta Pinacoteca, il deposito di cento disegni appartenenti alla Biblioteca privata di S.M. il Re, e mi congratulo con V.S. per aver così procurato un inestimabile vantaggio agli studiosi.

Il Ministro
Barnabei

1899

[32]

Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Archivio Storico, IV A6, 86

Roma, addì 24 luglio 1899

Al sig.r Direttore delle R.e Gallerie Napoli

Oggetto: Commendatizia per il D.r Hermanin

Il dottor Federico Hermanin, vice-ispettore di gallerie e musei, che Le si presenta con questa lettera, ha dal Ministero la comunicazione di studiare le collezioni di stampe che trovansi in Napoli, Firenze, Parma, Ravenna e Bassano, affinché, comparando le risultanze di tale studio con le nozioni raccolte nel Gabinetto di Roma, al quale egli è adibito, possa redigere utili proposte per la tutela e l'incremento delle collezioni medesime.

Prego la S.V. di volerlo agevolare quanto più è possibile nelle sue ricerche.

Il Ministro
Bernabei

1903

[33]

Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Archivio Storico, IV A6, 86 (draft)

Roma, addì 18 Aprile 1903

Al sig.r Direttore del Museo Nazionale di Napoli

Oggetto: Gabinetto delle stampe annesso al Museo

Il Conte Santorre di Santa Rosa, di cui è nota la rara competenza in fatto di stampe, si è offerto di curare personalmente il riordinamento del ricco Gabinetto delle Stampe annesso a cotesto Museo ed ha a questo proposito presentato un progetto, nel quale sono indicate le principali disposizioni necessarie per provvedere alla compilazione degli

inventari, dei cataloghi ragionati e degli indici scientifici che certo saranno di grande aiuto agli studiosi.

La S.V. non ignora in quali condizioni di mantenimento si trovi la collezione di stampe del Museo di Napoli, la quale è pure assai importante e ricca di campioni assolutamente preziosi, quali la serie italiana del secolo decimo quinto, la serie di Luca van Leyden e quella di Francois Ianinet, sopra tutto, la raccolta delle "a fumo" inglesi, che costituirebbe il vanto di qualsiasi fra i maggiori Gabinetti di stampe d'Europa.

Gli antichi possessori della collezione, che amavano di avere le stampe bene ordinate, rilegate in volumi di uguale formato, ripiegarono più volte alcune incisioni che a loro sembravano troppo grandi, ed esse ancora si trovano in quello stato con grave danno della conservazione.

Sembra dunque assai conveniente e opportuna la proposta di Conte Santorre di Santa Rosa, tanto più che il riordinamento della collezione delle stampe non recherà nessun impedimento di lavori che si stanno compiendo per il riordinamento del Museo. Infatti il Conte di Santa Rosa compirà il suo ufficio nella stanza dove le incisioni si conservano, con l'assistenza del Conte Filangieri di Candida, che si presterà volentieri, e con l'aiuto eventuale di un inserviente.

Ho disposto che il Conte di Santa Rosa si rechi prossimamente in Napoli per cominciare l'opera di riordinamento della collezione delle stampe prendendo gli opportuni accordi colla S.V. e però La prego di voler dare le necessarie disposizioni al riguardo.

Il Ministro
Nasi

[34]

Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Archivio Storico, IV A6, 86 (draft)

Napoli 15 novembre 1903

All'illustrissimo Signor Conte Santorre di Santarosa, Roma

Catalogo delle stampe e pei voll. XI e XII dell'Inventario Generale del Museo

Ci sentiamo in dovere di ringraziarla per le fatiche che ella si è assunta nel riordinamento della Collezione delle stampe del nostro

Museo, sperando che, ristabilita in salute, ella possa ritornare presto a compiere l'opere utilissima intrapresa.
Il prof. Venturi, rispondendo all'informazione che il dottor Gino Fogolari, suo aiutante nel riordinamento della Pinacoteca, gli aveva mandata, completamente si associava al nostro progetto di adibire a gabinetto delle stampe, oltre alla stanza nella quale ora sono gli armadi, anche l'altra attigua e gemella. Ella ci fece sperare che, colla sua efficace intercessione, si avrebbe potuto ottenere da Casa Reale alcuni altri armadi, compagni a questi donati insieme alla collezione firmiana, che bene starebbero nella seconda stanza. Noi ora formalmente la preghiamo di manifestare a Casa Reale il nostro desiderio e di aiutarci ad ottenere i mobili desiderati. La stanza, dove i nuovi armadi andrebbero posti, ha due pareti libere della larghezza di 5 metri; e le altre due presentano superfici libere rispettivamente di metri 2.70, 2.60, 2.30 e 2.
Perché ella possa attendere anche a Roma, mentre la sua saluta si va ristabilendo, alle ricerche incominciate, abbiamo domandato al ~~Direzione generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti~~ Ministero autorizzazione a spedirle il completo catalogo delle nostre stampe, contenuto nei volumi XI e XII del nostro Inventario generale. Appena autorizzati a farlo le spediremo gli indicati volumi. Se ella desiderasse qualche altra cosa ce lo faccia liberamente sapere. Il prof. Venturi ha scritto al dottor Fogolari pregandolo di aiutar lei in tutto ciò che potesse occorrerle così come aiuterebbe essi professore stesso. Il detto dottore mi prega quindi di ~~farle sapere~~ scriverle che sarà ben lieto di fare per lei quelle […] e quei lavori che potessero essere utili all'opera che ella conduce. Sperando di presto riaverla ristabilita fra noi, accolga intanto le espressioni della nostra riconoscenza.

Il Direttore

1904

[35]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 203, fasc. 398

Parma, addì 13 Dicembre 1904

All'On. Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, Divisione 10ª Belle Arti, Roma

Oggetto: Formazione d'un gabinetto delle stampe

Nel 1898 codesto On. Ministro con sua lettera del 22 Marzo n° di Prot. 9006 di partenza 3494, incaricava il Dottore Paul Kristeller a recarsi a Parma per cominciare l'ordinamento delle 60,000 stampe che fanno della collezione Palatina di Parma la più ricca d'Europa, dopo quelle di Parigi, Londra e Torino. Per dissidi gravissimi insorti fra il Kristeller il Cav. Alvisi bibliotecario l'opera utilissima, che doveva darci il Gabinetto delle Stampe, fu troncata sui primordi.

Così le bellissime incisioni giacciono inutili in giganteschi volumi, quasi impossibili a maneggiarsi, e ogni volta che si consulta un volume causa il gravissimo peso, avvengono sfregamenti che danneggiano sempre più le stampe e tolgono loro quella freschezza e purezza d'impressione e di taglio che ne costituiscono il valore.

Inoltre tanto tesoro grafico è completamente sepolto in profondi armadi e solo rari studiosi possono approfittarne. La nostra pinacoteca è poco frequentata, quando venisse arricchita d'una grande sala o gabinetto delle stampe, acquisterebbe nuovo lustro e approfittando della sala si potrebbe far conoscere più largamente, che ora non siano, i tesori artistici della nostra Galleria. Credo che anche gli amatori dell'incisione pura verrebbero a Parma che può mostrare "stati rari del Rembrandt, del Vandyck, del Van Ostade ecc. e una completa raccolta degli incisori francesi ed inglesi del XVIII secolo.

Né l'On. Ministero avrebbe a spendere la sala, che ho già completamente disponibile, quindi la spesa sarebbe minima, poiché non si tratterebbe che di fare degli armadi assai semplici e delle cornici semplicissime. Negli armadi si riporrebbero le cassette, uguale nella forma e disposizione a quelle della raccolta Corsiniana a Roma, ma molto meno costose. Una semplice tinta, di fondo azzurrognolo, servirebbe a far staccare le stampe in cornice, coperte opportunatamente d'un velo quando non vi fossero visitatori. La sala poi, illuminata a nord, non presenta pericoli di guasti per la luce solare.

Le principali gallerie del mondo espongono, colle debite cautele, superbe raccolte di disegni e di stampe. Da noi solo Firenze, Bologna e Roma hanno messo in pubblico buon numero d'incisioni. Anche dal lato educativo del gusto e della cultura nazionale l'esposizione delle stampe è utilissima, specialmente ove si faccia intervenire una conveniente rotazione, eccettuati i capo lavori che rimangono necessariamente immobili. A Roma, le varie esposizioni topografiche, individuali, o con carattere decorativo e professionale, procurate dalla Corsiniana, ebbero lodi dal pubblico e dalla stampa.

Dell'opera mia nella classificazione e collocazione delle incisioni codesto On. Ministero non si preoccupi affatto, perché sarò ben lieto di dare tutto il mio tempo al paese.

Il Direttore

1905

[36]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 203, fasc. 398 (draft)

Roma, addì 8 Marzo 1905

Quanto la S.V. espone relativamente alla formazione di un gabinetto delle stampe da annettersi a codesta R. Galleria, è nei desideri di questo Ministero da parecchi anni. Infatti, come la S.V. sa, fu nel 1898 incaricato il dottore Paul Kristeller del riordinamento di codesta ricca collezione; egli, per quanto fosse osteggiato dal direttore della biblioteca, presso cui le stampe sono depositate, riuscì in breve tempo a preparare gli atti della consegna che si sarebbe dovuto fare a codesta Galleria, e a [*fornire] vari progetti, coi preventivi delle spese occorrenti, per dare degna sede alla collezione. La sala da lui scelta, è quella dell'antica biblioteca dell'ex convento di S. Giovanni Evangelista, situata al primo piano e accessibile per l'antica farmacia, illuminata da grandissime finestre, e completamente […]. Ma per collocare la collezione in questa sala e per gli armadi necessari, il Kristeller preventivò la spesa di £ 6785 (progetto A) o di £ 5680 (progetto B). Ma non si arrestò qui: pensando che questa spesa poteva essere gravosa, redasse un altro progetto, per un collocamento provvisorio della collezione nella sala Toschi della stessa galleria, riducendo così la spesa a £ 1845 (progetto C).

Il Ministero non potrebbe scegliere quest'ultimo progetto, appunto per il suo carattere di provvisorietà: una volta che il gabinetto delle stampe dovrà essere [*in sesto], sarà bene che gli si […] da principio un collocamento definitivo e degno della sua grande importanza. La spesa preventivata, però, è tale che ha datto finora restare inattuate le buone intenzioni del Ministero. Quando della somma di £6785, oltre che di quella necessaria pel ristauro della sala, si potrà disporre, non si mancherà certamente di darvi esecuzione e di far tesoro dell'opera della S.V.

Il Ministero
f. C. Fiorilli

1906

[37]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, III vers., II s., b. 211, fasc. 416.30

Roma, addì 17 Gennaio 1906

Oggetto: Corso di lezioni al Gabinetto delle stampe

On. Ministero dell'I.P. Direzione Generale per le Anrtichità e Belle Arti, Roma

Poiché quest'anno il mio corso libero di storia dell'arte all'Università dsi svolgerà specialmente sulla storia del''incisione, così credo opportune, col consenso di codesto On. Ministero di poterlo tenere in uno dei locali del Gabinetto stesso, dove mi è possible di mostrare ai miei allievi le nostre maravigliose incisioni.
Ho interpellato a questo proposito la Giunta di Vigilanza del Gabinetto delle stampe, che è stata unanimamente favorevole edh o ottenuto dal Sig. Rettore della R. Università di Roma e dalla Facoltà filologica, il permesso necessario di tenere le lezioni fuori del recinto universitario.

Il Direttore inc.to
Federico Hermanin

[38]

Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera, Archivio Vecchio, I parte, pos. 2, fasc. 2/2

Al Direttore della RR. Pinacoteca di Milano

Roma, addì 25 giugno 1906

Oggetto: Danni che l'azione della luce produce sui disegni e le incisioni esposte in pubblico

La Commissione Centrale per i monumenti e per le opere di antichità e d'arte in una delle sue ultime adunanze ha richiamato l'attenzione di questo Ministero sui danni gravissimi, che l'azione della luce produce sui disegni e le incisioni esposte al pubblico, e su quelli non

meno rilevanti che si hanno dal tenerli ammucchiati e in contatto fra loro negli albi e cartelle o compressi in volume.

La stessa Commissione ha stabilito di affidare ad alcuni dei suoi Componenti l'incarico di formulare uno speciale regolamento per la conservazione dei disegni e delle incisioni esistenti nelle raccolte dello Stato.

Riservandomi di far conoscere alla S.V. le ulteriori proposte della Commissione e le deliberazione del Ministero sull'argomento, prego intanto di riferirmi con cortese sollecitudine quali metodi in codesto Istituto sono stati adottati per impedire i danni lamentati.

Il MINISTRO
f. […]

[39]

Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Archivio Storico Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, B-Mostre, 1906 (draft)

Al ministero dell'Istruz.e pubbl.a
Direz.e gen.e per le antichità e belle arti. Roma.

Roma, lì 4 Luglio 1906

Oggetto: Danni che l'azione della luce produce sui disegni e le incisioni esposte al pubblico

I disegni e le incisioni di questo istituto, sin dall'anno 1895 vengono ~~secondo le deliberazioni~~ sistemate con regole speciali approvate anche dalla commissione d'inchiesta dell'anno 1898. ~~Vengono~~ sono estratti dai volumi e posti su cartoni a passepartout in modo che non ~~abbiano contatto~~ siano esposti a contatto e attriti. I cartoni sono poi conservati dentro apposite scatole (X) Questo sistema è quello in uso nel Gabinetto delle stampe di Berlino. Per evitare i danni che la luce ~~reca sui disegni ed~~ alle incisioni ed ai disegni esposti è uso di mutare con qualche frequenza le esposizioni
Debbo avvertire codesto on.e ministero che l'opera di estrazione dei disegni e delle incisioni dai volumi e la sistemazione sui cartoni avviene lentamente, per la scarsità dei mezzi di cui dispone l'istituto, tanto che, secondo un calcolo fatto da questa direzione per porre in condizioni di buona conservazione solo 50.000 ~~incisioni~~ pezzi (e l'istituto ne ha più di 100.000) occorreranno cento anni potendosi ogni anno raggiungere il numero di 500. ~~e le collezioni passano passano~~

Il Direttore inc.
FH

[40]

Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera, Archivio vecchio, I parte, pos. 2, fasc. 2/2 (draft)

Addì 26-6 1906

Oggetto: danni che l'azione della luce produce sui disegni e le incisioni esposte in pubblico

In risposta alla comunicazione di codesto on. Ministero della decisione della Commissione Centrale per i monumenti e per le opere di antichità e d'arte per impedire i danni che l'azione della luce produce sui disegni esposti al pubblico mi affretto a comunicare quanto segue.

A pena compiuto il lavoro di identificazione e di riordinamento della raccolta d'antichi disegni, prima cura di questa direzione fu d'impedire appunto l'azione deleteria della luce eccessiva su gli esemplari destinati alla pubblica esposizione. In lealtà a tal uopo la ampia sala XVIII~~ª~~, che risultò la più adatta all'uopo sia ~~come quella che~~, per fatto di accogliere opere dei secoli ~~XV, XVI, XVII~~ di epoche e di gruppi diversi e che perciò meglio si prestava a custodire una la collezione dei disegni messa insieme con carattere eclettico e per fatto di ricever luce dall'alto per mezzo di un lucernario da cui la luce piove sempre moderatissima anche perché ~~senza che d'altra parte per~~ data la sua esposizione, i raggi del sole vi sono sempre intercettati.
Ma pei disegni della Pinacoteca di Brera la maggior garanzia di buona conservazione è data soprattutto dalle vetrine che li avvolgono, coperte ideate ~~fatte espressamente~~ a doppio spiovente e su cui la luce non cade di conseguenza direttamente e, ~~coperte~~ - ciò che più interessa – coperte di continuo da fitte tendine verdi che intercettano del tutto la tenue luce che viene dall'alto. ~~Della sala~~ A un custode è affidata la cura ~~specia~~ di sorvegliare in particolar modo queste vetrine affinché i visitatori che desiderano osservare e studiare i disegni abbian cura di alzare e, di poi, abbassare le tendine stesse. Per più nella scelta dei disegni da esporre al pubblico si tenne conto di non ammettere possibilmente quelli eseguiti a bistro che com'è noto, più facilmente risentono dell'azione ~~deleteria~~ dannosa della luce.

Quanto ai molti altri disegni non meritevoli di una esposizione al pubblico non v'è a temere i possibil danni previsti giustamente dalla Commissione Centrale per la maggior parte dei casi analoghi. Tali

disegni di Brera infatti non sono ammucchiati e compressi in albi o in volumi ma largamente disposti entro ampie buste ~~di~~ in pelle e cartone, perfettamente al riparo dalla polvere e suddivisi, entro speciali cassette, per scuole di modo che il loro esame, per alcuni ~~studioso~~ che desiderasse consultarli, risulti facile.

~~Date tutte queste garanzie e considerato che la collezione di disegni (la cui collocazione è di continuo lodata dai tecnici e dagli intendenti, accoglie di continuo omaggio di ammirazione anche da parte di artisti che difficilmente si adatterebbero alla fatica di rimirarli nelle cartelle oso dichiarare che il sistema adattato da questa Pinacoteca è veramente a indicarsi a modello del genere.~~

Questi sono le cautele ~~che~~ da noi adoperate per la conservazione dei disegni esposti, e che [*confidiamo] siano approvate da codesto On. Min.

[*dirett]
[*Sinigaglia]

1908

[41]

Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, I divisione (1908-1912), b. 51, fasc. 1055

Al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione

20 luglio 1908.

[…] cominciando a trarre qualche profitto dei locali del secondo piano che vengono messi a disposizione di queste Gallerie, ho tolto dal ripostiglio, dove stavano accatastate dietro gli assiti, che sostengono i grandi dipinti della Scuola di Don Giovanni Evangelista, i disegni architettonici posti dentro le cornici e sotto vetro, per metterli un poco in ordine. Quando si [*curarono] con assiti le due sale per dipinti della Storia diS. Orsola del Carpaccio e l'altra ricordata, mancando qui lo spazio e il tempo, come non si pensò a mettere un poco degnamente a posto la raccolta farsettiana dei gessi cara al Canova, così si gettarono alla rinfusa disegni e cornici, senza tener conto del loro pregio.

La raccolta dei disegni architettonici del principio del secolo - vi è anche qualche veduta di Roma - ha invece, relativamente al tempo, una notevole importanza. Ne ho avuto una riprova ieri, essendo venuto qui uno speciale inviato dell'Accademia di belle arti di Pietroburgo a vedere

se fosse stato possibile ottenere da questa Direzione e dal Ministero in prestito la grande raccolta di disegni di Jacopo Quarenghi per l'esposizione dell'Architettura nel secolo passato a Pietroburgo, che si terrà colà nel venturo anno.
Il Quarenghi ha lasciati qui tutti i progetti dei bellissimi edifici in istile palladiano che egli creò a Pietroburgo e a Mosco ai tempi di Caterina II e dell'imperatore Alessandro, più una raccolta di gustosissime vedute di Pietroburgo e dei dintorni.
Benché io avessi appena cavato fuori i detti disegni dal loro nascondiglio e fossero ancora da pulire e da ordinare, vinto dalla insistenza dell'inviato russo, gli ho permesso di vederli e di prenderne nota e sono rimasto commosso dalla viva ammirazione che quei fogli ingialliti e polverosi destavano in lui.

In quanto a concederli per l'esposizione di Pietroburgo, ho detto che se ne faccia domanda a cotesto Ministero e che si vedrà se, in via diplomatica, la cosa sarà possibile. Ma mi sono intanto convinto della necessità di mettere bene in assetto quella raccolta che secondo il De Boni (Bibliografie degli artisti 1840 p. 832) faceva ricca di un tesoro di più la nostra Accademia. Non più nelle cornici ma i disegni andranno posti nei cartoni da mettersi in apposite scatole, in modo che stieno bene negli armadi e si possano facilmente conservare e vedere. Così quando saranno riordinati e se ne sarà fatto il catalogo, si potranno anche, se sarà creduto opportuno, concedere per qualche tempo all'Accademia di Pietroburgo, senza che appaia troppo manifesto come da noi si trascurino quelli artisti nostri che all'estero sono tenuti tuttora in altissimo conto.
Con tutta osservanza.

Il Direttore
Gino Fogolari

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PLATES

Fig. 1.I P. Serwouters after Adriaen van der Venne, illustration to Jacob Cats's *Houwelick*, engraving, mm 100x134, 1625. From GRIFFITHS 2016, p. 411.

Fig. 1.II Table built by Marquis Malaspina di Sannazzaro for the Musei Civici in Pavia to host boxes of prints, stored vertically. Photo by the author.

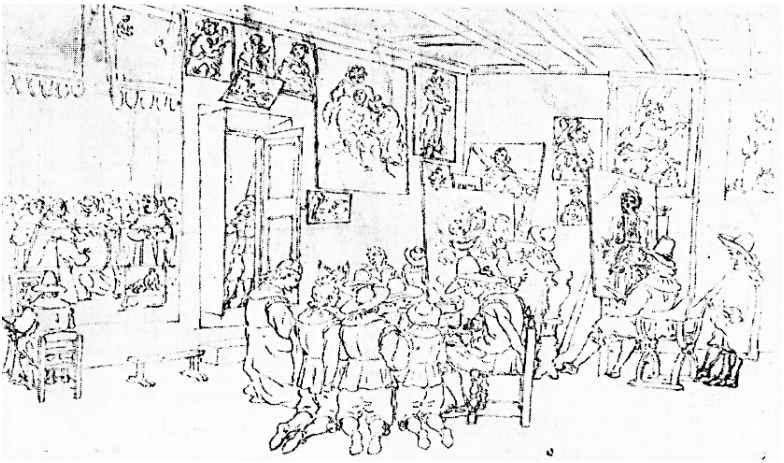

Fig. 2.I Italian school (Florence?), *Atelier d'artiste*, first half of 17th century, Musée du Louvre. From MONBEIG GOGUEL 1987, p. 27.

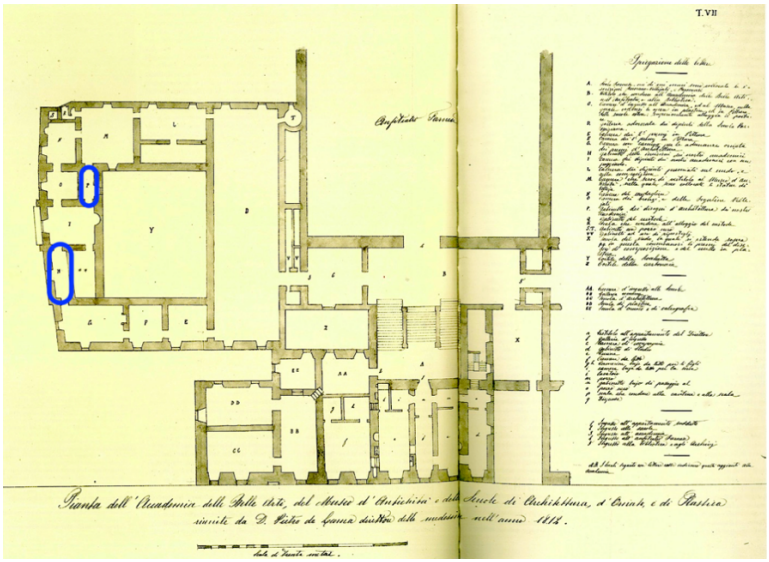

Fig. 2.II *Pianta dell'Accademia delle Belle Arti, del Museo d'Antichità e delle Scuole di Architettura, d'Ornato, e di Plastica riunite da D. Pietro de lama direttore delle medesime nell'anno 1812* (with "gabinetto dei disegni", room 'P', and "gabinetto delle incisioni", room 'H'). From EMILIANI 1997c, pp. LXIV-LXV.

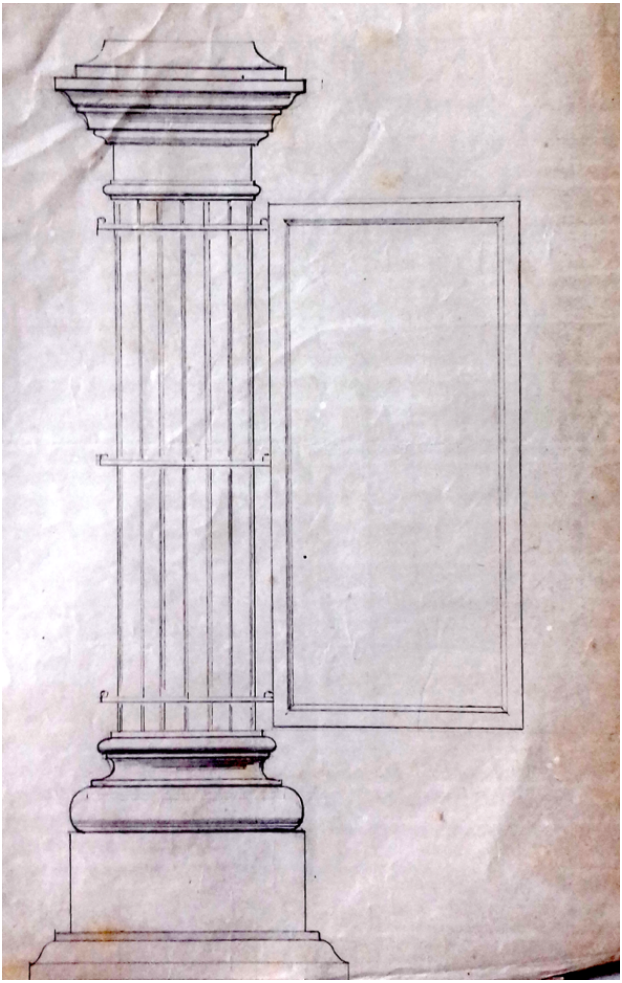

Fig. 2. III Design for a "porta-stampe" to be adopted at the Gallerie dell'Accademia (1880). ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., I vers, b. 353, fasc. 245.2. Authorisation no. 234/2019.

Fig. 2.IV C. Bourgeois du Castelet, *Galerie d'Apollon au Louvre avec l'exposition des dessins*, pen, ink and brown wash drawing, mm 336x440, 1802-1815, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. RF29455-recto). From <www.photo.rmn.fr>, ©RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre). Photo by Michèle Bellot.

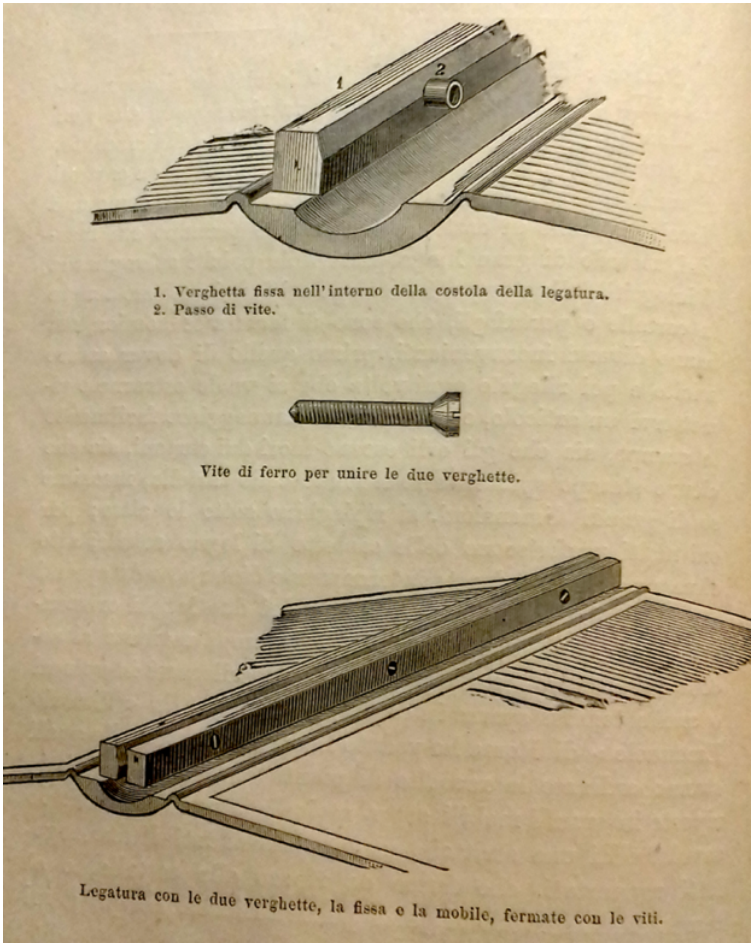

Fig. 2.V Description of the *reliure mobiles* system in use at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France to store loose sheets. From FUMAGALLI 1890, p. 62.

Fig. 2.VI Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Salone Maria Luigia with the exhibition of prints set up for the Congresso Artistico Italiano (1870). From PEZZANA 1870, n.p.

Fig. 2.VII Mahogany cabinet designed to hold and display watercolours, made in London about 1861 to contain John Ruskin's gift to the Fitzwilliam Museum of J. M.W. Turner's watercolours. From *The Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* 2006, p. 74.

Fig. 2.VIII *Santi Sebastiano e Vincenzo Ferrer, Pietro Martire e Rocco,* woodcut, fragments (mm 230x85; mm 220x105), about 1480 (reproduction before restoration, 1929). Ravenna, Istituzione Biblioteca Classense. From AREFORD 2017, n.p.

Fig. 2.IX A. Casadio, *Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense: Aula Magna e sale superiori: mostra delle xilografie del 15. secolo*, 1939. Ravenna, Istituzione Biblioteca Classense, Fondo Fotografico Ravennate (inv. no. FOT15346). Authorisation no. 33/2019.

Fig. 3.I Scheme made by Adolfo Venturi to show how to organise bibliography, archival records, photographic material, catalogue entries, drawings and prints related to works of art of each Italian region (ca. 1903). Pisa, Centro Archivistico Scuola Normale Superiore, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Pratiche Ministeriali, Documentazione varia non riordinata.

Fig. 3.II E. Thiel, *Im Studiensaale des Berliner Kupferstich-Kabinetts*, coloured woodcut, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 118-2000). From <www.smb-digital.de>, © Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photo by Atelier Schneider.

Fig. 3.III W. Steelink, Printroom of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, ca. 1890. From *Wegwijzer door 's Rijks Museum te Amsterdam met Teekeningen door Wilm Steelink en Plattegronden*, 1890, n.p., fig. 25.

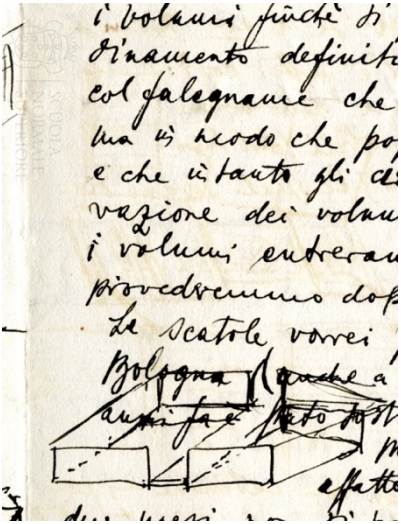

Fig. 3.IV Sketch made by Paul Kristeller to illustrate how to prepare the boxes where to store prints. Pisa, Centro Archivistico Scuola Normale Superiore, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 4 April 1895 (detail).

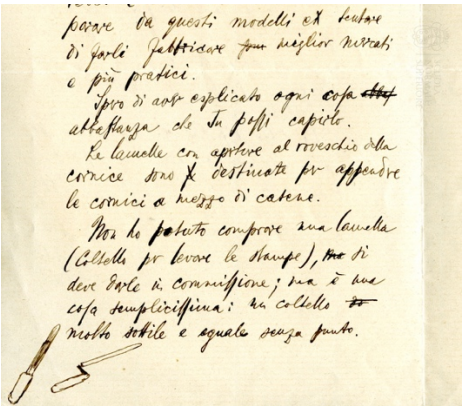

Fig. 3.V Sketch made by Paul Kristeller to illustrate which tool to use to remove the prints from their albums. Pisa, Centro Archivistico Scuola Normale Superiore, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 13 July 1891 (detail).

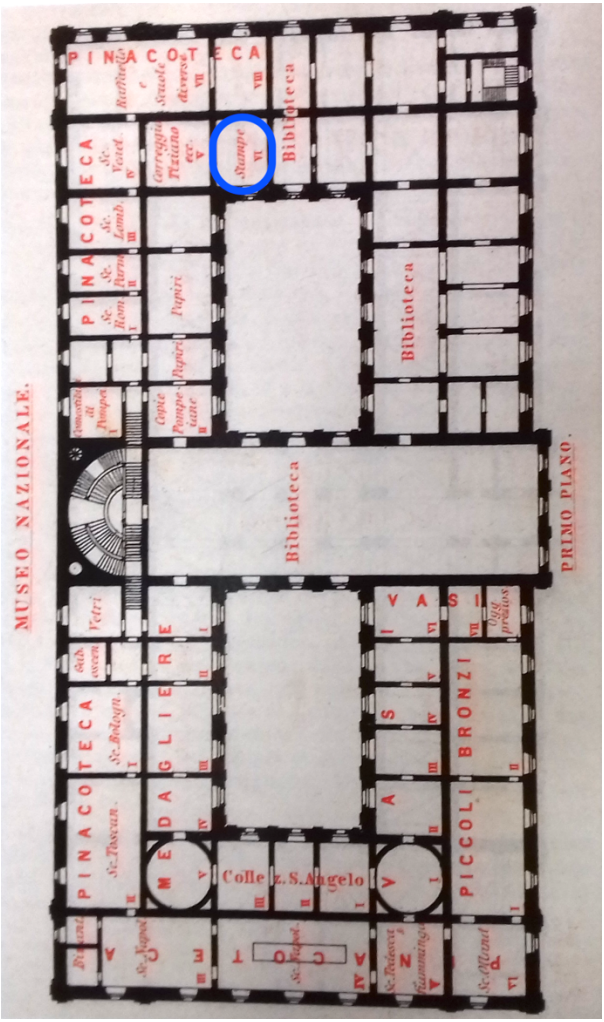

Fig. 3.VI Map of the Museo Nazionale in Naples (1890), with the section of prints. From BAEDEKER 1890, n.p.

Fig. 3.VIIa Paolo Toschi (and school), *Apostoli della cupola di San Giovanni* (from Correggio), watercolor, mm 530x600, 1841, Parma, Galleria Nazionale. From FORNARI SCHIANCHI 2008, p. 138.

Fig. 3.VIIb Paolo Toschi (and school), *Apostoli della cupola di San Giovanni* (from Correggio), engraving and etching, mm 706x865, ca. 1846, Parma, Galleria Nazionale. From FORNARI SCHIANCHI 2008, p. 138.

Fig. 3.VIII Letterhead with the logo of the Gabinetto disegni e stampe of the Uffizi (1895). Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, Fondo Ridolfi, Carteggio Enrico Ridolfi, ms. 3635, c. 23, Nerino Ferri to Ridolfi, 8 August 1895 (detail). Courtesy of Biblioteca Statale di Lucca.

Fig. 4.I Sketches for celluloid stamps made by Wilhelm Kunkel (Berlin, 1895) to mark the Corsini prints in Rome. ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4075, Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione [Guido Baccelli] to Direttore della Galleria Nazionale e del Gabinetto delle Stampe, 23 October 1895 (card attached to the letter). Authorisation no. 234/2019.

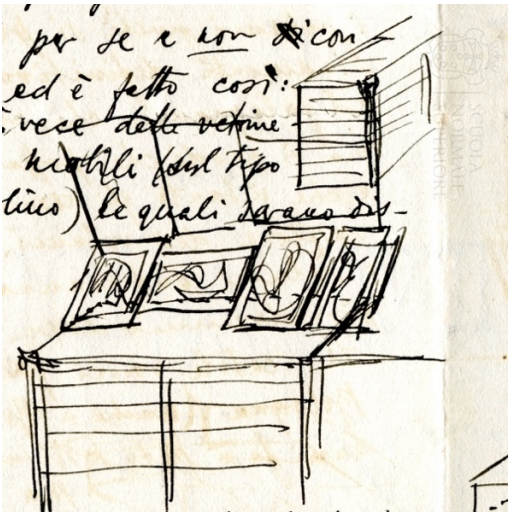

Fig. 4.II Sketch made by Paul Kristeller to illustrate how to store and display prints in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe. Pisa, Centro Archivistico Scuola Normale Superiore, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 4 April 1895 (detail).

Fig. 4.III Invitation to the exhibition *Vedute di Roma* (Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, 1897). ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4078. Authorisation no. 234/2019.

Fig. 4.IV Invitation to the exhibition *Ritratti incisi e disegnati Dal Secolo XV al XIX* (Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, January 1898). ACS, MPI, AABBAA, II vers., I s., b. 239, fasc. 4078. Authorisation no. 234/2019.

Fig. 4.V Sketch made by Paul Kristeller for the stamps for the prints of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe. Pisa, Centro Archivistico Scuola Normale Superiore, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, Kristeller, Paul; Kristeller to Venturi, 9 October 1894 (detail).

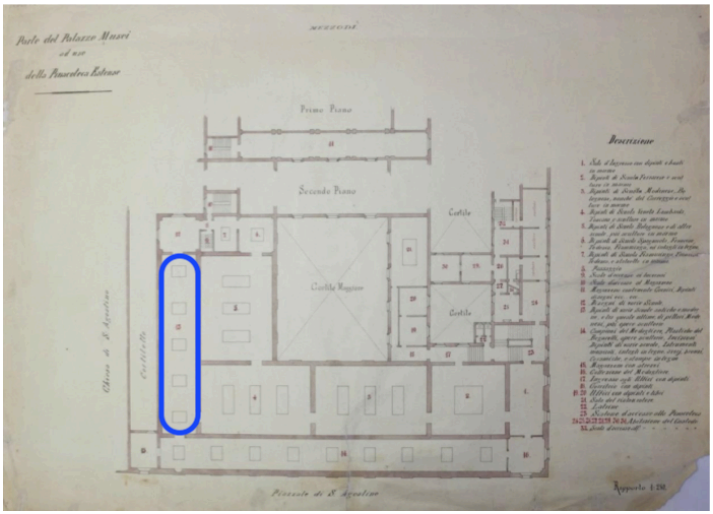

Fig. 4.VI Map of the Estense Gallery in Modena arranged according to the plan by Adolfo Venturi and Giulio Cantalamessa. The highlighted section is called *Disegni di varie scuole*. From MOZZO 2015, p. 247.

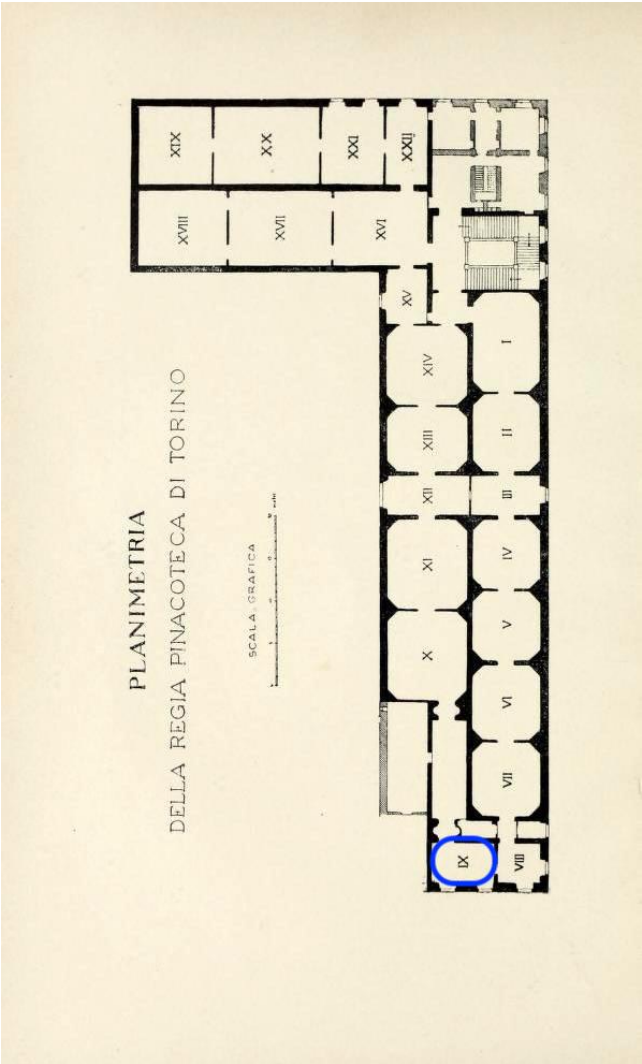

Fig. 4.VII Map of the Regia Pinacoteca in Torino. The highlighted section is Room IX, *Incisioni e disegni di scuole ed epoche varie*. From BAUDI DI VESME 1899, n.p.

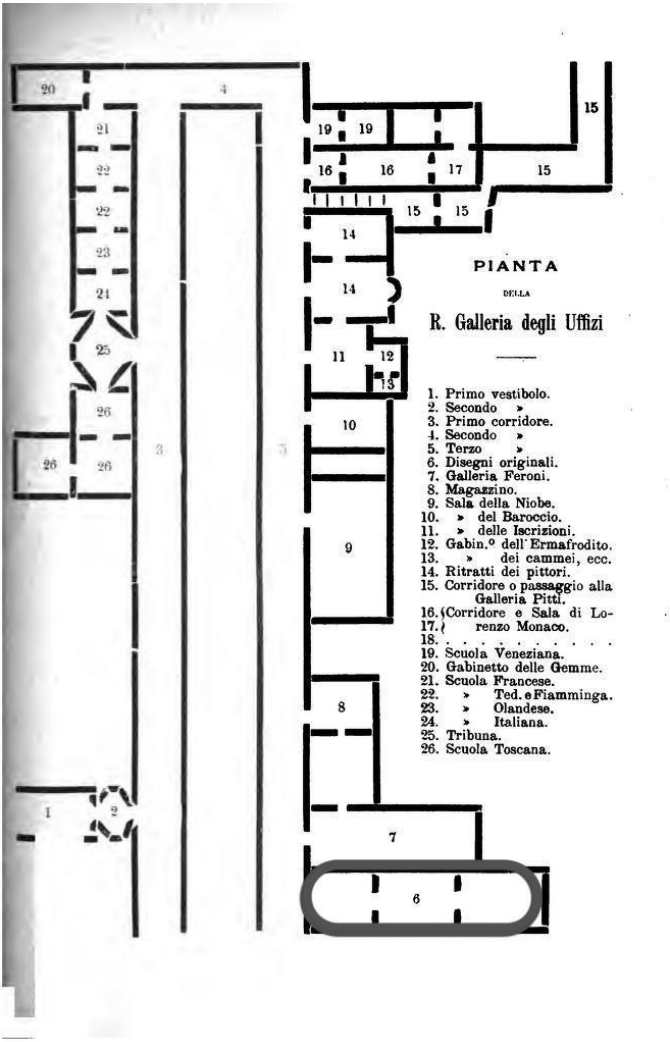

Fig. 4.VIII Map of the R. Galleria degli Uffizi. The highlighted room was for *Disegni originali*. From RIGONI 1891, p. 5.

Fig. 4.IX New room for drawings and sketches at the Uffizi (ca. 1895). Rome, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, MPI 319532.

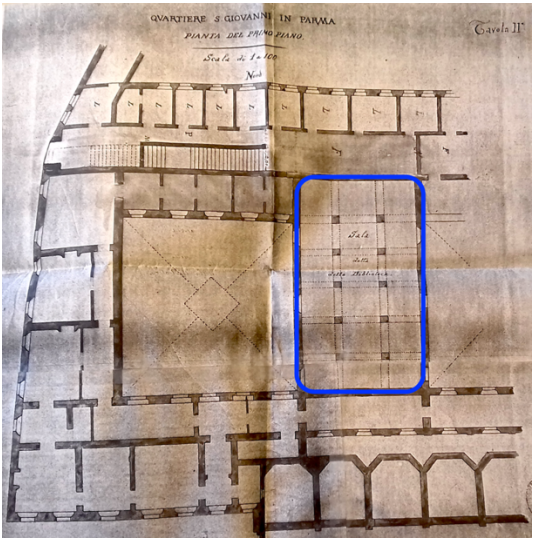

Fig. 4.X Map of the first floor of the San Giovanni Evangelista Monastery in Parma, with the Library on the right. ACS, MPI, AABBAA, III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. 401. Authorisation no. 234/2019.

Fig. 4.XI The library of San Giovanni Evangelista Monastery, Parma. From <http://www.monasterosangiovanni.com>

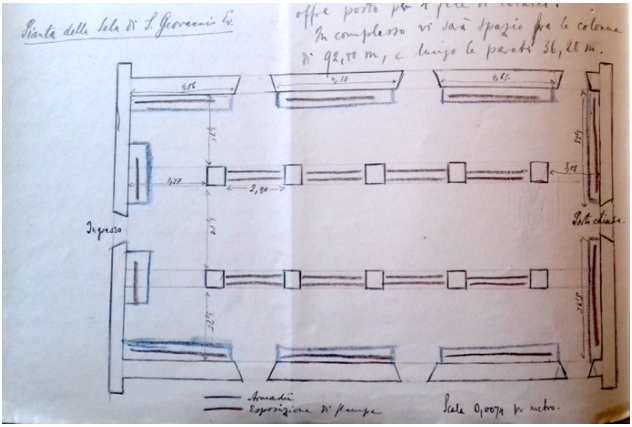

Fig. 4.XII Paul Kristeller's sketch of his project for the Gabinetto delle Stampe in the Regia Galleria of Parma. ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. n.n., Kristeller's report, [May?] 1898. Authorisation no. 234/2019.

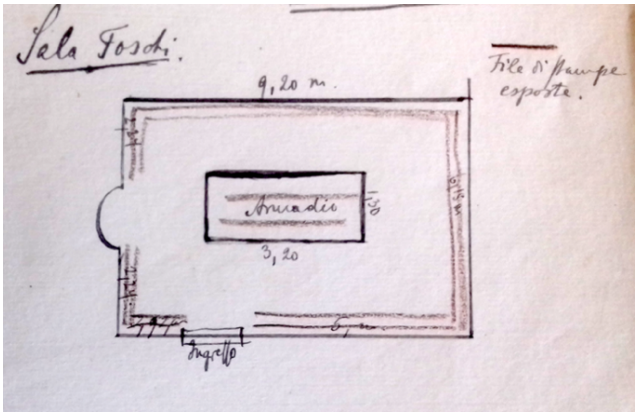

Fig. 4.XIII Paul Kristeller's sketch of his 'Plan C' solution for the Gabinetto delle Stampe in the Regia Galleria of Parma. ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., III vers., II s., b. 204, fasc. n.n., Kristeller's report, [May?] 1898. Authorisation no. 234/2019.

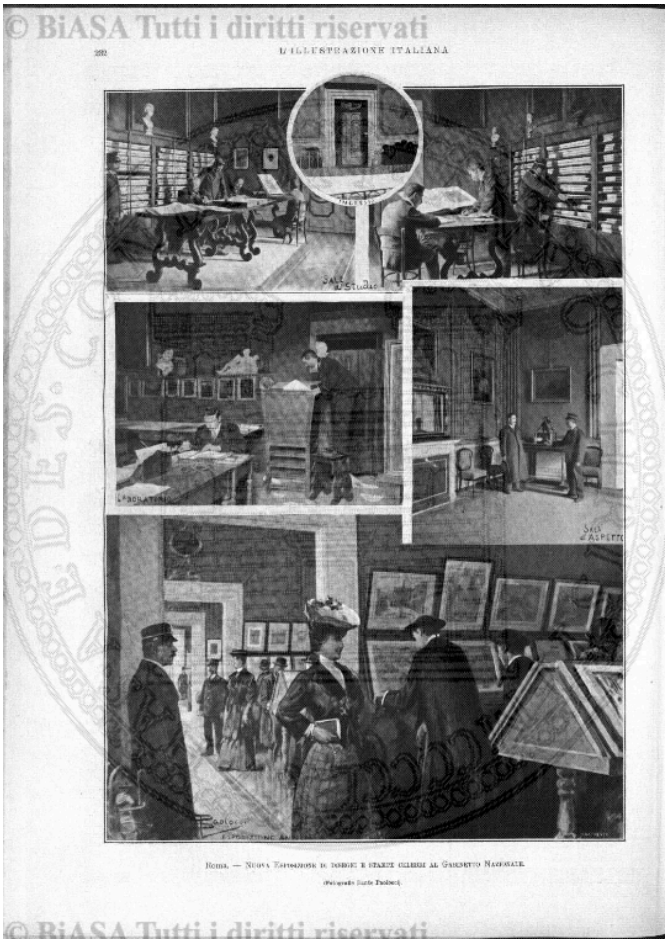

Fig. 5.I D. Paolocci, *Nuova Esposizione di disegni e stampe celebri al Gabinetto Nazionale*. From AGOSTINONI 1907, p. 232.

Fig. 5.II Reproduction of two drawings by Jacques Callot from the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi (inv. no. 2491 F and 1028 E), mounted on cardboard. Istituzione Biblioteca Classense, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carte Ricci, b. 19, fasc. 123, s.fasc. 3. Authorisation no. 33/2019.

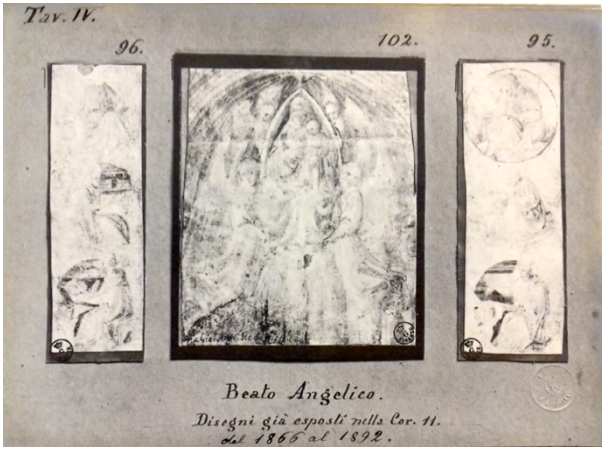

Fig. 5.III Reproduction of three drawings by Beato Angelico from the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi (inv. no. 96 E, 102 E, 95 E), mounted on cardboard. Istituzione Biblioteca Classense Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carte Ricci, b. 19, fasc. 123, s.fasc. 3. Authorisation no. 33/2019.

Fig. 5.IV Reproduction of four drawings by Beato Angelico from the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi (inv. no. 98 E, 99 E, 100 E, last inv. no. unknown), mounted on cardboard to study the effects of light on paper. Istituzione Biblioteca Classense, Fondo Corrado Ricci, Carte Ricci, b. 19, fasc. 123, s.fasc. 3. Authorisation no. 33/2019.

Fig. 5.V Invitation card to the exhibition *Mostra delle stampe incise da Francesco Bartolozzi* (Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, December 1909). ASG, filza 1909, 354, pos. 7, no. 1.

Fig. 5.VI Catalogue cover of the exhibition *Mostra delle stampe incise da Francesco Bartolozzi* (Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, December 1909).

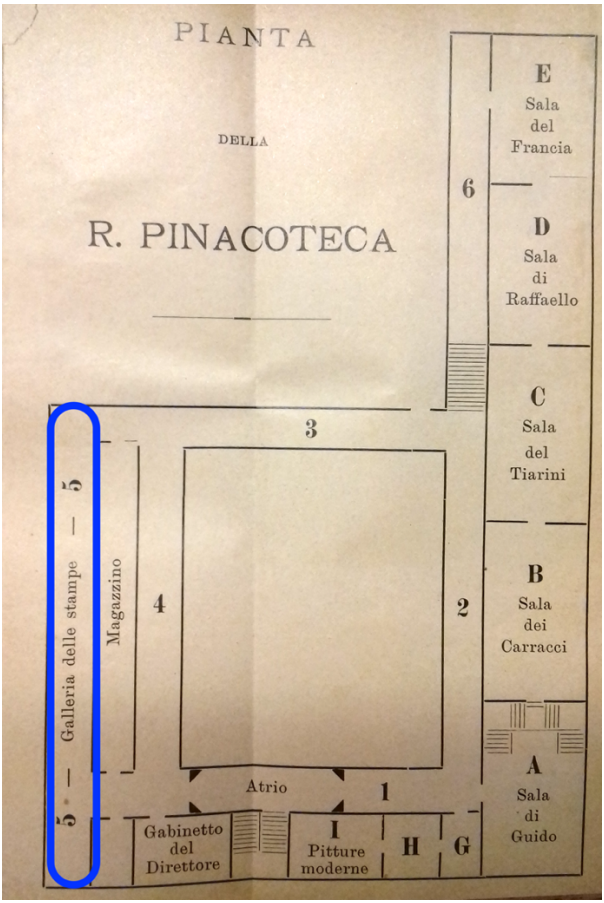

Fig. 5.VII Map of the Regia Galleria in Bologna with the Galleria delle Stampe (room n. V). From GUADAGNINI 1906, n.p.

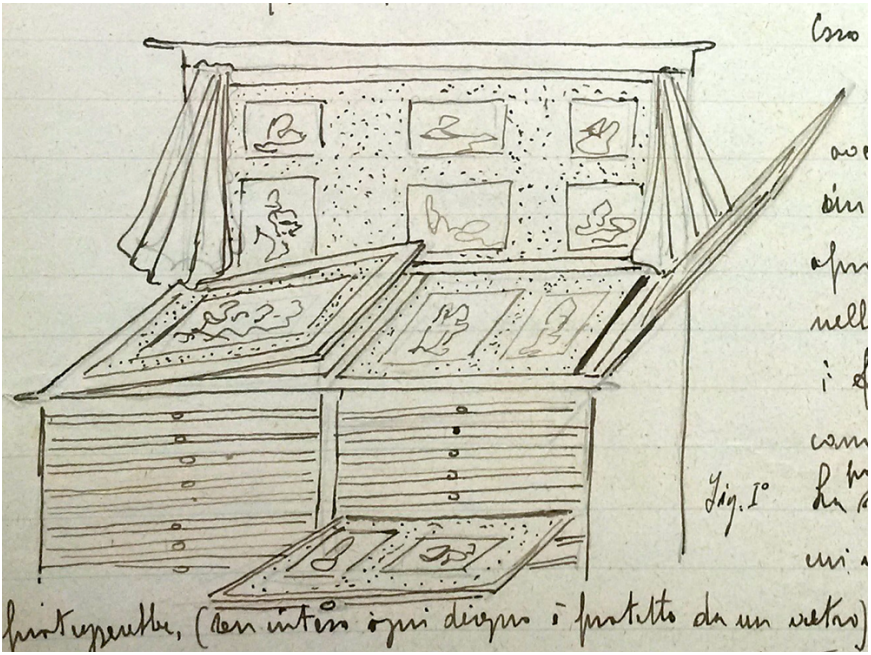

Fig. 5.VIII Sketch by Orlando Grosso depicting a «gabinetto delle stampe e disegni». Biblioteca Civica Berio, Archivio Orlando Grosso, Carteggio, Relazioni, Relazioni del mio viaggio a Parigi, cassetto 21, cart. 34, fasc. 2, *Collocazione dei disegni. Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe*, 12 October 1910. Authorisation no. 324444.

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