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The handbook, the field, and the archive: photographic practices and the rise of anthropology in Italy (1861-1911)

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A questi cinque anni senza te

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sensual shape but without excess, fine and elegant. As a type the photographs is more accurate than the postcard" Molise, gelatin silver prints, 134x99mm © Istituto Centrale per la Demoetnoantropologia…288

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The captions provide all the available information on the pictures (inventory number, author, title, technique, measurement, archive). If some data are missing it is because it was not possible to obtain them. When a title is included, it is taken from the information recorded on the picture's surface (front or back).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAE – Archivio per l'Antropologia e l'Etnologia, Florence

BSFI – Bullettino della Società Fotografica Italiana, Florence

BSGI – Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana, Rome

CAM – Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge

CDM – Castello D'Albertis Museo delle Culture del Mondo, Genoa

CUL – Cambridge University Library, Cambridge

DBI - Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani

IDEA - Istituto Centrale per la Demoetnoantropologia, Rome

IGM – Istituto Geografico Militare, Florence

ISSPP - Istituto di Studi Superiori Pratici e di Perfezionamento, Florence

MAE – Museo di Antropologia ed Etnologia, Florence

MATP – Museo delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari, Rome

MNPE – Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico Luigi Pigorini, Rome

NHM – Natural History Museum, London

PRM – Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

RAI – Royal Anthropological Institute, London

RIS - Rivista Italiana di Sociologia, Rome

SSGC - Società di Studi Geografici e Coloniali, Florence

SFI – Società Fotografica Italiana, Florence

SGI – Società Geografica Italiana, Rome

SRA – Società Romana di Antropologia, Rome

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In closing this important phase of my life, my mind goes back to fundamental moments, people and places. I wish to thank Prof. Edi Cassioli who made me passionate about history, Prof. Federico Squarcini who riped up the 'veil of Maya', Prof. Porciani who pushed me to 'bite'.

I think of the year of Erasmus, to the many encounters that enriched me, to the personal resources I discovered. I am grateful to my M.A. fellows from San Giovanni in Monte, with whom for the first time I felt the pleasure to pose questions and discuss them together, as a group. I am grateful to the many cities, rooms, squares, gardens that offered me a refuge for some time. I am grateful to the friends that are always there and to the new friends that so easily entered in my life. I wish to thank Marco and Costanza, I cannot think of the years of PhD without them.

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I send my thanks to my father Giovanni, who taught me and teaches me a lot. I dedicate this thesis to these last five years without him.

VITA and PUBLICATIONS

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<u>Articles</u>

Moving Image – Moving Nation: Exhibiting Italy at the International Cinematographic Contest of Turin 1911 World's Fair in Diego Cavallotti, Simone Dotto and Andrea Mariani (eds.), *Exposing the Moving Image: The*

Cinematic Medium Across World Fairs, Art Museums, and Cultural Exhibitions, Mimesis, Milano-Udine, 2019, pp. 53-62.

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"Mostra del Gruppo Fotografico Fiorentino" (with Linda Bertelli), n° 21, pp. 182-183;

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"Circolo fotografico La Gondola di Venezia", n° 76, pp. 223-224;

"Fotografie di Domenico R. Peretti Griva", n° 84, pp. 229-230;

"Steichen fotografo", n° 131, p. 261;

in Silvia Massa and Elena Pontelli (eds), *«Mostre permanenti». Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti in un secolo di esposizioni*, Lucca, Edizioni Fondazione Ragghianti Studi sull'Arte, Lucca, 2018.

ABSTRACT

The aim of my research is to provide a critical analysis of the interconnection between photography and anthropology along the institutionalization of the anthropological discipline in Italy from 1861 to 1911. The time span follows the first fifty years of the Italian unification and permit to consider the discipline's role within the new nation.

The research analyses the photographic archives of the museums of anthropology and ethnography in Italy. The main institutions I have investigated are the *Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology* (Florence), the *Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography Pigorini* (Rome), the *Italian Geographical Society* (Rome), the *Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions* and the *Istituto per la Demoetnoantropologia* (Rome), *Castello D'Albertis Museum of World Cultures* (Genoa). Funding statutes, articles and travel instruction, are fundamental to analyse the making of the disciplinary structure; correspondences and travel notes are crucial sources to understand the practice of making and exchanges of photographs and the functions attributed to them.

The research aims at reconstructing the mixed environment that characterized ethnography and anthropology in its making, informed by the interaction of multiple actors, agendas, geographies and systems of knowledge.

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I argue that photography played a crucial role in defining the methods, constructing the facts, and enabling the accumulation of data for the anthropological discipline in 19th century Italy, although the meaning, content, and use of photography in anthropology was not consistent. This research considers the various forms of encounters between a practice – photography - and a discipline – anthropology - that was itself undergoing a process of institutionalisation between 1861 and 1911.

The primary purpose of this investigation is to analyse if and how the use of photographic documents for anthropological purpose shaped and influenced the method of the discipline itself and, vice versa, how that branch of knowledge regulated and systematised the use of photography. Looking inward to how the tools made the discipline, this investigation identifies and unpacks the various practices associated with anthropological photography, exploring the influence materials exerted on theory.

Moreover, this research also aims to reconstruct the mixed environment that characterised ethnography and anthropology in its making, informed by the interaction of multiple actors, agendas, geographies and systems of knowledge. Several studies have addressed the connection between anthropology and photography, but they have rarely considered the peculiar network that emerged from exchanges of visual materials as a separate object of study. By doing so, I intend to weave together the multiple actors that informed anthropology in its development.

I ground my investigation in the interconnection between anthropology, photography, the colonial endeavour and geographical exploration. The research recognises the power structures and ideological frames that affected anthropological photography, but it avoids a monolithic interpretation of the connection between colonial culture and anthropology to instead examine the actual practices that shaped it. Rather than focusing on specific biographies and adopting an authorial

perspective, this research uses selected case studies to identify photography's multiple manifestations within the anthropological discipline.

The connection between experts and amateurs, as well as the intersection of artistic and scientific cultures, constitute central poles of the thesis. I address the archive as a non-neutral and non-fixed accumulation of materials that reflects power structures and theoretical perspectives while also changing over time. The research seriously takes into account the hybrid nature of visual sources such as anthropological photography, produced at the intersection of scientific necessity, aesthetic pleasure, travel documentation, and commercial use.

Given the interdisciplinary character of the present analysis, this research engages with many other research fields. It contributes to the history of non-artistic photography, the history of visual anthropology and the history of the epistemological value of observation and recording practices. For the analysis of photographic objects, I use tools borrowed from the history of science, visual studies, and material culture studies that extend the investigation beyond the pictures' aesthetic and illustrative value. This research provides a new line of analysis in the field of the history of science, the history of anthropology, and the creation of scholarly networks. Moreover, it enriches the debate on 19th-century colonial culture, considering that Italian historiography has been concerned mainly with imperial expansionism during the fascist era. In this way, I aim to position Italy within the broader scene of the 'Scramble for Africa' and shed light on the process of identity-making in relation to anthropological alterity.

While studies on anthropological photography have developed in the last decades concentrating on the British case and other major colonial powers, my research aims to fill this gap by shifting the attention to Italy. In doing so I am not simply applying methodologies and categories proposed by previous scholars, however; rather, I am looking for the specificity of the Italian case considered in light of its different history. The purpose is to enlarge the debate on the scientific culture that arose in the newly-founded Italian state and to understand its visual

methodologies and practices as part of a broader social system, focusing on two crucial aspects: the search for a national identity and involvement in the colonial enterprise.

Italy 1861-1911: the historical and geographical framework

The period under analysis coincides with the first fifty years of Italian unification, and this temporal focus permits the research to consider the discipline's role in the new nation: 1869 was the year Paolo Mantegazza founded the first Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology in Florence, while 1911 marked Lamberto Loria's organisation of the Ethnographic Exhibition in Rome. Moreover, 1911 coincided with the beginning of the Italian-Turkish war for the conquest of Libya, a conflict that brought about changes in the relationship between homeland and colonies, strengthening the already-established links between photography, colonialism and anthropology. This study of Italy provides an opportunity for reconsidering dominant narratives on the connection between anthropology and photography, looking at the specificity of the Italian case while also acknowledging its relationship with other national traditions.

In 1861 Italy became a united nation, marking the end of the *Risorgimento*, the phase of the war for Independence and patriotic projects that had begun in 1848. The newly-founded state extended from the Alps to the southern regions and the islands of Sardinia and Sicily, excluding Rome, which was still under Church power, and the Veneto region. The Savoy kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia guided the struggle for Unification and sidelined the possibility of a transition to a republican government as envisioned by figures such as Mazzini and Garibaldi. Prime Minister Cavour and King Vittorio Emanuele II saw the newly-founded state as an extension of the Savoy reign, underestimating its true historical, social, and cultural differences. The right-wing parliament (*destra storica*) was composed of the bourgeoise and landlord class. The first years after the birth of the Kingdom of Italy were characterised by revolts, especially in the southern regions where the so-

called *'briganti'* fought for better conditions. They took a stand against the new Piedmontese ruling class, but these rulers used violence to suppress the rebellion. Italy was a developing nation based primarily on an agricultural economy, with an illiteracy rate of 75 per cent and a low percentage of men whose income levels entitled them to vote. The Italian language was used by a small portion of the population, while regional dialects prevailed. Renewed social disorder arose with the introduction of the grist tax that weighed directly on the working and lower classes.

In 1866, the annexation of Veneto was completed and in 1870 Rome was also occupied. This highly symbolic conquest kindled a long-lasting conflict with the Pope, and he responded by strongly discouraging the Catholic faithful from participating in political life. In ten years the Italian capital was relocated from Turin to Florence, and finally to Rome, while the political institutions and system of regional administration developed, constantly seeking a difficult balance between a centralized system and a federal one. Together with these political bodies, cultural and scientific organisations also emerged all over the peninsula. The left-wing parliament (*sinistra storica*) launched a phase of reformation involving three important results: the introduction of free and mandatory primary education, the enlargement of suffrage, and the beginning of an inquiry into the conditions of the rural class. In terms of external affairs, in 1881 Italy's alliance with France was broken when the Parisian government decided to impose its protectorate on Tunisia, a site Italy had envisioned as a possible colony. The new situation led to the signing of the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary. The horn of Africa, where Italy had already begun an informal colonial occupation, became an area of Italian official expansionism beginning with its acquisition of the bay of Assab in 1882.

While trying to strengthen its national power in the international arena, the Italian parliament became involved in the financial scandal of the Banca Romana. After Crispi, Giolitti managed to deal with the working-class revolts and demands, and the Socialist Party was established in 1892. A subsequent phase of military repression guided by Crispi exacerbated the social conflict, that spread from the northern demonstrations to the southern '*fasci siciliani*' that asked for better

working conditions. The harsh Adowa defeat against Ethiopia in 1896 represented an additional occasion for protest and a moment of anticolonial sentiment. Following the bloody suppression of the Milanese revolts, King Umberto I was killed by the anarchist Gaetano Bresci in 1900. On the global stage, at the turn of the century Italy became involved in the fight against the Boxer Rebellion in China. While the phenomenon of emigration had characterised the Italian nation from its very origins, at the beginning of the 20th century it entered a new phase with Italians migrating primarily to South and North America, but also European states, especially France, and African countries. In 1908, a strong earthquake between Sicily and Calabria destroyed the cities of Messina and Reggio Calabria: it weas considered one of the heaviest natural disasters in Europe and marked a crucial moment in the Italian public memory. When Italy celebrated the Fiftieth Anniversary of Unification, it was still a divided country and was beginning to feel the influence of the nationalist discourses rising up all over Europe. In 1911, Italy embarked on the war against Turkey for the conquest of Lybia and, as was often the case, colonial expansionism was seen as a way to defuse the pressure of internal complexities. The fragile global balance was about to explode with the outbreak of the first world war.[1]

Archives and methodology

This research is based on an analysis of the photographic collections that form the visual archive of the museums of anthropology and ethnography in Italy. The institutions that I have investigated are the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology (Florence), the National Prehistoric and Ethnographic Museum (Rome), the Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions and the Central Institute for Demoetnoanthropology (Rome), the Italian Geographical Society (Rome), and the Castello D'Albertis Museum of World Cultures (Genova). The rationale for choosing these archives can be explained as follows: the MAE and MNPE were the two leading museums dealing with anthropology in 19th

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[1] For a history of 19th century Italy see among others Fulvio Cammarano, *Storia dell'Italia liberale*, Rome: Laterza, 2011; Claudio Pogliano and Francesco Cassata (eds.), *Scienze e cultura dell'Italia unita*, in *Storia d'Italia,* vol. 26, Turin: Einaudi, 2011.

century Italy; the MATP and IDEA originated from the materials collected for the *Mostra Etnografica* of 1911, which is the closing event of the thesis; and the SGI was the primary national society to have organised expeditions and gathered explorers, actors which are key in this research. In order to counterbalance the institutional archives, I decided to also insert the CDM. It includes documentation which is invaluable for understanding the individual experience of a traveller and his network. The chosen archives also entail points of contrast on the administrative side, as they include one university museum, one national museum and one national institute, a non-profit organisation, and a city museum.

The size of the photographic archives varies: the MAE holds approximately 27,000 positives and 10,000 negatives, and during my research visit I had access to the material gathered before 1911, amounting to approximately 4,000 cardboards with one or two pictures each, and eight photographic albums. The MNEP historical photographic archive contains documents from 1865 to 1940; there, I had access to the Giglioli collections which amount to almost 7,000 pictures mounted on cardboard; other 19th-century materials which I consulted with less precision (such as the Loria, Boggiani, and Pigorini collection) number around 2,000 photo-objects. The IDEA is the institute that preserves the archive of the MATP and counts 10.000 pictures. At its core, there are the photographic collections gathered for the *Museo di Etnografia Italiana* founded in Florence in 1906 and the 1911 Mostra di Etnografia Italiana in Rome, that have been analysed for the present research, while following acquisitions date from the 1920s to 1950s. In the cataloguing phase, pictures and postcards were divided according to regional order and were mostly pasted on standard cardboards. The manuscript archive holds the correspondence between Loria and his collaborators and constitutes a precious historical source to understand the organisation of the exhibition and the actors involved. The SGI photo archive contains 400,000 photo-objects (positives, negatives, and lantern slides), whereas the historical collection (from 1867 to 1939) amounts to 30,000 pictures, catalogued in approximately 110 collections under the name of the explorer or expedition (mainly in Africa). Low-resolution

scans of a significant portion of the material are available on the website, and I had access to approximately 20 collections. The CDM photo archive holds 19,000 film negatives and around 1,000 glass plate negatives produced by Enrico Alberto D'Albertis during his travels (1875-1929). It also includes one thousand positives, mainly *cartes de visite* and postcards. I began conducting research at the CDM during an internship for my master's thesis, so I had the chance to study those materials for a longer period. The archive encompasses the photographic collection of Enrico D'Albertis' cousin, the explorer Luigi Maria D'Albertis, with around 150 positives mounted on cardboard dating to between 1860 and 1890, taken during his travels to Australia and New Guinea.

The dissertation does not analyse the collections in their entirety, nor does it focus on a single author. Overarching research that considers anthropological photography more generally already exists, but such studies do not allow for an appreciation of layers and variety. On the other hand, studies of individual photographers, from well-known to local figures, are more frequent in the literature. My main purpose was to develop research which analyses anthropological photographs as a corpus, not looking at photo-objects as single and separated entities nor reducing the archive to a single, stable *dispositif*.

In my research practice, I began by carrying out a first visit to develop an idea of the structure of the archive. In this phase, it was necessary to meet with archivists to gather information on archival stratifications and peculiarities. One of the most problematic issues I encountered in accessing the archival materials was the absence of a well-structured catalogue. In some cases, it was only through oral information that I was able to form an idea of the archive structure and the list of collections held there. If there was a print or digital catalogue, it was not always at the disposal of researchers, although all of the archives are working to amplify the information accessible online. Another problem was the absence of information on the changes that had occurred to the archive over the years. Often the historical memory about the origin of the archive and its founding collections had been lost, as the archives went through a series of modifications such as changing locations, moving pictures within different series, and the erosion of information due to

organisational shifts. Moreover, since photographs were not conceptualized in the same way as museum objects, it was not possible to recover information about how they entered the collection through a register or inventory. Written sources and bibliographical information complemented the information gathered orally to identify the materials accumulated within my timeframe from those which were brought into the archives at a later date. Such work could not be done with a high degree of accuracy, however, as detailed research on one single archive would have absorbed all of my research time, distracting me from my overarching goal. After this process, outlined in chapter four, I proceeded with selecting sets of pictures and case studies I deemed relevant to the research. In that difficult phase I adopted the following criteria: I identified typologies of photographers for the third chapter, I focused on a collection which kept the original mark of its creator in chapter four, and I listed the varieties of visual materials assembled by institutions for both the fourth and fifth chapters, looking in particular at how pictures turned into documents and tools.

As for foreign archives, I have included some English institutions: the Royal Anthropological Institute (London), the Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford), the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge), the Cambridge University Library, and the Royal Geographical Society (London). After a general look at the photographic archives to view some samples of pictures first-hand and understand the general archival organisation, I looked for traces of exchanges with Italy, searching in both correspondence and photographs. In addition to considering the essential role that Britain played in the development of both colonialism and anthropology during the Victorian era, the decision to delve more deeply into the connection between Italian and British anthropological school is motivated by two main points: historically, the Anglo-Italian scholar Enrico Hillyer Giglioli (a figure analysed in chapter 4) connected the two communities and introduced English methods to Italy; from a historiographical perspective, English scholars began to reflect on the colonial implications of anthropology sooner than Italian scholars, producing a body of literature which I regularly reference as my theoretical starting point but which must be compared on practical

grounds with other national traditions.[2] There is no doubt that Italy also engaged in dialogue and exchange with other European countries, such as France or Germany, but I had to exclude this from the scope of the current research.

As primary sources, I also use some illustrated publications to trace the history of reproduction and the re-mediation of pictures. Founding statutes, articles and travel instructions are fundamental texts for describing the making of the discipline's structure. Correspondence is likewise crucial to understanding the practice of exchanging photographs and the functions attributed to it.

Thesis structure

The thesis begins by tracing the institutional history of Italian anthropology so as to reframe it in light of the networks informing the discipline. I then move to analyse the theoretical structures created by anthropologists to regulate the use of photography. Subsequently, the actual practice of photography in the field is addressed. From the focus on production practices I then move to archival practices and their role in the meaning-making of photographs. The last chapter looks at a particular trait of Italian anthropology, namely its attention to people and local traditions within the peninsula. In the following sections I explain the aims, sources and methodology of each chapter, providing information on the main bibliographical references.

Historiography and anthropology

Chapter 1 addresses the history of anthropology and aims to reconstruct the process through which the discipline was institutionalised in Italy's post-Unification period, from 1861 to 1911. The focus is on the multiple and contrasting scientific communities that emerged and the role they played in defining the scope of anthropology as a discipline. In this

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[2] The attempt to foster research and comparison between less-known historiographies in regard to photography, colonialism and anthropology developed in the last decade, see for examples the Hera Project PhotoCLEC, the Imperios Research Group in Lisboa, the Labex EHNE: Écrire une Histoire Nouvelle de l'Europe.

regard, the chapter draws on those studies that analysed the development of anthropology in the 19th century. Looking at the historiography of anthropology, we see that a fundamental moment of reflection on the origin of the discipline followed the decolonisation process. Anthropologists recognised the discipline's involvement with colonial policies and began reflecting on the effect it had on their theories and methods. I will engage with the approach launched by George Stocking, who considered anthropology not as a given discipline but as a historical object to be analysed in its social transformation and cultural history.[3] Besides Stocking, many other scholars such as James Clifford and Johannes Fabian have addressed anthropology's difficult past and its connection with positivistic cultures and colonial endeavours. I also refer to the works of Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton in light of the attention they grant to the relationship between anthropology and history.[4]

In Italy, reflection and studies on the colonial origins of the anthropological discipline began to develop from the 1980s onwards. A first significant contribution was the volume *Studi antropologici italiani e rapporti di classe* published in 1979, which retraced some issues in the history of anthropology from a Marxist perspective.[5] The journal *La*

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[3] George Stocking initiated the publication of the volumes *History of Anthropology* beginning in 1982. Some of his fundamental contributions to the literature are George Stocking (ed.), *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983; *Objects and others: essays on museums and material culture*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988; *Colonial situations: Essays on the contextualization of ethnographic knowledge*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991; and George Stocking, *Victorian anthropology*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991.

[4] See James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997; Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: how anthropology made its objects*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1983; Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton, *Photography, Anthropology and History: Expanding the Frame*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

[5] In that collection of essays, the most relevant for my purpses here are Alberto Sobrero, *Problemi di ricostruzione della mentalità subalterna: letteratura e circolazione culturale alla fine dell'800*; Luigi Lombardi Satriani, *Realtà meridionale e conoscenza demologica. Linee per una storia degli studi demologici dagli anni postunitari alla conquista della Libia*; and Sandra

Ricerca Folklorica was published beginning in 1980 and contributed to reinvigorating the debate on both the contemporary and past directions of Italian anthropology. Of particular importance was the article by Gianni Dore in the first issue of the journal that primarily addressed the relationship between anthropology and the Fascist Empire.[6] In general, analyses of the fascist period have dominated Italian historical research and overshadowed investigations of the period before WWI. Of the exceptions, it is worth mentioning the investigations by Sandra Puccini, Francesco Faeta, Enzo Vinicio Alliegro, Francesco Fedele and Alberto Baldi which from the 1990s onwards looked more deeply into the stories of the institutionalisation of anthropology between the 19th and 20th centuries.[7] The research by Puccini is invaluable for her attention to the role of travellers, while Alliegro has an extremely interesting focus on anthropological historiography. Taking inspiration from these works, I examine the peculiarity of Italian social sciences traditions in dialogue with international historiographies.

While acknowledging the role of figures such as Paolo Mantegazza and Luigi Pigorini, I also consider minor actors and less-well-known cases that are particularly meaningful in a moment of disciplinary development. Instead of assuming a teleological approach that highlights the role of the more successful schools, I look at minor and forgotten attempts. I underline institutionalisation processes, identity-making moments and disputes to depict the construction of anthropology with its new scholarly figure and scientific communities.

Puccini and Massimo Squillacciotti, *Per una prima ricostruzione critico-bibliografica degli studi demo-etno-antropologici italiani nel periodo tra le due guerre*, in Franco Zannino (ed.), *Studi antropologici italiani e rapporti di classe. Dal positivismo al dibattito attuale*, Milan: Angeli, 1978.

[6] Gianni Dore, *Antropologia e colonialismo italiano. Rassegna di studi di questo dopoguerra*, "La Ricerca Folklorica", 1, 1980, pp. 129-132.

[7] Pietro Clemente played an important role in developing historical research on anthropology, see Pietro Clemente (ed.), *L'Antropologia italiana: un secolo di storia*, Bari: Laterza, 1985; Sandra Puccini (ed.), *L'Uomo e gli uomini: scritti di antropologi italiani dell'Ottocento*, CISU, 1991; Francesco Fedele and Alberto Baldi, *Alle origini dell'antropologia italiana: Giustiniano Nicolucci e il suo tempo*, Naples: Guida, 1998; Enzo Vinicio Alliegro, *Antropologia italiana: storia e storiografia, 1869-1975*, Florence: SEID, 2011.

The discipline's relationship with and influences from other fields, such as natural history, medicine, statistics, are also taken into account. The chapter leads to an investigation of the history and theory of science in 19th century Italy, addressing the work of Giovanni Landucci with its focus on the Darwinian milieu, or Giulio Barsanti's exploration of the birth of anthropology with particular attention to the Florentine school.[8] The approach stemming from the history of science is particularly inspiring by virtue of the way it considers scholarly networks and the role of theories and methods in creating a new field within the complex scientific system. Being aware of the peculiar nature of anthropology, straddling the boundary between science and the humanities, I linger on studies that have analysed the history of separation in these two domains and that retrace the creation of new disciplinary vocabulary forged of classifications and branches. Special attention is given to instances of overlapping and disruption within this dichotomous system in order to challenge its borders and to show the complex articulation of anthropology in its development.

Furthermore, anthropology is considered in light of its connection with the new Italian Nation, especially in terms of the intersection with issues of identity, education, and colonial policies. Indeed, another focus of this chapter is the relationship between anthropology, colonialism and expedition culture. Pivotal works by Nicola Labanca, Angelo Del Boca, Giuseppe Finaldi, and Alessandro Triulzi have helped to contextualise the suppressed history of Italian colonialism in Africa, including that carried out before the fascist period.[9] My aim here is not to build a

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[8] Regarding Italy and positivistic culture, see Giovanni Landucci, *Darwinismo a Firenze: tra scienza e ideologia (1860-1900)*, Florence: Olschki, 1977; Giovanni Landucci, *L'Occhio e la mente: science e filosofia nell'Italia del secondo ottocento*, Firenze: Olschki, 1987; Giuliano Pancaldi, *Darwin in Italia: Impresa scientifica e frontiere culturali*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1983; and Giulio Barsanti, *Paolo Mantegazza e la "storia naturale dell'uomo"*, in Guido Cimino (ed.), *La nascita delle scienze umane nell'Italia post-unitaria*, Milan: Angeli, 2014, pp. 231-265.

[9] See Nicola Labanca, *Oltremare: Storia dell'espansione coloniale italiana*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002; Angelo Del Boca, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale: Dall'Unità alla Marcia su Roma*, vol. 1, Bari-Milan: Laterza-Mondadori, 1992; and Giuseppe Finaldi, *A history of Italian Colonialism 1860-1907*: *Europe's Last Empire*, London: Routledge, 2016.

history of colonialism but to see when, where and how often anthropology encountered such processes. In this regard, I am particularly interested in the analysis of institutions which were maneuvering in the space between scientific investigation and colonial management. One in particular is the Italian Geographical Society, which simultaneously constituted a point of reference for the anthropological and geographical scientific community, supported the organisation of exploratory campaigns, fostered the creation of a community of travellers and explorers, and played an essential role in the colonial administration. For my analysis of these kinds of associations, I reference especially Maria Mancini for the Italian case and James Ryan and Joan Schwartz for the Anglo-Saxon world.[10]

From the second half of the nineteenth-century onward, anthropology underwent its 'Museum period'. I thus consider how the museum institution generated a specific way of looking at and studying human culture. I refer to studies on the history of collecting and museums, and particularly works that address the making of scientific and anthropological ones.[11]

To summarize, the first chapter follows a chronological structure to give an overview of the events, figures and theories revolving around anthropology between 1861 and 1911. My primary sources for identifying key epistemological issues have been funding statutes, journal and bulletin articles, meeting reports, and volumes about anthropology. Although this chapter does not address photography directly, I consider such a preliminary outline a necessary step to historically situate the practices that I go on to analyse in the following chapters, especially given the troubled status of the history of Italian

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[10] See Maria Mancini (ed.), *Obiettivo sul mondo. Viaggi ed esplorazioni nelle immagini dell'Archivio fotografico della Società Geografica Italiana (1866-1956)*, Rome: SGI, 1996; James Ryan and Joan Schwartz, *Picturing place: photography and the geographical imagination,* London: Tauris, 2003; Claudio Cerreti (ed.), *Colonie Africane e Cultura Italiana fra Ottocento e Novecento: le esplorazioni e la geografia,* Rome: CISU, 1995.

[11] Regarding anthropology and museums, see Stocking (ed.), *Objects…*, 1988; and Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden, and Ruth Phillips (eds.), *Sensible objects: colonialism, museums and material culture*, Oxford: Berg, 2006.

anthropology and highly limited knowledge developed abroad about this tradition. After having shown the dynamic process of inclusion, exclusion, and boundary-making and the institutionalisation of new knowledge, in the next chapter I proceed to consider issues regarding anthropological methodology between the 19th and the 20th century. How did the community regulate itself? How did they plan to build knowledge? After having addressed anthropology at the level of history and objectives, I move to the level of theory and the creation of methods and protocols.

Disciplinary rules and theoretical structures

The second chapter brings the focus to the textual discourse that developed around the topic of observation and related recording techniques, in particular photography. This topic was particularly crucial for the anthropological discipline in that it relied extensively on indirect observation. In other words, travellers (who might have been businessmen, diplomats, missionaries, navy and military officers, naturalists, explorers, or settlers) were enrolled to enable the transfer of knowledge from the geographical periphery to scientific centres of interpretation located in Italian cities.[12] In order to ensure the reliability of the information received – and, consequently, the reliability of the science-making – the anthropological community formulated tools and rules for the production of documentation. Through an analysis of instructions for travellers and other primary written sources, this chapter uncovers the process of creating 'delegated gazes.'[13] I adopt Cosimo

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[12] Elizabeth Edwards, *Exchanging photographs: preliminary thoughts on the currency of photography in collecting anthropology*, "Journal des anthropologues", 80, 81, 2000, pp. 21-46. For a further examination of the relationship between centre and periphery, more related to art historical practice, see Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, Turin: Einaudi, 1979.

[13] The expression 'delegated gaze' can be found in the work of Cosimo Chiarelli, who used it in reference to the photographic album that Margaret Brooke, ranee of Sarawak, drafted following instructions from the Italian botanist Odoardo Beccari. See Cosimo Chiarelli, *Immagini di un mito tropicale. Rappresentazioni visive del Borneo tra grafica e fotografia* [PhD thesis], Florence: EUI, 2012. The italian translation "sguardo per delega"

Chiarelli's phrase to consider how the practice of observation was crafted and how the attention of the observer was guided toward specific external elements. I also analyse how the handbooks referred to the photographic medium and how they fostered standards of representation. A community of practice, albeit a non-homogeneous one, began developing around such publications and grew to create patterns involving a shared anthropological way of seeing and describing external reality.[14]

The history of observation, examined in terms of its social constructiveness with a focus on the technical tools and instructions that guided and shaped it, represents a main trend of inquiry. In this literature, one crucial publication is the volume *Histories of Scientific Observation* by Daston and Lunbeck that analyses how various scientific communities differently evaluated, guided, and taught observation.[15] Although important work had been carried out in this field as early as the 1970s and 1980s, research along these lines increased in the first decades of 2000. In this introduction, I take into account solely the literature that constituted the basis and perimeter of my research.

Regarding the role of the sense of sight in producing scientific knowledge, I refer to Foucault's classic study *The birth of the clinic* (1963) in which he analysed the creation of the clinical institution and the medical gaze.[16] Although my research is not focused on a total institution such as the clinic, this study is relevant for my purposes in that it helps me to think about the relationship between an institution (in my case,

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also appears in Chiarelli's article *L'atlante e lo scrapbook. Rapporti scientifici, relazioni coloniali e identità di genere in due album fotografici della fine del XIX secolo*, "RSF", 2, 2015, pp. 8-31.

[14] Michael Lynch and Steve Woolgar (eds.), *Representation in scientific practice*, Cambridge: MIT press, 1990; and Charles Goodwin, *Professional vision*, "American anthropologist", 96, 3, 1994, pp. 606-633.

[15] Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck, *Histories of Scientific Observation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

[16] Michel Foucault, The *Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, London: Routledge, 1963 [1st ed. *Naissance De La Clinique,* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963].

the anthropological discipline and its museums) and the kind of observation practices it produced. I also draw on Foucault for the concept of 'discourse', meaning all the textual, verbal, bodily, and visual practices that – materially and theoretically – give shape to a certain system of knowledge.[17] Latour's analysis is also fundamental to my research, especially its attention to the agency of material objects in the making of science and in particular the function of pictures (but also maps and sketches) as 'immutable mobiles'.[18] As far as photographic studies are concerned, I engage with Johnatan Crary's *Technique of the observer* (1990) because its analysis of the observer as a historical object is useful for think about the way anthropology sought to shape an observational procedure.[19] I am particularly interested in his analysis of the control and standardization of visions, but over the course of this thesis I also argue that such regularisation did not work effectively in a science as variegated as anthropology.

Regarding the construction of scientific knowledge, I refer to the pivotal book *Objectivity* by Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison (2007) in which they investigate scientific illustrations to demonstrate how scientific data, facts and categories are not neutral and unquestionable but instead caught up with the way science was historically made and assessed. Concerning photography, the authors develop the paradigm of 'mechanical objectivity' they had previously presented in a 1992 essay,[20]

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[17] See Michel Foucault, *Lectures on the Will to Know: Lectures at the College De France, 1970-1971*, London: Palgrave, 2013. In relation to this point, it is important to mention that Karin Knorr-Cetina has introduced the concept of 'viscourse' specifically regarding vision, to refer to the social context in which images are immersed and involved. Karin Knorr-Cetina, *'Viskurse' der Physik. Wie visuelle Darstellungen ein Wissenschaftsgebiet ordnen*, in Jörg Huber, Martin Heller, and Gottfried Boehm (eds.), *Konstruktionen Sichtbarkeiten*, Zürich: Hochschule für Gestaltung und Kunst, 1999, pp. 245–63. From the same author see also *Epistemic cultures: How the sciences make knowledge*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

[18] Bruno Latour, *Visualization and cognition*, "Knowledge and society" 6, 6, 1986, pp. 1-40.

[19] Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990.

[20] See Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity*, New York: Zone Books, 2007; Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *The Image of Objectivity*, "Representations", 40, 1992, pp. 81–128.

understood as the illusion of the non-intervention of human will in the representation of external reality.

The connection between art historical concepts (i.e. style, genre) and systematised scientific categories (i.e. objectivity) is also addressed. Carlo Ginzburg's essay on the "clues" that bring the art-historical and investigative methods into relationship-oriented my approach to the study of the practices of anthropological photography in a fundamental way.[21] Without actually delving into the 19th-century debate on the role of photography at the intersection between art and science, this chapter considers how *fin-de-siecle* Italian anthropology reflected on the use of photography by invoking both artistic and scientific concepts. Considering both art-historical works and science-historical approach, the chapter explores the connection between artistic and scientific photography in anthropological practice. In terms of the relationship between photography, art and science, the thesis references several fundamental texts but does not propose to offer a comprehensive overview of the incredibly vast secondary literature on this subject. Some pioneering works are those of Marta Braun and Jon Darius, and research in scientific photography further developed following the 1997 exhibition *Beauty of Another Order: Photography in Science.*[22] Studies on the iconology of non-artistic images such as James Elkins and Horst Bredekamp's research are starting points for my research.[23] The detailed

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[21] Carlo Ginzburg, *Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and scientific method*, "History Workshop", 9, 1980, pp. 5-36.

[22] Marta Braun, *Picturing time: the work of Etienne-Jules Marey (1830-1904)*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. See also Jon Darius, *Beyond vision,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984; and Ann Thomas (ed.), *Beauty of another order: photography in science*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

[23] See James Elkins, *The domain of images,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001; and Horst Bredekamp, Vera Dünkel, and Birgit Schneider, *The Technical Image: A History of Styles in Scientific Imagery*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

case-study approach of Jimena Canales and the visual culture analysis of Lisa Cartwright have both been useful to my investigation.[24]

With regards to anthropological studies and visual anthropology, the work of Elizabeth Edwards is fundamental in that it addresses the role played by photography in connecting geographically peripheral areas with scientific centres and the implications behind such a material exchange. Other useful publications are those that specifically address the making of instructions for travellers. Christopher Pinney, along with Morton and Edwards, has analysed the parallel developments in photography and anthropology and the function of sources such as *Notes and Queries*.[25] In the Italian panorama, Sandra Puccini has carefully analysed the role of instructions in anthropology without, however, concentrating on photographic materials as this thesis does. Another important volume edited by Bossi and Greppi considers common traits in the genre of instructions, not looking exclusively at anthropology.[26] Francesco Faeta has explored in more depth the role of the gaze and the camera in the making of anthropological knowledge. However, Faeta's approach differs from the one adopted in this thesis as he focused more on the philosophical debate around the role of sight rather than the social

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[24] See Jimena Canales, *Photogenic Venus: The "Cinematographic Turn" and Its Alternatives in Nineteenth-Century France*, "Isis", 93, 4, 2002, pp. 585-613; and Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of looking*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. See also Jennifer Tucker, *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science*, Baltimora: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005; and Kelley Wilder, *Photography and Science*, London: Reaktion, 2009. In Italy, the recent volume edited by Daniela Scala, *Fotografia e scienze della mente fra storia, rappresentazione e terapia*, Rome: Aracne, 2018, provides a fundamental overview on the variety of Italian studies of scientific photography and their engagement with the international debate.

[25] Christopher Pinney, *Photography and anthropology*, London: Reaktion, 2011; Edwards and Morton, *Photography…*, 2009; Nicolas Peterson and Christopher Pinney, *Photography's Other Histories*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

[26] Sandra Puccini, *Il corpo, la mente e le passioni: istruzioni, guide e norme per la documentazione, l'osservazione e la ricerca sui popoli nell'etno-antropologia italiana del secondo Ottocento*, Rome: CISU, 1998. See also Maurizio Bossi and Claudio Greppi (eds.) *Viaggi e scienza: le istruzioni scientifiche per i viaggiatori nei secoli XVII-XIX*, Florence: Olschki, 2005.

and disciplinary attempt to build a specific gaze on the world.[27] The distinction that I draw between those who moved and collected in the field and those who interpreted at the institutions back home raises the issue of the relationship between experts and amateurs and their points of contact within a community of practice. Investigations into the role and status of the scientific amateur are particularly important to my argument because they show how science has been made up of contributions and materials provided by various actors with multiple agendas, as the third chapter will demonstrate.

Spaces and practices

In chapter three, the focus shifts from the construction of methodologies for observation and representation to the practical making of pictures in the field. After having addressed the theoretical apparatus, this section's purpose is to consider the practical elements underpinning image production and ascertain whether or not representational standards become established. The analysis of written travel reports is combined with an exploration of the materiality and styles of pictures. Through selected case studies, the chapter proposes distinctions among different kinds of ethnographers-photographers, from studio professionals to amateur travellers, from photographers specifically hired for an expedition campaign to 'snapshooters'.

Before proceeding with this discussion, it is first necessary to define the concept of field. To do so, I refer to studies that analyse the places in which science is made and how each space (the laboratory, the museum, the field…) must be considered an active agent in the production of knowledge, delimiting the way information is gathered and theories are built. The field has been less easily identified as a scientific location given its less clearly definable spatial boundaries and lack of fixed rules. Maintaining an historical approach, my research profits from studies on the history of geography, and especially travel practices and exploration

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[27] Francesco Faeta, *Le ragioni dello sguardo: Pratiche dell'osservazione, della rappresentazione e della memoria*, Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2011.

cultures, to examine the issue of distance and knowledge transfer.[28] My argument thus depends on contributions that deconstruct the image of the field as a wild territory to be conquered/discovered by the explorer/traveller. I depict the field as a space with its own rules, populated by multiple actors and strongly informed by colonial governmentalities.[29]

In the history of anthropology, the field acquired a precise meaning. My dissertation examines it in a moment of passage: from a space of raw data collection to be absorbed and somehow transported to the homeland as it was considered in the 19th century, the field went on to become the locus of knowledge-making, of direct anthropological experience, from the 20th century onwards.[30] Tracing the course of this transition, the third chapter analyses the construction of values connected to the idea of direct access to facts "on-the-spot" as well as the strategy employed to transfer information outside. The studies by James Clifford on the making of the anthropological subject in connection to travel experiences are fundamental to this point.[31] The field will be also considered in terms of its status as a 'contact zone', as Mary Louise Pratt has defined it, a space of cultural clash and negotiation in which the experience of encounter between the observer and observed modifies the perception and understanding of both.[32]

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[28] Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1999; Heike Jöns, Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan (eds.), *Mobilities of Knowledge*, New York: Springer, 2017; Henrika Kuklick and Robert Kohler (eds), *Science in the Field*, "Osiris", 11, 1996, pp. 1-14.

[29] See Tony Bennett, Ben Dibley, and Rodney Harrison, *Introduction: Anthropology, collecting and colonial governmentalities*, "History and Anthropology" 25, 2, 2014, pp. 137-149.

[30] See Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford: Berg, 2001.

[31] See Clifford, *Routes…*, 1997; Sandra Puccini, *Andare lontano: Viaggi ed etnografia nel secondo Ottocento*, Rome: Carocci, 1999.

[32] A first definition appeared in the article: Mary Louise Pratt, *Arts of the Contact Zone*, "Profession", 1991, pp. 33–40; the concept was further defined in the book: Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London: Routledge, 1991.

With regards to photographic studies, my primary reference is the research on visual anthropology developed beginning in the 1990s, especially in the UK, in the wake of the pivotal 1992 book *Anthropology and Photography*.[33] The above-mentioned authors Elizabeth Edwards, Christopher Morton, and Christopher Pinney are invaluable for both the affinity of the subject matter they address and the attention they grant to the social biographies of pictures as objects.[34] In parallel, I also draw on studies by the above-mentioned Francesco Faeta, Paolo Chiozzi, Cosimo Chiarelli, and Alberto Baldi that have underlined the specificity of the Italian case.[35] Baldi's analysis is particularly inspiring by virtue of the way it recognizes what he calls the "figural mix" characterising 19th-century anthropological portraits. Given such composite production, I also take into consideration literature from many contiguous branches, such as travel photography and the connected branches of commercial orientalist and exotic photography.[36] Studies on colonial photography developed in Italy in the 1980s starting with the 1981 issue of *Rivista di Storia e Critica della fotografia* dedicated to *Fotografia e colonialismo*. The journal AFT became a key reference point for Italian photographic studies in the 1980s and the 1987 issue was specifically dedicated to

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[33] Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

[34] For Edwards, Morton and Pinney see note 26. Thinking in terms of biography of images, I also refer to studies coming from the history of science field such as Michael Hagner, Renato Mazzolini, and Claudio Pogliano, *Nine Biographies of Scientific Images*, "Nuncius", 24, 2, 2009, pp. 279-289; and Omar Nasim, *Observing by hand: sketching the nebulae in the nineteenth century*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

[35] See Brunetto Chiarelli, Paolo Chiozzi, and Cosimo Chiarelli, *Etnie: la scuola antropologica fiorentina e la fotografia tra '800 e '900*, Florence: Alinari, 1996; Francesco Faeta and Antonello Ricci, *Lo specchio infedele, Materiali per lo studio della fotografia etnografica in Italia*, Rome: MATP, 1997; Alberto Baldi, *Figural medley: at the origins of XIXth Century anthropological portr*ait, "Anuac" 6, 1, 2017, pp. 271-300. Alberto Baldi, *Ipse vidit: fotografia antropologica ottocentesca e possesso del mondo*, "EtnoAntropologia" 4, 1, 2017, pp. 3-28.

[36] See Ali Behdad, Luke Gartlan (eds.), *Photography's Orientalisms: New Essays on Colonial Representation*, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013.

colonial images.[37] Other important elements in the development of this field were the 1992 conference *Fotografia e Storia dell'Africa* and the work of authors Silvana Palma and Massimo Zaccaria.[38]

The history of explorations and photographic campaigns also represents a key area of this thesis, especially in regards to the intention to control and comprehend geographical space through pictures. The research conducted by the above-mentioned scholars Joan Schwartz and James Ryan is crucial in relation to this point, as is the attention to the 'documentary impulse' addressed by Greg Mitman and Kelley Wilder.[39]

In the third chapter I aim to illustrate the specific network that emerged from the production of visual materials. The studies on network (starting from Latour) prove to be extremely interesting when applied to photography, an object whose mobility and reproducibility makes its path particularly interesting to follow.[40] I found James Hevia's concept of 'photography complex' that looks at the interactions of networks and

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[37] Alessandro Triulzi, *Fotografia coloniale e storia dell'Africa*, pp. 39-43; Nicola Labanca , *Uno sguardo coloniale. Immagini e propaganda nelle fotografie e nelle illustrazioni del primo colonialismo italiano (1882-1896)*, pp. 43-61, and Adolfo Mignemi, *Modelli visivi per un impero. Fotografia ufficiale e privata nei mesi della campagna militare in Etiopia 1935-1936*, pp. 62-67, "AFT", 6, 1987.

[38] Alessandro Triulzi, *Fotografia e storia dell'Africa*, Rome: CISU, 1995; Silvana Palma, *L'Africa nella collezione fotografica dell'IsIAO. Il fondo Eritrea-Etiopia*, Rome: ISIAO, 2005. Tania Rossetto, *Africa in fotografia: Un percorso multidisciplinare in ambito italiano*, "La Ricerca Folklorica" 2006, pp. 39-56; and Massimo Zaccaria, *"Quelle splendide fotografie che riproducono tanti luoghi pittoreschi" L'uso della fotografia nella propaganda coloniale italiana (1898-1914)*, in Cristiana Fiamingo (ed.), *Identità d'Africa fra arte e politica,* Rome: Aracne, 2008, pp. 147-173.

[39] Gregg Mitman and Kelley Wilder (eds.) *Documenting the world: Film, Photography, and the Scientific Record*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

[40] See Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Regarding photography, the publication I have in mind is the dedicated issue edited by Owen Clayton and Jim Cheshire, *Photography and Network*, "History of Photography", 41 4, 2017 that stemmed from the conference '*Rethinking Early Photography'*, University of Lincoln, 2015. Tim Ingold refers to Lefebvre's concept of 'meshwork' that emphasizes the creation of twines rather than links. See Tim Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, London: Routledge, 2013; and Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1991 [1st ed. *La production de l'espace*, Paris: Anthropos, 1974]. I thank Christopher Morton for the suggestion on meshwork.

overlapping of agencies in the construction of photographic meaning quite useful. Even more germane for my investigation is Deborah Poole's idea of a 'visual economy' constructed through the circulation of photographs not as isolated entities, but together with objects, peoples, and ideas.[41]

By providing some examples of travelling photographers, I want to give a sense of the different kinds of actors who contributed to the visual market of anthropology (travellers, explorers, missionaries, colonial officers, professional photographers…). The chapter analyses the extent to which the rules regarding observation and photographic recording delineated in chapter two were actually useful to travellers, whether they were applied, ignored or rejected, and how so. I argue that there was a fluid line between what was defined as 'scientific' and 'artistic' photography in instructions for travellers. Some visual tropes and stylistic canons were recognisable, but the materials produced in the field were made to serve different publics, needs, and interests. Moving beyond the ideal construction of theory, the chapter delves into actual subjective practice. To do so, it analyses travel diaries and written reports to find references to the making of pictures and interweaves such textual sources with the photographic production of the same author.

Photographers' experiences in the field include the "relational history" of the photographic encounter. In engaging this idea I draw in particular on studies by Christopher Pinney, Elizabeth Edwards and Jane Lydon and specifically their attempt to overcome the simplistic reduction of anthropological photography to colonial production.[42] While it is necessary to maintain an awareness of the colonial structure informing image production, this awareness should not be allowed to flatten the

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[41] Deborah Poole, *Vision, race, and modernity: A visual economy of the Andean image world*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997; and James Hevia, *The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer China, Making Civilization (1900–1901)*, in Rosalind C. Morris (ed.), *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2009, pp. 79-119.

[42] See Peterson and Pinney, *Photography's…*, 2005; Elizabeth Edwards*, Anthropology and photography: A long history of knowledge and affect*, "Photographies" 8, 3, 2015, pp. 235-252; and Jane Lydon, *Photography, Humanitarism, Empire*, London: Bloomsbury, 2017.

analysis of the content and context of visual production. In this task, the approach of microhistory has proved a valuable tool for analysing individual biographies, archives, and correspondences treated as sources capable of intertwining with broader history and challenging dominant narratives by asserting counterexamples.[43] Although my research does not refer specifically to the indiciary paradigm, I do employ some approaches from microhistory, such as the approach of 'zooming in' on a particular case and 'zooming out' on the general context in order to bring together individual behaviour, interpersonal relations and social dynamics in a comparative approach.

The next chapter moves from the variety of photographic experiences to the unifying container that holds them together: the photo archive. After having described how the material was produced, it is time to understand how the archive collected and constructed it.

The archival container

Chapter 4 addresses pictures not from an authorial point of view but from the standpoint of the collector. It aims to consider how the gathering and assemblage of pictures at different levels modifies, creates and boosts the meaning of images. The archive thus constitutes the crucial object of this inquiry: how did pictures enter into anthropological collections? Who requested, acquired, sold, or donated them? How did the container convey a certain reading of the content? This chapter considers the currency acquired by pictures in such an exchange, where photographs became privileged social tools for establishing connections between experts and learned societies. Moreover, it looks at the epistemological value that pictures garnered: once inserted in a series and arranged in a comparative order, they were transformed into objects of knowledge. Examples from both public (such as those of museums and societies) and private archives will be taken into account so as to show the different agendas behind image accumulation.

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[43] Carlo Ginzburg, *Microstoria: due o tre cose che so di lei*, "Quaderni storici", 1994, 86, pp. 511-39.

The 'archival turn' in historiography is the background of this fourth chapter. The role of archival practices in the production of knowledge became a fundamental subject from the 1970s, starting from Foucault's focus in taxonomies as agents in the ordering - and hierarchization - of the external reality, to the analysis of Derrida on the connection between archive and power.[44] A seminal work such as Sekula's *The body and the archive* conceptualises the connection between portraits, indexical photographic power and social control and John Tagg further considered the connection between the camera and the modern State, insisting on theories of governmentality.[45] I keep these pivotal analyses in mind to avoid approaching the anthropological photo archive as a natural and neutral product of the scientific discipline. However, I also make a step further from these readings, being careful not to reduce the archive to a repressive entity.

The aim is to describe nuances, trace negotiations, and delineate a more sophisticated understanding of the functions and functioning of the archive. To do so, I am guided by Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook's reflections about the agency of archival materials and accumulation as layers which we should learn to recognise and unfurl.[46] The publications stemming from the conference series 'Photo Archives' are also fundamental, particularly in that they generated an awareness about the need to think through the concept of 'archive' rather than that of 'collection' and to dive into its materiality in order to allow the specificity of the object, its non-neutrality and epistemological force, to emerge.[47] This analytical development represents a shift from viewing photographs as objects of power to considering the power of

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[44] See Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, London: Routledge, 1970; and Jacques Derrida, *Mal d'Archive: Une Impression Freudienne*, Paris: Galilée, 1995.

[45] Allan Sekula, *The body and the archive*, "October", 39, 1986, pp. 3-64; John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, London: Macmillan, 1988.

[46] Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook, *Archives, records, and power: The making of modern memory*, "Archival science", 2, 1-2, 2002, pp. 1-19.

[47] Costanza Caraffa (ed.), *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011.

photographic objects, an approach that stresses the productive role of pictures.

In anthropological research, the photo archive has been tackled by many researchers.[48] On one hand, I use these works as references that address and explore the making of the collection and the history of accumulation. On the other hand, I also keep in mind arguments emphasizing the dispersive and excessive quality of the archive, from Edwards' idea of the archive as a sum of many "micro-relationships" to Poole's above-cited concept of 'visual economy'.[49] Indeed, the issue of the circulation and 'flows' of pictures is crucial to this chapter. My discussion examines this aspect in relation to the 'currency' of photography, that is, the social value pictures acquire through exchanges, movements and reproductions and their role as a means of legitimation, as creators of prestige, and as agents in a system of relationships.

Moving from the photo-archive to the photo-in-the-archive, I take into consideration those studies that have addressed the use of pictures as documents. Pictures in the archive will not be considered as individual objects, but rather as pieces inserted into a series that create a certain narrative and convey a certain message. The resulting narrative, is not a rational and straightforward path, however: investigations of the archive reveal that it is contaminated with vernacular images, thus revealing the connection between scientific and popular culture.[50] My analysis of content and arrangement leads to a consideration of what Edwards and

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[48] For an overview, see Marcus Banks and Richard Vokes (eds.), *Anthropology, Photography and the Archive*, "History and Anthropology", 21, 4, 2010, pp. 337-349.

[49] See Poole, *Vision…*, 1997; and Edwards, *Raw…*, 2001.

[50] See Phillip Prodger, *Darwin's camera: Art and photography in the theory of evolution*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009; and Nicolas Bancel, Thomas David, and Dominic Thomas (eds.), *The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations*, London: Routledge, 2014.

Morton has termed the 'infinite recodability' of pictures as objects which acquire significance in relation to their location and use.[51]

I furthermore consider how written inscriptions aimed to fix and alter the meaning of visual content, transforming a photo into a document.[52] Looking at the various forms of the 'documentary impulse',[53] I will distinguish between public and private archives. In relation to this point I draw on recent scholarly work focused on private visual narrations, particularly in relation to the colonial experience, as part of an attempt to move away from a political and official history of the phenomenon and instead consider the emotional responses and personal representations conveyed by private archives.[54] The transition between a private and public context and the recoding of a given meaning in this transition will also be analysed.

I also consider museums and collecting history in terms of their relationship with photography, a connection underlined by the important collective volume edited by Edward and Morton that stresses how photography became an undeniable, although often overlooked, part of museum collections in the 19th century.[55] For the Italian case, I rely on some recent publications and projects that have begun addressing the

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[51] See Edwards and Morton, *Photography…*, 2009; Joan Schwartz, "*We make our tools and our tools make us": Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics, and Poetics of Diplomatics*, "Archiviaria", 40, 1995, pp. 40-74; and Kelley Wilder, *Not One but Many: Photographic Trajectories and the Making of History*, "History of Photography", 41, 4, 2017: 376-394.

[52] See Gabriele D'Autilia, *L'indizio e la prova: la storia nella fotografia*, Milan: Mondadori, 2005; Tiziana Serena, *Le parole dell'archivio fotografico*, "Rivista di estetica" 50, 2012, pp. 163-177.

[53] Mitman and Wilder (eds.), *Documenting…*, 2016.

[54] Regarding Italian studies, see Paolo Bertella Farnetti, Adolfo Mignemi, and Alessandro Triulzi, (eds.), *L'Impero nel cassetto: l'Italia coloniale tra album privati e archivi pubblici*, Milan: Mimesis, 2013.

[55] Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton, *Photographs, Museums, Collections: Between Art and Information*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015. The analysis of photography as a collecting practice has also been addressed by the conference at the V&A, '*Collecting Photography, Photography as Collecting'*, London, 2018.

variety of photo archives and their institutional history.[56] Chapter four will also include a general investigation of archival histories and processes of stratification in order to identify and distinguish between historically accumulated materials, institutional acquisitions, and private donations.

Finally, the fourth chapter also looks into the history of anthropology with a specific focus on the scientific relations the anthropological community established beyond national borders. Italian historiography, too often approaching Italy as an isolated container, has only rarely addressed this aspect; one of the few exceptions is Cosimo Chiarelli's research underlining the connection between Italian anthropology and the British tradition and history.[57] I explore extra-national scientific relations by examining in particular Giglioli's collection in order to identify instances of influence and exchange between national and international traditions. After having addressed photographic and archival practices with special attention to the representation of colonial or non-western territories, the last chapter will shift the focus towards the representation of national domestic cultures.

National representation

The last chapter is closely connected to processes of identity-making and intersects in particular with the history of exhibitions. Since the making of anthropology went hand in hand with the making of Italian national identity, the anthropological community was particularly interested in exploring the variety of peoples and traditions within the national borders. In addition to the distant colonial territories, the orientalist gaze was also directed at nearby exotic subjects. Theories of alterity or affinity

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[56] For some examples in the Italian panorama see the online project *Censimento degli archivi fotografici* <http://www.censimento.fotografia.italia.it/> (last access 12/01/2020); Barbara Fabjan (ed.), *Immagini e memoria: gli archivi fotografici di Istituzioni culturali della città di Roma*, Rome: Gangemi, 2014; Jacopo Moggi Cecchi and Roscoe Stanyon (eds.), *Il Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università degli Studi di Firenze*: *Le collezioni antropologiche ed etnologiche*, vol. 5, Florence: Florence University Press, 2014; and Mancini (ed.), *Obiettivo…*, 1996.

[57] Chiarelli, *Immagini…*, 2012.

were constructed primarily through visual documentation. The 1911 ethnographic exhibition constitutes the last large-scale example of such taxonomic interest: a campaign of 'gatherers' (*raccoglitori*) was organized throughout the national territory to search for objects, notes and pictures. This final section of the thesis takes photographs of domestic traditional cultures as its central object so as to understand how the documentary value of pictures was, once more, performed and interpreted, especially in relation to the 'exhibitionary complex'.[58]

The last chapter takes up the threads of Italian history with a specific focus on processes of national identity-making. Historiographical attention to this topic has built on Anderson's fundamental investigation of 'imagined communities' as well as Hobsbawm and Ranger's notion of the 'invention of tradition'.[59] These studies were key in shifting the approach from an essentialist view of national cohesion and history to a post-colonial consideration of the role that imaginations, stories, and materiality have played in the construction and perception of shared cultural belonging. Focusing on the Italian case, the works of Alberto Maria Banti have delineated the interplay between ideas, imagery, and literature in the construction of national identity, particularly in relation to *Risorgimento* history and mythology. Ilaria Porciani has also reflected on the making of Italian identity with a focus on the role played by celebrations, representations, family history and museums in shaping national sentiment.[60]

Similar approaches have been applied to the analysis of national projects of photographic documentation in recent years and, interestingly, there has been a historiographical shift in photographic history: both Schwartz and Edwards have moved from a focus on the representation of distant

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[58] Tony Bennet, *The exhibitionary complex*, in Bruce Ferguson, Reesa Greenberg and Sandy Nairne (eds.), *Thinking about exhibitions,* London: Routledge, 2005, pp. 71-93.

[59] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983; and Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983.

[60] Alberto Mario Banti, *Sublime madre nostra: La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo*, Bari: Laterza, 2014; and Ilaria Porciani, *La festa della nazione: rappresentazione dello Stato e spazi sociali nell'Italia unita*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997.

colonial territories to an analysis of national and domestic photography. Joan Schwartz has concentrated on the role of photography in building a perception of national space, while Edwards has studied the English survey movement and its relationship to historical imagination and cultural heritage discourses. The same shift is reflected in this fifth chapter as I seek to trace points of continuity or modification in visual forms and practices in relation to a new subject. The fourth conference of the Photo Archives series specifically dedicated to *The Idea of Nation* gave rise to publications which have proved quite important for my analysis.[61] For example, Tiziana Serena considers how photographic representations of Italy were filtered through the representation of the country's cultural heritage as part of a process of constant negotiation between centralizing forces and the recognition of local identities. This attention to dialogue and conflict between centre and periphery is central to my investigation as well.

Concepts such as 'historical imagination' and 'performance of the past'[62] are also crucial to this final chapter as it shows how photographic attention to local traditions was closely linked to the creation of a new cultural and disciplinary awareness about material objects as cultural heritage. Moreover, my investigation also draws on studies that have approached exhibitions as a performance of the modern nation-state deeply caught up with nationalism and colonial culture, and indeed I conduct an in-depth analysis of the national celebration of 1911.[63] Studies that explore and question the connection between museum objects and photographic collections while keeping in mind the dynamics of

[61] See Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885-1918*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2012; Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena (eds.), *Photo Archives and the idea of Nation*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015; Joan Schwartz, *Photographic Archives and the Idea of Nation: Images, Imaginings, and Imagined Community*, in Caraffa and Serena (eds.), *Photo Archives…*, 2015, pp. 17-40.

[62] Elizabeth Edwards, *Photography and the material performance of the past*, "History and Theory" 48, 4, 2009, pp. 130-150.

[63] See Guido Abbattist*a, Umanità in mostra. Esposizioni etniche e invenzioni esotiche in Italia (1880-1940)*, Trieste: EUT, 2013; and Sandra Puccini, *L'itala gente dalle molte vite: Lamberto Loria e la Mostra di etnografia italiana del 1911*, Rome: Meltemi, 2005.

hierarchisation between formal 'collection' and informal 'non-collections' are also key to my analysis.[64]

This chapter will also contribute to the study of the iconography of popular types, costumes and genre scenes and the message they conveyed in Italian history.[65] Lastly, this chapter also offers a nod to the history of cinema and its relationship with the photographic medium. Of particular importance in this discussion is media and visual studies research that examines the element of connection between the two media, particularly those addressing pre-cinema and the history of scientific cinema,[66] the origin of documentary and ethnographic cinema, and the didactic function of cinema.[67]

Some terminological clarifications: Anthropology – Ethnography – Ethnology

Before moving into the content of the thesis, it is necessary to provide a terminological note. This is especially important given that this thesis, written in English, focuses on the Italian context and its link with other geographical areas in a specific period. Therefore, as is inevitably and constantly the case in works having to do with *translation*, the first instance of internal friction forms around the choice of words: as we will see, the English word *anthropology* does not have the same history and meaning as the Italian word *antropologia*.

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[64] Elizabeth Edwards and Sigrid Lien (eds.), *Uncertain images: Museums and the work of photographs*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.

[65] See Mariantonietta Picone Petrusa, *Iconografia del costume popolare. Modelli fotografici in studio*, in *La fotografia a Roma nel secolo XIX: la veduta, il ritratto, l'archeologia*, Rome: Artemide, 1991, pp. 52-76.

[66] See Virgilio Tosi, *Il cinema prima del cinema*, Milan: Il castoro, 2007; Virgilio Tosi, Giovanni Almadori, Lorenzo Lorusso, *Osvaldo Polimanti: Il cinema per le scienze*, Rome: Carocci, 2011; Silvio Alovisio, *L'occhio sensibile: Cinema e scienze della mente nell'Italia del primo Novecento*, Turin: Kaplan, 2019.

[67] See Fatimah T. Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2004; and Francesco Marano, *Il film etnografico in Italia*, Bari: Edizioni di Pagina, 2007.

In the 19th century, anthropology was a discipline in the making and definitions were particularly relevant in the construction of boundaries and spaces of action. The difficulties anthropologists had in defining the scope of the domain and its subgroups lay primarily in the tension between natural and human sciences. In their studies on Italian anthropology, Claudio Pogliano has underlined this problematic condition and defined anthropology as an 'unpredictable proteus' by virtue of its conflictual status, while Francesco Faeta has depicted the uncertain origins of the Italian discipline and used the phrase "anthropology without anthropologists" to characterise it.[68] Therefore, the words 'anthropology' (*antropologia*) 'ethnography' (*etnografia*) and 'ethnology' (*etnologia*) were interpreted in a variety of ways depending on the actors using them.

Moreover, as mentioned, vocabulary changes from one national tradition to the next, and since this thesis deals with an Italian topic using the English language it is crucial to clearly explicate the significance associated with each of these key terms throughout this thesis. In Italy, the term *Antropologia* could be used as a main category that encompasses the natural and cultural factors, an umbrella under which subgroups of research paths developed. Furthermore, the term primarily meant the 'natural history of man', what in English would be named 'physical anthropology'. Given the strong influence that natural sciences and medicine had in the making of the discipline in Italy, physical investigation gained central importance. When referring to anthropological research, 19th-century Italian actors referred mainly to racial differentiation and physical comparison.

Thus, while *Antropologia* concentrated on 'Man' as a single entity, *Etnografia* instead referred more commonly to studies of a plural group, such as a civilization or a community, its cultural traits and social functioning.[69] The meaning of *Etnologia* was dynamic and shifted

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[68] Claudio Pogliano, *L'incerta identità dell'antropologia*, "Rivista di Antropologia", 71, 1993, pp. 31-41; and Francesco Faeta, *Le ragioni …*, 2011.

[69] For a discussion of the distinction among the three terms, see the collection of primary essays by Sandra Puccini (ed.), *L'Uomo…*, 1991.

according to the actors using it, ranging from the strictly physical to the historical and social dimensions. *Etnografia* gradually became associated with information collected in the field, but also the study of Italian domestic traditions (which in England is termed *Folklore*).[70] This current of research gained particular prevalence in the peninsula, and in fact an academic tradition developed in Italy devoted to popular domestic customs.

However, when we apply these terms to historical actors, the meaning changes slightly. To summarize and simplify, in the Italian tradition an *Antropologo* was an armchair scholar, the one who formulated theories and categories, while an *Etnografo* was sometimes also a less-specialized actor, for example a traveller or anybody who gathered materials useful for the study of populations (both colonial and domestic).[71] Further distinctions and disputes regarding the use of these three terms will be analysed in the first chapter, considering that as of 1911, the final year analysed here, use of the three terms in the Ethnological Congress continued to reveal the fluid and contrasting ways they were interpreted and the unsuccessful attempt to build a single, common taxonomy.

As for practical morphological choices and consistency with the subjects, in this thesis I have opted to use the vocabulary according to the Italian tradition and system of meanings, while however using the words in English translation to help ensure the readability of my work. I avoid employing the term Ethnology, which is too confusing in the Italian tradition; I instead use Anthropology to indicate the general discipline or physical interest, while I use Ethnography to indicate the practice of

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[70] This direction became particularly evident from the beginning of the 1900s, with the use of Ethnography always accompanied by the adjective Italian, in particular in the initiatives launched by Loria such as the Museum of Italian Ethnography and the Society of Italian Ethnography. The term '*demologia*' then went on to replace *etnografia* in the study of domestic culture. See Enzo Vinicio Alliegro, *Storia degli studi antropologici, memoria e oblio. Lamberto Loria e l'Istituzionalizzazione della demologia in Italia*, "Palaver", 7, 1, 2018: 33-46.

[71] A similar distinction can be seen in the society meeting and article journals, where the figure of Mantegazza is addressed as an *antropologo*, while the travellers such as Modigliani and Loria are called *etnografi.*

fieldwork, interest in cultural elements, and the shifting attention to Italian cultures. As mentioned above, these categories were not fixed in this period but rather in the making, so I thus indicate when new meanings arose. Moreover, the current school of Italian anthropological refers to such terms differently, so it is important to keep in mind that I am using them according to their prevailing meaning in a historically limited frame (1861-1911).[72]

Excavating the archive

During my first visits to the archives, I remember every archivist justifiably asking me: what documents would you like to see? As much as I tried to narrow my answer and provide them with specific names, dates, and geographical areas, my replies always seemed to remain too broad and elusive. In reality, what I wanted to see was not a single item or set of records, but the overall archival structure and variety of stored materials. My requests were understandably too broad for the archivists, and I felt they were too broad for me as well; however, I wanted to formulate my research questions using the materiality of the archive as a point of departure. After my initial exposure to the archives' excess, working on the literature and dialoguing with colleagues, I began to see pieces of history that could be reconstructed.

What interested me the most and what I value as the most interesting contribution of the thesis is the cross-cutting gaze that moves across the layers composing the anthropological photo archive, passing from the history of anthropology to its theoretical base and methodology, from the practice of photographing to the practice of collecting, from the representation of the other to the visualization of identity. To do so, I intersect diverse sources as well as theoretical and bibliographical approaches, combining the history of photography with the history of anthropology, cultural studies on colonialism with research on nation-

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[72] For a contemporary overview of the domain of knowledge which in Italy is currently termed *demoetnoantropologia,* see Ugo Fabietti, *Storia dell'antropologia,* Bologna: Zanichelli, 2011; Fabio Dei, *Antropologia culturale,* Bologna: Il Mulino, 2016.

building, visual studies of science with studies on museums and the history of collecting. By zooming out and zooming in, I aim to convey this complex image, turning what at the outset seemed to constitute the main weakness of this research, namely its vagueness and ample scope, into its key strength.

1. COMMUNITIES AND ANTHROPOLOGY

1869, 1870 and 1871 are crucial years to the institutionalisation of the discipline of Anthropology in Italy. The first lessons in Anthropology in Italy are generally dated to 1869, when Paolo Mantegazza (1831-1910) [1] obtained the chair at the *Istituto di Studi Superiori Pratici e di Perfezionamento* (ISSPP) under the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy.[2] In parallel with this, Mantegazza founded the *Museo Nazionale di Antropologia ed Etnologia* and later expanded the scope also creating the related society *Società Italiana di Antropologia ed Etnologia* (1870) and the journal *Archivio per l'Antropologia e l'Etnologia* (1871). Therefore, these three years signalled the first attempt to gather a group of scattered people and to channel their research and expertise. However, such emphasis on what would later be labelled 'the Florentine school' was the product of a precise agenda shaped by Mantegazza, who tended to deny the existence of precedent or peer communities. In the last few decades, the historiography of Italian anthropology has been working towards recovering a full and more complex picture of the competitions and influences that crossed the peninsula.[3] In order to understand the

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[1] Paolo Mantegazza (1831-1910) was a physician and one of the founders of Italian anthropology. See Giuseppe Armocida and Gaetana Silvia Rigo, *Mantegazza, Paolo*, in *DBI*, vol. 69, 2007; Cosimo Chiarelli and Walter Pasini, *Paolo Mantegazza e l'Evoluzionismo in Italia*, Florence: FUP, 2010.

[2] The Istituto began as a specialization school based and active in Florence from 1859 to 1924 and was then substituted by the University of Florence. The Faculty of Letters and Philosophy originated in 1866 from the Section dedicated to Philology and Philosophy. See Adele Dei, *L'Istituto di studi superiori e la cultura umanistica a Firenze*, Pisa: Pacini, 2016; and Sandro Rogari, *L'Istituto di studi superiori pratici e di perfezionamento e la scuola di scienze sociali (1859-1624)*, Florence: Parretti grafiche, 1986.

[3] See for example the works of Enzo Vinicio Alliegro, *Antropologia italiana: storia e storiografia, 1869-1975*, Florence: SEID, 2011; Enzo Vinicio Alliegro, *Storia degli studi antropologici, memoria e oblio. Lamberto Loria e l'Istituzionalizzazione della demologia in Italia*, "Palaver", 7, 1, 2018, pp. 33-46; Sandra Puccini, *Balbi, Romagnosi e Cattaneo: sulla nascita dell'antropologia italiana del secondo Ottocento*, "La Ricerca Folklorica", 1991, pp. 121-129; and Sandra Puccini (ed.), *L'uomo e gli uomini: scritti di antropologi italiani dell'Ottocento*, Roma: CISU, 1991.

histories and specificities of each community, it is important to step back and consider how anthropology entered as a discipline in the new nation, which tracks it followed and which subjects anticipated or accompanied it.

The history of Italian anthropology is strongly related to the national unification process, and it is worth considering these two paths in parallel. On the one hand, the attempt to create a national identity contrasted against strong regional characteristics, and a similar clash came about in the creation of learned communities. On the other hand, societies and museums worked as centripetal spaces that united scattered groups under a common effort and label. Moreover, the State necessity of designing a central educational system had a clear effect in framing the distinction between doctrines, schools and matters, organised in faculties, chairs and courses. While drawing a history of anthropology, this chapter aims to provide an insight into the context that produced the visual practices that will be analysed later in the thesis. The focus of the present chapter is on institutionalisation processes, on self-fashioning, on disciplinary influences and disputes. Moreover, particular attention will be given to colonial developments and scientific explorations, which provided new materials, generated new questions and constituted interesting moments of interactions between actors at different levels: from politicians to explorers, from scientists to amateurs.

This first chapter reconstructs a chronological history of the birth of anthropology then considered a discipline in the making. Each discourse and each development shaped the intention, the purpose and the scope of the discipline; therefore, it considers not only the successful and enduring experiences but also the small efforts and great failures. Studying a process of institutionalisation means studying the creation of something that was not there before and that later acquired a specific, publicly recognised status. The institutionalisation of an academic discipline entails the formation of a group of experts and its professionalisation as scholars. All the elements of self-definition, adjustments, rejections, are therefore significant. At the same time, the discipline also came to be defined in a dialectic process, in contrast to 'what it is not'. The space outside the disciplinary boundaries was not,

however, purely contradictory. In these intersections lies a cluster of experiences, figures, stories, and practices that shaped the discipline.[4] That is why this chapter is not only interested in the history of what was labelled as Anthropology, Ethnology or Ethnography (three terms clarified in the introduction and that, as we will see, carry different meanings for different groups in different times) but also in the world surrounding, and actively informing, these labels. I will, therefore, consider the parallel development of scientific objects in relation to other doctrines (such as natural sciences, medicine, and psychology) and also to political positions and happenings like colonial events, expeditions, the creation of Ministries, and the making of the national educational systems.

1.1 1861-1868 - The making of anthropology as natural history of man

The formation of anthropology happened in a phase of delineation of the natural and the human sciences. The natural and human branches were undergoing a process of re-definition and were moving toward a strong differentiation of scope: 19th century anthropology entered into that crack and developed within it. The scholarly arguments on what was and should be anthropology, moved entirely on the divide between a more cultural and more scientific orientation of the discipline's object and methodology.[5] Taking anthropological institutionalisation as an object of study becomes particularly interesting because it allows the recovery of the creation of the boundaries and the degree of intersection between each domain.

Before 1869, anthropology was taught often in combination with another subject. In 1860, the physician Giuseppe Giglioli (1804-1865), at the end of his career, was chair of Logic and Anthropology at the Pavia

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[4] The intersection of different actors becomes particularly evident in the photographic archive, see Costanza Caraffa (ed.), *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011.

[5] See Claudio Pogliano, *L'incerta identità dell'antropologia*, "Rivista di antropologia", 71, 1993: 31-41.

University and, from 1862 until his death in 1865, he taught Anthropology in Pisa. Giglioli is an interesting character because he anticipated many of the subsequent developments in the discipline. Graduated first in Law and later in Medicine, he lived in many different Italian cities and, since he was involved in the fight for Italian unification, he lived as an exile in Marseilles, Edinburgh, and London, where he married Ellen Hillyer. His life abroad, especially in London, provided him with an opportunity to gather contacts and become inspired by the lively political and scientific culture of the period.[6] In his view, anthropology should be a comprehensive discipline that brings together science and philosophy and addresses "the man, who like the natural and cultural beings, lives in the world, both individually and collectively".[7] It is interesting to notice the choice and use of the word "culture", famously introduced in the anthropological domain by Tylor in 1871, but surely circulating in the English *milieu* before that date. The Italian communities referred more commonly, especially in the first years, to *civiltà*, a term translatable to "civilisation". Using the term, Giglioli wanted to stress his opposition to the approach promoted by Giovenale Vegezzi Ruscalla (1799-1884). The latter was one of the first to propose a distinction between ethnography and ethnology, dedicated respectively to the analysis and description of nations and civilizations,[8] as opposed to anthropology which pertained only to biological and physical characters.[9] Giglioli perceived this position as reductionist because it overlooked the intertwining of natural and cultural features, and it separated the single man, treated like an animal, from his social life in groups.

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[6] See Fulvio Conti, *Giglioli, Giuseppe*, in *DBI*, vol. 54, 2000.

[7] Giuseppe Giglioli, *Il Regno umano e l'Antropologia*, "Atti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze, Lettere e Arti", 1862, 3: 176. "l'uomo, quale per natura e cultura vive sulla terra in sua individualità e collettività".

[8] In the distinction between the level of description and the level of analysis, the scholar adopted a model widely circulating in Europe, especially France and England. See Giovenale Vegezzi Ruscalla, *Etnografia ed Etnologia*, 1864, pp. 5-6.

[9] Giovenale Vegezzi Ruscalla, *Della convenienza di un 'Corso di Etnologia'*, "Rivista contemporanea", 1859, 16, p. 81-88.

Moreover, Giglioli was aware that anthropology, to grow autonomously, should be supported and represented by societies, museums and an independent university chair, distinguished from philosophical or pedagogical disciplines.[10] Although he suggested that it should be taught in almost every faculty, he thought it should be especially linked to the Natural Sciences faculty. This position was gaining consensus in the Italian panorama for a variety of reasons. The strong connection between naturalistic and anthropological interest was especially linked to the introduction and growth of the Darwinian school and its influences on anthropology.[11] In this regard, 1864 was a crucial year: Darwin's text and thesis reached Italy officially thanks to the translation of *The Origin of Species* by Giovanni Canestrini (1835-1900) and Leonardo Salimbeni (1829-1889). Tito Vignoli (1829-1914) published an essay on Darwin's theory in the journal *Il Politecnico*.[12] Filippo De Filippi (1814-1867), the holder of the chair of Zoology in Turin, expressed Darwin's thesis in a public open lecture in 1864 entitled *L'uomo e le scimie* (Man and Apes) published as well in *Il Politecnico*, sparking controversy among Catholics and scholars. One of De Filippi's disciples, Michele Lessona (1823-1894) - who graduated in Medicine and later became an expert in natural sciences and zoology - contributed greatly to the dissemination of Darwin's ideas, and succeeded De Filippi as professor of Zoology and as director of the related museum. Turin became the heart and point of dissemination of the evolutionary theory in Italy.

In contrast with such a positivistic assumption, the Catholic Giuseppe Allievo (1830-1913), who taught Anthropology and Pedagogy in Turin from 1867, based his idea of Anthropology on spiritualistic philosophy

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[10] Giuseppe Giglioli, *Prelezione di antropologia e logica nella R. Università di Pavia letta l'11 dicembre 1860 per Giuseppe Giglioli*, 1861, pp. 30-31.

[11] On Darwin's influence in Italy see Giovanni Landucci, *Darwinismo a Firenze: tra scienza e ideologia (1860-1900)*, Florence: Olschki, 1977; Giuliano Pancaldi, *Darwin in Italia: Impresa scientifica e frontiere culturali*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1983.

[12] On the history of *Il Politecnico* see Elena Canadelli and Paola Zocchi (eds.), *Milano scientifica, 1875-1924*, Milan: Sironi, 2008. In that moment, *Il Politecnico* was a point of reference for the emerging anthropological communities, and it was the first journal that published in 1864 the program of the French *Societe d'Anthropologie*, founded by Paul Broca in Paris in 1859.

as opposed to materialism.[13] Around the same time, the same subject was taught by Eduardo Fusco, who won the chair in Bologna but was soon transferred to Naples. However, his approach was much more connected to the pedagogical issue. Naples was all but inactive, and the interest in anthropology there was driven by another physician, Giustiniano Nicolucci (1819-1904), who was already working on the subject in the pre-unitary period.[14] In 1857, he published a treaty on human races, and he collected skulls and archaeological relics for its researches, deeply based on phrenology promoted by Biagio Miraglia (1823-1885).

With only a few exceptions aside, northern Italy - strongly connected with the Savoy establishment, was richer and more industrialised and was the first area were scientific communities originated in the 19th century. It was at the University of Pavia, a prestigious institution known especially for medicine studies, where Giglioli inaugurated the teaching of Anthropology, and where the young Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) taught a course of Anthropology and Clinic of mental disease for the students of Medicine from 1864 to 1868. There, Lombroso started developing Criminal anthropology, a branch of knowledge that he would further examine in Turin. Lombroso's theory regarding the connection between physical features and moral behaviour circulated widely in Europe and contributed to impress a specific image of Italian anthropology abroad. Although he was influential in Italy as well, his thesis caused many fractures in the anthropological community and contributed to the scepticism toward a pure anthropometrical approach.[15]

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[13] See Francesco Corvino, *Allievo, Giuseppe*, in *DBI*, vol. 2, 1960.

[14] Nicolucci obtained a chair at the University of Naples in 1880. For details see Francesco Fedele and Alberto Baldi, *Alle origini dell'antropologia italiana: Giustiniano Nicolucci e il suo tempo*, Naples: Guida, 1998.

[15] The thesis will refer only briefly to Lombroso. For further investigation, see Silvano Montaldo, Paolo Tappero and Roberto Beneduce, *Cesare Lombroso cento anni dopo*, Turin: UTET, 2009; Paul Knepper and Per Ystehede (eds.), *The Cesare Lombroso Handbook*, London: Routledge, 2013. On his photographic collection: Nicoletta Leonardi, *Il metodo*

The same actors that spread Darwin's thoughts across Italy were also active in geographical explorations, which were important political and scientific undertakings fundamental for the collection of anthropological materials and decisive in strengthening the colonial interest of the new Italian State. Due to the unification process, Italy was one of the last European countries to move outside its national boundaries, positioning itself on the international scene. Although Italy did not yet aim for colonial acquisition, the 1862 and 1865 expeditions in the East Asiatic countries marked the first moment of contact between the Italian nation and extra-European powers and cultures. In 1862, after a series of controversies, the Italian State organised a diplomatic mission to Persia, driven by the need for disease-free silkworms. Since it was the first official expedition of the new nation, the scope was enlarged from diplomatic to scientific, and also scholars were taken on board:

> To achieve the outward pomp which earns due respect among Orientals, and to make clear the great political change that had at a stroke abolished the tiny kingdom of Sardinia and set up the great kingdom of Italy, the government had decided […] to restrict the diplomatic quota in the mission and enlarge it with persons representing the army, the arts, the sciences.[16]

The physicians/naturalist Filippo De Filippi, his pupil Michele Lessona, the linguist Giacomo Lignana, the economist Carlo Orio, professor Camillo Ferrati and the Genoese amateur naturalist Giacomo Doria

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lombrosiano e le fotografie come oggetti sociali, in Silvano Montaldo (ed.), *Il Museo di antropologia criminale Cesare Lombroso dell'Università di Torino,* Milan: Silvana, 2015, pp. 36-51; Nicoletta Leonardi, *Le fotografie come oggetti scientifici negli istituti psichiatrici dell'Italia post unitaria. Ritratti di alienati dalla collezione del Museo Lombroso,* in Daniela Scala (ed.), *Fotografia e scienze della mente fra storia, rappresentazione e terapia*, Rome: Aracne, 2018, pp. 87-114. On the contrast with Mantegazza: Giulio Barsanti and Mariangela Landi, "*Fra antropologia, etnologia e psicologia comparata: il museo della "storia naturale dell'uomo". Paolo Mantegazza e Aldobrandino Mochi,* in Jacopo Moggi Cecchi and Roscoe Stanyon (eds.), *Il Museo di Storia naturale dell'Università di Firenze*, Florence: FUP, 2014, pp. 3-23.

[16] Filippo De Filippi, *Note di un viaggio in Persia nel 1862*, Milan: Daelli, 1865, pp. V-VI. Quoted from and translated by Angelo Michele Piemontese, *The Photographic Album of the Italian Diplomatic Mission to Persia (Summer 1862),* "East and West", 22, 3-4, 1972, pp. 249-311: 256-257.

(1840-1913) were chosen for the roles of scientists.[17] However "The very short [organisation] time gave small scope for concerting plans and assembling material resources suited to the character and responsibility of a true scientific mission".[18] An official photographer was also taken on board, Luigi Montabone, with his assistant Alberto Pietrobon. The hiring of a professional photographer, among the deemed relevant actors for the success of the campaign, was a novelty and represented an interesting point in the connection between photography, expedition, and ethnography that will be analysed in depth in chapter three

A second important step was the 1865-1868 journey of the Regia Pirocorvetta Magenta, financed by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of External Affairs, driven again by the necessity of the silk industry. Together with the commercial outcome, a diplomatic and military endeavour was pursued. A small scientific mission was also taken into consideration, and two naturalists were hired: once more the prominent Filippo De Filippi, who died during the voyage in 1867, and the young Enrico Hillyer Giglioli (1845-1909), son of the abovementioned Giuseppe, who took over the scientific mission. This expedition was fundamental in Giglioli's education, who began designing his ethnographic and photographic collection[19]. In his monumental book *Viaggio intorno al globo della Pirocorvetta Magenta*, published in 1875, Giglioli combined texts and images to convey information about the trip:

> the collections made during the trip and now deposited at the Royal Museum of Turin are of great importance [...] with the knowledge acquired during the campaign, and with his observations, we have enough material to compile a detailed report that we hope could be useful and interesting for the country

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[17] Lessona and Doria, together with Canestrini and P.M. Ferrari, founded in the same year the *Archivio per la zoologia, l'anatomia, e la fisiologia.*

[18] De Filippi, *Note…*, 1865, pp. V-VI. Quoted from and translated by Piemontese, *The Photographic…*, 1972: 257.

[19] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli's photo collection would be considered in depth in chapter 4.

> that needs so much accurate information about the distant districts
> visited by the Magenta.[20]

The value of this kind of geographical expedition was perceived by Giacomo Doria who, after having participated in the Persian voyage and after exploring Borneo with the botanist Odoardo Beccari (1843-1920), decided to use his connections, his economic power and his family prestige to establish important scientific institutions capable of competing with similar European organizations. In 1867, Giacomo Doria founded the *Museo civico di Storia Naturale* in Genoa, that became a meeting point for all Italian naturalists.[21] Around the museum, Doria gathered and financed a group of young researchers and explorers that became influential in the Italian scientific history, including the emerging ethnographic and anthropological fields.

In 1867, together with Orazio Antinori, Cristofori Negri and others, Doria founded the *Società Geografica Italiana* (SGI), seated in Florence but transferred to Rome in 1872.[22] The SGI became the institutional cornerstone for the cluster of Italian explorers, strongly promoting the organisation of campaigns in close connection with the political elite. Moreover, the society collected all available materials (correspondences,

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[20] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Viaggio intorno al globo della R. pirocorvetta italiana Magenta,* Milan: Maisner, 1875, p. IV: "le raccolte fatte durante il viaggio ed ora depositate al R. Museo di Torino sono di grande importanza... colle cognizioni acquistate durante la campagna, e colle proprie osservazioni, abbiamo materiale sufficiente per compilare una dettagliata relazione che ci lusinghiamo potrebbe essere utile ed interessante pel paese che ha tanto bisogno di notizie esatte sulle lontane contrade visitate dalla Magenta".

[21] See Enrico Tortonese, *Doria, Giacomo,* in *DBI,* 41, 1992. On the museum's history see Gianna Arbocco, Lilia Capocaccia Orsini, and Giuliano Doria. *Museo civico di storia naturale Giacomo Doria, Genova,* Genoa: SAGEP, 1992.

[22] The geographical positioning of the society was due to the transfer of the Italian capital from Turin to Florence in 1865, and the same happened again in 1872 with the relocation in Rome. On the SGI's history see Floriana Galluccio, *La costruzione della nazione e la nascita delle società geografiche in Italia,* "BSGI", 13, 5, 2012: 187-222. For the photo archive see Maria Mancini, *Obiettivo sul mondo: viaggi ed esplorazioni nelle immagini dell'archivio fotografico della Società geografica italiana, 1866-1956,* Rome: SGI, 1996.

photographs) and, from 1868, it published contributions in the *Bullettino della Società Geografica Italiana* (BSGI). Although the SGI never declared a specific interest for anthropological and ethnological questions, its very nature made it a fundamental space of discussion of these subjects. In particular, not just an institution interested in theoretical discussion, the SGI and its Bulletin provided case-based descriptions of distant places and cultures, building the basic sources from which the discipline elaborated.[23] The figure of the explorer, a subject with many different shades, would become a key actor for the colonial agenda and the anthropological establishment, emerging as a powerful hero to be placed next to the *Risorgimento* fathers and martyrs. Cristoforo Negri, president of the SGI, clearly stated the metaphorical connection between the two, referring to the Garibaldian Expedition of the Thousand in Sicily "[…] there was in Italy the Expedition of the Thousand, will not there be also the Thousands of Science?!"[24]

In 1866**,** the physician Paolo Gaddi (1805-1871) founded the *Museo Etnografico Antropologico*, the first of this kind, within the University of Modena and in 1869 he also began a course on anthropology.[25] The roots of Gaddi's museum can be traced to 1844; at first it was a craniological collection, part of the Anatomical Museum, but it later acquired its own specific space and title. Gaddi considered anthropology a "special branch of physical and natural sciences"[26] , and the anthropometric issue

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[23] On this topic see the next chapter.

[24] Cristoforo Negri, *Discorso inaugurale dell'adunanza solenne del 13 marzo 1872*, "BSGI", 1872, p. 13.

[25] Paolo Gaddi, *Il Museo Etnografico-Antropologico della R. Università di Modena, Relazione del Sig. Prof. Cav. Paolo Gaddi letta nell'Adunanza del 13 Gennaio 1870*, in *Memorie della R. Accad. di scienze, lettere ed arti in Modena*, vol. XI, 1870, pp. 49-62. For information on Paolo Gaddi see Giulia Crespi, *Gaddi, Paolo*, in *DBI*, 51, 1998; Fedele and Baldi, *Alle origini…*, 1988; Elena Corradini, *Nascita e sviluppo dei Musei Anatomici di Modena Tra Settecento e Novecento: il Museo Ostetrico, Il Museo Anatomico, il Museo Etnografico Antropologico e il Museo di Medicina Tropicale*, "Medicina nei secoli", 27, 2, 2015, pp. 441-478.

[26] Paolo Gaddi, *Lezioni di antropologia*, Modena: Soliani, 1869: 9. "un ramo speciale delle scienze fisiche e naturali".

was a key interest for him, as he used craniometry to determine the differences between races: "for a good classification of humankind […] clarity and simplicity coupled with precision in the assignment of the boundaries between race and race, between family and family etc."[27] However, his method did not exclude a consideration of cultural matters, and he included linguistics and physiological considerations in his work, as a mean to understand the distinctive traits of races. As Gaddi understood, museums were to become the "backbone" of anthropology and in particular the form of the "*musée-laboratoire*", whose "underlying epistemological model […] originated in the natural history museum". [28] Strongly connected to the practice of research, "[t]he museum (as an exhibition space) was but secondary to the laboratory, where knowledge was actively produced."[29]

Musealisation, evolutionary theories, creation of academic disciplines and geographical expeditions: four crucial aspects for the development of anthropology were already at stake in the first ten years of the newly founded Italian state. This section has shown how the preliminary experiences of the 1860s were significant for later development and how much this initial framework influenced future theoretical discussion. It aimed at providing context to the better-known development of Italian anthropology, such as the creation of the MAE and the MNPE, that will be addressed in the next section.

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[27] Gaddi, *Il Museo…*, 1870: 52. "una buona classificazione del genere umano […] che alla chiarezza e semplicità accoppiasse la precisione nell'assegnamento dei confini fra razza e razza, fra famiglia e famiglia ecc".

[28] Benoit de L'Estoile, *Can French anthropology outlive its museums? Notes on a changing landscape*, in Sophie Chevalier (ed.) *Anthropology at the Crossroads: the View from France*, Canon Pyon: Sean Kingston, 2015, pp. 81-104: 83. Although the author is referring to France, the same apply to the Italian development.

[29] de L'Estoile, *Can…*, 2015: 83.

1.2 1869-1879 - Establishing anthropology: institutions, network, spaces

This section argues for the importance of institutions, societies and museums for the development of the anthropological community. Rather than being simple aggregative spaces or collecting centres, institutions were reference points where definitions were set, values were negotiated, and activities were planned. This section will follow the decades 1869-1879 and the birth of the SIAE, MAE, AAE, among others. It will also consider in parallel expeditions such as the first colonial attempt in the Bay of Assab.

As already briefly recalled, in 1869, Paolo Mantegazza founded the *Museo Nazionale di Antropologia ed Etnologia* - National Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology - in Florence and used it as a research base for his Anthropology course, where for the first time, the subject was established as an academic program with a tenured chair. Within the ISSPP, the class fell into the faculty of Literature and Philosophy, as required by the historian Pasquale Villari,[30] at that time General Secretary for the Ministry of Public Education and a fundamental figure in the development of the Florentine academic institute in those years. Mantegazza understood that a museum alone could not contribute to the establishment of the discipline and his merit was to create around it a series of affiliated entities to reinforce the power of the discipline and to create a reference point based in Florence.[31] One year later, the *Società Italiana di Antropologia e di Etnologia* (SIAE) was founded and a year later the related journal *Archivio per l'Antropologia e l'Entologia* (AAE) was launched. The use of the two terms "Anthropology" and "Ethnology", recurrent in all the names, was unfolded in the first articles of the journal by Felici Finzi:

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[30] See Mauro Moretti, *Pasquale Villari*, in *Il Contributo italiano alla storia del Pensiero – Filosofia*, Treccani, 2012.

[31] See Paul Taylor and Cesare Marino, *Paolo Mantegazza's Vision: the Science of Man Behind the World's First Museum of Anthropology (Florence, Italy, 1869)*, "Museum Anthropology", 42, 2, 2019, pp. 109-124.

Anatomy, physiology, psychology, studies of the simple morphology of matter, of its transformations, of its functions: this is a triad of research constituting anthropology. Considering men in their unity and variety, establishing the distinctions of families and races [...] comparatively analysing their languages, customs, customs, myths, religions are the work of ethnology that lends its hand to archaeology and history; indeed it is a historical factor par excellence.[32]

Anthropology was intended primarily as physical anthropology, while ethnology was mainly concerned with the studies of human groups, their costumes and languages. Finzi went on justifying the choice of keeping these two branches together:

The union of these two studies should not be surprising when you consider that man is always himself in front of Nature, equally animal between animals. Those who sought and are seeking reasons to find distinct what is intimately connected, rebel against this idea. [33]

Giuseppe Giglioli's view of anthropology strongly influenced Mantegazza; the two met in Pavia during Giglioli's teaching and Mantegazza appreciated the way he "understood all the needs of the true, modern, and scientific anthropology perfectly, how he marked the

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[32] Felice Finzi, *Antropologia ed Etnologia*, "AAE", 1, 1871: 1. "Anatomia, fisiologia, psicologia, studi della morfologia semplice della materia, delle sue trasformazioni, delle sue funzioni: questa una triade di ricerche constituenti l'antropologia. Considerare gli uomini nella loro unità e nella loro varietà, stabilirne le distinzioni di famiglie e di razze [...] analizzarne comparativamente i linguaggi, gli usi, i costumi, i miti, le religioni è opera della etnologia che porge la mano all'archeologia ed alla storia, anzi è fattore storico per eccellenza"

[33] Felice Finzi, *Antropologia…*, 1871: 1. "Del connubio di questi due studi non è a maravigliare allorquando si consideri che l'uomo è sempre istesso innanzi alla Natura, medesimamente animale tra animali. Si ribellano a quest'idea coloro i quali cercarono e cercano ragioni per trovare distinto ciò che è intimamente connesso".

right boundaries, how he tried to rescue it from the hands of the metaphysicians."[34]

In Mantegazza's view, the research should focus on an extensive set of elements:

> Which are the contents of our science? They are all the phenomena of the relational life, and all the facts of the psychic world, all feelings, thoughts, crimes and generous acts, sensations of the idiot and rights of the genius.[35]

In the program of the Society, the principle intention was clear:

> The undersigned, having founded in Florence a Society of Anthropology and Ethnology, invite all those who in Italy are devoted to these studies to participate in it, so that uniting our dispersed forces we too may contribute to the development of those sciences which nowadays call for the attention of all thinkers in Europe. […] This aim they hope to achieve by also fostering in Italy, in this class of studies, the experimental method that has proved so useful in all modern sciences [...] including ethnology and anthropology.[36]

The signatories, as Mantegazza would refer back to in 1901, were a mixed group, characterised by different expertise and interests:

> Of official anthropologists maybe two or three [were present], while [there were] many zoologists and travellers, paleethnologists and physicians, psychiatrists and physiologists,

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[34] Paolo Mantegazza, *Rivista Scientifica*, in "Nuova Antologia" 19, 1872: 200. "intendesse perfettamente tutta la esigenza della vera antropologia scientifica moderna, come ne segnasse i giusti confini, come si sforzasse di strapparla dalle mani dei metafisici".

[35] Paolo Mantegazza, *Il metodo e il materiale dei nostri studi, Lezione del 22 gennaio 1872*, 1898: 132. "Quali sono i materiali della nostra scienza? Sono tutti i fenomeni della vita di relazione, son tutti i fatti del mondo psichico, son tutti i sentimenti, tutti i pensieri, tutti i delitti e gli atti generosi, sono tutte le sensazioni dell'idiota e i diritti del genio".

[36] *Programma della Società Italiana di Antropologia ed Etnologia*, "AAE", 1, 1871, quoted from and translated by Vinigi Grottanelli, *Ethnology and/or Cultural Anthropology in Italy: Traditions and Developments*, "Current Anthropology", 18, 4, 1977, pp. 593-614: 594.

philologists and historians; educated men and amateur scientists. A whole encyclopaedia of scholars.[37]

The President here stressed both the potential benefits coming from this diverse group, as well as the risks given their lack of domain expertise. Moreover, he used this flashback to emphasise the progress experienced by the anthropological society at the beginning of the 20th century.

Considering that in 1871 an International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology was held in Bologna, it is evident that during this decade the scattered anthropological communities were becoming increasingly professionalised. However, on that occasion in Bologna, Luigi Pigorini, who supported the birth of the Florentine Society, distanced himself from Mantegazza's undertaking and founded a more suitable space for his study. Therefore, Pigorini founded the Italian *paletnologia*, paleethnology, a science that study the ethnology of prehistoric civilisations, was born as a separate field.

Meanwhile, in 1870 the Italian borders had changed: the annexation of Veneto (1866), and the capture of Rome in 1870 marked two key moments in the process of identity-making. The capital, which already moved from Turin to Florence, was transferred to Rome in 1871. Moreover, Italian government launched the first expedition to Africa. Such an intricate expedition correctly showed the multi-layered structure that moved around the colonial enterprise, and the strong interconnection with the history of anthropology. Many other explorations developed after that, strengthening the connection between anthropological research and geographical campaigns. One of the leading figures in such story was Giuseppe Sapeto (1811-1895), a former missionary in East Africa, whose "ambition [was] to be recognised as a scientific luminary cited by the burgeoning zoological, geographical and

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[37] Paolo Mantegazza, *Discorso inaugurale*, "AAE", 1901: 3. "Di antropologi ufficiali forse due o tre, invece zoologi e viaggiatori, paletnologi e medici, psichiatri e fisiologi, filologi e storico; uomini colti e dilettanti di scienze. Tutta un'enciclopedia di studiosi".

botanical societies of Europe."[38] Having abandoned the priesthood, Sapeto dedicated his life to the study of oriental languages and acted as advisor to the government on colonial matters. In 1869, the Suez Canal was opened, creating a strategic bridge between the Mediterranean and the Far East, through the Red Sea. Sapeto suggested the commercial or military acquisition of the bay of Assab, considering that East Africa was one of the only areas left unoccupied during the colonisation of Africa. Therefore, in 1870 the SGI organised a scientific mission and sent the explorer Orazio Antinori (1811-1882), the geologist Arturo Issel (1842-1922), and the young botanist Odoardo Beccari to Assab to study the area and finalize the purchase of the bay, already negotiated by Sapeto with the sultans Hassan ben Ahmad and Ibrahim ben Ahmad. The three appointees arrived in Assab from Italy on board of the Rubattino steamship "*Affrica*", followed by the National navy "*Vedetta*".

Interestingly, the acquisition was not made directly by the Italian government, worried of interfering politically with stronger colonial powers, but by the Italian navy company Rubattino. The shipowner Rubattino, based in Genoa, was one of the most active Italian navy firms and one of the first that understood the potential commercial opportunities with African and Oriental countries.[39] The first Italian colonial attempt was, therefore, prepared by a former missionary with naturalist aspirations, desired by the Savoy political elite, made official through the signature of a private magnate, and verified with a geographical expedition organised by the SGI.

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[38] Giuseppe Finaldi, *A History of Italian Colonialism, 1860-1907*: *Europe's Last Empire*, London: Routledge, 2016: 14. About Sapeto see Francesco Surdich, *L'attività missionaria, politico-diplomatica e scientifica di Giuseppe Sapeto: dall'evangelizzazione dell'Abissinia all'acquisto della Baia di Assab*, Savona: Comunità Montana Alta Val Bormida, 2005. On him and other Italian explorers see Stefano Mazzotti, *Esploratori Perduti: Storie dimenticate di naturalisti Italiani di fine Ottocento*, Turin: Codice, 2011.

[39] Just to give an idea of the role of the Rubattino company in Italian history, it is important to mention that Raffaele Rubattino's ships were used for the *Spedizione dei Mille*. The company was strongly supported by Cavour, and after Unification and with the development of train line, Rubattino gave up the postal service around Italy and began to cover with its root a big part of the Mediterranean area. For more information see Giorgio Doria, *Debiti e navi: la compagnia di Rubattino: 1839-1881*, Genoa: Marietti, 1990.

The SGI, deeply involved in such operations and being more than just a learned community, was "one of the formative organisations gelling the new Italian ruling class itself".[40] From its foundation, commercial and political projects went hand in hand with the enlargement of the museum collections throughout Italy, helping in the making of their material and representational value. As Finaldi puts it:

> [the SGI] was one of the institutions that reached across the divide between the new Italian state cautiously finding its feet in the international arena and a civil society that out of the myriad of erudite associations which had dotted the peninsula, often under the aegis of the Church, needed a 'national' consciousness and purpose that had been absent before.[41]

Orazio Antinori (1811-1882), a founding member of the SGI, was another protagonist of the first phase of Italian exploration. After having guided the scientific mission organised for the purchase of Assab, he organized a series of other expeditions to Africa. Elderly compared to the other characters mentioned, he acted as the promoter and 'patriarch' of the Italian scientific crew. In 1875, he conducted an expedition to Tunisia asking a professional photographer, Lodovico Tuminello (1824-1907), to follow him to build a visual catalogue of the visited places.[42] The reason for this expensive expedition was connected to political interest: Tunisia was another area still free from direct colonial occupation, and Italy looked at it with interest. However, in 1881 it officially became a French colony.

Aside from the SGI, the military navy also promoted expeditions all over the world, which often included the participation of explorers and the creation of scientific missions. As already seen, the navy was particularly interested in the Far East, where the Italian government hoped to obtain control over a harbour. Several missions (from the abovementioned Magenta) lingered around Burma, Siam, Borneo, Sumatra, Japan, New

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[40] Giuseppe Finaldi, *A History…*, 2017: 29.

[41] Giuseppe Finaldi, *A History…*, 2017: 28

[42] Such significant experience will be further analysed in the third chapter.

Guinea. The Pirocorvetta Vettor Pisani was the protagonist of a series of circumnavigation around the globe from 1871 to 1885, whose scientific success was often prepared within the zoological station founded by Anthon Dohrn in Naples.[43] The vessel recovered Luigi Maria D'Albertis (1841-1901) and Odoardo Beccari, reputed to be lost in New Guinea. The two explorers, respectively an amateur ornithologist and a botanist, contributed greatly to the western knowledge of the Pacific islands: while Beccari explored especially the area of the Indonesian archipelago, Luigi Maria d'Albertis was the first one to reach the Fly River in Papua, and we will encounter him again as field photographer in chapter three.

Apart from big national institutions, also private individuals began supporting the scientific mission. One of the first was Enrico Alberto D'Albertis (1846-1932), who in 1875 armed at his own expense a cutter and equipped with scientific paraphernalia. He sailed from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Madeira and Canary Islands, where he organised an Atlantic crossing in homage to Cristopher Columbus, and later dedicated his life to travelling in Africa. Cousin of the already mentioned Luigi, Enrico was part of the Genoese scientific milieu gathered around the patron Giacomo Doria and he accompanied Odoardo Beccari on his trip to the Far East in 1877. Through his connections and extravagant ventures, he gained a certain degree of reputation, he published travelogues and built a neo-medieval castle where he stored his travel collections, including photographs. Enrico D'Albertis was caught up in the enthusiasm of exploring and collecting, and he always tended to define himself as an amateur, a label that will be further discussed in the next chapter. Of a different kind was Manfredo Camperio (1826-1899) who, in contrast with the SGI, in 1877 founded in Milan the journal *L'Esploratore*, to promote commercial exchanges in the African territories. In 1879 he established the *Società di esplorazione commerciale in Africa*, that

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[43] For a first general idea on Dohrn's zoological station see Pier Antonio Toma, *L'avventura nella Stazione di Napoli - Anton Dohrn*, Naples: Esi, 1996.

later became the *Società italiana per il commercio con l'Africa*.[44] This reference to exploration interests aimed at giving an idea of the many private and public actors that contributed to shaping the exploration culture in Italy. Such experiences nurtured the creation of a milieu of travellers who were fundamental for the development of field photography and ethnography, as chapter three will show.

Coming back to debates within the anthropological discipline, new institutions flourished in the peninsula. Responding to a growing interest over oriental cultures nurtured by colonialism and explorations, in 1876 Angelo De Gubernatis (1840-1913), another crucial figure, launched the *Bollettino Italiano degli Studi Orientali*, gathering in Florence interest in Oriental cultures.[45] Holder of the chair of Sanskrit in Florence from 1863, he developed orientalist and religious studies in the university, writing on the subject in the AAE as well as in other specialised journals.

While Italy was projecting its power over distant lands, anthropologists began to take an interest in the peculiarity of Italian people. In 1870, the Sicilian physician Giuseppe Pitrè (1841-1916) established the *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane*, a written collection of essays exploring Sicilian popular traditions, with particular attention toward linguistic and oral culture. The first volume of the series - that remained in publication until 1913 with 25 published volumes - was dedicated to the transcription of Sicilian popular songs in the spoken dialect, which Pitrè gathered himself, or with the assistance of other "gatherers"

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[44] See Mariachiara Fugazza, Ada Gigli Marchetti, *Manfredo Camperio. Tra politica, esplorazioni e commercio*, Milan: Angeli, 2002.

[45] Angelo De Gubernatis was born in Turin, he studied literature there and then specialised in Indian studies and language in Berlin. Until 1890 he taught in Florence and later moved to Rome. In 1885, he founded the Società Asiatica Italiana with its own journal. His numerous publications, his incessant activities in promoting new societies and periodicals, his various interests (that will include Italian ethnography) made him a crucial intellectual figure of the nineteenth century. See Maurizio Taddei, *Angelo de Gubernatis: Europa e Oriente nell'Italia umbertina*, 4 voll., Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1998-2002. For Florence and orientalism see Filipa Lowndes Vicente, *Altri Orientalismi: l'India a Firenze 1860-1900*, Florence: Florence University Press, 2012.

(*raccoglitori*). Pitrè underlined the function of such practices, aimed at maintaining the original voice of the storyteller, and its importance also for ethnography: "the dictation of the songs maintains the parlance of the places where they come from; [this is] a very important aspect for philology, ethnography and history, which greatly benefit from this".[46] Although Pitrè's experience and research were deeply rooted in the Sicilian island, he was well aware of the 'continental' happenings and rising societies. His reference to ethnography, placed next to philology and history, reveals his interests and attempts to be situated within a certain disciplinary frame that was flourishing on the peninsula.

Of a different kind was the initiative launched in 1871 by Mantegazza, Lombroso, Maurizio Schiff, Arturo Zanetti; the *Raccolta dei materiali per l'Etnologia italiana* - Collection of materials for Italian Ethnology - promoting a questionnaire to be distributed in every municipality to register the physical and anthropometric features of the various "*stirpi italiche*", the Italic lineages. The operation was supported by the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce and by the Statistical Commission; however, local administration rarely submitted the questionnaire to the population, and the project failed. Administrative policies inspired the use of the questionnaire in anthropology: the Napoleonic method of investigation for the control of the population reached Italy at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was progressively perfected with the use of the new method of statistics. During the 19th century, the use of *Tavole statistiche* became a way to measure and check the condition of State properties and began also including a section dedicated to customs.[47] As Allan Sekula showed, the connection between state, bureaucracy, measurements and body control,

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[46] Giuseppe Pitrè, *Introduzione*, in *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane*, vol. 1, 1870: 3. "Il dettato de' canti ritiene la parlata dei luoghi ond'essi provengono; cosa importantissima per la filologia, per l'etnografia e per la storia, che di ciò grandemente si avvantaggiano".

[47] See Silvana Patriarca, *Numbers and nationhood: writing statistics in nineteenth-century Italy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

has been a prerogative of the nineteenth century.[48] Indeed, the focus of the *Raccolta* was almost entirely on the measurement of external bodily elements for issues of classification of the newly united Italian people into racial subgroups. The question of the ethnical belonging of the Italians was considered crucial in the post-unification debates, not only to understand the differences along the peninsula, but also to trace the connection with other racial group and to understand the influence of Italy on the so-called Mediterranean, Barbaric, and Aryan populations.

In parallel with the institutionalisation of anthropology, the State carried out a secularisation of the Italian school system, eliminating faculties of Theology as well as the teaching of religion. Cesare Correnti, one of the promoters of Italian colonialism and President of the SGI in 1875, undertook this project when appointed Minister for Public Education.[49] Correnti's combination of tasks shows how a homogenous group, formed around political, geographical and anthropological interests, was in open contrast with Church power and tried to remove education from clerical interference.[50] The 'Roman question' also led to a disconnect between colonial expeditions and Catholic missions, that developed as two distinct forms of control and settlement, that were not in cooperation with each other as was the case in other European countries.[51]

In the following years, the teaching of anthropology, until that time floating in many directions, was finally associated with faculties of natural sciences. As was announced by the Minister of Education Ruggiero Bonghi, between 1874 and 1876, natural sciences faculties were considered the most suitable because they already provided structures such as laboratories and collections or museums, considered essential for the teaching of anthropology. Besides these practical reasons, this

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[48] On the connection between control, statistics, anthropology, and photography, see Allan Sekula, *The body and the archive*, "October", 39, 1986, pp. 3-64.

[49] Correnti worked as Minister of Education between 1869 and 1972. An important step was the Coppino Law of 1877, when primary school became free and mandatory.

[50] For an analysis of the connection and fracture between science and Church after Unification see Giovanni Landucci, *Darwinismo…*, 1977.

[51] See Gianni Dore, *Amministrare l'esotico: l'etnografia pratica dei funzionari e dei missionari nell'Eritrea coloniale*, Padova: Cleup, 2017.

decision confirmed the strong link that connected naturalists' and anthropologists' practice, and the influence of the former over the latter.

In 1873, Mantegazza, Enrico Giglioli, and the French Charles Letourneau published the *Istruzioni per lo studio della psicologia comparata delle razze umane*. These Instructions will be further discussed in the next chapter; however, it is important to note here that in this case, the disciplinary frame was that of 'psychology'. Although the project was carried out within and for the anthropological community, the three authors wanted to stress here a divide with other practices, only centred on the physical traits. The psychological approach functioned as a guide to move beyond an overly anthropometric understanding of the discipline.[52]

In 1875, the divide between anthropology and paleethnology, already prepared in Bologna, became official. The creation of a specific journal, the *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*, founded by Pellegrino Strobel, Chierici, and Luigi Pigorini, was the first sign. Soon, a university chair was established in Rome and assigned to Luigi Pigorini, who founded a second pivotal institution: the *Museo Preistorico-Etnografico* – Prehistoric-Ethnographic Museum – (MNPE) in the same seat of the *Museo Kircheriano*. Pigorini's original displaying method was in contrast to the typological choice made by Pitt Rivers' in Oxford, where similar objects from different times and places were arranged synchronically in the same display cabinet. Pigorini used the comparative practice in a chronological way to "proceed from the known to the unknown, make one's way from what may be seen to what is lost in the depths of the past, know the life of modern savages to comprehend that of prehistoric man".[53] The evolutionary paradigm became a tool to move from present

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[52] See Paolo Mantegazza, Enrico Giglioli, and Charles Letourneau, *Istruzioni per lo studio della psicologia comparata delle razze umane*, "AAE", 3, 2, 1873, pp. 3-22. The interest for psychology was urgent in Mantegazza, who would re-name the Society accordingly *Società Italiana di Antopologia, Etnologia e Psicologia comparata* in 1878. Moreover, he would carry on a project for the creation of a Psychological museum – *Museo psicologico* -that opened in 1889 and lasted until Mantegazza's death in 1910. On the project see Barsanti and Landi, *Fra antropologia…*, in Moggi Cecchi and Stanyon (eds.), *Il Museo…*, 2014, pp. 3-23.

[53] Luigi Pigorini, 1891, quoted from and translated by Grottanelli, *Ethnology …*, 1977: 594.

to past in diachronic order. The present-day utensils of the 'modern savages' became a fundamental part of his collection because they could shed light on archaic, primitive habits.

In 1875 the account of the 1865-68 Magenta voyage, written by Enrico Giglioli, was finally published as *Viaggio intorno al globo della Pirocorvetta Magenta*, with a preface by Paolo Mantegazza. Mantegazza was the one who financed the publication of the volume, which lost *in itinere* the support of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce and the Ministry of Public Education. His introduction, entitled *L'uomo e gli uomini* - Of man and men - is an essential statement about his disciplinary point of view, his "ethnological faith", on the recurrent issue of monogenesis versus polygenesis, and more broadly on the definition of species and races. He concluded affirming that, with present knowledge, there exists only one human species with multiple races, subject to variation and hard to classify. He chose to represent his thesis graphically with a "human tree" (fig. 1.1) with the roots hidden and unknown, but with one trunk, representing the species.[54] Racial distinctions were represented as low, medium and high branches of the tree, where "intelligence is the first distributor of races, and I could say better, that it is their first separator".[55] After a nuanced scientific explanation, he made a clear hierarchical, physical and political distinction, based on the colour-line[56]: "the highest races are the whitest, […] the lowest races are the darkest, and the middle races are generally brown."[57]

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[54] On the metaphor of the threes and branches applied to human races see Giulio Barsanti, *La scala, la mappa, l'albero. Immagini e classificazioni della natura fra Sei e Ottocento*, Florence: Sansoni, 1992. On representation of race see Nicolas Bancel, Thomas David, and Dominic Thomas (eds.), *The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations*, London: Routledge, 2014.

[55] Paolo Mantegazza, *L'uomo e gli uomini*, in Enrico Giglioli, *Viaggio…*, 1875: XXV. "l'intelligenza è il primo distributor delle razze e potrei dir meglio, che ne è il primo separatore".

[56] The expression 'colour-line' became famous from W. E. B. Du Bois' use *in The Souls of Black Folk* published in 1903.

[57] Paolo Mantegazza, *L'uomo…*, 1875: XXV. "le razze più alte sono le più bianche, […] le più basse sono le più oscure e le medie sono generalmente brune".
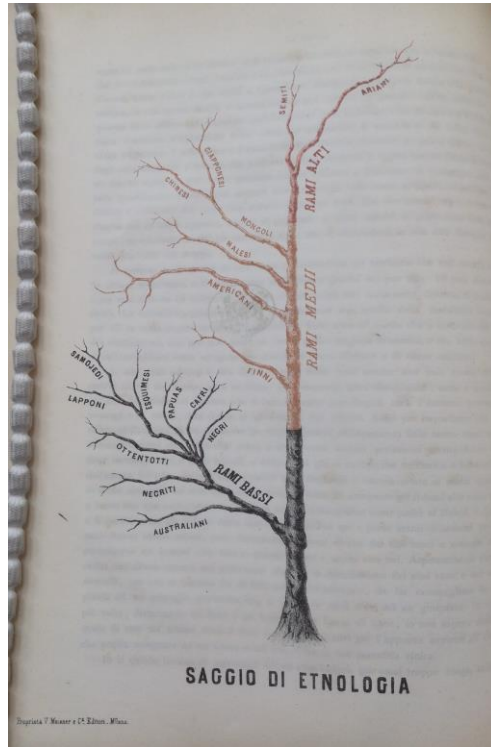
Fig. 1. 1 – Human tree, Paolo Mantegazza, *L'uomo e gli uomini*, in Enrico Giglioli, *Viaggio intorno al globo della R. Pirocorvetta Magenta*, Milan: Maisner, 1875.

The entire volume is crucial for our history, particularly for the vast use of iconographic materials and ethnographic descriptions that made it a model for further accounts:

> The method adopted in this narration, that mixes various observations on people and things within the report, making even a little science, when not too dry, giving considerable extension to ethnological aspects, to which almost all the illustrations are dedicated, will, I hope, be judged favourably.[58]

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[58] Giglioli, *Viaggio*…, 1875: IX. "Il metodo seguito in questa narrazione, cioè il mescolare al racconto osservazioni svariate, sulle cose e sugli uomini, il fare anche un poco di scienza,

In 1878, two publications tried to fix anthropological definitions: Giovanni Canestrini wrote the handbook *Antropologia*, while Bartolomeo Malfatti worked on *Etnografia*, both published in an informative series by the Milanese publisher Hoepli. Canestrini stressed a distinction between anthropology that by "observing and measuring, it studies all the human features that have a systematic value [and] follows the method of natural sciences"[59]. Ethnography instead "besides observation, it is based upon archaeology, traditions, history and linguistics [and it follows the method] of historical and philosophical sciences"[60]. Then, the handbook presented a series of anthropometric indexes for racial comparison and classification. Malfatti's text on ethnography reflected his education as a geographer at Carl Ritter's school in Germany. He stated clearly the necessity to distinguish the two disciplines accurately:

> Some anthropologists feel terrible that ethnography is detached from their domain, while on the contrary, some ethnographers believe they should include in their investigations also special questions of anthropology. Both, as we can see, start from the opinion that it is not possible to observe a distinction between natural and historical moments, between man as a single entity and man as a social entity.[61]

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quando non troppo arida, l'estensione non indifferente data alla part etnologica, cui servono quasi tutte le illustrazioni, sarà, spero, favorevolmente giudicato".

[59] Giovanni Canestrini, *Antropologia*, Milan: Hoepli, 1878: 16 "osservando e misurando, studia tutti quei caratteri dell'uomo che hanno un valore sistematico […] segue il metodo delle scienze naturali".

[60] Canestrini, *Antropologia*, 1878: 18 "oltre che all'osservazione, si appoggia all'archeologia, alle tradizioni, alla storia ed alla linguistica [e segue il metodo] delle scienze storiche e filosofiche".

[61] Bartolomeo Malfatti, *Etnografia*, Milan: Hoepli, 1883: 7. "V'hanno alcuni antropologi ai quali sa male che l'Etnografia abbia ad essere staccato dal loro dominio; mentre al contrario alcuni etnografi si credono di dover comprendere nelle loro indagini anche quesiti speciali dell'Antropologia. Gli uni e gli altri, come si vede, muovono dall'avviso che non si possa osservare distinzione tra i momenti naturali ed i momenti storici, tra l'uomo ente singolo e l'uomo ente sociale".

These two handbooks show the contrast in operation among schools and communities. While Mantegazza's distinguished between anthropology and ethnography nominally but had a holistic view of the scope of anthropology as an overarching discipline, others scholars such as Canestrini and Malfatti preferred to draw a more definite line between the matters. On the one hand, there should be Anthropology, with its physical and comparative purpose of racial classification, on the other hand, Ethnography, closer to geographical research and interested in the history and tradition of people. According to Canestrini and Malfatti, only this separation would have created solid research and sophisticated analysis.

As a further demonstration of Mantegazza's inclusive approach, in 1878 he organised the first trip to Lapland together with the botanist Stephen Sommier (1848-1922). This population particularly fascinated the physician, who placed Lappish and Eskimo in the lower branch of his 'Human tree' together with Africans and Australians. The results of such research were published in two books and one article; photography had a big part in it, as would be discussed further in the thesis.

This section showed the developments of institutions that constituted hubs around which the anthropological communities gathered. It presented how the institutional activity went hand in hand with the making of schools and contrasting theories as well as with the definition of priorities, scopes, and spaces of actions – especially concerning the distinction between the terms Anthropology, Ethnology, Ethnography. Moreover, it followed the first attempts of geographical explorations to show how the making of the anthropological community was related to the organization of expedition and was connected to geographic, political, and colonial interest, as the next section will further analyse.

1.3 1880 – 1892 Exposing anthropology: colonies, powers, travels

In the 1880s, the young discipline of anthropology began acquiring its status, leading to the construction of a canon and historiography. The discipline was actively promoted, for instance in exhibitions. In parallel, the process of specialisation continued and generated new branches directed either toward physical and criminal anthropology or towards cultural questions and studies on traditions. In the meantime, the colonial lobby established and enlarged societies and events. The Italian state, so far exposed in colonial policy in a soft and hidden way through scientific expeditions and commercial occupations, moved on to military actions. In this phase, characterised internally by economic fragility, the colonial effort needed to be justified in the eyes of the public: Africa became a prominent topic in newspapers and illustrated journals (such as *L'Illustrazione Italiana*), presented not only through discourses on the 'civilising mission' but also as a land of opportunity and prosperity, an alternative destination for all the emigrants that were leaving the peninsula in search of better conditions.[62]

At the beginning of the 1880s, anthropology appeared to occupy a secure space in the group of sciences institutionalised as part of the Italian educational system. Nevertheless, the disciplinary differences remained and grew in line with the process of specialisation. In 1880, for example, the journal *Archivio di Psichiatria, Antropologia criminale e Scienze penali*, was founded in Turin by Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Ferri, and Giuseppe Garofalo; in 1881 Enrico Morselli inaugurated, also in Turin, the *Rivista di Filosofia Scientifica*;[63] while in 1882, Giuseppe Pitrè launched the

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[62] On the costruction of colonial imagery in Italy see Enrico Castelli and David Laurenzi (eds.), *Permanenze e metamorfosi dell'immaginario coloniale in Italia,* Naples, Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2000. For the connection between colonial discourses and emigration see Stefano Pelaggi, *Colonialismo popolare: l'emigrazione e la tentazione espansionistica italiana in America latina,* Rome: Nuova cultura, 2015.

[63] Enrico Morselli (1852-1929) graduated in Medicine and developed a deep interest in psychiatry. He directed the psychiatric hospital of Macerata and Turin and he taught

Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari in Palermo. In 1881, the naturalist Arturo Issel published *Istruzioni scientifiche per viaggiatori*, with the support of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce. As will be analysed in chapter two, a specific section dedicated to *Antropologia ed Etnologia* was curated by Enrico Giglioli and Arturo Zanetti mentioned above.[64] Through his educational efforts, Issel published another and more general *Manuale del naturalista viaggiatore* in 1883, and both volumes will be discussed in the next chapter. Giustiniano Nicolucci, already mentioned as one of the founders of Italian anthropology, finally obtained a chair at the University of Naples in 1880. Prestigious institutions acquired his collections in London and Harvard, and he was depicted as '*Principe dell'Antropologia*' in Paolo Riccardi's *Saggio di un catalogo bibliografico antropologico italiano*, published in 1883.[65] This volume canonised the central figures in Italian anthropology, showing that the discipline acquired a precise status and gave shape to a recognisable group of experts. Another important work aiming at clarifying and ordering a long-disputed matter was the *Atlante Etnografico delle razze umane*, written in 1880 by the naturalist Ferdinando Sordelli, once more in the series of the Milanese publisher Hoepli. At the 1881 National Exposition in Milan, one of the first big fairs dedicated to the industrial and scientific progress of the nation, space was provided also for an ethnographic exhibition, which was promoted by a Milanese

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both psychiatry and anthropology in Genoa and Turin. With the journal RFS he strengthened his interest in combining the analysis of different disciplines through a philosophical approach. See Patrizia Guarnieri, *Individualità difformi. La psichiatria antropologica di Enrico Morselli*, Milan: Angeli, 1986. See also Sergio Musitelli, *Enrico Morselli*, in *Storia della Medicina*, Milan: Fabbri, 1964; and Patrizia Guarnieri, *Morselli*, in *Dizionario biografico di Storia della Medicina e delle Scienze Naturali*, vol. 3, 1988, Milan: Ricci, p. 148.

[64] Arturo Zanetti (1840-1884) studied Natural Sciences in Pisa and worked as Mantegazza's assistant.

[65] Paolo Riccardi, *Saggio di un catalogo bibliografico antropologico italiano*, Modena: Vicenzi, 1883. Professor in Modena and Bologna, his essay offers a series of useful biographic and bibliographical profile on the main scholar in Anthropology, and allows downsizing the perception of Mantegazza as funding figure. See also Alliegro, *Antropologia…*, 2011.

groups composed of some of the protagonists of the Italian positivistic culture, such as Tito Vignoli, Emilio Cornalia, Ferdinando Sordelli.[66]

After the hesitant attempts of the previous decade, the '80s were also characterised by a more direct expansionistic interest. In 1880 the *Club Africano*, that soon became the *Società Africana d'Italia* was established in Naples and became an additional gathering space of the Italian colonial lobby. A Florentine annexe, soon established, became independent in 1895 with the name *Società di Studi Geografici e Coloniali.* After the failed attempt in Tunisia, East Africa turned out to be the space of action and conflict of the Italian colonial issue. In 1882, the Bay of Assab became an Italian colony officially. After the informal occupation by Rubattino company, the State felt ready to acquire such pieces of land and began its colonial strategy without concealment. During the Conference of Berlin, organized by Bismarck in 1884-1885, European powers regulated their presence and spaces of actions in the African arena marking the beginning of the so-called Scramble for Africa. Significant issues were defined between Germany, England, France, Belgium and Portugal. Italy, together with other countries, had little influence in the Conference, testifying to its minor role in the colonial question.

In 1882-1883, a series of ethnographic travels took place: Mantegazza went to India, Sommier to Siberia, Lamberto Loria to the Caucasus region and Lapland.[67] Loria was born to Italian parents in Alessandria, Egypt, and studied Mathematics in Pisa. In contact with the Florentine anthropological society and promoting himself as an explorer, he would become another of the protagonists of Italian ethnography. Specific instructions were written for Loria's second trip to Lapland and the Caucasus, undertaken together with Aldobrandino Mochi: the *Istruzioni Etnologiche per il viaggio dalla Lapponia al Caucaso dei soci Loria e Mochi* were

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[66] On the Milanese milieu see Canadelli and Zocchi (eds.), *Milano…*, 2008. Further information on the exhibition will be given in chapter 5.

[67] See Paolo Mantegazza, *India*, 2 voll. Milan: Treves, 1884; Stephen Sommier, *Un'estate in Siberia, fra Ostiacchi, Samoiedi, Siriéni, Tatári, Kirghisi e Baskiri…*, Turin: Loescher, 1885; Sara Ciruzzi, *Lamberto Loria: Appunti di un viaggio dalla Lapponia al caucaso e nel Turkestan (Inedito di L. Loria)*, "AAE", 125, 1995, pp. 275-286.

prepared by Mantegazza, Giglioli, Sommier and Von Fricken and gave specific insight on where to go and what to consider, as would be further analysed in chapter two.

The 1884 Turinese Exposition marked an important moment of publicity for both Italian anthropology and colonial politics.[68] As analysed by Guido Abbattista, for the first time an 'ethnographic village' was displayed in Italy. Also known as 'human zoos', they were open-air exhibition spaces that recreated a stereotypical Western idea of 'savage' people.[69] Such exhibitions were not just spectacular public events which generated wonder but were also perceived as scientifically valid occasions to deepen the knowledge on specific populations and saw the direct involvement of anthropologists and naturalists in the making of the display or the performance of science.[70] Proud of its new acquisitions, Italy would display a group of five Assab inhabitants, generating an incredible sensation, as registered in the press.[71]

Besides the human zoo, the exhibition dedicated a specific space to Anthropology and appointed Enrico Morselli (1852-1929) as curator of the section. Morselli, a physician, founder of the abovementioned RSF, with an expertise in psychiatry, developed an original approach toward anthropology, which was one of his main interests, always with an eye

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[68] Such exhibition aimed at distancing itself from the previous ones (Florence 1861, Milan 1881), mostly built as national industrial and fine arts exhibition. Turin wanted to build an international event in line with other World's Fairs.

[69] A detailed study on human zoos is Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boetsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, *Zoos humains et exhibitions coloniales: 150 ans d'inventions de l'Autre*, Paris : La Découverte, 2011.

[70] For an explanation of the connection between exhibitions and science making (especially in connection to Darwinism and anthropological knowledge) see Elizabeth Edwards, *Evolving Images: Photography, Race and Popular Darwinism*, in Donald and Munro (eds.), *Endless Forms, Darwin, Natural Sciences and the Visual Arts*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. For the connection between science and exhibition see Elena Canadelli, Marco Beretta, and Laura Ronzon, *Behind the Exhibit: Displaying Science and Technology at World's Fairs and Museums in the Twentieth Century*, Artefacts, 12, Washington: Smithsonian institution scholarly press, 2019.

[71] Guido Abbattista, *Umanità in mostra. Esposizioni etniche e invenzioni esotiche in Italia (1880-1940)*, Trieste: EUT, 2013.

towards international developments. For the exhibit project, he distinguished seven classes: I. methods and research processes in anthropological sciences; II. general and comparative anthropology; III. Anatomic anthropology; IV. Biological and ethnological anthropology; V. Pathologic anthropology; VI. Prehistoric anthropology and paleethnology; and VII. Ethnography. For each class, he gave an introduction, and he proposes a list of categories of objects requested for the exhibition. Photography, as we will see in the next chapter, occupied a remarkable space. The program began with a clear statement about the status of anthropological knowledge:

> The method used today for the study of men is primarily experimental since anthropology is considered part of natural and biological science. So, the instrument and the investigation process used by anthropologists are not different from those of the anatomist, the physiologist, the naturalist.[72]

For the Turinese physician, empiricism was the bedrock of anthropology, a science that was part, without a doubt, of the natural science realm. Ethnography, a sub-section of anthropology, was devoted to "the study of costumes and uses" to be led "with the use of objective documents, that could serve to establish criteria for the comparison of various populations […] and for a comparative analysis of their intellectual and moral conditions."[73] Comparison appeared as another crucial feature. The entire exhibition was designed to reflect on national developments, therefore, all the studies presented were led by Italians on the Italian population and soils. A reference to the colonial settlement was placed in class IV, where a specific Appendix was dedicated to the

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[72] Enrico Morselli, *Programma speciale della sezione di Antropologia all'esposizione Generale Italiana di Torino*, "AAE", 14, 1884, pp. 123-132: 123. "Il metodo che informa oggidì lo studio dell'uomo è essenzialmente sperimentale, giacchè l'antropologia è considerate qual parte delle scienze naturali e biologiche. Così gli strumenti ed i processi d'indagine usati dall'antropologo non si differenziano da quelli dell'anatomico, del fisiologo e del naturalista".

[73] Enrico Morselli, *Programma…*, 188: 126 "Lo studio dei costume e delle usanze […] coll'aiuto di documenti obbiettivi, che servissero di criterio per il confronto delle varie popolazioni […] e per uno studio comparative sulle loro condizioni intellettuali e morali".

"Geographic, topographic, and anthropological exposition of the Assab colony on the Red Sea."[74]

Besides the allure of the exhibition, where the bay of Assab was presented as part of the Italian sphere of influence, the government felt that the colonial space was not properly exploited, and in 1885, Prime Minister Depretis tried to reinforce the Italian presence by occupying the city of Massawa, on the Eritrean coast. This attempt of enlargement led to the Battle of Dogali in 1887, where the Ethiopian forces firmly defeated the Italian troops. Such debacle entered in the public discourse and memory, changing the Italian perception of Africa and colonial affairs in general. Dogali changed the way Italians envisioned Africa: from a harmless and savage space, it became an enemy to be defeated. With the treaty of Wuchale of 1889, Italy and Ethiopia agreed upon the borders of the colonial settlement in Eritrea and Somalia. The document established a diplomatic relationship between the two powers, although the Italian version of chapter 17 forced Ethiopia to conduct all its international relations through the Italian state.[75] However, that same passage was softened in the Amharic translation, leading to misunderstanding and further conflicts.

During the 1880s, travellers and explorers continued travelling around the globe in search of news and plunder for the Italian museums. Sommier went again to northern Europe in 1884, Angelo De Gubernatis travelled to India in 1885, Elio Modigliani went in the Indonesian archipelago among Batak, Nias and Engano islanders, Leonardo Fea studied Burmese people, Guido Boggiani went to Mato Grosso, and Lamberto Loria moved from Turkestan to Eritrea, and finally to New

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[74] Enrico Morselli, *Programma…*, 1884: 127.

[75] See Angelo Del Boca, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale: Dall'Unità alla Marcia su Roma*, Bari: Laterza, 1976. See also Giuseppe Finaldi, *A history…*, 2016. On the photographic representation of king Menelik II see Estelle Sohier, *Le roi des rois et la photographie: politique de l'image et pouvoir royal en Ethiopiesous le règne de Ménélik II*, Paris: Sorbonne, 2012.

Guinea.[76] The specificity of some expeditions will be analysed in chapter three since many of the characters mentioned above used the camera as part of their research. For now, it is enough to note the progressive growth of such endeavours and the emergence of different type of explorers: Mantegazza and De Gubernatis were first of all scholars, travelling with specific research purposes. The others were independent explorers, sometimes moving with institutional backing and sometimes with their own resources, wandering in unknown regions to be studied and exploited, bringing back to Italy information and objects to sell to finance further exploration.

The interest that ethnographers had in Italian ethnicity continued to grow, and in 1884, Giuseppe Pitrè was elected president of the newly founded *Società per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari in Italia*, based in Palermo. Among the founding members, it was possible to recognise the same mixed environment that characterised other anthropological societies – which linked together physicians, naturalists, linguists - but it was dominated by scholars of the humanities including a philosopher, many linguists and men of letters, a geographer, a historian, and an archivist. President Pitrè was a physician, as already mentioned, author of the BTPI and founder of the ASTP. The year after also a new monograph series 'Curiosità popolari tradizionali' was curated by Pitrè and Salomone Marino. On the Florentine side, in 1887, the SIAE launched a contest for the best research on Italian superstition, which was assigned to Caterina Pigorini Beri who published an essay on the Marche region.[77]

In 1887 a first Photographic Exhibition was organised in Florence. Although the pictures were not arranged by theme and the catalogue did

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[76] For an investigation of 19th century travelling ethnographers see Sandra Puccini, *Andare lontano: viaggi ed etnografia nel secondo Ottocento*, Rome : Carocci, 1999. See also Mazzotti, *Esploratori…*, 2011.

[77] Pigorini Beri (1845-1924) was an Italian writer, sister of Luigi Pigorini. For the first time, we are mentioning a woman in this story that seems to be dominated by male figures. Excluding few exceptions, the historiography has not yet dedicated any specific attention to female participation in anthropological knowledge, a presence often neglected. See Alessandro Volpone and Giovanni Destro Bisol (ed.), *Se vi sono donne di genio: appunti di viaggio nell'Antropologia dall'Unità d'Italia ad oggi*, Rome: La Sapienza, 2011.

not record all titles, it is clear that scientific and ethnographic photography had a role in the display. Elio Modigliani's pictures of his travels to India, Malaysia and Japan were exhibited, together with the Lappish portrait by Sommier and Mantegazza. This event encouraged the development of another prestigious society in Florence: the *Società Fotografica Italiana* - Italian Photographic Society – (SFI) which was founded two years later, in 1889. The Society was born to become a point of reference and unification for the multiple interested parties in photography that crossed the peninsula, trying to bring together the scientific, technical, industrial and artistic souls of the medium and to establish a shared platform for discussion.[78] Although studios and clubs were widespread in Italy, specialist journals on photography were still rare, and the Bulletin of the SFI filled this gap. Florence was the chosen seat also for the presence of a growing industry in the photographic reproduction of artworks and architectures. Brogi and Alinari were the two leading companies, and the former contributed significantly to the foundation of the SFI. However, another key figure in the Florentine cultural milieu contributed to its success, Paolo Mantegazza. Nominated first President of the society, the physician and anthropologist appeared as a guarantor of scientific interest and the application of the apparatus within the new community. Moreover, a transparent opening towards amateurs and non-professionals was in operation. In his inaugural speech, Mantegazza clearly stated these two points, describing photography as a democratic tool that should be used by anyone for keeping personal memories but also for the advancement of science:

> Photography [...] touches all the poles of science and feeling: it fixes the infinitely small images of the microscope and the infinitely large ones of the telescope; it is a precious aid to physics, anthropology, biology, astronomy and psychology. It preserves

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[78] On the birth of the Society see Luigi Tomassini, *Le origini della Società Fotografica Italiana e lo sviluppo della fotografia in Italia. Appunti e problemi*, "AFT", 1, 1, 1985: 42-51. See also Elvira Puorto, *Fotografia fra arte e storia: il "Bullettino della Società fotografica italiana", 1889-1914*, Naples: Guida, 1996 and Francesca Strobino, *Tradizione e modernità: la doppia anima della Società Fotografica Italiana (1889-1915),* "RSF", 3, 5, 2017: 82-101.

the images of our beloved ones and provides human justice with a precious means of identifying and chasing the criminal.[79]

According to his agenda:

[the Society] should reconcile art with photography, two rivals who fight too often conflicting [...]. Moreover [...] it should release a complete collection of all expressions of human emotions taken from life, thus rendering an excellent service to psychology and art.[80]

For the latter aim, Mantegazza already worked in collaboration with Giacomo Brogi for the publication of the *Atlante delle espressioni del dolore* in 1876, discussed in the next chapter.[81] The interest in photography as a product of and an aid for science was at the core of his discourse:

Let us, therefore, bless science, which broadens the horizon of the human eye, and grants to everybody's hearts what was once the privilege of a few: let us bless photography, which is one of the youngest and most enjoyable daughters of science![82]

Already the first number of the journal, the *Bullettino della Società Fotografica Italiana* (BSFI), showed an interest for recurrent topics of our

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[79] Paolo Mantegazza, *Discorso inaugurale*, "BSFI", 1, 1889: 6. "La fotografia [...] tocca tutti i poli della scienza e del sentimento: ferma le immagini infinitamente piccole del microscopio e quelle infinitamente grandi del telescopio; è prezioso sussidio alla fisica, all'antropologia, alla biologia, all'astronomia, alla psicologia. Ci conserva le immagini dei nostri cari e fornisce all'umana giustizia un mezzo prezioso per scoprire e inseguire il delinquente."

[80] Mantegazza, *Discorso...*, 1889: 8. "dovrebbe conciliare l'arte colla fotografia, due rivali, che si son fatte il broncio troppo spesso [...] E poi [...] dovrebbe proporsi di pubblicare una complete raccolta di tutte le espressioni delle emozioni umane prese dal vero, rendendo così un grande servizio alla psicologia e all'arte".

[81] For details see Monica Zavattaro, Gloria Roselli, and Paolo Chiozzi. *Obiettivo uomo: l'antropologia fotografica di Paolo Mantegazza*, Florence: Masso delle Fate, 2010, and Jessica Murano, *Aby Warburg e la cultura scientifica italiana. L'incontro con Paolo Mantegazza e Tito Vignoli*, "Studi culturali", 14, 1, 2017, pp. 23-46.

[82] Mantegazza, *Discorso...*, 1889: 10. "Benediciamo dunque la scienza, che allarga l'orizzonte all'occhio umano, e concede al cuore di tutti ciò che una volta era privilegio di pochi: benediciamo alla fotografia che è una delle più giovani e più simpatiche figlie della scienza!"

investigation: Corsi wrote an article on travel photography, while Golfarelli signed a contribution about photography in the *Istituto Geografico Militare* (IGM).

In 1891 Giuseppe Pitrè curated an important exhibition, the *Mostra di Etnografia Siciliana*, as part of the National exposition taking place for the first time in southern Italy, specifically in Palermo.[83] The 1881 Milanese and 1884 Turinese ethnographic and anthropological section tried to build a national representation. However, this time the display was entirely dedicated to the traditions of the hosting region and focused on Sicilian costumes, domestic and working tools, religious objects, games and books. In parallel, the exposition included a *Mostra Eritrea*, showing the potential attraction of the new colony, and incorporated a *Villaggio Abissino*. Contemporary comments drew a connection between the two events, insisting on the primitivism of both African and southern Italian cultures, as chapter five will further analyse.[84] Another important exposition was the 1892 *Esposizione Italo-Americana* in Genoa, organised for the celebration of the *Centenario Colombiano*, an episode charged with strong political and colonial messages. Although there was not a specific exhibit dedicated to anthropology, a series of related events were organised. The ethnographic collection of Ermanno Stradelli (who reached Brazil with the patronage of the SGI in 1879, and Venezuela in 1887 to study the Amazonian regions) was displayed for the first time in Italy.[85] Moreover, a photographic exhibition was organised and included scientific and anthropological pictures, and the Castle of Montegalletto – an eclectic architectural structure built by the already mentioned Enrico Alberto D'Albertis – was inaugurated and opened to the public.

Also in 1892 Abele De Blasio, who would substitute Nicolucci in the teaching of Anthropology, brought the Lombroso theory to Naples and

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[83] Giuseppe Pitrè, *Catalogo illustrato della Mostra etnografica siciliana ordinata da Giuseppe Pitrè*, Palermo: Stabilimento Tipografico Virzi, 1892.

[84] See Vivien Greene, *The 'other' Africa: Giuseppe Pitrè's Mostra Etnografica Siciliana (1891–2)*, "Journal of Modern Italian Studies", 17, 3, 2012, pp. 288-309.

[85] See Corrado Truffelli, *Ermanno Stradelli: un grande esploratore dimenticato*, Parma: MUP, 2016.

created an Anthropometric Office, aiming at recording criminals through their physical measurement. In the meantime, an important expedition was prepared: the army officer Vittorio Bottego organized a campaign in Jubaland (southern Somalia) encouraged once more by Doria and the colonial lobby. In order to be adequately informed, he took advice on ethnography by Pigorini, he was prepared on photography by Elio Modigliani, and he took advantage of the naturalistic suggestion by Gestro and Giglioli. His report and photographic production will be examined further in chapter three.

1893 was an important year in the history of Italian anthropology, signalling a divide within the Florentine society. Giuseppe Sergi, a physician who taught Anthropology in Rome since 1884 and took an active part of the SIAE, decided to abandon it and he founded another society - and journal - dedicated to Anthropology in Rome, the *Società Romana di Antropologia* (SRA). Its purpose was "the study of physical anthropology, ethnology, experimental psychology, and sociology".[86] Apart from the exclusion of prehistory and paleethnology, the area of interest looked pretty much the same as that of the SIAE, suggesting therefore that the shift was not on the level of contents but of methods and approaches applied. The interest for physical anthropology was pivotal for Sergi, combined with the attention for psychological and sociological phenomena, but he contested Mantegazza's all-embracing approach. Sergi wanted to create separated fields and, in this regard, in 1897 he was among the founders of the *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia* (RIS), which had a clear interest to ethnography as a possible focus:

> [The journal] will appeal to devotees of ethnographic, philological and historical disciplines and also to explorers and travellers, who can illustrate with special expertise the customs and habits of certain races or populations.[87]

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[86] Giuseppe Sergi, *Program*, "ASRA" 1, 1893: 3, quoted from and translated by Grottanelli, *Ethnology…*, 1977, pp. 593-614: 595.

[87] Giuseppe Sergi, *Introduction*, "RIS", 1, 1897: 1. "ricorrerà a cultori di discipline etnografiche, filologiche e storiche ed anche a esploratori e viaggiatori, che possano con speciale competenza illustrare i costumi ed usanze di determinate razze o popolazioni".

The separation of the Roman school marked the end of this phase of Italian anthropology, strongly influenced by Mantegazza and his theories.

In this section, we have considered chronologically the changes of some aspects relevant to this thesis: the growing interest over Africa as a colonial resource, the increase of ethnographic travel, the parallel development of exhibition related to Anthropology, the creation of further scholarly divisions. Next section will show how with the end of the 19th century, the focus moved towards the study of Italian culture. This attention for the domestic territory was already part of the discipline but generated stronger changes in the anthropological approach as a whole.

1.4 1893 – 1911 Towards a new discipline

We will now move from studies of the colonial territories to analyses within the national borders of Italy. With the turn of the century, Italian anthropology developed a peculiar attention to the study of domestic cultures. However, such a shift did not spring from a new community of scholars, but it arose from the same actors, institutions, and experiences interested so far in the analysis of distant cultures.

In 1893 also Angelo De Gubernatis, occupied with the study of oriental and Indian cultures and founder of the Indian Museum, inaugurated a new society, the *Società Nazionale per lo Studio delle Tradizioni popolari*. From the orient, his interests turned to Italian traditions, and the eminent scholar could count on the positive reputation built through his institutional and political contacts to create consensus around his new creation. In the introduction of the *Rivista delle tradizioni popolari italiane*, De Gubernatis stressed the need to initiate reliable and systematic collecting campaigns distancing himself and the discipline from the romantic gatherings of curiosities on rural people. He particularly encouraged the involvement of people from all around the peninsula and advertised their participation through the journal *Nuova Antologia* and even through communications in public schools. He managed to obtain the contribution of some Italian female scholars, such as Isabella

De Luca, Anna Parola, Anna Armandi, and the writer Grazia Deledda, who wrote about Sardinian habits and traditions. Notwithstanding this big start, both the Journal and the Society did not last more than two years, testifying to a field that was still in need of carving its own space and finding its audience.[88]

In contrast, Pitrè's effort and interest for Italian traditions were continuous but less oriented in the creation of a separate intellectual and academic sphere, and they managed to last longer in the Italian scene. His initiative, although not isolated, was always conducted in parallel with the medical profession and it took time before his research was appreciated within the national panorama, while it was better recognised abroad.[89] In 1894, Pitrè concluded the series *Bibliografia delle tradizioni popolari d'Italia*, initiated ten years before, which contains 6680 with contributions from both Italian and foreign authors in an attempt to establish the sectors knowledge and method. In the introduction, he referred to "the first Italian pickers that were derided"[90] perhaps willing to do justice to a category that seemed to be blamed by the trenchant and negative opinion of De Gubernatis on the amateurs gathering materials. Even the SIAE proposed another contest that supported analysis on Italian ethnology. Unfortunately, the call did not reach a broad audience, and only one project was presented by Leopoldo Pullè (1850-1934), who published in 1895 his *Carta Etnografica*. In 1898, an invitation to investigate Italian customs came from a meeting of the Italian Photographic Society, when Giulio Fano proposed that the Bulletin

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[88] See Enzo Vinicio Alliegro and Maurizio Coppola, *La nascita degli studi di tradizioni popolari in Italia tra Ottocento e Novecento*, in Gian Luigi Bravo and Benito Ripoli (ed.), *Prima etnografia d'Italia: gli studi di folklore tra '800 e '900 nel quadro europeo,* Milan: Angeli, 2013.

[89] Pitrè often published contribution from foreign colleagues, was often mentioned and praised in the English Folk-Lore Journal and was in the Committee for the Folklore International Congress of Paris (1890). On Pitrè, De Gubernatis and their role in the establishment of Italian folklore see Bravo and Ripoli (ed.), *Prima…*, 2013.

[90] Giuseppe Pitrè, *Bibliografia delle tradizioni popolari d'Italia*, Turin-Palermo: Clausen, 1894, p. XIII.

become a space to promote an important visual campaign of popular traditions over the entire national territory.

In 1898, Cesare Lombroso opened the *Museo di Psichiatria e criminologia* in Turin, an institution strongly connected to the research of criminal anthropology and it became the space to preserve his visual collection. In 1902, Mochi proposed an initiative to the SIAE aimed at depicting the state of the art of Italian ethnography and proposing possible developments. As we will see shortly, the matter developed in the following years, opening a debate that was going to occupy a central space in the Italian scene.

In 1896, the Crispi government attempted to conquer Ethiopia but the Italian army was heavily defeated in Adowa.[91] Such a defeat marked a divide in the Italian colonial policy and its public perception, with resonance also in the global arena. If in Dogali the Italian troops lost, in Adowa they collapsed, with around five thousand victims and almost two thousands prisoners. The defeat was linked to the ignorance about the geographical, social, and military context they were about to find, and further underlined by a profound underestimation of the Ethiopian troops and Menelik power. In the unsteady phase of the negotiation between Italy and Ethiopia, the SGI supported an exploration of the Ethiopian river Omo, led by the already mentioned Vittorio Bottego. The risky mission was more political than scientific and ended with the death of Bottego and part of the team. Such additional risk and embarrassing experience restrained the SGI and the Italian colonial lobby at large and slowed down the phase of explorations. Adowa immediately represented an incentive for the anti-colonial opposition and it signalled the end of the first phase of Italian expansion in Africa, until 1911. However, it also eliminated the so-called "Adowa complex" based on the myth of an unjust defeat and narrative of vengeance, which later on Fascist propaganda would ride.[92]

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[91] See Nicola Labanca, *In Marcia verso Adua*, Turin: Einaudi, 1993.

[92] See Angelo del Boca, *Gli Italiani…*, 1976.

After the defeat, in 1897, Ferdinando Martini was appointed as the new governor of the Eritrean colony to limit the rumours regarding the bad Italian administration in Africa. Already Minister of Public Education, Martini underwent a silent process of rationalisation, in contrast to the strong presence of Africa in the public discourse and the newspapers until Adowa. In attempting to overcome such a difficult phase, in 1905, Martini set up a prominent political event: thirty-five years after the official beginning of the colonial venture, the first Italian Colonial Congress was organised in Asmara, Eritrea. Besides being an occasion for gathering the colonial lobby and setting future objectives, the Congress became an occasion to discuss the role of anthropology within the administration of the colonies. Lamberto Loria was the leading representative of this area of interest, and advocated for the inclusion of scientific and ethnographic research as an integral part of the government of the colonies, promoting the need to understand the costumes of the population in order to govern them better. Such proposal was perfectly in line with the aim of the *Missione Eritrea*, supported in 1905 by Ferdinando Martini, where Loria and Mochi conducted ethnographic research within a team also involved in naturalistic analysis. The mission also included the writing of the *Istruzioni per lo studio della colonia Eritrea*, that would be published, only in 1907, by the SIAE in conjunction with the SSGC.[93] These instructions, analysed in the next chapter, gave much space to ethnographic and anthropological matters and the role of photography, giving the impression of setting up a new and more regulated phase in the connection between colony and anthropology. Moreover, the Congress led to the establishment of the Italian Colonial Institute and the journal *La Rivista Coloniale*, founded in Rome in 1906.

Despite such a seemingly favourable context, Loria's stance was not considered of primary importance by the congress attendees, and the study of peoples and traditions was excluded from the colonial agenda. As Alliegro's analysis proposed, this refusal could be connected to the subsequent change of scope of the discipline led by Loria himself, who

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[93] Both the mission and the instruction will be further analysed in chapter 2 and 3.

began addressing the Italian populations as the most important object of study, as opposed to the exotic and far away cultures. Moreover, the political disengagement in colonial expansion after Adowa and the stall in financing geographic explorations likely impacted on the change of focus. As we have seen, such direction was already undertaken by Pitrè, De Gubernatis, as well as by specific initiatives proposed by the SIAE and the SFI. The interest for Italian traditions and people was present in the very founding statute of the Florentine Anthropological Society:

> They [the undersigned] intend to cultivate these studies with the utmost broadness of views and, while they will concern themselves with the general problems of science, they intend to devote the best part of their efforts to the study of the ancient and modern peoples of Italy. As scholars and as Italians the undersigned consider it their almost supreme duty to promote an association intended to bring light to Italian ethnology, so rich and unfortunately so little known.[94]

Therefore, Loria's change of focus had to be inserted within a well-developed scene. In 1906 together with Aldobrandino Mochi, he published *Museo di Etnografia Italiana di Firenze. Sulla Raccolta di materiali per la Etnografia Italiana*[95] a sort of manifesto of what they aimed to do in the newly founded Museum of Italian Ethnography (MEI) in Florence, financed by the nobleman Giovannangelo Bastogi. There they recognised the previous discipline's tradition, and they specified the museum missions: "objects […] are worth to be collected in the same way as the mental products" in order to "narrate the history of the soul […] better than many pages".[96] The interest in the life habits of the Italian population was strictly related to the nation's administration, especially regarding unprivileged social class such as peasants. In 1906, Minister of Agriculture Faina launched the *Inchiesta parlamentare sulle condizioni dei*

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[94] *Programma…*, 1871, quoted from and translated by Grottanelli, *Ethnology …*, 1977: 594.

[95] Lamberto Loria and Aldobrandino Mochi, *Museo di Etnografia Italiana di Firenze. Sulla Raccolta di materiali per la Etnografia Italiana*, Florence: Marucelli, 1906.

[96] Loria and Mochi, *Museo…*, 1906: 7-20. "gli oggetti […] meritano di essere raccolti e studiati nella stessa misura dei prodotti mentali [per] raccontarci la storia dell'anima […] meglio di molte pagine scritte".

contadini nelle province meridionali e nella Sicilia that aimed at gathering information on the conditions of farmers from the southern regions. Although driven by administrative and political needs, the kind of data and the collecting method employed resembled that of anthropological surveys.[97]

A series of circumstances reinvigorated physical anthropology examining the Italian population: in 1904, De Blasio obtained the chair of Anthropology in Naples and published a manual of anthropology with a strong emphasis on anthropometric instruments to be applied to the study of criminals. A chair of Criminal anthropology was established in 1905 in Turin, obviously occupied by Cesare Lombroso. Moreover, Ridolfo Livi (1856-1920), published in 1907 his monograph on the anthropometry of militaries, through data acquired during compulsory medical examinations. As medical officer of the army, he already published on the topic in the 1880s, and he became the promoter of Military anthropometry. Studies of anthropometry were also applied to pedagogy by Maria Montessori, who published on the AAE *Sui caratteri antropometrici in relazione alle gerarchie intellettuali dei fanciulli nelle scuole. Ricerche di antropologia pedagogica*. She became one of the most influential voices of Pedagogy and Pedagogic anthropology, bridging together the two subjects.

Changes in the scholarly hierarchy accompanied these decades. In 1908, during the Second Congress of the *Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze* which took place in Florence, the introductory speech of the section Anthropology and Ethnology was offered to Mantegazza though he was unable to participate. Therefore Giuseppe Sergi was chosen as his substitute, marking a moment of contact between SIAE and SRA, societies that were until that moment in sharp contrast. The scholar demonstrated the ability to bridge the gap between the two societies and appreciated particularly the application of geography to anthropology, promoted by Loria, Mochi and the young Biasutti (1878-1965).

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[97] The first important inquiry of this kind was launched in 1877, the so-called Inchiesta Jacini, to gather information on the condition of the farmers on the national territory, see in particular Alberto Caracciolo, *L'inchiesta agraria Jacini*, Turin: Einaudi, 1973.

Geography played a significant role also in 1910 when Loria and Baldasseroni presented to the Geographic Congress of Palermo their views upon the ethnographic discipline, creating a break with the previous developments (by Pitrè and De Gubernatis) and affirming "that, as science, [it] did not exist yet in Italy".[98] What they wanted to make clear was that ethnography should be oriented towards the material aspect of life, methodologically based on the centrality of observation, collecting practices, and the Museum institution.

> We will soon have the National Museum that - as an archive for historians - can be a source of inestimable value [...] without it [scholars] would not have at hand the raw material they need to build their ideal buildings, but if around the museum is not a fervent movement of new investigations, we have given Italy something beautiful but useless.[99]

Referring to the ongoing project of the Museum of Ethnography in Florence, they stressed the importance of developing, in parallel with the display, research and collecting campaigns. In this way, they reclaimed the active concept of the museum-laboratory, as opposed to accepting new understandings of the museum as an archive, showcase, and mere expositive space. This intention to underline the gap, rather than the achievement, of ethnography, and to do so in the city of Palermo where Pitrè built his research and settled his *Museo Etnografico Siciliano* in 1909, suggested the desire to position the discipline in contrast to the research undertaken in Sicily by Pitrè, more centred on folklore and oral traditions rather than material culture.

The tendency to set new rules and to refuse traditions also emerged with the death of Mantegazza in 1910, and became a moment to rethink the history as well as the project of Italian anthropology. His protégée Mochi

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[98] Francesco Baldasseroni, *Della Società di Etnografia Italiana e di alcuni scopi a cui deve mirare*, "Rassegna Contemporanea", 1910, pp. 15-24: 16.

[99] Francesco Baldasseroni, *Della Società…*, 1910: 16: "Avremo tra poco quel Museo Nazionale che – come un archivio per gli storici – può essere fonte di inestimabile valore […] senza di esso [gli studiosi] non avrebbero sottomano la materia prima di cui hanno bisogno per costruire i loro ideali edifici; ma se intorno al Museo non sia fervere tutto un movimento di nuove indagini, noi avremo dato all'Italia una cosa bella ma inutile".

wrote the official obituary and blamed him for his cumbersome role: "You could say that the teacher has created schoolchildren, but not really a school".[100] A similar judgement, less unexpected, came from the side of Sergi "he was a scientist, but incomplete, because he did not direct his activity [...] he wandered here and there in the various scientific fields".[101]

In 1910, Loria founded the *Società Italiana di Etnografia*, and he was appointed organizer of a large-scale exhibition of Italian materials in Rome, on the occasion of the celebration for the fifty years of Unification of 1911, when the three symbolic cities of Rome, Turin and Florence became the scene for a major exposition.[102] The making of the new discipline could count on a narrative of conversion, set up by Loria:

> In 1905, before sailing for Africa for my studies, I had to go to Circello del Sannio. And there I got the idea of abandoning the studies of exotic ethnography that had hitherto obliged me to make long and dangerous travels, and of concerning myself instead with our own people. I knew that Italy, though populated by folk of the same race, presented, especially owing to her history, a great variety of usages and customs; but the superficial examination of Samnite populations I could make in those few days convinced me that had I employed the best years of my life in the study of our own ethnography, I could have collected many objects and studied many customs now totally disappeared.[103]

In a sort of epiphany, precisely on a trip to Africa (for the Asmara congress), the famous explorer of exotic lands realised the unexplored value of Italian traditions and attached to them the same category of

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[100] Aldobrandino Mochi, *Paolo Mantegazza*, "AAE", 15, 1910, pp. 492-500. "Si può dire che il maestro abbia lasciato scolari, ma non propriamente una scuola".

[101] Giuseppe Sergi, *Paolo Mantegazza*, "AAE", 15, 1910: 424. "egli fu scienziato, ma incompleto, perché non diresse la sua attività […] vagò qua e là nei vari campi scientifici".

[102] Stefania Massari and Stefania Baldinotti, *Il fatale Millenovecentoundici: le esposizioni di Roma, Torino, Firenze*, Rome: Palombi, 2012.

[103] Lamberto Loria, *Due parole di Programma*, "Lares" 1,1, 1912, pp. 9-24: 9, quoted from and translated by Grottanelli, *Ethnology …*, 1977: 595.

urgency. As the last chapter will show, in order to collect the objects, Loria organised a network of ''gatherers' all over the national territory and directed their work with specific requests regarding the material aspects of lives all over the Italian region. The Folklore journal, already in 1909, admired the project and made clear its exceptionality in the European panorama:

> If fully realized - if only half-realized, - it will be the best representation of the life of the folk that any European nation has been able to achieve. The Italian people, with its long and illustrious history, and its comparative seclusion for centuries from the currents of thought that have changed the ideals, the aspirations, the very life of some of the more northern nations, offers an incomparable field for such a harvest as is here contemplated[104]

In conjunction with the exhibit, the first Congress of Italian Ethnography took place, attended by some of the already encountered protagonists of the community such as Morselli, De Gubernatis, Pitrè. In order to describe the participants, Mochi adopted an already established rhetorical tool:

> It was not, as is usually the case with scientific conferences, the meeting of specialists of a given discipline, assembled to discuss, so to speak, internal problems; it was a meeting of specialists indeed, but of specialists of the most varied disciplines [...] classical scholars and physiologists, archaeologists and pedagogists, sociologists and physical anthropologists, ethnographers are lacking or extremely rare in Italy.[105]

The same multidisciplinarity described by Mantegazza to depict the origin of the SIAE was repeated here, underlined as a negative trait. During the Congress, disciplinary boundaries were challenged, and terminological issues emerged once more, in the attempt to set common rules. Morselli proposed a relationship of subordination of ethnography

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[104] Sidney Hartland, *Exhibition of Italian Ethnography at Rome in 1911*, "Folk-lore", 20, 2, 1909, pp. 224-226.

[105] Aldobrandino Mochi, *Il primo congresso di Etnografia Italiana*, "Lares", 1, 1, 1912, pp. 25-38: 25, quoted from and translated by Grottanelli, *Ethnology …*, 1977: 596.

as part of anthropology in his speech *L'etnografia nel quadro delle scienze antropologiche*, while Mochi rejected the dependence between somatic and cultural traits and distinguished the two branch as independent "they belong to very different categories [...] anthropology needs a set of anatomical studies, while ethnography [...] is based on literary and historical studies".[106] Mochi's position was not original, and we find it appears differently throughout these fifty years (see for example Malfatti). However, at least in Florence, it was discarded by Mantegazza's intrusive figure and holistic tendencies, but in 1911, it became the tool to establish a detached set of scholars. Such distinction was reinforced in the Fifth Congress of the *Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze* in the same year. Anthropology should fall under medical sciences, and Sergi, who meant primarily physical anthropology, presented a paper on the situation of the discipline strongly focusing on the missing distinction between disciplinary fields, where "the meaning of anthropology varies according to different connoisseurs and their trends".[107]

Within this changing panorama, Pitrè also tried to find a proper academic space for the continuation of his work, and he managed to establish a free course of *Demopsicologia* in Palermo. He introduced, therefore, a new term translated directly from the German *Völkerpsychologie*, used by linguists and brought to Naples by Giacomo Lignana, showing once more the literary origin of his research. In the introductory lecture, Pitrè sketched the difference between Demopsichology, or Folklore, and Ethnography, being the former "the internal part of Ethnography"[108] but he also recognised that "we have

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[106] Aldobrandino Mochi, *Il primo…*, 1912: 38. "appartengono a categorie diversissime […] la antropologia ha bisogno di un corredo di studi anatomici, mentre la etnografia […] ha la base negli studi letterari e storici".

[107] Giuseppe Sergi, *Presente ed avvenire dell'antropologia*, "Rivista di antropologia", 1911, 16: 730. "il significato di antropologia varia secondo diversi cultori e le tendenze loro".

[108] Giuseppe Pitrè, *Per la inaugurazione del corso di demopsicologia nella R. Università di Palermo. Prelezione del prof. Giuseppe Pitrè letta il di 12 Gennaio del 1911*, "Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti di Palermo", 9, 1911: 7.

arguments in the two disciplines that are almost the same"[109]. He moreover stated that:

> Demopsychology studies the moral and material life of civil, non-civil and savage peoples. The fewer civilians they are, the more important their matter is. This life is documented by different kinds of oral and objective traditions [...] an open and occult world, made of reality and imagination, moves and agitates [...]. Its smiles, its moans, its voices, insignificant for most people, are revelations for the man of science, who hears the distant echo of lineages and generations disappeared for centuries.[110]

Interestingly, the scholar did not reduce the scope to the Italian peninsula, but enlarged it to 'savage' people, reframing the interpretation according to which the study of present-day savages could shed light on past uses and costumes. Loria during the Congress formulated a very similar concept on the relationship between contemporary and past cultures:

> General ethnography, just as it often serves palae-ethnological studies, can and must serve the study of our own people, because just as the savage shows similarities with the primitive man, so our less evolved classes, lagging behind in the path of civilization, still preserve, hidden and slumbering, some of the instincts and characters of savage folk [...]. Comparative ethnography, connecting our manners and customs with those of savage and semisavage peoples, will be able to reach more general conclusions and to illustrate the genesis and phases of our own progress from time immemorial to our day. Then only it will be

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[109] Giuseppe Pitrè, *Per la inaugurazione…*, 1911: 7.

[110] Giuseppe Pitrè, *Per la inaugurazione…*, 1911: 25-26: "la Demopsicologia studia la vita morale e materiale dei popoli civili, dei non civili e dei selvaggi. Meno civili essi sono, più importante ne è la materia. Questa vita è documentata da diversi generi di tradizioni orali ed oggettive […] tutto un mondo palese ed occulto, di realtà e di immaginazione, si muove e si agita […]. I suoi sorrisi, i suoi gemiti, le sue voci, insignificanti per i più, sono rivelazioni per l'uomo di scienze, che vi sente l'eco lontano di schiatte e di generazioni tramontate da secoli".

possible to accomplish the intricate work of truly scientific synthesis and the equally important task of education.[111]

The retrieval of comparative necessity and the parallelism between 'savage' and 'less evolved class', expressed by an explorer of colonial territories that found his way as a scholar of Italian traditions, is a perfect example to make visible the path of these fifty years of Italian anthropology. Loria mentioned the connection between knowledge, education and control also in an article of the first number of *Lares*, the newly founded journal of the SIE (that took its name from a Latin word that indicates the spirits protecting the ancestors):

> If the knowledge of the manners and customs of the peoples subjected to a civilised nation assists the latter in preserving its rule, all the more so the knowledge of manners and customs of our own people will render unexpected services to our nation.[112]

Internal and colonial policies were mentioned close to one another, and the emphasis on the colonial administration was particularly poignant in 1911, when the Italian government went to war over the Libyan territory, opening a new colonial phase. A changed disciplinary organisation, a changed nation, a changed colonial situation, the three objects that I have analysed in their diachronic dialogue in this chapter were profoundly reshaped in 1911, the year that marks the end of the investigation. Along the fifty years analysed, I have stressed the moment of foundation, such as the creation of societies and museums, and their intersection with parallel political events, such as colonial endeavours and geographical explorations. I decided to keep all these layers together in a diachronic order to better show the interplay between actors and the juxtaposition of the political elite, colonial lobby, scientific community. In the following chapters, I will select some publications, figures, museums and events and unpack more closely the reference to and uses of photography within the discipline. Now that I have introduced some

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[111] Lamberto Loria, *Due parole…*, 1912: 922-24, quoted from and translated by Grottanelli, *Ethnology …*, 1977: 596.

[112] Lamberto Loria, *L'etnografia strumento di politica interna e coloniale*, "Lares" 1, 1, 1912, pp. 73-79: 78, quoted from and translated by Grottanelli, *Ethnology…*1977: 596.

critical figures and events within the chronological span, the next chapter will continue on the institutional line to consider which methods the anthropological community proposed for the observation and representation of human cultures.

2. INSTRUCTING THE "DELEGATED GAZE"

> I am convinced that science enters through the eyes, and from there it becomes a mental vision; therefore it is easy to understand, through reading and figurative images, what did not pass through direct visual observation.[1]

This quotation from Giuseppe Sergi can help introduce this chapter which aims to analyse the textual discourses elaborated around the topic of observation and the use of recording techniques related to observation, in particular photography. Sergi's argument puts forward two themes that will be at the core of the following paragraphs: the connection between seeing and science (and in this case, anthropological science), and the role of pictures and texts as substitutes for direct observation. Vision refers to the act of seeing directly, to the act of seeing through another eye and to the act of envisioning science mentally. Recalling Foucault "[t]he eye becomes the depository and source of clarity".[2] In giving such importance to the visual domain, Sergi here spoke generically of science, but he is implicitly referring to anthropology. The statement provides a valuable insight into how anthropology created its knowledge: the discipline crafted observation as a critical epistemological practice. However, the reference to indirect observation implicitly addresses another matter, namely how the discipline relied upon documentation gathered by other people. Experts very rarely carried out these observations directly. In their place, there were travellers, meant broadly as people who could move in distant places: businesspeople, diplomats, navy and military officers,

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[1] Giuseppe Sergi, *L'Europa, l'origine di popoli europei e loro relazioni coi popoli d'Africa, Asia, Oceania*, Rome: Bocca, 1908: V. "la scienza, è mio convincimento, entra per gli occhi, per i quali diventa esattamente una visione mentale; allora è facile comprendere, per lettura e per immagini figurative, quello che non è caduto sotto l'osservazione diretta in forma visiva".

[2] Michel Foucault, *The birth of the clinic*, London: Routledge 2003, p. XIV. See also Jon Darius, *Beyond vision*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984. On vision and knowledge in 19th century Italy see Giovanni Landucci, *L'occhio e la mente: scienze e filosofia nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, Florence: Olschki, 1987.

naturalists, explorers, and settlers, were just some of the categories that anthropologists asked for descriptions.

This chapter considers how anthropology regulated the issue of indirect observation through textual discourses and instructions. Such regulation was necessary to assure the transfer of knowledge from the geographical periphery to scientific centres[3], and the influence of practice and materials over theory. The transfer of information was based on the distinction between who was moving in "the field" and who was not[4]. Such differentiation led to the need for the emerging scientific community to elaborate tools and rules for the production of documentation, in order to ensure the reliability of the information received and, consequently, of the making of science.[5] The concept of the "delegated gaze" proposed by Cosimo Chiarelli[6] could be useful to think

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[3] On the role of knowledge transfer in the making of science see Bruno Latour, *Science in action*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987. More specifically on the connection with the exploration cultures and the making of scientific, geographical and ethnographical knowledge, see Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1999 and Heike Jöns, Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan (eds.) *Mobilities of Knowledge*, New York: Springer, 2017.. On field and periphery see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: how anthropology made its objects*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1983, and Henrika Kuklick and Robert Kohler (eds), *Science in the Field*, Osiris, 11, Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1996. On anthropological photography see Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford: Berg, 2001.

[4] The idea of a traditional distinction between "armchair anthropologists"[4] and explorers is too clear-cut and was indeed built in juxtaposition with the notion of field anthropologist, established as sound practice from Malinowsky onwards. Historians such as Clifford or Stocking has shown the historical development of these categories, introduced in order to emphasise a methodological turn. Nevertheless, this concept is useful inasmuch it gives the sense of the labour distinction in operation when the object of study was far from the places of interpretation.

[5] To indicate the exchange of information George Stocking coined the term 'epistolary ethnography', in *Volksgeist As Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996.

[6] As already indicated in the introduction, I took the notion of 'delegated gaze' from Cosimo Chiarelli's thesis, *Immagini di un mito tropicale. Rappresentazioni visive del Borneo tra grafica e fotografia*, [PhD thesis], Florence: EUI, 2012. The Italian translation "sguardo per delega" appears also in Chiarelli's article *L'atlante e lo scrapbook. Rapporti scientifici,*

about how the anthropological community directed the attention of travellers and photographers moving, researching and working in the field. In this chapter, I use instructions for travellers and other written sources, to unpack the process of creating a "delegated gaze" and to examine, in the following chapters, how this related to the production of photography. After having contextualised this written production, it will be possible to investigate which was the ideal form of observation proposed and the value attributed to photography. This analysis wants to consider the existence, or not, of descriptive and representative standards. In parallel, it wants to understand the relationship between those who dictated the rules and those who went to the field, took notes and created visual documents, and to see if they can be considered two separated characters or one homogeneous entity.

With this analysis, I do not mean to prioritise the written information over the visual sources, but to provide a view on the theoretical background associated with the production of pictures. I do not conceive these texts as the more relevant source or as more diffused tools, but as the more explicit production by the specialists who were trying to promote standards, although travellers did not necessarily follow these standards successfully or intentionally. This chapter allows an understanding of the multiple layers of theory recrafted by the growing anthropological community, and it delineates the disconnection between theory and practice and the diffusion of specific procedures over others.

2.1 Seeking standards: Instruction for travellers

Crucial to the making of anthropology during the second half of the 19th century and profoundly connected to a phase of professionalisation, was the problem of reliability connected with the collection of information and materials: how could anthropologists trust the evidence provided by explorers and travellers? How did the observer's education and sensibility intervene with the representation of other cultures? How could misrepresentation be avoided? How could reliable and

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relazioni coloniali e identità di genere in due album fotografici della fine del XIX secolo, "RSF", 2, 2015, pp. 8-31.

standardised reports be obtained? In order to gain control over the collecting work conducted abroad, a series of initiatives were launched. In particular, the literary genre of instruction for travellers emerged as a possible tool to guide the gathering of information.

> In this way […] without reading voluminous books, [the traveller] could discern, between the many things happening under his eyes, the important and new from the useless and ordinary and, without being himself an anthropologist, he could gather precious material for the science.[7]

The travellers' guides had a long literary tradition and existed in many variations.[8] The main formats were three: the generic handbook for travellers, the discursive guide, and the questionnaire, that were sometimes combined. The former contained an introduction to the topic and guidelines on how to conduct the research; guides often aimed to illustrate a specific territory; questionnaires contained a list of questions that highlighted features worth considering. Sometimes, travellers stimulated the demand for similar products: before starting a trip, they asked to scientific communities which aspects merit consideration, so instructions were explicitly written at their request.

Without entering into the Reinassance origin of the literary genre and the *ars apodemica*, it is important to consider some fundamental models of the 19th century. In 1800 the *Société des Observateurs de l'Homme* dedicated two volumes to the observation of human populations, distinguishing such domain from the naturalistic one, but they only

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[7] Paolo Mantegazza, *Istruzioni scientifiche per viaggiatori*, "AAE", 5, 1875: 102.

[8] The importance of travel, travel writing and guides for travellers has been pointed out at first by historians of the Renaissance period and later developed to include the analysis of 19th century travel. On ars apomedica see the fundamental works of Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel writing and ethnography*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002; Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Instructions for travellers: teaching the eye to see*, "History and Anthropology", 9, 2-3, 1996, pp. 139-190; Jaś Elsner, John Elsner, and Joan Pau Rubiés (eds.), *Voyages and visions: towards a cultural history of travel*, London: Reaktion, 1999; for earlier historical period Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800*, London: Routledge, 2002.

became well known one century later.⁹ Other relevant French contributions are the *Instruction générale* of the *Société Ethnologique* published in 1840, the 1860 *Instruction anthropologique* by Paul Broca and the *Questionnaire de Sociologie et Ethnographie* published in 1883 by Charles Letourneau, an author that also contributed to Italian instructions. The *Aide-Mémore* by David Kaltbrunner of 1881 had a more generalistic approach, but it was still a fundamental model. In Germany, with its school of anthropogeography, Rudolf Virchow promoted the making of an Ethnological map. Relevant examples came from the British world, that inaugurated the form of queries in 1839 with Thomas Hodgkin's *Queries for travellers*, which contained a chapter dedicated to Ethnology. In 1874 Pitt Rivers edited the first edition of the *Notes and Queries*, that became a pivotal volume also in its subsequent editions.¹⁰

As seen in the previous chapter, the completion of national unification late in the 19ᵗʰ century led to some delay in the development of Italian scientific communities, institutions and specific publications. Such delay led to rapid development from the 1860s onwards, and the same happened in the case of the instruction for travellers¹¹. From the 1870s, a large number of guides were published and used as models for other countries as well.¹² The author was rarely a single individual; scholars often designed these handbooks in a team and were frequently

⁹ Joseph-Marie Degérando wrote *Considérations sur les methods à suivre dans l'observations des peuples sauvages*, while Georges Cuvier edited the *Note istructive sur les recherches à faire relativement aux dfferénces anatomiques des diverses races d'hommes*.

¹⁰ For more information, see James Urry, *"Notes and Queries on Anthropology" and the Development of Field Methods in British Anthropology, 1870-1920*, "Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 1972", 1972, pp. 45-57.

¹¹ For the Italian case, see the fundamental research by Sandra Puccini, *Il corpo, la mente e le passioni: istruzioni, guide e norme per la documentazione, l'osservazione e la ricerca sui popoli nell'etno-antropologia italiana del secondo Ottocento*, Rome: CISU, 1998. See also Silvia Collini and Vannoni, Antonella (eds.), *Le istruzioni scientifiche per i viaggiatori (17-19 secolo): antologia di testi,* Florence: Polistampa, 1997; Maurizio Bossi and Claudio Greppi (eds.) *Viaggi e scienza: le istruzioni scientifiche per i viaggiatori nei secoli XVII-XIX*, Florence: Olschki, 2005, and in particular Claude Blanckaert, *Il fatto e il valore: discipline dell'osservazione nelle istruzioni etnografiche (secoli XVIII- XIX)*, pp. 261-286.

¹² See Francesco Fedele and Alberto Baldi, *Alle origini dell'antropologia italiana: Giustiniano Nicolucci e il suo tempo*, Naples: Guida, 1988.

connected to one or more other institutions. Therefore the instructions can be considered a direct emanation of the agenda of the learned societies, providing an insight into the disciplinary organisation and demonstrating the attempt of building exclusive control over scientific authority. Sometimes Ministries supported these publications, which were institutional rituals in the competitive background of learned societies and nationalism. One of the first examples was the *Raccolta dei materiali per l'etnologia italiana*, published in 1871 by Mantegazza, Lombroso, Schiff and Zannetti. In 1873, Mantegazza, the Anglo-Italian Giglioli, and the French Charles Letourneau published *Istruzioni per lo studio della Psicologia comparata delle razze umane*. This work initiated a new approach in Italian anthropology, opening the disciplinary interest to the socio-psychological behaviour of the civilisation under analysis. The first comprehensive text that includes anthropology among many other scientific disciplines can be considered the *Istruzioni scientifiche per viaggiatori*, curated by Issel, and published from 1874 to 1875 as articles in the *Rivista Marittima* and later, in 1881, in a single volume. For this collection, Giglioli and Zanetti wrote a section together dedicated to *Antropologia ed Etnologia.*

In 1882, Sergi presented his instructions during the International Congress of Anthropology in Moscow.[13] As an aid to the travellers Lamberto Loria and Aldobrandino Mochi, in 1883 Mantegazza, Giglioli, Von Fricken, and Sommier made available the *Istruzioni Etnologiche per il viaggio dalla Lapponia al Caucaso dei soci Loria e Mochi*, an example of a guide written for a specific exploration campaign. On the occasion of the General Exhibition held in Turin in 1884, Enrico Morselli developed a questionnaire of observations on Italian people. In 1887 an enquiry on superstition was launched by Mantegazza and Girolamo Donati. Moving explicitly to the African space, Mochi wrote *Alcune Istruzioni antropologiche per il Congo*, in 1903. The *Istruzioni per lo Studio della Colonia*

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[13] See Alberto Baldi and Tamara Mykhaylyak, *L'impero allo specchio: antropologia, etnografia e folklore nella costruzione di un'identità culturale nazionale ai tempi della Russia zarista, 1700-1900*, Rome: Squilibri, 2016.

Eritrea, in 1907, was a joint effort by SSGC and SIAE and a clear example of the close connection between anthropology and colonialism.

If guides and instructions for travellers were preferred tools to inform amateurs about the request of anthropological science, journal articles and publications on the occasion of an exhibition can also be considered significant vectors of information. They addressed a more specialised public and entered into more specific matters, but they nonetheless revealed relevant information on the perception anthropologists had of non-specialists.

2.1.2 Professionals and amateurs: drawing the line

When a traveller opened an instruction booklet - whether it was a handbook, a guide, or a questionnaire (fig. 2.1) - he would find in the introduction a sentence to praise his participation for increasing the knowledge of a given sector. In this way, the authors wanted to stress the value of the traveller's contribution and used the first lines to shape an ideal image of the perfect intermediary. In the introductory sentences, travellers in the field were invited to participate in the mission of science, a venture depicted as the highest service to the nation.

> We are sure we can count [on this support] because modern minds now accept the idea that science should not proceed by individual and isolated efforts, but also, and more, thanks to the unanimous collective work of those who cultivate science with disinterested love and without personal ambition.[14]

The authors were not only fostering the travellers' involvement, but they were also drawing the line between the specialist and the amateur. In the context of a new discipline (as described in chapter 1), the difference between amateur and professional was not "out there" but needed to be

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[14] Aldobrandino Mochi, *L'istituzione di un laboratorio antropometrico in Firenze*, "AAE", 31, 1901, pp. 319-340: 339-340. "crediamo di poter sicuramente contare, perché nelle menti moderne è ormai entrato il concetto che la scienza non debba procedere solo per sforzi individuali ed isolati, ma anche, e più, per il concorde lavoro collettivo di quanti la coltivano con amore disinteressato e senza personali ambizioni."

built from scratch. Who was the anthropologist and who was the assistant? How was the border designed? Which interaction should exist between the two levels? This section aims at addressing these hierarchical issues.

Fig. 2. 1 - Examples of Instruction for Travellers. Left: Front cover of Arturo Issel and Raffaele Gestro, *Manuale del naturalista viaggiatore*, Milan: Hoepli, 1883. Right: Frontespiece of Arturo Issel, *Istruzioni scientifiche per viaggiatori*, Rome: Botta, 1883.

If on the one hand the image of the traveller was built upon the rhetoric of curiosity and adventure, with the heroic figure of the explorer as the perfect model, on the other hand, the writers of Instructions for travellers were well aware of the risk of obtaining reports contaminated by inconsistent stories and exotic details.[15] As a contemporary observer noted, travel literature was characterised by:

> [T]he eagerness to be humorous, to collect anecdotes, to show off an annoying and boring erudition [...] verses in quantity, quotations above quotations, wit, mottos of ancient and modern authors, and when one touches the positive ground of science by incidence, big blunders.[16]

Due to the ongoing making of the Italian scientific group and criteria, any form of interest toward different cultures was appreciated and promoted, even if not too rigorous. As the President of the SGI stated "[S]ocialites, geographers, travellers, news-seekers, curious of human diversities"[17] were all on-board in the making of new geographical, ethnographic and anthropological knowledge.

As already said, Mantegazza, Letourneau and Giglioli developed an innovative questionnaire for the comparative study of psychology. In the introduction, they called for a very active kind of traveller, capable of interacting with the questions proposed and enlarging the scope of the research:

> [W]e acknowledge that our questionnaire is crawling with omissions and gaps, which we could in vain try to fix. Experience,

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[15] See Claude Blanckaert, *Il fatto e il valore…*, 2005, pp, 261-286. The topic of the popularisation of science, the relationship between travel literature and anthropological science is a fascinating one, where the two levels interweaved and influenced each other. Salgari's novel provides a significant example in Italy, see Fabiana Dimpflmeier, *'Il valzer dell'Altro'. Note di esotismo italiano della seconda metà dell'Ottocento tra letteratura e etnografia*, in Corinne D'Angelo (ed.), *Emilio Salgari: Sogni e realtà*, Macerata: Simple, 2015 pp. 79-123.

[16] Gaetano Branca, *I viaggiatori Italiani del nostro secolo*, "BSGI", 2,1, 1869: 281. "la smania di far dello spirito, di raccogliere aneddoti, di sfoggiare un'erudizione importuna e nojosa […], versi in quantità, citazioni sopra citazioni, arguzie, motti di autori antichi e moderni, e quando si tocca per incidenza il terreno positivo della scienza, grossi strafalcioni."

[17] Cesare Correnti, *Prologo*, "BSGI", 1, 1868: 1. "mondani, geografi, viaggiatori, incettatori di novità, curiosi delle diversità umane".

the great master, has to carry out this task, and anyone who will make use of our form will become necessarily our collaborator.[18]

Here the degree of freedom left to the traveller was very high. In other cases, such preliminary texts functioned more as a demarcation between roles, tasks, degrees of authority, and value. The scientific community was drawing the line between professionals and amateurs, a line that fluctuated on the divide between collecting and ordering, gathering and interpreting. Giglioli and Zanetti insisted particularly on this point in their chapter: "the traveller can only gather and preserve. Ordering a collection is like writing a book […], and it requires a fixed dwelling, time, comfort, talent, and study".[19]

The call to the service of science appeared open to any traveller, but sometimes the instructions suggested that specific actors were more suitable than others. Navy officers and diplomats - who travelled for work - were often mentioned as the primary recipients, as happened in the Instructions curated by Arturo Issel. He published the Instruction in the *Rivista Marittima* and not surprisingly the container of the Instructions shaped its content, privileging navy officers as primary addressees:

> Every branch of human culture can advance not only thanks to the work of professional scientist; but also through the participation of many of those who, although not devoted solely to research, offer their tribute to science […]. Among them […] navy officers, members of the consular and diplomatic unit and in general

[18] Paolo Mantegazza, Enrico Giglioli, Charles Letourneau, *Psicologia comparata delle razze umane*, "AAE", 3, 1873: 320. "[s]appiamo che […] il nostro inventario formicola di omissioni e lacune, che inutilmente tenteremo di riparare. Far ciò appartiene a quella grande maestra che è l'esperienza, e chiunque si servirà del nostro formolario diventerà necessariamente nostro collaboratore".

[19] Enrico Giglioli and Arturo Zanetti, *Antropologia ed Etnologia,* in Arturo Issel (ed.), *Istruzioni scientifiche per viaggiatori*, Rome: Botta, 1881: 323. "il viaggiatore non può far altro che raccogliere e conservare. Ordinare una collezione, è quanto fare un libro… e ciò richiede dimora stabile, tempo, agio, ingegno, studio".

travellers who, for interests or duty […] visit distant lands and unknown regions.[20]

As seen in the previous chapter, the empirical medical method strongly influenced anthropology and its community and, not surprisingly, the physician was also addressed as a favourite subject in the Instruction, being "moved to this kind of research by the very nature of this science".[21] Another possible support came from missionaries: "we count […] on the involvement of many other willing people that take to heart our research. […] they could be missionaries or travellers that are about to visit and study distant peoples".[22] However, in comparison to other European countries, Italian instructions and anthropological texts rarely referred to missionaries, owing to the uneasy relationship between the Catholic Church and the positivistic milieu in Italy.[23]

From the beginning of the twentieth century, the definition of amateur and professional became gradually more clear-cut, and texts started to be formulated within a robust colonial framework. As the geographer Olinto Marinelli said: "the contribution of amateurs [is] preparatory or complementary or supplementary to the work of professional scientists".[24] Here the distinction between amateurs and professionals

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[20] Arturo Issel, *Introduzione*, in *Istruzioni …*, 1881: 5. "Ogni ramo di civile coltura è suscettibile di progredire non solo per opera degli scienziati di professione; ma ancora mercè il concorso volenteroso di molti, i quali, pur non essendo unicamente dediti agli studii, si fanno merito di offrire alle scienze il loro tributo […] Fra questi sono certamente in grado di prestare i più segnalati servigi alle scienze…gli ufficiali di marina, i membri dei corpi consolare e diplomatico, e in generale i viaggiatori che, per ragioni d'ufficio o di interessi […] visitano terre lontane e ignote regioni, o fanno lunghi soggiorni in contrade poco esplorate".

[21] Giglioli and Zanetti, *Antropologia…*, 1881: 322. "Il medico poi sarà dalla natura di questa scienza, non meno che dalla curiosità, mosso a tali ricerche".

[22] Mochi, *L'istituzione…* 1901: 339. "contiamo […] sul concorso di molte altre persone volenterose che si prendano a cuore i progressi dei nostri studi. […] siano missionari o viaggiatori che si preparano a visitare e studiare popoli lontani".

[23] On Italian missionaries and colonial administration see Gianni Dore, *Amministrare l'esotico: l'etnografia pratica dei funzionari e dei missionari nell'Eritrea coloniale,* Padova: CLEUP, 2017.

[24] Olinto Marinelli, 1905, p. 246. "il contributo del dilettantismo [è di] preparazione o di complemento o integrazione all'opera degli scienziati di mestieri".

seems to have been generally accepted, with non-experts providing basic work for scientists. Moreover, the trajectory of science was better delineated: objects and information should travel in a direct line from the colonies to the museums. "The traveller or the settler is only entitled to gather as much as possible skulls and other indigenous bones and to send them to Italy and to anthropological Museums".[25] Reflecting a new political scenario that invested more in the colonial territories, the settler appeared to be a new addressee. This inclusion led to a new representation of science as a building under construction, where unskilled workers could give their small but necessary contribution:

> Every single answer to the thousands of questions we formulated is a grain of sand for the construction of the building of science. Nobody should abstain from the work he can do, albeit too humble, there is no hierarchy among the workers of science.[26]

The metaphor of the building and the workers provides a monolithic and stable image of science. Although the authors denied the existence of a hierarchical scale ('there is no hierarchy'), they were, on the contrary, introducing a definite pyramidal structure of knowledge, where the amateurs were no longer seen as cultured travellers but as simple workers. Interestingly, Pitrè reused the architectonic analogy also in 1911, during the presentation of his Demopsichology course:

> Traditions are in everyone's heart and mind, and we can all do something for them. The new discipline is now a vast circle that you can join without the subsidy of those in the front line or the place of honour, without resentment of those in the second, or in the last line. We can all do some service; someone can collect, others can study. Not everyone can transport materials, nor everybody can build: just as there is a manual labourer, so there is

[25] SSGC and SIAE, *Istruzioni per lo studio della Colonia Eritrea*, Florence: Galileiana, 1907: 119. "Al viaggiatore o al residente nella colonia spetta solo il compito di raccogliere e inviare in Italia e ai Musei antropologici la maggior quantità possibile di crani ed altre ossa d'indigeni".

[26] SSGC and SIAE, *Istruzioni...*, 1907, p. 15. "Una sola risposta sicura ad una sola delle centinaia di domande da noi formulate è già un granello di sabbia portato alla costruzione dell'edificio della scienza. Nessuno deve astenersi dal lavoro che è in grado di fare, perché lo creda troppo umile negli operai della scienza non esiste una gerarchia".

the architect. It is possible to meet the one who, after having worked on digging, knows how to build [...]; but usually, those who have one faculty do not have the other, but all of them are necessary: on the contrary, the scholars, the critics who make grand synthesis, can not exist without the seekers of the raw material. [...] All can be equal if all contribute with research material.[27]

Covering the discourse with emotional rhetoric that seemed to leverage the differences, the Sicilian scholar was also instead delineating roles and defining values. The division was set: amateurs provided the "raw material" and should not aspire to more; professional scholars should instead interpret and build theories out of it. The gap between the two levels, hardly distinguishable at the beginning, had therefore developed. At the same time, the need to repeatedly state the division amateur – scholar, revealed a confusion of roles in the actual practice, as further chapters will show. The attempt to institutionalise a formal academic community in contrast to – and in desperate needs of - a group of informal informers is at this point evident. The subjects are explicit, and it is possible to move on and to analyse how anthropology aimed to build its observation protocol and to teach it to 'delegated gazes'.

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[27] Giuseppe Pitrè, *Per la inaugurazione del corso di demopsicologia nella R. Università di Palermo. Prelezione del prof. Giuseppe Pitrè letta il di 12 Gennaio del 1911*, "Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti di Palermo", 9, 1911: 18. "Le tradizioni sono nel cuore e nella mente di tutti, e tutti possiamo fare qualche cosa per esse. La nuova disciplina è ormai un vasto cenacolo, al quale si può prender parte senza sussiego di chi sta in prima linea o al posto di onore, senza risentimento di chi sta nella seconda, o nell'ultima. Tutti possiamo rendere qualche servigio, altri raccogliendo, altri studiando. Non tutti hanno attitudini a trasportar materiali, né tutti hanno per costruire: come c'è il manovale, così c'è l'architetto. Ben s'incontra colui che dopo di aver lavorato a scavare sa edificare [...]; ma ordinariamente chi ha una facoltà non ne ha un'altra; tutti però son necessari: chè anzi non si potrebbero avere i dotti, i critici dalle grandi sintesi, senza i cercatori della materia prima. [...] Tutti possono essere uguali se tutti contribuiscono con elementi di studio".

2.2 How to observe: objective and external facts

The primacy of visuality in the creation of scientific knowledge has a long tradition, and the Enlightenment marked a great divide where observation became "a recognised and cultivated form of scientific experience",[28] deeply rooted in empiricism. The nineteenth-century positivist approach contributed to reinforcing such estimation of the visual domain but also introduced some elements of novelty, in a moment when specific disciplines appropriated specific ways of seeing. As Daston and Lunbeck analysed:

> It is characteristic of modern scientific observation to invent new ways of probing, recording, and fixing its objects of inquiry, but these technologies never supplant the observer, whose senses, judgment, and acuity are always essential to the integrity of the observation.[29]

Rather than being a naturalised act:

> observation is a highly contrived and disciplined form of experience that requires training of the body and mind, material props, techniques of description and visualisation, networks of communication and transmission, canons of evidence, and specialised forms of reasoning.[30]

The very fact of "being there" allowed travellers to testify to an external reality, inaccessible to others, that they should adequately observe and, later, register. Precisely, the possibility to see was the key element around which the transfer of information originated, in an entangled relationship between travelling, seeing, and knowing.[31] The Geographical Society, with its colonial approach, stressed the importance of seeing as possession:

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[28] Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck, *Introduction*, in *Histories of Scientific Observation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011: 6.

[29] Daston and Lunbeck, *Introduction…*, 2011: 6.

[30] Daston and Lunbeck, *Introduction…*, 2011: 3.

[31] On this topic see Felix Driver, *Hints to Travellers, La Royal Geographical Society e la cultura dell'esplorazione* in Bossi and Greppi, *Viaggi…*2005, pp. 243-260.

> Let us leave the floor to those who have done, and let us always remember that in the work of merchandising, of colonies, of geographical conquests, as knowing is a condition to succeed, so seeing is the principle of possessing.[32]

As for anthropology, the gaze of the traveller needed to be directed toward some aspects of reality, filtering the necessary information from the futile, to make sense of what Mantegazza called "[the] twist of animal and divine elements, that confuse at first glance the eye of the observer; but that then decrease to infinite variety of measure and form, that is all blended in only one unity, the human type."[33]

Anthropology struggled with the articulation of a proper observational procedure and appropriated practices from other sciences. Mainly the discipline oscillated between two options: treating humans as specimens and ordering them in taxonomy or studying men as living beings in their complex social relationships. Both possibilities presented problems as well as opportunities. Throughout this section, I want to show how the anthropological discipline moved along this borderline, taking inspiration from both natural and human sciences, using them not as opposed and self-excluding areas but as two fields of knowledge in the making.

Mantegazza declared anthropology as a "science of observation and experiment, like the other sister sciences",[34] claiming to follow the scientific standard:

> [Anthropology] describes what it found; it does not presume anything, it does not invent anything; it does not desire to find

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[32] Cesare Correnti, *Prologo*, "BSGI", 1,1, 1868, n.p. "Lasciamo dunque parlare quei che hanno fatto, e ricordiamoci sempremai che in opera di mercature, di colonie, di conquiste geografiche, come sapere è condizione di riescire, così vedere è principio di possedere."

[33] Paolo Mantegazza, *Del metodo nei nostri studi antropologici*, in *Quadri della natura umana - Feste ed ebbrezze,* vol. 2, Bernardoni, 1871, pp. 7-34: 24: "[l']intrecciarsi di elementi animali e divini, che confondono a primo colpo d'occhio l'osservatore; ma che poi si riducono ad infinite varietà di misura e di forme, che si fondono tutte in un'unica unità, nel tipo umano".

[34] Paolo Mantegazza, *Del metodo …*, 1871: 26.

facts that conform to the theory, but it looks for the theory after having observed and enumerated the facts.[35]

This position reflected a typical shift proper of the 19th scientific disciplines, which reconceived observation "as the mere registration of data".[36] An "army of amateur observers"[37] was asked to provide the 'raw data' from which the theory could be built. The use of amateurs as direct observers opened up a series of questions: how should people gather such an amount of data on the spot? What were the guiding criteria?

> Through observation, methodical and precise observation, we aim to get to see first-hand the moral and intellectual value of the diverse human groups, which constitutes that diverse group named humanity.[38]

If well conducted, as Mantegazza, Giglioli, and Letourneau said, the knowledge gained through someone else's observation could substitute direct observation; 'methodical' and 'precise' are the adjectives used to describe the quality of the act of looking.[39]

Observation as a passive exercise was distinguished from experiment as an active practice. A similar hierarchical distinction of roles proposed by Giglioli and Zanetti separated collecting, the amateurs' duty, and ordering, the theoretical process. In another passage, the two authors put together the practice of collecting and observing:

> A well-made, well-preserved collection is like the journal of observation, like the group of witnesses for the prosecution and

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[35] Mantegazza, *Del metodo…*, 1871: 19. "Essa descrive ciò che trova; non suppone nulla, non inventa nulla; non desidera di trovare fatti che s accordino colla teoria, ma cerca 1a teoria dopo aver osservati e numerati i fatti."

[36] Daston and Lunbeck, *Introduction…*, 2011: 3.

[37] Daston and Lunbeck, *Introduction…*, 2011: 4.

[38] Mantegazza, Giglioli, Letourneau, *Psicologia…*1873: 320. "per via dell'osservazione, e di una osservazione metodica e precisa, a toccar con mano il valore morale e intellettuale dei diversi gruppo costituenti questo insieme multiforme che si appella umanità."

[39] See Josh Ellenbogen, *Reasoned and Unreasoned Images: The Photography of Bertillon, Galton, and Marey*, State College: Penn State University Press, 2012.

the defence that from the court of reason will be sued, to understand merits and errors of our theories.[40]

Observation and collection both acted as 'witnesses' in favour or against anthropological theories. The legal metaphor is particularly interesting because it disclosed the connection between making knowledge and providing evidence. Moreover, the figure of the witness strongly related to the sense of sight.[41] The witnesses were the men on the spot who should meticulously register objects and details. In order to be reliable, theories should be built on "a large number of precise facts, well-observed and well verified".[42]

In a fascinating quotation, Mantegazza summed up a crucial epistemological tangle "[the] anthropologist [must] be at once naturalist and psychologist."[43] The naturalist looked for measurable and objective data in the outer world, while the psychologist investigated personal and internal experiences. The anthropological community struggled to manage these definitions and balanced the two approaches. As Carlo Ginzburg observed in his article on clues and the scientific method: "[t]he borderline between natural sciences and human sciences […] has long been a difficult area".[44] Although the historian reflected upon different disciplines – namely the connection between art history, criminology, and psychiatry – his theoretical insights can be useful to examine our objects. In particular, we can borrow the ongoing tension between the scientific method that tends to generalise and psychological research based on the analysis of the individual characters:

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[40] Giglioli and Zanetti, *Antropologia…*, 1881: 318: "Una collezione ben fatta e ben conservata è come il giornale delle osservazioni fatte, è come l'insieme dei testimoni dell'accusa e della difesa, che dal tribunale della ragione saranno citati, per conoscere il merito e le colpe delle nostre teorie".

[41] See Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing, The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence,* London: Reaktion, 2001.

[42] Mantegazza, Giglioli, Letourneau, *Psicologia…*1873: 317: "ad una ricca messe di fatti precisi, bene osservati, e bene accertati".

[43] Mantegazza, *Del metodo…*1871: 25.

[44] Carlo Ginzburg, *Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and scientific method*, "History Workshop", 9, 1980, pp. 5-36: 7.

> At this point […] there were two possible approaches: to sacrifice understanding of the individual element in order to achieve a more or less rigorous and more or less mathematical standard of generalisation; or to try to develop, however tentatively, an alternative model based on an understanding of the individual which would (in some way yet to be worked out) be scientific.[45]

We should not forget another typicality of anthropology, as well as of medical and psychiatric sciences: "the *object* of discourse may equally well be a *subject*, without the figures of objectivity being in any way altered."[46] As analysed by Foucault, the clinic provided a laboratory-like space where the medical gaze was trained to objectify the subject through the separation of the patient's body and the person's identity. However, the inaccessibility of the subject/object of study to the anthropologist's gaze and the performance of science in the indefinite area between museums and field required a different approach. As the folklorist Andrew Lang puts it: "Man cannot be secluded from disturbing influences, and watched, like the materials of a chemical experiment in a laboratory".[47] While grounding their approach on psychology, Mantegazza, Giglioli and Letourneau challenged it and proposed a method of external observation:

> It is clear that […] we cannot use the internal and subjective observation, usually employed by most psychologists in Europe […]. The psychological method of the "I" that looks inward, is hardly applicable to the redskin native, the negro of Africa, the Papua, the Australian etc. Here only one thing can be observed: the external and apparent act, actions and works.[48]

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[45] Ginzburg, *Morelli…*, 1980: 19.

[46] Foucault, *Birth…*, 2003: XV.

[47] Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion*, 1898, p. 39; quoted by Christopher Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*, London: Reaktion, 2011: 25.

[48] Mantegazza, Giglioli, Letourneau, *Psicologia…*, 1873: 316-317. "Il metodo psicologico dell'Io, che scruta se medesimo, si applicherebbe difficilmente all'Indiano di Pelle rossa, al negro d'Affrica, al Papua, all'Australiano, ecc. Qui una sola cosa è apprezzabile ed osservabile, cioè l'atto esterno ed apparente, le azioni e le opere; ma queste azioni sono sicuramente la manifestazione di fatti celebrali che abbiamo preso ad esplorare; perché per agire bisogna precedentemente volere, pensare e soprattutto sentire".

The authors devised the possibility of dealing with such a complex array of information by limiting the attention to external acts that could be more easily translated into facts to be analysed. Rather than a subjective approach, based on interpersonal dialogue and interior examination, the anthropological method opted for an objectifying/objective strategy: "Our Psychology is Anthropological Psychology, objective Psychology".[49]

Directing the gaze to exterior qualities was seen as a possible strategy to take advantage of both the naturalistic method and psychological approach. In line with natural sciences, a proper distance between the observer and the observed was created by considering the latter as an animal,[50] belonging to the natural world:

> The traveller who inspects the religion has to observe the savage as a naturalist who observes an animal and its customs. He must watch him when he lights a fire, or he gets close to it, when he does a vital action, when he is spectator of a great natural phenomenon, when he negotiates with the head of a tribe or with the physician, when he kills or breeds an animal, when he tries to foresee the future.[51]

This strategy was rooted in an evolutionary paradigm that places human civilisation at different stages of progress in a linear chain that goes from the natural condition to the modern and cultured western society.[52] Also, this generalising approach allowed, as Ginzburg said, for an

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[49] Mantegazza, Giglioli, Letourneau, *Psicologia*…, 1873: 316. "La nostra Psicologia è Psicologia Antropologica, Psicologia obiettiva."

[50] George Stocking, *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

[51] Giglioli and Zanetti, *Antropologia*…, 1881: 325-326. "Il viaggiatore che riguarda la religione, deve osservare il selvaggio come un naturalista che osserva un animale di cui studia i costumi. Osservarlo quando accende un fuoco o s'avvicina al medesimo, quando compie un atto della vita, quando è spettatore di un gran fenomeno naturale, quando tratta col capo della tribù o col medico, quando uccide o alleva un animale, quando cerca di penetrare l'avvenire".

[52] Fabian, *Time*…1983.

"obliterating of individual features [through] the emotional distance of the observer".[53]

The distinction between measurable and unmeasurable features, naturalistic and psychological approach, was not only a matter of particular concern in the Instructions for travellers but a central methodological issue for the discipline's structure. In the struggle between what we would call today quantitative and qualitative data, it seems that:

> the inability to quantify stemmed from the impossibility of eliminating the qualitative, the individual; and the impossibility of eliminating the individual resulted from the fact that the human eye is more sensitive to even slight differences between human beings than it is to differences between rocks or leaves.[54]

Worried about the limitations of an anthropological science only concerned with numerable records, Mantegazza made clear that in his view the scope of the discipline was not only naturalistic and anthropometric:

> If anthropology, in its first years of life, dealt more with the skull than with the thought, more with the races than with the comparative psychology of the human family, that is because it had to start from what is most comfortable to be studied, measured, weighed, following the same path of the sister sciences, and it had to move from the accessible and known to the complex and unknown.[55]

If to a certain extent a "botanical model"[56] was hoped for, due to its rigid and unmistakable ordering structure, it was also rejected:

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[53] Ginzburg, *Morelli…*1980: 19.

[54] Ginzburg, *Morelli…*1980: 21.

[55] Mantegazza, *Del metodo…*1871: 19-20: "Che se l'antropologia in questi suoi primi anni di vita si è occupata più del cranio che del pensiero, più delle razze che della psicologia comparata dell'umana famiglia, è perchè dovette incominciare da ciò che è più facile a studiarsi, a misurarsi, a pesarsi, seguendo la stessa via che si percorse dalle scienze sorelle, dovette muovere dal semplice e dal noto per risalire poi al composto e all'ignoto."

[56] Foucault, *Birth of the clinic…*, 2003: 6.

> [Anthropology] has to pass from the static to the dynamic period, since anthropologists would not indefinitely want to limit themselves to classify men, as botanist classify plants in his herbarium.[57]

In many matters, the competences of the observer seemed to make a significant difference. Despite the handbooks' intention to guide the gaze and the observational procedure, the capability to grasp useful from irrelevant information was often left to the observer's decision, without precise indication. Sometimes, authors did not require "copious statements, but few and excellent information, gathered by the clever observer and the naturalist philosopher".[58] The boundaries of the guidebooks were often open to suggestions and interpretations, leaving a great deal of initiative to the reader:

> To follow this development of the moral being is extremely interesting. The observer should commit himself to it, assuring to specify the phases, the causes, the results, and going beyond the narrow borders of our scope, if necessary.[59]

In the delicate domain of sensitivity the observer "advised only by necessity, […] will decide whether to get more distant, to add something and will especially find practical ways of observation that cannot be improvised."[60] In this case, the observer was considered as a trusted and experienced assistant, capable of interpreting the requests and adapting it to the situation. The instruction was just a draft, necessarily limited and interpretable, with no precise rules. Reframing Ginzburg's analysis

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[57] Mantegazza, Giglioli, Leatourneau, *Psicologia*..:320. "[L'antropologia] deve dal periodo statico passare al periodo dinamico, poichè gli antropologi non vorranno indefinitivamente limitarsi a classare gli uomini, come un botanico classa le piante nel suo erbario".

[58] SIAE, *Comunicazioni d'ufficio, sulla raccolta di materiali per l'etnologia italiana*, "AAE", 6, 1876: 406: "[non] tanto le attestazioni numerose, quanto le poche ed eccellenti, raccolte dall'osservatore sagace e dal naturalista filosofo".

[59] Mantegazza, Giglioli, Letourneau, *Psicologia*…, 1873: 318: "Seguire questo sviluppo dell'essere morale è d'immenso interesse. L'osservatore dovrà dedicarvisi, procurare di ben precisarne le fasi, le cause, i risultati, trapassando, se occorre, gli stretti confini entro cui abbiamo dovuto restringerci."

[60] Mantegazza, Giglioli, Letourneau, *Psicologia*…, 1873: 320.

of the conjectural knowledge, we could say that: "Nobody learns how to be" an ethnographer "simply by applying the rules. With this kind of knowledge, there are factors in play which cannot be measured".[61]

Other times instead, authors were blamed for creating an excessively tight structure that made the task of the observer too demanding and too far from his capacity and interest. In a review of Giglioli and Zanetti's work, Paolo Mantegazza criticised the excessive details given to travellers:

> Even the most erudite navy officers that are not physicians, what should they ever understand of that confuse critique about the different ethnological system […]? They will lose faith in their observations, before even starting observing, and they will give up any attempt to classify. There was no need to teach the lay traveller the art of putting men in the systematic boxes built by the writers of ethnology.[62]

The balance between too normative and too loose structures for the Instructions was not easy to find. On the one hand, there was confidence in the observer's capability of extracting useful information. On the other, there was the fear of obtaining badly collected material and the necessity of guiding the observer with a precise format. The risk of being too normative could expose the traveller to a highly specific nomenclature and thus result in him losing his capability for intuition. A clash between the experienced and autonomous versus the passive and instructed observer was at stake here.

If on the one hand, the traveller could count on the possibility to classify and measure, on the other they should not rely too much on remembrance when it came to unmeasurable features. Explicit warnings

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[61] Ginzburg, *Morelli…*, 1980: 29.

[62] Mantegazza, *Istruzioni…*, 1875: 102: "Che cosa potranno capire di chiaro anche i più dotti ufficiali di marina, che non son medici, in quella confusa critica dei diversi sistemi etnologici […]? Perderanno la fede nelle loro osservazioni, prima ancora di avere osservato, e rinunceranno ad ogni tentativo di classazione. Non c'era punto bisogno di insegnare al viaggiatore profano l'arte di mettere a posto gli uomini nelle caselle sistematiche fabbricate dagli scrittori di etnologia".

about the tricks of memory and the necessity of taking notes were often present in the instructions:

> We cannot measure, or express in numbers, all the things we observe. So we need to take note immediately on the spot, and not to write it by memory and after some time, because many things become confused and vanish [*sfigurano*] in our mind, without even noticing it. The skin, the hair, the physiognomic traits are the things that strike [*feriscono*] the most the gaze of the observer.[63]

Aware of the strong impressions left by physical elements on the observer, the authors suggested gaining control over these bodily characteristics, the same characteristics that would be at the core of the photographic representation.

Firmly rooted in medical knowledge, anthropology was moving on the line between what Ginzburg called an anatomical/naturalist model and a conjectural/semiotic model. The former aimed at obtaining generalised and standard knowledge looking at the shared and countable characteristics, while the latter concentrated on particular details and was based on the idea that "nothing differs more from a man than a man".[64] Such parallel paths, modes of observation and systems of knowledge also influenced the representational system of anthropology, which found in photography a perfect recording ally.

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[63] Giglioli and Zanetti, *Antropologia*…, 1881: 345: "Non tutto ciò che si osserva si può sottoporre a misura, o esprimere con cifre. Allora bisogna notarlo subito sul luogo, e non scriverlo a memoria e a tempo avanzato, perché molte cose si confondono e si sfigurano nella nostra mente, senza che noi ce ne accorgiamo. La pelle, i capelli, i tratti della fisionomia, sono le cose che più feriscono lo sguardo dell'osservatore".

[64] Mantegazza, *Del metodo*…1871: 22: "nulla è più diverso da un uomo quanto un uomo".

2.3 How to represent: the value of photography

As Christopher Pinney and others have argued, photography and anthropology developed on parallel paths.[65] Once again, the Italian history of such parallel growth has to be shifted by about twenty years, when institutions, such as museums and learned societies, developed from the central state - strengthening scientific communities, launching projects and publications, and proposing guidelines. In the following paragraphs, we will analyse the rhetorical discourses produced around the use of photography in anthropology, as a way to show how the imagined possibilities offered by the medium modified the language of the discipline, which was so profoundly rooted in visuality. This analysis will aim to show how the discipline wanted to "guarantee the authority of the images it constructs, to stand as evidence or register a truth."[66]

Photography perfectly served the anthropological discipline because it "closed the space between the site of observation on the colonial periphery and the site of metropolitan interpretation",[67] creating 'immutable mobiles'[68] "through which information could be transferred in uncorrupted form to another interpretative space".[69] The idea of a linear exchange, without any loss of information in the transfer, worked for a discipline based upon indirect observation. Instructions, therefore, inflated the positivist confidence in photography as a means of reproduction of the external reality. Anthropologists suggested a set of recording practices to register information: guides and instructions proposed a distinction between what should be collected, noticed, noted, written down in a particular form, measured, and photographed. Each

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[65] See Christopher Pinney, *The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography*, in Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. See also Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton, *Photography, Anthropology and History: Expanding the Frame*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

[66] John Tagg, *The burden of representation: essays on photographies and histories*, London: Macmillan, 1988, p. 64.

[67] Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford: Berg, 2010: 31-32.

[68] Bruno Latour, *Visualization and cognition*, "Knowledge and society" 6, 6, 1986, pp. 1-40.

[69] Edwards, *Raw…*, 2001: 32.

object was associated with a specific degree of attentiveness and recording tool. In some cases, the combination of different methods was desirable:

> Here, as in the rest of the trip, bear in mind that measurements on a large number of adult individuals, of both sexes, of the same population, would be useful, especially when accompanied by photographs and exact news.[70]

Photographs were not merely illustrations, but active objects in the making of knowledge.[71] In this regard, even before anthropology was established in Italy, Mantegazza perceived a problematic representational gap in comparison with other sciences:

> There are animal and botanical iconographies that can be considered works of art; but there is not yet a human iconography that could make the synthesis between the studies of men of letters who, unaware of anatomy, take the only path of linguistics and history and that of doctors who, worshippers of raw and nude material, struggle to make ethnography on skulls, skin and hair.[72]

The issue of a 'synthesis' between the scientific and the humanistic domain was at stake. The form of the atlas was used as the model, capable of being scientifically accurate, aesthetically fulfilling, and

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[70] Paolo Mantegazza, Enrico Giglioli, Alexis Von Fricken, Stephen Sommier, *Istruzioni etnologiche per il viaggio dalla Lapponia al Caucaso dei soci Loria e Michela*, "AAE", 13, 1883, pp. 109-114: 114: "Qui, come in tutto il resto del vostro viaggio, abbiate sempre in mente che misurazioni prese sopra un buon numero d'individui adulti, dei due sessi, di un medesimo popolo, saranno utili, specialmente quando accompagnate da fotografie e da notizie esatte".

[71] Fundamental research that emphasized the function of images as agents in the production of knowledge are Caroline Jones and Peter Galison, *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, London: Routledge, 1998; Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity*, New York: Zone Books, 2007; and Horst Bredekamp, Vera Dünkel, and Birgit Schneider, *The Technical Image: A History of Styles in Scientific Imagery*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2015.

[72] Paolo Mantegazza, *Sull'America meridionale. Lettere mediche,* vol. 2, Milano: Redaelli Rechiedei, 1853: 302.

stimulating for the men of letters. As Daston and Galison have shown, atlases represented very specific objects of scientific dissemination, that:

> have served to train the eye of the novice and calibrate that of the old hand. They teach how to see the essential and overlook the incidental, which objects are typical and which are anomalous, what the range and limits of variability in nature are. Without them, every student of nature would have to start from scratch to learn to see, select, and sort.[73]

Pictures and images perfectly served as instructors of the eye, because they show what the object of study was and which visual and technical methodologies should be used to isolate it. Anthropology was missing such a tool. The Italian community reclaimed Mantegazza's idea of a human iconography that presents scientific data through an artistic form. The artistic/scientific coupling had a fundamental role in the development of anthropological photography and is at the core of the following sections. What is already clear is that the human element, physically revealed in men's and women's bodily presence, will be the preferred target of the camera lenses. However, photography was particularly appreciated also because it met the universal collecting desire. Giglioli and Zanetti insisted particularly on the function of the collection for the advancement of anthropological knowledge:

> Regarding clothing, ornamental objects, weapons, instruments, utensils, tools, we believe we do not exaggerate saying that everything is equally important and it is deplorable that it is not possible to collect even dwellings and entire villages.[74]

When the objects' materiality clashed with the anthropologist's aspiration to possess, photographs were perceived as useful substitutes that allowed the creation of another kind of collection, a visual one: "drawings, the art of shaping, and especially photography, will compensate the difficulty in collecting".[75] The authors here mentioned photography and stressed its adoption as an essential element in the

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[73] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity*, Zone Books, 2007: 26.

[74] Giglioli and Zanetti, *Antropologia…*, 1881: 348.

[75] Giglioli and Zanetti, *Antropologia…*, 1881: 348.

procedural standard, highlighting particularly its reproductive supremacy and its cataloguing function as a recorder of objects.[76]

Taking pictures was also associated with the possibility of registering what would have soon disappeared under the process of 'civilisation'. This argument was put forth primarily as a justification for the anthropological effort. 'Salvage ethnography〉 could rescue traditional cultures that were perceived to be on the brink of extinction under the spread of western progress. In this regard, Mantegazza upheld the use of pictures "by […] anthropologists and ethnologists who will devote their time to the study of special races of men, and especially those who are doomed to disappear in a more or less short time".[77] A touch of nostalgia and inexorability was always present in these discourses, where salvation was intended as the possibility to maintain records of specific cultural forms, not to keep them alive.

The rhetoric about photography was built around the conceptual couplings: scientific-artistic, objective-subjective, mechanical-manual, which also constituted the troubled boundaries of anthropology. Photography was perceived as a powerful recording tool, and the Italian anthropological community differentiated between two photographic modes that could particularly serve the discipline: scientific photography and artistic photography. The choice of the contrasting adjectives is particularly interesting, and in the following sections, we will attempt to understand what they meant.

2.3.1 Scientific photography

In this section, I will unpack the notion of scientific photography used and proposed by the Italian anthropological community. This label mainly stands for typological and anthropometric portraits, but it also included photographic representations of deviance and studies on emotive status.

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[76] On the connection between photography and collecting, see Elizabeth Edwards, Elizabeth and Christopher Morton, *Photographs, Museums, Collections Between Art and Information*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

[77] Paolo Mantegazza, *Un viaggio in Lapponia con l'amico Sommier*, Milan: Treves, 1880, p. 9

The appreciation of photography's scientific value can be found in Mantegazza's *Atlante delle espressioni del dolore*, published in 1876.[78] The anthropologist developed, in parallel with Darwin's efforts, a study that focuses on the reproduction of human expression, and Mantegazza was mainly concerned with the response to pain and pleasure.[79] In Mantegazza's book, the use of photography was central to the experimental process: besides the collection of expressions performed by theatre actors, specific pictures were commissioned for the project, made by the Florentine studio photographer Giacomo Brogi. Mantegazza promoted photography's replication of natural behaviour, as opposed to artistic and staged imitation:

> the images collected in this way are true and faithful reproductions of nature and cannot be confused for their scientific value with those that you would have from models or dramatic artists who exaggerate when they idealise and distort nature.[80]

Although it should be inscribed under the domain of physiology, it is important to highlight this case as one of the first attempts to use photography as a tool in medical/anthropological research in Italy.

Giglioli and Zanetti introduced the distinction between scientific and artistic photography in the chapter of the Instructions edited by Issel. With 'scientific' they meant anthropometric portrait: "the man must be photographed in front and profile, in the position that we have recommended for measurements".[81] The bodily measurements indicated

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[78] This kind of research intersected theatrical with medical notions, in line with Charcot's iconography of hysteria. See Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention de l'hystérie. Charcot et l'iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, Paris : Macula, 1982.

[79] The physiognomic investigation was a time-honoured artistic trope inaugurated by Della Porta and Lavater in the 17th century and debated by many others after that. See Phillip Prodger, *Darwin's Camera: Art and Photography in the Theory of Evolution*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. On the connection between Darwin and Mantegazza research see Walter Pasini, and Cosimo Chiarelli, *Paolo Mantegazza e l'evoluzionismo in Italia*, Florence: Florence University Press, 2010.

[80] Paolo Mantegazza, *Atlante delle espressioni del dolore*, Giacomo Brogi fotografo editore, 1876: 5.

[81] Giglioli and Zanetti, *Antropologia…*, 1881: 350.

by the authors were thirty-six and should be combined with personal as well as geographical information. Through standard postures, anthropometric photography should ideally produce a set of comparable visual data. This kind of representation enabled, in the positivistic conception, the possibility to assess the belonging of a specific race and to theorise related hierarchy, influences and affiliation. The opportunity to extrapolate numerical and comparable information from a series of pictures of human bodies was related to an iconographic protocol that produced not the representation of an individual body but a general image of a 'type', intended as an average representation of a given group. The qualities of typological representation objectified the subjects of the pictures and inserted them in a series with the aim of classification. Front and profile view, naked body, the adoption of specific postures, the use of neutral background, were all, as Edwards has argued, devices introduced in the anthropological field to develop standardised and measurable pictures.[82] The resulting taxonomy revealed the physical distance from the norm, represented by the white bourgeoisie man.

An example of the typological desire can be found in the instructions written specifically for an expedition to Lapland. Mantegazza, Giglioli, Von Fricken, and Sommier recommended looking for and registering degrees of racial exemplarity in the people:

> When you select the types you are going to photograph, try to find the ones that according to you represent the pure Lappish type, the type of Lappish crossed with Russian, the type crossed with Quäne, and let everyone tell you as much as possible, such as the nationality of their father, mother and grandparents.[83]

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[82] One of the first to propose a protocol was the Englishman John Lamprey in 1864, based on the use of a black and white grid. Huxley adjusted such idea and made another proposal, based on the use of a white neutralising background and a measuring stick. See Elizabeth Edwards, *Photographic "types": The pursuit of method*, "Visual Anthropology", 3, 2-3, 1990, pp. 235-258.

[83] Mantegazza, Giglioli, Von Fricken, Sommier, *Istruzioni …* 1883: 110. "Nello scegliere i tipi che fotograferete, cercate di trovarne che secondo voi rappresentino il tipo lappone puro, il tipo del Lappone incrociato col Russo, di quello incrociato col Quäne, e fatevi dire

The notion of type was extended to criminology and the police archives, in particular by Francis Galton and Alphonse Bertillon, and this testifies to the entangled connection of the anthropological science with other fields related to social control.[84] Enrico Giglioli discussed and presented Galton's method to the Italian anthropological community in 1878: "Mr Galton envisioned making a composed portrait by combining several people into one figure. The scientific aim in this method would be to offer the average types of a family, of a race, of any ethnic group".[85] A crucial Italian figure in this regard is Cesare Lombroso, who built an archive that connected the criminal type to its physiognomy through the photographic medium, considering the body itself as a medium that bore the sign of its degeneration, to be captured by the camera.[86] One of Lombroso's collaborators, Enrico Morselli - curator of the anthropological section of the 1884 Turin Exposition - referred to and promoted photographs as valuable tools in the 'Pathologic Anthropology' section, that welcomed "Photographs of mad people […] of living microcephalus, idiots, cretins, goitres, degenerates, scaphocephalics, acrocephalus, trochocephals and oxycephals".[87] This interest in the representation of 'out of the norm' individuals was

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da ognuno. Per quanto sarà possibile, a quale nazionalità appartenessero padre, madre e nonni."

[84] See Ellenbogen, *Reasoned …*, 2012; Christian Joschke, *Beyond objectivity: anthropometric photography and visual culture*, in Nicolas Bancel, Thomas David, and Dominic Thomas (eds.), *The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations*, London: Routledge, 2014, pp. 281-290; and Allan Sekula, *The Body and the Archive*, "October", 39, 1986, pp. 3-64. To show the connections between national communities, I recall that Francis Galton was the cousin of Charles Darwin, while Alphonse Bertillon was the son of Louis-Adolphe, a physician and member of the French Anthropological Society, one of the first to apply a statistical method to anthropology.

[85] Enrico Giglioli, *I ritratti col metodo Galton*, "AAE",8, 1878: 538. In 1901 Mochi 1901 proposed the institution of an anthropometric laboratory in Florence, based on the one presented by Galton in 1884 in London: Mochi, *L'istituzione…*1901, pp. 319-340.

[86] See Nicoletta Leonardi, *Le fotografie come oggetti scientifici negli istituti psichiatrici dell'Italia post unitaria. Ritratti di alienati dalla collezione del Museo Lombroso*, in Daniela Scala (ed.), *Fotografia e scienze della mente fra storia, rappresentazione e terapia*, Rome: Aracne, 2018, pp. 87-114.

[87] Enrico Morselli, *Programma speciale della sezione di Antropologia all'esposizione Generale Italiana di Torino*, "AAE", 14, 1884, pp. 123-132: 125.

strongly connected to Lombroso's use of pictures. Within the section of 'Anthropology' Morselli gave indications for the scientific representation of the human body, enlarging Giglioli and Zanetti's definition:

> We recall here the scientific utility of photography and we remember how to proceed to photograph a man scientifically. From the anthropological point of view, the man has to be portrayed in front and profile, in size big enough so that light can capture every detail of the physiognomy. The individual should be erect, with the arms tight to the body, one leaning to the hip and with the palm on the thigh, the other with the forearm bent and the hand on the chest with the fingers slightly open. Both in front and profile, you should try to put the head on the horizontal line of the gaze.[88]

The anthropometric representation was strongly connected to issue of measurability, and in fact in the same Program of the exhibition Morselli inserted a section on measuring tools and instruments, that have the "special feature" to "measure the most little differences":

> Hence the need for specific tools, constructed according to the rules of linear and projective geometry [...]; hence the choice of easy and precise means, to make perceptible, mostly by graphic means, the slightest individual differences.[89]

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[88] Morselli, *Programma …*, 1884: 128. "Qui ricorderemo l'utilità scientifica delle fotografie, ed accenneremo come si debba procedere scientificamente nel fotografare un uomo. Dal punto di vista antropologico, l'uomo si ritrae di faccia e di profilo, in formato abbastanza grande perché nessun particolare della fisionomia possa sfuggire all'azione della luce. L'individuo sarà messo in posizione eretta, con le braccia strette presso il corpo, l'un colla mano pendente lungo il fianco e applicata colla palma sulla coscia, e l'altro con l'avambraccio flesso e la mano applicata sul petto colle dita leggermente divaricate. Tanto di faccia che di profilo, si dovrà cercare di mettere la testa secondo la linea orizzontale dello sguardo".

[89] Morselli, *Programma…*, 1884: 123. "Di qui il bisogno di strumenti esatti, costrutti secondo le norme della geometria lineare e proiettiva […]; di qui la scelta di mezzi facile e precisi, per rendere sensibili, per lo più col mezzo grafico, le minime differenze individuali"

Notwithstanding the widespread attempt in the creation of a typological human iconography, the "pursuit of method"[90] was manifold and plural. Visual protocols crossed national boundaries, but they also encountered local traditions, specific purposes, and practical variations. Therefore, despite the unifying presumption that accompanied such photographic representation - only meaningful when it adopts the same structure providing comparable data - the archive presented a non-unified employment of several anthropometric techniques, as chapter 4 will show. The written sources give an insight into the active concern of anthropologists towards a systematic use of the photographic tool, a theoretical desire that was not paired with the practical results. The next section is dedicated to what anthropologists labelled 'artistic photography', a notion that developed in parallel with the scientific one.

2.3.2 Artistic photography

After having delineated the correct method for a scientific depiction of the human bodies, Giglioli and Zanetti called for another representational intention in their chapters: "To this kind of scientific photography it should be added an artistic one that gives the natural behaviour, the personality of the individuals and the race".[91] Interestingly, the authors here distinguished clearly between photographs made to measure the anatomical features of the body and photographs made to understand what they call the "natural behaviour" of both the single individual and the racial group. The subject should appear at the same time as an individual (therefore in its exceptional character) and as racial type (therefore presenting, as an exemplary member, the features shared with the group). The association between artistic and natural pointed to the capability of an artist to grasp the innate essence of the people represented. Enrico Morselli reframed this

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[90] See Edwards, *Photographic …*, 1990.

[91] Giglioli and Zanetti, *Antropologia…*, 1881: 338. "A questa fotografia scientifica dovrebbe aggiungersene un'altra artistica che desse l'atteggiamento naturale, il carattere quasi dell'individuo e della razza".

distinction in the program for the *Esposizione Generale Italiana* in Turin 1884, enlarging a bit the definition:

> To scientific pictures, it would be useful to add artistic ones, namely taken with the natural and free attitude of the portrayed subjects, possibly in their traditional costumes or surrounded by tools and utensils typical of their region and their social class[92]

Quoting from Giglioli and Zanetti, Morselli removed the allusion to race (he was referring just to one ethnic group, the Italian population), adding instead a reference to traditional costumes and objects as well as to class and regional belonging. The picture could, therefore serve to condense the individual in his or her physical, cultural and social features. This tendency echoed the agenda presented by Mantegazza, Giglioli and Letourneau in 1873, according to whom "[anthropology,] without abandoning compass and scale, without neglecting [human] morphology, had to force itself in showing the acting, thinking and living man"[93]. More generally, this attitude reflected an interest for material culture that began to concern all European and North American anthropologists.

In England for example, Everard im Thurn, in 1893 criticised anthropometric photography arguing that people should "be more accurately measured and photographed for such purposes dead than alive", calling for a depiction of subjects as "living beings".[94] In Italy, the two representational modes existed in parallel. What is interesting to notice are the word choices and the different implications they opened. Im Thurn referred to 'naturalistic photography', having in mind the possibility of direct access to the external reality. In the British tradition, the adjective 'naturalistic' had been used concerning the photographic

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[92] Morselli, *Programma…*1884: 125-126. "Alle fotografie scientifiche sarà utilissimo aggiungerne ancora delle artistiche, prese cioè coll'atteggiamento naturale e libero degli individui ritratti, e possibilmente nei loro costumi o fra strumenti ed utensili caratteristici della loro regione e della loro classe sociale".

[93] Mantegazza, Giglioli and Letourneau, *Psicologia…*, 1873: 320-321. "L'Antropologia […] senza abbandonare il compasso e la bilancia, senza trascurare la orfologia dell'uomo, essa deve sforzarsi di mostrare quest'uomo agente, epnsante e vivente".

[94] Everard im Thurn, *Anthropological Uses of the Camera*, "JAI", 23, 1893, pp. 184–203.

process by Peter Henry Emerson. In "Naturalistic Photography for Students of Art" published in 1889, he argued that photography should not imitate nature but, without renouncing realism, it should replicate the effects that nature produced on the human vision.[95] Instead, Italian anthropologists used the word 'artistic', an adjective that explicitly pointed to a subjective dimension, opposite to a naturalistic and objective view. It could be interpreted as an awareness of personal intervention in the representational system. At the same time, even the artistic depiction should follow "procedural correctness"[96] to assure its validity. Artistic photographs should render typical, natural behaviours. The adjective 'artistic' was placed next to concepts of naturality and freedom. However, the sitter was imagined as surrounded by and dressed with all sorts of typical elements, implying strong intentionality on the photographer's side, that developed a condensed, powerfully staged and constructed depiction. In this sense, it seems a reinterpretation of the anthropometric images in relation to cultural elements. As scientific pictures should make visible the racial type, and present a set of stylistic and technical elements that make it unequivocal, so artistic images should make visible the cultural type. The reference to 'artistic' was probably used in relation to the specific movement named *fotografia artistica* that was growing in the Italian peninsula at this time, promoting pictorialism.[97] Since anthropologists were in search of significant, tasteful and high-quality pictures, they were probably trying to include this photographic trend, using a label that was familiar to a growing number of amateurs and professional photographers.

The ability of the artist's gaze laid in the abilitiy to choose the landmark elements "Observe, observe, always observe. [...] But the artist's work

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[95] Marina Miraglia, *Fotografi e pittori alla prova della modernità*, Milan: Mondadori, 2012.

[96] Elizabeth Edwards, "Uncertain knowledge: photography and the Turn-of-the-Century anthropological documents", in Gregg Mitman and Kelley Wilder (eds.) *Documenting the world: Film, Photography, and the Scientific Record*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016, pp. 89-123: 94.

[97] Marina Miraglia, *"La fotografia pittorica". Tendenze estetiche europee e loro incidenza sulla cultura fotografica italiana a cavallo del secolo*, in Marina Miraglia and Italo Zannier, *Fotografia pittorica 1889/1911*, Milan: Electa, 1979.

does not end with observation. After observing, one has to choose the most beautiful of the many expressions one has seen, converting the photographer into an artist".[98] In this quote, Mantegazza is opposing photography – considered as reality - to art – considered as elaboration. Even if he is not addressing ethnographic pictures, it is crucial to capture here the distinction between science, that "ends with observation" and art that "chooses the most beautiful". Artistic selective sensibility and picturesque transformation of reality were not perceived as a danger that conceals but as sensitivity that reveals.

In a 1900 proposal for a publication on "types, uses and costumes of the Italian people" published in the BSFI[99], Giulio Fano recommended producing preferably "snapshots, obtained as far as possible by surprise, so that in the persons photographed you could not notice intentional movements or attitudes"[100]. Variations of bodies and costumes, instead of being perceived as an obstacle to suppress using a precise and unifying visual scheme, became a preciousness to emphasise. As Elizabeth Edwards puts it:

> "It suggests the shifting truth value accorded to certain kind of images, where 'types', which had dominated much of the anthropological visual discourse in the 1870s and 1880s, were beginning to give way to the truth values of observation through the 'no-style style' of photography of unmediated realism and naturalism."[101]

The connection between anthropology and photography, and between scientific and artistic purpose, was expressed also by the foundation of

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[98] Paolo Mantegazza, *I canoni scientifici dell'arte drammatica*, "AAE", 22, 1892, pp. 89-98: 93-95. "Osservare, osservare, osservar sempre. [...] Lo studio dell'artista però non finisce nell'osservazione. Dopo aver osservato bisogna, fra le mille espressioni vedute, scegliere le più belle, convertire insomma il fotografo in un pittore."

[99] Giulio Fano, *Un'importante proposta*, "BSFI", 10, 1898: 373. The article will be further examined in chapter 5.

[100] Lamberto Loria, *Relazione sulla proposta pubblicazione fotografica. Tipi, usi e costumi del popolo italiano*, "BSFI", 12, 1900, pp. 19-24.

[101] Edwards, *Raw …*, 2001: 37.

the SFI in 1889, whose first president was Mantegazza.[102] Differently from other specialised Italian photographic clubs, the society was born to foster specifically the cohesion between different orientations in national photography and tried to connect the artistic and the scientific dimension.[103] In the 1899 exhibition to celebrate the first decade of the photographic society, anthropological photography appeared listed among the various applications of scientific photography:

> [there is] anthropology for the representation of the different human races necessary in the ethnographic studies; for the ornaments, customs and tattoos of the different peoples, as well as for the representation of the singularities of the forms and the artificial deformations that which some peoples undergo in different parts of the body.[104]

During the same exhibition, in his presentation of the scientific section, Giorgio Roster (1843-1927)[105] underlined the delineation of two separated photographic sectors and defended the applicative and useful role of photography as opposed to the illustrative, aesthetic, and reproductive function:

> "If the Florence Photographic Exhibition [...] has shown the real progress that photography has made in recent years in the field of fine arts; [...] it has also made known that applications to the fine arts are not the only manifestations of modern photography and that there are just as many useful and more numerous in the field of science and industry, cultivated precisely by those who use photography as a serious occupation and a study. Today no one

[102] Luigi Tomassini, *Le origini della Società Fotografica Italiana e lo sviluppo della fotografia in Italia: appunti e problemi*, "AFT", 1, 1985, pp. 42-51.

[103] Elvira Puorto, *Fotografia fra arte e storia: il Bullettino della Società fotografica italiana (1889 - 1914)*, Naples: Guida, 1996.

[104] Carlo Cataldi, *Altre applicazioni*, "BSFI", 11, 1899: 230-231. "L' Antropologia per la rappresentazione delle differenti razze umane necessaria negli studi etnografici ; per gli ornamenti, costumi e tatuaggi dei diversi popoli, non che per la rappresen-

tazione delle singolarità delle forme e le deformazioni artificiali a cui sottopongono diverse parti del corpo alcuni popoli".

[105] On Giorgio Roster and photography see Stefano Casati and Nadia Sensi, *Giorgio Roster: scienziato e fotografo tra Ottocento e Novecento*, Livorno: Sillabe, 2018.

will deny that photography [is] at the point where it has wider boundaries and counts more considerable merits as a method of scientific investigation and as a science than as an art.[106]

Roster felt the need to legitimise the scientific use over the artistic one, perceiving as dominating the perception of the medium: "object of pastime for many, reputed aid only to the figurative arts, [while it] is an instrument of supreme value for all sciences of observation".[107] In Giglioli, Zanetti, and Morselli quotes, the artistic and scientific representational styles were kept separated but discussed as two equally important forms. Roster's speech showed how at the beginning of the 20th century, the paradigm was changing: photography in anthropology was moving toward a new documentary value.[108]

2.3.3 Photography as travel document

The use of photography soon accompanied the act of travelling, and the camera became a piece of equipment closely associated with the image of the explorer. Travel was a method of knowledge "a way of seeing and knowing the world" and "photographs offered a new means of acquiring, ordering, and disseminating […] information".[109] Some articles in the BSFI promoted the use of photography in excursions:

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[106] Giorgio Roster, *La sezione scientifica nella esposizione fotografica di Firenze*, "BSFI", 11, 1899, pp. 273-284: 284. "Se la Esposizione fotografica di Firenze, […]ha dimostrato quali sieno stati i progressi reali che la fotografia ha fatto in questi ultimi anni nel campo delle arti belle; […]ha fatto altresì conoscere che le applicazioni alle arti belle non sono le sole manifestazioni della moderna fotografia, e che ve ne sono delle altrettanto utili e più numerose nel campo delle scienze e delle industrie, coltivate appunto da chi fa della fotografia un' occupazione seria ed uno studio. Oggi nessuno vorrà negare che la fotografia al punto a cui si trova ha più vasti confini e conta maggiori meriti, più come metodo di investigazione scientifica e come scienza, di quello che non ne abbia come arte."

[107] Giorgio Roster, *Le proiezioni del prof. Roster all'Esposizione fotografica*, "BSFI", 11, 1899, pp. 182-183. "oggetto di passatempo per molti, ovvero riputato ausilio soltanto alle arti figurative, sia invece strumento di sommo valore per tutte le scienze di osservazione".

[108] See Estelle Sohier, Olivier Lugon, and Anne Lacoste, *Introduction*, in *Les collections de photographies documentaires au tournant du XXème siècle*, "Transbordeur", 2017, pp. 8-17.

[109] Joan Schwartz, *The geography lesson: photographs and the construction of imaginative geographies*, "Journal of historical geography" 22, 1, 1996, pp. 16-45: 16.

Photography in excursion and trip has a vast field of application and constitutes a really serious occupation of the amateur photographer, who can become a traveller, if he is not, to vent one of his favourite passions; or, the traveller can become a photographer, to have a powerful means to freeze his impression, which would be too elusive without the camera. Those who travel seriously cannot do without photography; to renounce it would be to go back from progress, it would be to deprive themselves of a lasting resource of pleasure and study.[110]

Corsi, the author, expressed the idea of a virtuous exchange between photography and travel, whose connection inflated the accuracy and the value of both experiences. Photography allowed one to build stable memories of the encountered scenes, while travelling allowed the shedding new light on a given reality, for the position of the stranger was seen as a condition for knowledge:

"While travelling […] the amateur photographer can approach much more subjects. The most common and insignificant subjects […] become for the stranger interesting news; every detail […] become a document for his travel notes"[111]

The pertinacity in stressing the positive effects and the necessity of photography in travel denoted possibly a refusal of the use of the medium in practice. Indeed, the Italian State rarely endorsed the official use of photography during exploration campaigns. Therefore, the learned communities had to build up the camera's reputation and to

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[110] Aldo Corsi, *La fotografia escursionistica e di viaggio*, "BSFI", 1, 1889: 159: "E la Fotografia in escursione ed in viaggio ha davvero un campo vastissimo di applicazione da costituire una occupazione veramente seria del dilettante, il quale, può farsi viaggiatore, se non lo è, per dar sfogo ad una delle sue passioni predilette, oppure, il viaggiatore può diventare fotografo, avendo così un mezzo potente di fermare le sue impressioni di vario genere, che sarebbero senza di esso troppo sfuggevoli. Chi viaggia seriamente al giorno d'oggi non può fare a meno della fotografia; rinunziare ad essa sarebbe andare a ritroso del progresso, sarebbe privarsi di una risorsa duratura di diletto e di studio".

[111] Corsi, *La fotografia…*, 1889: 161: "In viaggio […] molto più numerosi e variati sono I soggetti che potrebbe trattare un amatore nel proprio paese. I soggetti più comuni ed insignificanti […] divengono per loro novità interessanti al forestiero; ogni dettaglio […] diventa un documento delle sue note di viaggio".

promote it with appealing references. In one of his article Lamberto Loria, who was both ethnographer and photographer, stressed once more the connection between modernity, travelling and pictures:

> In the past, the traveller, in making reports of his enterprises in distant regions, had only word and pencil at his disposal. Today, every hiker needs a camera, a powerful and ingenious aid that saves the trouble of many columns of prose and reproduces from real the places, the inhabitants, the objects with greater evidence and perfection of the artist's sketches, however skilful and fruitful he may be. [112]

This quotation introduces the idea of substituting texts with images. Written descriptions, presented as time-consuming and annoying pieces of information, were to be substituted with the unmediated camera shot. Texts and drawings should be avoided in favour of a more detached and safe system of gathering shreds of evidence, which 'reproduces from real'. Moreover, Loria drew attention to the artist's subjectivity and competence, always disadvantaged if compared to the level of details and objectivity of the camera.

In all the analysed texts, the confidence over photography occurred continuously. The rhetoric employed by the authors of instructions for travellers and similar sources was in line with the positivistic topos of objectivity. Indeed, these texts were produced to assure a standardised practice and did not include critiques or methodological doubts on the photographic medium, but they presented the camera as an objective window over a distant world. However, it is important not to be blind to other connotations that break or soften the generally accepted compliance to the "mechanical objectivity" paradigm. Other kinds of texts such as travel notes, to be examined in the next chapter,

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[112] Lamberto Loria, *A Proposito di alcune negative tratte dalle Nuova Guinea Britannica*, "BSFI", 16, 1904: 284: "Un tempo il viaggiatore nel fare la relazione delle sue imprese in lontane regioni, aveva solo a sua disposizione la parola e la matita. Oggi è corredo indispensabile di ogni escursionista la macchina fotografica, ausilio potente e geniale che risparmia la pena di tante colonne di prosa e riproduce al vero i luoghi, gli abitanti, gli oggetti con maggiore evidenza e perfezione degli schizzi dell'artista per quanto abile e fecondo"

continuously show the need to properly direct the objective, making explicit subjective choices and human interventions.[113]

Moreover, a diachronic articulation of the trustworthiness of the medium was also present: if the first instructions strongly encouraged the use of the camera, preferable than sketches and drawings, with the turn of the century, they started to promote the use of cinematographic shootings as a way to perfect the information registered in still images (as we will see in chapter 5). If we take the Instructions produced around the 1900s we see that pictures were still celebrated as perfectly reliable documents, but it was suggested to attach to them a stock of written information, in order to insert them in the context of their production. The growth of the anthropological photographic archives generated a higher awareness about collected sources and led to a stronger control over the evidentiary value of pictures. As Loria underlined:

> it is also important to remember that every photograph is a real document, and therefore it is necessary that at the very moment in which it is shot, precise indications are added on the places and objects it portrays, the date (and perhaps also the exact hour) in which it is taken, the direction (if it is a landscape), etc. [114]

Loria proposed the use of captions as a checking mechanism that made explicit the link between observation and pictures and that anchored the meaning to a specific experience positioned in time and space. In general, the paradigm was moving towards a descriptive realism, in direct connection with the supposed technical progress of the device. The use of the word 'document' applied to photography is a new feature of the 20th century. The fact that such terminology emerged in parallel with the codification of caption and inscription practices is in line with Tiziana Serena's argument on documentality: the picture's informative content – and its status as 'document' – is subject to historical variations

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[113] See Jennifer Tucker, N*ature exposed: photography as eyewitness in Victorian science*, Baltimore: JHU Press, 2013; and Mitman and Wilder, *Documenting…*, 2017.

[114] SSGC e SIAE, *Istruzioni…*, 1907: 13." importa anche rammentare che ogni fotografia è un vero documento, e quindi è necessario che vi si uniscano al momento stesso in cui si eseguisce indicazioni precise sopra i luoghi ed oggetti che ritrae, la data (e magari anche l'ora) in cui è presa, la direzione (se si tratta di paesaggi) ecc".

and is subordinated to the writing that blocked the polysemic quality of images.[115] With this transformation, suggestions on the use of photography became less generic and more tailored for a specific need.

This chapter provided evidence of the role that observations had in anthropological practice, through sources such as Instructions for travellers that attempted to guide the gaze of travellers and observers on the spot. For its documentary quality, the Instructions indicated photography as a privileged medium to employ in the field. Starting from the chapter by Giglioli and Zanetti, the distinction between artistic and scientific photography gained authority and was repeated and readopted by many authors. On the one hand, such distinction assumed a delineated separation between two fields. On the other, it also reflects the uncertain identity of Anthropology split between scientific/ anthropometric/ naturalistic method, and artistic/ cultural/ psychological tradition. Did the written indications influence photographic production? Did travellers take into account the standard proposed in publications? How did the transfer of knowledge from the geographical periphery to the scientific centres happen? Is it possible to detect an influence of theory over practice or vice-versa? Our next chapter will address all these questions and analyse the making of pictures in the field.

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[115] Tiziana Serena, *Le parole dell'archivio fotografico*, "Rivista di estetica". 50, 2012, pp. 163-177.

3. TAKING PICTURES – USING PICTURES

After having delineated the call for standardised representation in chapter two, this third chapter is dedicated to the field and the photographers that were moving in this space. Looking towards the practice of taking pictures, the chapter will analyse if the rules regarding observation and photographic recording were useful to travellers, if they were applied, and how, and if they were ignored or rejected. From the ideal and construction of the theory, the chapter will enter into the actual and subjective conducts of the practice. Providing some examples of travelling photographers, I want to give the sense of the different kind of actors contributing to the visual market of anthropology (travellers, explorers, missionaries, colonial officers, professional photographers…). In parallel, this chapter will address the variety of materials that were produced, arguing for the presence of a fluid line between what was defined in the Instruction for travellers as 'scientific' and 'artistic' photography. After having addressed the theoretical apparatus, the purpose of this chapter is to consider the practical elements underpinning the image production. To do so, the chapter analyses reports narrating how pictures were taken, and how they were used and published.

So far, we have followed the historical development of anthropology in the newly formed Italian state, and we have analysed the attempt of the first learned communities to control the amount of information coming from travellers, paying specific attention to issues related to observation, written description and visual representation of cultures. It is now time to look at this story from the opposite point of view, that of the travellers themselves. However, in a phase of formation of the discipline, the connection and juxtaposition of roles between scholars, amateurs, professionals, experts and side-actors, was a widespread feature. This chapter looks closely at the actors providing visual information to museums from the geographical periphery, and allows a more accurate depiction of the photographers involved (more or less consciously) in the making of anthropological and ethnographic knowledge. By

photographers, I do not mean only professionals but all the actors that used photography as part of their practice. Through selected case studies, this chapter will delineate the distinctions between different kinds of photographers: from studio professionals to amateur travellers, from photographers specifically hired for an expedition campaign, to 'snapshooters'.

3.1. The field: introduction to the concept

It is essential to begin with a definition of the field, which is a concept that became crucial to the anthropological terminology only later (from Franz Boas and Bronisław Malinowski around 1920s) and brought with it a whole set of new methods and theories.[1] Here it refers to a specific and historically limited practice, related to the period under analysis (1861-1911) and we will see how the word 'field' (*campo*) slowly entered in the vocabulary already toward the 1900s. I use 'field' to mean the space where the 'raw data' was originally gathered.[2] Based on the analyses by historians of science and cultural geographers, the field can be defined as:

> the range of sites within which science has been practiced, in which meaning has been made and remade, and from which scientific knowledge spreads is vast […] So too are the ways the knowledge accumulated moves out from its site of origin into the public sphere[3]

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[1] On the origin of anthropological fieldwork see George Stocking (ed.), *Observers observed: Essays on ethnographic fieldwork*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1984; James Clifford, *Spatial practices: fieldwork, travel, and the disciplining of anthropology*, in Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, eds. *Anthropological locations: Boundaries and grounds of a field science*, Chicago: University of California Press, 1997, pp. 185-222.

[2] See Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw histories: photographs, anthropology and museums*, Oxford: Berg, 2010.

[3] David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003: 17-19.

For our specific case, the field is a space characterised by ambiguities and unfixed rules, by presence and closeness, as opposed to absence and distance (that allow research in the laboratory):

> As an open space it is less easily defined, bounded, and policed than its intramural counterparts like the laboratory or the museum. For this very reason the field is inhabited differently from these other scientific spaces […] The variegated nature of the field's dynamic human geography makes for an unstable network of social relations.[4]

It is also a space commonly occupied by amateurs that can contribute to scientific knowledge, and build their own reputation back home as already proposed in chapter two. Although often narrated as a wild space discovered by the heroic figure of the explorer, it is a space that works only in relation with a set of actors and infrastructure, and, more importantly for my thesis, it is a space where practice prevails over theory.

I would like to avoid giving the impression of a linear way of making science, of an ordered protocol, while giving the idea of the networks and the shared practices that allow for anthropological knowledge to grow. The image of the 19th century explorer/ ethnographer/ traveller/ photographer as solitary and adventurous hero is called into question in light of expeditions as complex processes of encounters, entailing relations and connections with both colonial administration and local inhabitants.[5]

In mentioning a series of different experiences, zooming in to selected cases, I would like to avoid a purely biographical perspective that looks

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[4] Livingstone, *Putting…*, 2003: 42.

[5] The role of photography in exploration has been studied extensively by James Ryan, especially in relation to the British world. See James Ryan, *Photography and Exploration*, London: Reaktion, 2013. An interesting example of an exhibition unmasking the myth of the heroic and solitary explorer is *Hidden Histories of Exploration* exhibition, RGS-IBG 2009. On the exhibit read Felix Driver, *Exploration as Knowledge Transfer: Exhibiting Hidden Histories* in Heike Jöns, Peter Meusburger, and Michael Heffernan, *Mobilities of Knowledge*, New York: Springer, 2017, pp. 85-104.

at the details of a personal experience or of a single photographic collection in order to extract paradigmatic elements of a historical period. The latter approach has prevailed in Italian research, and was adapted from the art history approach that has privileged the analysis of a single author and his/her visual product. Studies on photography instead, not considered as an art but as a medium and a technique used by various subjects for different purposes, call for deeper attention onto the social and cultural conditions that enabled the making of photographic archives at large.[6] On the other hand, microhistory has provided the tools for a powerful interpretation of the historical past through specific and small-scale cases.[7] Without neglecting Ginzburg's contribution, I will opt for more than one micro-study to show the shared practices and ways of representing cultures that would not otherwise become evident from the detailed study of a single and local historical actor. The risk could be to underestimate variations and include scattered experiences under the same umbrella. However, the unifying subject of these different practices is not me, but the anthropological archive, where a coherent and overarching meaning was built, as the next chapter will extensively show.

Taking Ali Bahdad's words referring to orientalist photography, my intention is:

> to demonstrate that the large archive of early photographs […] are inscribed within a complex web of actors, practices, institutions, as well as cultural, economic, and political relations […] a network that provided the logistical means and the conceptual paradigms for the production and consumption of these images. […] Distinctions among the aims and functions as well as the historical conditions that enabled the production of these images and characterised the different contexts of their receptions have been

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[6] The pivotal publication and conference series *Photo Archives,* launched by the KHI in Florence in 2009, shows how art historians have also began to question the discipline's method and to consider the complexities of the archival container.

[7] Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi: il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500,* Turin: Einaudi, 1976 and Carlo Ginzburg, *Microstoria: due o tre cose che so di lei*, "Quaderni storici", 1994, 86, pp. 511-539.

largely obscured by the practice of reading these images in terms
of their aesthetic quality and documentary value.[8]

Throughout this chapter, I will discuss how the space of the field is
experienced, narrated, and represented by those different kinds of
photographers who, for leisure, work, or research, took the camera with
them and contributed to shaping the image of the anthropological
subject. By considering 'the field' as a socially constructed space, the
chapter also will include cases in which this space is the reconstructed
and controlled space of the colonial exhibition or the photographic
studio, which aims at displaying people in a carefully arranged and
highly performative setting.

3.2 Amateurs and professional photographers

Professional photographers were rarely hired to accompany and
document an expedition and the Italian State only later recognised the
power of the camera in forging the representation of both political and
scientific events.[9] Nonetheless, there were a few exceptions that are
worth mentioning, such as the already mentioned Luigi Montabone and
Lodovico Tuminello, that were hired respectively in 1862 and 1875 for
expeditions in Persia and Tunisia. Ethnographic pictures were also
produced by photographers who established their studios abroad, such
as the famous brothers Felice and Antonio Beato, who worked
respectively in Japan and Egypt.[10] Other cases, such as Luigi Naretti, are
more strictly linked to the colonial administration, in fact Naretti
established his studio in the Italian colony of Eritrea and his pictures of

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[8] Ali Behdad, *Mediated Visions: Early Photography of the Middle East and Orientalist Network*,
"History of Photography", 2017, pp. 362-375.

[9] Looking abroad, two important national photographic campaign were in France the
1851 Mission Héliographique and in UK the 1872-1876 Challenger Expedition. On
photography and documentation see Gregg Mitman and Kelley Wilder, *Documenting the
World: Film, Photography, and the Scientific Record*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2017.

[10] See Paolo Costantini and Italo Zannier, *Verso oriente: fotografie di Antonio e Felice Beato*,
Florence: Alinari, 1986.

types and costumes were circulating widely among the colonial lobby, for example in the archive of the African Club.[11]

In this section, I am giving details regarding some professional photographers that linked their activity to ethnographic research. The distinction I am making between professional and amateur is a basic categorisation that I am employing to branch out the variety of ethnographic photographers.

3.2.1 1862, Mission to Persia

Luigi Montabone began working in Turin in the 1860s, where he was the photographer to the Italian Royal Family, up-to-date with the latest French developments of the medium (for example, he introduced the *carte de visite* format in Italy). When looking at Montabone's role in the 1862 mission to Persia, a preliminary piece of information concerns the diffusion of photography in Persia at that time, which was introduced mainly by French, Austrian and Italian operators working in the Teheran Polytechnic. The modernising tendency of the Persian Prince Naseroddin went hand in hand with the promotion of photography that led, for example, to the introduction of an official title for the Court photographer (*Akkas-bashi*) in 1863. Italians, such as Luigi Pesce and Antonio Giannuzzi, realised photo albums that were well-received by the Persian court.[12]

In the preparation before embarking, Montabone purchased his technical apparatus in Paris, which demonstrates how, at the beginning of the 60s, high-quality photographic material was not circulating widely in Italy and that it was easier for a Turinese photographer, in contact

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[11] Silvana Palma "Fotografia di una colonia: l'Eritrea di Luigi Naretti (1885-1900)", in Alessandro Triulzi (ed.). *La colonia: italiani in Eritrea,* Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002.

[12] Information on Italian photographer in Persia can be found in Maria Francesca Bonetti and Alberto Prandi (eds.), *La Persia Qajar. Fotografi Italiani in Iran 1848-1864*, Roma: Peliti, 2010. Luigi Pesce's and Antonio Giannuzzi's albums were created during their military service in 1853 and 1858, and concerned views and monument. Domenico Focchetti introduced collodion in Persia.

with the French environment, to obtain it directly from the French capital. For the campaign, he was asked to:

> carry all those tasks that you will see fit to order so that the Mission's subsequent report can be illustrated and to meet the needs of the various professors, the naturalists in particular. It is Mr Montalbone [sic] especially who is to be relied upon for the numerous records of objects, ancient monuments, inscriptions, portraits, etc.[13]

Interestingly, the photographer was envisioned as a helpful presence for the scientific mission, and especially the for naturalists. However, none of the albums preserved today includes pictures with a specific naturalistic subject, providing an idea of the multifaceted documenting interests of scientists. The main subjects are architecture and members of the Royal court, but there are also portraits of ordinary people such as merchants and soldiers. The presence of everyday subjects was a novelty – in comparison to previous Persian photographic documentation – and it will become a characteristic element of ethnographic photography. In particular, a picture of the Marciana album with the caption '*negozianti persiani*', shows three men in traditional dress, each wearing a specific headgear, seated on a carpet and offering their goods to the viewer (fig. 3.1). Among the quantities of objects displayed it is possible to recognise shields, weapons, crocks, wooden boxes, and it seems as if Montabone wanted to tempt collectors of curiosities and exotic objects by showing them within their original setting and in the presence of the traditionally-dressed merchants.

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[13] Melegari to Cerruti, 13 April 1862, ASMAE (*Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri*) file 19, Copy register of the correspondence of the special mission to Persia, quoted from Angelo Michele Piemontese, *The Photograph Album of the Italian Diplomatic Mission to Persia (Summer 1862)*, "East and West", 22, 3-4, 1972, pp. 249-311.

Fig. 3. 1 - Photo 56, N. inv: 87266; segn: 138.C.88, Luigi Montatone, "Persian merchants" albumen print, in *Ricordi del viaggio in Persia della missione italiana 1862*, Album 395 x 535 x 69 mm (60 pictures), © Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice.

This photo provides an excellent example of the interplay between photography and collecting in the 19th century. The picture is carefully arranged and wants to offer the viewer the perception of being immersed in an exotic scene. The perspective play made with various planes (the plant out of focus in the foreground, the three subjects and their goods in the foreground, the architectonical elements in the background) delineates the space very well and gives the feeling of proximity.

For the actors involved, the expedition was an exception in Italian history. As Enrico Giglioli will recall: "it had been set up as a true scientific expedition: it was accompanied by naturalists, physicists, ethnographers, staff officers, painters, photographers."[14] Although important and valuable, the circulation of the material produced, including photos, was restricted:

> What was left of so much effort? Nothing official: we have only a private report of the late lamented De Filippi, a private photo album by Sir Montabone, and the beautiful collection of ancient documents on the relations between the Republic of Venice and Persia.[15]

The case of Montabone provides us with an example of the representation of non-Italian and non-Western subjects. In the merchant's picture, the photographer made a stylistic choice of contextualisation. The picture incorporates many elements (the attention to space, costumes, postures, objects) that were to be required in what we have analysed as 'artistic photography'.

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[14] Enrico Giglioli, *Comunicazioni*, "BSGI", 1,1, 1868: 49.

[15] Enrico Giglioli, *Comunicazioni*…, 1868: 49. "era stata allestita come vera spedizione scientifica : la accompagnavano naturalisti, fisici, etnografi, ufficiali di stato maggiore, pittori, fotografi. […] Che ci rimase di tanto dispendio? Nulla di ufficiale : non abbiamo se non una relazione privata del compianto De Filippi, un album fotografico privato del cavalier Montabone, e la bella raccolta d' antichi documenti sulle relazioni fra la Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia".

3.2.2 A photographer in Tunisia for the SGI

Lodovico Tuminello (1824-1907) was one of the first Roman photographers, active from the 1840s onwards.[16] The SGI hired him for the 1875 expedition in Tunisia, organised between May and July.[17] Among the members of the mission, besides administrative and technical figures, there was also the painter Giuseppe Ferrari, and Tuminello as the photographer, who were to follow the instructions given by the leader of the mission, Orazio Antinori:

> The Commission is accompanied by Mr Tuminello to take photographs of the aspects of the country and the Roman ruins, according to the instructions of Marquis Antinori to form a photographic and archaeological album.[18]

The budget of the expedition was very high, which could be explained by the strong political interest Italy had in Tunisia as a possible colony, a opportunity missed in 1881 when the French officially occupied it. The SGI never repeated such an investment in the following years and economic expenses were probably the reason for it. A letter regarding Tuminello's role gives an interesting insight into his terms of employment, the commercial clauses behind the making of pictures, and the material conditions for their reproduction:

> The undersigned acknowledges receipt of £1,200 passed in his hand by the Secretary of the Geographical Society, Mr. Marquis Orazio Antinori, on the fund assigned to the scientific expedition to Tunisia, he declares to be satisfied with the said sum of all his assets; and he also declares that the forty negatives forming the

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[16] Serena Romano and Piero Becchetti, *L'immagine di Roma: 1848-1895: la città, l'archeologia, il medioevo nei cataloghi del fondo Tuminello*, Milan: Electa, 1994.

[17] Maria Mancini, *La spedizione della Società Geografica Italiana in Tunisia (1875): una possibile lettura*, in Claudio Cerreti (a cura di), *Colonie africane e cultura italiana fra Ottocento e Novecento. Le esplorazioni e la geografia*, Rome: CISU, 1995, pp. 169-180.

[18] Cesare Correnti to Orazio Antinori, ASSGI, b. 15, fasc. b 1, cc. 1-2, with wrong date 18 march 1875. "Accompagna la Commissione il Sig. Tuminello per rilevare fotograficamente gli aspetti del paese e le ruine romane, secondo le indicazioni del Marchese Antinori all'intento di formar un album fotografico e archeologico".

Album of Tunisia are the absolute property of the said Society [and] cannot be traded without the consent of the same. Every time the Society needs to have new copies of the photographs, as above, the undersigned undertakes to make them at the price of seventy cents each, edited in cardboard, as it has been agreed in the deed. I say £ 1,200 Lodovico Tuminello.[19]

The pictures were arranged in an album dedicated to the mission. The SGI retained the negatives of forty views and the right for their use. The making of new positives had to pass by Tuminello himself, who was obliged to reproduce them at a fixed price. Such conditions blocked the circulation of the photographs among his contemporaries. The final production amounted to 53 pictures, concerning views of the country, in a larger format (around 210x270 cm), and eight smaller pictures (around 125x150 cm), four dedicated to 'Male costumes of Gabes' and four to 'Female costumes of Gabes', a city in eastern Tunisia. These eight pictures with ethnographic subjects were not part of the album, so they were excluded from the official collection that should document typography and archaeology. The smaller images are realised outside in a public space; the women are alone while the male figures are all arranged in groups of at least three people (fig. 3.2). Apart from one horizontal picture where the background changed, they are all shot within the same space, with the main subjects posing with a column in the background.

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[19] Lodovico Tuminello to SGI, 20.11.1875, SGI, Box 15, Folder 1b, doc. 1. "Il sottoscritto nell'atto che accusa ricevuta di £ Milleduecento passategli in mano dal Segretario della Società Geografica Sig. Marchese Orazio Antinori sul fondo assegnato alla spedizione scientifica in Tunisia, dichiara di essere con la detta somma soddisfatto di ogni suo avere; e dichiara altresì che le quaranta negative delle vedute formanti l'Album della Tunisia per essere di assoluta proprietà della Sud.ª Società egli non potrà farne oggetto di commercio senza il consenso della medesima. Tutte le volte poi che la Società abbia bisogno di avere dei nuovi esemplari delle fotografie, come sopra, il sottoscritto si obbliga a farle al prezzo di centesimi settanta l'una tirate in cartoncino, tanto essendosi convenuto nell'atto che sonosi liquidati i conti. Dico £ 1,200 Lodovico Tuminello".
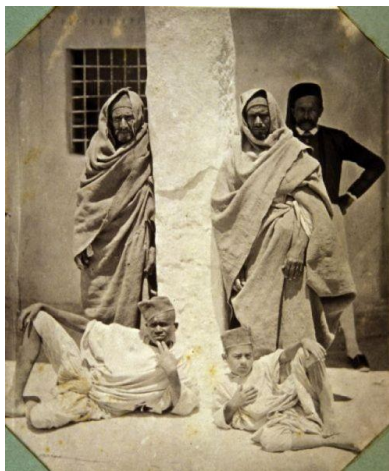
Fig. 3. 2 – Inv. 241/48; 241/49; 241/52, Lodovico Tuminello, "Male costumes of Gabes"; "Female costumes of Gabes", May-July 1875.albumen prints, 148x122mm, 148x123mm, 148x115mm © Archivio fotografico della Società Geografica Italiana.

The stress is on the different clothes, and also on the social hierarchy between subjects in the male grouping, and the recurrent presence of figures out of focus in the background gives the idea that in the staging of the subject the photographer did not intend to isolate the subject against a neutral background. The fact that Tuminello's pictures regarding costumes were smaller and out of the album's narration, gives the feeling, on the one hand, that the expedition paid less attention to ethnography. On the other hand, the fact that photographs of such kind were realised in a mission dedicated to typography and archaeology implies that ethnography was established as an interest in geographical expedition and was among the concern of the organiser Antinori. Although less carefully constructed, even Tuminello, like Montabone, valued elements of context. It seems as if the concept of artistic photography elaborated theoretically in the Instructions in the 1870s and 1880s actually took inspiration from pre-existing photographic practices.

3.2.3 Photographing Akka

As already suggested, the field was not necessarily envisioned as wild space of unknown lands, but could be the domesticated space of the photographic studio, even within the Italian borders. As Guido Abbattista showed, ethnic exhibitions enjoyed huge success in Italy and in the Western World in general. *Esplorazioni a rovescio* 'reversed exploration',[20] were at the crossroad between science and leisure and revealed the high performativity associated with the making of ethnographic knowledge. Pictures, engravings, and caricatures of Assab, Dinka, Eritrean people, showed in the various Italian exhibitions, circulated widely in illustrated publications.[21] Cases of transfers of people from their place of origin to Italy were not limited to exhibition purposes and the case of the *Akka del Miani* is particularly telling. Sandra

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[20] As Mario Morasso, defined it, quoted by Guido Abbattista, *Umanità in mostra: esposizioni etniche e invenzioni esotiche in Italia, 1880-1940*, EUT, 2013: 350. Morasso (1871-1938) was journalist for *L'Illustrazione Italiana* and *Il Marzocco*.

[21] For its wide iconographic attachment see Guido Abbattista, *Umanità in mostra: esposizioni etniche e invenzioni esotiche in Italia*, 1880-1940, Trieste: EUT, 2013.

Puccini has widely studied the story of their arrival to Italy,[22] while I will consider in-depth the role that photography played in the communication of such event, a topic that will be examined further in also the next chapter. This case will show the interacting system of exchanges that involved pictures, together with ideas, people, and objects and will provide a clear example of what Deborah Poole called the "visual economy".[23]

The story originated from Monbuttù in November 1873, with the death of Giovanni Miani, an Italian explorer in the Nile region since 1871, who was supported by the Sudan governor.[24] According to Miani's will, his travel inheritance was to go the SGI: "Among these things [...] there were two living pygmies, two embalmed Chimpanzees, several natural and ethnographic rarities, a large envelope addressed to the Geographic Society and probably a map of the journey".[25] The notice of the presence of 'two living pygmies' awakened the Italian scientific community, but the SGI wanted to evaluate the interest of the legacy before embarking on a diplomatic mission and an expensive negotiation to accept the donation and to move the "scientific treasure"[26] from Khartoum to Rome. As Cesare Correnti recalled: "Were the Khartoum Pygmies an ethnographic document that deserved the expense of praying and paying? [...] [if so] their value would lie in being samples of race, not

[22] Sandra Puccini, *Andare Lontano: Viaggi ed etnografia nel secondo Ottocento*, Rome: Carocci, 1999, p. 75-118.

[23] See Deborah Poole, *Vision, race, and modernity: A visual economy of the Andean image world*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

[24] On Giovanni Miani see Gianpaolo Romanato, *Giovanni Miani e il contributo veneto alla conoscenza dell'Africa: esploratori, missionari, imprenditori, scienziati, avventurieri, giornalisti*, Rovigo: Minelliana, 2006. Coming from a humble family but well educated by his guardain, he was a traveller who gathered important ethnographic material for the Venetian museum in 1861 from the Sudan and Egypt area.

[25] Cesare Correnti, *Sui due pigmei Akka e sulla spedizione Italiana in Africa*, "BSGI", 9, 1874, p. 439- 488: 440. "Fra le cose [...] si trovavano due pigmei vivi, due Cimpanzè imbalsamati, parecchie rarità naturali ed etnografiche, un grosso plico indirizzato alla Società Geografica e probabilmente una carta del viaggio".

[26] Paolo Mantegazza and Arturo Zanetti, *Dei due Akka del Miani*, "AAE", n. 4, 1874: 138.

whims of nature".[27] The importance of detecting the racial origin of a pygmy species was a central aim for the SGI that wanted to detach itself from the interest in curiosities and freaks that characterised the 19th century, preferring instead the objective typicality and exemplarity values that made the two boys a specimen, an 'ethnographic document', useful for anthropometric reasons:

> This was confirmed by Owen, a very authoritative ethnologist, and by our own Cornalia and Panceri, confident and insightful intellectuals [...] But if they weren't curiosities and theatre puppets to be showcased, they would give us, what is most valuable and important, one of the terminal measures of anthropometry.[28]

The positive assessment of 'their value' happened in Cairo, where Prof. Cornalia, who had the opportunity to study them, made some pictures and wrote a letter on the encounter:

> After a few days I saw them again to have a picture of them, and to become friends with them, I brought toys and sweets [...] From the photographs that I attach, you will see that the two little savages differ in some respects, while they are similar for others.[29]

Before the arrival of the two boys in Italy, in April 1874, Cornalia's pictures were received by Mantegazza and were at the centre of the discussion of the SIAE reunion of 20 March 1874 "[The President] makes available these pictures to the members and cedes the floor to Prof.

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[27] Correnti, *Sui due pigmei …*, 1874: 440. "I pigmeni di Karthum erano proprio un documento etnografico che meritasse la spesa di pregare e pagare? […] l'importanza è che fossero campioni di razza, non capriccio di natura".

[28] Correnti, *Sui due pigmei…*, 1874: 441. "Ce lo confermavano poi l'Owen, autorevolissimo fra gli etnologi, e i nostri Cornalia e Panceri, intelletti veggenti e sicuri […] Ma se non erano curiosità da bacheca e fantoccini da teatro, ci davano, quel che più vale e tiene, una delle misure terminali della antropometria".

[29] Emilio Cornalia, *Lettera del Prof. E. Cornalia*, "AAE", n. 4, 1874, p. 161. "Dopo alcuni giorni li rividi, nell'intento di averne una fotografia, e allo scopo di amicarmeli, portai loro giocattoli e dolci […] Dalle fotografie che le unisco, Ella vedrà che i due piccoli selvaggi differiscono fra loro per alcuni riguardi, mentre convengono invece per altri."

Giglioli".[30] Once again, the crucial topic was the racial belonging of the boys, in particular their affinity with the people described by Schweinfurth, considered the main expert and the first to detect the existence of Akka pygmies in central Africa. Comparing the information given by Schweinfurth and that received by Cornalia, Giglioli concluded that the two boys possibly did not come from the same tribe described by Schweinfurth. Together with the written description, the examination of pictures provided evidence to Giglioli's reasoning:

> Examination of the figures of these dwarfs does not reveal much prognathism in them, and Schweinfurth says they are prognathous to the highest degree. The sharp, straight-edged protruding lips described by that author are not apparent from those photographs[31]

In response to Giglioli, his colleague Zanetti rejected his thesis, arguing that the two versions were not so strongly in opposition and that the differences depicted did not mean the boys belonged to a different race. He reversed the argument using, once more, the pictures, this time not considering them as proof but discrediting their value as documentary source "The characteristics of the lips attributed by Schweinfurth to the Akka are not clearly missing in the two dwarves in question because the photographs are not beautiful enough to judge such a minute character".[32] Interestingly, Zanetti's assessment is based on the aesthetic judgement of the beauty and quality of the portraits, which is connected to their scientific validity and ability to display details. Another argument concerned skin colour, an extremely interesting element that

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[30] *Comunicazione scientifiche, adunanza del 20 marzo 1874*, "AAE", 4, 1874: 428. ": mette quelle fotografie a disposizione dei soci e dà la parola al Prof. Giglioli"

[31] *Comunicazione…*, 1874: 430. "L'esame delle figure di questi nani non rivela in loro un gran prognatismo e Schweinfurth dice che sono prognati al più alto grado. Le labbra sporgenti a bordo diritto e tagliente descritte da quell'autore non appariscono da quelle fotografie".

[32] *Comunicazione…*, 1874: 430. "Il carattere delle labbra attribuito dallo Schweinfurth agli Akka non è chiaro che manchi nei due nani in questione perché le fotografie non sono abbastanza belle per giudicare di un carattere così minuto".

was not detectable from the black and white pictures,[33] and whose description was often at the heart of the racial positivistic taxonomy:

> As for the chocolate colour of Cornalia and unpolished copper of Schweinfurth, [Zanetti] finds that the agreement is sufficient, knowing very well that in the judgment of the colours the various observers never agree when they point it out in words.[34]

Such discussion provides a practical example of the distinction between direct observers and scholars as sketched in chapter two, and the role pictures and their materiality played in this information transfer. The inaccuracy of observers and travellers in opposition to the rigour and accurate research of experts, is replicated also in reference to Miani himself "anyone who has travelled like him in such difficult places has certainly made mistakes [...] it would be ridiculous if those who study comfortably at a table wanted to blame him for it ".[35]

Once the two boys, named Thibaut and Kerallà (sometimes indicated also as Chair-Allah) got to Rome in the spring of 1874, they were addressed as "adopted sons of the Geographical Society"[36] and were housed at the Count Miniscalchi's summer residence on Lake Garda to study their language. Before that, they passed from Florence accompanied by Antinori, so that the SIAE could study them. The result of this fast analysis was published in identical reports by the AAE and the BSGI. While measurements could not be accurately taken, the article indicated that:

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[33] On the capacity of black and white pictures to capture colours through shades of grey, see Andrea Bacchi, Francesca Mambelli, Marcello Rossini, and Elisabetta Sambo, *I colori del bianco e nero: fotografie storiche nella Fototeca Zeri, 1870-1920*, Bologna: Fondazione Federico Zeri, Università di Bologna, 2014.

[34] *Comunicazione …*, 1874: 430. "Quanto al colore cioccolata del Cornalia e rame non levigato di Schweinfurth [Zanetti] trova che l'accordo è sufficiente sapendosi benissimo che nel giudizio dei colori i vari osservatori non si trovano mai d'accordo quando lo indicano a parole."

[35] Mantegazza and Zanetti, *Dei due Akka …*, 1874: 138. "chiunque ha viaggiato come lui in luoghi così difficili ha certamente commesso errori […] sarebbe ridicolo che chi studia comodamente a tavolino volesse fargliene colpa".

[36] Correnti, *Sui due pigmei…*, 1874: 449.

We were more fortunate in the photographs taken by Mr Giacomo Brogi, Florentine photographer, and in the plaster moulding of the hand and foot of Thibaut, carried out by Mr Giuseppe Felli, modeler and moulder of the Italian Anthropological Museum.[37]

Brogi, who was collaborating with Mantegazza for the *Atlante delle espressioni del dolore*, can be considered at that time the trusted photographer of the SIAE. Information on the way these pictures were taken was inserted into the section dedicated to the psychological study of the Akka:

One day Chair-Allah was at the height of despair because they wanted to get a photographic pose from him; but his screams and his cries did not move at all Thibaut's, who continued in front of his friend to play his trumpet with loud joy. The following day it was Thibaut who was desperate and Chair-Allah laughed and played among the cries of his companion.[38]

The only difference between the AAE and BSGI version of the article is that the latter ended with a lithograph executed of Thibaut's profile, that was taken from Brogi's picture (fig. 3.3). More information about this case will be provided in chapter four.

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[37] Mantegazza and Zanetti, *Dei due Akka…*, 1874: 138. "Più fortunati siamo stati nelle fotografie fatte dal sig. Giacomo Brogi fotografo fiorentino e nella formatura in gesso della mano e del piede di Thibaut, eseguit dal Sig. Giuseppe Felli, modellatore e formatore del Museo Antropologico Italiano".

[38] Mantegazza and Zanetti, *Dei due Akka…*, 1874: 154-155. "Un giorno Chair-Allah era al colmo della disperazione, perché si voleva ottenere da lui una posa fotografica; ma i suoi urli e i suoi pianti non commovevano punto Thibaut, che continuava dinanzi all'amico a suonare una sua tromba con stentorea allegria. Il dì seguente era Thibaut il disperato e Chair-Allah rideva e giuocava fra i pianti del compagno".
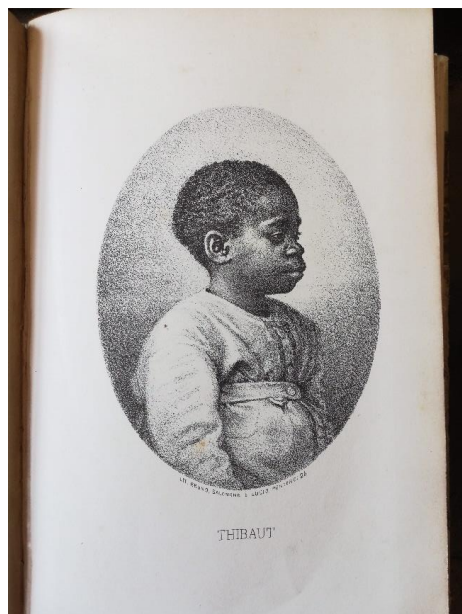
Fig. 3.3 – Litographer
Bruno Salomone and Lucio
Pontefici,"Thibaut",
lithography,
"BSGI" 9, 1874, p. 507.

The photographic network around the story of the Akka included colonial territories and actors, Italian and European scientific community, travellers, studio photographers, geographical and anthropological institutions. The creation of racial theories passed through visual items that underwent a process of scrutiny and validation operated by the anthropological community. The information on the Akka's posing session guides the chapter to the analysis of amateur photographers, that often provided details on the staging of the subject.

The elements stressed by the explorer are mostly the difficulties in convincing people to be photographed, the need to provide a reward for a portrait, the impossibility of having the subject standing still during the exposure, and the exploitation of the chemical procedure of photographic impression as magic power.[39] Given the strong connection that was established between travel and photography, seen as

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[39] Alberto Baldi provided a valuable overview of the way 19th travellers referred to photographic practice: Alberto Baldi, *Ipse vidit: fotografia antropologica ottocentesca e possesso del mondo*, "Etnoantropologia", 4, 1, 2017, pp. 3-28.

complementary expressions of progress, we can consider such recurrent arguments almost a *topos* of the literature. However, the way each author stated it could reveal differences in the actual photographic practice.

3.2.4 The explorer and the photographer: L. M. D'Albertis and J. W. Lindt

At the intersection between amateur and professional photographers, it is worth mentioning the relationship between Luigi Maria D'Albertis (1841-1901) and John William Lindt (1845-1926). With this case, I want to unveil the connection between explorers, photographers, ethnographers, commercial issues and colonial administration. Moreover, I will analyse the field as a site of interaction where different photographic practices are in dialogue with each other. Luigi Maria D'Albertis was one of the main explorers of New Guinea, specifically around the Fly River; William Lindt was one of the best-known studio photographers in Australia, very active in Clarence River where he produced carefully composed pictures using fake backgrounds and recreated environments (fig. 3.4). The two met in Clarence River in 1873, when D'Albertis was recovering after a trip to New Guinea and Lindt wanted to accompany him on board the boat Neva in the exploration of the Fly River. They met a second time in Melbourne in 1878. A letter dated 23 February 1889 written by Lindt to Luigi M. D'Albertis testifies to the fact that the two met in Australia together with the explorer Odoardo Beccari and they established an ongoing correspondence: "When you read the preface of "Picturesque New Guinea" you will see that ever since I met you I could not rest until I had visited this land of primeval man".[40] In fact, traces of their first encounter are inserted also in Lindt's book published in 1887, which was sent to his Italian friend saying "I shall send you a book by this same mail and feel sure no one will read with greater interest and look at the pictures with a better understanding than you."[41] There, he refers to D'Albertis "the intrepid Italian" as the inspiration for his trip, whose encounter woke up Lindt's "ardent desire to become personally

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[40] John William Lindt to Luigi Maria D'Albertis, 23.02.1889, CDM.

[41] John William Lindt to Luigi Maria D'Albertis, 23.02.1889, CDM.

acquainted with those mysterious shores of Papua and their savage inhabitants".[42]

In describing the mission to his friend, Lindt proposed photography as powerful tool to register and extract information on natural science: "I greatly felt my want of knowledge in botany, geology and natural history but no man can be expected to be versed in every branch of science, and many things I could not describe, I could photograph".[43] Lindt presented pictures as substitutes for words for the inexperienced explorer. The photographer also referred to D'Albertis's book as an important companion in his research "Your two volumes in New Guinea are always handy on my bookshelves and I have read them through and enjoyed your ardour and enthusiasm".

Besides making clear the whole organisation behind the photographic reportage, other sentences in the letter give information on the commercial business behind the trade of photographic materials. One reference is to the legal fight with ""The religious Tract Society"!! in London who had pirated 30 of my pictures and reproduces them in a book by Chelmurs". The other one is to the success of the book, "Longmans, the publisher bought almost enough copies to cover all printing expenses and that present I have made about £120 clear and have about 150 books to sell or give away as I please".[44] The connection between photographs, objects and exhibitions, which will be further analysed in chapter five, is clearly expressed by Lindt when speaking of the 1888 Melbourne Centennial Exhibition, where he was appointed honorary Commissioner for New Guinea.

As photographer, Lindt had a very clear idea of what his role could be in an expedition, and he stated it clearly at the very beginning of his successful book:

> For years past, when perusing the account of exploring expeditions […] I always noticed with a pang of disappointment

[42] John William Lindt, *Picturesque New Guinea*, London: Longmans, 1876: viii.

[43] John William Lindt to Luigi Maria D'Albertis, 23.02.1889, CDM.

[44] John William Lindt to Luigi Maria D'Albertis, 23.02.1889, CDM.

that, however carefully the scientific staff was chosen, it was, as a rule, considered sufficient to supply one of the members with a mahogany camera, lens, and chemicals to take pictures, the dealer furnishing these articles generally initiating the purchaser for a couple or three hours' time into the secrets and tricks of the "dark art.[45]

Apart from the Challenger expedition, the author criticised the tendency to consider photography a tool that could be used easily by anybody, without specific professional knowledge, that was overlooked in favour of the scientific purpose:

According to my belief, there can be but one reason for it, and that is the difficulties encountered to find a competent artist photographer willing to join an expedition are greater than those necessary to secure the services of someone who can sketch, and hence artistic photography, the legitimate and proper means to show friends at home what these foreign lands and their inhabitants really look like, is set aside for drawings, either partly or purely imaginary.[46]

He uses the word 'artist photographer' to express the degree of expertise needed, and to 'artistic photography' as the 'legitimate means' for such task. Even in the title of the book "Picturesque New Guinea" he referred strongly to the connection between photography, art, and visual pleasure. This was the aspect he wanted to stress more as the promotion of the photographer as an artist was a crucial aspect of his business, where the aesthetic and technical quality was the first concern. Lindt suggested that art could be at the service of the scientific enterprise, and only after having expressed it, he added the recurrent issue of objectivity and the refusal of unreliable drawings. As a newspaper article remarked: "It has often been a matter of discussion how far, or whether at all, photography may be considered a fine art. By the work of J. W. Lindt this question is decided in a way that is a triumph for his profession".[47]

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[45] Lindt, *Picturesque…*, 1876: vii.

[46] Lindt, *Picturesque…*, 1876: viii.

[47] "The Argus", 27 November, 1888.

Fig. 3. 4 - Inv. F65, J. W. Lindt, albumen print, Collection Luigi Maria D'Albertis, © Castello D'Albertis Museo delle Culture del Mondo.

With regards to photography, Luigi Maria D'Albertis represented a fitting example of what Lindt discarded. His travels were supported mainly by the SGI and, as an amateur photographer, Luigi Maria D'Albertis took pictures in the field which were included in publications. In 1880 D'Albertis had published a book about his New Guinea trip with the telling subtitle 'What I did and what I saw', which refers to the two principal values associated to fieldwork: activity and movement, and direct visual access to reality (as discussed in chapter two). The book was published in Italian (1880), English (1880) and French (1883), and the success of the publication has to be attributed also to the clever networks he managed to build during and after his trips. For example, in 1878 he was invited to give lectures in London to some of the most important learned communities in Britain: the Royal Geographical Society, the Anthropological Institute and the Royal Colonial Institute. While reflecting on successful networks and connections, it is also important to

think in terms of failure as well as in national and international competition. In fact, Luigi D'Albertis's reputation was smeared by his ambitious bargaining requests to sell the collections to museums (in Australia, Britain and Italy) and also by "the singling out of D'Albertis and Loria as plunderers by MacGregor and Haddon; this, according to Quinnell (2000: 86), was related to tensions between collectors and to national stereotyping".[48]

Luigi Maria D'Albertis' photographs were mostly taken when he stopped in Andai between October and November 1872 for health reasons, and was looked after by missionaries:

> This morning I was able to work a little with my photographic apparatus, and I took portraits of some natives in groups. At first, it was quite impossible to persuade them to let me take their portraits; afterwards, I was able to conquer their reluctance and fear by numerous gifts, but then arose the difficulty of making them stand still.[49]

Once more, we find references to the difficulty in convincing the natives to be portrayed, to payments, and the obstacles arising with exposure. In successive attempts, we have reference to the places where the portrayed people came from: "This morning I worked for a long time at my photography, and I took several portraits and some groups of the people of Mansinam, Andai, and Arfak"[50]. One quote refers to the inability of the emulsion to register black skin properly: "I have worked again at photography, but without very good results […] I cannot obtain the likenesses of my black sitters."[51] Another quotation here brings out the agency of the sitter and gives an idea of what the apparatus surrounding field photography was like:

[48] Elisabetta Gnecchi-Ruscone, *From New Guinea 1872-78 to Genova 2004: recovering Luigi Maria D'Albertis' private collection*, "Journal de la Société des Océanistes", 132, 2011, 165-182, p. 173.

[49] Luigi Maria D'Albertis, *New Guinea: what I did and what I saw*, London: Sampson, 1880: 141.

[50] L. M. D'Albertis, *New Guinea…*, 1880: 141.

[51] L. M. D'Albertis, *New Guinea…*, 1880: 142.

> I tried five or six times to take a portrait of the daughter of the Corano of Hatam, the fair albino-the beautiful Eve of these forests; but it was impossible to get her stand still. First a fly settled on her face, she raised her hand to brush it away, and the portrait was spoilt; then some other insect came to annoy her, and she scratched her head; the third time it struck her that she was insufficiently covered, and she strove to arrange the one scanty garment which she wore. I made two more ineffectual attempts, and then gave up all hope of succeeding.[52]

From the description, it seems as if the girl used a series of tricks to impede to have her portrait taken, last but not least deciding what should be an appropriate garment for her portrait. Such a quotation overturns the idea of subjects of anthropological pictures as silent and passive executors of the explorer's requests, often forced to be portrayed naked or semi-naked to communicate a double sense of wildness and attraction. Instead, it provides an idea of the existing relationship in the field ('the daughter of the Corano of Hatam'), the role played by exceptionality and aesthetic judgement in the choice of the subject ('the fair albino-the beautiful Eve of these forests'), and the role the subject had in manipulating her representation.

Similarly, Jane Lydon described how Catholic-converted Coranderkk aborigines controlled their images and refused to be portrayed naked, being well aware of the trajectories that their pictures would have taken in the Western world, and the documentary value that would have been attached to them.[53] In the same essay, Lydon analysed also the function of beauty in supposedly scientific and objective portraits and the use of classical artistic canon in the description of otherness: aborigines were addressed as 'Veritable Apollos' while in our case 'Eve', the first woman of the biblical tradition, is singled out for the Papuan girl. In this way, the scholar wanted to stress the sentiment, the interest, and the need for confrontation and adaptation of the Western cultural ideals to the unfamiliar space of the field:

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[52] L. M. D'Albertis, *New Guinea…*, 1880: 141-142.

[53] Jane Lydon, *Photography, Humanitarism, Empire*, London: Bloomsbury, 2017: 45.

it is important to acknowledge the diversity of contemporary ways of seeing, including admiration for Aboriginal people. In demonstrating the extent to which the 'scientific' arguments were underwritten by aesthetic judgements, and personal encounter in the 'field', Giglioli's work complicates monolithic interpretations of colonial photography.[54]

I would add that judgement of this kind has to be considered a more or less conscious strategy to generate curiosity and sympathy over such territories by evoking a mythical and highly recognisable image to describe the indigenous' appearance.

Some of the pictures whose making is narrated in Luigi Maria D'Albertis' book can be identified in his photo collection (fig. 3.5), preserved at Castello D'Albertis Museum of World Cultures, donated to his cousin Enrico after Luigi's death in 1901, a case that will be further analysed in the next chapter.

[54] Lydon, *Photography…,*, 2017: 45.
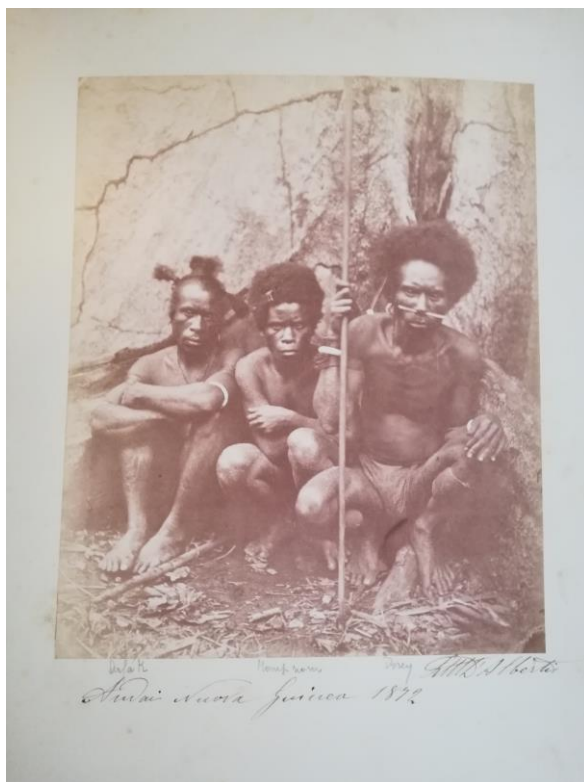
Fig. 3. 5 – inv. F66, Luigi Maria D'Albertis, "Arfak – […] – Dorey - Andai Nuova Guinea, 1872 – LMD'Albertis", albumen print, Collection Luigi Maria D'Albertis, © Castello D'Albertis Museo delle Culture del Mondo.

Looking at Luigi Maria D'Albertis' interaction with William Lindt it was possible to verify the existence of a network of practitioners in the field, who integrated photography in their experience for different aims. Instead of depicting them as separate actors merely operating in the same area, I have stressed how they met and kept in contact.

3.2.5 A photo campaign in Lapland

In this section, I would like to consider the case of the trip to Lapland made by Mantegazza and Stephen Sommier (1848-1922) in 1879. As already sketched in the first chapter, their investigation held photography in high consideration and led to multiple published outcomes: an article in the AAE with some illustrations, a book on their travels in the region, and an illustrated volume with anthropometric investigations.[55] In this case we have the joint work of a scholar (Mantegazza) and an amateur (Sommier), who is addressed in the book title as 'friend', a word that stresses more their relational rather than scientific bond. Mantegazza most probably formulated the theoretical insight while Sommier was in charge of taking pictures. This combination provides an excellent example of the interaction between theoretical models and practical methods. Sommier made subsequent travels to northern Europe, where he always brought a camera with him, further demonstrating his abilities and interest in the medium. [56] Given the large amount of documentation available, it is interesting to follow the two in their trip and to understand the way they went about photographing. First of all, it is important to notice that the support of the expedition was guaranteed economically and politically by Francesco De Sanctis and Michele Coppino, two politicians and intellectuals that contributed to the making of the Italian school system and shared an interest in anthropology:[57]

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[55] Paolo Mantegazza, *Un viaggio in Lapponia con l'amico Sommier,* Milan: Treves, 1880; Paolo Mantegazza and Stephen Sommier, *Studii antropologici sui Lapponi*, Florence: tipi dell'Arte della stampa, 1880.

[56] Stephen Sommier (1848-1922) was a botanist active in Florence and among the founder of the SIAE. See Paolo Chiozzi, *Stephen Sommier: etnologia ed etno-fotografia*, "AFT", 7, 1988, p. 23 - 31 and Stephen Sommier and Paolo Chiozzi, *Viaggio d'inverno in Lapponia*, Florence: Clinamen, 2003.

[57] As Ministry of Public Education Coppino introduced in 1877 the compulsory schooling without fee. See: Aldo Mola, *Michele Coppino: 1822-1901: scritti e discorsi. Alle radici dello stato laico*, Alba: Famija Albeisa, 1978. De Sanctis built the Italian literature studies and critics, see: Fulvio Tessitore, *Francesco De Sanctis: la scienza e la vita*, Bologna: Il Mulino,

As friends and ministers, you made possible for me to make a journey, for which my resources might not have been enough; one provided me with the means to publish in a monograph the portraits of Laplanders collected during my journey, the other enabled me to bring excellent cameras to the extreme regions of the European pole.[58]

This dedication immediately stressed the importance of gathering visual evidence, presented as a core and innovative element of the trip, and the role economic and political support played in the success of such an undertaking.

During the trip, Mantegazza and Sommier were guided in the Sami region thanks to the contact with the Director of the Stockholm Museum, who provided men to lead them on a carefully organised trip. One recurrent issue was related to photographic baggage, revealing the overlooked role of porters and intermediaries in the campaign:

Hauan, sullen for having to accompany us to the top of the mountains in search of Lapland; [...] has already prepared for us a horse, a cart, and the men needed to bring our heavy photographic luggage to his foundry, which is down in the bottom of the valley[59]

The transportation was complicated and so they had to pack modestly, to "simplify our photographic baggage, reducing it as much as possible".[60] All these quotes nuance the image of the ethnographers as a lonely and adventurous subject and insert photography within a system

2019; Emiliano Alessandroni, *L'anima e il mondo: Francesco De Sanctis tra filosofia, critica letteraria e teoria della letteratura*, Macerata: Quodlibet, 2017.

[58] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: n.p. "Come amici e come ministri voi mi avete reso possibile un viaggio, a cui le mie sole forse non sarebbero bastate; l'uno fornendomi i mezzi di pubblicare in una mia monografia i ritratti de' lapponi raccolti nel mio viaggio, l'altro procurandomi i mezzi di portare nelle estreme regioni del polo europeo macchine fotografiche eccellenti."

[59] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 51. "Hauan, ammusonito per dover accompagnarci in cima ai monti in cerca di lapponi; […] ci ha già preparato un cavallo, un carretto, e gli uomini necessarii per portare alia sua fonderia, che è giù nel fondo della valle, i nostri pesanti bagagli fotografici"

[60] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 53.

of social relations. The material qualities of the photographic medium are remembered on many occasions by the authors, offering an understanding of the physical circumstances that characterised the making of pictures.

The presence of figures such as translators and intermediaries were rarely acknowledged in texts, and it is important to trace such hints and "read against the grain" to envision the fundamental role they played and the kind of relationships that were built in the field. For example, Sommier underlined how "[m]y good friend Wikstroem, quaene by birth [...] accompanied me as an ally in this photographic battle."[61] The declared aim of the 'battle' was anthropological: to assess the various types of Laplanders, their origin, and their ethnic mixture with other people. The inhabitants were considered specimens to be inserted in a Darwinian paradigm:

> Yesterday I came here by boat from Bossekop with heavy photographic equipment to see how to portray the sweet features of five Laplanders, who are scattered on the beach of the sea. Three of them are a curious example of the passage from nomadic Saami to fisherman Saami, a beautiful specimen of Darwinian evolutionism clearly evidenced. They have been established here for five years and work for fishermen; they are still called *fieldfinne* (nomadic Lapps), but they are already actually *fisckfinne* (fishing Lapps) and their children will only have the right to belong to one of the new species of the Lappish genus.[62]

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[61] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 74. "Il mio buon amico Wikstroem, quaene di nascita […] mi accompagnava come alleato in questa battaglia fotografica".

[62] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 72. "Ieri sono venuto qui in barca da Bossekop coi pesanti attrezzi fotografici per vedere di ritrarre i dolci sembianti di cinque lapponi, che si trovano sparsi sulla spiaggia del mare. Tre di questi sono un curioso esempio del passaggio dal Lappone nomade al lappone pescatore, un bellissimo specimen di evoluzionismo darviniano preso in flagrante. Sono stabiliti qui da cinque anni e lavorano per i pescatori; si chiamano ancora fieldfinne (lapponi nomadi), ma per verità sono gia fisckfinne (lapponi pescatori) e i loro figli soltanto avranno diritto di appartenere alia nuova specie del genere lappone."

Sommier and Mantegazza sometimes worked separately in order to conduct more research at once, and they were equipped with more than one camera, as the quotation reveals:

> [In] July [Sommier] was in Elvebaken in the Fiord of Alten, with his cameras, to see if the Lappish of Kautokeino and Karaschok were different from the Swedish Lappish seen and studied with me on the island of Tromsoe.[63]

Photographic misadventures were also common, and the narration gives the idea of the practical inconveniences and an uncertain end to their photographic labour:

> And today new photographic disillusionment![...] The weather is beautiful, serene, warm, dry, my lenses are as clear as a diamond; the chassis move, as if they had wheels, the reagents are fresh, excellent, yet all these beautiful things give me these wonderful results: first negative all stains. Second negative all-black. Third negative all striped. The least worst is only densely veiled![64]

Among the various technicalities, the author here insisted on the proper neatness of all the components and on the weather conditions, which were decisive for the success of the exposure and the development of the negative. Moreover, this quote revealed the struggle around photography and gave evidence of a time-consuming practice, contrasting to the rhetoric of immediacy. This helps to counterbalance the historiographical perception of photography as a series of successful results easy to obtain (driven by the fine photographs we are used to finding in the archives); instead, we are confronted with the admission

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[63] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 71. "[Sommier a] luglio si trovava a Elvebaken nel Fiord di Alten, colle sue macchine fotografiche, per vedere se i lapponi di Kautokeino e di Karaschok fossero diversi dai lapponi svedesi veduti e studiati insieme a me nell' isola di Tromsoe".

[64] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 73. "Oggi, dunque, nuovi disinganni fotografici ![…] Il tempo e bello, sereno, caldo, asciutto, i miei obiettivi tersi come il diamante ; i chassis si muovono, come se avessero le rotelle, i reattivi freschi, eccellenti ; eppure tutte queste belle cose mi danno questi splendidi risultamenti : Prima negativa tutta macchie. Seconda negativa tutta nera. Terza negativa tutta rigata. Le meno peggio non sono che densamente velate".

of failures and the recognition of the complex process related to the medium.

References to the process of encounters between photographer and photographed and how it was arranged could also be found in the *Viaggio* "I expressed the wish that those gentlemen would come the next day to Elvebaken to be photographed".[65] Analysis of the photographic encounters have been carried out by Elizabeth Edwards, who stressed the relational history behind the photo surface. These studies reconfigure the agency of the portrayed subjects and bring to light conflicts and negotiations.[66] Individuals were asked to come to a specific place to be photographed, which means that the baggage was not transported everywhere but that there was a sort of headquarters where the studio was arranged: "The old woman didn't want to accept, and the *pige* (girl) didn't consent to my honest desire until after an hour of discussion persuading her father".[67] A refusal to be captured was not unusual and documentation like this helps create a more nuanced view on the power relationship between the actors and their agenda. The possibility to be represented relied on negotiation and capacity to choose. The deal was often obtained through rewards "It is strange how these people, stingy and very greedy for money, sometimes refuse to earn two or three lire without any effort, just because they don't want to move [to the studio]".[68] According to the protocol of scientific photography, and to a positivistic conception that considers the subject

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[65] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 79. "Espressi il desiderio che quei signori venissero il giorno dopo a Elvebaken per farsi fotografare".

[66] Elizabeth Edwards, *Tracing photography*, in Marcus Banks and Jay Ruby (eds.), *Made to be seen: Perspectives on the history of visual anthropology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011, pp. 159-189.

[67] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 80. "La vecchia non ne voleva sapere, e la *pige* (fanciulla) non si lascio piegare al mio onesto desiderio se non dopo un'ora di discussione persuadendo il papà".

[68] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 73: "è strano come questa gente, avara e avidissima di denaro, si ricusi talvolta, pur di non muoversi, a guadagnare senza alcuna fatica due o tre lire".

of the photograph an object of study, nakedness was preferential. However, such performance was often opposed, especially by women:

> If I had to judge from my experience I would say that the [...] [Lappish] women are more shameful than many others, since I could not photograph them naked, although I offered a fine sum of 150 lire for their compliance.[69]

The concept of field did not only apply to the geography of land. The inhabitants of such site became themselves part of the imagery of spatial exploration and the other's body was considered itself a field to venture. Gender relations in the field were charged with sexist connotations that were stated by the authors, revealing the attraction and chauvinist culture in which they were embedded: "The girls do not always say no to our affections and abandon themselves to intercourse out of sympathy, not out of greed for money".[70] Other quotations also reveal the close connection between scientific purpose, bodily control, and invasiveness "some women, in whom the armpits could hardly be explored, had hairy armpits; but it was absolutely impossible to explore lower regions".[71] The rhetoric of exploration with regards to the female body was not new and was particularly used concerning Africa, where the unexplored, wild, virgin and black soil was used as spatial and sexual metaphor for the white, civilised and male penetration. This predatory role of photography[72] was present also in a sentence that took into consideration the final destination and addressees of pictures, the

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[69] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 162. "Se dovessi giudicarne dalla mia esperienza direi che le […] donne [lapponi] sono più pudiche di molte altre, dacchè non ho riuscito a fotografarle nude, per quanto offrissi una somma fin di lire 150 per questa accondiscendenza".

[70] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 163. "Alle nostre carezze le fanciulle non dicono sempre di no e s'abbandonano all'amplesso per simpatia dei sensi, non per avidità di denaro".

[71] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 123. "alcune donne, nelle quali con grande stento si potè esplorare le ascelle, le avevano pelose; ma fu assolutamente impossibile esplorare regioni più basse".

[72] On photography and violence see the seminal book of Susan Sontag, *On photography*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux 1973.

museum collection and its public: "what a pity for [the failed pictures of] that girl, splendidly Mongolic, that you would have adored in the Museum in Florence!"[73]

After the trip, with a marketing operation, the authors opted for the publication of two volumes with different purposes and different publics:

> These two works complement each other but because of their different nature they are directed to a different audience. The Journey is written for all and will be printed in many copies, while this Atlas can only be published in one hundred copies.[74]

The two publications were therefore presented as complementary in the subject, but also having different degree of specialisation: the *Studii* contained anthropological facts, while the *Viaggio* was a travel account, not illustrated, but containing mainly ethnographic information on costumes and traditions. The fact of having cameras and original photographs was advertised at the very beginning of the former book:

> In all these places we brought with us excellent cameras and craniometric instruments, which allowed us to collect in a short time a rich material of portraits and measurements, to which we must add some skulls dug by ourselves in ancient cemeteries. The result of our research is the present work, which offers to the ethnographer many photographs taken by ourselves under scientific method and many observations made with scrupulous diligence on the living and on the skulls. With the modest appearance of an ethnological atlas, it presents the most salient

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[73] Mantegazza, *Un viaggio…*, 1880: 74. "Peccato per quella ragazzina splendidamente mongolica, che avreste adorata nel Museo di Firenze!".

[74] Mantegazza and Sommier, *Studii…*, 1880: 8-9. "Questi due lavori si completano a vicenda ma per la loro diversa indole si dirigono ad un pubblico diverso. Il Viaggio è scritto per tutti e sarà tirato a molti esemplari, mentre questo Atlante non potrà essere pubblicato che in cento esemplari".

facts of Lapland anthropology, reduced to the expressions of figures and images taken from real life. [75]

The *Studii* is also defined as an ethnological Atlas, and such wording is already telling. On the one hand, there was the clear anthropometric interest, and on the other a reference to ethnology and ethnography, revealing an attention to the social and cultural aspects of the people portrayed. While the written essay provided information mainly on racial classification, the pictures, although promoted as responses to the scientific paradigm, mainly revealed information on the material aspects of the population rather than on its physiognomy.

The reasons for the *Studii's* limited publication was soon explained:

> [it displays] perhaps for the first time, portraits of a special race of men, not in lithographs, engravings or collotypes [*fototipie*], but in original photographs, made by ourselves and reproduced from the negative without any retouching. We would like to see our example followed also by other anthropologists and ethnologists, who will devote their time to the study of special races of men and especially of those who are condemned to disappear in a time more or less close. No artist, no matter how skilled, no phototype, no matter how happy, will ever be able to respond to all the needs of science, as much as the photographs themselves; especially if taken for each individual in face and profile. We have portrayed a much higher number of individuals than what we publish here, but the need to restrict the already very considerable expense in

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[75] Mantegazza and Sommier, *Studii…*, 1880: 8. "In tutti questi luoghi abbiamo portato con noi eccellenti macchine fotografiche e istrumenti craniometrici, che ci hanno permesso di raccogliere in breve tempo un ricco materiale di ritratti e di misure, al quale si devono aggiungere alcuni cranii da noi stessi scavati in antiche cimiteri. Il frutto di queste nostre ricerche è il presente lavoro, il quale porge allo studioso di etnografia molte fotografie prese da noi stessi con metodo scientifico e molte osservazioni fatte con diligenza scrupolosa sul vivo e sui cranii. Colla modesta apparenza di un atlante etnologico porge i fatti più salienti dell'antropologia lapponica, ridotti alle espressioni delle cifre e delle immagini prese tutte dal vero".

this type of work, has forced us to choose only the best or clearer features.[76]

Mantegazza and Sommier's pejorative argument that saw drawings in the scientific domain as subjective depictions was not a new one. What is interesting here is that the authors were also advertising photographs in opposition to lithography, engravings and phototype, which were the most common ways of reproducing pictures in books at that time. As Geoffrey Belknap noted, before the spread of photomechanical processes in 1890s, the reproduction of pictures in the press always implied a translation of the image, that could lead to a modification of its meaning through processes of elimination or addition. The picture, therefore, was defined by "both the textual and discursive systems which surround the image and the process of reproduction which the image underwent in order to be reproduced on the page".[77] Issues of credibility and transparency became particularly crucial for scientific publications that, while stressing the value of photography in producing knowledge, had to balance and adapt the use of technologies to guarantee reliability between the visual source and its human-mediated reproduction. In our case, the authors addressed this criticism by producing an expensive and precious volume composed of written essays, anthropometric tables followed by a short interpretation, and in the end forty-one tables with one or more pasted albumen prints.

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[76] Mantegazza and Sommier, *Studii…*, 1880: 8-9. "[mostra] forse per la prima volta, i ritratti di una razza speciale di uomini, non in litografie, in incisioni o in fototipie, ma nelle fotografie originali, fatte da noi stessi e riprodotte dalla negativa senza alcun ritocco. Noi ameremmo veder seguito il nostro esempio anche dagli altri antropologi ed etnologi, che dedicheranno il loro tempo allo studio di razze speciali di uomini e specialmente di quelle, che sono condannate a scomparire in un tempo più o meno vicino. Nessun artista, per quanto abile, nessuna fototipia, per quanto felice, potranno mai rispondere a tutte le esigenze della scienza, quanto le fotografie stesse; specialmente se prese per ogni individuo di faccia e di profilo. Noi abbiamo ritratto un numero molto maggiore di individui di quel che qui pubblichiamo, ma il bisogno di restringere la spesa già molto considerevole in questo genere di lavori, ci ha costretto a scegliere soltanto le migliori o le più caratteristiche."

[77] Geoffrey Belknap, *From a Photograph: Photography and the Periodical Print Press 1870-90*, London: Bloomsbury, 2016: 15.

All the pictures portrayed mostly a single posing subject in medium-close up or full length, often in front and sometimes in profile and back view, always within a controlled background.[78] What is interesting to notice is that while the text meticulously addressed anthropometric issues, the pictures revealed an interest for cultural elements that was not always so clearly stated, except in the quick reference to the 'ethnological Atlas' previously analysed. Of the thirty-five tables with human portraits, only fifteen showed the peoples in front and profile view (fig. 3.6), only few subjects placed their hands in the requested positions, and only two subjects were naked. In all the others, the cultural element prevailed and, besides clothing, some pictures showed working tools or traditional objects (fig. 3.7). There was even a group picture portraying a marriage (fig 3.8).

Fig. 3. 6 – Table XXIII, "Inger Nilsen, age 17", albumen prints, Paolo Mantegazza and Stephen Sommier, *Studii antropologici sui lapponi*, 1880.

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[78] The full collection of pictures are today preserved in the MAE archive, while the library keeps the original copy of the book and the article.

Fig. 3. 7– Table XXI, "Preit Maria Nutti, age 35, from Karasuando – John Hendriksen Bilto, age 40, from Karasuando", albumen prints, Paolo Mantegazza and Stephen Sommier, *Studii antropologici sui lapponi*, 1880.

Fig. 3. 8 – Table XXXII, "Lappish marriage at Bossekop (Altenfjord)", albumen print, Paolo Mantegazza and Stephen Sommier, *Studii antropologici sui lapponi*, 1880.

The anthropological portrait of a man in front, profile and back view contained a very unusual background, where the requested neutrality was completely forgotten (fig. 3.9). The fake architectural scenery leads one to think that the picture was taken within a studio. The choice is exceptional for this subject: white or neutral backdrops were used in all the other portraits, such as the black background employed for the other naked subjects (fig. 3.10). Although architectonic details could have been used to measure the body, the juxtaposition between the naked figure and the elegant villa panorama created a sharp contrast.

Fig. 3. 9 - Table XXXIII, "Lars Nilsen Hotti, age 58, from Karasuando", albumen print, Paolo Mantegazza and Stephen Sommier, *Studii antropologici sui lapponi*, 1880.

Fig. 3. 10- Table XXXV, "Lars Hendriksen Valkiapaa, age 25", albumen prints, Paolo Mantegazza and Stephen Sommier, *Studii antropologici sui lapponi*, 1880.

The performative feature of the 19th century photographic practice is already evident in many of the portraits described so far. However, the exceptionality of this case, its out-of-the-norm background reveals more directly the artificiality of such posing. Its un-neutrality invites the viewer to a consideration of the un-neutral method of anthropological research and it forces to think of the relation between photographer and photographed. Moreover, it leads to a reflection on the perception Mantegazza and Sommier would have had of those pictures. Selected for publication as one of the best portraits obtained in the trip, they did not perceive the image's inconsistency to the scientific norms as a problematic issue.

Even in a campaign guided by Mantegazza, a theorist and promoter of a photographic protocol for anthropology, we can find many pictures that do not adhere to the requested methods and that adapted the portrait to other demands. The discrepancy was not only between theories and practice but also between the declared written achievement of the *Studii* (who refers to pictures "taken for each individual in face and profile") and the actual photographs presented to the reader. Even when

produced with a clear scientific aim, the materiality of pictures and the aesthetical taste led to an escape from the fixed rules imposed by the Instructions.

3.2.6 Modigliani ethnographer-photographer

Another traveller and amateur photographer was Elio Modigliani,[79] who demonstrated a high degree of attention toward the use of the camera and the implications it had for ethnography, as testified by his reference to it in his texts. A specificity of Elio Modigliani was his references to meticulous preparation in advance of his trips. He asked technical and theoretical suggestion from the MCSN in Genova and to Giglioli and Mantegazza in Florence, moreover, he went to the Netherlands to study the colonial territories he was about to visit, and he established connections with German ethnological museums. His case offers an example of a photographer well-prepared and well-inserted in the anthropological community, whose research in the field was directly linked to ethnographic research.

His attention towards ethnography is striking and it emerged in the very first pages of his monograph *Un viaggio a Nias*, a narration dedicated to his six-months trip in the Indonesian island. Three kinds of illustration are included in the book: 195 engravings coming from drawings almost entirely reproducing objects collected by Modigliani or taken from the Leiden museum, mostly inserted in the page together with the text, sometimes using the full-page. There are, moreover, 26 tables with 8 coloured reproductions of ornithological drawings and 18 photographic tables (three of them with double pictures), mainly concerning people and their costumes (13) or dwellings and villages (5). While the rhetoric on photography up until the 1870s was centred on underlying the extraordinary reproduction capabilities of the camera in opposition to drawings, as we have seen in both Paolo Mantegazza and J.W. Lindt's words, from the 1890s we can see how a specific space and purpose came

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[79] On Elio Modigliani (1860-1932) see Cosimo Chiarelli and Pierpaolo Pagano, *Elio Modigliani: Viaggiatore naturalista sulla rotta delle meraviglie, Nias, Sumatra, Engano, Mentawei 1886-1894 : lo sguardo, il racconto, la collezione,* Florence: Polistampa, 2002.

to be assigned to each media. Rather than being contrasting tools, drawings served to depict objects and their texture details, while photography captured the uncollectable elements, mainly persons and their cultural landscape.[80]

Information on the production of illustrations appeared in the preliminary notes of the book, showing the different expertise behind them. With regards to photography:

> The collotypes come from original photographs of the author, except for numbers III, X, XIX, XX, reproduced from photographs (of an unknown author but probably taken by some Dutch officer during one of the various war expeditions stationed on the island), which were kindly lent by the publisher, Busy of Amsterdam. The negatives for the collotypes were prepared by the Alinari Brothers' House in Florence.[81]

The attention to the provenance of illustrations is revealing of a new attitude towards pictures, whose reliability is not guaranteed by the simple fact of being taken 'from a photograph'. The author clearly indicated the source and mentioned the foreign institutions that provided further images, even trying to reconstruct the profile of a hypothetical photographer. Moreover, Modigliani mentioned which company was in charge of the photomechanical printing process, underlying all phases of the image production. Not surprisingly, Modigliani being from Florence, the well-established Alinari Company provided him with technical help.

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[80] On the use of drawings and pictures in anthropology, see the interesting study of Christopher Morton, *The graphicalization of description: drawing and photography in the fieldwork journals and museum work of Henry Balfour*, "Anthropology & Photography", RAI, 2018, 10, 1-25.

[81] Elio Modigliani, *Un viaggio a Nias*, Milan: Treves, 1890: n.p. "Le tavole fototipiche sono tratte da fotografie originali dell'autore, tranne i numeri III, X, XIX, XX, riprodotti da fotografie (d'incognito autore ma probabilmente fatte da qualche ufficiale olandese durante una delle varie spedizioni di guerra inviate nell'isola), che furono gentilmente prestate dall'editore Busy di Amsterdam. Le negative per le fototipie furono preparate dalla Casa dei Fratelli Alinari di Firenze".

Modigliani's book referred to the picture-making quite often, providing information on the way portraits were taken and created a connection between the description of the trip, the objects collected, the people's costumes, and the establishment of relationships. Although some topics were recurring, for example, the fear generated by the photographic apparatus, Modigliani's narration is more keen to depict the dimension of the encounter and to give tangible insight on how the final image, presented to the reader, was constructed. For example, while referring to a picture of two men inside a native house, he unveiled the arrangement of the subjects who were asked to sit in a certain position (fig. 3.11). The description also referred to intrusive elements captured by the objectives, belonging to Modigliani himself, and made explicit the spatial modifications produced by his presence:

> and while they were astonished to look at me, I arranged everything to photograph the interior of his house, in a corner of which I sat him and Hèla ba dano, second Head of the village; and I barely needed to recommend them to stand still, because frightened, they didn't move anymore and remained as if nailed to the ground [...] it is clear that the luggage in a corner and the bottle placed under a filter in action, belong to the author, who for the desire to enjoy that good opportunity, forgot to remove them from the point where they were.[82]

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[82] Modigliani, *Un viaggio…*, 1890: 207. "e mentre attoniti stavano a guardarmi, disposi ogni cosa per fotografare l'interno della sua casa, in un angolo della quale feci sedere lui e Hèla ba dano secondo Capo del villaggio; ed ebbi appena bisogno di raccomandare loro di stare fermi, perché impauriti non si mossero più e rimasero come inchiodati al suolo […] si capisce di leggeri che il bagaglio in un angolo e la bottiglia posta sotto un filtro in azione, appartengono all'autore, che per la bramosia di fruire di quella buona occasione, ha dimenticato di toglierli dal punto ove si trovavano".

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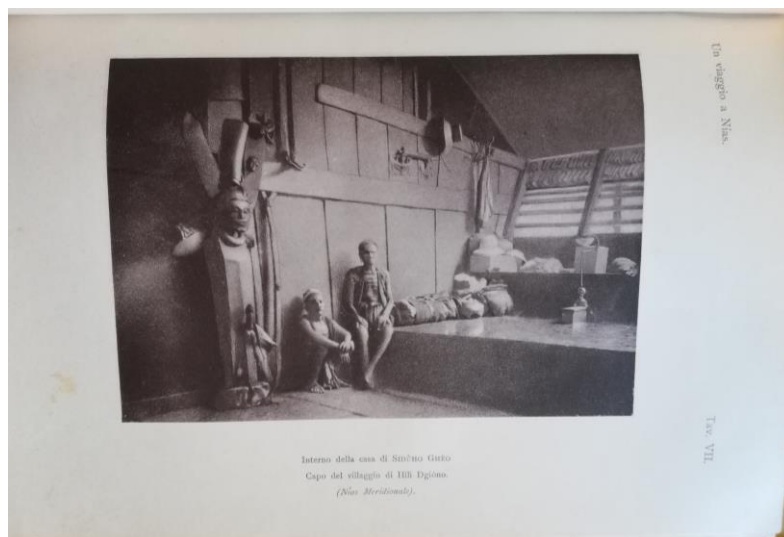
Fig. 3.11 – Table VII, "Inside Siduho Gheo's house, the chief of Hili Dgiono village (Southern Nias)", engravings, Elio Modigliani, *Un viaggio a Nias*, 1890.

Moreover, the author revealed how he asked the sitter to dress up for the portrait, reversing the idea of the picture as a spontaneous moment of documentation, ignoring as Morselli would say, the 'natural and free attitude'[83]. Instead, what he shared with the request for 'artistic photography' of the Instructions, was the possibility to make the picture a sum of both the extraordinary and typical elements of a culture, an exemplary depiction comprising more levels. Clothing played a crucial role in this representation:

> When I asked them to wear their ceremonial clothes to be portrayed they immediately accepted, and while they were getting dressed, I transported the camera out of the house and I posed Canòlo, son of Sidulo Ghèo (Table VIII), a young man of about 20 years old, quick, frank and nice. I have tried to reproduce, in the chromolithography of the front cover, his costume, which is similar to the Heads' one, but less rich in ornaments; I maintained

[83] Morselli, *Programma…*1884: 125-126. See ch. 2.

the natural colour of the various pieces that compose it so that the reader can have a clear idea of the taste of the Nìas better than with any description.[84]

The attention to colour in the reproduction of dresses would become a recurrent feature in the representation of Italian costumes, as chapter 5 will show. The flattened image used in the cover of the book, with bright and uniform colouring, more than being a faithful reproduction, is a simplified view that ignores details such as the geometric decoration of the jacket of Canòlo (fig. 3.12).
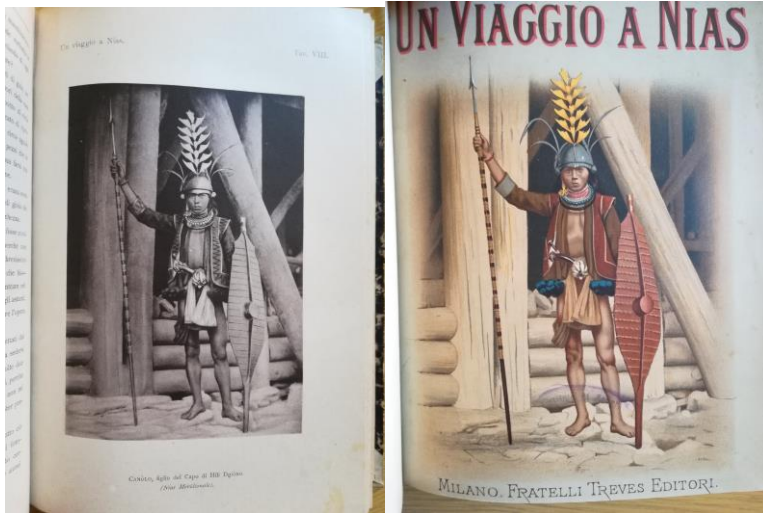
Fig. 3. 12 – Table VIII, "Canolo, son of the head of Hili Dgiono (Southern Nias)"; book frontispiece, engravings, in Elio Modigliani, *Un viaggio a Nias*, 1890.

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[84] Modigliani, *Un viaggio…*, 1890: 208. "Si arresero subito alla mia domanda d'indossare i loro abiti di gala, per farsi ritrarre e mentre essi si vestivano, trasportai la macchina fuori dalla casa e misi in posa Canòlo, figlio di Sidulo Ghèo (Tav. VIII), giovanotto di circa 20 anni, svelto, franco e simpatico fin dalle prime relazioni. Ho cercato di riprodurre, nella cromolitografia della copertina, il suo costume, che è circa uguale a quello dei Capi, tranne che meno ricco di ornamenti; ai vari pezzi che lo compongono è mantenuto il colore naturale, affinchè il lettore possa farsi una chiara idea del gusto dei Nìas meglio che con qualunque descrizione."

The excessive style of those portrayed led to amused reactions from the surrounding public who were observing the scene: "two illustrious [...] ancestors had meanwhile finished decorating themselves and had descended into the village square among the laughter and exclamations of joy of their people".[85] Modigliani referred also to other situations such as the interest raised by the apparatus: "they went to touch with great curiosity the hinges, the brass lenses and the metal support, asking for each pieces' name and purpose"; or how to choose the framing to obtain a well-made picture: "Sometimes it was the tip of the shield that I wanted to bring back into the frame of my camera, meanwhile [...] laughing or talking to bystanders, they came out of focus".[86]

Once more, poses were performed in exchange for goods (tobacco in this case), and the author encountered again that difficulty of obtaining the authorization to make a female portrait:

> Photography was meanwhile becoming popular in the village and many, induced by the pinches of tobacco that I distributed to those who wanted to do it, came to sit for a moment on the stones that served as a stool for the pose. [...] Although they were all so well disposed for me and did everything I could think of, I couldn't persuade them to let me take pictures of the women: "*lo iralave*", the women no, they said and no matter how much I tried to convince them that I wouldn't hurt them and that I wouldn't even touch them to make them sit down, they didn't want to accept.[87]

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[85] Modigliani, *Un viaggio…*, 1890: 208. "I due illustri […] antenati avevano intanto finito di ornarsi ed erano scesi pure nella piazza del villaggio tra le risa e le esclamazioni di gioia dei loro sottoposti"

[86] Modigliani, *Un viaggio…*, 1890: 208. "andarono a toccarne con grande curiosità le cerniere, gli obbiettivi di ottone ed il sostegno metallico, domandando di ogni pezzo il nome e lo scopo […]Ora era la punta dello scudo che conveniva far rientrare nel campo della mia macchina, ora essi […] ridendo o parlando con gli astanti, escivano di fuoco".

[87] Modigliani, *Un viaggio…*, 1890: 208-209. "La fotografia diveniva intanto popolare nel villaggio e molti, allettati dai pizzichi di tabacco che distribuivo a chi voleva sottoporvisi, venivano a sedersi per un momento sulle pietre che mi servivano da sgabello di posa. […] Sebbene fossero tutti così ben disposti per me e facessero proprio tutto ciò che mi saltava in mente , non mi fu possibile di persuaderli a lasciarmi fotografare le donne: lo

All these observations provide the idea not only of the spatial elements in which pictures where produced (the interior of a house, the village square, the stone's background) but also of the contacts with people and the temporal investments necessary to a photographer.

Modigliani's case helped to show another kind of photographic encounter, characterised by the awareness and openly declared performance of field photography. Modigliani can be compared to Lamberto Loria owing to their shared ethnographic interests, their involvement in the anthropological community, and their careful use of photography. Also Loria's text discloses a lot of information on the actual practices of field photography and the interaction between space, techniques, and people. For example, he gave his own interpretation of how to portray properly an indigenous subject:

> When posing, the first times you do not have to impose your will but adapt to portray them, as they present themselves, and often the unexpected behaviour is better than a studied composure or an artificial grouping. Imposition and bad manners do not help the reluctant ones. When the savage sees the successful portrait of one of his companions, he is taken by an irresistible mania to imitate him, and then he bends docile to the suggestions, for the emulation of a better portrait.[88]

Besides the use of the recurrent stereotype of the savage as a docile child, the issue of spontaneity, the aspiration for instant photography and the possibility of an unbiased representation are at stake here. Modigliani was keener to reveal the creation of the setting, while Loria tended to

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iralave, le donne no, essi dicevano e per quanto cercassi di convincerli che non avrei fatto loro nessun male e che non le avrei nemmeno toccate per farle sedere, non vollero saperne".

[88] Lamberto Loria, *Cenni sulla fotografia nei viaggi di esplorazione*, "BSFI", 11, 1899, p. 321-325: 325. "Nella posa, le prima volte non si deve imporre la volontà; ma adattarsi a ritrarli, così come ci si presentano, e bene spesso l'imprevisto degli atteggiamenti val meglio di una studiata compostezza o di un aggruppamento artificiale. Verso i restii non giova l'impero e il mal garbo. Quando il selvaggio ravvisa il ritratto riuscito d'un suo compagno, è preso da irresistibile mania di imitarlo, e allor si piega docile ai suggerimento, per l'emulazione di un miglior ritratto".

enhance the notion of spontaneity and unbiased representation. In both cases, the description of the photographer's preparation became part of the narration of the field experience. In parallel, the fieldwork started to become a fundamental and autonomous element of anthropological research.

3.2.7 Bottego, a soldier with a camera

Vittorio Bottego (1860-1897)[89] was not an ethnographer, nor an amateur photographer. First of all, he was a military man who undertook explorative campaigns for the SGI. In doing so, he interestingly intersected photographic and ethnographic matters. While Modigliani was mainly concerned with ethnography and settled for quite a long time in the same territories, Bottego was a military officer, interested in documenting his moves across the Giuba River in 1892-93. We have seen how Modigliani intended to be prepared and advised before his trips, and Vittorio Bottego similarly organised his explorations in advance asking suggestions to experts: "I knew, by study and by practice, how to undertake the various tasks of the explorer; but I did not overlook to listen to specialists in scientific matters,".[90] With this quote he seems to have well-received the distinction of roles fostered in the Instructions; he situated himself within the community of practice of explorers, but also close to the scientific milieu. In his chapter dedicated to the preparation of his African Exploration, Bottego explained how he took advice from specialists on a series of matters: he asked Giglioli, Gestro and Pigorini respectively for zoological and ethnographic suggestion to improve the collection of their museums, and he also had specific guidance on photography.

> Dr Modigliani gave me precious guidelines for the conservation
> of photographic material, and it is due to his merit if this book of

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[89] See Roberto Spocci and Maria Grazia Mezzadri, *Vittorio Bottego e le esplorazioni in Africa: 1897-1997: Museo di storia naturale dell'Università di Parma,* Parma: Monte Università, 2003.

[90] Vittorio Bottego, *Giuba esplorato*, Turin: Loescher, 1895: 9. "Sapevo, per studio e per pratica, disimpegnarmi nelle varie incombenze dell'esploratore; ma non trascurai, in materia scientifica, d'interrogare gli specialisti".

mine ends up being illustrated by photographs. I am grateful to Mr Stillmann for having given me his cameras, [which are] excellent tools in every aspect, and for having recommended the rigid films, the only ones really suitable for such trips. [91]

From this sentence, we can understand that it was precisely the abovementioned Elio Modigliani who suggested to him in regards to field photography. This indication suggests that, following his trip and book, Modigliani was probably considered as a mentor in photographic matters. The transfer of knowledge occurred within the network of explorers and travellers, rather than in the professional sphere. A further connection between Bottego and the ethnographic community is that Guido Boggiani, who he met in Rome after his return from the first trip in South America, graphically curated his book.[92] The fact that Bottego borrowed cameras from Stillmann indicates that, interestingly, the explorer was not buying his own instrument, nor were these instruments provided by the SGI, but he was asking a professional for the materials. [93] With 'rigid films' the author probably meant plain films, introduced by Eastman in 1889, a material that was mostly discouraged by Loria, especially for humid climates, but that were preferred for their lightness.

A second expedition was organized once more by Bottego in 1895 on the Omo River. The President of the SGI Doria encouraged Bottego on the exploration that was promoted to enlarge the Italian influence in the area. This time Bottego preferred to leave the photography to his collaborators Ugo Ferrandi, who mainly produced pictures of the objects

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[91] Bottego, *Giuba…*, 1895: 9. "Il dottor Modigliani mi diede preziose norme per la conservazione del materiale fotografico, ed è mercè sua se questo mio libro esce illustrato da fotografie. Sono grato al signor Stillmann d'avermi ceduto i suoi apparecchi fotografici, ottimi sotto ogni rapporto, e consigliate le pellicole rigide, le sole veramente adatte per simili viaggi."

[92] On Guido Boggiani and its relationship with Paolo Mantegazza see the interesting article by Francesca Bigoni, Michele Dantini and Maria Gloria Roselli, *Guido Boggiani e Paolo Mantegazza: lo sguardo dell'artista e la ricerca dell'antropologo*, "AAE", 140, 2010: 33-51.

[93] Bottego's text most probably refers to William J. Stillmann, British photographer member of the Hellenistic society who worked around 1890 in Sicily for a reportage on Greek Temple.

collected, and Carlo Citerni who was in charge of writing the diaries and documenting with photographs the encounters and daily events of the expedition. The results of this unfortunate expedition, where Bottego and the second lieutenant Maurizio Sacchi were killed due to the conflictual situation that followed the Adowa defeat, were published in 1899 in *L'Omo; viaggio d'esplorazione nell'Africa Orientale*, by Citerni and Vannutelli. Illustrations had an important role in the book, and a comparison between one original picture and its published version makes the process of translation from photographs to engraving clearly visible (fig. 3.13).[94]
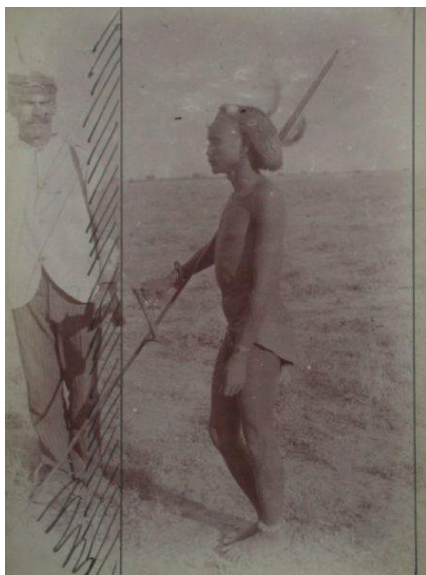
Fig. 3.13 - Left: inv. 69.4.30, 18853, albumen print, 156x116mm, "Un Ghelebat (Bass Narok 1.Sett.96)", Carlo Citerni, 1.09.1896, © Archivio fotografico della Società Geografica Italiana. Right: "Un Ghelebà", engravings, Lamberto Vannutelli and Carlo Citerni, *L'Omo. Viaggio d'esplorazione nell'Africa Orientale*, Milan: Hoepli, 1899: 345.

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[94] See Belknap, *From a Photograph…*, 2019.

As already suggested by the handwritten marks on the photograph, the published version of the image eliminated the presence of the Italian soldier in white uniform. Perfectly in line with the communication of the exploration as an isolated enterprise characterized by the immersion in the unknown African world, no interaction with Europeans was to be visible. The disappearance of the soldier in the published engraving makes evident the performance of the field, which was not a natural but a constructed space, the result of processes of negotiations. Through the engraving's cut, the portrayed subject was immersed and isolated in an empty and sunny plain, and emphasised the supposed naturality of his condition. The soldier in the original picture was perceived as an 'excess of description' as Poole named it, a disturbing detail revealing the photo's temporal contingency in spite of its fixity[95]. The soldier's presence modified the meaning and located the pictures in the field of encounters and colonial relationship rather than that of adventure and discovery. Modigliani had already challenged this approach, declaring clearly the photographer's role and physical presence in the space.

Bottego's case showed a military interpretation of the ethnographic field, where photography was considered a possible way to grasp and possess the site and to conquer the area scientifically. The camera was listed among the various scientific tools of the exploration, but it does not seem to be directed to a specific research object: "the zoologist goes in search of insects, the geologist collects samples of rocks, the astronomer observes the stars, and the photographer goes around to portray views and groups."[96] Despite the strict control operated on representation, the flaneuristic quality of photography is here rhetorically emphasized.

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[95] See Deborah Poole, *An excess of description: ethnography, race, and visual technologies*, "Annual Review of Anthropology", 34, 2005: 159-179.

[96] Lamberto Vannutelli and Carlo Citerni, *L'Omo. Viaggio d'esplorazione nell'Africa Orientale*, Milan: Hoepli, 1899, 176-179.

3.2.8 Eritrea 1905

An important role in the history of Italian field photography was played by the *Missione Eritrea*, undertaken between autumn 1905 and winter 1906.[97] The mission was closely connected to the Colonial Congress of Asmara in 1905 and could be considered a practical application of the *Istruzioni per lo studio della Colonia Eritrea* (analysed in the previous chapter) published only in 1907 but already prepared as a draft during the congress. The venture was launched in a joint effort from the ISSPP of Florence and the Ministry of Public Education and had a series of extraordinary characteristics: it was a public campaign, it was conducted on an Italian colony, it saw the explicit connection between colonial and scientific communities, and for the first time, it was envisaged as teamwork where each expert would carry on and represent one area of research. Photography was considered a relevant medium for research but, instead of being carried out by a professional photographer, was used directly by the scientific team.

This project was prepared in the previous years, as suggested in the words of Mochi in 1900, who aimed at a level of accuracy not yet obtained by Italian explorations:

> It would be necessary for specialists to go to the places and report descriptions, photographs, objects and news, all chosen, ordered and documented as required by the rigorous method of scientific research. [...] These needs will sooner or later be met by the associations of scholars who have these researches in their program and with the help of those governments who, as defenders of Ethiopian peoples, are the most interested in knowing them in every aspect.[98]

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[97] A complete analysis of the Mission through Mochi's diary can be found in Gianni Dore, *"C'è l'Assaorta che ci aspetta…" Geografi ed etnografi italiani tra i Saho d'Eritrea*, "Ethnorêma", V, 5, 2009, pp. 11-28 and Elena Pacini, *Dal territorio eritreo al Museo.Gli scopi e le tecniche di collezione degli oggetti etnografici*, "Ethnorêma", V, 5, 2009, pp. 29-50.

[98] Aldobrandino Mochi, *Gli oggetti etnografici delle popolazioni etiopiche*, "AAE", 30, 1900, pp. 87-93: 93, quoted by Elena Pacini, *Dal territorio…*, 2009: 35. "Occorrerebbe che degli

The production of specialist knowledge was clearly determined by the need to control the new colonial territories. Geography and Geology were under the responsibilities of Giotto Dainelli and Olinto Marinelli, while the SIAE members Aldobrandino Mochi and Lamberto Loria were in charge of anthropology and ethnography. Loria, who wrote the paragraph on photography of the Eritrea Instructions – as well as many articles regarding field photography – was the main photographer, although Dainelli and Mochi also took some pictures.

From the diaries of Dainelli and Mochi it is possible to find evidence on the way the research was conducted. [99] The form of the encounter with indigenous was already strongly determined by the new colonial power in the region and the peoples were often brought to the scholars base camp and forced to submit themselves to enquiries. For example: "a group of Teroa came at our request to be seen measured and photographed by us".[100] Anthropometry, conducted mainly by Mochi who was an important promoter of the discipline,[101] encountered some resistance from the people, who were not keen to expose themselves to such manipulation and contact. The diffidence toward the positivistic conception and measuring mania of the Italian researchers, the cultural distance, and the photographic invasiveness were well documented by a statement from the chief of a local community who said to Mochi "We have always seen the measurement of butter, milk and grain and never

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specialisti si recassero sui luoghi e ne riportassero descrizioni, fotografie, oggetti e notizie, tutti scelti, ordinati e documentati come esige il severo metodo delle scientifiche ricerche. (...) A tali esigenze si saprà dare, prima o poi, adempimento, per opera delle associazioni di studiosi che queste ricerche hanno nel loro programma e con l'aiuto di quei governi i quali, essendosi costituiti tutori dei popoli etiopici, sono i più interessati a conoscerli sotto ogni aspetto".

[99] Mochi's diary was published in 2002 in AAE: Sara Ciruzzi, Marco Piccardi, Rachela Riccio, and Gloria Roselli (eds.), *'Missione Eritrea', 1905-1906 – Diario di Aldobrandino Mochi*, "AAE", 2002, 132, pp. 3-252.

[100] Ciruzzi, Piccardi, Rachela, and Roselli (eds.), 'Missione…, 2002: 218. "un gruppo di Teroa [sono] venuti dietro nostra richiesta a farsi vedere misurare e fotografare da noi".

[101] See chapter 1.

of men. Man can only be measured with his eyes and ears, looking at his hands and hearing his speeches."[102]

An interesting element of the mission is the new attention towards material culture; although an interest for the elements of traditions was present, as we have seen, from the very origin of the discipline, this time it was conducted systematically on certain spaces, for example dwellings. Such research was enriched by a series of pictures made by Loria (fig. 3.14):

> all the huts were open to us; and so we were able to find out their layout, take photographs, take measurements - to have names of objects, tools, of all the parts of the Abyssinian dwelling - information on customs and traditions - traditions and genealogies: all very interesting topics.[103]

Along the trip, the connection between photographs and objects seemed to become a peculiar trait of the investigation. Differently from previous photo collections where objects were photographed for acquisition purposes, now pictures were used as an aid to register the way these tools/utensils were used or produced, and the context of their creation (fig. 3.15). Such documentary use was also encouraged by the development of instantaneous photography and lightweight cameras:

> In the village I see, for the first time, a woman who cleans the cotton from the seeds. She does it with a fusiform iron rod with which she flattens the cotton on a stone: the pappus is twisted at the plateau and the seeds remain on the stone. The scene is taken

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[102] Ciruzzi, Piccardi, Rachela, and Roselli (eds.), '*Missione*…, 2002: 216. "Noi abbiamo sempre visto misurare il burro, il latte e le granaglie e non mai gli uomini. L'uomo si misura solo con gli occhi e con gli orecchi: guardandone le mani e udendone i discorsi".

[103] Dainelli 1908: 38-9, quoted by Pacini, *Dal territorio*…, 2009: 37. "tutte le capanne ci erano aperte; ed abbiamo così potuto rilevarne la pianta, prender fotografie, misure – avere nomi di oggetti, di utensili, di tutte le parti dell'abitazione abissina – notizie sugli usi e costumi – tradizioni e genealogie: tutti argomenti interessantissimi".

discreetly with the Kodak: the two tools are purchased immediately.[104]

Fig. 3. 14 - inv. 937, 938, "Eritrea - Afta –Bet Tannuecal's house - Gorroskuna - Bet Fachi's hut - Collez. Missione Eritrea - Fotog. Prof. Loria", Folder 7, gelatin silver print, 165x120mm © Sezione di Antropologia e Etnologia, Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università degli Studi di Firenze.

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[104] Ciruzzi, Piccardi, Rachela, and Roselli (eds.), '*Missione*…', 2002: 65. "nel paese vedo, per la prima volta, una donna che monda il cotone dai semi. Lo fa con un bastoncello fusiforme di ferro con il quale spiana il cotone su una pietra: il pappo si attorciglia allo spianatoio e i semi restano sulla pietra. La scena è presa al volo col Kodak: i due utensili vengono subito comperati".

Fig. 3. 15 - inv. 1031-1036, "Hamptò – making *assaortini* vases - Idem - Idem - Idem - Hamptò – women making *assaortini* vases - Adi Caies – women during Ramadan - Photo Prof. Loria", Folder 7, gelatin silver print, 86x86mm © Sezione di Antropologia e Etnologia, Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università degli Studi di Firenze.

Besides ways of depicting that are closer to instantaneous pictures, there are also situations in which pictures were taken through an extended permanence in a village to build confidence with the population, as Dainelli reported talking about Loria and Mochi:

> They settled in a temporary village of nomadic *assaortini* [from Assaorta region] whose trust they sought and found. So much so that while on the first day those natives rebelled when they proposed to buy some of their objects, on the last day they ran after them offering new products [...] Mochi was able to take many measures, Loria took various anthropological photographs, both

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of which enriched the ethnographic collection; and of course they
are very satisfied.[105]

The Campagna Eritrea remained an exception in the Italian panorama of fieldwork, where photography obtained the recognition of a form of knowledge, whose value does not lay in its artistic tone, but in its documenting and informative power. Different cameras were used for different purposes: for the immobile dwellings, glass plates were preferred, also testifying to the high consideration that objects had in the research. Small film cameras could catch markets and street scenes instead, that should, however, contain (as the Instructions asked) written information to register the circumstance.

This chapter's principal aim was to understand how photographic practice was carried out in the field. To do so, I chose selected case studies. The activity of the professional photographer Montabone and Tuminello showed the use of photography in a scientific campaign and the development of an ethnographic sensibility. The case of the Akka's portraits well exemplified the concept of visual economy. The correspondence between Lindt and Luigi D'Albertis traced the connection between professional photographers and explorers and showed how they operated differently in the same space. The travel to Lapland of Mantegazza and Sommier demonstrated that even those involved in disseminating instructions did not apply them in their practice. Modigliani's visual practice made explicit the performative dimension of the field, while Bottego's mission showed how a military exploration involved a web of knowledge that includes ethnography and photography. The *Missione Eritrea*'s case manifested the strong connection between the colonial administration and ethnographic

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[105] Dainelli 1908: 175, quoted by Pacini, *Dal territorio…*, 2009: 39. "si sono stabiliti presso un villaggio temporaneo di assaortini nomadi, dei quali hanno cercato e trovato la fiducia. Tanto che mentre il primo giorno quegli indigeni, alla proposta di comperar alcuni loro oggetti si son ribellati assolutamente, all'ultimo invece correvan dietro ad offrir nuove compre [...] Mochi ha potuto prendere molte misure, Loria fare varie fotografie antropologiche, tutti e due arricchire la collezione etnografica; e naturalmente sono assai soddisfatti"

research and offered a new way of understanding the photograph as document.

Here we have tackled some of the various ways in which the camera was employed and the different actors that contributed to forging an ethnographic image. In the next chapter, we will move from the perspective of the photographers to the role of collectors and users of these pictures, to describe the trajectories and the lives of images in the archive.

4. COLLECTING PHOTOGRAPHY

Photo archives are the result of a series of processes of exchanges, acquisitions, donations, and campaigns. As Edwards puts it: "photographs were displayed, swapped, collected, taken for collectors locally, and were active participants in the making of meaning around culture".[1] In this chapter, archives will be considered as historical agents that led to inclusions and exclusions of pictures according to their own functioning system. Photography will, therefore, be associated not only with the practice of the photographer and the photographed, but also to the choice of the collector who acquires pictures and gives new meaning to them. First of all, the aim is to understand how anthropological photographic collections and archives were created; secondly, this chapter will identify the role of the archive in defining what ethnographic and anthropological photography was. The focus is therefore on the institutionalisation of photo collections and the analysis of taxonomies and classification methods, which would bring to light the cultural assumptions informing the processes of archival accumulation and sedimentation.[2]

The continuous shift of attention from the single picture to the function it carries within the archive in which it is inserted, from the particular representation produced in a specific environment to the meaning negotiated around it in a different context, is what will be explored in this chapter. Specific attention to how the archive was structured, the

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[1] Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford: Berg, 2001: 32.

[2] See Costanza Caraffa, *From 'photo libraries' to 'photo archives'. On the epistemological potential of art-historical photo collections*, in Costanza Caraffa (ed.), *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011: 11-44. The relationship between photography and collecting has been analysed by a number of studies in the last years. Looking to the case of art history photography, Caraffa proposed a shift from the idea of photographic library to the one of photographic archive. The term 'archive' is seen as a weightier word to describe the mix of agendas, power structures, intentions behind a photographic accumulation, and to reveal its role as non-neutral historical agent.

gathering of photo collections realised, and the regulating of the process of acquisition of pictures, will also be central to the analysis. Such information is not so easily retrievable since pictures were often perceived as transparent objects and did not figure in the collection's catalogue. Although photographs' institutional presence was often unspoken, their excessive presence in many anthropological institutions speaks for them.

The recognition of the visual significance of the anthropological archive is at the core of the following paragraphs. In order to consider the various ways and spaces in which anthropological archives were produced, this chapter will take as case-studies different institutions/containers. The chapter will, therefore, move on the line between private and public collection and consumption, considering the different layers connected to each case and reflecting on Edwards's distinction:

> There were perhaps two overlapping 'trade-routes' through which photographs moved [...] First were the centralised projects of photographic collection focused on the learned and scientific institutions, and second, those reference collections of individual scholars that have since been deposited in larger institutional archive collections.[3]

The chapter will take into consideration two leading museums in the peninsula, Pigorini's in Rome and Mantegazza's in Florence, the archive of a powerful institution and society, the SGI, and the private collection of a traveller in Castello D'Albertis. As an introductory and exemplary case, the next section is dedicated to a portrait found in the Pitt Rivers archive.

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[3] Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw…*, 2001, p. 32.

4.1 Portraits or types? Private pictures in public collections

Looking for pictures exchanged between Italy and England in the archive of the Pitt Rivers Museum, I chanced upon a studio picture of two African boys, dressed in oriental clothes (fig. 4.1). The boys are standing confidently in front of the camera, leaning on a decorated table, both holding a book, one almost closed in the right hand, the other one kept open on the table. The background represents a fake interior, and a carpet is used as flooring. The cabinet portrait provides the information on the photographer: "*Lodovico Kaiser, Corso Cavour, Verona"*. Handwritten information on the back clarifies the subject: "*Tibo Francesco Tukuba/Chairallah Luigi Manhunha/Verona, li 17 Maggio 1881"*. On the front, under the two figures, a different hand wrote with pencil: "*Mukenke/Tuba (dead*)".

The compound traces left on the surface of the photographic object disclose a series of actors who operated in different times and spaces: there are the two subjects and the photographer, the Italian writer of the captions on the back and the presumably English writer of the note on the front. Such amount of information reveals that it is a picture of the *Akka del Miani,* whose story has been already described in the previous chapter. This picture contains some elements that are worth mentioning and that would be at the core of the present chapter. The photograph does not answer to the rule of the anthropometric portrait, nor the request of artistic photography. It did not aim to represent the body of the other as exemplary, nor did it show any element of the traditional culture of the subject. The picture wanted to depict a transformation, from nameless savages to cultivated subjects, who deserved their own portrait. In the representation of domestication, some elements still trace the distance between their picture and the perfect bourgeoisie portrait: they are both wearing the same attire that, albeit are not the scanty clothes so often used in picturing African people, still it gives a taste of oriental and exotic.

Fig. 4.1– Accession number 2000.15.16, Lodovico Kaiser "Mukenke - Tuba (dead) - Tibo Francesco Tukuba - Chairallah Luigi Manhunha - Verona, li 17 Maggio 1881", albumen print, © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

The picture was shot in Verona, where the boys lived as servants at Count Miniscalchi's house.[4] We could imagine it was taken as a way to record their stay at his property and to immortalise their change and literacy: we could, therefore, consider it a private picture, realised with private means for private reasons. Nonetheless, we find it in one of the most significant anthropological photo archives of the nineteenth century. How was this displacement possible? Moreover, what does it

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[4] "The two young men at Verona had also been promoted to the rank of "buttons" in Count Miniscalchi's palace." Enrico Hillyer Giglioli to William Henry Flower, 31.03.1888, NHM archive, W. H. Flower (Director), Semi-official papers, 1884-1892.

tell us about how anthropology was made with and through pictures? Its presence demonstrates a disconnection between theoretical discussion - revolving around issues of purity, classification, reliability - and practice, where the yearning of obtaining the appearance of the two Akka outdid the style of the picture, which bore witness of a process of encounter and transformation that did not disturb the scholarly eye. On the one hand, we can consider this aspect from the market's perspective, suggesting that in such a historical moment of technical development, the demand for the photo was shaped by the supply. As Edwards pointed out, the scarce availability of visual documents led anthropologists to rely upon commercial photographers, privileging content despite style, albeit being conscious of the different target of similar productions.[5] On the other hand, the presence of commercial and private photographs can be read in terms of cultural habits and visual canon. Rather than considering the awareness of the anthropologist's eye, another possibility is to stress its spontaneous response to successful and widely circulating photographic styles, such as the portrait and the *carte de visite*, perceived as a neutral and therefore reliable representation of an individual. Considering this phenomenon in light of the confidence in visual sources and its intertwining with diffused social practices, it is not surprising to see how scientific projects could preserve private forms of record-keeping. A striking example are the three albums of the Racial Committee produced by the BAAS (fig. 4.2), where photographic portraits of English people were assembled in decorated albums, suggesting an intimate relationship between the collector and the subjects being portrayed, while they were organised with the scope of identifying racial and ethnic types within the British Islands.[6] As Roslyn

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[5] Elizabeth Edwards, *Exchanging photographs: preliminary thoughts on the currency of photography in collecting anthropology*, "Journal des anthropologues", 80, 81, 2000: 28.

[6] For more information on this case see Elizabeth Edwards, *Visualising Science*, in Elizabeth Edwards (ed). *Anthropology and Photography* 1860–1920, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 108-121.

Poignant suggests, the *carte de visite* "appeared to be the ready-made constituents of a scientific narrative waiting to be pieced together".[7]

Fig. 4. 2 - Number 2792-2795, BAAS Racial Committee, Album I, Box 60 © Royal Anthropological Institute

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[7] Roslyn Poignant, *Surveying the field of view: the making of the RAI photographic collection*, in Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography* 1860–1920, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 42-73: 57.

Although we do not have letters referring to Kaiser's portrait of the two boys, it is easy to suppose that the picture ended up in the Pitt Rivers Museum through correspondence with Enrico Giglioli. Their story gained international attention, as we can read in a letter written by Giglioli to Flower (director of the Natural History Museum) who had written an article on the Akkas in the scientific journal *Nature*. Indeed, the pencil sign in the picture reports the death of Tuba, a piece of information provided by Giglioli in his letter, where he added an interesting reference to the scientific practice of that time:

> On the 28th of January 1883, Thibaut, the eldest of Miani's <u>Akkas</u> died, he was about 22 years old; he died of consumption and was <u>carefully</u> buried in the cemetery of Verona, the Miniscalschi are too bigotted to have even thought of allowing a post mortem examination of the body, and much less a preparation of the skeleton for the use of Science![8]

Moreover, if we look for Akkas' representation in Giglioli's photo collection (which we will analyse in-depth in next paragraphs) we will find pictures from the various stage of the Akka's complex history: there are portraits taken in Egypt (fig. 4.3), Brogi's pictures in Florence (fig. 4.4), and a series of pictures taken in Verona. The latter group consists of three pictures taken in a studio, including the same image found in the Pitt Rivers archive (although out of the *carte de visite* format), another similar version of the portrait, and a third where the two Akkas are inserted in a family photo, together with representatives of the Miniscalchi (fig. 4.5).

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[8] Giglioli to Flower, 31 March 1888, NHM, W. H. Flower (Director) – Semi-official papers – 1884-1892

Fig. 4. 3 – Paolo Panceri, "Tibaut – Said – Kerallah - The two Akka of Miani and their Dinka caretaker, Egyptian soldier - Cairo March 1874 - Gift from Prof. Paolo Panceri – Enrico H. Giglioli", Giglioli Collections, ©_Museo delle Civiltà - MPE "L. Pigorini"

Fig. 4. 4 – 5375, Giacomo Brogi, "Thibaut, Akka boy – Photographed in Florence June 1874 by Borgi, I was present – Enrico H. Giglioli", Giglioli Collections, ©_Museo delle Civiltà - MPE "L. Pigorini"

Fig. 4. 5 – Top: "Thibaut – Chairallah – Miss Scarabello – Mister Scarabello – Courtesy Miniscalchi Erizzo"; Down: "Thibaut – Chairallah" "Pictures of the Akka of Miani – Enrico H. Giglioli" – Giglioli Collections, ©_Museo delle Civiltà - MPE "L. Pigorini"

The plurality of these visual documents demonstrates further how the acquisition of commercial pictures was not due to an issue of production's shortage but to a different reception of the boundaries between private and public representation and to an interest over the representation of domestication. Indeed, the presence of these kinds of images in the anthropological archive is not a chance, nor must it be considered an isolated case; their presence has to do with what Edwards and Morton defined as:

> the random inclusiveness (and hence visual excess) of photographic inscription, its fixity of appearance and yet potentially infinite recodability, the instability of photographic meaning, and its temporal and spatial slippages.[9]

I have decided to deepen the specific history and trajectory of the Akka's picture because its presence in the archive of the Pitt Rivers Museum triggered a series of questions that are important to the present chapter, such as the relation between the single image and the collection within which it is inserted, or the travelling paths that the picture followed. In the next sections, I will mostly look at archives at large, with some zooming in specific collections.

4.2 "Ethnographic iconography": the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology's photo archive

The reconstruction of the history of the photographic archive preserved in the Florentine MAE is a challenging work, given that lots of information about the founding collection have been lost over the years. In this section, I am first of all looking at references to the creation of a visual archive as part of the museum purposes. Moreover, I am using the museum's photographic catalogue to recover the history of its organisation in parallel with the arrangement of pictures. Crossing the information of the catalogue with other sources such as journal articles,

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[9] Christopher Morton and Elizabeth Edwards, *Photography, Anthropology, and History: Expanding the Frame*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2009: 4.

I aim to understand the phases of formation of the archive and to provide an image of the archive in the period under analysis (1861-1911).

There is no precise notice on when photography started to be collected as part of the Museum's mission. However, it is clear that such visual material represented one of the priorities for Mantegazza who - as I have pointed out in this thesis - was particularly interested in the possibility offered by the medium for the Study of Man. Already in one of the first numbers of the AAE, Mantegazza made a clear reference to the importance of creating an 'ethnographic iconography'. Although his article aimed at describing a Toba woman's portrait from India, the museum director stressed the value provided by gathering single pictures in a larger set of images, hinting not to the significance of the isolated image, but of the picture inserted in an organic series:

> I considered it useful to science to publish the portrait of a Toba woman, that I already presented with a poor draft in an essay on the human physiognomy. Later, I will publish more portraits, in order to put together the materials of an ethnographic iconography.[10]

Such a comprehensive project of publishing a series of articles examining each time the portrait of a different population was never realised in the AAE. What is sure is that the archive of the MAE began accumulating ethnographic photographs, although the acquisitions were either not catalogued with a specific protocol, order and number, or the catalogues were lost.

Though missing such institutional records, we can find some traces revealing that photographs were indeed acquired by the Museum in the report of a SIAE reunion in 1885. On that occasion, Giglioli presented the New Guinea photographs made by Otto Finsch and proposed his acquisition:

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[10] Paolo Mantegazza, *Il ritratto di una donna toba*, "AAE", 3, 1873, pp. 26-31: 26. "Ho creduto utile alla scienza pubblicare il ritratto di una donna toba, di cui feci conoscere una volta un povero abbozzo in un mio saggio sulle fisionomie umane. Più tardi ne farò conoscere altri, onde mettere insieme i materiali di una iconografia etnologica".

He [Finsch] expresses to me the desire that our Society may acquire the negatives which he himself has produced and which represent the many types of different tribes of that vast island, several of which have not yet been photographed by any other traveller.[11]

This request opened up a discussion on the possibility of acquiring the photo-collection. Mantegazza proposed to buy it for the Museum, but explained that the SIAE was not used to buying pictures, nor had it the economic means to do so:

I would like to point out to my colleague Giglioli that our Society does not have its own collections and that it is therefore difficult to comply with the wish expressed by Dr. Finsch. Instead, I will be able to approach him as Director of the Anthropological Museum of Florence, to purchase the entire collection of his photographs. [12]

The geographer Giotto Dainelli instead, probably interested in having the pictures at the disposal of the Society and not of the Museum, proposed a joint effort with other similar Societies, where we can probably include the SGI, which had a long tradition of photographic acquisition:

[I suggest that] we take the initiative of an agreement between the Societies similar to us to purchase the photographs in question; and thus, through a minor contribution, ours and the other Societies would come into possession of material, which certainly has considerable scientific value.[13]

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[11] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Comunicazioni Scientifiche: Presentazione delle fotografie del Dr. Otto Finsch*, "AAE", 15, 1885: 501. "Egli [Finsch] mi esprime il desiderio che la nostra Società acquisti le negative da lui stesso eseguite e che rappresentano i tipi di molte e diverse tribù di quella vasta isola, parecchi dei quali non furono ancora fotografati da alcun altro viaggiatore"

[12] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Comunicazioni…*1885: 502. "Faccio notare al collega Giglioli che la nostra Società non possiede collezioni in proprio e che quindi è difficile assecondare il desiderio manifestato dal Dr. Finsch. Invece potrò a lui rivolgermi come Direttore del Museo Antropologico di Firenze, per acquistare tutta la collezione delle sue fotografie."

[13] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Comunicazioni…*, 1885: 502. "prendere noi l'iniziativa di un accordo delle Società congeneri alla nostra nell'intento di acquistare le fotografie in

Such discussion gave a series of information: photography had its own currency and was considered a valuable object for research,[14] and although photos were not placed in the same domain as objects, they were nonetheless considered a collection. Moreover, even two closely related institutions, such as the MAE and the SIAE, had different agendas and the Museum was considered the principal recipient of photo collections.

The history of the MAE archive cannot be made without reference to the present state of the institution. The archive was probably reassembled during the 1920s-1930s, in the phase of reorganisation and reopening of the Museum at the new seat in Palazzo Nonfinito. Pictures were ordered and numbered mostly according to a geographical interest and pasted on cardboard containers of the same shape and size, where they are still preserved today.[15] Such organisation destroyed the original assemblage, and probably on that occasion pictures where cut to fit them into the new box, as is especially evident for the pages coming from the precious and bulky Dammann album (fig. 4.6). Through a detailed study of the photo archive and cross-reference with other sources, it is possible to pinpoint which collections were preserved in the museum already in 1911, but such tentative reconstruction would need further investigation and extensive archival research, that is at present out of our research scope.

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questione; e così, mediante un contributo non grave, verremmo e noi e le altre Società in possesso di un materiale, che ha certo un notevole valore scientifico."

[14] On the currency of anthropological photography see again Elizabeth Edwards, *Exchanging…*, 2000.

[15] For information on the photo archive see Maria Gloria Roselli, *La fototeca*, in Jacopo Moggi Cecchi and Roscoe Stanyon (eds.), *Il Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università degli Studi di Firenze*, vol. 5: *Le collezioni antropologiche ed etnologiche*, Florence: Florence University Press, 2014, pp. 209-220.
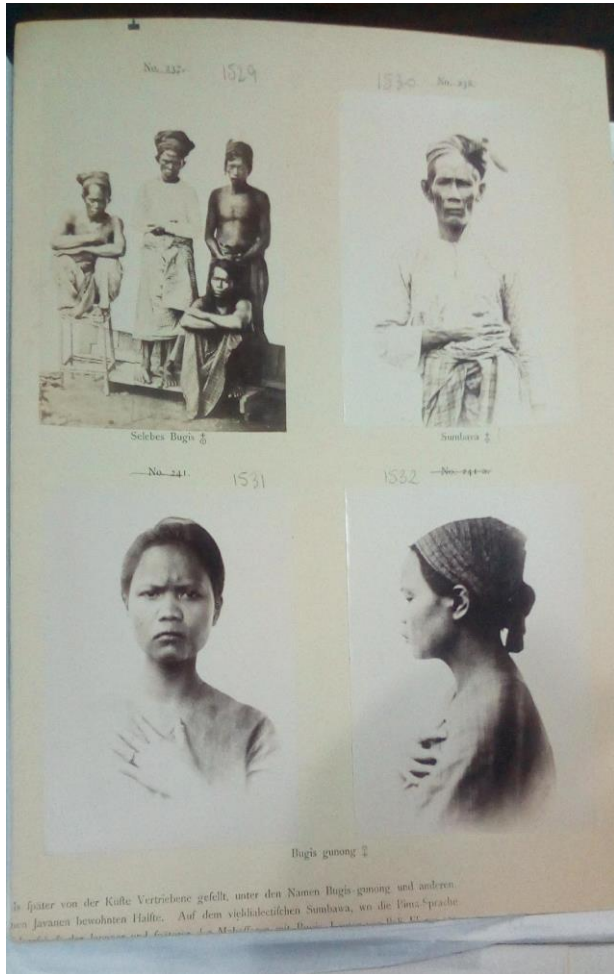
Fig. 4. 6 – Inv. 10630-10633, C. W. Dammann, albumen prints, cutted pages from the *Anthropological and Ethnologies Album*, 1873, album 63,5x48 cm, Box 56, Folder 75, © Sezione di Antropologia e Etnologia, Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università degli Studi di Firenze.

The first collection is the one gathered by Mantegazza, either during his trips or through exchanges and correspondence. This series consists mostly of albumen prints pasted or inserted on cardboard, and some include written inscriptions by Mantegazza himself. There are images, such as those of the Lapps, that were produced by himself, others were acquired during his trip to India, from important studios (Samuel Bourne, Charles Shepherd or Arthur Robertson), or commissioned for his research such as the one by Brogi on pain expression. In addition to that, there are donations made to Mantegazza, such as the important Roland Bonaparte albums, with a dedication. These albums are a perfect example of the field reconstructed at home, in fact these pictures were realised in Paris at the Jardin de l'Acclimatation during the 1892 exhibition, and during the 1884 Amsterdam exhibition (fig. 4.7). Mantegazza was particularly involved with exchanges with the Parisian community, which can be understood from his numerous letters to Paul Broca, founder of the *Societe d'Anthropologie de Paris* and the anthropology laboratory at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes*. A sign of further exchange with France, the MAE preserves the albums realised by the *Musee d'Histoire Naturelle* in Paris with a series on human races portrayed in medium close-up, front and profile view.
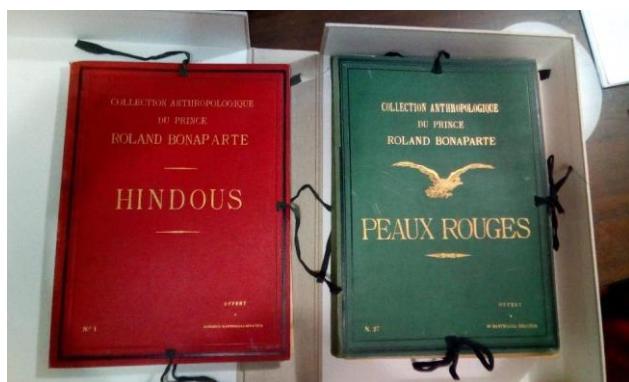
Fig. 4. 7 – Inv. 25058 and 25059, Roland Bonaparte Albums, © Sezione di Antropologia e Etnologia, Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università degli Studi di Firenze.

Among the structured collections, we found that of Loria, Mochi and Dainelli: the *Missione Eritrea* of 1905-1906, which is composed of almost a thousand positives realised during their research. The SIAE, together with the SSGC, was one of the promoters of the publication *Istruzioni per lo studio della Colonia Eritrea*, so it is easy to imagine how the collection ended up in the MAE. The pictures are pasted on cardboard and are accompanied by handwritten information on the bottom providing context to the snapshot; the name of the photographer is placed at the bottom-right of all the cardboard mounts.[16] The handwriting is always the same, suggesting the presence of one curator organising this large amount of visual data, but it does not seem to come originally from the above-mentioned authors or Mantegazza. The calligraphy is recurrent in the MAE archive, and it probably comes from the moment of the reorganisation of the archives in the 1930s', as it is present also in pictures taken after 1911. It is plausible that the functionary took the information from the back of the picture and transferred it to the cardboard where he organised the entire archive. As already outlined in chapter 3, the collection is composed of different shoots, revolving in particular around the material culture of the people, their social life and spaces. The importance attributed to pictures and the scientific role attributed to the medium is clear from the presence of two handwritten catalogues for the negatives, one edited by Dainelli and the other one by Mochi and Loria, where each picture corresponds to a number and the indication of date, place and subject.

Stephen Sommier, who travelled extensively in Russia, Northern and Eastern Europe and had a strong and close relationship with Mantegazza and the MAE, likely donated a consistent part of his travel photographic collection to the Museum, which included his own photographic productions as well as portraits acquired by studio photographers (fig. 4.8). He went twice to Lapland: with Mantegazza in 1879, and with Giovanni Cosimo Cini in 1884-85. In 1880 and 1887 he travelled to Russia, the second time as a SIAE reporter for the Siberian Exposition, while in 1890 he travelled in the Caucasus with the botanist

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[16] Example of the picture can be found in chapter 3.

E. Levier.[17] Paolo Chiozzi, who studied in detail Sommier's photographic activity, noticed his attention to material cultures and ethnographic sensibility, evident also from his travel notes.[18]

Fig. 4. 8 – Inv. 8312-8317, Photographer: Braedstad & Co, hand coloured prints, Box 35, Folder 70, Sommier Collections, © Sezione di Antropologia e Etnologia, Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università degli Studi di Firenze.

The photographic production of Elio Modigliani (1860-1932) was entirely donated to the Museum in August 1918. The donation of positives, negatives as well as some pictures from his colleague Loria in New Guinea are also documented in the museum archive.[19]

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[17] Emile Levier, *A travers le Caucase : notes et impressions d'un botaniste*, Neuchatel: Attinger, 1894. As the frontispiece indicates "avec de nombreuses illustrations de F. Huguenin-Lassauguette et des reproductions directes d'après les photographies de MM. Stéphen Sommier et Vittorio Sella"

[18] Paolo Chiozzi, *Stephen Sommier: etnologia ed etno-fotografia*, "AFT", 4, 7, 1988, pp. 23-31.

[19] Modigliani's positives can be found in the boxes 58-61, 107, 118-119. Being outside of our time span, I have not considered this case here. His photographic activity has been addressed in chapter 3.

In other cases, the trajectories of pictures within the archive are less clear. This is the case especially for those smaller sets of pictures realised by different explorers, probably donated or acquired together with objects or through correspondences, of which hardly any information remains. This is the case for Giglioli's few cardboards or Boggiani's photos of the Chamacoco area. While Giglioli's complete collections are preserved in the MNEP and Boggiani's at the SGI, the MAE holds only a small part of both.[20] Photographic exchanges and reproducibility created a pluralization of pictures and a multiplication of 'originals', making it hard to trace the materials' trajectories.[21] Also, some pictures collected by the explorer Giovanni Battista Cerruti (1850-1914) in Indonesia entered the MAE archive, it could be that they were brought by Modigliani, who profited from Cerruti's help and knowledge of the territories during his exploration of the Nias island. [22] Odoardo Beccari's (1843-1920) photo collections from Borneo and New Guinea were also donated to the museum.[23]

Besides these well-known names, the archive includes many anonymous or unattributed productions, some studio photographers, or less known actors of the anthropological community. For example, Enrico Persano's pictures from the Congo, probably obtained by the Museum in 1906 on the occasion of the publication of Persano's book, which included a

[20] Loria's materials (excluding the Eritrea campaign) are in boxes 61-65, Boggiani in box 36, Giglioli's African pictures in box 33.

[21] As Joan Schwartz suggests, there are "multiple original photographic documents", in *"We make our tools and our tools make us": Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics, and Poetics of Diplomatics*, "Archiviaria", 40, 1995, pp. 40-74: 46. Taking into account the various origins and versions of photographs implies a shift from an art-historical and philological approach that looks at the unicum to a social and technical approach that gives values to variations, repetitions and circulations. See also Kelley Wilder, *Not One but Many: Photographic Trajectories and the Making of History*, "History of Photography", 41, 4, 2017, pp. 376-394.

[22] Francesco Surdich, *Cerruti, Giovanni Battista*, in *DBI*, 24, 1980.

[23] Detailed information on Beccari's way of collecting pictures can be found in Cosimo Chiarelli PhD thesis, *Immagini di un mito tropicale. Rappresentazioni visive del Borneo tra grafica e fotografia*, EUI 2012, and in his article *L'atlante e lo scrapbook. Rapporti scientifici, relazioni coloniali e identità di genere in due album fotografici della fine del XIX secolo*, "RSF", 2, 2015, pp. 8-31.

preface by Mantegazza.[24] Professor Paolo Panceri, a naturalist who travelled in Egypt, donated some of his pictures, including the one he took of the *Akka del Miani*.[25] The archive preserves some South American pictures from the collection of Domenica del Campana, a fellow of the SIAE and naturalist, who did some ethnographic research on the area of Bolivia and Paraguay, and that contributed to the study of Tuscan customs for the 1911 exhibitions – to be explored in the next chapter.[26] The pictures coming from the collection of the curious figure of the performer and illusionist Ugo Biondi, who travelled in search of a fortune from Europe to America, to Australia and New Zealand, were probably donated to the Museum at the beginning of the 1900s'; in 1903 a short notice in the SFI announced that "the famous artist Ugo Biondi, our associate" was named "Knight of the Crown of Italy" for the "splendid gifts to the Anthropological Museum of Florence of precious objects collected during his travels".[27] No traces are left about the acquisition of pictures from Alessandro Comini,[28] a professional photographer in Asmara at the beginning of the 20th century. However, his connection with the governor Ferdinando Martini, whom he accompanied during the official visit to the colonial territories in 1901, allows us to deduce that the photos arrived in Florence in the same

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[24] Enrico Persano, *Nel Congo*, Florence: Alfani e Venturi, 1906. His pictures are in boxes 47-48.

[25] See box 2, MAE.

[26] Domenico Del Campana, *Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani*, "AAE", 32, 1902, pp. 17-144; and *Contributo all'etnografia dei Toba*, "AAE", 33, 1903, pp. 287-232.

[27] n.a., *Onorificenze*, "SFI", 15, 1903, p. 540. His pictures are preserved in box 116, 120 and 121. "Il noto artista Ugo Biondi, nostro consocio è stato nominato Cavaliere della Corono d'Italia, per aver fatto, con vero amor patrio, splendidi doni al Museo Antropologico di Firenze di oggetti preziosissimi raccolti nei suoi viaggi". Biondi's biography is little known, but can be reconstructed through the numerous journal articles announcing his shows.

[28] On Comini's pictures see Massimo Zaccaria, *"QueIIe spIendide fotografie che riproducono tanti luoghi pittoreschi" L'uso della fotografia nella propaganda coloniale italiana (1898-1914)*, in Cristiana Fiamingo (ed.), *Identità d'Africa fra arte e politica,* Rome: Aracne, 2008, pp. 147-173. Together with Luigi Narretti, Comini was one of the few professional photographers settled in Eritrea and he exhibited his pictures in various exhibitions, such as the 1906 Milan Colonial Exhibition and Turin 1911.

period, maybe after the Colonial Congress in Asmara or through the *Missione Eritrea*.

After having addressed the importance that Mantegazza granted to pictures as visual tools to be inserted in a larger group for comparison, we dealt with the reconstruction of some movements of photographs from the field to the Museum's archive. This has helped us to delineate the presence of complete collections, showing a strong connection between travelling photographers and the museum institution. Together with this, I have pointed out the existence of smaller groups of pictures, acquired in a less official form, which give an idea of the role of photographs as knowledge objects that were part of the daily museum practices.

4.3 "several thousand photographs of living savages": the *Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico's* photo archive

This section will briefly go through the process of acquisitions of pictures in the MNPE to see how it functioned and if it differed from the MAE. It will then deepen the case of Giglioli's photographic collection, characterised by an extensive and well-organised corpus of images. This will be studied in its exceptionality in order to investigate one specific way of using and assembling pictures to develop study human cultures. Luigi Pigorini founded the Prehistoric-Ethnographic in Rome in 1875, intending to connect the history of primaeval men with the study of modern cultures. Such close interconnection is visible in every museal choice of the founder and is reflected in the photographic archive. As for the MAE in Florence, the first photographic unit is the collection of the founder himself.[29] It originally included around 330 pictures, as understood by the handwritten numeric annotation inserted on the cardboard by Pigorini, who developed it up until his death in 1925. The

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[29] An example of research on a museum founding photo collection is Christopher Morton, *The place of photographs in the collections, displays, and other work of General Pitt-Rivers*, "Museum History Journal", 7, 2014, pp. 168-187.

original assemblage is still under investigation, since the inventory is lost, and only a hundred of the original photos have been retrieved from the archive.[30] Some of the photos are concerned with archaeological excavation, testifying to the innovative sensibilities of Pigorini who was one of the first to employ the cameras not only to document findings but also to keep track of the layers and the archaeological work during the excavation, hiring even a professional photographer for such purposes.[31] Ethnographic pictures are also present, giving us an impression of the status held by the two disciplines in the museum. According to Pigorini, prehistoric archaeology and ethnography were considered as two fields in dialogue that should not be separated but studied in parallel. Other pictures entered into the collection because they were exchanged through correspondence to illustrate or to propose objects for acquisition.

Besides Pigorini's, the museum photo archive before the First World War included around 10.000 pieces, which comprised positives and glass plates. The history of the acquisition or donation of such heritage is better known for extensive photo collections, such as those of Loria and Giglioli. The two photo collections both entered the museum in 1913 together with the collection of objects, the former donated by the nephew Lina Anau, the latter sold by the widow Costanza Casella, as will be further analysed. Although passing the time boundaries of the present thesis by two years, it is important to notice how in 1913 the museum came into possession of two relevant and massive collections for the history of anthropology, news that was reported in many journals, for example, *La Tribuna*:

> The Prehistoric-Ethnographic Museum of the Collegio Romano has recently had a new increase for various gifts received, namely: a collection of about 500 ethnographic objects of Papua, left in the will of Dr Lamberto Loria; 1200 photographic negatives of Papua

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[30] Mario Mineo, archivist of the MNEP Photo archive, is about to publish on the MNEP founding collection and its ethnographic pictures.

[31] Mario Mineo, *L'uso della tecnica fotografica al regio museo preistorico ed etnografico di Roma*, in Alessandro Guidi (ed.), *150 anni di preistoria e protostoria in Italia*, Florence: Istituto italiano di preistoria e protostoria, 2014, pp. 213-223.

brought to Italy by Loria, donated by Miss Lina Anu [sic], niece of the famous explorer. [...] In addition, the famous Giglioli Ethnographic Collection, acquired by the Ministry of Education of 17,000 objects [...] has now been transported to the said Museum from Florence. And in this Collection, as a gift from the Gignoli family [sic], are included an Ethnographic Library of 2000 works, and several thousand photographs of living savages.[32]

Such impressive donations and acquisitions lead to a reflection on the symbolic and economic power obtained by Pigorini's museum at the beginning of the 20th century. Pigorini's museum was growing in opposition to the MAE that, despite the strong relationship established with both Loria and Giglioli and the geographical closeness, did not take part in the negotiation for the acquisitions.

The MNPE histories of smallest and non-comprehensive collections are less linear, and included pictures by some of the protagonists of Italian ethnography, in particular Guido Boggiani, Luigi Maria D'Albertis, Enrico Giglioli, or foreign authors such as William Lindt, Eyton-Walker, and M. de San Martin.[33] The presence of around eighty Boggiani's pictures in the form of the Lehman-Nietsche postcards - as in the MAE - testifies to the wide circulation that the pictures of the Gran Chaco area had thanks to the editorial project, promoted after the death of the explorer in 1901, and they also reveal that the collection entered in the museum from 1913 onwards. Luigi Maria D'Albertis sold part of his collection to Pigorini, together with his travel notes, books and the

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[32] *Al Museo Preistorico-Etnografico*, "La Tribuna", 10 Luglio 1913. "Il Museo Preistorico-Etnografico del Collegio Romano ha avuto di recente nuovo incremento per vari doni ricevuti e cioè: una Collezione di circa 500 oggetti etnografici della Papuasia, lasciata in testamento dal dott. Lamberto Loria; 1200 negative fotografiche della Papuasia portate in Italia dal Loria, regalate dalla signorina Lina Anu [sic], nipote del celebre esploratore. […] A ciò si aggiunge che è stata ora trasportata nel detto Museo da Firenze la insigne Collezione Etnografica Giglioli, acquistata dal Ministero dell'Istruzione di 17.000 oggetti […] E di tale Collezione, per dono della famiglia Gignoli [sic], fanno parte una Biblioteca Etnografica di 2000 opere, e alcune migliaia di fotografie di selvaggi viventi."

[33] They have been analysed by Mario Mineo, *Le raccolte fotografiche nell'archivio fotografico del museo nazionale preistorico etnografico*, in Barbara Fabjan (ed.) *Immagini e memoria: gli archivi fotografici di Istituzioni culturali della città di Roma*, Rome: Gangemi, 2014, pp. 53-66.

manuscripts of his volume '*Alla Nuova Guinea*'. Among the written documents, there are twelve albumins representing sets of New Guinea objects from his collections, and some of them are inserted in a cabinet card of the Genovese photographer Gio Batta Sciutto.[34] These pictures, used to document his collection, differ from those preserved in Castello D'Albertis, that will be later analysed. The presence in the MNPE archive of Lindt's pictures could be linked to the intermediation of D'Albertis – given the close connection between the two actors, analysed in the previous chapter.

The description of the various collections cannot reveal more on the way pictures were acquired and exchanged, given the limited amount of information retrievable in the archive. A similar investigation is instead possible for Enrico Giglioli's photos, that were carefully assembled according to a precise protocol decided by the collector himself. The following sections will address this impressive group.

4.3.1 Enrico H. Giglioli: collection as proof

Enrico Hillyer Giglioli was actively involved in the anthropological community as already mentioned in this thesis. Here I will first refer to the origin of his photographic collecting practice and I will introduce how he considered photographs active knowledge objects, starting from which anthropological theories could be elaborated. Looking at his case, the distinction between private and public collections are blurred. Officially, he was the Director of the Museum of Zoology in Florence, while Ethnology was depicted a personal interest: "In the evening at home, in the studio where my ethnographic collection and ethnological library are, I cultivate Ethnology, limiting myself here to a specific area of the vast field."[35] However, his active participation in the Italian

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[34] On photographic studio active in 19th century Genoa see Elisabetta Papone and Sergio Rebora (ed.), *Vivere d'immagini. Fotografi e fotografia a Genova 1839-1926*, Milan: Scalpendi, 2016.

[35] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Materiali per lo studio della «Età della Pietra» dai tempi preistorici all'epoca attuale,* Città di Castello: Società Tip. Ed. Coop, 1901: 3. "La sera a casa, nello studio ove sono la mia Collezione etnografica e la mia biblioteca etnologica, coltivo la Etnologia, limitandomi anche qui ad un angolo speciale del vasto campo"

anthropological communities as an active member of the SIAE,[36] where he published extensively and occupied important positions, as well as his contacts with colleagues from all over Europe and North America, made him a crucial figure in the field.

As already mentioned in the first chapter, the father of Enrico, Giuseppe Giglioli, taught Anthropology and Logics in Pavia, while Mantegazza was studying Pathology there. His father already envisioned the role of museums in the development of the anthropological discipline and instilled in his son the importance of collecting:

> The first nucleus of my ethnographic collection was constituted by a collection of weapons and clothes of the Kwei-ying, malesoid indigenous people of the island of Formosa, donated to me in 1863 in London, where I was studying under the illustrious Huxley, by my late friend Roberto Swinhoe, distinguished explorer of that island. My father, then Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pisa, had already conceived the foundation of a National Anthropological and Ethnological Museum, and on my return to Italy convinced me to make a first contribution to the planned Museum with that material, but unfortunately, death took him away before he could carry out that project.[37]

This episode suggests that the project of a museum remained one of fascination for the young Giglioli, who arranged during his life an impressive private collection. He expanded it thanks to his networks,

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[36] See Fausto Barbagli, *Enrico Hillyer Giglioli nei suoi rapporti con Paolo Mantegazza e la Società Italiana di Antropologia e Etnologia*, "AAE", 144, 2014, pp. 165-176.

[37] Costanza Casella Giglioli, *Intorno al mondo. Viaggio da ragazzi*, Turin: Paravia., 1891; 4. The book was an adaptation of Giglioli's narration for young persons, written by the wife Costanza Casella who worked as educator." Il primo nucleo della mia Collezione etnografica venne costituito da una raccolta di armi e vestiti dei *Kwei-ying*, indigeni malesoidi dell'isola di Formosa, donatami nel 1863 a Londra, ove studiavo sotto l'illustre Huxley, dal compianto mio amico Roberto Swinhoe, insigne esploratore di quell'isola. Era allora Professore di Antropologia nella Università di Pisa il padre mio, il quale aveva già ideato la fondazione di un Museo Antropologico ed Etnologico nazionale, e al mio ritorno in Italia mi aveva indotto a dare come un primo contributo al progettato Museo quel materiale; ma pur troppo la morte lo rapì prima che egli avesse potuto realizzare quel progetto".

and, for its abundance and organization, it was often considered by his visitors as a proper museum. He created a recording system of catalogue sheets, with an identifying number for each object and some information, and he sometimes added a label on the object itself with some more data (fig. 4.9).

Fig. 4. 9 – Catalogue sheets and labels, n° 14853 Giglioli collections, Manuscripts Archive, ©_Museo delle Civiltà - MPE "L. Pigorini"

His interest in images originated during the Magenta trip of 1865-68, which represented a crucial moment of personal and professional development. The book, as stated in the Preface, gave "considerable extension […] to the ethnological aspects, to which almost all the illustrations are dedicated"[38]; it was in fact published with an important iconographic setup made up primarily of xilographies incorporated in the text, and few full-page albumins pasted on paper (fig. 4.10). The only information regarding xilographies was that they came "from a photograph", while "those with a contour […] were graciously supplied

[38] Giglioli, *Viaggio*…, 1876, p. IX. "estensione non indifferente alla parte etnologica, cui servono quasi tutte le illustrazioni".

to us by the Marquis Doria of Genoa, who had engraved drawings in the camera lucida of the Illustrious Beccari".[39]
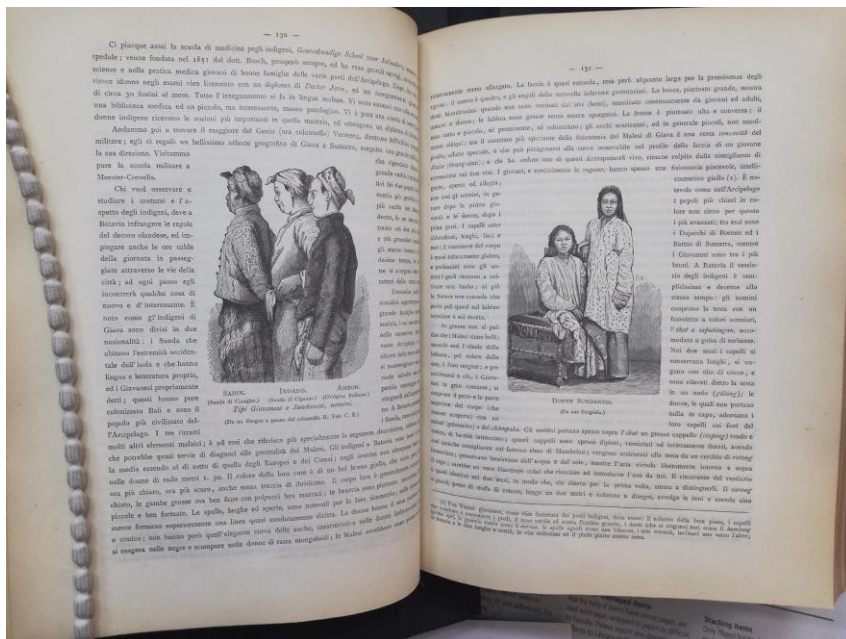
Fig. 4. 10 - Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Viaggio intorno al globo della R. Pirocorvetta Italiana Magenta*, Milan: Maisner, 1875, pp. 130-131.

It was during the trip that Giglioli began to collect photographic material, and during his life he made up an impressive personal archive of around six thousand pictures, carefully organised in cardboard. Giglioli stated the specific role that photography began to play in his collecting activity:

> During the journey of the Magenta I had also gathered a discreet ethnological material, especially in Australia as gifts for friends

[39] Giglioli, *Viaggio*…, 1876: p. 5. "[q]uelle a contorno [che] ci furono graziosamente fornite dal Marchese Doria di Genova da esso fatte incidere sopra disegni alla camera lucida dell'Illustre Beccari".

and for shopping, and in Peru for excavations carried out by me in a Houca near Ancon. But they were more travel memories than anything else; although there were some rare and important objects. During that circumnavigation trip, however, I began an ethnological collection of real interest: that of photographic portraits of natives of the various countries visited; after my return, I continued to increase that collection systematically.[40]

Giglioli referred to objects more as souvenirs rather than scientific materials; instead, he gave relevance to 'a truly interesting collection' of photographic portraits that he kept on amplifying with a 'systematic' method. The use of terms such as 'collection' and 'systematic' indicates not only that scientific photography was used as a tool and as research instrument, but also that a collecting interest and a final overarching purpose shaped the way pictures were chosen and used. Giglioli's case allows us to explore the concentric role of the collector's gaze because in his case a general ordering structure was undoubtedly present. By doing so, I do not mean to demonstrate that a coherent organisation was always guiding the anthropologists in collecting photography since an unruly way of gathering visual pieces of evidence was also present, as shown by the random trajectories of acquisition of the museums' archive.

In the preface to the *Voyage*, Mantegazza emphasised that Giglioli's photographic collections had more than a mere illustrative function in their research:

> You know very well, my good friend, how many times we have spent together long hours in my museum or your study, talking about human races; You know how in front of your rich photographic collections or in the middle of my ossuary we

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[40] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Materiali…*, 1901: 3. "Durante il viaggio della *Magenta* avevo pure riunito, specialmente in Australia per doni di amici e per compere, e nel Perù per scavi da me eseguiti in una *Houca* nei pressi di Ancon, un discreto materiale etnologico. Ma erano piuttosto ricordi di viaggio che altro; sebbene vi fossero alcuni oggetti rari ed importanti. Durante quel viaggio di circumnavigazione incominciai però una raccolta etnologica di vero interesse: quella di ritratti fotografici di indigeni dei vari paesi visitati; dopo il mio ritorno continuai sistematicamente ad accrescere quella raccolta …"

addressed each other point-blank questions and doubts, which were answered on both sides with other issues and other doubts, so that in the end we left, shaking our heads, and raising our shoulders and postponing to the next day the problems that could not be solved today.[41]

Racial and typological controversies were approached employing different collections that the two scholars had at their disposal. In the quote, Giglioli is clearly associated with the photo collections, hinting to the relevance such materials had in his formation and theory-making. It is also interesting to notice that Mantegazza, so often associated as the father of visual anthropology, his here referring to himself as a bone collector. The materiality of the two collections gave rise to questions and provided answers; they are therefore described both as epistemological tools and as organised sources of information.

Looking closely at the Giglioli collection, I want to underline how it provides a perfect example of the network between photographers-institution-scholars and the movement of images within the anthropological market. As we saw in the previous chapter, the pictures were produced by different people for different reasons, but they somehow came together to serve the anthropological discipline. It is precisely when inserted into the archival container, shaped by the intention of the collector that the accumulation comes to reflect a rational idea, to provide evidence for a particular theory, to answer a precise taxonomy. As Giglioli stated, his aim was to build an archive of all the living cultures, and he considered his efforts a success: "today [the collection] fills twenty-five large quarto folders, plus a folio folder and

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[41] Paolo Mantegazza, *L'uomo e gli uomini. Lettera etnologica del Prof. Paolo Mantegazza al Prof. Enrico Giglioli*, in Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Viaggio intorno al globo della R. Pirocorvetta Italiana Magenta*, Milan: Maisner, 1875. "Tu ben sai, mio ottimo amico, le quante volte noi abbiam passato insieme lunghe ore nel mio Museo o nelle tua studiosa cameretta, discorrendo delle razze umane; tu sai come dinanzi alle tue ricchissime collezioni fotografiche o in mezzo al mio ossuario noi ci rivolgessimo a vicenda a bruciapelo domande e dubbii, ai quali si rispondeva dall'una parte e dall'altra con altri punti d'interrogazione e altre dubbiezze, sicché alla fine ci si lasciava, crollando il capo, e alzando le spalle e rimandando all'indomani i problemi che non si potevano risolvere quest'oggi".

consists of more than 10,000 photographers illustrating - in some cases amply - all the living peoples."[42]

4.3.2 Actors, subjects, images

A cardboard with four pictures pasted in two rows, the subject is a man posing naked in anthropometric style. The first two pictures show the full-length figure: in front, with the right arm leaning on a measuring stick placed on a tripod, and the left arm along the body; in the profile pose, both hands are holding the measuring stick. In the second row, a medium close-up in front and profile, with a measuring tape coming from the top, one time around the man's shoulder and one time straight next to the profile. The background is provided by a neutral white sheet, and the photo is made according to Huxley's anthropometric instruction. At the bottom of the cardboard, a handwritten annotation reads:

> ! gubbu or "Coos Toontjes"/ Bushman from Lat. 30°. Long 22° E.
> Age 45; height 4'11'' ½. / "Challenger" expedition / Gift from Sir
> C. Wyville Thomson. April 1881. / Enrico H. Giglioli.

This is just one example of Giglioli's collection of pictures (fig. 4.11) and the present section aims to analyse the way he arranged pictures and organised them in an organic series.

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[42] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Materiali…*, 1901: 3. "oggi essa riempie venticinque grandi cartelle in 4°, più una in foglio e consiste di oltre 10000 fotografe illustranti – in alcuni casi ampiamente – tutti i popoli viventi".
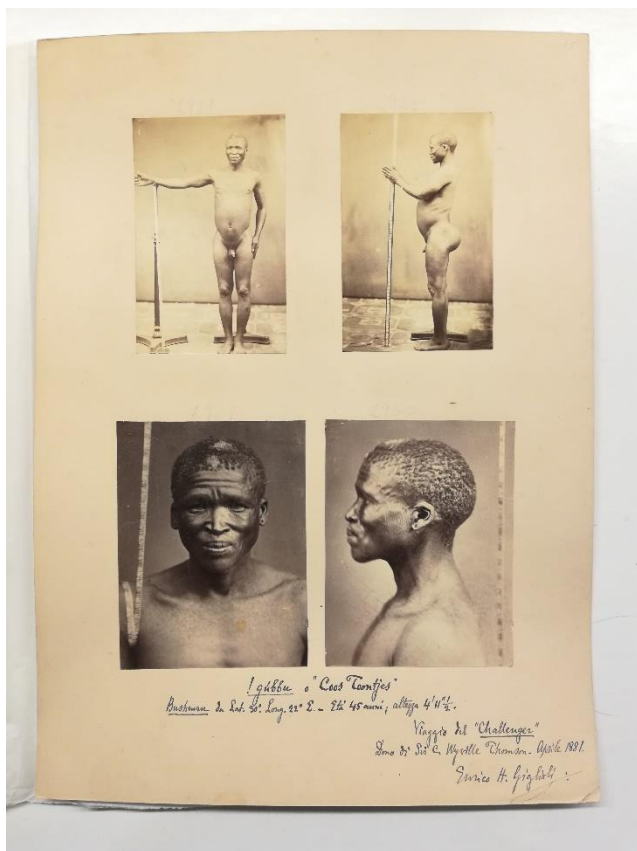
Fig. 4. 11 – Inv. 6690-6693, "! gubbu or "Coos Toontjes"- Bushman from Lat. 30°. Long 22° E. Age 45; height 4'11'' ½. - "Challenger" Expedition – Gift from Sir C. Wyville Thomson. April 1881 - Enrico H. Giglioli" Folder 33, Giglioli Collection, 65x100mm, 80x105mm © Sezione di Antropologia e Etnologia, Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università degli Studi di Firenze.

The taxonomy, the order, the material displays were considered elements that can show the use and role of photography in the collection. Always arranged on standard quarto cardboard, the pictures were pasted according to a common subject (as in this case), or to the common provenance of the picture. Where possible, he added information on the subject represented, which could include name, age and stature. They

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could also include information on the geographical area (here in latitude and longitude) and the ethnic group. After such information, and before Giglioli's signature, data on the way he obtained pictures were also provided. Whether they were a donation or an acquisition, this last indication gave an idea of a series of relationships established with various kind of travellers. In this case, the picture was taken during the Challenger expedition of 1872-1876, one of the exemplary cases of a scientific campaign that took into serious consideration photography. The fact that Giglioli had access to the material directly by Wyville Thomson reveals once more the strong network he managed to create around him. The standard information of the cardboard included the image itself, indications regarding the subject of the picture, and information on the person who made or donated the image to Giglioli.

For the objects, we have briefly illustrated Giglioli's filing system - that included a card index, labels and reference numbers. Pictures, however, were not inserted in such a cataloguing system. Instead, they were listed in the Bibliographical Index, a handwritten register that recorded all books and articles of his library. From number 2449, the index shifts from books to pictures, and its does so naturally, without any signs to indicate the change of objects (fig. 4.12), going from "Francisco del Paso y Troncoso. Adoracion de los Reyes, auto en Lengua Mexicana. Un opuscolo. Florencia 1900" to "Nine photographic views of the Anthropological-Ethnological Museum of Moscow".[43]

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[43] Indice bibliografico, MNEP "Nove vedute fotografiche del Museo Antropologico-Etnologico di Mosca"
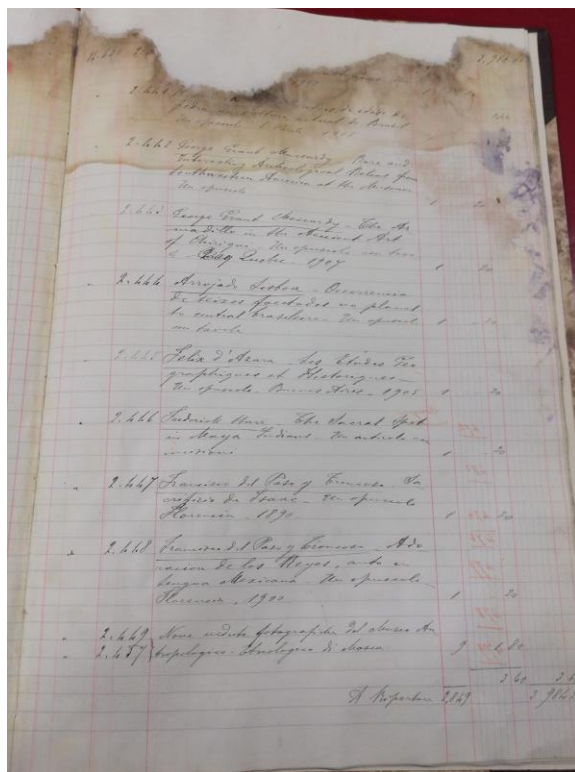
Fig. 4. 12 - Bibliographical Index, 2440-2457, Giglioli Collection ©_Museo delle Civiltà – MPE "L. Pigorini"

It seems as though pictures were considered similar to bibliographical sources, as objects bearing relevant information on a specific subject. The connection between objects, photos and books was explained by Giglioli himself:

> In parallel with the Collection, the special archaeological-ethnological-geographical Library grew; and even here I had good luck in being able to buy several rare works and not easy to find, today this Library has over 2000 works and is chosen so that in the

study of my Collection I rarely have to look elsewhere for books. These are classified and arranged geographically or by subject.[44]

In the Index, Giglioli annotated briefly the subject, indicating how many pictures he received, and indicating the cost of the acquisition. He gave a number not to each picture nor each set of acquisition, but to each cardboard piece (where he reported the number on the back), showing how the process of registration paralleled with the process of arrangement. Initially, Giglioli seems to register the pictures in a casual order, in fact the subjects and the geographies vary for each set, passing from the Moscow museum to portraits of African types, from oriental objects to Oceanian pictures. Going on, instead, the numeration also answered to a geographical rationale, suggesting that Giglioli waited to have a sufficient amount of images from a determined area before arranging them. The following table gives a general sense of the structure; within each continent, pictures could also be grouped into smaller geographical sets:

From n°	To n°	Area	Total
2449	2711	mixed	263
2712	3233	Europe	522
3234	4137	Asia	904
4138	4811	Oceania	674
4812	5453	Africa	642

[44] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Materiali…*, 1901: 4 "Di pari passo colla Collezione crebbe la Biblioteca speciale archeologica-etnologica-geografica; e anche qui ebbi buona fortuna nel poter acquistare diverse opere rare e non facili ad aversi, oggi questa Biblioteca conta oltre 2000 opere ed è scelta in modo che nello studio della mia Collezione mi accade di rado di dover ricorrere altrove per libri. Questi sono classati e disposti geograficamente o per materia".

5454	5839	America	385

This accurate way of arranging pictures on cardboard is peculiar for a series of reasons. It is rare to have photographs accompanied by detailed information on the subject, the producer, the collector. This triangulation reveals a certain archival sensibility in Giglioli and allows us to see that a picture was considered as the product of a specific contingency in time and space, that needed to be recorded. Moreover, pictures were also assembled according to a specific order on the cardboard, where Giglioli could group a single image or more, up to nine pictures. The fact that they were not tied in albums (as Giglioli did for other sets of pictures[45]) highlights once more the core need of the collection: cardboards were movable and allowed comparison between photos to trace racial belongings. The epistemological value of pictures, used as research objects to build classifications, is evident, and the interest in making detailed comparisons, which was generated and aided by photography, was very similar to the parallel emerging practice of art historian.[46] Another interesting point is that, even though the specificity of each shot is often described, pictures were not considered as a singular products, as they acquired their own meaning in dialogue with other images and cardboards, in the overarching system of the collection. As Elizabeth Edwards noticed, the collection worked as a virtual observation, and the rearrangement was a valuable epistemic practice because it was a way of seeing again. Or better, "seeing through" the singular elements, in

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[45] The IGM in Florence preserved Giglioli's pictures that were not donated to the MNEP in 1913. The collection is composed of albums from his various trips, starting from the Magenta one.

[46] Beside Carlo Ginzburg *Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and scientific method*, "History Workshop", 9, 1980, pp. 5-36: 7, a close examination on the correlation between the anthropological and art historical comparative practices still needs to be done. Looking at the 1920s and 19230s, Morton's article puts into correlation Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas and Balfour's photo assemblage, Christopher Morton, *Photography and the comparative method: the construction of an anthropological archive*, "RAI", 18, 2012, p. 386-388.

order to discover patterns of meanings.[47] It is not the picture as such but its assemblage in the collector's mind and hands that generated significance.

Giglioli's example is particularly interesting also owing to his involvement in the writing of the Instructions for travellers[48] because it allows us to consider how he applied the recommended theoretical system to his own practice. In the crucial role granted to the practice of collecting as a scholarly exercise, Giglioli was carefully following what he was proposing, moving on the divide between the fast and movable space of the traveller and the slow and comfortable zone of the scholar.

Apart from a few exceptions, the subjects' of Giglioli's pictures are always people, depicted in different style and in various size. That is another fundamental characteristic, a precise direction that the collector gave to the project, in order to build a comprehensive representation of human varieties. Pictures could also bear information on material culture, and objects, dresses, dwellings are often inserted in the shot, in an immediate visual relation to the portrayed subjects. The kinds of representation could vary, from the clearly anthropometric (fig. 4.13), to groups of people arranged in specific poses (fig. 4.14), from more instantaneous representations to staged portraits (fig. 4.15). Very rarely, there are objects or landscapes, subjects that are instead commonly present in other anthropological collections. A very interesting case of representation of objects alone are those pictures of traditional artefacts representing the human body used in order to reflect on ancient or symbolical representations of a given culture (fig. 4.16).

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[47] Elizabeth Edwards, *Exchanging...,*2000: 27.

[48] See chapter 2.
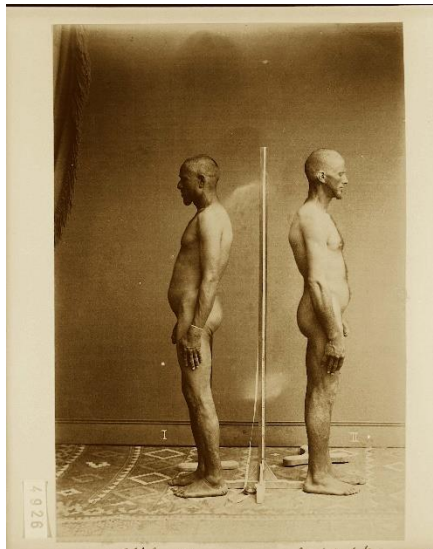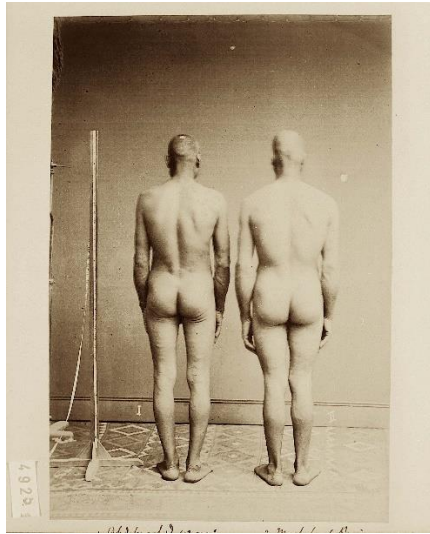
Fig. 4. 13 – Inv. 4925-4926, Beniamino Facchinelli "Abdelmeghid, age 48 – Mustafa el Kami age 25 – Fellah (Coptic men) of […] Egypt – donated by B. Facchinelli, photographed by himself – June 1886 – Enrico H. Giglioli", Giglioli collection, ©_Museo delle Civiltà – MPE "L. Pigorini"

Fig. 4. 14 – Inv. 5047, "Assaorta, Massawa – Gift from Giacomo Doria - June 1878" , Giglioli collection, ©_Museo delle Civiltà – MPE "L. Pigorini"

Fig. 4. 15 – Inv. 4321, "Hawaiian girl dressed with costume to dance hula /
Honolulu/ From Leone Strozzi august 1880", Giglioli collection, ©_Museo delle
Civiltà – MPE "L. Pigorini"

Fig. 4. 16 – Inv. 4344, "Hei Tiki, gift from from the collection of Dott. Hoeken in Dunedin, New Zealand, April 1895" Giglioli collection, ©_Museo delle Civiltà – MPE "L. Pigorini"

In Giglioli's case, the relationship between single and general is normalized in the form of the cardboard, the written annotation and the

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order of the collection. On the one hand, it represents a singularity because in the Italian panorama we have no other case where photos, their origin, circulation and use were taken so seriously. On the other, it could help to read other disorganized collections in this light: even if not always explicitly recorded, pictures entered an archive and there they were arranged according to a specific need, which could also change through time and generate displacement or loss of information. If the meaning cannot be fully recovered, it can be grasped through questions around the kind of representations, the spatial organization of the archive, and cross-reference with texts. As we will see shortly, collecting pictures was a time-consuming practice and the considerable presence of photographs within anthropological museums and societies should not be underestimated.

4.3.3 Circulating images – building networks

Giglioli's meticulousness in adding captions to each page of his photo collection suggests the importance he gave to the trajectories of images. In particular, the fact that he kept track of the material exchange with another subject, annotating when an image was donated and from whom, shows the importance that the scholarly network had in building his archive. More than being interested in the primary author - the photographer - Giglioli wanted to record the passages of the picture from hand to hand, certifying the significance that the picture acquired in the process of being exchanged. This practice shows the role of circulation as a practice of meaning-making, both in the establishment of the anthropological discipline and in boosting the value of the exchanged pictures. Therefore, pictures were not only considered instruments of knowledge but privileged social tools to establish connections between experts and learned societies, to empower anthropological schools, and to legitimise theoretical positions.

Among the different modes of circulation, I am now going to analyse how Giglioli exchanged pictures via correspondences from Italy to England and back, trying to recover the declared intentions behind such practice, as well as those unspoken tendencies taken for granted. In this way, I also give the sense of his intense connection with England, hinting

to the role that foreign institutions had as theoretical models and places of exchanges. Giglioli was trained at the Royal School of Mines in London between 1861 and 1863, in a moment of intense debate around Darwin's text *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and he kept in touch with his English colleagues for his entire life, although he always acted like an Italian functionary.

Looking at his correspondence with Baron Von Hugel between the 1880s and 1910s[49] as well as with the young scholar Haddon,[50] we can spot some reference to photographs. Often, pictures were used as a way to show pieces of one's collection, in order to propose an acquisition or an exchange, so they were inserted in the system of object collecting. For example: "I have also some skull-masks from New Britain of which I enclose photographs".[51] However, Giglioli immediately added "please return these when you have told me what you might like as I have no other copy",[52] suggesting that the picture materiality needed to be taken into account as well. Therefore, while on the one hand pictures circulated widely, their capability to be continuously reproduced and multiplied was not always at stake. This reference implied that often the circulation of pictures happened through positives and that the collector did not own the negatives, nor was he in contact with the author of the image. Moreover, it showed that there was a limit to the circulation granted to pictures, which were considered as rare and precious objects.

In other cases, photographs were listed among other relevant items of the collection (and not just representing it), as indicated from the list of "desiderata" Giglioli asked Von Hugel:

> But shall push my impudence so far as to remind you of those other items which often occur in my dreams, and which you kindly promised to try and send me. […] 6. A few types of British

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[49] Anatole Von Hugel (1854-1928) was the first curator of the Cambridge University's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

[50] Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940) ethnologist, lecturer in the University of Cambridge, he researched particularly in Torres Strait, Sarawak, New Guinea.

[51] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli to Anatole Von Hugel, 25.01.1888, CAM, Manuscripts archive.

[52] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli to Anatole Von Hugel, 25.01.1888, CAM, Manuscripts archive.

arrow points. 7. Photographs, and one of the long-haired Maori head. 8. Any fish hooks of shell or bone.[53]

In correspondence with Haddon, the reference to pictures reveals the process of making up the collection, which is described not as an illustrative or decorative project, but as an autonomous set of data, always in progress:

> I have a very large collection of Ethnological photographs, over 10,000 classified and arranged, you may, therefore, imagine how gratefully I accept your kind offer of sending me a selection of the photographs you have taken of Torres Straits Islanders, the more so as I have none.[54]

Pictures are once more described as valuable objects, that needed to be offered and accepted before actually being sent.

In the following letter, Giglioli referred again to the same pictures, mentioning the process of arrangement and transformation in his collection: "The splendid set of photographs you so kindly sent me have reached me safely and are already mounted and classified in my collection".[55] As already suggested, this quote confirms that the process of classification went in parallel with the mounting. Going on in the letter, he explained his interest in some details:

> [The photos] are highly interesting: it is a pity I could not do more in that way on Dandai. The one of the two men of Mer with stone-headed clubs greatly interested me, I have one of those big heavy clubs, a star with 4 rays, in my collection, mine comes from the Fly river and the handle is ornamented.[56]

In connecting objects with images, Giglioli's interaction with pictures pointed out how photos did not serve only to illustrate pieces of the collection, nor were they just used to represent the human body and the racial type, but they intersected with the two aspects, and they

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[53] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli to Anatole Von Hugel, 26.02.1897, CAM, Manuscripts archive.

[54] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli to Alfred Cort Haddon, 6.06.1890, CUL, Haddon papers.

[55] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli to Alfred Cort Haddon, 26.07.1890, CUL, Haddon papers.

[56] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli to Alfred Cort Haddon, 26.07.1890, CUL, Haddon papers.

functioned as bearers of information that differed according to the person who looked at it. Methodologically, the abovementioned letter advises the researcher not to label or over-interpret the pictures according to their main subjects, nor to look for over-arching meaning, as the focus of the attention could change according to the gaze. What is particularly interesting in the way Giglioli referred to pictures and objects, his attention to small details and the importance of using the information comparatively to extrapolate meaning.

It is also interesting how Giglioli advised Haddon with regards to a specific topic (namely the decorative art of New Guinea) suggesting in particular publication or collections that included pictures. In the list, he included Mantegazza's and D'Albertis work, Finsch's already mentioned Atlas, or Partington's "most valuable <u>Album</u>".[57] Moreover, he mentioned that "a friend of mine, Dr Loria, has just returned from S.E. New Guinea with large collections".[58] Giglioli also mentioned his photographic collection as a possible resource "I shall look over my photos, but they are all <u>Natives</u> and I fear I have nothing to help you there"[59] confirming that his focus was on the representation of people ('natives') rather than of objects.

The analysis of Giglioli's correspondence allows us to see how pictures were part of a wider system of exchange that included letters, ideas, books, and objects. Moreover, it helps us to understand the specificity of image circulation that, although easier in comparison to three-dimensional objects, still required specific care. More broadly, this investigation showed the relationship established with foreign anthropological communities using pictures, and the function photography had as both social and knowledge tool.

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[57] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli to Alfred Cort Haddon, 31.12.1890, CUL, Haddon papers.

[58] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli to Alfred Cort Haddon, 31.12.1890, CUL, Haddon papers.

[59] Enrico Hillyer Giglioli to Alfred Cort Haddon, 31.12.1890, CUL, Haddon papers.

4.3.4 From private to public

As he repeatedly stated in articles and letters, Giglioli was acting both in a public role as Director of the Zoological Museum and in private capacity as a scholar passionate about ethnography, a role that he always described as a hobby and spare time activity. This double presence can help shed some light on the perception and role of the photographic collection as private or public. Such a topic has been debated by Elizabeth Edwards, who argued for the existence of a chronological divide between two phases in the perception of anthropological photography as private or public collection. In a first moment, anthropological photographs were perceived as items gathered by and for public institution (1860s-1890s), whose value as privately owned and produced objects was not perceived as such. A new phase began when pictures started to be closely associated with their author or collector (from 1900s onwards), perceived as a product of the personal sensibility and research of the scholar, closely associated to the practice of fieldwork.[60] The destiny of Giglioli's collection after his death serves to show, once more, not only how objects and pictures were part of a system of exchanges and competing interests, but also how the different belonging of the collections led to a different preservation policy.

In a letter written by Giglioli's wife Costanza Casella to Henry Balfour, Director of the Pitt Rivers Museum, shortly after her husband died, she expressed how "my life will be spent in seeing that justice be made to all he did in this world." In explaining to Balfour the destiny of his collections, Costanza Casella specifically touched upon the boundaries between public and private. The collection formed during his activity in the Zoological museum was obviously kept there, while the Collection of Italian Vertebrates that Giglioli made "entirely by his own effort […] was constituted as a separate body" by the Faculty and named *Collezione Giglioli* in his honour. Here we see already that the materials gathered specifically by Gigilioli with a precise and innovative purpose, were

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[60] See Elizabeth Edwards, *Exchanging...*, 2000, pp. 21-46.

associated to his name and, although inserted in a public collection, were labelled to underline the role of the creator.

Moving towards ethnography, Costanza Casella pointed out that "As you know the ethnographic collection was his hobby" and that material was gathered in the private space at home. However, making some hypothesis on the possible destiny of such materials, it is evident that the interest of the widow was to make it public and accessible for research. This intersected with economic necessity and identity feelings:

> I am quite of your opinion in regards its possible going to America which may be the best place for money to be had, but not for a collection to be studied in the way my husband would have liked. This is, I must say, more of a feeling than of an opinion as I have no tangible ground for it and my husband had some very good friends and correspondents even there, still the feeling is there; and I earnestly hope that emigration in America will not be the only chance left to our Collection. If choice were possible, I would limit it to Italy, as my husband's fatherland, and England as his motherland; both so dear to him. [61]

The possibility to keep the Ethnographic collection in Italy was described by Costanza Casella, showing the conflicting interest, the economic value, and the role of political decisions behind the materials' acquisition. What emerged also was the attractiveness of Giglioli's collection to many institutions:

> I think there is no indiscretion of mine if I tell you, in strict confidence, that there may be some probability of its remaining in Italy. Pigorini, the Director of the Ethnogr. Museum in Rome lately named Senator, has a great desire to have it; solemn votes have been pronounced by the Geographical Society, the Lincei Academy and others; the King himself showed an interest in the question; and the Minister declared to be "in massima" ready to do his best; while the most important question of funds, does not seem so unapproachable as one would think […] because the

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[61] Costanza Casella Giglioli to Henry Balfour, 22.03.1912, PRM, Manuscripts Archive.

> Parliament voted two years ago 5 million Italian lire to be put
> aside for artistic and archeologic acquisition […].[62]

Interestingly, there is no mention of the Florentine Museum as a possible buyer. It could be that after Mantegazza's death the interest over Giglioli's materials decreased, or simply the Museum did not have the finances available at that moment. As already suggested, this shows that the Roman institutions were growing in prestige, maybe in contrast to their Florentine counterparts. This aspect could also be related to the rivalry between the two cities and the advantage coming from the proximity of Pigorini's museum to Rome and the Ministry as centre of political power.

The letter closed with a request for help in promoting the collection to the international scientific community with an article to promote the acquisition "so that to refresh the memory of what it is like and of its value (<u>scientific</u> value I mean, of course) and the convenience […] that it may be included in a <u>public</u> Museum".[63] The passage from a private space to a public institution and mission was central in Costanza Casella's agenda; in this case, one fundamental aspect was to keep the collection united and accessible, as Giglioli envisioned it. Before the acquisition, a first important step was the publication in two volumes of the illustrated catalogue of Giglioli's collection, curated by his widow. As we can read in the preliminary note of the second volume "The second part of this Catalogue should have been followed by a third part, concerning the Photographic Collection and the Library".[64] That imagined publication could have been a very rare case in the Italian panorama and could have testified once more to the special role pictures had in Giglioli's research. However, the project was abandoned and no publication was made for the photographic collection.

In the end, as Costanza Casella imagined, the collection entered into the Ethnographic Museum in Rome, in 1913. This episode can be considered

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[62] Costanza Casella Giglioli to Henry Balfour, 22.03.1912, PRM, Manuscripts Archive.

[63] Costanza Casella Giglioli to Henry Balfour, 22.03.1912, PRM, Manuscripts Archive.

[64] Giglioli, *La collezione*…, 1911-1912, n.p.: "Alla seconda parte di questo Catalogo una terza avrebbe potuto far seguito, riguardante la Collezione fotografica e la Biblioteca".

a sign of the status that Pigorini's museum was gaining in the Italian scene and of the importance that international connections had in boosting the value of the collection. The MNEP archive preserves the documentation regarding the acquisition, revealing some other interesting aspects. A letter written by Costanza Casella to Pigorini on 28 June 1913 described the photo collection, that besides the cardboard, included another 600 phototypes split between positives and negatives:

> The photographic collection consists of: I. 25 large double folders ethnologically classified containing cartons all annotated and signed by E. H. Giglioli. They contain on average about 500 photographs each. II. A very large wallet with a hundred or so photographs larger than those of the folders […] III. Then there are about 200 photographs, ethnographic postcards etc. of smaller mixed formats contained in a smaller folder. Another median folder is about 200 photographs taken by Amedeo Giulianetti to New Guinea […]. Together with the latter are then 100 negatives of objects in the collection all ordered[65]

From the contract of acquisition, signed on the 31 March 1913 between Giglioli's heirs and the Ministry of Public Instruction we understand that the initial price proposed by the family was 300.000 lire, then decreased to 225.000 lire on advice from the same Pigorini, Loria, and Giuseppe Angelo Colini. The Ministry could not afford such a large amount as well, so the final price was fixed at 180.000 lire, accepted.[66] Giglioli's sons wrote to their mother during the negotiation saying:

> our desire is to see the collection of daddy assured to Italy and placed entirely within the Italian Museum [and to ensure] the

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[65] Costanza Casella Giglioli to Luigi Pigorini, 28.06.1913, MNPE, Box 209, Folder 06, doc. 18. "La raccolta fotografica consiste di: I 25 grandi cartelle doppie classificate etnologicamente contenenti cartoni tutti annotati e firmati da E. H. Giglioli. Contengono in media circa 500 fotografie ciascuna. II Un portafogli molto grande con una centinaio di fotografie più grandi di quelle delle cartelle, […] III Vi sono poi circa 200 fotografie, cartoline etnografiche ecc. di formato più piccole contenute promiscuamente in cartella più piccola. Un'altra cartella mediana sono circa 200 fotografie fatte da Amedeo Giulianetti alla Nuova Guinea […] Insieme a queste ultime sono poi 100 negative di oggetti della collezione tutte ordinate".

[66] *Enrico Giglioli collection acquisition contract*, 31.03.1913, MNPE, Box 209, Folder 06, doc. 29.

integrity of the collection, that is in the desire of all and was also consecrated by the solemn vow of the Geographic Society.[67]

The reference to the SGI shows how much attention was generated by Giglioli's legacy and how much the concern over the Collection's integrity was promoted not only by the family but also by a public institute. From other papers, it emerged also that, differently from what was requested at the beginning by Giglioli's family, only the objects were sold while books and pictures were donated. The interest in maintaining Giglioli's process as collector is showing that, at least in his case, the private project was central to the understanding and reading of single objects. The photographic evidence was not the one provided by the eyewitness, by the fieldworker, but by the collector intended as primary author of the meaning of the pictures. The authorial aspect was already very clear from the assemblage, where each cardboard answered to a repetitive order and carried handwritten information and Giglioli's signature, and they were confirmed in the collection's posthumous history. It is important to notice, however, that not all the photo collections by Giglioli are preserved in the MNEP. The albums gathered during his travel were donated only later to the IGM, as they were probably considered as private material not carrying a research value. Indeed, they were not assembled in the same peculiar cardboard way by Giglioli himself, making a clear distinction between what was privately assembled, for public and scientific use, and what was instead produced for a private end.

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[67] Guido Odoardo and Vera Giglioli to Costanza Casella Giglioli, 13.05.1912, AS MNPE, Box 209, Folder 06, doc. 66. "il nostro desiderio è di vedere assicurata all'Italia e collocate tutta intiera al Museo italiano la collezione di papà [e garantirne] l'integrità della collezione che è nel desiderio di tutti e fu anche consacrata dal voto solenne della Società Geografica".

4.4 Travelling pictures: the SGI photographic archive

The photographic archive of the SGI is one of the largest examples of its kind in Italy. In this case, we are dealing with a Society, and therefore an institution that, as opposed to the two analysed Museums, is not so strongly informed by the interest and the connection of the founder as a single individual, but it is made up of multiple points of view and different decisions across times. Such aspect is reflected in the photo archive, which did not develop as an explicit decision of the founding members in 1867, although it was already clear from the very beginning that the SGI should become a documentation centre, a point of reference in geographical studies for the Italian State.[68] In the first issue of the Bulletin, Cesare Correnti - insisting on the value of action over theory - stressed the importance of having created a national space for the accumulation of travel memoirs and exploration reports:

> here in this issue is a first booklet of studies, which have not been done [...] resting at the table; and where you will find news of several of our fellow countrymen, who despite having seen and sought much of the world, so far had not found how and to whom to narrate their odyssey. If nothing else, it will welcome that the Geographic Society has opened this place of meeting to Italian scholars and travellers, who are no more forced to beg the hospitality of an under-stair in some foreign diary.[69]

Correnti insisted on the creation of an Italian institution that could gather materials from Italian travellers until now dispersed in foreign museums. This centralising purpose is fundamental to understand the

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[68] On the origin of the SGI, see Claudio Cerreti, *Della Società geografica italiana e della sua vicenda storica*, Rome: SGI, 2000.

[69] Cesare Correnti, *Prologo*, "BSGI", 1,1, 1868: n.p. "ITA: ecco nel presente fascicolo un primo saggio di studi, che non sono stati fatti [...] crogiolandosi a tavolino; e dove troverete notizia di parecchi compaesani nostri, che avendo pur veduto e cercato gran parte di mondo, fin qui non avevano trovato come e a chi narrare le loro odissee. Se non altro piacerà che la Società Geografica abbia aperto questo luogo di convegno agli studiosi e viaggiatori italiani, i quali non siano quind'innanzi obbligati a limosinare l'ospitalità d'un sottoscala in qualche diario straniero".

variety and large amount of photographic collections preserved in the SGI.

The constitution of a library was a declared objective of the Statute:

> Art. 23 / The books and papers constituting the social library, or merely deposited with it by private individuals who wish to reserve ownership, remain available to all Members for study, but may not be exported. Art. 24 / All books and papers bear the imprint of the Society, and those that were donated, also the name of the donor.[70]

The exposition of materials different from books, such as objects, drawings or maps, was envisioned in the Statute. The preservation of documents intersected with the problem around the Society headquarters, which was still lacking after one year from the foundation.[71] As article 2 stated: "When the state of the Society's premises so permits, the Council may grant Members the right to exhibit any important objects they have collected during their journeys, as well as drawings and related papers".[72] The importance of the preservation of visual materials was acknowledged from the very beginning, although photography was not named in the Statute. Among the donations received in the first year were listed many illustrated books and also some photographs (in the section dedicated to maps), such as a panorama of Calcutta by the diplomat Fortunato Lamoureux,[73] revealing

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[70] *Statuto della SGI*, "BSGI", 1,1, 1868: 10. "I libri e le carte costituenti la biblioteca sociale, o meramente depositati presso la medesima da privati, che volessero riservarne la proprietà, rimangono a disposizione per lo studio di tutti i Soci, ma non si possono esportare. […] Art. 24 / Tutti i libri e le carte portano l'impronta della Società, e quelli che furono donati, anche il nome del donatore".

[71] The location of the SGI changed numerous times, first from Florence to Rome in 1872, then from the Collegio Romano to Palazzo Grazioli in 1892, and it was finally established in Villa Celomontana in 1924.

[72] *Statuto della SGI*, "BSGI", 1,1, 1868: 11. "Quando lo stato dei locali della Società lo permetta, il Consiglio può accordare ai Soci di esporre gli oggetti importanti, che avessero raccolto nei loro viaggi, come pure i disegni e le carte relative".

[73] *Elenco dei doni pervenuti alla Società Geografica Italiana dal 20 maggio 1867 a tutto luglio 1868*, "BSGI", 1, 1, 1868: 356.

that the photo archive was formed through a series of donation, thanks to the status that the Society acquired from its foundation.

To understand the process of accumulation and creation of the archive it is also necessary to consider the life of the institution. Within the SGI, a system of meetings guaranteed to update the members about the geographical events and endeavours taking place while, once a year, a solemn meeting was opened also to an external audience, as a special moment of political encounter and discussion of the progress made. During the meetings, the most important moment was the one dedicated to the exposition and discussion of travel reports, that were recorded and kept in the Society archive "All memoirs are freely discussed and the secretaries shall keep a record of them. These memoirs shall then be deposited with the secretary".[74] Photography began to be shown during the Society meetings through slideshows, and after the meetings diapositives were often kept by the SGI.[75] The records of the assemblies are full of references to presentations accompanied by pictures: "The interesting presentation […] was particularly attractive and interesting for the large number of projections of photographs of monuments, places, ethnic type"[76]. In case the lecturer was also the photographer, as in the case of the diplomats Carlo Rossetti, this aspect was emphasized:

> The presentation, which shows how the lecturer is not only a sharp and witty observer and a pleasant narrator but also a talented scholar, is combined with the attraction of the reproduction on the bright screen of beautiful photographs, due to the same Rossetti, which illustrate the landscapes, the flora, the population, the

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[74] *Statuto della SGI,* "BSGI", 1,1, 1868: 9. "Su tutte le memorie si apre libera discussione: i segretari ne tengono nota. Queste memorie vengono poi depositate al segretario"

[75] Maria Mancini worked extensively on the photographic archive and published a first catalogue of the collections. Maria Mancini (ed.), *Obiettivo sul mondo. Viaggi ed esplorazioni nelle immagini dell'Archivio fotografico della Società Geografica Italiana (1866-1956)*, Rome: SGI, 1996.

[76] Gino Bandini, *Ricordi ed impressioni d'un viaggio nell'India*, "BSGI", 38, 41, 1904: 181. "La interessante esposizione, cui dava maggiore attrattiva ed evidenza il grande numero di projezioni do fotografie di monumenti, di luoghi, di tipi etnici".

costumes of Korea and pleasant scenes of life on the streets of Seoul.[77]

Once the Society began promoting explorations directly, another relevant way of enlarging the photo archive was the acquisition of materials gathered during the campaign, as happened for example with Boggiani's production. It is important to notice the constant intersection, in the SGI policies, between research, political interest, and travel curiosities, which aimed at amusing the public with narrations that could be at the same time scientifically relevant. Such aspect is mirrored in the variety of the photographic collections of the archive and in the many actors that shaped it. Photographs were preserved in connection to other sources such as articles and manuscripts and they were catalogued under their creator. Besides the organisational function, this archival arrangement privileged a biographical focus that contributed to shape the mythic figure of the explorers and to envisage the SGI as the pantheon of Italian travellers. Among the various names there were Elio Modigliani and Ermanno Stradelli, well-known explorers whose interest in the ethnography of other cultures is easily traceable, and who sought to be recognised by the anthropological community for their own collections and publications. However, the majority of actors are representative of a mixed group that included physicians, diplomats and politicians, which contributed to shaping nineteenth-century knowledge on given territories and populations. The interest of the SGI photographic archive is precisely in this nomadic quality, because it allows for investigations onto the intersections between exploration campaigns and anthropological research. In this case, the archive is prominently considered as a place that connects and unites dispersed efforts, and that keeps track of the movement of travelling actors and pictures.

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[77] Carlo Rossetti, *Impressioni di Corea*, "BSGI", 38, 41, 1904: 183. "Ai pregi della esposizione, che mostra come il conferenziere sia non solo un acuto ed arguto osservatore ed un piacevole narratore, ma anche un valente studioso, si unisce l'attrattiva della riproduzione sullo schermo luminoso di stupende fotografie, dovute allo stesso cav. Rossetti, le quali illustrano via via i paesaggi, la flora, la popolazione, i costumi della Corea ed amene scene della vita per le strade di Seùl".

4.5 Enrico Alberto D'Albertis' photographic archive

This last section concerns the photo collections of Enrico Alberto D'Albertis (846-1932), whose case is relevant because it presents one more type of ethnographic photo archive. After having addressed how pictures were collected by two anthropological museums, one scholar, one geographical institute, it is time to see how a traveller made up his photographic production. Enrico Alberto D'Albertis was a Genoese aristocrat who lived in contact with the Italian ruling class and the colonial lobby. He began his career in the military navy, and then passed to the commercial navy, where he was one of the first Italians to sail through the newly inaugurated Suez Canal. As already mentioned in the thesis, he dedicated himself to the new leisure of sailing, and he carried out many naturalistic investigations. In addition to cruises in the Mediterranean and one Atlantic crossing, D'Albertis made three world tours. He travelled extensively in Africa from 1880 to 1912, and he published four books on the continent, based on reports of his trips.[78]

His private experience is that of an outsider, as he was travelling thanks to his connections (with institutions, settlers, soldiers, missionaries, explorers) but without any official or public role. He built his own identity at the crossover between the mythical figure of the solitary explorer, the amateur, and the globetrotter, as he would define himself:

> The desire not of the scientist traveller, of the scholar, of the collector, but of the modest traveller who journeys the world, of the true *globe trotter*, is to continue, to go on, to move forward, *ahead*, and never stop![79]

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[78] Enrico Alberto D'Albertis, *Crociera sul Nilo*, Turin: Paravia, 1904; *In Africa: Victoria Nyanza e Benadir*, Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1906; *Una gita all'Harrar*, Milan: Treves, 1906; *Periplo dell'Africa*, Milan: Treves, 1910.

[79] Enrico Alberto D'Albertis, *Periplo dell'Africa*, Milano, Treves, 1910: 280. The words in Italics are in English also in the Italian original version: "Il desiderio non del viaggiatore scienziato, dello studioso, del raccoglitore, ma del modesto viaggiatore che gira il mondo, del vero *globe trotter* è di continuare, di proseguire, di andare sempre avanti, *ahead*, e non fermarsi mai!".

His definition as amateur-traveller seems in juxtaposition to the milieu of scholars, explorers and geographers of the young nation-state, but it is used rhetorically to promote him as part of the group, which appeared once more to be heterogeneous and constituted of a variety of actors. As seen in chapter two, the instructions actively promoted the participation in science by amateur figures that had the means to conduct journeys abroad, and D'Albertis seems to shape his narration precisely on this model. His self-representation is evident also in his residence, the neo-gothic castle of Montegalletto that he built in 1892 on the ruins of a Genovese bastion. There, he was able to organise the collections gathered during his travels in an extravagant and exotic exhibition, and he created a series of flagship rooms, where he also devoted space to his so-called 'museum', exhibiting his collection in showcases (fig. 4.17). After his death, he donated his residence and his collection to the city municipality, and after many years it was restored and opened to the public in 2004 as Castello D'Albertis Museum of World Cultures.[80] Also in this case, the distinction between private and public dimensions are blurred. On the one hand we are in front of a private collection, developed during D'Albertis life and depicting his personal memories. On the other hand, it is a public collection, not only because it was donated to a civic institution, but also because D'Albertis envisaged its public function prior to his death, considering the castle a space of leisure and study opened to his friends and occasionally to the general public.

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[80] For a history of the Museum, see Maria Camilla De Palma, *Castello d'Albertis: Museo delle Culture del Mondo*, Milan: Silvana, 2017. Today the photographic archive comprises also of the Columbian Missionary collection.
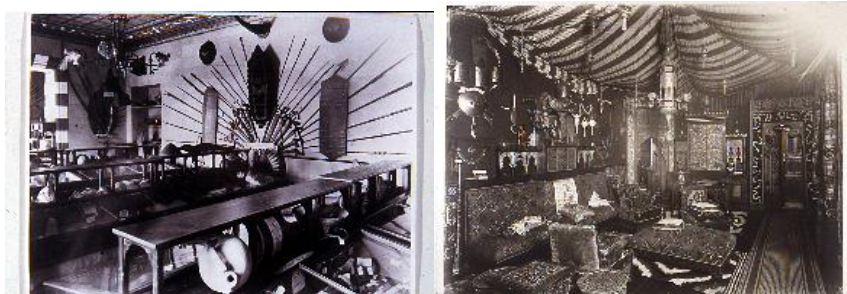
Fig. 4. 17 - Top left: the museum; Top right: the Turkish parlour, Castello D'Albertis, digital positives from glass plate negatives © Castello D'Albertis Museo delle Culture del Mondo.

Photos were used, together with publications and collections, to build an image of the exemplary traveller. Twenty thousand negatives, dated between 1875 and 1930, bore witness of D'Albertis extensive amateur photographic practice, conveying the dimension of the great visual travelogue. Some of the pictures were used in D'Albertis publications,

whose analysis would allow us to trace the distance between private representation and the public framing of his experience (fig. 4.18).
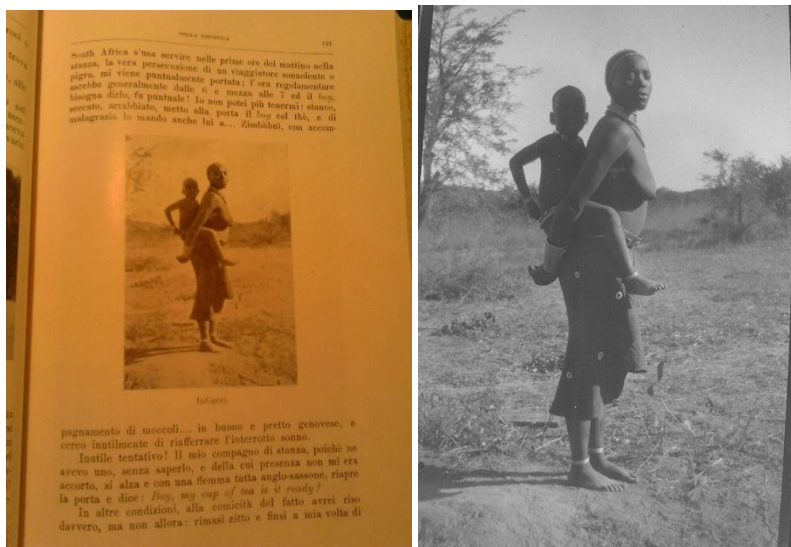
Fig. 4. 18 – Left: Engraving, Enrico Alberto D'Albertis, *Periplo dell'Africa*, p. 191; Right: Inv. SC A4 609, digital positive from film negative, Enrico Alberto D'Albertis Collection © Castello D'Albertis Museo delle Culture del Mondo.

Moving on the border between public leisure and public consumption, the production shifts between intimate memory and documentary value, and most of the pictures stand out for the anthropological interest of the subjects represented. Such sensibility was nurtured through his connection with the scientific learned communities, testified by his long and close relationship with Giacomo Doria, his letter exchange with Giglioli, the presence in his library of pivotal books related to exploration and travel cultures, and his active participation in the SGI.[81] While in the

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[81] The library includes for example books by Arturo Issel, Leonardo Fea, Enrico Giglioli, Angelo De Gubernatis, Paolo Mantegazza, Elio Modigliani, Filippo De Filippi, Henry Morton Stanley, David Kaltbrunner, Armand de Quatrefages.

Navy, he tried to participate in many famous expeditions, such as the Magenta in 1865, or the Scioa guided by Antinori in 1875.[82]

The Enrico Alberto D'Albertis photographic archive consists of about 19,000 film negatives and 900 glass plates, collected over about 54 years, from 1875 to 1929. It is also composed of about a thousand positives acquired by photographic studios, including *cartes des visites* (fig. 4.19).

Fig. 4. 19 – Left: Giacomo Brogi, Firenze "To the brilliant and intrepid Captain E. A. D'Albertis with profound sympathy – Mantegazza", albumen prints, carte de visite. Right: "N. 23 - Mauresque riche - Photo Garrigues Tunisi", Enrico Alberto D'Albertis Collection © Castello D'Albertis Museo delle Culture del Mondo.

It is not possible to be sure of the integrity of the archive; certainly, the twenty-six photographic albums containing the positives have been dispersed, and with these, we lost the possibility of reconstructing the

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[82] Livia Albertina Fornaroli, *Ardita gente ligure: Enrico Alberto D'Albertis (1846-1932)*, Genoa: Bozzo e Coccarello, 1935, p. 22 and p. 210.

visual arrangement and the narration built by D'Albertis around his travels in the form of the photo-album.[83] The few written indications left about D'Albertis' albums, reveal that they were kept in the Turkish parlour "in a cabinet with Moorish arabesques [...] he kept large volumes in a long line, all "albums" of photographs taken during his travels".[84] This testimony already gives an idea of the connection D'Albertis choose to create between the exotic dimension, outside time and space, created by oriental furniture, and the theme of memory and travel, so widely represented in his photographs. The Genoese daily newspaper "Il Lavoro", referred to the massive and cumbersome presence of the photo albums contained in the Castle of Montegalletto:

> In a specially built wardrobe, there are albums of photographs taken by D'Albertis during his travels. How many do you think they are? Three? Four? Ten? No. There are twenty-six of them. Big. Very big. And full, dense, of photos.[85]

Such material was known to D'Albertis' guests and visitors and the biographer Fornaroli described:

> in the evening [...] Enrico Alberto D'Albertis took his notebooks from a small desk, opened his "albums" of photographs and flipped through them. Then the sumptuous and exotic setting of the castle became a dream.[86]

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[83] On photographic album in connection with colonial history see Luigi Tomassini, *L'album fotografico come fonte storica*, in Paolo Bertella Farnetti, Adolfo Mignemi, and Alessandro Triulzi, (eds.), *L'Impero nel cassetto: l'Italia coloniale tra album privati e archivi pubblici*, Milan: Mimesis, 2013, pp. 59-70.

[84] The existence of the albums is attested in the biography by Livia Albertina Fornaroli, *Ardita gente ligure…*,1935: 291. In un armadietto a dorati arabeschi moreschi […] conservava in lunga fila grossi volumi, tutti «albums» di fotografie fatte durante i suoi viaggi

[85] "Il Lavoro", 5 march 1932. "In un armadio appositamente costruito, ci sono gli album delle fotografie prese dal D'Albertis durante i suoi viaggi. Quanti credete che siano? Tre? Quattro? Dieci? No. Sono ventisei. Grossi. Grossissimi. E pieni, fitti fitti, di foto".

[86] Livia Albertina Fornaroli, *Ardita gente ligure…*, 1935: 267. "la sera […] Enrico Alberto D'Albertis traeva da una piccola scrivania i suoi taccuini, apriva i suoi «albums» di fotografie e li sfogliava. Allora la cornice sontuosa ed esotica del castello diveniva un ambiente da sogno".

All these are useful testimonies of the consistency, fame and meanings linked to Enrico D'Albertis' work as a photographer and also provide us with an indication of the material and public form in which he had organized and arranged his personal visual diary.

As an amateur photographer, D'Albertis was always up to date with international trends and preferred new generation materials, light and easy to handle. From the 1890s he almost quit the use of glass plates and preferred celluloid films which he employed shortly after the introduction of celluloid negatives by George Eastman. Unfortunately, no cameras were preserved, but from the negatives it can be assumed that he used the Kodak Regular models No. 3 and 4, with formats 4x5 inches. In parallel with the technical progress, the numerical consistency of the shots rose to more than two hundred photos per year. D'Albertis also used smaller formats, on 6x9 centimetres, giving the clear sign of preferring the small format of the camera rather than a higher quality of the photo. From the dimension, it can be assumed that the machine used was a Kodak Brownie No. 2, in the standard or folding variants. These new devices allowed the film to be loaded outside the laboratory in low light conditions, without the need for the red light.

More than half of D'Albertis' shots are dedicated to Italy, about eleven thousand negatives. Many cities and towns are represented, with a predilection for community spaces and local customs, a photographic tendency that will be at the core of the next chapter. The African continent is a favourite subject of D'Albertis and is represented in over five thousand negatives, and the photographs cover a continuous period from 1900 to 1912. Of great value are the images of the local population, mixed with images dedicated to the colonial settlement. Egypt and Sudan are by far the most represented areas, with over three thousand negatives; indeed, D'Albertis spent a period in Egypt almost every year from 1900 to 1910 and travelled through the Nile Valley in 1903-1904. From 1908-1909 are the negatives of the trip to South Africa, narrated in the *Periplo dell'Africa* (1910) when D'Albertis also passed through Somalia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, the island of St. Helena and the Canary Islands. The Mediterranean coast is documented by about 500 shots, mainly from 1902. As we said, he was strongly connected to the Italian

colonial lobby, and Eritrea was visited in 1901 and represented with over a hundred shots, which focus less on the local inhabitants and more on the modifications led by the presence of the Italian army. About 700 pictures are dedicated to Libya, most of them relating to the Italo-Turkish campaign of 1911-12. About a thousand negatives cannot be classified geographically.[87] Among these, many images are dedicated to the sea. This is a subject extremely dear to D'Albertis, who was trained in the military navy and became a captain for the merchant navy. Sea activities are represented in all its facets: coasts, fishing boats, ships (from yachts to canoes), but also life on board. A little more than three hundred are the negatives dedicated to the Asian continent. Most of the images relate to trips to the Middle East between 1905 and 1907, about twenty to Sri Lanka. About five hundred images are dedicated to the 1896 trip to Central America, where his sensitivity to the daily activities, the work and economy of the place, the clothing of the local people, stands out. In Arizona, he documented the village of the native tribe of the Hopi. Almost six hundred negatives, taken in 1910, are dedicated to Australia, New Zealand and Polynesia. Again, the images show the local landscapes and cultural traditions, such as the pearl fishermen of the Tuamotu Islands. He visited Oceania already in 1878 when he met his cousin Luigi Maria D'Albertis and Odoardo Beccari.

Enrico Alberto D'Albertis archive includes the Luigi Maria D'Albertis photographic collection, made up of about 150 positives, dating from about 1860 to 1890. Given the close ties between Enrico Alberto and his cousin Luigi Maria D'Albertis, the latter donated his photographs to him together with other objects he collected during his own travels, today they are partly exhibited on the main floor of the museum. Thinking in terms of the paths of circulation of objects and photographs, it is important to notice that:

> The material housed in Genova does not comprise the whole, or even the best part of Luigi Maria D'Albertis' ethnographic

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[87] The geographical and chronological classifications indicated are the result of the ongoing cataloguing project, carried out by the museum staff together with Anna D'Albertis - one of Enrico D'Albertis heir - and cannot be considered definitive.

collection. Most of it was purchased by the Ministry for Public instruction for a sum between 25000 and 30000 Lire, and shared between the *Museo Nazionale di Antropologia e Etnologia* […], and Rome's *Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico*, […]. It is unclear whether the Genova material was what D'Albertis was particularly attached to himself or simply that which was left after the museums had taken their pick.[88]

Certainly, the pictures left in CDM represent the highest number of Luigi Maria D'Albertis activity as photographer. As we have seen, the MAE has a small set of his photos, the MNEP only includes a few pictures representing objects, while the CDM preserves the most interesting part of his photo activity, including many pictures of New Guinea's indigenous people.

The prints, of various sizes, are mounted on cardboard and sometimes bear signatures, stamps or useful indications for attribution. A large part of the photographs (about 40) were taken by Luigi Maria D'Albertis himself. They show on the card his signature and the indication of place and date, which refers to the trips to New Guinea and Australia of 1872, 1873 and 1876. The types of subjects portrayed can be divided into four categories: groups of indigenous people posing on a rocky background; anthropometric portraits of individual natives seated; objects assembled in groups and skulls with measurements.

His photo collection includes also some of Lindt's studio pictures, testifying once more to the connection between the two, already analysed in chapter three. More than forty prints have no written indication of any kind and are probably images purchased from photographic studios and depict mainly ethnic types posing in traditional or exotic costumes. Within this group, a cardboard mount stands out for its unusual assemblage, combining three portraits of well-dressed western women with two pictures of presumably New Guinean natives (fig. 4.20).

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[88] Elisabetta Gnecchi-Ruscone, *From New Guinea 1872-78 to Genova 2004: recovering Luigi Maria D'Albertis' private collection*, "Journal de la Société des Océanistes", 132, 2011, pp. 165-182: 175.

Fig. 4.20 – Inv. F10, albumen prints, Luigi Maria D'Albertis collection, © Castello D'Albertis Museo delle Culture del Mondo.

The grouping is unusual because it broke the visual consistency of the anthropological collection that tended to keep separate the representation of individuals portrayed as specimens of primitive cultures and the Western bourgeoisie portraits. The cardboard fosters a reflection highly connected to the present chapter; as we have already seen with the pictures of the Akka, it invites us to think about the role of styles in portraying individuals. The fluctuating use of photography and the ambiguous border between scientific and private use is also at stake here. Finally, it sparked a reflection on the function of collecting and archiving in putting together visual materials and creating new meanings.

Within this chapter, I have analysed some differing typologies of photographic archives and I have delineated the histories behind their creation. This study allowed us first to reconstruct as much as possible the process of archive making, and to deconstruct the image of the archive as a container and neutral object at the service of the institution. The process of photographic collecting was considered a practice that modified the understanding of the pictures, showing how photographs were inserted in a series for theoretical comparison, they became part of

the institutional history, they shaped a public image, or they functioned as a social and connecting tool. The difference between public and private function has been taken into consideration, to see how it influenced the creation, the use and the final arrangement in the archive. The next chapter will move from how anthropological archives built a specific way of looking and using pictures, with a focus on the representation of cultural alterity, to the way in which the same apparatus and the same discipline shaped an image of internal domestic culture.

5. LOOKING HOME: THE VISUALIZATION OF ITALIAN CULTURES

In this chapter, the focus shifts from the question of otherness to the issue of identity. In the previous sections, we delineated the photographs produced in the field from more or less far territories, and their use and circulation in the archive. We are now turning the lens on the Italian State, a nation that, as underlined at the beginning of the thesis, was taking its first steps in 1861, and underwent a substantial process of identity building. Anthropology and photography were both actively involved in this process. On the one hand, cultural and scientific discourses aimed at placing the newly founded State at the same level of the other European countries and in opposition to non-western populations, where Italy projected its weak colonial dream. On the other hand, a constant negotiation for the recognition of the many differences crossing the peninsula characterised national rhetoric. Regionalism and localism emerged in the nation-state from the very beginning, shaping a pattern composed of many different homelands. Such characteristics, rooted in centuries of historical divisions, jeopardised the making of a shared national cohesion on the one hand, while it led to a celebration of the regional particularism on the other.

Francesco Faeta argued that the Italian identity (and accordingly the anthropological school) developed more on the internal opposition between North and South, considered as two antithetic social and cultural models, than on the juxtaposition with the colonial lands.[1] His argument weakens one of the fulcrums of this thesis, meaning the important role that travel and exploration played in development of the young State, but it certainly catches a peculiar orientation of Italian anthropology, that considered especially the southern Italian regions and the islands as exotic lands to survey. Anthropologists transferred the

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[1] See Francesco Faeta, *Le ragioni dello sguardo*, Bollati Boringheri, 2011, p. 93.

"'salvage' paradigm"[2] and the orientalist gaze, usually applied to the so-called primitive cultures that were found outside the borders of the new Italian State, as they relocated it to investigate Italian peoples.

Photography helped in "giving visual substance to national identity, […] contributing to its formation"[3] and, as this chapter will show, specifically ethnographic photography played an important and overlooked role in the making of such identity. While some studies addressed the importance of Italian photography in shaping the unifying notion of 'cultural heritage',[4] by pointing the objective to monuments, historical buildings and works of art, fewer works considered the role played by the representation of traditions and costumes. Instead, a debate about domestic cultures was present in both the scientific communities and in public discourse, and it was nurtured with images. As it has been pointed out, in this undertaking, the objective of the camera always turned to marginal social stratas, from workers to peasants, from criminals to psychiatric patients. The choice of the subjects was certainly connected with the intention to control through visual records, as many studies underlined. However, it also entailed the issue of nostalgia and loss, and the attribution of historical value to cultural features, which were until that time neglected.[5]

On an international panorama, 19th century projects envisioning the creation of national visual archives were not uncommon. If we consider only those having the human figure as principal subject, showing a more or less explicit anthropological sensibility, we have to name Russia, Hungary and Ireland as countires that used photographs to document

[2] James Clifford, *The others: Beyond the 'salvage' paradigm*, "Third Text" 3, 6, 1989, pp. 73-78.

[3] Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena, *Introduction: photographs, archives and the discourse of nation*, in Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena (eds.), *Photo archives and the idea of Nation*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, pp. 3-15: 8.

[4] See Tiziana Serena, *Cultural Heritage, Nation, Italian State: Politics of the Photographic Archive between Centre and Periphery*, in Caraffa and Serena (eds.), *Photo archives…*, 2015, pp. 179-200.

[5] Such orientation is present in Elizabeth Edwards, *Photography and the Material Performance of the Past*, "History and Theory", 48, 2009, pp. 130-150.

folklore and popular costumes. Peasant cultures were represented systematically also in Germany, Spain and France, but we must also remember projects such as the British racial committee, with a strong anthropometric imprint,[6] or the photographic survey movement and the National Photographic Record Association, which focused also on popular costumes.[7]

As already sketched in chapter 1, the anthropological attention towards Italian local cultures flourished at the beginning of the 20th century in Italy, but is was already present from the second half of 19th century. This chapter looks at the first fifty years of Unification and it aims at analysing some significant projects (realised or unrealised) where photography had a major role in the documentation of Italian cultures. This section will often encounter the history of exhibitions, as the developments of national photographic campaigns strongly depended on the 'exhibitionary complex',[8] and it allows for a consideration on how photography was employed in such celebratory and public occasions. The exhibitions of Turin 1884, Palermo 1891-92, and Rome 1911 are the three main events analysed, and will be considered also in their relationship with research and publication projects launched by the SIAE and the SFI.

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[6] Such incomplete list does not include projects where the focus is on the representation of a foreign culture, such as *People of India*, nor the USA photo campaigns on Native Americans, with all the implication on the conflictual relationship between American identity and native culture.

[7] Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera As Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885-1918*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.

[8] Tony Bennet, *The exhibitionary complex*, in Bruce Ferguson, Reesa Greenberg and Sandy Nairne (eds.), *Thinking about exhibitions*, London: Routledge, 2005, pp. 71-93.

5.1 The debate about traditional domestic cultures

When we look at Enrico Giglioli's photographic collection, discussed in detail in chapter four, and we start browsing the Italian section, we encounter new kinds of material and we enter into a new way of interpreting ethnographic photography. The first picture is a close up of a *'bersagliere'*, a soldier, one of the key icons of Italian Risorgimento, during the independence wars (fig. 5.1).

This picture creates immediately a connection between the territory visually explored in this section – Italy - and the value that the collector wants to convey: we are entering an official narration, the history of Italy and of its foundation is embodied in the military figure. At the same time, it also intersects the personal story of Giglioli, whose father was strongly involved in the pre-unitary movements. However, inserted in such an ethnographic visual collection, it also aims to say something scientific: this figure also becomes an anthropological type, that of the *Italian bersagliere*. We see how in relation to a familiar territory, the concept of 'type' is still surviving but applied to smaller categories: no longer to an extended geographical area, but a specific one, no more a generic distinction between male and female types, but an attention towards professions and classes.

Fig. 5. 1 - Inv. 2713, "Italian type, Bersagliere - Acquired in Florence July 1880 Enrico H. Giglioli", Giglioli Collection, ©_Museo delle Civiltà – MPE "L. Pigorini"

In the next cardboard, a series of photographs of naked women start. They are all studio pictures, a consistent part regards Roman prostitutes photographed by Ludovico Tuminello (already encountered in chapter 3 in the exploration of Tunisia), but many are also from Venice, taken by Carlo Naya (fig. 5.2). They are from the branch of pornographic images which circulated widely despite Catholic and state control. Their

presence within a scientific collection creates a parallel with anthropometric photography, both having representations of the naked body in common, although the style of the images is completely different. They are closer in style to the many erotic pictures of black women, which became so popular in the colonial period.
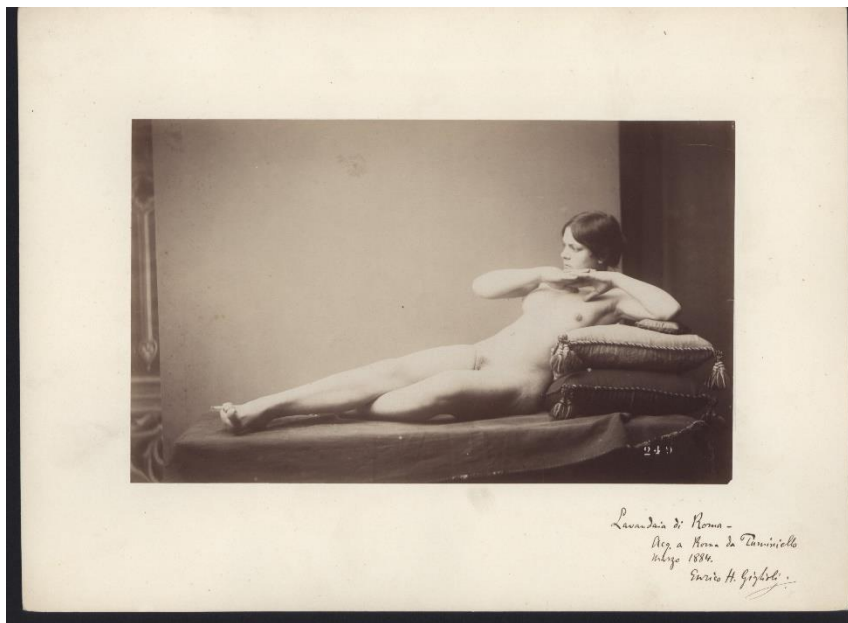
Fig. 5. 2 – Lodovico Tuminello, "Laundress from Rome – Acquired in Rome from Tuminello – 1884 – Enrico H. Giglioli", Giglioli Collection, ©_Museo delle Civiltà – MPE "L. Pigorini"

Leafing further through, in Basilicata, the type of the '*brigante*' is represented with images of dead men. There are two samples, that can be found also in the collection of Lombroso who used them to figure out the traits of the criminal type (fig. 5.3). Here again, Italian cultural history enters in the archive: the struggle of the Savoy troops against the phenomenon of '*brigantaggio*' in Southern Italy was narrated as a fight against uncivilized, brutal and informal groups who attacked the security of the nation. But it was also the struggle of the less represented strata of society who fight to change political equilibriums and to obtain

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recognition of the peculiar southern needs in the northern-oriented Italian Parliament. The presence of such images is somehow connected to the *bersagliere* one and shows even more clearly the point of view of the collector.
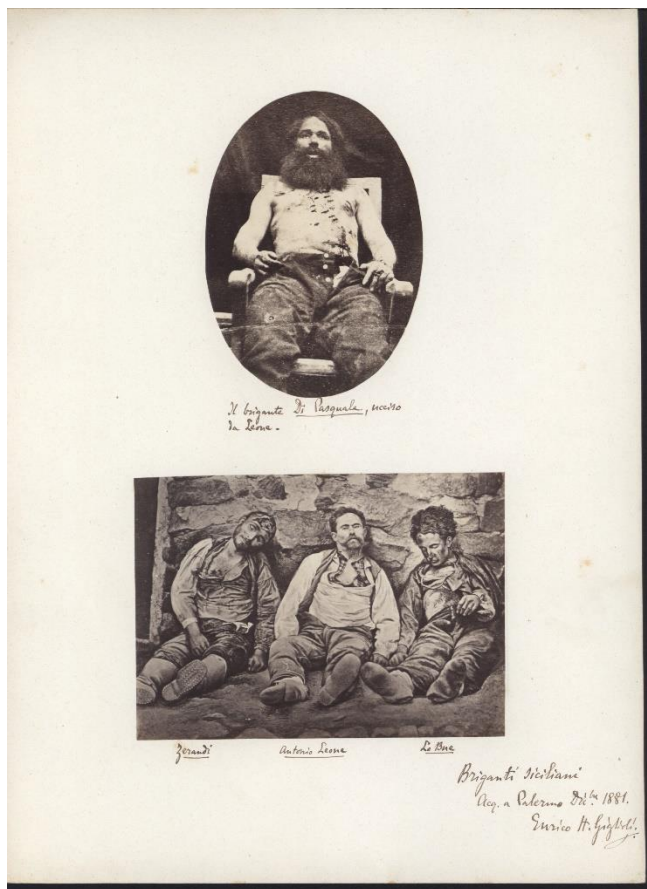
Fig. 5. 3 – 2833, Top: "Il brigante Di Pasquale ucciso da Leone": Down: "Zerandi – Antonio Leone – Lo Bue" "Sicilian briganti, acquired in Palermo 1881 – Enrico H. Giglioli", Giglioli Collection, ©_Museo delle Civiltà – MPE "L. Pigorini"

The rest of the Italian pictures from the Giglioli Collection, are, as we would expect, pictures of costumes, divided more or less precisely according to regions (fig. 5.4).

Fig. 5. 4 – 2751 "Genoese types and costumes – acquired in Genova – Sep. 1882 – Enrico H. Giglioli", Giglioli collections, ©_Museo delle Civiltà – MPE "L. Pigorini".

Iconographically, the genre of customs and traditions have a long art historical tradition, dating back to 16th century engravings, such as the famous series by Cesare Vecellio that was divided by geographical area, or to 17th century representation of works in the nativity scene. It was then used between 18th and 19th centuries by the Bourbon royal family, who commissioned an investigation on the representation of popular costumes during their reign. Another important historical and cultural circumstance that fostered the representation of popular types and customs is the Grand Tour, which nurtured and shaped the imagery of the Italian urban, rural and social landscape. Therefore, the documentation on Italian cities and costumes was often carried out by

travellers, by external gazes willing to find the picturesque in the surrounding world. The notion of picturesque originated in reference to landscape and ruins, but it then included also the nostalgic feeling and exotifying look upon social life and traditions. With a mixed degree of preciseness, the production of costume representations ranged from the making of appealing souvenirs to the creation of reliable documentation, where the travellers drew, and took notes in parallel, on the textile details and the colour information.

The existence of such a tradition needs to be taken into account when reflecting on how photography of Italian types and customs developed, producing a specific representation of the popular classes. The similarity of methods, objects, styles, and interests allows us to draw a strong connection with the pre-photographic world in both the iconography of costumes and the needs that produced such visual archives, at the crossroad between commercial curiosities, travel documentation, aesthetic pleasure, and administrative documentation. Thinking about the influence of materials over theory, it is most likely that the diffusion of this representational genre and the consistency of such visual sources predisposed a certain reflection on costumes and traditions in the Italian anthropological communities. In this regard, an aspect that is particularly interesting for our research is to think of the influence that an external/etic (meaning non-Italian and pre-unitarian) representation played in the making of an internal/emic and national ethnographic portrait.

The use of pictures here analysed has much to do with what Pinney called the 'environmental portraiture'.[9] Talking about the monumental photographic project *People of India*, he noticed how the use of background and material objects provided information on the status and the occupations of the subjects, where each detail became a "markers of difference […] tabulated against group identities".[10] Women were considered more interesting subjects because they were perceived as

[9] Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: the social life of Indian photographs*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997: 25.

[10] Pinney, *Camera…*, 1997: 29.

more 'characteristic', and the prevalence of female over male pictures is striking also in the Italian case. Moreover, similarly to what happened during the colonial administration of India, these projects "took form within a much broader museological discourse which created parallel registers of images, artefacts and records of behaviour".[11] This system, where different levels of representation, objectification, administration and information intersected is at the core of the present chapter. The guiding questions will be: how did ethnographic photography contribute to shaping an image of the new nation? How did national exposition projects involve photo-objects in their making?

5.2 The role of the MAE

The idea of developing investigations devoted to Italian ethnology was one of the declared goals of the SIAE, and we can find it in the Statute.[12] In this regard, a series of initiatives were launched throughout the years, which aimed at building a comprehensive view of the physical, moral and social characters of Italian people. Here we will recall some campaigns already briefly presented in the first and the second chapters, paying attention to identify the connections or disconnections between the projects and the visual materials produced by the Florentine Society and the related Museum. In 1871, with the *Raccolta dei materiali per l'etnologia italiana*, there was the first declination in Italy of the questionnaire format applied to anthropology, which uses Virchow's publication on Germany as a model. The attention of the authors - Mantegazza, Lombroso, Schiff and Zannetti - was primarily on the physical characteristics and there was no reference to photography. A list of questions was sent to all Italian municipalities, but the results were not successful and were published 8 years later by Raseri, in both the journal of Statistics and the AAE, showing the collaboration between the two societies.[13] In 1895, the a similar project was proposed again, in the

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[11] Pinney, *Camera…*, 1997, p. 35.

[12] See chapter 1.

[13] Enrico Raseri, *Materiali per l'Etnologia Italiana*, "Annali di Statistica", 2, 8, 1879, pp. 3-124 and Enrico Raseri, *Materiali per l'Etnologia Italiana*, part I, "AAE", 9, 1879, pp. 259-288; part II, ivi, 9, 1880, pp. 46-68; part III, ivi, pp. 202-220 and pp. 270-326.

call for the making of a *Carta etnografica d'Italia*. As a result of this call, Francesco Pullè published the *Profilo Antropologico dell'Italia* in 1898, and although he did not show any interest in photography in the book, he promoted a project for the photographic mapping of Italian people as a member of the SFI, as we will further analyse.

In 1909, Mochi promoted to the SIAE fellows a further call for the making of an *Atlante Antropologico d'Italia*. This ambitious undertaking saw the collaboration of the SIAE and the SRA, after their division, and the Commission was composed of two conflicting Presidents, Mantegazza and Sergi, together with Tedeschi, Frassetto, Giuffrida-Ruggeri, Pullè. The idea was to use osteological data gathered by healthcare institutions to build a collection of records. For the analysis of living cultures, Mochi referred to Livi's work *Antropometria militare*, a three volume publication that put together data on soldiers gathered during their visit: "at least in terms of height, thoracic perimeter, cephalic index and chromaticity, it is for our country a collection of detailed regional data that not all European countries possess and that many envy us".[14] Livi's data was often imprecise due to differences in the method adopted by physicians - a problem that would be avoided "in an anthropometric investigation made by a few and professional people". However, "the defects are at least compensated by the great number of observations, a number which a commission of few anthropologists would reach badly, after a very long time".[15] Mochi's statement put forward once more the relationship between amateur and professionals in the making of research, evaluating the gain and loss of both practices.

Although none of the AAE's above-listed projects included photography in their methodology of data collecting, they show how the learned

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community tried to survey the variety of Italian populations. They all had a focus on physical traits, although Pullè's research included also some cultural issues. Nonetheless, the SIAE community was well aware of the importance of visual sources, as already demonstrated in the previous chapters. When looking for Italian pictures in the MAE archive, we can find around five hundred items, mainly concerning popular traditions and costumes. A series of hand-coloured photographs dedicated to the clothes of specific regions (fig. 5.5) is mixed with portraits of Italian actresses, collected by Mantegazza for his study on human emotions.

Fig. 5. 5 - 7697-7701, "Sardinia", hand coloured prints, "E. Aruj - Fotografo e Pittore – Cagliari" © Sezione di Antropologia e Etnologia, Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università degli Studi di Firenze.

Both groups are dedicated almost entirely to women, and the former is particularly interesting. Sardinia is among the most represented regions, an aspect that goes hand in hand with the anthropological tendency to study southern and island regions more, as they were considered as underdeveloped cultures, and as 'internal savages'. Sardinia was indeed

a favourite subject of Italian anthropology, and over the years, publications analysed the island closely.[16] The pictures came from various commercial ateliers, and they were often part of editorial projects, sold in a series with a specific graphic style. Cards often bore handwritten information on the city or village where the costume was used. Although all shot in studio, the use of elements such as chairs, columns, or other accessories, together with the different colouration of the ground, situated the scene outdoor or indoor. The fact of being organized according to a regional order indicates a specific geopolitical approach, that finds in the regional ordering a way to reduce, simplify, and communicate the national varieties visually.[17] As we will see shortly, exhibitions, as well as many photo campaign proposals, applied the same regional order.

5.3 Ethnographic exhibitions: Milan, Turin, Palermo

Already in 1881, the National Exhibition in Milan dedicated a relevant section to regional costumes, with mannequins inserted in showcases that recreated, as in a diorama, bucolic spaces with fake natural elements or domestic objects, very similar to the settings of a photographic studio.[18] In showcases, there were smaller objects of use that "constitute

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[16] See Paolo Mantegazza, *Profili e paesaggi della Sardegna*, Milan: Brigola, 1870 and Giuseppe Sergi, *La Sardegna: note e commenti di un antropologo,* Vol. 133, Rome: Bocca, 1907.

[17] We should consider, for example, that photographic catalogues such as those from Alinari' studio, who ordered their products according to regions only from the 1890's, as suggested in Lucia Miodini, *Souvenir d'Italie: l'origine fotografica della cartolina illustrata* "Ananke", 85, 2019, pp. 10-16.

[18] Mariantonietta Picone Petrusa, *Iconografia del costume popolare. Modelli fotografici in studio*, in Lucia Cavazzi (ed.), *La fotografia a Roma nel secoolo XIX: la veduta, il ritratto, l'archeologia*, Rome: Artemide, 1991, pp. 52-76. On the connection between diorama and studio photography see Don Slater, *Photography and modern vision*, "Visual culture", 1995, pp. 218-237.

the beginning of a history of Italian labour".[19] The representation of the variety of traditions was a key aspect, as the visitor's guide stressed:

> The shape of the peninsula and even more so the political events have determined that between the inhabitants of one province and another there are more difference in dress, industry and habits than almost between two peoples of different ancestry.[20]

The commentator had a contradictory feeling toward such conflicting identities. On the one hand it was presented as a national feature to be exposed and appreciated, on the other it was felt as a defect to flatten:

> Political union will try to remove these differences, so that education would replace primitive objects with those perfected by science; but in some provinces, there are still tools, ploughs and vases of the shepherds of Bucolica [sic] and Georgiche.[21]

In this quote, differences were paired with backwardness and primitiveness, which both Science and Instruction would coldly eliminate. However, next to this controlling necessity, we also find the nostalgic feeling over classical ruins, represented this time by human traditions, embodied in the figure of the shepherd, compared with those of Virgilio's poem. Another level of appreciation lies in the specificity of materials and techniques: "the costumes show the great variety of fabrics, textiles, goldsmiths, ceramics, the know-how of which could be

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[19] Esposizione nazionale industriale ed artistica, *Guida del visitatore alla esposizione industriale italiana del 1881 in Milano: sola pubblicazione autorizzata e compilata sotto la sorveglianza del Comitato esecutivo dell'esposizione industriale*, Milan: Sonzogno, 1881: 89. "formano il principio d'una storia del lavoro italiano".

[20] Esposizione nazionale industriale ed artistica, *Guida…*, 1881: 89. "La conformazione della penisola e più ancora le vicende politiche, hanno fatto sì che fra gli abitanti d'una provincia e quelli d 'un'altra passa maggior differenza di vestire, di industria e di abitudini che non quasi fra due popoli di stirpo diversa".

[21] Esposizione nazionale industriale ed artistica, *Guida…*, 1881: 89. "L'unione politica cerca di far scomparire queste differenze, a quella guisa che l'istruzione sostituisce gli oggetti primitivi con quelli perfezionati dalla scienza; ma vi sono tuttora in certe provincie gli arnesi, gli aratri e i vasi dei pastori della Bucolica c delle Georgiche."

profitable for the industry".[22] The contamination between science, arts, industry, and spectacle, so typical of the "exhibitionary complex", is here reiterated, with a stress on the developing rhetoric of the 'made in Italy'.[23] Photographs were employed, as a substitute to costume collections, together with drawings or sculptures: "In the absence of costumes we will look for photographs or portraits by other means obtained or statuettes in terracotta which with so much truth and precision are made and sold in Sicily".[24] It is worth noticing that local administrations and learned societies collaborated with the exhibitions by sending their materials, showing an institutional way of gathering materials, that became recurrent.

When Enrico Morselli planned the Anthropological section of the Turin exhibition in 1884, he took inspiration from the previous experience, but he also inserted many novel elements. The quest for scientific reliability passed through a careful analysis of the methodology for data-collecting. As explained in chapter two, he granted an important documentary role to photography, and he took back the distinction between scientific and artistic pictures introduced by Giglioli and Zanetti. Class VII of the exhibition was dedicated to Ethnography, and Morselli clearly stated his ambitious objective, using the 1878 Paris exhibition and the 1880 Moscow exhibition as models:

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[22] Esposizione nazionale industriale ed artistica, *Guida…*, 1881: 89. "I costumi mostrano la varietà grandissima di stoffe, di tessuti, di oreficerie, di ceramiche, della cui conoscenza potrebbe l'industria trar profitto".

[23] On 19th century exhibitions and 'made in Italy' see Matilde Casati, *«A living Encyclopaedia». Il Regno d'Italia all'International Exhibition del 1862*, in "Ricerche di storia dell'arte" 1, 2015, pp. 5-17; and Alison Yarrington, *'Made in Italy': Sculpture and the Staging of National Identities at the International Exhibition of 1862*, in Manfred Pfister and Ralph Helter (eds), *Performing national identity: Anglo-Italian cultural transactions*, Kenilworth: Rodopi, 2008.

[24] Amabile Terruggia, *Relazione generale compilata dall'ing. Amabile Terruggia*, Milan: Bernardoni, 1883 attachment C, p. 188. "Mancando costumi si cercheranno fotografie o ritratti con altro mezzo ottenuti o statuette in terra cotta quali con tanta verità e precisione si fanno e spacciano in Sicilia".

The study of customs and habits of various Italian regions has not been conducted so far in a complete way, and according to modern Ethnography [...] We found it appropriate to attempt a similar exhibition also for Italy, all the more so since it will certainly be worthwhile to illuminate some of the still obscure problems of Italian ethnography.[25]

Recalling the Milanese ethnographic section, he proposed, as an element of novelty, a way of "connecting in a harmonic unity what refers to the physical and intellectual characters of the populations of the Kingdom".[26] In promoting the collection of costumes, he specifically asked to avoid manipulation, and he suggested to use not just photography, but also drawings and sculpture, as supporting documents of traditionality and naturality, to be exposed together with objects:

For now, we feel it is necessary to ask collectors not only to choose the most picturesque costumes and traditions - not to alter, for aesthetic purposes, the shape of clothing and objects - [...] but to faithfully display, both through examples, models or photographs or drawings, everything of the most traditional and ancient [that] is preserved and of the most spontaneous and natural [that] is carried out in the rich and varied life of our people.[27]

While here photography appeared to play a supporting role to the collections of objects, Morselli underlined the potentiality of pictures in

25 Enrico Morselli, *Programma speciale della sezione di Antropologia all'esposizione Generale Italiana di Torino*, "AAE", 14, 1884, pp. 123-132: 130. "Lo studio dei costumi e delle usanze delle varie regioni italiane non venne fatto fin qui in modo completo, e secondo l'indirizzo dell'Etnografia moderna [...] Ci è parso opportuno che anche per l'Italia venisse tentata una Mostra consimile, tanto più che essa varrà certo ad illuminare alcuni problemi ancora oscuri dell'etnografia italiana".

26 Morselli, *Programma...*1884: 130. "collegare in un tutto armonico e completo quanto si riferisce ai caratteri fisici e intellettuali delle popolazioni del Regno".

27 Morselli, *Programma...*, 1884: 131. "Ci sembra intanto necessario pregare fin d'ora i collezionisti di non scegliere solo i costumi e le usanze più pittoresche – di non alterare, a scopo estetico, la forma dei vestiari e degli oggetti [...] ma di esporre fedelmente, sia per esemplari, sia per modelli o fotografie o disegni, tutto quanto di più tradizionale ed antico si conserva e di più spontaneo e naturale viene svolgendosi nella ricca e varia vita del nostro popolo".

section IV of the exhibition, dedicated to Biological and Ethnological Anthropology. There he called for the realisation of studies on specific ethnological problems, including the "Expressions and physiognomy of Italians", which should be investigated by means of "scientific collections of photography of popular and rural types for the various Italian regions".[28] He spoke not about a simple collection, but a scientific collection, conducted with a precise protocol and aim, recalling Mantegazza's and Darwin's project on human emotions. In this case, however, the investigation did not address just anybody, but only "popular and rural types", confirming the dominant attention of the 19th century anthropological discourse towards the lower classes. The double attention to pictures shows once more how, following Morselli's aim, peasants and workers became anthropological objects and photographic subjects both for their habits and tangible traditions, and for their expressions and physical attitude, bringing together the natural and cultural dimension (as discussed in chapter two). Photography, considered capable at once of recording costumes and fixing gestures and traits, was perceived as an important tool in this mission.

Another important exhibition was the *Mostra Etnografica Siciliana* of 1891-1892, organized as part of the Palermo exposition and curated by Giuseppe Pitrè. The idea was to display traditions and material cultural heritage but, differently from Milan and Turin, this time the exhibition was entirely dedicated to the Sicilian region. As Carmen Belmonte pointed out, the Sicilian exhibition is a perfect example of how the orientalist discourse and gaze was applied to the Southern Italian regions.[29] In the exhibition, there coexisted the *Mostra Etnografica*, with popular Sicilian costumes, and the *Mostra Eritrea*, exposing Eritrean

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[28] Enrico Morselli, *Programma…*, 1884: 127. "Collezioni scientifiche di fotografie di tipi popolari e campagnuoli per le diverse regioni d'Italia".

[29] The article of Carmen Belmonte offered an interesting analysis of the two exhibitions Carmen Belmonte, *Staging colonialism in the 'other' Italy: art and ethnography at Palermo's National Exhibition (1891-1892)*,"Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz" 59, 1, 2017, pp. 86-107. For more information on the relationship between Italian national identity and orientalism see Jane Schneider *(ed.)*, *Italy's "Southern Question": Orientalism in One Country*, Oxford: Berg, 1998.

people in a recreated setting. The comparison between the two displays emerged from the news of that time:

> Now, in Sicily, where many races followed one another, all leaving traces that, so to speak, are still visible; where the different civilizations – from the barbaric one, of which we have a sketch in the Mostra Eritrea, to the more elevated and modern, which shines in the principal cities – are almost contemporary, a comparative study of customs, traditions, habits, must have succeeded in being rich and instructive.[30]

Sicilian and Eritrean were seen as part of the same narration, as barbaric civilizations in connection with ancient traditions and superstitions.

Although Pitre's collection focused on everyday objects, photographs were also acquired for the exhibition. In particular, there were pictures taken by Eugenio Interguglielmi, a prominent photographic studio of Palermo. This time, in spite of static pictures of costumes, we find dynamic images representing street scenes and popular works. Interguglielmi's pictures were used also in the illustrated publications dedicated to the Exposition and contributed to creating a shared, picturesque and orientalist imagery of Sicily, visually analogous to the photographs dedicated to the Italian colony.[31] The material of this exhibition ended up in the arrangement of the *Museo Etnografico Siciliano* that opened in 1909 and constituted an important example for the 1911 Ethnographic exhibitions, examined at the end of this chapter.

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[30] *La Mostra Etnografica*, in *L'Esposizione nazionale illustrata di Palermo 1891–92*, Milan: Sonzogno, 1892: 27. "Ora in Sicilia, dove tante razze si sono seguite nel dominio, e tutte hanno lasciato dei residui che per cosi dire lo rappresentano ancora; dove le diverse civilta – da quella barbarica, di cui abbiamo uno schizzo nella Mostra Eritrea, alla piu elevata e moderna, che risplende nelle principali citta – sono quasi contemporanee, uno studio comparativo di costumi, di tradizioni, di abitudini, doveva riuscire ricco ed istruttivo"

[31] This analysis can be found in Vivien Greene, *The 'other' Africa: Giuseppe Pitre's 'Mostra Etnografica Siciliana' [1891–92]*, "Journal of Modern Italian Studies", 17, 2012, pp. 288–309, who analyses of the *Mostra Etnografica Siciliana* in between issues of identity and colonialism.

This section offered an investigation of the main ethnographic exhibitions organised before 1911. More than presenting a complete list, the aim was to see how the attention over internal traditional culture was developed after the unification and how it was communicated through exhibitions' projects. I focused in particular on the connection of identity making with issues of regionalism, orientalism, and colonialism. The use or reference to photographs has been analysed in dialogue with exposed objects, to see how images were used in collecting projects for the creation of a shared national heritage and imagery.

5.4 Ethnographic attempts in the Italian Photographic Society

When the Italian Photographic Society was born in Florence, the first President was Paolo Mantegazza, as already mentioned. The connection with anthropology and ethnography did not end here: fellows interested in both fields were, for example, Sommier, Loria, Fano, Pullè, and Santoponte.[32] Moreover, meetings and reunions bore witness to many projects related to the making of visual documentation of the Italian peoples. If the first of these examples can be found in the inauguration speech by Paolo Mantegazza, who was particularly interested in the making of an atlas on human expressions, future communications demonstrated higher attention towards customs and cultural elements. Giovanni Santoponte, already in the journal *Annuario Fotografico*, proposed the creation of a national archive of documentary photographs. Similarly, Giulio Fano described at his first meeting the importance of the application of photography to ethnography. [33] In his letter, *Un'importante proposta*, he envisioned a photographic survey on the Italian population. Fano imagined that a similar undertaking could

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[32] See Cristina Panerai, *Fotografia e Antropologia nel "Bullettino della Società Fotografica Italiana": una promessa disattesa*, "AFT", 1991, pp. 64-69.

[33] Giulio Fano (1856-1930), was a physiologist from Mantova, he studied in Padova, Bologna, Turin and Leipzig and he worked in Genoa and Florence. Mario Crespi, *Fano, Giulio*, in *DBI*, 44, 1994.

"contribute to let Italians know Italy" somehow recalling the famous quote attributed to Massimo D'Azeglio: "We have made Italy, now we have to make Italians".[34] In expressing the variety of the Italian people, Fano took as basis for comparison India:

> In which country that has a long and glorious history, with maybe the exception of India, can we find as much ethnic variety as in our own home? In which country more than our own do the various regions stand out for the variety of types, attitudes, customs, habits, external forms with which individual and collective feelings are expressed?[35]

In this parallelism, it is hard not to think again of the photographic album *People of India*, that included photos of studios or private amateur photographers, and was envisioned as "a collection, obtained by private means, of photographic illustration, which might recall […] the peculiarities of Indian life".[36] According to Fano, photography could capture that multiplicity, giving value to it and shaping a narration based on national variety:

> In the villages of Sicily, Sardinia, Northern Piedmont, Liguria, Abruzzo, Tuscany and all parts of Italy there are treasures of human documents to be collected and in this research, the camera would certainly be an investigation and documentation tool of incalculable value.[37]

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[34] On the fame of the statement and its attribution, see Claudio Gigante, *'Fatta l'Italia, facciamo gli Italiani'. Appunti su una massima da restituire a d'Azeglio,* "Incontri. Rivista europea di studi italiani", 26, 2, 2011, pp.5–15.

[35] Giulio Fano, *Un'importante proposta*, "BSFI", 10, 1898: 371. "In quale paese infatti, che abbia una lunga e gloriosa storia, se ne eccettuiamo forse l'India, possiamo noi trovare tanta varietà etnica come in casa nostra? […] In quale altro paese maggiormente del nostro le varie regioni si distinguono per la varietà dei tipi, degli atteggiamenti, dei costumi, delle abitudini, delle forme esteriori colle quali si esprimono i sentimenti individuali e collettivi?"

[36] Preface, *People of India*, vol. 1, 1867: 34. People of India was composed of 8 volumes, 1868-75. For a detailed study, see Pinney, *Camera Indica…*, 1997.

[37] Fano, *Un'importante …*, 1898: 372. "Nei villaggi della Sicilia, della Sardegna, dell'alto Piemonte, della Liguria, dell'Abruzzo, della Toscana, di tutte le parti d'Italia vi sono

He listed some areas as particularly fascinating, which includes not surprisingly Sardinia and Sicily. Moreover, he put forward the idea of 'human documents' that implicates a series of theoretical shifts. Going from Ranke's conception of factual history based on primary written sources, passing from an object-based approach promoted by anthropological knowledge, this wording suggested that the human person, in its bodily and cultural manifestation, has to be considered as a document. The value of the human document is enclosed in the word 'treasures', a term rarely applied to ethnography and more often related to the field of art history and cultural heritage, that suggests the idea of something hidden to be exploited and enhanced. The photographic medium acquired an analytical authority and constituted the basis for investigation of these precious objects/subjects. Here, Fano seems to imply that the power to turn humans into documents came precisely from the camera. In connection to that, photography's role was also a historical one, because pictures could constitute a material national memory:

> How many things that we do not know or that we do not know well enough or that we have forgotten or that we want to oblige, would be taught to us, would be recommended to our memory in an easy, exact and impeccable way by the sensitized plate![38]

Photography was not the mirror of the social memory, but the antidote to the unstable mechanism of collective remembrance. The mechanical device took on the role of the omniscient teacher and saved society from oblivion and ignorance. The subject, the operator behind the camera was not taken into consideration. Although in line with both the mechanical

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tesori di documenti umani da raccogliere e in questa indagine certo la macchina fotografica sarebbe un istrumento di investigazione e di documentazione di un valore incalcolabile."

[38] Fano, *Un'importante …*, 1898: 372. "Quante cose che ignoriamo o che non sappiamo abbastanza esattamente o che abbiamo dimenticate o he vogliamo obliare , ci verrebbero insegnate, sarebbero raccomandate alla nostra memoria in modo facile, esatto e ineccepibile dalla lastra sensibilizzata!"

objectivity paradigm and the savage paradigm, a new narrative element is present. In expressing the value of photography in disclosing the reality, the author is praising its capacity not only to represent exactly, nor to save from disappearance, but also to rescue from the deliberate and selective process of forgetting. In this sense, the photographic campaign would be both a theoretical and a social survey, pretty much in line with the investigation on the condition of farmers conducted during the 19th century:

> How many beauties to admire, how many miseries to heal, how many shames to fight would result from the photographic investigation which I allow myself to propose and which, as is evident, would therefore have not only an aesthetic and scientific purpose but also a highly ethical and social objective.[39]

In the conclusion, Fano addressed the thorny problem of regionalism. As he perfectly understood, a similar proposal could present the threat of reinforcing local cohesions to the detriment of the national identity. So, he reversed the argument and put differences at the heart of the Italian 'imagined community':

> There is no risk that such an institution could accentuate the regional feeling that many fear to be latent in part of our country: nothing can now loosen the bonds that unite us, while the comparative study that I have proposed would result in some objective data that, by highlighting our various attitudes, would highlight those differences that are our strength and our potential[40]

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[39] Fano, *Un'importante …*, 1898: 372. "Quante bellezze da ammirare, quante miserie da sanare, quante vergogne da combattere risulterebbero dall'inchiesta fotografica quale io mi permetto di proporre e che, come è evidente non avrebbe perciò soltanto uno scopo estetico e scientifico ma pur anche un obbiettivo altamente etico e sociale".

[40] Fano, *Un'importante …*, 1898: 372. "Non si tema che una simile istituzione possa accentuare il sentimento regionale che molti temono latente in parte del nostro paese: nulla può allentare ormai i legami che ci uniscono, mentre dallo studio comparato che ho proposto, meglio risulterebbero alcuni dati obbiettivi che lumeggiando le nostre varie attitudini metterebbero in maggiore rilievo quelle differenziazioni che fanno la nostra forza e la nostra potenzialità".

His proposal was discussed in a society meeting, with precise scopes and aims for its realization:

> Prof. Fano invites the Society to make a photographic survey in the ethnic and anthropological field of our country and for this purpose to open a special column in the Bulletin, which illustrates the types, customs and traditions of the various peoples of Italy, to announce annual competitions and make an annual photographic exhibition of the contributions.[41]

In his view, the Photographic Society should become the promoter and actor of the survey, whose outcome he connected with a dedicated section in the journal. Moreover, he imagined a public and open annual call for the set-up of thematic exhibitions. The enthusiastic response from Giorgio Roster, who as we have already seen occupied an important role within the Society and promoted the development of scientific photography in Italy actively, clashed with the pragmatic opinion of the photographer Brogi, who worried about the economic aspect of the project. The making of a photo campaign represented indeed a heavy cost that Fano imagined splitting with the Anthropological Society, strengthening the multiple contacts between the two Florentine institutions. Showing a lively interest in ethnography, the society approved and organized a Commission, composed of Roster, Fano, and Corsi.

However, Fano brought back the initiatives a few months later, in May, and, with the endorsement of the abovementioned Pullè, a second Commission was appointed, to study "immediately" how to use photography "for the study of Italic races".[42] The creation of a new commission for the promotion of a photographic study on Italians, shortly after the first one, reveals that probably the former attempts were

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[41] *Atti della Società, Seduta del 18 dicembre 1898*, "BSFI", 11, 1899: 35. "il cav. prof. Fano invita la Società a fare un' inchiesta fotografica nel campo etnico ed antropologico del nostro paese ed a tale scopo ad aprire una rubrica speciale nel Bullettino , che illustri i tipi, gli usi ed i costumi dei vari popoli d'Italia, a bandire concorsi annuali e fare annualmente un'esposizione fotografica dei contributi".

[42] *Prima adunanza, 16 Maggio*, "BSFI", 1899, pp. 181-182.

abandoned, and it shows the inertia of the Society. Loria took on the role of promoter and reiterated the proposal in 1900 and again in 1903 without success. Such a failure probably led to the leaving of Fano from the SFI. Loria recalled Fano's desired endeavour during a meeting in 1905, where he blamed the Society for rejecting its support:

> I do not know what obstacles were placed in the way of the practical implementation of Prof. Fano's proposal. I confess, however, that such an interpretation of the activities of our Society is totally in line with the direction that, in my opinion, a Photographic Society that want to be called Italian society should work on. It is my firm intention to embrace the idea of my friend Fano in the near future and, with his help, to devise the most appropriate means to put the patriotic proposal into practice.[43]

It is not surprising that such intervention took place in 1905, the year of Loria's declared "conversion" to Italian ethnography. Here he already put forward the possibility of a wider project, to be realized with or without the patronage of the SFI, which indeed led him to the making of the ambitious Ethnographic Exhibition.

5.5 Lamberto Loria and the Mostra Etnografica, Rome 1911

1905 represented a year of change in Italian anthropological studies. Lamberto Loria reinforced the attention toward Italian cultures with a definitive turn: more than studying distant cultures, as he did until then, he began concentrating on the investigation of Italian traditions. At a first look, the reversed focus from the outside to inside, from afar to the close-by, tells us something of the way in which anthropological knowledge was being made. The colonial and exotifying lens applied first to the

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[43] Lamberto Loria, *Presentazione appello di Giacomo Boni*, "BSFI", 1905: 125. "Io non so quali ostacoli si frapposero alla pratica attuazione della proposta del Prof. Fano. Confesso però che una simile estrinsecazione della attività della nostra Società rientra talmente nell'indirizzo che a mio parere si deve dare ad una Società Fotografica che si intitola Italiana, che è mia ferma intenzione di fare mia in un prossimo futuro la idea dell'amico Fano e con il suo aiuto escogitare i mezzi più opportuni per porre in pratica il patriottico proponimento".

African, Australian or South American populations, was now directed toward Italians.

Loria's project was not new in the Italian panorama, as similar attempts emerged along the years, but he managed to pursue it with higher success than previous cases. In 1906, he began by funding the new *Museo di Etnografia Italiana* - Museum of Italian Ethnography (MEI) in Florence, together with Aldobrandino Mochi.[44] Around two thousand objects, representing the material cultures of the Italian peoples were classified, with specific attention to dresses and related objects. In the museum's program, Mochi and Loria (who as we have seen was a passionate photographer) promoted the use of the camera. It was suggested to:

> Photograph individuals, isolated or in groups, dressed in such clothing and ornaments. Copy with paintings those costumes, interesting for their colours, that could not be represented in the originals. Collect original copies of undamaged clothes and ornaments or at least, if nothing else is possible, samples.[45]

Photography was one important source of information in Loria and Mochi's project, but it was not alone. They proposed a new direction for the study on Italian cultures, so far eminently concentrated on narrative and linguistic sources, and they underlined the role of objects. Recalling Fano's formulation of 'human documents' they stressed how everything, from objects to texts, to drawings, had to be considered a document:

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[44] On the museum see Paolo De Simonis, *"Un progetto campato in aria" Cornici fiorentine attorno al primo museo di Etnografia Italiana*, "Lares", 80, 1, 2014, pp. 127-188. On the dialectic between national and regional, it is important to know that in the same 1906, a regional museum of Ethnography and Anthropology opened in La Spezia. It was built by Giovanni Podenzana (1836-1924) with the help of Loria and the community of natural scientists. See Rossana Piccioli, *Lamberto Loria e Il Museo Di Etnografia e Antropologia Della Spezia*, "Lares", 80, 1, 2014, pp. 17–20.

[45] Lamberto Loria and Aldobrandino Mochi, *Museo di etnografia italiana in Firenze: sulla raccolta di materiali per la etnografia italiana*, Milan: Marucelli, 1906: 25-33. "*Vestiari ed ornamenti personali* locali, […] Fotografare individui, isolati o in gruppi, rivestiti di tali abiti e ornamenti. Copiare con la pittura quei costumi, interessanti per i loro colori, che non si sono potuti rappresentare negli originali. Raccogliere esemplari originali integri degli abiti ed ornamenti o almeno, se altro non è possibile, dei campioni".

> Nor should a distinction be made between manufactured products and other demopsychological documents, [...] because all these various categories of documents do not differ substantially, but complement and illustrate each other.[46]

According to the authors, only the fact of putting together all the information (visual, textual, material, informative, performative) led to the creation of a proper scientific collection:

> Thus, for example, it would not be logical to keep distinct and consider as different those objective documents of demopsychology that consist in the clothes, ornaments, crowns used in the wedding ceremony in a given country, and other documents [...] that offer us the description of the ceremony itself and put before our eyes the verses of the musical song prescribed in that circumstance by the local custom, or others that reproduce the music and songs that accompany it or give us an image of the wedding procession. Giving preference to one or the other category of documents, collecting one and neglecting the rest is to do something unfinished, it is a scientific work that is not perfect or misunderstood.[47]

The correlation between an object, its description, its representation, and its reproduction were key elements in the construction of a new museological and disciplinary paradigm, further developed during the 1911 exhibition.

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[46] Loria and Mochi, *Museo…*, 1906: 19-20. "non si dovrebbe neppure far distinzione tra i manufatti e i documenti demopsicologici di altra natura, […] perché tutte queste varie categorie di documenti non differiscono fra loro sostanzialmente, bensì si integrano e si illustrano le une colle altre".

[47] Loria and Mochi, *Museo…*, 1906: 19-20. "Così, ad esempio, non sarebbe logico tenere distinti e considerare come diversi quei documenti obiettivi della demopsicologia che consistono negli abiti, negli ornamenti, nelle corone usati nella cerimonia matrimoniale in un dato paese, e gli altri documenti […] che della cerimonia stessa ci offrono la descrizione e ci pongono sotto gli occhi le strofe del canto musicale prescritto in tale circostanza dal costume locale, o gli altri ancora i quali ci riproducono la musica e i canti che l'accompagnano o ci danno un'immagine del corteo di nozze. Dar la preferenza all'una o all'altra categoria di documenti, raccoglierne uno e trascurare le rimanenti è far cosa incompiuta, è opera scientifica non perfetta o male intesa."

5.5.1 Envisioning Rome 1911

Ferdinando Martini (1841-1918), already encountered as Colonial Governor (1897-1907) during the *Missione Eritrea*, returned to Italy in 1907 and became President of the Committee for the Anniversary, the national celebration for the fiftieth anniversary of Italian Unification.[48] After having visited the new Florentine museum, Martini launched with Loria a proposal to organise an exhibition in Rome in 1911, called *Mostra Regionale ed Etnografica*.[49] The idea of was to dedicate the exhibition to the ethnography of Italian regions, expressing "the desire to give meaning and to represent the life of our people, no more with the documents of the past, but through the witness and almost the voice of the present".[50] The juxtaposition between past and present well describes a way of reading the nation and its identity through its past cultural heritage, now opposed in favour of an investigation of the lively materiality of contemporary Italian cultures. From the Florentine Museum, the objects should be transferred to Rome and the collection amplified. Loria accepted the role and began envisioning a network of gatherers ('*raccoglitori*') scattered all over the Italian regions, to build an ambitious exhibition, composed of 'documents' of many kinds.

Photography had a pivotal role in the construction of the exhibition and an archive of around five thousand pictures was gathered from 1908 and 1911, including the photos already preserved in the Museum of Italian

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[48] The history of the development of the 1911 national celebration is complex, it first started as an undertaking launched by the city of Rome, and only later it became a national and centralized project. It then included Turin, and it later added Florence (although secondary) celebrating therefore the three capital cities. See Stefania Massari (ed.), *Il Fatale Millenovecentoundici: Le Esposizioni Di Roma, Torino, Firenze*, Rome: Palombi, 2012.

[49] On the Ethnographic Exhibition see the detailed study by Sandra Puccini, *L'itala gente dalle molte vite: Lamberto Loria e la Mostra di etnografia italiana del 1911*, Rome: Meltemi, 2005.

[50] *Dell'Esposizione del 1911*, RIE, 1910: ": Il desiderio di significare e rappresentare la vita del nostro popolo, non più coi documenti del passato, ma con la testimonianza e quasi colla parola del presente."

Ethnography.[51] Most pictures were concerned with costumes. In the management of the exhibition, costumes' photography answered to a clearly-delineated need, as explicitly stated by Loria and his collaborators:

> I have received the postcards: if you can get all those costumes, it will already be a decent collection. But, concerning costumes, remember that each of them must have a photograph that gives an idea that is as clear and exact as possible of the faces and attitudes; and that in the back of the photographs must be noticed the colour of the eyes, hair, skin and must be given all those indications and instructions that serve to facilitate the work of those who prepare the puppets.[52]

Indeed, one of the most important collections of the *Mostra* was that of the costumes, which were mounted on mannequins specifically created for the occasion. Pictures were used in order to recreate the correct shape of the costumes, that were very difficult objects to display, whose arrangement could lead to several errors. Moreover, photos served to give shape to a mannequin, resembling as close as possible the regional character they sought to portray. The Florentine sculptor Aristide Aloisi had the task of elaborating the dummies for each type, respecting the physical features and gestures in each case, taking inspiration from the pictures. This use of photography, employed to detect the exact physical

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[51] The total number is approximate: the pictures are preserved in the IDEA (created in 2008) as part of the historical archive that amounts in total to 10.000 pictures, including those pictures collected until 1956 by the Institution. Chronologically, images are mixed, while they are organized on a regional basis and they are often pasted on a standard size cardboard, losing therefore the information coming from the back. For a general description see Marisa Iori, *L'archivio fotografico dell'Istituto centrale per la demoetnoantropologia*, in Barbara Fabjan (ed.), *Immagini e memoria: Gli Archivi fotografici di Istituzioni culturali della città di Roma*, Rome: Gangemi, 2014, pp. 43-52.

[52] Baldasseroni to Andriulli, folder 26, doc. 9, AS, IDEA "Ho ricevuto le cartoline illustrate: se riuscirai ad aere tutti quei costumii, sarà già una discreta colezione. Ma, a proposito dei costumi, ricordati che ognuno di essi <u>deve</u> avere una fotografia la quale dia un'idea più che sia possibile nitida ed esatta dei visi e degli atteggiamenti; e che nel verso delle fotografie deve essere notato il colore degli occhi, dei capelli, della pelle e debbano essere date tutte quelle indicazioni e istruzioni che servano per facilitare l'opera di chi prepara i fantocci"

characteristics of the subject, was closely connected to the representation of types initiated by anthropological photography. Given the black and white medium, gatherers had to include information on the eye, hair and skin colour, as was requested in the first Instruction for travellers in relation to colonized subjects. Similarly to the combination of scientific and artistic paradigms analysed in chapter two, the organizers also encouraged travellers to capture the poses and the attitudes of the people, demonstrating an interest over the personal body gestures rather than only on the shared and objective physical features. The three-dimensional reconstructions represented by the mannequins offered a kind of materialisation of the model proposed by Morselli in 1884, his intention being to combine 'scientific' data with 'artistic' features.

The idea of the mannequin displays went hand in hand with Loria's project of creating a living exhibition, with objects inserted in a recreated urban or rural context, and actual people dressed in traditional garb mixed with the visitors at the Exhibition:

> The Exposition should not be a cold and silent thing as in general all museums are: it should not be a succession of showcases that [are of] little or no interest to the public. It must represent the life of our people in a lively and speaking way, reproducing in natural size the characteristic houses of each region furnished exactly as our people use, the characteristic shops, the street vendors, the characteristic and local churches, the tabernacles on the crossroads of the streets, etc.. All this must then be populated by the inhabitants of the different regions dressed in the characteristic local costumes.[53]

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[53] Lamberto Loria to Giuseppe Mussoni, IDEA, Folder 31, doc. 784/51. "La Esposizione non deve essere una cosa fredda e muta come in generale sono tutti i Musei: non deve essere una successione di vetrine che poco o punto interessano il pubblico. Essa deve rappresentare in modo vivo e parlante la vita del nostro popolo riproducendo in grandezza naturale le case caratteristiche di ogni regione ammobiliate esattamente come usa il popolo nostro, le caratteristiche botteghe, i rivenditori ambulanti, le chiese di tipo caratteristico e locale, i tabernacoli sui crocicchi delle vie, ecc. Il tutto poi deve essere popolato dagli abitanti delle diverse regioni vestiti con i caratteristici costumi locali".

The idea of a 'living museum' became part of the rhetoric of exhibitions and dominated the whole of the 20th century.[54] Loria's immersive arrangement was something in between the 'period rooms' and the 'human village'. Of the former, settings were recreated and condensed in a determined style with pieces of furniture and objects. Of the latter, the visitor saw people acting the role of the 'primitive'. Period rooms were used to display mostly the forms of ancient times, while human villages were set up to show a present-day civilization, whose geographic distance also suggested a temporal detachment.[55] In the envisioning of a similar set-up, the 1911 Ethnographic Exhibition was moving dialectically between the centre and the periphery, past and present, urban and rural, industrial and handcrafted, identity and plurality.

5.5.2 Gatherers and photographers

From well-known scholars to enthusiastic collectors, from naturalists to school teachers, Loria weaved around him a spider's web of collaborators who helped him gather the necessary materials. From the list that Loria made to acknowledge them in the first issue of the journal *Lares* in 1912, they were 120, but we should imagine that other actors contributed with small collections or as intermediaries[56]. Each person worked on a specific area, and for each region there were principal gatherers, that kept the contacts with minor gatherers. The gatherers were mostly amateurs, and their involvement in the making of the 1911 Exhibition's collection recalls Loria's experience, and the expectation and confidence placed on them in the *Instructions for travellers* (analysed in the second chapter). Loria, who as we have seen studied Mathematics and was more an explorer and photographer with a strong predilection

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[54] On scientific exhibition, display, and 'living museum' see Marco Beretta, Elena Canadelli, Laura Ronzon, *Behind the Exhibit: Displaying Science and Technology at World's Fairs and Museums in the Twentieth Century*, Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2019.

[55] See Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: how anthropology made its objects*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

[56] Lamberto Loria, *Due parole di programma*, "Lares", 1, 1, 1912: 9-24.

for fieldwork, rather than a scholar, tried to transpose his working method to the whole exhibition system. Throughout his career, he passed from being instructed (during his travel in Lapland in 1876) to instructing, publishing the guidelines for the study of Eritrea, or his suggestions for travel photography in the SFI. The passage from the field was a necessary one in envisioning and crafting the exhibition, and it was not by chance that Martini, who first met Loria as Governor in Eritrea, was also heavily involved in the project of the Exhibition.

To maintain control over the situation, Loria and his assistant Francesco Baldasseroni constantly kept correspondence with their collaborators. A system of registration was set up to control the amount of materials entering the museum: the gatherers had to compile a catalogue sheet assigning a number to the object, indicating its name, description, place of making and acquisition, but the protocol did not always work correctly. Once the object reached Loria, he replaced that number with the definitive collection's number.[57] Moreover, Loria readopted guidelines already published in previous years, and written instructions were put in place to coordinate the group, to explain the task, and to direct the gaze. For photography, Loria took the one provided by the SFI in 1900, adding explicit references to ethnography. He used as a model also the *Avvertenze per la raccolta dei documenti etnografici* developed in 1906, where the use of pictures was preferred over drawings, and gatherers were asked to validate the veracity of the commercial visual documents by means of direct observation:

> 4- Use the drawing only when the means to obtain good photographs are lacking [...] / 6- If you collect photographs, oleographs, postcard prints [...] as they are in many places on the market [...] you should notice if they are faithful reproductions or not, if they differ from the truth and what are the actual dimensions of the objects.[58]

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[57] See Laura Mariotti, *Storia dei processi catalografici*, in Stefania Massari (ed.), *Arti e tradizioni: il Museo nazionale dell'EUR,* Rome: De Luca, 2004.

[58] Lamberto Loria and Aldobrandino Mochi, *Avvertenze per la raccolta dei documenti etnografici,* 1906, pp. 25-37. "4- Si ricorra al disegno solo quando manchino i mezzi per ottenere delle buone fotografie" […] / 6- Se si raccolgono fotografie, oleografie, stampe

Moreover, *a Circolare per raccoglitori* was distributed. There, the organizers made a list of objects to collect and traditions to study, describe and register, and they suggested the use of pictures for the bigger or immovable items such as dwellings, fireplaces, and popular workshops.[59] In 1908 Loria presented the project to the fellows of the SFI, and he asked their contribution for the making of a photographic collection, and their support to direct and help amateur photographers:

> Every photograph taken with processes that ensure its inalterability for a long time, must carry all those indications of place, time, measurement, essential to give the object illustrated its true character [...] our Society is ready to give news, information, advice to all those willing that photography will contribute to the success of an ethnographic collection that must do honour to Italy.[60]

The detail on the durability of pictures testifies to his intention to collect long-lasting materials, whose scope went beyond the ephemeral duration of the Exhibition. We see how Fano's proposal for an ethnographic national photo-archive came back in Loria's words, who hoped to put together all the collections in a renovated Ethnographic Museum.

Answering to the curator's request, some of the gatherers acquired pictures, while others were photographers themselves. This paragraph will be dedicated to analysing some of these cases, to see once more the changing status, functions, and circulation of the paths of photography. In some cases, we will be able to retrieve and consider the

cartoline […] tali quali in molte località si trovano messe in commercio […] si noti se esse sono o no fedeli riproduzioni, se si discostano dalla verità e quali sono le dimensioni reali degli oggetti".

[59] Lamberto Loria to Francesco Novati, 15.08.1908, IDEA, Folder 12, doc. 6.

[60] Lamberto Loria, *Comunicazioni*, "BSFI", 1908: 281. "Ogni fotografia fatta con processi che ne assicurino per molto tempo l'inalterabilità, dovrà portare tutte quelle indicazioni di luogo, di tempo, di misura, indispensabili per dare all'oggetto illustrato il suo vero carattere […] la nostra Società è pronta a dare notizie, informazioni, consiglio a tutti quei volenterosi che mediante la fotografia vorranno contribuire alla buona riuscita di una raccolta etnografica che deve fare onore all'Italia".

photographer's history; in others, we will rely on visual analysis of the many anonymous pictures in the collection.

While many photographers of the archive are silent and anonymous, a better-known example is the one of Athos Mainardi. He was a naturalist from Livorno, amateur photographer and ethnographer, who took his task as a gatherer very seriously, undertaken especially in Abruzzo and Molise, and partly in Campania and Lazio.[61] During his work, he used a 9x12 camera extensively. In his first letter to Loria, where he accepted with enthusiasm the opportunity to participate in the collecting project, he informed him: "A new kind of collection to which I will devote myself, by chance, is photography with Autochrome plates by Lumiere, a precious aid for the registration of such colourful clothes".[62] Loria often repeated the necessity of indicating the exact colours of dresses, and the possibility to reproduce it with photography matched with Mainardi's interest in the latest photographic development.[63] As Loria hoped, the SFI was of some support to Mainardi in his photographic campaign, especially as storage for equipment:

> To work I need certain tools that I left in Florence to the SFI. I recommend you to have them collected and kept in custody. But I don't need all the tools I left. I only need the three Nikel basins (tubs) with the gold inner cages, plus the 6 glass strips that are

[61] Given the extensive correspondence and collection produced, the figure of Athos Mainardi has been analysed more in depth by various scholars: the thesis of Gandolfo transcribed the correspondence (1998), Puccini dedicated a chapter in *L'Itala gente dalle molte vite*, and Ferdinando Mirizzi's, *Loria e i Raccoglitori Regionali per La Mostra Di Etnografia Italiana Del 1911: Il Caso Della Basilicata*', "Lares", 80, 1, 2014, pp. 189–202.

[62] Athos Mainardi to Lamberto Loria, 24.07.1908, IDEA, Folder 700, doc. 7. "Un genere nuovo di raccolta a cui mi dedicherò, al caso, è la fotografia con lastre Autochrome di Lumiere, prezioso sussidio per la registrazione degli abiti così variopinti". All Mainardi's correspondence has been trascripted by Giovanna Gagliardi, *Il carteggio Mainardi-Loria per la prima mostra di Etnografia italiana (1911)*, [MA Thesis], Università degli Studi di Roma, a.a. 1980-1981.

[63] See Lavédrine, Bertrand, and Jean-Paul Gandolfo, *The Lumière autochrome: history, technology, and preservation*, Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013. A well-known use of such support to reproduce ethnographic costumes and habits is the Albert Kahn Archive, see Paula Amad, *Counter-archive: film, the everyday, and Albert Kahn's Archives de la planète*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

suitable for them and the 6 nikel film frames as well as all the glass bullets and glass head pins. Ship everything to me by parcel post.[64]

Recalling a problem so many times encountered in the third chapter, Mainardi's intention as photographer clashed with the diffidence of people to be portrayed:

It's far from easy, and almost everywhere it's impossible to do large photographic studies of heads. You have to be content with the little surprise snapshot. All women have their men in America and one of the agreements, at the departure, is precisely the prohibition to have pictures taken.[65]

Here referencing the phenomenon of emigration and the social conditions of the southern regions, Mainardi recurrently expressed the impossibility to make a proper portrait and his frustration in the results. Instant photographs instead were perceived as an unreliable companion for portrait, due to the low quality and small formats of the outcomes:

In Bagnoli you can't imagine what I did to photograph a head. It was impossible! I had found a girl who would do that but the other women prevented her from doing so (!!!). And working by surprise in the genre of portraits is almost impossible as you can hear from any photographer. For such works you would need a special camera (Miniatureflex Voighlander) but it costs so much that at least for this year I cannot (and I'm sorry) buy it. [66]

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[64] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 03.08.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 19. "Per lavorare mi necessitano certi arnesi che lasciai a Firenze alla Soc. Fotog. Ital. raccomandando a te di farli ritirare e tenerli in custodia. Degli attrezzi lasciati però non tutti mi servono. Mi necessitano soltanto le tre bacinelle (vasche) di Nikel con le oro gabbie interne, più le 6 striscioline di vetro che ci sono adatte e i 6 telaietti di nikel da pellicole nonché tutte le pallottoline di vetro e gli spilli a testa di vetro. Spediscimi il tutto per pacco postale"

[65] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 23.06.1910, IDEA, Folder 702, doc. 6. "è tutt'altro che facile anzi quasi ovunque impossibile fare studi fotografici in grande di teste. Bisogna contentarsi dela piccola istantanea di sorpresa. Tutte le donne hanno i loro uomini in America e uno dei patti, alla partenza, è appunto il divieto di farsi far fotografie".

[66] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 17.07.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 14. "A Bagnoli non puoi immaginare che cosa ho fatto per fotografare una testa. È stato impossibile! Avevo trovato una ragazza che ci sarebbe stata ma le altre donne glielo hanno

Mainardi showed off his preparation about updated photographic material; the camera he hoped to have should have been a 35mm, recently introduced in the market. Proper portraits were hard to do, photography 'by surprise' did not give the best results, and what was left were commercial pictures that, instead, were not reliable. Mainardi's reference to photography often concerns the making of mannequins, and in that regard, he regularly discussed issues of authenticity, which worried him very much:

> But the thing I recommend to you and the sculptor, for God's sake, is never to use picture postcards. Precisely because the villagers cannot be photographed, the postcards come from the masquerades of ladies, who in general are from other provinces (vain wives of employees). Now these ladies are taking care to 'embellish' themselves, and they don't care at all about ethnography. They even alter the costume and almost always the gold jewellery. If I sometimes send you some illustrated postcards it is certainly not because you use them as croquis![67]

His scrupulousness led him to create a sort of index of credibility, distinguishing between the rendering of clothes and that of physical traits and gestures:

> I have divided the photographs I'm sending you into three groups.
> A - B - C. Those that carry the sign A are photographs of foreigners in local costumes and therefore should <u>not</u> be taken as a model.

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impedito (!!!). E lavorar di sorpresa nel genere ritratto è cosa quasi impossibile come puoi sentir da qualsiasi fotografo. Per simili lavori sarebbe necessaria una macchinetta speciale (Miniatureflex Voighlander) ma costa tanto che io almeno per quest'anno non posso (e mi dispiace) acquistarla".

[67] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 23.06.1910, IDEA, Folder 702, doc. 6. "Ma la cosa che – per carità – raccomando a te e allo scultore è di non servirsi mai delle cartoline illustrate. Appunto perché le villane non si fanno fotografare, le cartoline provengono da mascherate di signore he in generale sono di altre province (mogli vanesie d'impiegati). Ora queste signore curano di 'abbellirsi' infischiandosi altamente dell'etnografia. E perfino il costume alterano e quasi sempre gli ori. Se io talora vi mando delle cartoline illustrate non è certamente perché vi servano di figurino!"

> The artist can adhere to the types marked with B and use C as an aid.[68]

Such pictures are easily identifiable in the archive, sprinkled with signs and texts on the front and back. The amount of handwritten indications, not only on the back but also on the front, shows how much the visual surface was perceived as a material working tool (fig. 5.6). This use of pictures as visual notes was not just Mainard's method, but is observable in many others pictures of the archive (fig. 5.7).

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[68] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 13.07.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 11. "Le fotografie che ti mando le ho divise in 3 gruppetti. A – B – C.Quelle che portano il segno A son fotografie di forestiere nei costumi locale e quindi non devono esser prese a modello. L'artista si tenga ai tipi contrassegnati con B servendosi come ausilio di C."
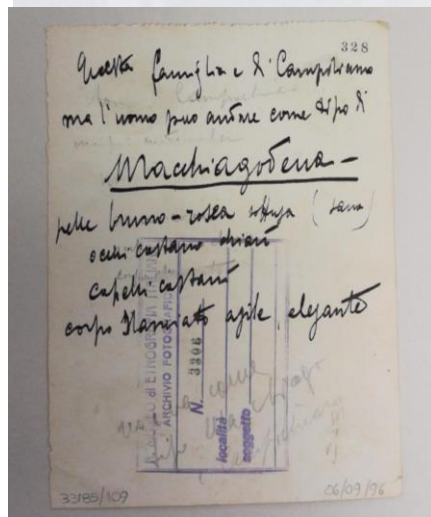
Fig. 5. 6 - Inv. 33185, "Family from Campochiaro but the man can be used as type for Macchiagovena. Brown-pink skin, light brown eyes, brown hair, high stature, elegant style", Molise, aristotype print, 149x110 mm, © Istituto Centrale per la Demoetnoantropologia.

Fig. 5. 7 - Inv. 34932, "Costumes from Cravagliana - Very characteristic type of these villages, except for the hairstyle – for Cravagliana the knot goes on the left", Piedmont, gelatin silver print, 161x113 mm © Istituto Centrale per la Demoetnoantropologia.

The topic of photographic alteration was often present in Mainardi's writing, where he would demonstrate his ability to observe and collect in the field while distinguishing the genuine from the ingenuine: namely forged materials and costumes. The tradition of the travelogue was adapted by him, and he often referred to himself as an explorer in Africa,

making jokes describing his experience of contact with primitive populations. Orientalism, longing for adventure, and dedication to the project are expressed in statements like "On the 21st there is a great pilgrimage to the Civita (Itri). Going there in this heat is as almost going to Mecca and yet for the love of Art I will do anything to be there and to take pictures."[69]

A possible way to collect reliable documentation was to look for a local studio photographer, a strategy that Baldasseroni and Loria directly suggested to their collaborators. Mainardi found an ally in the Trombetta family, that ran a photographic studio in Campobasso since the early 1860s, and in particular in Alfredo Trombetta:

> You tell me to team up with a local photographer. […] But you don't know that I am a very dear friend of Alfredo Trombetta, the good photographer who has worked for us for a long time not only in photography but also to reconstruct things that are anything but easy to have. Imagine, his father [Antonio Trombetta] in the '60s worked on the collodion and made a collection of costumes that, given the time when he photographed them, are very important for us.[70]

He was particularly satisfied with his old photo productions because it reassured him on the issue of authenticity: "the dresses I am gathering with care and…difficulties are prior to 1860 because at that time the degeneration of costumes began".[71] The simple fact of obtaining pictures

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[69] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 13.07.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 11. "il 21 c'è un grandioso pellegrinaggio alla Civita (Itri). Andare là con questo caldo è circa come andare alla Mecca pure per l'amore dell'Arte farò di tutto per trovarmici e di fotografare."

[70] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 03.07.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 7. "Mi dici di allearmi con un fotografo locale. […] Ma non sai che io sono carissimo amico di Alfredo Trombetta, il bravo fotografo che da tanto tempo lavora per noi non solo in fotografia ma anche per ricostruire cose tutt'altro facili ad aversi. Figurati, suo padre nel '60 lavorava al colladione e fece una raccolta di costumi che, data l'epoca in cui lui li fotografò, sono per noi importantissimi".

[71] Athos Mainardi to Lamberto Loria, 08.09.1908, IDEA, Folder 700, doc. 19. "i vestiti che io raccolgo con cura e…difficoltà sono anteriori al 1860 perché da quell'epoca comincia la degenerazione del costume".

made around the 1860s alleviated his anxiety for fake reconstruction, an issue which he did not imagine applying to those past events as well. The connection with Trombetta proved to be very useful and a set of his pictures are preserved in the archive (fig. 5.8).
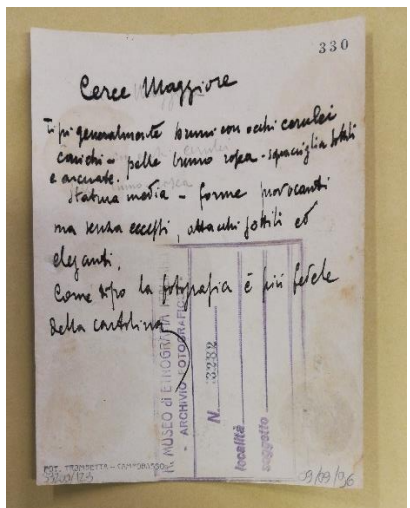
Fig. 5.8 - Inv. 33200, "Fot. Trombetta Campobasso - Types generally brunet with cerulean eyes – pink-brown skin – thin and curved eyebrow - sensual shape but without excess, fine and elegant. As a type the photographs is more accurate than the postcard" Molise, gelatin silver prints, 134x99mm © Istituto Centrale per la Demoetnoantropologia.

Answering the request of the curator, to capture the natural attitude of the subjects, Mainardi expressed the difficulties he was experiencing as a photographer in the field. If studio photographs were not trustworthy, and snapshots were not accurate enough, he described it by words but "how can one by letter make people understand the attitude, the pose, the appearance that the type must have? Especially the facial expression,

how could I describe it?"[72]. When he could not provide information through photographs, Mainardi suggested taking inspiration from other artistic media, such as paintings:

> The artist and I will go together to the churches and galleries where I would indicate the types to be copied. I remember well, for example, that in the cathedral of Pisa there are interesting heads for us. Beautiful are the ones seen in Salvator Rosa, and among the modern Michetti, Pantini, etc.. etc..[73]

In doing so, he mixed medieval and contemporary artists, religious figures and popular representations. Not by chance he mentioned Francesco Paolo Michetti (1851-1929) who was a painter and photographer interested in the ethnography and popular traditions of Abruzzo.[74] In another case, Mainardi recommended using a medieval Virgin as model for the face of a type "As for the head of Sessa [Aurunca] I have given the notes with the addition of the Madonna di Montenero just to have a guide. Of course, our type will have to be human".[75] The Madonna painting he referred to is in a monastery on the hills close to Livorno, where Mainardi came from, revealing the entangled relationship between representation, reproduction, conventions, taste, personal habits and aesthetic canons.

With regards to poses and gestures, Mainardi used photography as a starting point: "The photographs I send you, of course, do not matter for

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[72] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 23.06.1910, IDEA, Folder 702, doc. 6. "come si può per lettera far capire l'atteggiamento, la posa, l'aspetto che deve avere il tipo? Specialmente l'espressione del viso come potrei descriverla?""

[73] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 13.07.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 11. "Io e l'artista andremo insieme nelle chiese e nelle gallerie ove gl'indicherei i tipi da copiare. Ricordo tanto per esempio che nel duomo di Pisa ci sono teste interessanti per noi. Bellissime se ne vedono in Salvator Rosa, e tra i moderni Michetti, Pantini, ecc. ecc."

[74] See Marina Miraglia, *Francesco Paolo Michetti*, Turin: Einaudi, 1975.

[75] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 13.07.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 11. "In quanto alla testa di Sessa [Aurunca] io to ho dato le note indicazioni con l'aggiunta della Madonna di Montenero tanto per avere una guida. Naturalmente il tipo nostro dovrà essere umano".

the attitude"[76], and he goes on explaining how in the choice of postures he thought they should balance between realism and museological necessity: "One of the most common poses is the standing station, with your hands on your hips. The position on the ground is also very frequent, but this prevents many parts of the costume from being seen".[77] He was afraid that an excess of likeness in reproducing the poses would not appear sober and scientific enough, generating undesired reactions:

> Believe me, the business of the arrangement of the puppets must be the most difficult [...] Because [...] the exhibition must not lack scientific austerity and therefore the poses must be judiciously sober. Here, excessive realism seems to me unadvisable because of the fear that the scientific exhibition will take on the appearance of freak show with wax figures that we have all seen several times. [...] It is an immense work and it is very important because it must satisfy the tastes of visitors, scrupulously respect the truth and not lack scientific austerity to prevent criticism.[78]

The standing pose with hands on the hips was the pose commonly employed for most mannequins and pictures in the archive. One more interesting aspect to be detected in Mainardi's correspondence, is how photography acquired a specific currency in the economy of the exhibitions, in relationship with objects. In order to obtain a series of objects related to the phenomenon of transhumance, Mainardi was

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[76] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 13.07.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 11. "Le fotografie che ti mando, s'intende, non hanno importanza almeno per l'atteggiamento".

[77] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 13.07.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 11. "Una delle pose più comuni è la stazione eretta, con le mani sui fianchi. E anche assai frequenti la posizione in terra ma questa impedisce che molte parti del costume si vedano".

[78] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 13.07.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 11. "Credi che l'affare della disposizione dei fantocci dev'essere il più difficile [...] Perché [...] alla mostra non deve mancare l'austerità scientifica e quindi bisogna che le pose siano giudiziosamente sobrie. Qui un eccessivo verismo mi sembra sconsigliabile per tema che la mostra scientifica prenda l'aspetto dei baracconi con le figure di cera che noi tutti abbiamo varie volte veduto. [...] E' un lavoro immenso ed è importantissimo perché deve soddisfare i gusti dei visitatori, attenersi scrupolosamente alla verità e non mancare di austerità scientifica per impedire le critiche".

asked in exchange to take a series of pictures of shepherds and to give visibility to them through a photo exhibition:

> Here [in Campobasso] in September [they make] an exhibition of dairy with special regard to transhuman pastoralism [...] this event will feature many valuable objects for us, and I have not missed the chance to block them, so to say. But a certain condition has been imposed on me. The directors absolutely want many illustrations of the pastoral scenes to appear in the [Rome 1911] exhibition and since they have discovered that no one here is able to have them, except myself, they have imposed this condition on me. They will donate everything that may be useful to me (for the exhibition), given, however, that I promise to add the exhibition of their photographs.[79]

Photography was valued as a bargaining chip for its social power, its role in creating relations, allowing circulation and making visible the unknown. The reference to the exhibition is interesting also because it reveals that pictures were not just conceived as archival documentation, but also as objects to be shown as part of the Rome exhibition of 1911.

Mainardi's flaunted sensibility for original materials was not followed by other gatherer-photographers, such as Alessandro Roccavilla (1865-1929), who work in North-Western Italy, especially in the Piedmont region.[80] On the contrary, Roccavilla was particularly keen to modify

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[79] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 08.09.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 22. "qui in Settembre [fanno] un'esposizione di Caseificio con special riguardo alla Pastorizia transumante […] a questa esposizione figureranno molti oggetti preziosi per noi; ed io non ho mancato, diremo così, di tentarne il blocco. Senonchè mi si è imposta una certa condizione. I dirigenti vogliono assolutamente che figurino in mostra molte illustrazioni delle scene pastorali e poiché hanno scoperto che nessuno qui è in grado di averle, tranne il sottoscritto, mi hanno imposto questa condizione. Essi prendono impegno di regalare a me (s'intende per la mostra) tutto ciò che può essermi utile, dato però che io faccia la richiesta mostra di fotografia".

[80] On Alessandro Roccavilla's see Dionigi Albera and Chiara Ottaviano, *Un percorso biografico e un itinerario di ricerca: a proposito di Alessandro Roccavilla e dell'Esposizione romana del 1911*, in *I materiali del Piemonte e della Valle d'Aosta nella Mostra di etnografia italiana di Roma del 1911*, Regione Piemonte, 1989; Pierangelo Cavanna, *Un territorio fotografico: tracce per una storia della fotografia di documentazione del Biellese*, in "Bollettino della Società Piemontese di Archeologia e Belle Arti", 1992, pp. 199-216. Roccavilla

womens dresses according to the taste of the time, or for museological ease.[81] Such manipulation was also endorsed by Loria who enhanced aesthetic qualities over actual appearance and use, suggesting that "when an item of clothing is all stained and gives a bad impression, it has to be considered lacking".[82] Roccavilla in his correspondence made reference to the '*gruppi plastici*' - translatable as sculptural groups - that were scenes in which the recreated mannequins or the acting subjects should be placed during the exhibitions. The description contained a brief title indicating the event, such as "Marriage at Casteldelfino" [83] or "Tatoo of Loreto".[84] It follows a detailed numbered list, where each figure was identified in its role (the bride, the godmother, the groom…). The indication "Place the figures as portrayed in the photographs", suggests that together with texts he was also sending sets of pictures to assist reproducing the scene. The archive contains some samples of such kind of pictures. One of them is inserted in a folder dedicated to Giuseppe Angelo Andriulli, another gatherer-photographe, but it is very possible that they were made by Roccavilla instead, as there are some elements that create a connection with the above-mentioned description. The pictures (fig. 5.9- 5.10) are all made in the same space, which looks like an office or a school. The setting is simple and not important, as revealed by the elements such as a chest of drawers and a blackboard. Sometimes, on the blackboard an unclear inscription seems to indicate the place where the scene is happening, such as "*A Loreto*", which is the same place described by Roccavilla. However, the numbering of the subjects in the picture do not correspond to those in the text and further archival research should be done on this attribution issue. In this peculiar kind of

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published in 1905 *L'arte nel Biellese*, which included the contributions by many amateur and professional photographers of the Biellese area.

[81] See Francesco Gandolfo, *Realtà e mito nei costumi tradizionali e popolari del Piemonte e della Valle d'Aosta,* Ivrea: Priuli e Verlucca, 1997.

[82] Lamberto Loria to Alessandro Roccavilla, 09.04.1910, IDEA, Folder 966, doc. 43. "Quando un capo di vestiario è tutto macchiato e tale da fare brutta mostra di sé, lo si deve considerare assolutamente come mancante".

[83] Alessandro Roccavilla to Lamberto Loria, IDEA, Folder 965, doc. 19.

[84] Alessandro Roccavilla to Lamberto Loria, IDEA, Folder 965, doc. 18.

tableaux vivant, the figures are always the same, interpreting various roles.

Fig. 5. 9 – 1_b2_f27 "*pettatrice – pettatrice* –following procession 203-293-75-76-208-209", Folder Andriulli, Manuscript Archive, gelatin silver print, 109x121 mm © Istituto Centrale per la Demoetnoantropologia.

Fig. 5. 10 – 2_b2_f27, "379-378-27", Folder Andriulli, Manuscript Archive, gelatin silver print, 102x109mm © Istituto Centrale per la Demoetnoantropologia.

Giuseppe Angelo Andriulli, collecting in Basilicata[85] also provided some '*gruppi plastici*' with staged photographs and indications, as testified by a list regarding the activities of the Albanian arbëreshë community, who had lived in the Basilicata area since the 15th century. Although he was equipped with the camera, it seems as if he preferred to rely on other photographer's materials, and in his letters he promoted a set of commercial pictures "of local customs and above all of women in their characteristic clothes, and as well-made as I would not have been able to have any".[86] But Baldasseroni warned him about the accuracy of that photographer, named Sbisà, and asked to make some pictures himself:

> "As for the photographs to be asked at Sbisà, I believe that we cannot trust him too much for the faces and types to be reproduced: I will go to see them, however, but you try to get other things regardless of what we may have from Sbisà"[87].

This shows how the organisers, suspicious of the information provided by commercial pictures, insisted particularly when they knew they could obtain fresh and direct visual information. The awareness about the construction of a photograph was new trait; the transparency of the medium was no longer taken for granted and the content had to pass through a process of verification.

On the other hand, Loria also suggested to take materials from photographic studios, and as the organiser, he did the same. In a letter to the Fratelli Alinari company, he asked for a series of pictures from their catalogue, concerning popular uses. Alinari's pictures are to be found in the photo archive as well, scattered in many regions, especially

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[85] See Mirizzi, *Loria …*, 2014, pp. 189–202.

[86] Giuseppe Andriulli to Francesco Baldasseroni, 7.10.1910, IDEA, Folder 27, doc. 3. "di usi locali e soprattutto di donne negli abiti caratteristici, e ben riuscite come non sarei riuscito d'averne io"

[87] Francesco Baldasseroni to Giuseppe Andriulli, 25.07.1910, IDEA, Folder 26, doc. 13. "Quanto alle fotografie da chiedersi allo Sbisà, credo che di esso non ci possiamo troppo fidare per i visi e pei tipi da riprodurre: andrò tuttavia a vederla ma tu cerca di procurarne altre costà indipendentemente da quello che potremo avere da Sbisà".

Tuscany, Campania and Sicily (fig. 5.11). The contents of the pictures include regional and picturesque jobs and activities.

Fig. 5. 11 – 36269, Alinari, "Girgenti, Snails seller", albumen print, 255 x 192 mm © Istituto Centrale per la Demoetnoantropologia.

A group of Sardinian pictures are particularly interesting as they clearly refer to anthropometry, an interest that was disappearing from these last exhibitions. Combining it with interest over costumes, an anonymous photographer produced a set of images with the subjects dressed up

traditionally but portrayed rigidly in the front and profile pose (fig. 5.12). This testifies to the persistence of visual canons in anthropology, despite the different subjects portrayed and the different objectives of the research, less centred on the physical and more on the cultural traits. The fact that Italian populations were looked at from a distance, with particular attention for the surviving traditional elements, helped to maintain a certain gaze, and a certain frame, over its representation.

Fig. 5. 12 - Inv. 35669-35670, Sardinia, gelatin silver prints, 60x87mm © Istituto Centrale per la Demoetnoantropologia.

A last example is the Sicilian collection, which reconnects us with the role that the Palermo exhibit had in shaping Rome 1911. Although the relationship between Loria and Pitrè was problematic during these years of organization,[88] we know that Pitrè collaborated in the making of the collection for his region. Many Sicilian pictures are in small square format, and in some it is possible to identify Pitrè himself, therefore we can imagine that he was involved in the production of such a set of pictures (fig. 5.13).[89] They are particularly interesting because, instead of concentrating on costumes and studio portraits, they are street scenes taken with a small portable camera (fig. 5.14). In contrast with the persistence of the visual canon in the Sardinian photos, in this case we see a turn towards documentary photography, in line with the possibility of an un-staged representation, which was imagined and dreamt of in the very first instructions for travellers.

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[88] See again Sandra Puccini, *L'itala gente dalle molte vite: Lamberto Loria e la Mostra di etnografia italiana del 1911*, Rome: Meltemi, 2005.

[89] I thank the archivist Marisa Iori for the indication.

Fig. 5. 13 – Inv. 36597, Sicily, aristotype print, 84x86mm, © Istituto Centrale per la Demoetnoantropologia.

Fig. 5. 14 – 36296, Sicily, aristotype print, 83x87mm, © Istituto Centrale per la Demoetnoantropologia.

The exhibition led to the publication of a catalogue, which already was a common outcome of artistic exhibitions, but quite new in the ethnographic field. In the introduction, the curators explained the project: "In Piazza d'Armi there are two different exhibitions: the one of Italian Ethnography [...] and the Regional one [...]. The public shouldn't confuse these two exhibitions, although they are very well united".[90] A confusion regarding the relationship between the *Mostra Regionale* and the *Mostre Etnografica* was evident, since the two ideas originated together and developed in parallel. As Baldasseroni and Loria tried to explain many times, the Regional should be considered a 'crown' of the Etnographic exhibit. The former displayed in regional pavilions the variety of arts and crafts, the second one was united in one building and contained the collections of various regions together, according to a thematic order: "These pavilions, rounded up around the Ethnographic exhibit, should testify both to the variety of the many arts traditions and the combination of all Italian regions "[91]. Oscillating again between unity and plurality, the pavilions of the regional '*foro*' formed a square that contained internally the ethnographic building, architectonically placed in a central position, as the fixed star around which all the differences rotated:

> The Exhibition of Italian Ethnography, on the other hand, aims to reveal the characteristic beauty that Italy offers in the customs and traditions of its people [...] the Ethnographic Exhibition proves how "the Italian people with many lives", even in the most humble social strata, even among shepherds and peasants still oppressed

[90] Lamberto Loria, *Esposizione Internazionale di Roma 1911. Catalogo della Mostra di Etnografia Italiana in Piazza d'Armi*, Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1911: 5. "In Piazza d'Armi sono riunite due diverse Esposizioni: quella di Etnografia Italiana […] e la Regionale […]. Conviene che il pubblico non confonda queste due Mostre, che pur stanno egregiamente unite"

[91] Francesco Baldasseroni to Giuseppe Andriulli, 13.07.1910, IDEA, Folder 26, doc. 9. "Riuniti attorno alla Mostra Etnografica, questi padiglioni dovrebbero testimoniare la varietà delle singole tradizioni d'arte, e insieme il concorso di tutte le regioni italiane".

by ignorance and prejudice, retain all the energy of the lineage and
are destined for a bright future.[92]

Scholarly and political aims were clearly interconnected: the variety of
the Italian peoples and their backwardness were not presented as a
weakness but as a testimony of a strong past and a promising future.
Together with engravings, some coloured pictures were published in the
catalogue. As we know from the correspondence, Mainardi proposed the
idea of a richly illustrated publication and offered himself to be the
official photographer:

> I would like to point out that many people have been asking me
> whether the Society will publish the entire collection of objects in
> iconographic plates. Think about it because it's a good idea and I'll
> put it into practice. I am committed to photographing all the
> objects in the Museum with perfect tone rendering and
> reproducing them in plates. Believe me, these plates would be
> very sought-after in Italy and abroad and I think it would also give
> a profit! [93]

It is not possible to verify its involvement since in the final published
version there is no reference to the photographer's name. In the cover of
the catalogue there is the picture of a women's mannequin, showing the
centrality of costumes' collection to the whole exhibition. Her standing
pose is with her hands on her hips, as many other pictures in the archive,
and the colour of her costumes recall the Italian tricolour flag (fig. 5.15).

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[92] Lamberto Loria, *Esposizione...*, 1911: 5. "l'Esposizione di Etnografia Italiana vuole
invece rivelare le caratteristiche bellezze che l'Italia offre negli usi e nei costumi del suo
popolo […] la Mostra di Etnografia prova come "l'itala gente dalle molte vite", pur nei
più umili strati sociali, pur tra i pastori e tra i contadini ancora oppressi dall'ignoranza e
dal pregiudizio, conservi tutte le energie della stirpe e sia destinata a un avvenire
radioso".

[93] Athos Mainardi to Lamberto Loria, 10.10.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 12. "Le fo
osservare che da moltissimi mi si domanda se la Società pubblicherà tutta la collezione
degli oggetti in tavole iconografiche. […] Ci pensi perché è una buona idea e io la
concretizzo così. Io prendo l'impegno a fotografare con perfetta resa dei toni tutti gli
oggetti del Museo per riprodurli in tavole. Creda, queste tavole sarebbero ricercatissime
in Italia e fuori e credo che darebbe anche guadagno!".

Fig. 5. 15 – Cover, Lamberto Loria, *Catalogo della Mostra di Etnografia Italiana in Piazza d'Armi*, Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1911.

Despite the centralized organisational structure of the exhibitions, we find in this archive a variety of materials and interpretations on ethnographic photography. The use of amateurs as resources generated a multiplication of approaches. Also in the representation of costumes, despite the clear iconography, the static pose, and the precise instructions, differences emerged. As Tiziana Serena puts it:

> The photographic archive is a sedimentation of representative images of a certain idea of nation, formed at a certain moment in history […] we must see the photographic archive as a field of complex forces, where the aspirations of the social classes that

forged the idea of nation found photography to be an irresistible ally.[94]

This exhibition has to be considered a huge and never re-tempted experiment, which aimed at bringing together - physically and theoretically - all the varieties of the Italian nation. Photography contributed in constructing the national imagery and the resulting archive was an answer to many of the projects sprung from Italian unification onwards. The 1911 exhibition represented both a closing stage, the triumph of sets of disciplinary and observational methods corroborated along the first fifty years of the nation, and simultaneously a springboard, the launch of a new and unprecedented direction in the way of studying and visualizing ethnography.

5.5.3 A cinematic dream

> Dear Mainardi / I am writing to you for something that is very important to me and that I think you too should like, […] I would like you, who are so well acquainted with the customs and traditions of the various regions of Italy and who for more than a year have helped so effectively in the making of the collections, to be entrusted with the task of preparing the necessary films for the Cinematograph which should appear at Exposition 1911.[95]

This last paragraph is intended to show one more original interpretation of visual recording practices envisioned for Rome 1911. We are leaving photography for cinema, as we can see from the letter Loria sent to Mainardi. We are entering a new medium of representation, strictly connected to and nurtured by the previous one. Cinema as a medium originated from scientific photography and, before being absorbed in the

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[94] Tiziana Serena, *Cultural Heritage…*, 2015: 180.

[95] Lamberto Loria to Athos Mainardi, 16.11.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 11. "Caro Mainardi / Le scrivo per una cosa che molto mi preme e che credo debba far piacere anche a Lei, entusiasta com'è dei comuni studi etnografici. Come già le dissi a voce, io vorrei che proprio lei, che così bene conosce gli usi e i costumi delle varie regioni d'Italia e che per più di un anno ha aiutato così validamente nella raccolta delle collezioni, fosse affidato l'incarico di preparare le films necessarie al Cinematografo che dovrebbe figurare all'Esposizione 1911."

entertainment and leisure industries, was involved in the production of scientific knowledge, specifically it referred to the representation of human and animal movements;[96] crucial and anticipatory works are the research of Étienne-Jules Marey or the 'Animal Locomotion' by Edward Muybridge.[97] Cinematic attempts to measure and control the body movements were applied to anthropological theories and an important example is the ethnic chronophotography by Regnault, who presented his research to the *Société Anthropologique* of Paris in 1900. His shots were created in 1895 within Marey's *laboratoire* and the focus was on the opposition between a 'normal' and a 'savage' body.[98] It was in connection with such physical and physiological interests, that the use of cinema for documentation purposes emerged. A first important example was the German *Hamburger Sudsee-Expedition* of 1908-1910, promoted by Georg Thilenius, director of the Ethnographic Museum of Hamburg, and directed by Hans Tischner. In the meantime, in the USA, Joseph K. Dixon realised a documentary on Native Americans. In all these cases, a high performance was involved and, despite the documentary attempts, *mise en scene* characterised the production, as it happened for photography.

Soon after its invention, cinema was perceived and promoted as a great opportunity to register external reality and to preserve its memory.

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[96] On the connection between photography and cinema and the role of scientific photography in the development of the cinematic medium see Virgilio Tosi, *Il cinema prima del cinema*, Milan: Il castoro, 2007; Virgilio Tosi, Lorenzo Lorusso, Almadori, *Osvaldo Polimanti: Il cinema per le scienze*, Rome: Carocci, 2011; Silvio Alovisio, *L'occhio sensibile: Cinema e scienze della mente nell'Italia del primo Novecento*, Turin: Kaplan, 2019.

[97] On chronophotography see Marta Braun, *Picturing time: the work of Etienne-Jules Marey (1830-1904)*, University of Chicago Press, 1994; for a recent contribution see Linda Bertelli, *Gli artisti della vita meccanica. Étienne-Jules Marey, Charles Frémont e il problema dell'automatismo*, in Daniela Scala (ed.), F*otografia e Scienze della mente tra storia, rappresentazione e terapia*, Aracne, 2018, pp. 59-85.

[98] On the birth of ethnographic cinema see Fatimah Tobing Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2004. Om Italian ethnographic cinema Francesco Marano, *Il film etnografico in Italia*, Bari: Edizioni di Pagina, 2007.

Interestingly, a particular didactic sensibility developed in the discourses around the medium. The reference to the opportunity of using cinema as a tool for teaching circulated widely in Italy:

> These contests are not only useful to demonstrate the intensity and the industrial and commercial activity of cinematography, but they serve a higher purpose: they expand the human thought and the beauty of all the regions, they show how much Cinematography can influence the instruction and the costumes of people.[99]

The proposal of Loria to create an Ethnographic Cinematograph as part of the exhibition was connected to such scientific, documentary and didactic intents and has to be inserted in this particular context. Already in 1909, he proposed the idea of creating a Cinematograph to "truly and sincerely reproduce the most characteristic scenes of our people, and to present, in rapid but faithful vision, the customs and traditions of the country".[100] While the reference to faithful and objective representation is adopted from photography, the reference to rapidity is specific to cinema. The possibility to represent movements could magnify Loria's aim of making national traditions alive in the exhibition. This project was pioneering, considering that only a few similar efforts had been realised so far, and none in Italy. Loria knew that to realise the project he should not only convince the Committee, but also a cinema house for the production. At first, he contacted the French company *Pathè*, and later *Itala Films*: "I would like it to be a serious thing, although the scientific seriousness can be reconciled with the needs of the general public and with the interest of a commercial Company"[101]. Entertainment, crucial to

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[99] Luigi Marone, "Concorsi di cinematografia," *Cine-Fono*, no. 125, 17 September 1910, pp. 9-10.

[100] Lamberto Loria to Athos Mainardi, 16.11.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 11. "Riproducesse davvero e sinceramente, le scene più caratteristiche del nostro popolo, e presentasse, in rapida ma fedele visione, gli usi e i costumi della Patria".

[101] Lamberto Loria to Athos Mainardi, 16.11.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 11. "vorrei insomma fosse una cosa seria, per quanto la serietà scientifica si può conciliare con le esigenze del grosso pubblico e con l'interesse di una Casa commerciale".

the exhibitionary complex in general, was considered in 1911 a necessary element for the success of a similar cinematic project. As we have seen, Loria contacted Mainardi as a trusted collaborator, and the initial idea was to produce new shootings.[102] Mainardi proposed a "very rich (probably […] complete)" program divided according to general themes:

> For example, with 2 or 3 films you can represent the main games of Italy by giving each one its local name as a subtitle. In short, in Italy it is certainly not the material that is missing, especially since new ideas are born on the field.[103]

Coming back to a topic tackled in chapter three, Mainardi referred to the notion of field as a space that stimulated ideas and questions, marking a movement toward a scholarly definition of fieldwork as crucial research activity. As it happened already with photography, Mainardi revealed his technical knowledge and proposed a specific device for the success of the project, with specific attention to the possibility of taking footage of a natural and spontaneous scene:

> From a technical point of view, since this is a very special work, I found that the most suitable machine for our purpose is the Parvo Debrie, which does not get noticed, an essential element for the reproduction of <u>natural</u> scenes.[104]

While negotiation went on, it became clear that it was not possible to produce new material, but it would have been necessary to program a show using already existing material. Similar endeavours to represent popular costumes and regional uses through cinema were already carried out on a smaller and commercial scale by production houses,

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[102] Other involved gatherers were Giacomo Andriulli, Giovanni De Giacomo, Raimondo Zamponi, Filippo Graziani.

[103] Athos Mainardi to Lamberto Loria, 23.11.1911, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 74. "Ed ecco che ad esempio con 2 o 3 films si possono rappresentare i principali giuochi di tutta Italia dando a ciascuno come sottotitolo il suo nome locale. Insomma in Italia non è certo il materiale che manca tanto più che poi sul terreno nascono nuove idee."

[104] Athos Mainardi to Lamberto Loria, 23.11.1911, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 74. "Dal punto di vista tecnico trattandosi di un lavoro in parte del tutto speciale, ho trovato che la macchina più adatta al nostro scopo è la Parvo Debrie che non dà affatto nell'occhio cosa essenziale per la riproduzione di scene naturali".

which made shots from real using the camera as a way to travel through space; therefore, Mainardi looked to such productions. However, the project was too ambitious, costly, and probably not interesting for production houses, who could not see the advantage of it. Therefore, at the end of the 1910, the project was abandoned.[105]

In this regard, it is important to signal that at the Turin exhibition, happening in the parallel with Rome in 1911, a Cinematographic Contest was organized.[106] It should have been an international competition but only a few films, all from Italy, participated. The award categories were artistic, scientific and didactic film: we have already encountered how the first two adjectives often accompanied and labelled photography, while the latter adjective 'didactic' had to do once again with the specific informative and educational power attributed to cinema, considered an "omnipotent tool of future culture".[107] In the premiere, the historical movie emerged as a favourite genre, influenced also by the celebratory context of the whole event. The only rejected film was precisely pertaining to the documentary genre that interested Loria, and consisted of a shot from real of Italian beauties entitled *Bellezze e ricordi d'Italia* (Pettine). However, documentary films were not absent from the Exposition: some films illustrating traditional works and scenes were projected in Turin, especially from the French *Pathè* and *Gaumont* and also from some Italian and American production houses.

The project of the *Cinematografo Etnografico* as part of the 1911 Exhibition was strictly connected to the documentary impulse generated at first by the photographic medium. Moreover, it intersected the dream of faithful

[105] Athos Mainardi to Francesco Baldasseroni, 5.12.1910, IDEA, Folder 701, doc. 80.

[106] On the Turin 1911 Contest see Gabriele Perrone, *Esposizione di Torino 1911 - Il Concorso Cinematografico dell'Esposizione. Il restauro di Nozze d'oro, La vita delle farfalle e Il tamburino sardo*, [MA Thesis], Università degli Studi di Torino, 2011. See also Gabriele Perrone, "*Le 'Nozze d'oro' della 'Ambrosio', dal concorso cinematografico del 1911 al restauro del 2011*," "Immagine. Note di Storia del Cinema", 3, 4, 2011, pp. 135-151, and Aldo Bernardini, *Cinema Muto Italiano. 3: Arte, divismo e mercato*, *1910-1914*, Bari: Laterza, 1982, pp. 54-62.

[107] *Cinematografia didattica*, in "La cinematografia italiana ed estera", V, no. 97, 1-5 January 1910, p. 1117. From Silvio Alovisio, *La scuola dove si vede: Cinema ed educazione nell'Italia del primo Novecento. Con una antologia di testi d'epoca*, Turin: Kaplan, 2016, pp. 14-15.

reproduction and living exhibition, elements that were central to Loria's project. In particular, the idea of the *Cinematografo* demonstrates how anthropology was deeply involved in practices of observation and techniques of visualisation that constituted the method and the concrete material tool of the discipline itself.

In this last chapter, the attention was reversed on initiatives that aimed to study the Italian cultural variety. National fairs played an important role in fostering a sentiment of identity that also passed through the realisation of anthropological research and exhibitions. Photographs were used increasingly in connection to the collection of objects, as visual tools to build the exhibitions and as documentary sources. In the migration from the context of the geographical and colonial expeditions to the representation of Italians, the pictures maintained some visual topoi, such as the anthropometric pose or the orientalising tendency. The latter was also adopted since Italian representation was strongly informed by external gazes of travellers that depicted the peninsula as a picturesque and traditional land well before national Unification in 1861. Some specific and original visual traits also emerged, for example in the attention to material culture and the detailed representation of costumes. The issue of validating with scientific knowledge a visual identity for the nation, in a constant negotiation between unity and peculiarity and between modernity and tradition, passed through the making - or envisioning - of new photo archives.

On the one hand, the 1911 exhibit can be considered the triumph of the 'delegated gazes' system analysed in chapter two, with gatherers scattered all over the Italian soil. On the other, new media and new theories encouraged new ways of considering cultures and the 1911 exhibition led to the affirmation of discourses which favoured a dynamic way of acquiring knowledge as opposed to a static system. The concept of fieldwork was finding its space in the anthropological discipline and it was about to stimulate a reconsideration of the relationship between observer and observed. Although the method and the narrative were changing, the new disciplinary communities had, in any case, to deal with issues of borders and definitions, objectivity and subjectivity, static and dynamic analysis, closeness and distance, inward and outward look,

description and representation, all matters that were at the heart of anthropology from its very origin.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has analysed how the use of photography developed within the anthropological discipline in Italy in the first half-century after Unification. Unpacking the different practices and actors associated with photography, I have shown the crucial role this medium played in the construction of the anthropological object.

Rather than focusing on a specific photographer, practice, or disciplinary school, I approached the corpus of anthropological photographs as a whole. The literature on the history of Italian anthropology and photography has already provided us with some research dedicated to specific cases; I felt the need to instead step back and look at the system that allowed the making of anthropological photo-archives at large. By zooming out, I was able to trace networks, influences and links between actors and institutions and identify recurring visual topoi as well as the making of shared methods. This distanced gaze allowed me to appreciate not only the similarities but also the internal varieties of photo archives and to pinpoint discrepancies.

Following a material approach, I have used the term 'anthropological photography' to encompass all the pictures that were included in the archives of anthropological museums or institutions. A wide variety of materials are encoded under this label. We tend to imagine the 19th-century anthropological archives as composed of anthropometric and typological portraits, and studies on such a standardised representation have dominated the literature together with a valid and commendable emphasis on the connection between anthropological research, colonial administration, positivist taxonomy, mechanical objectivity and racial theory. However, anthropometric pictures coexist in the archive with travel snapshots, exotic landscapes, commercial images, and photographs of colonial as well as Italian subjects. I was particularly interested in the hybrid nature of this photographic production in that it indicated the diverse set of actors that gravitated around anthropology over the course of its development. It was precisely the variety of

pictures that motivated my choice to engage with such an extended research object.

To delve into this array of images and make sense of them, I looked for reasons behind their inclusion in the archival container and did indeed pinpoint some fundamental aspects. The first and foremost of these aspects is the status of anthropology as a discipline in the making whose trajectory, method and objects developed from the 1860s onwards. The second was the relationship between experts and amateurs that was being defined over time, and the need to guide the way anthropological objects were studied, collected and photographed. It was necessary to understand the actual production of pictures in the field, so as to individuate the different kinds of photographers involved. I also had to take into account the construction of photographic collections and archives in order to uncover the agenda behind them. As the last step, my analysis could not overlook the representation of Italian cultures and its use in exhibitions. These five issues became the guiding questions of the research and gave rise to five separate chapters. The chapters became a way of approaching the topic of anthropological photography, each time from a different perspective: the discipline and its institutions, the rules and methods, photographers' practice, the archival logic, and the interest in national cultures. Throughout the chapters, I had the opportunity to zoom in on the analyses of selected cases and to shed light on specific sources, practices and actors.

To begin, I wanted to contextualise the historical period and present the main actors and institutions. Therefore, I followed the vicissitudes of Italian anthropology in the first fifty years of unified Italy. In this way I was able to familiarise the reader with the general framework of the topic and weave the story of Italian anthropology into the history of nation-building processes and the first colonial endeavours.

One of the strengths of the thesis lies precisely in the choice of the timeframe. Although studies conducted in the history of science and the history of photography have helped to ignite renewed interest in the post-Unification period, in general, the history of liberal Italy has been considered less often than other historical phases. Historiography has

treated the *Risorgimento* and its implication in the making of national narratives, including analyses of the first years after Unification, but has granted much less attention to the actual development of the country's structure up to the first world war. Studies of colonial policy have privileged the Fascist era without considering the origins of the expansion policy at the end of the 19th century, therefore losing sight of the line that connects these two developments. I would instead argue that the years between 1861 and 1911 are fundamental to understanding both the making of a national structure and consciousness and the development of a colonial venture and culture, two aspects that cannot be treated separately but must instead be considered in parallel. Within these two axes, I was able to trace the history of anthropology in a period of sufficient length to identify both changes and elements of continuity.

In tracing the development of anthropology, I have chosen to focus on institutionalisation processes and show how the discipline carved out its own space and scope within the scientific and educational sphere. Avoiding a tautological approach, I have treated anthropology as knowledge-in-progress the methods and community of which were in need of being defined. In this way, it was possible to introduce interactions between different actors from politicians to explorers, from scientists to amateurs. Building on previous research, I chose to examine the making of the academic world in parallel with exploration campaigns, bringing together the theoretical and practical levels that constituted the new sector. I have stressed disciplinary influences and disputes, looking at minor cases and attempts together with well-known cases, and I have presented the founding of societies, museums, and journals. The investigation focuses on the Italian panorama, but it would certainly gain from comparison with other European countries. Further research might connect the national context with foreign cases so as to show examples of dialogue and exchange as well as differences.

The second chapter is focused on the creation of the methods, protocols and objectives of the anthropological community. To do so, I have used as my primary sources publications such as instructions for travellers, which were aimed at guiding the eye and creating a shared way of seeing and describing external reality. The detailed analysis of instructions has

shown the progressive demarcation between experts and amateurs, as well as the seamless connections between the two categories. By focusing on this point, I have been able to show the structure of anthropological knowledge and the way it proceeded on the basis of information and materials often gathered by non-experts. Moreover, I have examined the troubled boundaries of the anthropological sector, in search of a balance between naturalist and humanistic approaches. To do so, I questioned the observational procedure proposed by the discipline: where was the observer's focus directed? How to build a system that maintains the analysis of scientificity and measurable data together with attention to complex social elements? In conclusion, the chapter investigated references to scientific and artistic photography in theoretical texts, and the attempt to build a standardised system of representation. While conveying the solid faith in the camera's objectivity that prevailed in this period – a constant rhetoric element in texts aimed at obtaining reliable information and convincing readers about the effectiveness of the medium – it was possible to trace the gradual process through which the documentary value of pictures was articulated.

One of the merits of the chapter is that it combines discourses on observation with those on photography. To do so, I have dialogued continuously with studies on the construction of scientific observation and objectivity. This approach allowed me to move beyond a descriptive explanation of the content of instructions in order to identify the theoretical implications behind the authors' requests. This fascinating body of sources emerged as a widespread genre in 19th century Europe. While scholars in the English-speaking world have conducted abundant research on Notes and Queries, with the exception of Puccini and a few other scholars the Italian equivalents have been neglected. As a line of future research, an investigation into the connections with foreign models and authors and a close comparison between editions would provide interesting insights as to how various European scholarly communities shaped the 'anthropological lens'.

Chapter three is devoted to the act of taking pictures in the field. The choice I made was to select several cases of photographers that effectively convey the varieties of actors involved in this activity. I

distinguished between professional and amateur photographers, not as a hierarchical or qualitative divide but as a way to make an initial distinction among forms of production, also connected to different budgets and commissions. The field has been analysed as a socially constructed space, including not only distant territories but also the reconstructed space of the photographic studio. In looking at photographers' experiences, I was particularly interested in linking them to the network of relations that made possible the photographic encounter rather than interpreting such efforts as isolated and exceptional. This approach was particularly effective as it showed the 'visual economies' composed of people, institutional support, interests, and ideas in which pictures circulated.

Travel reports, correspondence and publications connected to expeditions were the primary sources that I used to reconstruct as much context as possible. Looking for references to the use of the camera in texts, I was able to connect pictures with information on settings and posing, which also involved recovering the agency of the sitters. The parallel analysis of the narration and photographs demonstrated how the standards proposed in handbooks and instructions, as well as the rhetoric on photographic immediacy and mechanicalness, were quite different to actual practice. Moreover, this focus represented a way to discover and pinpoint some aspects of the overlooked history of photographic mobility.

The chapter not only investigated the material stories surrounding photographers, it also explored how pictures migrated from the field to the interpretative centres of the anthropological community. Analysing illustrated publications and society meetings, I uncovered the uses and circulation of pictures seen as 'immutable mobiles'. The chapter focused on some sample cases that I deemed relevant and revealing: two professional photographers involved in scientific and political expeditions; the Akka case showing the circulation of people and images; the connection between amateur and professional networks illustrated by the correspondence between L.M. D'Albertis and J.W. Lindt; the field experiences of Sommier and Mantegazza, Modigliani, and Bottego, with their diverse scopes, descriptive styles and illustrated

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publications; and the use of snapshots and pictures in the *Missione Eritrea*. Certainly, further research would be able to enlarge the spectrum of field photographers by introducing more categories and providing new information on the connections between actors.

The fourth chapter shifted to analysing the archive, addressing the way pictures enter into anthropological collections and identifying the actors involved in this process. Looking at public and private archives, I pointed out the different agendas behind image accumulation, demonstrating the non-neutral subjectivity behind archive-making. While the SGI, MAE, and MNEP cases allowed me to see the making of institutional archives, the system of acquisition and enlargement of the visual collections, and the role accorded to pictures, the Giglioli and D'Albertis cases served to analyse the link between private and public functions and the afterlife of collections in their transition from the private to the museum space.

Whenever possible I reconstructed the original organisation of the photo collections and showed how the storage process, taxonomies, ordering structures, and use of captions all contributed to encoding pictures and turning them into objects of knowledge. Once more, the inclusion of more than one case in my analysis enabled me to comparatively consider the way archives were built and to avoid a uniform and flattening conception of the archival dispositif. The research did not extend to a detailed reconstruction of the origin and stratification of anthropological photo archives; surely, developments in studies exploring archival history will lead to research advancements and a better understanding of the sources. Throughout the chapter, I managed to contrast positions that frame anthropological photographs as individual objects, brought together almost by chance, or as documentation tools not meant as a collection. Instead, I demonstrated how pictures were rarely imagined and used as isolated entities but rather almost always conceived as part of broader projects of classification (attempted or realised). They were not static collections to be displayed, but dynamic objects to be constantly revised, relocated and interpreted as evidence.

Given its specificity, I decided to provide an in-depth analysis of the hitherto-understudied Giglioli photo collection. The collector took exceptional care in assembling materials in a standard form and according to a geographical and comparative approach, often noting the trajectories of pictures and thereby enabling us to map the networks of actors and institutions in which images were inserted. Conducting a parallel investigation of correspondence, I was able to reconstruct the circulation of pictures as a practice of meaning-making that converted them from vehicles of knowledge into social tools for establishing connections between experts and learned societies, together with books and objects.

The last chapter was dedicated to the shifting attention of Italian anthropology toward national domestic cultures and their representation. Therefore, I addressed the descriptive, visual and collecting projects envisioned by anthropological and photographic societies to document the multifaceted traditions found in the peninsula. As such projects were closely connected to processes of identity-making, the chapter analysed the narrative surrounding them, oscillating between the search for a national character and a stress on local peculiarities. In the shift of the disciplinary focus from colonial to internal subjects, pictures helped to retrace the continuity of visual tropes and exotifying tendencies. I was able to investigate the creation of new hierarchies between centre and periphery and new alterities embodied by people from the southern and islander regions seen as underdeveloped and savage.

In particular, my focus on ethnographic exhibitions allowed me to depict yet another system of photographic use and circulation and to look closely at nation-building processes while also considering the intersection of science, education and entertainment. After having looked at Milan, Turin, and Palermo, the chapter culminates with the 1911 Ethnographic exhibition organised in Rome by Lamberto Loria. I used this last case study to show the complex interplay among scholars and amateurs, collecting and research practices, that is analysed in the theoretical discourse at the beginning of the thesis. From an analysis of official and public documentation and correspondence with 'gatherers'

as well as an examination of photo-objects, I was able to uncover the crucial role played by photography in the making of the exhibition.

Moreover, this chapter raises the issue of photographic authority and reliability and its position of competition with the new cinematographic medium. The relationship between the two dispositifs has been studied thoroughly, but further research could be carried out focused specifically on anthropology and its visual methods in Italy, particularly in the first decades of the 20th century. In the chapter I presented the interest in domestic traditions as a peculiar trait of the Italian anthropological community, but comparative studies on other European nations would certainly provide new insights into the development of folklore.

There is no doubt that photography, as a medium, a mechanical dream, a form of documentation, a servant to science, a means of artistic expression, travel notes, personal memory, a piece of evidence, a collection, immutable mobiles, a collective mirror, and a social tool did indeed shape the anthropological discipline between the 19th and 20th centuries in Italy. While some aspects are mirrored in other national traditions and were common to the western positivist culture, the specificity of the present case lies in the intersection between the establishment of anthropology, the national unification process and the colonial effort that unfolded parallelly in Italy. Through a cross-cutting gaze, the thesis has shown points of overlap as well as friction between the anthropological lens and the photographic one.

CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Year	Italian history	Italian anthropology
1861	Italian Unification: Camillo Benso Count of Cavour and King Vittorio Emanuele II	
1862	Mission to Persia	Giuseppe Giglioli teaches Anthropology in Pisa
1863		Angelo De Gubernatis chair of Sanskrit in Florence
1864		Translation of Darwin texts in Italy
1864	Capital moved from Turin to Florence	Cesare Lombroso teaches Anthropology and Clinic of mental disease in Turin
1865		Journey of the Regia Pirocorvetta Magenta

1866	The annexation of the Veneto region	Paolo Gaddi founds the Museo Etnografico Antropologico in Modena
1867		Giacomo Doria founds the Museum of Natural History in Genoa
		Foundation of the SGI
1868	Grist tax and social disorder	
1869	Opening of the Suez Canal	Paolo Mantegazza founds the Museo Nazionale di Antropologia ed Etnologia in Florence
1870	Capture of Rome	Giuseppe Pitrè *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane*
	Rubattino company acquires the Bay of Assab	SGI exploration in Assab: Antinori, Beccari, Issel
1871		Edward Burnett Tylor publishes "Primitive Culture"

		Raccolta dei materiali per l'Etnologia italiana
	Capital city: from Florence to Rome	International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology in Bologna
1872		Death of the explorer Giovanni Miani
1873		Mantegazza, Giglioli, and Letourneau, *Istruzioni per lo studio della psicologia comparata delle razze umane*
1874		
1875		Luigi Pigorini founds the *Museo Preistorico-Etnografico* in Rome
		SGI expedition to Tunisia by Orazio Antinori
1876	From right-wing to left-wing parliament: Agostino Depretis	De Gubernatis founds the *Bollettino Italiano degli Studi Orientali*

1877	Coppino Law: mandatory and free primary schools	Camperio founds the journal *L'Esploratore*
1878		Mantegazza and Sommier trip to Lapland
1879		
1880		Giustniano Nicolucci chair of Anthropology in Naples
		Establishment of *Club Africano* in Naples
		Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Ferri, and Giuseppe Garofalo found the *Archivio di Psichiatria, Antropologia criminale e Scienze penali*
1881	Tunisia becomes a French colony	
1882	Triple Alliance: Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy	
	Italy acquires the Bay of Assab from Rubattino	Mantegazza in India, Sommier in Siberia, Loria in the Caucasus region
1883		

		Pitrè president of *Società per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari in Italia*
1884	Berlin Conference	1884 Turin Exposition
1885	Occupation of Massawa	
1886		
1887	First Francesco Crispi Government	
	Battle of Dogali	
1888		
1889	Treaty of Wuchale between Italy and Ethiopia	Foundation of the *Società Fotografica Italiana* in Florence
1890		
1891		*Mostra di Etnografia Siciliana* in Palermo
1892	Banca Romana scandal	
	First Giovanni Giolitti Government	*Esposizione Italo-Americana* in Genova
	Birth of the Socialist Party	

1893		De Gubernatis founds the *Società Nazionale per lo Studio delle Tradizioni popolari*
	Repression of popular revolt in Sicily	Giuseppe Sergi founds the *Società Romana di Antropologia*
1894		
1895		*Società di Studi Geografici e Coloniali* in Florence
1896	The Battle of Adowa and the Italian defeat	
1897		
1898	Repression of popular revolt in Milan	
1899	Boxer Rebellion in China: Italy is part of the Eight-Nation Alliance (together with USA, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Britain, France, Germany, Japan)	
1900	The anarchist Gaetano Bresci kills King Umberto I	
1901		

1902		
1903		
1904	First general strike	
1905		Italian Colonial Congress in Asmara
	Italian Colonial Congress in Asmara	*Missione Eritrea*
1906		Foundation of the *Museo di Etnografia Italiana* in Florence
		Foundation of the Italian Colonial Institute
1907		*Istruzioni per lo studio della colonia Eritrea*
1908	Earthquake in Reggio Calabria and Messina	
1909		
1910		Geographic Congress in Palermo
1911	Beginning of the Italo-Turkish war in Libya	*Mostra di Etnografia Italiana* in Rome

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