

Leopoldo Cicognara and his library: Formation and significance of a collection (I)

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How many sleepless nights the desire for a book costs, how many letters, how much research, and how many heartbeats amidst the dust of ancient book caches that are returned to circulation! I seem to hear these collectors always repeating, *but this book is necessary, but you need this one*, and this necessity knows no limits: here is that insatiability that is the precise indication of an illness of the spirit fomented, unfortunately, by the excessive quantity of books that inundate the earth.

Thus wrote Leopoldo Cicognara in the summer of 1807 to his friend Luigi Bossi, a painter, scholar, first secretary of the Accademia di Brera, and above all a collector and cultivated bibliophile to whom Cicognara will dedicate a booklet on the *Vita di San Lazzaro monaco e pittore preceduto da alcune osservazioni sulla Bibliomania* [Life of St. Lazarus, monk and painter, preceded by some observations on Bibliomania], published that same year. These are significant words that best express the care, dedication, and passionate research that Cicognara devoted to the formation of his library ('object of so much of my care, and delight of my best years'),¹ which was surely one of the most important and appreciated in all of Europe.² Earlier, on the

¹ Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli, letter to an unknown person dated 7 May 1814.

² Cicognara himself recognized that he had assembled 'the most copious and wonderful library of arts and antiquities that has been seen in Europe'. Letter to Monsignor Carlo Emanuele Muzzarelli, dated 18 August 1830: Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele. For a bibliographic description of the Cicognara Library, see *La Cicognara Library in Vaticana. Lettere inedite del Conte Leopoldo Cicognara ad Angelo Mai*, 'Rivista delle Biblioteche', V, nos. 53-60, 1894, [pp. 181-185](#); TANCREDO BORENIUS, *The Catalogo Cicognara*, 'The Book Collector's Quarterly', II, nos. 5-6, 1932, pp. 78-82; FABIA BORRONI, *Il Cicognara. Bibliografia dell'archeologia classica e dell'arte italiana*, Florence, Sansoni, 2 vols. in 12 parts, 1954-67; CHRISTINE GRAFINGER, *Die Erwerbung der Büchersammlung des Grafen Leopoldo Cicognara durch die Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, 'Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae', IV, 1990, p. 51; LUCIA FRANCHI VICERÉ, *Una seconda appendice al Catalogo Cicognara*, in *Studi in onore del Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz per il suo centenario (1897-1997)*, 'Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa', s. IV, Quaderni 1-2, 1996, pp. 415-424; PHILIPP FEHL, *The Fondo Cicognara in the Vatican Library: Inventing the Art Library of the Future*,

occasion of his 1788 sojourn in Rome, but particularly during the years 1798-99 (when he served as Minister Plenipotentiary of the Cisalpine Republic at the Savoy Court), he began to develop the groundwork for a long and productive project as a collector,³ destined to continue until 1821, when, burdened by terrible financial difficulties, he was forced to put his collection up for sale.

There is direct evidence of this sale in the form of the *Catalogo ragionato dei libri d'arte e d'antichità*, compiled at the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century and printed in Pisa in 1821, namely the year when negotiations with the Holy See (through the intermediation of Cardinal Angelo Mai) met with a successful outcome. Indeed, the negotiations for the sale of the collection were long, laborious, and, at certain times, disheartening, due to family and financial upheavals that were so serious that they left the Count without the revenues that allowed him to satisfy his collecting passion. These upheavals included (in addition to damages caused by wartime events)⁴ losses resulting from natural disasters and overflowing rivers, with the consequent destruction of crops on lands he owned.⁵ At this point

in *Memory & Oblivion*, edited by Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel, Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999, pp. 43-56.

³ Moreover, during the years 1802-1803 Cicognara received books from important figures he knew, such as, for example, Melzi d'Eril; see VITTORIO MALAMANI, *Memorie del conte Leopoldo Cicognara tratte dai documenti originali*, Venice, Merlo, 1888, I, [p. 272](#), letter dated 8 May 1803: 'I am still the caretaker of your books. The key to the room is with my wife, and you can always access it by sending someone to her with your orders'. Malamani also relates an anecdote related to the years 1798-99, more precisely to a trip Cicognara made to Holland, on the occasion of which he met Quatremère Disjonval (brother of Quatremère de Quincy), who 'expected to validate his dreams with the authority of classical writers, and with the illustrations he found in their books, and he cut and mangled whatever he liked from books in libraries and those of friends: which I ignored as they did damage, with great harm and pain to me, to precious editions of Vitruvius, and books on art and machinery, which I had acquired in Holland and loaned to this crazy person' (V. MALAMANI, *Memorie*, I, [pp. 135-136](#)). An anecdotal episode, useful for revealing Cicognara's care and passion for books, already evident in the early years of his library's development.

⁴ See the letter to Vermiglioli dated 7 October 1814 (Biblioteca Comunale di Perugia, ms. 1514): 'I have seized this season to act like a bumpkin who, after the whirlwind, emerges from his habitation and sees what remains unharmed from Heaven's inclemency, as I go in search of what the inclemency of Mars has left me, having vented his rage on everything I possess, and reminding me of the sad effects of war for many years to come. This picture is quite sad, and all the more that which materialised following the loss of 130/m francs that had been decreed for one part, and proposed for the other, whereby I could not continue to revive the two Works that I am advancing on the History of Sculpture, and another on the Buildings of Venice, measured, drawn, and illustrated'.

⁵ See the letter to his son, dated 10 September 1823: 'That Polar Star brought the death of Canova, the fatalities of that marriage, the consequences of an illness for me, tornados and hail that ruined me, the decrees that took away funds designated for the delivery of my library, an illness so grave for you, another for my wife, in sum I believe that my sufferings

Cicognara began weaving a long web of relationships with both foreigners and Italians (including Prince Carlo Alberto of Savoy-Carignano,⁶ the Court of Vienna, the King of Prussia,⁷ and the Grand Duke of Tuscany),⁸ who showed interest in acquiring the library. Meanwhile the library, following its move from Palazzo Malipiero to a more modest dwelling at Santa Maria del Giglio, still in Venice,⁹ lay in twenty-seven crates, and one of Cicognara's concerns was its preservation.¹⁰

But what was most distressing was the fact that, following a decree promulgated in 1817 by the authorities of Lombardy-Veneto, which granted the extradition of art objects only under the authorization of the Camera Aulica,¹¹

are greater than those of Job, and in a period of less than a year'. Also see the letters of 11 August s.a. to Bettio of 29 August 1823 ('Hailstorms have taken away my crops, and the tenants pay only a few sums to S. Martino') and 20 May, same year (Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori), in which Cicognara speaks of the 'disintegration of my interests, with losses due to a reinforcement of 20/m scudi lost, although decreed, and a pension annuity gone up in smoke. But have courage'. This was joined by tedious legal disputes, particularly for the restitution of certain lands: see V. MALAMANI, *Memorie*, II, pp. 67-68.

⁶ Giordani writes to Cicognara in April 1818: 'Among other things you logically must undertake a necessary, very costly renovation in your library. But to whom can you hope to sell it? If not to a prince?' (PIETRO GIORDANI, *Epistolario*, ed. Antonio Gussali, Milan, Borroni and Scotti, 1854, vol. IV, p. 193).

⁷ See the letter addressed to the King of Prussia, dated 10 April 1824: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori.

⁸ 'I wanted to remove it from Venice to transport it to Tuscany; I met with opposition and conflicts for 4 consecutive years'. See letter to Muzzarelli, 18 August 1820: Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele.

⁹ See letter to his son, dated 7 August, same year (Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori), in which Cicognara speaks of having always changed 'from a large house into a smaller one'. He had chosen the Palazzo Malipiero because his previous lodgings had proved insufficient for accommodating his library, which expanded daily.

¹⁰ As Cicognara writes, 'God knows what mice and moths lie in store for it'. A letter addressed to De Lazara, dated 3 May 1820: Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara. Also see a letter to the Chancellor dated 3 October 1823 (Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori): 'And does it seem to you, dear friend, that I would not be equivocal to allow Marini to have my works by Vitruvius if he could have access to my library, which has been crated up for three years and in a warehouse? I myself am unable to have anything, since after I agreed to have the library leave, I could no longer bring it home, because I changed residence, and in the house where I live there wouldn't be room for a crate of books'. Letter quoted in FRANCESCA FEDI, *L'ideologia del Bello. Leopoldo Cicognara e il classicismo fra Settecento e Ottocento*, Milan, Franco Angeli, 1990, p. 283. Also see V. MALAMANI, *Memorie*, II, p. 249; L. FRANCHI VICERÉ, *Una seconda appendice*, pp. 415-424.

¹¹ See ANDREA EMILIANI, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei beni artistici e culturali negli antichi Stati Italiani, 1571-1860*, Bologna, Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1978; FRANCESCA FEDI, *Leopoldo Cicognara e il problema del collezionismo*, in *L'Europa delle corti alla fine dell'antico regime*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli-Gianni Venturi, Rome, Bulzoni, 1991, pp. 191-2000: 191; DANIELA LA ROCCA, *Materiali per Cicognara*, 'Annali dell'Università di Ferrara', II, 2001, pp. 311-350.

Cicognara was denied permission to sell the collection abroad. In the meantime, the Library of San Marco had shown interest in his collection but, after a series of extended negotiations that brought the price down from the initial 300,000 francs requested by Cicognara to 150,000, the ruling authorities did not grant the necessary funds to the Veneto province, showing, as Cicognara himself emphasizes, 'the general neglect and disregard for everything that is great and distinguished'.¹² It was then that Cicognara became most discouraged, to the point where he feared having to sell it 'from hunger',¹³ and it was then that he began thinking about the possibility that his collection might be acquired by Pope Leo XII.¹⁴

¹² See the letter to Missirini dated 29 May 1820: Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele.

¹³ 'The fruit of all my studies, sweat, savings, will go eternally up in smoke, and in the hands of book dealers, and truly in the grip of woodworms and mice in the crates where it lies, while my few lands will be confiscated to pay my debts'. Letter to Missirini, 30 March 1819: Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele. Also see the letter to his son, dated 8 August 1818 (Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori): 'Imagine what a blow it was for me after all the approvals, and all the holy oils, and the desires of the Government, and the Librarian of San Marco, to receive yesterday the decision of the Aulica Cancelleria, which met after three years of negotiations and, after having restricted me in all ways possible, it finally resolves that the adopted economic reforms of State do not allow for special Government subsidies, and annuls all negotiations and agreements made for the payment of my library. My bewilderment and pain because of this circumstance is too emotional to allow me to reflect on it'.

¹⁴ See the letter to his son dated 27 August 1822 (Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori): 'I will begin by not keeping silent about the sort of evaluation the House of Austria wanted me to do, but what happened in terms of the books as I am wont to do these things that I consider the norm for others, but not for me, as I start from different data, and dealing with art books, exchanging a thousand times to refine them as I have done, with their provenance taken into account, and the autograph notes of august men, I set a higher price that also reflects the whole, and from that increase that it receives daily, for that which is continually added, and which is not printed in the Catalogue. This appraisal came to 24/m *scudi*, but I responded that I definitively wanted it to be 30/m, without discount, [...] since I am not a merchant and I do not request a price exceeding the thing's actual value. My request awaits resolution, and no proposition has been offered to me, however I feel its arrival from Vienna is imminent. I do not conceal that in the meantime I have also received some initiatives from the Ab. Mai, Librarian of the Vatican, who would like to profit if I do not come to an arrangement with the House of Austria, and that also a friend of mine, a minister for another power, yearns for this purchase, but there have been no positive openings with the latter. As for adhering to a pension or convenient payment, it remains to be seen what guarantee they can offer, since the prudent thing is to be protected: and it remains to be seen what results will be agreed upon. I would not set different conditions for an Englishman than for an Italian, and I also easily yield to the aspect of payment, making a contract in the form of 25/m Francs paid upon signing the contract. For 50/m I would await payment in two instalments to be determined with the current scaled interest, and for 75/m I will establish a pension, although I am 55 years old and do not know what it will yield for

Contacts with the Pontiff had occurred over the years, particularly during Cicognara's 1789 sojourn in Rome, when the future Pope was still Cardinal Annibale Della Genga and Cicognara was employed in the service of the French government.¹⁵ But it was precisely in this regard that Cicognara began to fear that his militant past might upset the negotiations; his doubts, however, were nullified by the far-sighted action of the Pontiff, who was well disposed towards putting aside a room of the Vatican Palaces for Cicognara's collection, precisely as Cicognara desired.¹⁶ 'Our distinguished most eminent Zurla has done as he wished, succeeding in a wonderful thing which will live eternally in my memory and in my heart', Cicognara confides to Missirini:

I wouldn't want him to doubt the sincerity of my feelings. Although, for truth's sake, I had to tell him that the amount provided for me was too tenuous and did not correspond in the least to the rigorous appraisal that extremely serious men established for my library. It was purchased and left at once for Rome. Count Troni made a proposal on behalf of the S.P. and consequently I kept quiet, and my heart opened up, too glorious to offer challenges to a generous and extremely ambitious action of the Pope toward the state, to place the repository in my care, and my expenditures with Apollo and the Muses, and under the care of the distinguished Monsignor Mai. These considerations immediately won me over, but I had such a vivid disagreement, I must tell you I suffered a fever, and an attack of gout that immobilized me. I would like to be able to conceal the price that was established, but they will not conceal it in Rome, where the Treasury will say what it is. I would have also done, for the honour of the contracting parties, a false document in which it was apparently stipulated for the same price that was agreed upon here. It is difficult to have to say that I gave the library for a quarter less than its limited value. I would like him to write me from

me according to English regulations. This is the plan that may be appropriate. The library is all crated, in new, well-made crates, and at my expense, and the only thing that remains is the cost of external packaging, which will be the responsibility of the purchaser. If confirmation of this project reaches me before better propositions from elsewhere, I will give equal preference under the same conditions to whoever has been indicated to me by you, since I have specific reasons for placing herein a kind of ambition. I will make only one exception, and it is that you will find quoted in the Catalogue two copies of my History and I want to keep the one on white paper for myself, leaving for the purchaser the rosy one, which is unique, and for which I have refused one hundred *Zecchini*'. Furthermore, see the letter to Missirini dated 13 February 1823 (Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele): 'Do you know that the Council denied [...] the funds for the purchase of my library for reasons of economy, after they were eliminating things that had been decided? This would look excellent in one of the Vatican buildings'.

¹⁵ See V. MALAMANI, *Memorie*, II, p. 249.

¹⁶ See the letter to Missirini, dated Padua 13 February 1823: Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele.

Rome, conveying information about the Pope's magnanimity, not about the meagreness of his treasury, and that the price not be named. I do not speak of it here. Because I put great value in placing my books in the museum. But others should not take this into consideration, which has supreme value for me alone.¹⁷

Nevertheless we need to emphasize that the sale of the library was something that Cicognara always spoke of with great sorrow, also in subsequent years, and which he was never able to accept.¹⁸ In the end, on 1 July 1824, along with the twenty-seven crates, and the itemized books contained in them, Cicognara handed over to the Vatican two copies of the *Catalogo* (one countersigned) and two lists (an 'additional folio' and a 'list of pending library associations') including 114 titles of books published between 1821 and 1823, a natural complement to the *Catalogo*.¹⁹ As we have said, the *Catalogo* (although written in an extremely brief time

¹⁷ Cicognara always had words of respect and recognition for the Pope. See his letter to Missirini, 12 April 1825 (Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele): 'Truly I am dying to return to Rome to see you, Mons.r Mai, and a few other friends, and also to kiss the hand, as he will be unwilling to offer his foot, of the good companion of my youth and hunting, Leo XII. If this Pope lives, I wager that he will do something worthy of this name'. 'I have heard many foreigners complain about the order in which my collection is organized, and about the difficulty now found in obtaining the book that is sought', he writes to Cardinal Placido Zurla. 'I don't know if it is true. What is indeed true is that a loving person ensured that I would certainly not be deprived of the 25/m Francs which, by strict estimate, my collection amounted to above what I was paid, and S.r Antonio di Marchesini who was present was well disposed to guarantee the price. But however much this money could have accommodated me, when I sought to reorganize my holdings, not even I was very happy with what I did, because I flattered an honest ambition and worked according to my heart. The Holy Father alone could, in this circumstance, act in a way worthy of him, if C.e Troni had not been too eager to show the good profit he secured without my slightest opposition'. Letter dated Florence, 22 October 1825: Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele.

¹⁸ Cicognara himself admitted that the sale of his library was 'something that put me in a bad mood, and which I cannot forget'. Letter dated 20 May 1828 and addressed to Giuseppe Molini: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori. Also see a letter to Conte Possenti dated 20 October 1826, which reveals his earnest tone when speaking of his books, 'dear companions of my best life' (Biblioteca Ariostea di Ferrara, Cl. I, 642, letter published in F. FEDI, *L'ideologia*, p. 76) and L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, 'Proemio', p. III: 'Nothing more dear to me than these mute witnesses of my affections'.

¹⁹ See letter dated 8 March 1823, addressed to an unknown recipient (Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori): 'Here it is, in its final fulfilment, the record of books on art and antiquities of every type, and the further associated items that I have continued to pay for after printing the Catalogue. As I write, I hear that other quires are en route, I do not know how many to follow. But I intend for everything to have a limit, and if I have granted all that I have acquired until now, when I hoped the business was terminated, and the consequences were decided in my favour, given the long unproductiveness of my capital,

due to the imminent sale)²⁰ immediately reveals a clear and lucid organizational intention, a methodical approach of eighteenth-century, Enlightenment influence, in its classifying efforts. We learn from the *Catalogo* that the collection was composed of 4800 titles (all published prior to 1820)²¹ belonging to two classes, 'Belle arti' (Fine Arts) and 'Antichità in generale' (Antiquities as a whole), listed in chronological order and subdivided into 42 sections, 26 for the first category and 16 for the second. Cicognara reserved a final appendix, which contained forty-one titles, for works acquired between the end of the writing of the *Catalogo* and its publication.²² We can also observe that no section contains an excessively high number of volumes, including the 16 titles of treatises on sculpture and the 378 titles of treatises on architecture. These range from subjects that are completely obvious within an art collection (treatises on painting) to unusual sections such as, for example, illustrated books on equitation and equine anatomy, considered indispensable for anyone who wanted to contend with scenes of war or equestrian monuments. A section of particular importance is dedicated to 'Books of bibliography', both national and

so you will find it correct that this limit be determined in order to make further increases in expenditures, whether for associated or antiquarian items, of which perhaps some I also intend for perfecting some branch of the library, and which should not be allowed to slip away, having brought so much together. Regarding these you will find some that are extremely rare in the appended note. [...] I do not doubt, however, that, proceeding with that nobility of character which is due in such circumstances, I will be equitably paid, and I will be able to see at least the annuity portion from the time that the wisdom of the Supreme Contracting Party will justly determine'. Both the additional sheet and the list of associated publications have been published by L. FRANCHI VICERÉ, *Una seconda appendice*, pp. 417-421.
²⁰ 'After finishing the work [the History of the History] then I will do the catalogue raisonné of the library of art and antiquities, and I will print it, and I will also sell the library': Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori, letter dated 13 August, s.a., to the Cancellieri. He also wrote to the Cancellieri on 8 March 1819 (Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori): 'The work I am thinking of doing on the Catalogue of my library is precisely to insert such evidence as will enable it to be easily sold as a whole. This resource will fill many large holes in my extremely small estate, and you shall see how I have used my fortune, because having sold the books, which I also bought entirely with my own money, all my disasters will be balanced out, since travels, studies, prints justify the immense expense I have incurred'.

²¹ The sole exception is number [2932](#), which, due to a typographical error, is dated 1824.

²² See ALESSANDRO ZANETTI, *Leopoldo Cicognara, cenni puramente biografici*, Venice, Lampato, 1834, pp. 39-40: 'He retained so much affection for that companion of his studies, that even after he was far away he continued to expand it, sending as a gift several additional boxes with rare or precious volumes that will pass into its possession; to this end, its catalogue will be able to receive new and important bibliographic annotations for this not inconsiderable addition with materials already organized for this purpose'. See L. FRANCHI VICERÉ, *Una seconda appendice*, pp. 416, 422.

international, which attest to the extent to which Cicognara was experienced and up to date as a collector and bibliophile.²³

These sections can be individual, that is characterized by a single generic category (for example 'Catalogues' or 'Inscriptions'), or comprehensive, including numerous categories connected by content, such as 'Greco-Italic and Herculian Antiquities', 'Large Museums, Galleries, and Works of Painting', or 'Celebrations, Entries, Triumphs, Spectacles, and Funerals'. Each category encompasses precise bibliographic notions, often accompanied by notes on characteristics of the edition and by critical comments that, albeit brief, are significant for their expertise and originality.²⁴ Sometimes Cicognara helps us identify the author of works that appear anonymous (for example: *Riflessioni sul restituirsì della Francia I monumenti delle Arti*, Milan, 1816, by Sir William Hamilton; *Ricerche sopra le bellezze della Pittura, e sul merito de più celebri pittori antichi e moderni*, Venice, 1791, 'by the Nobis.ma D. Sig. Maria Querini Stampalia born Lippamano';²⁵ *La Théorie et la Pratique du Jardinage avec un traité d'Hydraulique convenable aux Jardins*, Paris, 1757, by Alessandro Le Blond),²⁶ or he dwells on the history of a manuscript, such as, for example, Leonardo's *Tratto della Pittura* which, before going to the Vatican Library, belonged to the Duke of Urbino ([to assess the Paris,] 1817 edition [in his collection]), or a copy of Vincenzo Scamozzi's *Sommario del viaggio* taken from a manuscript kept by the Torniero family in Vicenza.²⁷ Cicognara also did everything possible to expose plagiarism,²⁸

²³ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [pp. 314-317](#). This section includes titles ranging from the *Pubblica Libreria di San Marco in Venezia* by Morelli (n. 4658) to *Biblioteca dell'Eloquenza Italiana* by Fontanini (n. 4654), to *Repertorium Bibliographicum* by Clark (n. 4647), to *Catalogue des livres de la Bibliotheque de Feu M. le Duc de la Valliere* (n. 4639) or *Typographical antiquities or the history of printing in England, Scotland, and Ireland, containing memoires of our ancient Printers* (n. 4649).

²⁴ 'Perhaps someone will find the judgments excessive', Cicognara writes, again in the preface to his *Catalogo* (vol. I, [p. VIII](#)), 'which I have appended to many works, and others will perhaps wish peradventure that more minute detail had been indicated, and clearly not everyone will be satisfied with my opinions; I think I have responded to these things above, where I stated I was giving the public this Collection without presuming to present a bibliographic work complete in all parts'.

²⁵ To whose daughter, Caterina Querini Stampalia, Cicognara dedicated the poem *La Persuasione, ossia Melanopide e Filarete*, on the occasion of her marriage to Count Girolamo Polcastro; see P. GIORDANI, *Epistolario*, IV, pp. [192-193](#).

²⁶ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 223](#), n. 1280; vol. I, [p. 40](#), n. 241; vol. I, [p. 175](#), n. 963.

²⁷ *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 39](#), n. 237; vol. I, [p. 119](#), n. 657.

²⁸ *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 22](#), n. 139: Guidotti Alberto, *Metodo facile per formare qualunque siasi sorte di vernice della China, e del Giappone, praticato in Francia, e in Inghilterra*, 'the best part of this book is taken from that of Bonanni'; *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 149](#), n. 804: Aleaume, *La perspective speculative et pratique mise au jour par Estienne Migon*, Paris, 1643, 'wonderful edition that deserved to be plagiarized in the treatise by P. Dubreuil'; *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 31](#), n. 2678: Legrand, *Monumens de la Grece, ou collection des chefs d'oeuvres d'Architecture, de Sculpture et de*

and to indicate posthumous works²⁹ or when a translation was not faithful to the original.³⁰

Finally, it is worth mentioning the presence of curious typographical instances, as can be verified, for example, in the case of the *Histoire du V. et du N. Testament* (Antwerp, 1700), where the author mentions that the last plate of the *Apocalypse* on page 146 of the second volume was broken, and reports ‘not seeing in that print the marks of the nails that were used to fix it’.³¹ The *Catalogo* begins with a series of ‘Theoretical and practical treatises, preceded and accompanied by historical authors of art in general’, followed by ‘Writers on painting, drawing, engraving of every type, sculpture, and all elementary works for the figure, and for ornamentations’. Then there are texts about ‘Proportions, and anatomical studies applied to the arts’, ‘Treatises on architecture and perspective’, ‘Works concerning ancient and modern theatrical architecture, and all other types of buildings, and the machinery and the materials for the art of building’: works that, because of their rarity and preciousness, have few equivalents in Europe. But Cicognara did not limit himself to collecting works on artistic themes (‘Letters learned and pictorial, Descriptions, Reports, Essays, Academic Orations, Methodology, Art Journals’) or aesthetic subjects (‘The Writers on Beauty [...] adherents of metaphysical speculation’). Rather, he expanded his field of investigation to Classical Poetry, Didactic Works, and Poetic Writers illustrating ‘subjects that relate to the Arts’. There are particularly abundant sections devoted to illustrated Bibles, Illustrated Lives, Ancient and Modern Portraits, and Emblems and Hieroglyphics. It is also noteworthy that he includes works on ‘Clothing, Music, Baths, Meals, Inventions of all peoples, and Mythology’, not only because of the value of the collected texts, but also for the use that Cicognara was able to make of them, for example, writing a pamphlet, *Sulla Acconciatura del capo femminile* [‘Regarding the hairstyling of the female head’] (1818), which, as we shall see, encouraged a great deal of interest in neoclassical aesthetics.³² Thus we clearly see the importance Cicognara gives to social functions, to the celebrative demands of art, and to the in-depth study of subjects connected to fashion, dress, and changing tastes.

Peinture antiques, Paris, 1808, a volume ‘that can be called a plagiarism of earlier works and done for book speculation’.

²⁹ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 25](#), n. 156: M. A. Laugier, *Manière de bien juger des ouvrages de peinture augmentée de notes*, Paris, 1771.

³⁰ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 24](#), n. 152: Gérard de Lairesse, *Le grand Livre des Peintres, ou l’Art de la Peinture considéré dans toutes ses parties*, Paris, 1787.

³¹ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 349](#), n. 2040.

³² In *Prose in occasione di varie acclamatissime nozze seguite in Padova*, Venice, Picotti, 1818, [pp. 37 ff.](#)

He moreover gives great importance to prints as an indispensable tool for study and verification,³³ often taken from original drawings by artists of the highest quality, such as Titian, Guido Reni, or Agostino Carracci.³⁴ These publications acquired even more value if they included dedications to figures of a certain influence in the historical-cultural field, such as, for example, Prince Carlo Albani, Carlo Emanuele of Savoy, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, or Raphael Mengs.³⁵

The second section is distinguished by the presence of books dedicated to Antiquities (general and specific),³⁶ Numismatics, Glyptography, Inscriptions (although fewer in number compared to the other sections), Guides and 'Descriptions of places celebrated for their singularity in any country of Europe'.

Continuing to analyse the titles of the *Catalogo*, we can also glean a general picture about which and how many volumes were acquired by Cicognara on the occasion of the sale of important libraries, such as, for example, the one belonging to Giuseppe Bossi (which in turn included volumes from the collection of Carlo Bianconi), or that of the Duke of Marlborough during his 1819 London sojourn.

Indeed, while we can trace fifteen volumes devoted to emblems (in which Cicognara showed interest and appreciation)³⁷ to the Marlborough Library, as well as two works in the 'Bibles' section and one of Inscriptions,³⁸ the choice of works

³³ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, 'Proemio,' [p. VII](#), where Cicognara himself emphasizes the 'tireless care' given 'to the choice of examples in many illustrated books on Antiquity, where the freshness of the prints assumes utmost importance', as seen in 'those Classical Poems, or those Storytellers, who join poetic interest with the accompanying illustrations, through the work of extremely expert designers or engravers'.

³⁴ For Titian, see Giovanni Mario Verdizotti, *Cento favole morali dei più illustri antichi e moderni autori Greci e Latini, scelte e trattate in varie maniere*, Venice, 1570 (*Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 203](#), n. 1129); for Guido Reni, *Il Funerale di Agostino Carracci fatto in Bologna sua patria dagli Incamminati del Disegno*, Bologna, 1603 (*Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 240](#), n. 1409); for Agostino Carracci, *Accademici, Riconoscimenti Amorevoli*, Bologna, 1590 (*Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 313](#), n. 1831); Bocchii Achillis, *Symbolicarum quaestionum de universe genere quas serio ledebat*, Bononiae, 1555 (*Catalogo*, vol. I, [pp. 316-317](#), n. 1851).

³⁵ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, respectively, [p. 178](#), n. 982 (C. Coplani, *Il Disegno*); [p. 185](#), n. 1023 (G. P. Lomazzo, *Rime divise in sette libri*, Milan, 1587); [pp. 188-189](#), n. 1065 (Marci Antonii Nattae Astensis, *De pulchro*, Pavia, 1553); [p. 189](#), n. 1068 (*Saggio sopra la Bellezza*, Rome, 1765).

³⁶ 'Arab, Egyptian, Indian, Etruscan, or Italic before the Romans, Greek, Greek-Italic, and Herculean Monuments'. See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, 'Proemio', [p. XI](#).

³⁷ Art of which 'England can boast excellent craftsmen, due to the intrinsic perfection of the work, which surpasses [...] the refined exterior elegance of the bookbinders of Germany and France'. See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, 'Proemio', [p. VII](#).

³⁸ We can trace back to the Biblioteca Marlborough: L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 316](#), n. 1849 (Biverii Petri *Sacrum Oratorium piarum imaginum Immaculae Mariae et animae creatae ac baptismi, poenitentiae, et eucharistiae innovatae: ars nova bene vivendi et moriendi, sacris piarum imaginum emblematis figurata & illustrata*. Antuerpiae ex officina Plantiniana, 1634); *Catalogo*,

acquired from the Bossi Library, immediately after Bossi's death in late 1815, is much more varied.³⁹ These works range, in fact, from the classic *Trattato dell'Arte della Pittura* by Lomazzo (1584 edition), to the *Vite del Vasari* annotated by Sebastiano Resta (Florence, 1550), to the *Abecedario Pittorico* by Padre Orlandi (Venice, 1753), to two collections of drawings, both by Mauro Tesi (*Raccolta di disegni originali estratti da diverse collezioni pubblicata da Lodovico Ing. Calcografo in Bologna*, Bologna, 1787; *Raccolta di disegni originali estratti da diverse collezioni*, Bologna, 1787), to three treatises on architecture (*Traicté de la proportion naturelle et artificielle des choses*, Cologne, 1649; *Divina proportione* by Luca Pacioli, Venice, 1509; the *Regola delli cinque Ordini d'Architettura* by Vignola, no date), to the very recent *Dizionario delle Arti del Disegno* by Milizia (Bassano, 1797) and *Elogio di Palladio, del Conte Algarotti, di Benedetto, e di Paolo Giovio* by Giovan Battista Giovio (Venice, 1782). More unusually,

vol. I, [p. 317](#), n. 1850 (Bocchius Achilles, *Symbolicarum quaestionum de universo genere quas serio ludebat*, Bononiae, 1555); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 317](#), n. 1856 (Bornitii *Emblemata Ethico-Politica*, Mogunt, 1669); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 318](#), n. 1857 (Boria, *Emblemata Moralia scripta quondam hispanice*, Berolini, 1697); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 318](#), n. 1860 (Bruck, *Emblemata Politica*, Arg. 1618); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 318](#), n. 1862 (De Bry Toeodori *Proscenium vitae humanae sive Emblematum Saecularium jucundissima et artificiosissima varietate vitae humanae etc.*, Francf. 1621); *Catalogo*, vol. I, p. 320, n. [1887](#) (*Emblemata Selectiora*, Amst. 1704); *Catalogo*, vol. I, p. 320, n. [1898](#) (Flamen Albert, *Dévises et emblemes d'amour moralisés etc*, Paris, 1672); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 322](#), n. 1892 (*Emblems Divine and Moral, ancient and modern*, London, 1732); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 323](#), n. 1897 (Farlei, *Lychnocausia, sive moralia Emblemata*, London, 1638); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 325](#), n. 1912 (*Lux in tenebria. Hoc est prophetiae donum quo Deus Ecclesiam Evangelicam (in Regno Bohemiae) ornare ac paterne solari dignatus est. Cotteri revelationes*, 1667); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 326](#), n. 1919 (A Matre Dei Sebastiano, *Firmamentum Symbolicum*, Lublini, 1652); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 326](#), n. 1920 (Meisner, *Thesaurus Philopoliticus hoc est Emblemata moralia politica figuris aeneis incisa*, Francf. 1624); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 329](#), n. 1944 (Reusneri *Emblemata varia*, Francf. 1581); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 334](#), n. 1973 (Vierx Hieronymus, *Emblematical*, s.a.). Bible section: *Catalogo*, vol. I, [pp. 338-340](#), n. 1992 (*Biblia Pauperum*); *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 357](#), n. 2071 (*Office of the Holy Week according to the Missal and Roman Breviary Enricht, with many fig.*, Paris, 1670); Inscriptions section: *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 103](#), n. 3140 (Orio, *Le iscrizioni poste sotto le vere imagini de gli huomini famosi*, Torrentino, 1552).

³⁹ Cicognara was also in touch with Giordani about this acquisition, and on 28 November 1815 the latter notified him: 'You certainly care deeply about the death of Bossi and hold it close; as I hold your opinion in the highest regard: but thus far I cannot further enlighten you, not knowing who the heirs shall be, who the executors of the will. I will be more vigilant than if it were my own'. (P. GIORDANI, *Epistolario*, vol. III, [p. 263](#)). And on 13 December he added: 'Bossi has died: his heir brothers want to sell; more we don't know. How much would you benefit your purposes if you could come yourself' (*Ibid.*, [p. 271](#)). Cicognara moreover must have been well informed about the contents of the Biblioteca Bossi, given that he was in possession of its catalogue. See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 315](#), n. 4644: *Catalogo della Libreria del fu Cavaliere Giuseppe Bossi Pittore Milanese*, Milan, Bernardoni, 1817 ('quickly extended by the bookseller Salvi library for the sole subject of sale'). We can now take advantage of a more accurate and up-to-date resource: see *La libreria di Giuseppe Bossi*, ed. Paola Barocchi, Florence, Spes, no date.

there is the *Poëme sur la peinture* by Antoine Lescallier (London, 1778) and the *Indicazione delle medaglie antiche del sig. Pietro Vitali*, written by Alessandro Visconti and published in Rome in 1805.⁴⁰

There are fewer works from the Thuano Library (Anton Francesco Doni, *I Marmi*, Venice, 1552, Padua, 1564; Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*, Milan, 1590; Pomponio Gaurico, *De Sculptura*, Nuremberg, 1542; Giovanni Antonio Rusconi, *Dell'Architettura secondo i precetti di Vitruvio*, Venice, 1590; Jacques Aleaume, *La perspective spéculative, et pratique mise au jour par Estienne Migon professeur en Mathématique*, Paris, 1643; Joannes Bochijs, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum in adventu Serenissimi Principis Ernesti Archid. Austriae etc.*, Antwerp, 1595; *De Balneis omnia quae extant apud Graecos, Latinos, et Arabos*, Venice, 1553)⁴¹ and from the Mariette Library: Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura*, Venice, 1557; Jean Evelyn, *Sculptura, or the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper*, London, 1662; Melchior Lorichius, *Figure diseguate, e intagliate a piedi, e a cavallo con parecchi begli Edificj alla maniera Turca*, Hamburg, 1662; Jean Guenebauld, *Le réveil de Chyndonax Prince des Vacies, Druydes, Celtiques, Diionois, avec la saincteté, religion, et diversité des cérémonies observées aux anciennes sepultures par J. G. D. M. D.*, Dijon, 1621; and, finally, Homer, *Iliadis fragmenta et picturae*, Milan, 1819.⁴²

But other works could also claim an illustrious provenance as, or the result of, particularly important donations (for example, the *Iconographie Grecque et Romaine*, Paris, 1817, and the *Description de l'Égypte*, 1809, were given directly to Cicognara by the King of France)⁴³ or deriving from libraries of well-known architects, such as Scamozzi, Maderno and Giannantonio Selva.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ For works from Bossi-Bianconi, see *Catalogo*, respectively: vol. I, [p.26](#), n. 161; vol. I, [p. 402](#), n. 2390; vol. I, [p. 374](#), n. 2171; vol. I, [p. 159](#), n. 863; vol. II, [p. 149](#), n. 3462; vol. I, [p. 58](#), n. 332; vol. I, [p. 59](#), n. 341; vol. I, [p. 74](#), n. 416; vol. I, [p. 374](#), n. 2166; vol. I, [p. 388](#), n. 2278; vol. I, [p. 159](#), n. 863; vol. I, [p. 179](#), n. 991; vol. II, [p. 94](#), n. 3066. It is interesting to note how Cicognara also indicates missing acquisitions by Bossi, books he sought and never found, such as, for example the *Traicté de la Proportion naturelle et artificielle des choses, traduit d'Italien en François*, by Lomazzo, 1649 (*Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 58](#), n. 332).

⁴¹ See respectively, L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 18](#), n. 115; vol. I, [p. 26](#), n. 163; vol. I, [p. 48](#), n. 278; vol. I, [p. 116](#), n. 640; vol. I, [p. 149](#), n. 804; vol. I, [pp. 238-239](#), n. 1401; vol. I, [p. 271](#), n. 1568.

⁴² See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 17](#), n. 110; vol. I, [p. 43](#), n. 258; vol. I, [pp. 291-293](#), n. 1693; vol. I, [p. 288](#), n. 1670; vol. I, [p. 195](#), n. 1101.

⁴³ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [pp. 224-225](#), n. 3917 and vol. II, [p. 9](#), n. 2521.

⁴⁴ Regarding the book that came from Scamozzi, see L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 139](#), n. 746 (*Architecture traduit du bas Allemand en François par Kemp*, Antwerp, 1677); for Maderno, see *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 130](#), n. 701 (*De Architectura* by Vitruvius, preceded by Flavius Vegetius, *De re militari*; Sextius Julius Frontinus, *De re militari*; Aelianus, *De instruendis aciebus*; Modestus, *Libellus de vocabulis rei militaris*, 1523: 'wonderful example'). Finally, for Selva, see

The valuable nature of the Cicognara Library was further enhanced by the presence of books bearing handwritten notes by noteworthy people such as Maffei, Mariette, the Marquis d'Ansse Villoison, Bossi, and Bianconi. It is worth noting the presence of the *Essai sur les Hiéroglyphes des Egyptiens on l'on voit l'origine et les progrès du langage, et de l'écriture, et l'antiquité des sciences en Egypte, et l'origine du culte des animaux* (Paris, 1744), the *Recherches sur la manière d'inhumér des anciens* (Poitiers, 1738) and the *Ignotorum atque obscurorum quorundam Deorum Arae nunc primum in lucem datae notisque illustrata* (Lyons, 1676), all three bearing annotations by Villoison;⁴⁵ the *Vita di Michel Angelo Buonarroti* written by Condivi (Florence, 1746) with annotations by Gori and Mariette;⁴⁶ the *Vite* by Vasari (Florence, 1550), a 'magnificent and extremely well preserved example with some rare handwritten annotations by M. Scipione Maffei';⁴⁷ the *Pittura in Parnaso* by Chiocchi (Florence, 1725) with notes by Bianconi,⁴⁸ and the aforementioned *Indicazione delle medaglie antiche del sig. Pietro Vitali* with annotations by Bossi.⁴⁹

We have much less certain knowledge regarding which volumes come from the D'Agincourt Library, which, as is well known, Cicognara acquired through Canova in 1815. Unfortunately in this case, however, neither the correspondence nor the *Catalogo* provide further information, with the result that our knowledge is limited to those excerpts of letters addressed to Canova and published by Gianni Venturi. From these, in any event, Cicognara's lively and eager interest in the volumes of that library shines through.⁵⁰

L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 133-134](#), n. 718 (Vitruvius, *I dieci libri tradotti e commentati dal Barbaro*, Venice, 1567). Regarding this publication, Cicognara notes: 'This is the signed copy that Vincenzo Scamozzi studied for several years, and it is entirely annotated in his hand with an incredible wealth of critical and extremely valuable observations; it includes entire pages of illustrations [...]. This copy belonged to architect Selva and following his death it was acquired by Count Rizzo Patarol, who, seeing that he could, with decorum, render our series of valuable works by Vitruvius glorious, donated this extremely generous gift with noblest munificence, although he also was provided with other very sumptuous items in terms of the most sought-after books'.

⁴⁵ L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 308](#), n. 1799; vol. I, [pp. 306-307](#), n. 1787; vol. II, [p. 14](#), n. 2550.

⁴⁶ L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 384](#), n. 2244.

⁴⁷ L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 402](#), n. 2389.

⁴⁸ L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 16](#), n. 103.

⁴⁹ L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 94](#), n. 3066.

⁵⁰ See LEOPOLDO CICOGNARA, *Lettere ad Antonio Canova*, ed. by Gianni Venturi, Urbino, Argalia, 1973, p. 95: 'It pains me greatly that the Agincourt bookshop was dismantled since in terms of antiquaria there were many things that I do not have, and which would be worthwhile for me. I am sending you a paper containing information that is not easily deciphered, but which will hint at how to search what remains for something good for me. If you find pamphlets, it is easy for me to arrange to have duplicates, but so as not to multiply their shipping, I can note what can be exchanged or sold, including on my behalf.'

At this point we must say that the *Catalogo*, so rich in information, ideas, and observations, as we have seen, met with immediate favour, as evidenced by the article that appeared in volume IV of the 'Antologia' of November 1821,⁵¹ and also attested in more recent years by Julius von Schlosser (who, in *La Letteratura artistica*, highlighted 'the excellent and sober classification', 'quite commendable also because it was made by a scholar to whom the material was absolutely familiar'),⁵² and Fabia Borroni, who in 1954 dedicated his *Bibliografia dell'archeologia classica e dell'arte italiana* to Cicognara.

This approval was something Cicognara did not even imagine,⁵³ as he was deeply dissatisfied with a text that, to his eyes, was too much a compilation and not critical enough, its drafting impacted by the restricted time frame imposed by the sale. His goal, instead, would have been to write a 'Bibliography of authors on arts and antiquities',⁵⁴ full of information on each work, a veritable 'bibliographic

Now there are here for sale extremely rare and valuable books, including a *Vitruvio editio princeps*, a *Boccaccio del 27* and *all* the architecture classics, first editions such as Alberti, Scamozzi, Palladio, and a hundred other precious books and pamphlets. But they are at high prices because of their rarity and excellence. I, however, have all of them and they no longer disturb my equilibrium. Let your dearest brother choose for me as my plenipotentiary, taking care only to not incur excessive expense' (letter dated 11 January 1815; the italics are in the text). And a few days later (28 January) Cicognara himself will write to Canova: 'I quickly embrace and thank you for the well-known books you have sent me. I would like very many – and among these also the mosaic of Laborde which weighs on my shoulders. The delicate concerns that you have combined in this regard touch my heart because you allow me in your fine manner to see and feel. I hope, however, that for these books, there will be not a few, in total some discount, which I beg you to arrange with all your authority'.

⁵¹ See 'Antologia', November 1821, volume IV, pp. 308-316. This article announced the future publication of the *Catalogo*, bearing long quotations from it, and then dwelling on individual sections, emphasizing their merits: 'useful not only to erudite artists [...] but also to scholarly men of letters and bibliographers'.

⁵² JULIUS VON SCHLOSSER, *La letteratura artistica: manuale delle fonti della storia dell'arte moderna*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1935, p. 4.

⁵³ 'I am infinitely flattered', Cicognara writes to Capponi, 'by what you write in the few lines that precede my catalogue, which inspired such curiosity for what diverse people whispered in each other's ears, that copies were sold via this same preface to those foreign to the ideas scattered within. There remains no other way to broadcast our thoughts than by veiling them under cover or in a catalogue, or in a compendium, if necessary, to alarm the reviewers. Letter dated 21 November 1824, published in F. FEDI, *L'ideologia*, p. 175.

⁵⁴ 'I shall show', Cicognara explains, 'how I am far from believing that I have accomplished a complete work, which would be a Bibliography of Authors on the Arts and Antiquities with which the subject might then be exhausted, in accordance with knowledge rather than with what works I collected. This is only the List of Books actually in my possession, among which it will seem very strange to some not to find certain obvious and well-known Works, and those easily acquired, that I could have easily indicated, if I had had the small pride of

manual' from which to draw not only editorial information but also historical, substantive, and critical information.⁵⁵

It was also his intention, again in view of the imminent sale of the library, to compile a 'small additional catalogue', which was to include the work 'on costumes and travels published by Ferrario, in addition to others relating to Academies, Galleries and Collections of Art Galleries in Milan, in Florence; many new books including some precious relics of august rarity, particularly regarding Festivals, Spectacles, Emblems'.⁵⁶

Even today the *Catalogo* constitutes a fundamental tool, not only for acquiring information of a bibliographical nature, but also for understanding how this collection represented Cicognara the bibliophile, as he understood the role of collector, enriching it with ideas, problems, and values. From his library it is possible to ascertain his interests, his studies, and his preferences or antipathies for authors of varying degrees of renown, more or less far-reaching but always fundamental within the European cultural panorama.

Indeed, a figure like Cicognara clearly could not limit the boundaries of his interests to Italy but, on the contrary, received the most immediate and enthusiastic response from abroad, indications of a culture particularly attentive to his needs and expertise.⁵⁷ As his library demonstrates, he was open to every cultural stimulus, without preconceptions or restrictive exclusions, ranging from contemporary architecture (English above all)⁵⁸ to medieval German painting to the study of the Primitives, but without neglecting what, in his own day, was being discussed in Venice.

In fact, his library was above all one of an *amateur*, or more correctly, as Haskell has revealed, a *connoisseur*, 'something more (and sometimes less) than a scholar: patron, merchant, bibliophile, theoretician, conservator, administrator,

not revealing some shortcomings in the Series of most celebrated Authors': L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, 'Proemio,' pp. V-VI.

⁵⁵ A work that he, instead, will succeed in completing for his collections of niellos and prints, in which the catalogue portion was complemented by a critical discourse. See L. CICOGNARA, *Memorie spettanti alla calcografia*, Prato, Giachetti, 1831.

⁵⁶ Letter to Marchese Ricci, s.a.: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori.

⁵⁷ Indeed, Giordani will herald him greater fame and success abroad, the more remarkable when compared with names in Italy that are neglected: see CLAUDIO CIOCIOLA, 'L'oratore delle Grazie' e il 'Fratice'': prime variazioni (Cicognara, Giordani, Porta), 'Rivista di letteratura italiana', VI, 1988, 3, pp. 357-468: 438.

⁵⁸ This interest can explain the presence of works in his library such as *Description of Fonthill Abbey Wiltshire with views*, London, 1817 (L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 330, n. 4772), *Description, an improved history and description of the tower of London*, London, 1819 (L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 330, n. 4771), or *Paleografia Britannica or discourses on antiquities in Britain*, Cambridge, 1795 (L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 330, n. 4795).

internationalist, and consequently a patriot in the best sense, and not in the later and dismissive sense of the word'.⁵⁹ He intended by his example to nullify the boundaries between good and bad collecting, the latter limited to the mere possession of the object in itself, to the vainglorious display of antiques venerated for their rarity, preciousness, and exclusivity, but precisely for this reason even more protected, inaccessible, and thereby useless for society. It is no coincidence that Cicognara, in his *Osservazioni sulla Bibliomania*, emphasizes the difference between bibliophiles, attentive to the value of the work but at the same time to its use and educational function, and bibliomaniacs, accustomed to establishing many beautiful collections for only a few.⁶⁰

For Cicognara, instead, the public purpose, strongly utilitarian, was fundamental, which a book collection had to accommodate, open to study, consultation, the circulation of ideas among scholars, artists, and specialists in the Fine Arts, understood in a much broader cultural and international sense of the term.⁶¹ 'The passion for books not regulated by philosophy and by an enlightened

⁵⁹ See FRANCIS HASKELL, *Leopoldo Cicognara e la cultura del Neoclassicismo*, in *Venezia nell'età di Canova*, exhibition catalogue, edited by Elena Bassi, Attilia Dorigato, Giovanni Mariacher, Venice, Alfieri, 1979, pp. 319-320. But also see FRANCO BERNABEI, *Lusinghe della grazie, corrucci del sublime: Cicognara e Tommaseo*, 'Arte Veneta', XXXIII, 1979, pp. 111-118; F. FEDI, *L'ideologia*, pp. 55-59; G. VENTURI, *Leopoldo Cicognara*, pp. 187-188, note 12.

⁶⁰ 'These futilities, these singular manias, pervert the use of things, and it happens with books as with every other field of study expounded upon here. The precious monuments of venerable antiquity and the distinguished collections of productions of genius sacred to the perpetuation of the true principles of the arts and sciences, to inspire taste in literature, to facilitate the work of the living with the efforts of those who have gone, to direct a sound judgment, to exercise memory, and to develop the seeds of talent and virtue, these monuments are frequently reduced to being furnishings of mere decoration and pure curiosity, purchased at enormous prices, exhibited with vain stubbornness, and preserved without the slightest utility': L. CICOGNARA, *Vita di San Lazzaro Monaco et Pittore*, Brescia, 1807, pp. 9-10. The theme of the bibliomane enjoyed a certain celebrity in eighteenth-century Italy: see CESARE BECCARIA, *Il bibliomane*, in *Scritti filosofici e letterari*, ed. by Luigi Firpo, Gianni Grancioni, Gianmarco Gaspari, Milan, Mediobanca, 1984, vol. II, pp. 237-241. However, we are not certain about Cicognara's actual awareness of Beccaria's writings.

⁶¹ Cicognara himself confirms this in the introduction to the *Storia della Scultura*, where he states that his goal is 'to also serve artists who have not read everything and do not possess great libraries'. See L. CICOGNARA, *Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia fino al secolo di Canova*, 2d ed., 8 vols, Prato, Frat. Giachetti, 1823-24, vol. I, p. 10. His *Catalogo* also frequently reveals his interest in young people, and he emphasizes the extent to which a book can be useful to the education of new generations and, above all, new artists. See, for example, an entire series of Dictionaries and Manuals (*Catalogo*, vol. I, p. 373, n. 2162: *Dictionnaire des artistes, ou notices historiques, et raisonnées des peintres, graveurs*, Paris, 1776; *Catalogo*, vol. I, p. 373, n. 2164: *Le Manuel des artistes, et des amateurs ou Dictionnaire Historique, et Mythologique des emblèmes, allégories, dévisees*, Paris, 1770; *Catalogo*, vol. I, p. 373, n. 2167: Millin, *Dictionnaire des Beaux Arts*, Paris, 1806 'This Dictionary is the most extensive of all [...]

spirit', Cicognara writes, 'is one of the most ridiculous. It is necessary to either possess books to study them, and to distinguish their merit with philosophical discernment, or to freely share them with others, with pleasure and without reserve'.⁶² Only in this way is it possible to truly grasp the value of a term (collecting) that first of all means 'educating', in the sense of the German *Bildung*.⁶³ As Francesca Redi has revealed, Cicognara's work as a collector became intertwined with his vocation as a 'unitary' patriot and with his Masonic involvement, in a relationship (between collecting and freemasonry) that became increasingly close and similar in terms of philanthropic spirit, educational purpose, and taste for classical beauty.⁶⁴

Now, having recognized the extent to which Cicognara's library constituted an indispensable tool for understanding Cicognara, his aesthetic choices, his position within the cultural panorama of the time, we must avail ourselves first of all of his own testimony (his correspondence), to better understand the criteria that inspired his choices, and the personalities to whom he most frequently turned to request books and bibliographic information. Indeed, we must state that Cicognara's research was lengthy, patient, and painstaking, costing him 'infinite time and work'⁶⁵ on a par, however, with the pride he showed in the result and the quality his collection attained.

First and foremost, we can confirm that Cicognara's research began during his years in Turin, when he was Plenipotentiary Minister of the Cisalpine Republic to the Court of Savoy, as attested by a letter dated '17 Brumaio year VII' (November 1798) to the Miniscalchi, which conveys, among other things, the still incomplete

and by taking some care, removing some errors, and adding not many although essential things, it would become an extremely learned work and a true Encyclopedia for artists'), with regard to which Cicognara is always explicit about any possible use by artists. Or see L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 151](#), n. 815: Bordoni, *De' contorni delle ombre ordinarie. Trattato*, Milan, 1816, 'work carried out with all the profundity of mathematical science, and too difficult for the necessary practices of artists'; *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 16](#), n. 100: Castel, *L'Optique des Couleurs fondée sur les simples observations...*, Paris, 1740, 'in this work the great theories are reduced to the practical aspects of the Arts, but in a manner too complicated, and useless for artists'; *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 151](#), n. 813: Barozzi, *La prospettiva pratica delineata in tavole a norma della seconda regola del medesimo*, Bologna, 1744, 'edition for the use of Youth.'

⁶² L. CICOGNARA, *Vita di San Lazzaro*, [p. 11](#).

⁶³ In this regard, see Goethe's famous account, *Il collezionista e i suoi*, where Goethe reconstructs and explains to a scholar the formation and meaning of his collection. But for further information, refer to F. FEDI, *L'ideologia*, pp. 63-64.

⁶⁴ In this regard I would like to note the close connection, specifically during the Turin period, with Pierre-Louis Ginguené, a member of the international lodge 'Les Neuf Sœurs', founded in Paris in 1776. See SERGIO MORAVIA, *Il tramonto dell'Illuminismo*, Bari, Laterza, 1968, pp 55-67; F. FEDI, *L'ideologia*, pp. 65-66; A.D.P., *Leopoldo Cicognara e il problema dell' collezionismo*, pp. 191-199.

⁶⁵ Letter dated Venice 7 May 1814: Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli.

state of his collection. 'I beg you to provide me with the books I have noted', Cicognara writes, 'and some other similar books on painting, sculpture, architecture, engraving, perspective, antiquities, in other words that might relate to the arts of drawing. Like all the works of Sandrart and the lives of the Flemish, Dutch, and German painters, sculptors, and architects in the 4 volumes of *Descamps*, so that my collection in this genre is quite enhanced, but I am lacking the Dutch and the Germans. Give me additional ones that you find for me and see that it does not cost too much so that I might moderate my efforts'.

Within a few years the collection was in a good state of progress, including works of a certain value and renown, particularly in the field of antiquities, artistic literature, treatises on architecture, and museology, as revealed in this letter to Francesco Cancellieri: 'I too, dear friend, for some years, have spent time in bookshops, and with incredible effort I have made an uncommon selection of wonderful things, some of which are rare and extremely high-priced, like all antiquities printed in London of Balbek, of Palmyra, of Spalatro [*sic*], of Ionia, of Athens, of Cameron's text, of Inigo Jones' baths. All authors of Architecture from every nation, all books of teaching, all mythological subjects, all the Lives. A great number of Antiquities; a great number of Museums and Galleries, including the Pio Clementino, all the Tuscans and most of the French. I am far behind with Roman things because I have always said I can have these when I wish. I am immensely tempted by the corpus of Herculaneum that you tell me can be sold, but 60 *Zecchini* is a lot of money, and this year I am rather short on funds. [...] I need a friend in Rome as gradually the funds will be saved; you already know all the works I desire, oil lamps, tombs, Virgilian codices, remarkable things, Antonine columns, weavings, friezes, etc.'

While it is true that certain requests on Cicognara's part seem almost predictable, dealing with fundamental works in the field of art literature (particularly of the sixteenth century),⁶⁶ on the other hand we can say that most of his choices can be seen to be focused, his interlocutors carefully chosen on the basis of their expertise, studies, and interests.⁶⁷ These must have included his most important and steadfast friends, those who contributed to the writing of some of the most interesting pages of his biography, such as, for example Francesco Cancellieri (by whom, among others, Cicognara owned some twenty works, which he will

⁶⁶ See, for example, Cicognara's letter to a certain Tognetti, dated 'Milan 23 Fructidor', with a request that a treatise by Lomazzo be sent: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori.

⁶⁷ Only in certain cases will he also resort to help from his son, and only due to what we might call family demands: 'I believed I was able to find a wonderful translation into French of the Works of Valtevicot [Walter Scott? – ed.], which is truly suitable to a convalescent, and I read aloud to Mama more than 30 Volumes when she was ill and in recovery. See if you can find them'. Letter dated 19 November 1823, addressed to his son: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori.

always greatly appreciate),⁶⁸ whose advice Cicognara will also seek in preparation for the writing of his *Catalogo*.⁶⁹

Cancellieri's interest in everything Cicognara was writing was clearly neither random nor sporadic, and it reveals the latter hammering away at his requests for books relating to artefacts, antiquities, manners of dress (particularly ecclesiastic)⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori, letter to the Cancellieri, 28 June, s.a.: 'Your books always draw notice because they are so full of value, and I will, indeed I have made, friendly and honorable mention of you, sparing your modesty and doing you justice since I owed it to myself'. For the works of Cancellieri, see L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 150](#), n. 3488-3489; vol. II, [p. 99](#), n. 3106; vol. II, [p. 109](#), n. 3189; vol I, [p. 382](#), n. 2226; vol. I, [pp. 205-206](#), n. 1144; vol. I, [p. 265](#), n. 1542; vol. I, [p. 279](#), n. 1612; vol. II, [pp. 179-180](#), n. 3651; vol. II, [p. 179](#), n. 3646; vol. II, [p. 179](#), n. 3647; vol. II, [p. 179](#), nos. 3648-3650; vol. II, [p. 179](#), n. 3645; vol. II, [p. 179](#), n. 3643; vol. II, [p. 180](#), n. 3652; vol. II, [p. 179](#), n. 3644; vol. II, p. 179, n. [3641](#); vol. II, p. 179, n. [3642](#). All works fall within the scope of inscriptions, antiquities, biographies, pictorial letters, and miscellaneous scholarship.

⁶⁹ 'I have received the new book which must have cost you diabolical effort, given all that has transpired: since as soon as it reached me a devil of a Librarian came to me, one of those who always read at the expense of others; he took possession of it until he had studied it to his satisfaction and, rather than giving it to me, instead brought it to my bookseller, who will immediately bring it bound up, and I will be able to see something of how you have addressed those curious subjects. Why, why such extensive erudition? I am increasingly amazed [...]. Poor Cancellieri! I didn't know how to finish my book without saying that you would be worthy of *greater fortune*: and it is with my heart that I said it. [...] After the distribution of this last volume, which should take place in February, I am continuing another extremely laborious little work that I will print for universal research, *Il Catalogo ragionato della mia libreria d'arte e antichità*. You will see an odd attribute that will worry you: Lacking perhaps in obvious things, but extremely rich in an immense quantity of treasures. If in Rome you know of any antiquities of this type, rare on account of age, of the earliest and most exquisite prints in wood or in copper, let me know [...]. I already have three of those early *Mirabilia Romae*, extremely rare, two of which I gave an account of in the 2nd Volume, I believe, and I have found a third, certainly by Adam Rot, from the shape of the Characters decidedly prior to the one I have described, printed in Treviso in 1475 by Gerardus de Flandria. So, I would say, moreover, prior to any. But before publishing this Catalogue, I will need for you to see it, and how shall we do this?' (letter to Cancellieri dated 10 December 1817: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori; the emphasis is in the text).

⁷⁰ Particularly with the entries '*Casula, pianeta, Dalmatica, Tonacella*'. 'I have all the books you have mentioned to me', Cicognara explains, 'but I do not find in these those ideas that sufficiently satisfy me in my research [...]. Whereas the first two [*casula, pianeta*] mean the same thing [chasuble]; but I do not find *Dalmatica* and *Tonacella* sufficiently characterized in such a way that they can instead possibly be *planetam supra Dalmaticam*. Write something about this to me'. Furthermore, Cicognara continues in his request for information, 'has Vasari printed something about the Chapel of the Prince that was done at the request of Pandolfo *Ipotecorvo*, and not by *Ponte Corvo*, as you have written? Is this an error in word choice? I will wait with pleasure for your new book to be sent to Bossi, where I anticipate

and Fine Arts in general.⁷¹ Indeed, one can speak of a veritable collaboration by Cancellieri on the *Ragionamenti sul Bello*, particularly from a bibliographic viewpoint,⁷² in addition to an interest in the booklet on the *Vita di San Lazzaro*.⁷³

We also find interesting Cicognara's request for an opinion on who, among the contemporaries of Winckelmann, Mengs, and Hamilton, can be counted among 'the Men of the highest taste and merit', in short, among those 'who found themselves at the moment of the felicitous resolution in art, which was essentially the work of Canova, but who also in some way collaborated in it, and did not oppose it'. In the end, Cicognara continues, 'in the days of *Angelica*, of *Southeras*, of *Maron*, of *Battoni*, of *Benefiale*, of *Mengs*, it doesn't seem to me that anything great was done, other than some mediocre paintings for St. Peter's, and some portraits, no sculpture, and little architecture. Under Pius VII the Sacristy, and the clocks, the

much pleasant learning. But when will that blessed Testanio come out? I would also like to have it' (letter dated Venice, 5 February, s.a.: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori; the emphasis is in the text).

⁷¹ 'I have had the consolation of your news, and the most welcome dissertations that most opportunely have come to distract me, since all the subjects of criticism and antiquities in matters of fine arts are not only dear to me but also are part of my library' (letter dated 11 July, s.a.: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori). 'I no longer have a clear memory concerning the Horses of San Marco, and I do not possess the edition of a third volume of the Life of Barozzi, which you may have from Florence' (undated letter: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori). 'I thank you for the Advice you give me about Ab. Villard, whom I already knew, and whom I went to see precisely because he is your friend. But he makes great Blunders in archaeology and in those studies' (letter dated Paris 25 January 1819). 'I read with pleasure the description of the Antonine Column and the Eulogy of Hecate. Cennini's manuscript, which I already possessed, having transcribed it in the Laurentian, was known to me, as you will have found in my History, where I speak of it' (letter of 17 April 1821: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori).

⁷² 'I am very grateful for all the bibliographical information you have given me about the Beautiful. There are also other pamphlets that I have, not mentioned by you, and not assessed by me, which I will be able to add. But we shall see if I'll want to do the second volume, which is perhaps of greater weight than the first, involving subjects of literature, ethics, and sciences. The first has cost me much study and effort, and perhaps much more, at least, than it flatters me that it appears. I am sending you the *Bibliomania*, and the pamphlet about *Soldiering*, offprinted from the Volume of the Proceedings of the Tuscan Academy. Thank you for your book on *Dominus*' (letter dated '10 November', s.a., published in F. FEDI, *L'ideologia*, pp. 263-264).

⁷³ Letter dated 'Pisa 11 July', s.a. (Bibl. Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori): 'Have you ever by chance laid your hands on a small *Vita di S. Lazzaro Monaco e Pittore*, cited at the end of the *Abecedario Pittorico* by P. Orlandi in the index of books for artists? This paltry book, as large as an almanac and a miserable vehicle for a meagre talent is rare and was stolen from me. Do all you can to find it for me if possible'.

Museum, the marshes, seem to me to be the principal things. Not precluding that you can gather a lot of information on a sheet of paper'.⁷⁴

But if we continue in our analysis of his correspondence, we can see that his most habitual interlocutors include some important librarians. Some were geographically nearby and thus in frequent contact (for example, the Venetian Jacopo Morelli, Librarian of the Marciana), others were located in Tuscany, such as his contacts with Francesco Tassi, Librarian of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and with Abbot Fontani (mentioned in the *Catalogo*),⁷⁵ Librarian of the Riccardiana and a member of the Freemasons. The letters that Cicognara addresses to these figures are always characterized by great reverence and equally great precision in their requests, and it should be emphasized that all are written during his most fervid years of bibliographical research.

On 19 November 1805, for example, writing to abbot Fontani, Cicognara asked Vincenzo Danti for the 'first book of perfect proportions Fir. 1567 in 4^o',⁷⁶ Sulpizio's Vitruvius to be exchanged for a 'Dante of '72, that of Fuligno' and for a 'Virgilio sine loco et anno atque Impressis nomine, a beautiful example and of an extreme rarity, a fifteenth-century edition that resembles the printing of Virichino, but of which there is no certainty'.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ 'Write to me about this at somewhat greater length, with information and details. Give me ideas in this regard. I was not able to find out when the *Cavallo di M. Aurelio* was discovered, and by whom, and where; I know that the horse remained for some time without the horseman, but I do not know more. Write me whatever precise information you have. The *Memorie di belle Arti* and the *Giornal di Guattani* are the only books on the arts that discuss the era I wrote about above: prior to these little volumes, what was it that *amateurs* of living art history now cared about? Let me know if *Mylord Harvey* Count of *Bristol* stayed often in Rome and spent a lot: if under the Papacy of *Ganganelli* he spent on art objects. You are replete with *Zibaldoni* of essays, and if I could delve into them with you, I would find something there' (letter addressed to Cancellieri, Venice, 24 March, s.a.: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori; the italics are in the text).

⁷⁵ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, pp. 8-9, n. 2520, regarding the work of Denon, *Viaggio del basso ed alto Egitto illustrato*, Florence, 1708: 'The Florence publishers intended to illustrate this work with some notes and additions and by introducing some plates to make things clear. The extremely enlightened Abbot Fontani, Librarian of the Riccardiana, was engaged in this; but what was clandestine about the notes and illustrations was that a work published in Paris could be reprinted in Florence (then under French rule), without appearing to undermine the ownership and the author's interests. Nevertheless, this second edition, and first Italian one, does not yield to the original edition, and is executed with great care'.

⁷⁶ In this regard Cicognara adds: 'I am worried about the small markup that is proposed. But tell me if there is any slight change that it is still available? And for what price could the purchase ultimately be made?' (letter dated, precisely, 19 November 1805: Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli).

⁷⁷ 'I am sure that if you make a strong effort, you will find me many things that I yearn for and of which I send you a small recollection', Cicognara concludes. And 'while said paltry

Finally, he attaches a brief list with requests for sixteenth-century Florentine authors, but not only these: 'Gio Fedini Florentine painter, *Le due Persilie*, Commedia, made § Fi 1583 in 12; Gaurici Pomponii, *de Sculptura Florentie*, 1504, Suaresius, *Epistole 3 ad pictorum historiarum pertinens*, Flor. 1677 in 4, the *Trattato della pittura e scoltura uso ed abuso loro Compendiato da un Teologo e da un Pittore Fir. 1652 in 4*'; the '*Trattato della Pittura del Vasari diviso in 3 giornate* Florence by the Giunti, 1619 in 4, the *Vita di Michel Angelo colle esequie parimenti del Vasari*, Giunti 1568, *Neri Arte Vetraria Lib. 7* Florence 1612 in 4 by the Giunti, Passeri Io. Bapt. *de Tribus vasculis Etruscis encaustice pictis* Flor. 1772, *Descrizione dell'apparato per le nozze dei Duchi di Toscana* 1585 in 8, *Descrizione dell'apparato e intermezzi fatti in occasione di nozze ducali* 1589': works for the most part present in the *Catalogo* and for which we can now hypothesize the provenance.⁷⁸

Equally interesting letters are sent to Francesco Tassi, Librarian of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, one dated Venice 19 November 1816 and another London 19 March of an unspecified year, but which we can attribute to 1819, the year of his European journey. The first letter contains a request to skim through 'some of the duplicated books on the Arts, or Travels, or Antiquities, to see if there were any items' suitable, 'given that method [...] of disposing of duplicate books by useful exchanges or by further purchases'.⁷⁹ Over the course of the letter, the request is further defined, focusing on 'the Giunti's second Edition of Vasari in 3 Vol.', provided it is 'well preserved and with large margins'.⁸⁰ Cicognara concentrates

books have no high value, despite this they are difficult to find and require a diligent researcher, and you have bundles of duplicates of miscellanies, etc. Everything is possible for you, and I hope to have the desired objects from Florence, as from elsewhere' (Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli). The Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze (*Carteggi vari*, 7, 76-7) has on file two letters from Cicognara to Fontani, dated 16 April 1806 and 10 April 1810: in the first, Cicognara thanks Fontani for sending some notebooks; in the second he requests help for his new project, the *Storia della Scultura*. This indicates a relationship of reciprocal esteem and not inconsiderable mutual acquaintance.

⁷⁸ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, p. 193, n. 1091: Fedini Giovanni, *Le due Persilie*, Florence, 1583; vol. I, p. 48, n. 277: Gaurici Pomponii *De Sculptura*, Florence, 1504; vol. I, p. 36, n. 222: *Trattato della Pittura, e Scultura, uso, ed abuso loro, composto da un Teologo, e da un Pittore*, Florence, 1652; vol. I, p. 298, n. 1726: *L'arte vetraria*, Florence, 1612; vol. II, p. 22, n. 2616: Passerii, *De tribus Vasculis Etruscis encaustice pictis, dissertation*, Florence, 1772.

⁷⁹ A request that, it seems, did not meet with positive results: 'A few days before I fell ill, the health of our most excellent Grand Duke was also gravely threatened, and even if I was not able to daily climb the eight staircases that lead to his apartment to inquire about his health, I nevertheless had no trouble going to the Library, which lacked its principal ornament due to serious illness' (Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli).

⁸⁰ 'I have someone disposed to acquire my particular copy of this edition', Cicognara specifies, 'which I will not deprive myself of unless the Exchange brings me improvement, since among the wonderful examples of all the editions I have of this biographer, this is the only one I desire to exchange'. Vasari's *Vite* are present in the *Catalogo* in five editions,

additional attention on ‘seven complete corpora, and a great many other imperfect ones belonging to the Florentine Museum’ that he had requested from the Grand Duke of Tuscany,⁸¹ also prompted by the imminent publication of the *Catalogo*, in which the lack of said work would clearly not have passed unobserved and for which he experienced profound ‘humiliation and shame’. Not yet having lost all hope, Cicognara proposed an exchange with his *Fabbriche più cospicue di Venezia*: ‘I know that the Accademia di Belle Arti would like to have the work on the Fabbriche Venete for purposes of study’, he writes, knowing that, in the end, it is always a question of lack of funds. ‘The Grand Duke could accommodate his Academy and me through the Exchange of one of the 7 examples; thus, he does not sell, does not give, but enriches his establishment, and does me an indescribable favour’.⁸²

Equally precise choices are found in the letters that Cicognara sends to the Librarian of Classense in Ravenna, Olivo Orioli, particularly during the years (1806-1807) when Cicognara resided in Milan while his books were stored in Ferrara.⁸³ But here we note a role reversal, in that it is Cicognara who provides bibliographic information to Orioli, who sends him catalogues (in turn obtained from Naples or other unspecified cities) in compliance with his earlier credit.

specifically: Florence, 1550, 1568, 1660; Rome, 1759; Siena, 1791-1794. See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, pp. 402-403, nos. 2389-2393.

⁸¹ ‘But I find myself in a bad spot,’ Cicognara continues, ‘namely that I have been misled out of too much pride, believing that the Grand Duke might have some inclination toward me, although my merit is too deficient’. Then he emphasizes, with a note of annoyance: ‘Possible! In France, in Germany, in England he was given some of the most splendid works that adorn the libraries of kings, and I cannot find an Italian book with money in Italy? I who have sweated and sacrificed health and fortune to honour this country of ours? It is up to him to help me’.

⁸² And he concludes: ‘After all this I would not want you to ever question whether, due to the disapproval I have received, my respectful attachment to your Master had diminished for me, since I do not measure my esteem and devotion by these incidences. In this matter I am only guilty for not having known how to deserve the favour of the G.D. but this will not make me less attached to him and less a servant, as I would be sincerely humbled and very faithful to him, if this beautiful and Fortunate part of Italy might welcome me for the little time of life that remains to me’.

⁸³ See V. MALAMANI, *Memorie*, I, p. 229, regarding the books sent in ten crates, from which his wife tries to recover the most valuable editions. Indeed, she writes to him: ‘Presuming that you are a bit anxious about your books, I promise you I am taking great care with them. Penolazzi (judge of the special tribunal in Ferrara) will help me transport them, so you don’t have to worry, and you can be certain that your *maitresse* [the library] will be respected by me. If, instead, you believe it pointless for me to bring everything to you, let me know the books I should choose. I also plan to pack up my library. Do not worry; you know that my favourite authors are few. Meaning that *L’essai sur les femmes* by Thomas is my enchantment, or better put, my document of safe passage’.

It is Cicognara himself who explains the criterion for his choices ('instructive works inseparable from the value of rarity') and who proposes 'a respectable series of fifteenth-century works, most of which are in wonderful condition and extremely splendid'.⁸⁴ Cicognara again sends him a note about prices paid, convinced that these will be useful to Orioli;⁸⁵ for example, Cicognara specifies, '[regarding] the Thesaurus of Grevio and Gronovio, I can assure you that I do not lack the price of 30 Zecchini in cash, and the Herculaneum is so imperfect that the risk of not completing it is becoming burdensome. The Banduro, then, has at no sale exceeded the price of 23 francs and is proposed to you for 25, likewise the Muratori, the Passeri, etc. So that bringing the two sums, the first reduced by you to Z 60, and the second not reduced by Z 298.30, between both it seems to me that Z 230 would be sufficiently honest, and it could balance out the account'. These are all works present in his library,⁸⁶ for which we now also know the price that was paid for them. In a separate memorandum we find: 'Zirardini degli antichi edifici profani Z = 50;⁸⁷ Vetera

⁸⁴ 'Finding your observations made to me in your letter of 13 January thoroughly worthwhile, I would not know how to reciprocate, other than to submit to your wisdom [...] that the condition of the price I believe does not offset the utility of such exchange, examined with the scrupulous precision of a good guardian, and that lastly I am offering to renounce *the entire remainder of my credit*, with slight compensation, in order to absolve it and for whatever else is paid both by books and an equivalent sum. I am pleased to add that the books chosen by me, in the second note, are not only duplicate examples but triplicates; thus it remains a field for you to do further business with anyone, that I desire for you things as good as what I have proposed; and I beg you, then, to consider that this liberal proposition of mine aims, beyond all my particular advantage, to persuade you that, with the nature and ease of the contract, I want to balance out those difficulties that you expressed to me' (letter of 19 January 1806: Biblioteca Classense di Ravenna, Letters envelope 19, file 48; the italics are in the text).

⁸⁵ See letter dated 8 January 1806: Biblioteca Classense di Ravenna, envelope 19, file 48.

⁸⁶ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 60, n. 2863: Goltzii Huberti Herbipolitae, *Thesaurus rei antiquariae uberrimus, ex antiquis tam numismatum, quam marmorum inscriptionibus conquisitus, et in locos communes distributes*. Antuerpiae Plant. 1579; vol. II, p. 41, n. 2742: Banduri Anselmi, *Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum a Trajano Decio ad Paleologos Augustos. Accessit Bibliotheca Nummaria*, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1718; Banduri Taninii Hieronymi, *Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum a Trajano Decio ad Costantinum Draconem ab Anselmo Bandurio editore supplementum*. Romae, 1791 ('It can be considered among the most copious and principal works of Numismatics'). Cicognara's library contained three works by Muratori: see L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 4, n. 2495: *Annali d'Italia*, Milan, 1749, 22 vols; *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 4, n. 2496: *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, Mediolanum et Aretii, 1773-1780; *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 206, n. 3799: *Dell'insigne tavola di bronzo spettante ai fanciulli e fanciulle alimentare di Trajano Augusto nell'Italia, dissotterrata nel territorio di Piacenza l'anno 1747*, Florence, 1748. Cicognara adds: 'All the works of this hard-working and extremely learned author are faithfully taken from monuments, and for this reason extremely precious'.

⁸⁷ L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 284, n. 4326: Zirardini Antonio, *Degli antichi edifizj profane di Ravenna libri due*, Faenza, 1762.

monumenta ad Classem Z = 40; Coronelli Ravenna ricercata antica moderna Z = 50;⁸⁸ Ordinari Sino Riminese Z = 50', with a note appended that 'some books were consigned on 27 August 1804'. At the end, Cicognara asks if it is possible to find other books he has listed (not further specified) in a printed index, and when 'the list of Duplicates' was made regarding all the books related to 'Painting, Sculpture, Antiquities, Lives of Artists, Treatises, Mythology, Religious Customs in all the Nations of the World engraved by Piccard and Roman antiquities [...] Physiognomists, Guides of Cities, and above all ancient books on perspective and Architecture'. He does not fail to mention Sulpizio's Vitruvius, *editio princeps*, that we have already seen requested from Fontani and that stayed so long 'in his stomach'.

As for the choices made by Olivi, we know that he fell back on Muratori's *Le Antichità d'Italia*, for which Cicognara paid 54 *zecchini* ('from which you can see how different the prices here are from those indicated in your letters'), 'the mutilated Herculaneum',⁸⁹ classics by Theophrastus, Ovid, Livy, Petrarch, and Palladio. Moreover, Cicognara specifies that, having found some pages of the Titus Livius to be damaged, he felt it opportune to remedy the situation, adding as a gift the 'Bonaccioli Enneas Muliebris, a book quite rare and moreover valuable in medical matters, worth three times that of Titus Livius, and which is a magnificent example'.⁹⁰ Now one can clearly note the different register Cicognara used in these letters from that of the earlier ones: the earlier ones were much more polite, timid, and respectful in their selections, the latter more pragmatic, attentive to the cost and exchange value of individual volumes.⁹¹

In addition to the librarians mentioned thus far, Cicognara was in touch with others, for example Bartolomeo Gamba (Royal Censor, publisher, writer and, from

⁸⁸ L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 283](#), n. 4323: Coronelli P., *Ravenna ricercata, antica e moderna, accresciuta di memorie, ed ornate di copiose figure* ('with many bad plates as in all works by Coronelli, and with a jumble of ideas with little critique and little order provided'. An opinion confirmed in *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 283, nos. 4353-57: *Guida de forestieri sacro-profana per osservare il più ragguardevole della Città di Venezia*, Venice, 1706: 'At least forty editions were made of Coronelli's Guide, as proof of the poverty of criticism then found in the world, and of the bias that existed regarding this Friar who was extremely hard-working but had not even a shadow of taste').

⁸⁹ See the letter of 3 March 1806: 'Tell me if you have the great work, superbly printed and engraved, of the Aneurisma by M.se Scarpa, which I could give you. Tell me specifically which books you prefer, and if they are attainable, so I might procure them for you over time; and meanwhile have the courtesy to send me back my Catalogues, and yours with alternative selections, for I have remained without papers and clues'.

⁹⁰ Letter of 19 March 1806.

⁹¹ Also see the last note in this epistolary exchange: 'With the right of refusal granted you, you can choose--but I need to know what remains at my disposal'.

1824, Librarian of the Marciana), as seen in the four works in Cicognara's library.⁹² We have discovered a correspondence between Gamba and Cicognara revealing that in the years 1819-1826 the two had frequent contacts, focused on the publication and sale of *Le Fabbriche più cospicue di Venezia*.⁹³ They moreover ended up discussing a 'fraud' resulting from the sending of twelve copies of this work to the English booksellers Payne and Fox, with whom Cicognara kept corresponding and seeking intermediation for clarification and, above all, in order not to lose copies and capital.⁹⁴

In fact, just as Cicognara regularly dealt with librarians, he also had relationships with booksellers, both in Italy, such as Giuseppe and Pietro Molini (with whom Cicognara had discussions in years following the sale of his library),⁹⁵

⁹² See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 317](#), n. 4655: *Serie delle edizioni de' testi di Lingua Italiana*, Milan, 1812; vol. I, [p. 194](#), n. 1095: *Le luminose gesta di don Chisciotte disegnate ed incise da Francesco Novelli*, Venice, 1819 ('this extremely elegant book of most exquisite execution as regards the text, succinctly comprehensive and with much grace, and as regards the liveliness of the engravings, produced in only 102 examples on coloured paper from France'); vol. I, [pp. 386-387](#), n. 2269: *Catalogo degli artisti Bassanesi viventi in cui si descrivono alcune delle migliori loro opera esposte in patria il dì 16 agosto 1807 per festeggiare il nome dell'augusto nostro Sovrano Napoleone il Grande*, Bassano, 1807; vol. I, [p. 387](#), n. 2270: *De' Bassanesi Illustri narrazione con un catalogo degli Scrittori di Bassano del XVIII secolo*, Bassano, 1807; vol. I, [p. 386](#), n. 2268: *Elogio di Luigi Cornaro*, s.a.

⁹³ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [pp. 236-237](#), n. 3987.

⁹⁴ Library of the Archiginnasio in Bologna, Coll. Autografi CVII; letters from London dated 28 June, from Florence dated 27 December 1815; Lucca, 1820; Florence, 6 December 1823; Venice, 25 February; Florence, April 1821.

⁹⁵ Information about the contact between Cicognara and Molini emerge, for example, in this letter to Vermiglioli of 1 May 1812 ('Oniologia', XIII, July 1834, [p. 234](#)): 'I immediately delivered to Molini the books for you; along with these you will find the essays on literary figures from Ferrara'. Also see the letter addressed to Molini ('Bibliotecario all Libreria Palatina di S.A.I il Gran Duca di Toscana Firenze', 21 May 1828 (Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori): 'Despite having been paid for not inconsequential credits that I had in England with some of the premier Booksellers who had difficulty in sending money, I believed it better to take books, and objects, and Antiquarian Prints, which now form my home and my delight, and among these books there is one of too much luxury and richness, rather badly suited to my small house [...]. But I bent to circumstances stronger than myself. This very luxurious book is Bondelli's Shakspeare [*sic*] in folio, bound in green Moroccan leather, and gilded, with the Magnificent Atlantic Volume of the Hundred Paintings taken from the Tragedies, and engraved by all the most Famous engravers in England, including our Italians, Bartolozzi and Schiavonetti. These prints of astounding luxury are already seen hanging on the walls of the most luxurious private studies, since after this extremely splendid edition they were then dispersed commercially. But the proofs of the named edition are earlier and of the utmost Freshness. I do not recall having seen this book in the Library of S.A.R. and I absolutely believe it is not there. In Italy such a work would be out of place except in Tuscany, where you would find a bookshelf worthy of it [...]. I value it at a

and who are also praised in the *Catalogo*),⁹⁶ and abroad, such as, precisely, the Englishmen Payne and Fox⁹⁷ and the Parisian Jean-Simon Gravier, to whom Cicognara will send a long letter from Milan on 7 August 1804.⁹⁸ In this letter he announces he is sending a brief catalogue (no longer attached to the letter) of books that, even if not of great interest, he intends to acquire. Having sent the same note to numerous correspondents, Cicognara begs his interlocutor to respond as soon as possible to avoid duplication: therefore, Gravier will have to exclude from the

price of 80 pounds sterling, and in addition I have not inconsiderable costs for shipping and customs [...], selling it at mere cost, if it should please S.A.I. to buy it, of which I would be glad. No one can more conveniently propose the matter than you, and I direct my request to you frankly, before making any further determination on this matter. For the G.D. this is nothing, and for me it ensures having a portion of my money realized. [...] I would be content to give it also as a credit to be reimbursed at will. Although this is a trifle I shouldn't mention. But if it serves to facilitate, use it as you deem fit, and I recommend'.

⁹⁶ See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 191](#), n. 1080, Ariosto entry, *Orlando Furioso*, Birmingham, 1773: 'Pietro Molini Florentine Librarian assumed responsibility for having this poem printed by John Baskerville and was credited with having it embellished with extremely beautiful plates at the beginning of each of the 46 Poems'. Also see L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 171](#), n. 3598: Bartoli Pietro Santi, *Recueil de peintures antiques trouvées à Rome imitées fidèlement pour les couleurs et le trait d'après les dessins coloris*, second edition, 2 vols., Paris, 1783) ('The Bookseller Molini reproduced this work in Paris with this second edition not greatly inferior to the first, and much more complete than that') and vol. I, [p. 203](#), n. 1126: Lodoli, *Apologi immaginati e sol estemporaneamente in voce esposti agli amici suoi*, Bassano, 1787: 'Molini had an elegant reprinting done in Paris'. As evidence of a certain familiarity in the relationship between Cicognara and the Molinis, we read in *Storia della Scultura* (vol. V, [p. 199](#)): 'This kind of sculpture, with embellishments and small figures, was brought to greater perfection in Tuscany by Benedetto da Rovezzano, who carved in Florence various waterworks and paths of rock with such elegance and style of design, lightness of touch, and difficult openwork that it had no equal. Waterworks and a path of this kind can be seen in the house now inhabited by the Molinis, booksellers in Florence'.

⁹⁷ Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori, letter dated 27 August 1822 to his son, urging him to send him information, again regarding the Payne-Fox business.

⁹⁸ It should be emphasized that this was not his only contact with booksellers beyond the Alps, as one can infer from a letter sent to Missirini from Paris on 29 January 1819, a journey he made in an attempt to find underwriters for the *Life of Canova*, written by Missirini (Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele): 'I will do whatsoever with booksellers, but on this journey of mine, I was unfortunately able to see that this hoped-for familiarity with our language beyond the mountains is not the case, which makes the sale of Italian books extremely difficult and those of poetry impossible. This will not prevent me from trying, but I am not confident of much success. I further assure you that the only market for this very beautiful and distinguished work of yours is in Rome with foreigners, who affect to know the language and want to pay homage to our arts and letters. I will never fail to attempt any means to reveal the brilliance of my citizens, and friends, such as you. All are so distinguished, and for many reasons I will do this with greater success in London and in Munich than in Paris'.

purchase volumes marked with an asterisk, as they were already sent through other acquaintances. He makes some requests, meticulous as always: a well-preserved example of the first volume of *L'Architettura* by Philibert de l'Orme (the 1568 edition of which is in Cicognara's library),⁹⁹ the first and fourth volumes of the 'Annales du Musée et de l'école modern des beaux arts', 'les Almanachs des Arts',¹⁰⁰ and 'all the small, stereotyped works that emerge from time to time'. Not to mention the acquisition of the complete *Opere* of Buffon, focusing on 'the most refined and most precise edition that exists, and at the same time the most beautiful'. As Cicognara emphasizes, his intention was to expand the collection gradually; in fact, 'these books are infinitely precious, and I suggest not to make such enormous purchases. One gets there little by little without excess speed'. This explains why we never find ourselves faced with endless lists of purchases by Cicognara or long notes of requests but always with relished, well considered choices. Thus, while in these letters his interest in the rare and valuable book appears alongside a commercial value for acquisitions or credit settlements, there is more focus on the content, on the more strictly collectible aspects in the letters that Cicognara sends to a group of particularly 'seasoned' scholars in the bibliographic field, known to him and with whom he maintained correspondence.

We have already been able to demonstrate¹⁰¹ how one of his most significant interlocutors in architectural matters was Gaetano Pinali (1759-1846) from Verona, a jurist and scholar of antiquities and Fine Arts who was in touch with major cultural protagonists in the Veneto region, as well as others.¹⁰² Indeed, they should be

⁹⁹ L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 105](#), n. 584, where the author observes: 'This Architect is the father of art in France, and the best writer on this subject; albeit with the advancement of age his taste worsened, even if his modes of execution were perfected. The book is good, and the extremely copious plates in wood are of wonderful execution, especially the Corinthian capitals and the ornate entablatures, which even if cut in wood might seem engraved in copper: these are interposed within the beautiful edition of the text'. Cicognara also possessed the *Nouvelles inventions pour bien bastir et a petits frais trouvées*, Paris, 1578, by Philibert de l'Orme (*Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 105](#), n. 585).

¹⁰⁰ Present in his library: see L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, I, [p. 224](#), n. 1290: 'pour l'an XII. et l'an XIII. de la Repub. Française'. Volumes in which 'infinite art objects, and names of artists, and works executed, etc. can be easily perused. Such works are good as a repertoire'.

¹⁰¹ Allow me to refer to my *Temanza-Pinali-Cicognara: consonanze o coincidenze?* In *Enciclopedia e storiografia artistica tra Sette e Ottocento*, Atti della Giornata di Studi, Lecce, 26 maggio 2006, edited by Daniela Caracciolo, Floriana Conte, and Angelo Maria Monaco, with editorial coordination by Massimiliano Rossi, Galatina, Congedo, 2008, pp. 109-128.

¹⁰² Regarding Pinali and his work, see GIAN PAOLO MARCHINI, *La moderna sistemazione urbanistica della piazza Bra in un progetto di Gaetano Pinali*, 'Vita Veronese', XXIV, 5-6, 1971, pp. 171-179; ID., *Antiquari e collezioni archeologiche dell'Ottocento Veronese*, Verona, Vita Veronese, 1972, pp. 83-107; EZIO GODOLI, *Progetti per Venezia di Giovanni Antonio Antolini*, in *Architettura in Emilia Romagna dall'Illuminismo alla Restaurazione*, Atti del Convegno (Faenza 6-8 dicembre 1974), Florence, Cliches Parretti, 1977, pp. 81-101; GIAN DOMENICO ROMANELLI, *Alla fine della*

credited for direct participation in the formation of Cicognara's collection, with gifts of a certain significance, such as, for example, an extremely rare edition of the *Quattro Libri d'Architettura* by Andrea Palladio (1570) with a separate frontispiece,¹⁰³ that Cicognara appreciated to the point where he thanked Pinali publicly.¹⁰⁴ Even if relationships between the two scholars were not destined to always remain so idyllic (particularly following the competition that arose in 1817 for the acquisition of thirty autograph drawings by Palladio), we might assume (based on the well-documented epistolary exchanges between the two during the years 1800-1820) that, through sale or donation, books on architectural topics were transferred from Pinali's to Cicognara's library, books corresponding in all their details: edition, year, place of publication, and eventual translation. Their preciousness is confirmed by the fact that these books on architectural subjects owned by Pinali had belonged to the library of another important scholar, Venetian architect Tommaso Temanza, from whom Pinali acquired them in 1799. Now, also bearing in mind Cicognara's esteem

Repubblica, Napoleone e gli Asburgo, in *Ritratto di Verona, lineamenti di una storia urbanistica*, ed. by Lionello Puppi, Verona, Banca Popolare di Verona, 1978, pp. 397-470; ID., *Venezia Ottocento: l'architettura, l'urbanistica*, Venice, Albrizzi, 1988, pp. 83-86; GIAN PAOLO MARCHINI, *L'architettura a Verona dal periodo napoleonico all'età contemporanea*, ed. by Pierpaolo Brugnoli and Arturo Sandrini, Verona, Banca Popolare di Verona, 1994, pp. 482-485. Allow me, moreover, to refer to my two articles, *Giovanni Antonio Antolini, Gaetano Pinali, Luigi Cagnola, 1800-1842: spigolature d'archivio*, 'Arte Lombarda', CXLV, 2005, pp. 106-113 and *Gaetano Pinali a Venezia (1805-1815): alcune puntualizzazioni sul suo Progetto di Palazzo Reale in Piazza San Marco*, 'Studi veneziani', LI, 2006, pp. 519-546.

¹⁰³ See this letter from Pinali to Luigi Cagnola, dated 26 November 1810 (Archivio di Stato di Varallo Sesia): 'It is not possible that Palladio's first two books of antiquities, which I am seeking, are there. Only two examples of this book have been present in Venice since the beginning of the last century, one possessed by Smith, the other by Temanza. I had Temanza's, along with the entire not large collection of his books, and *this example I then passed on to Cicognara*, as someone who has an extremely vast collection of art books, and *whom I have the honour of helping*, having also recently given him the two books of architecture by the same Palladio, printed separately; for which he publicly thanked me, as you will see in his recently printed notes praising Palladio, and for which he had interaction with the Prince. However, I do not know if the young Marquis has a clear idea about these two extremely rare books, which essentially are no different from the 4 books printed together in the same year 1570 and by the same printer, except having a separate frontispiece; otherwise, in substance, both the two first books on antiquities and the two books on architecture contain neither more nor less than the 4 books all together, indeed they appear identical with the sole change of the Frontispiece, which, however, proves that when Palladio had the first two books of antiquities printed he had ready the studies and drawings for many other books of antiquities, which remained unpublished after his death and part of which were found by Milord Burlington, who published from these the Roman Baths; and other studies remain with his heirs in England' (the italics are mine).

¹⁰⁴ See LEOPOLDO CICOGNARA, 'Elogio di Andrea Palladio', *Discorsi letti nella R. Veneta Accademia di Belle Arti*, Venice, Tipografia Picotti, August 1810, [p. 44](#).

for Temanza and for his most celebrated works,¹⁰⁵ his interest in such valuable works on architectural matters becomes understandable, so much so that it seems that 'perhaps Temanza's manuscript of Zibaldon passed with the other books of Cicognara to Rome',¹⁰⁶ an evident sign of interest on Cicognara's part for the works of this historiographer.

But Pinali was juxtaposed with other protagonists in the cultural world of the time, appreciated for their contributions to journals, for their writings, or for the advice they gave to important scholars. This is the case for Carlo Malmusi, Director of the Museo Lapidario of Modena, Giovanni De Lazara (the greatest expert on Paduan art of the time, and Lanzi's colleague),¹⁰⁷ and Giovanni Battista Vermiglioli.

¹⁰⁵ Positive judgment clearly conveyed in the comments that Cicognara makes about Temanza's greatest works. (See, for example, L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 401](#), n. 2378: *Vite dei più celebri Architetti e Scultori Veneziani che fiorirono nel Secolo XVI*, Venice, C. Palese, 1778, 'Excellent work, and the only one that has so far preserved the memories of the first architects after the resurgence of art, who are the Venetians, with peace, and with respect for all other nations'. Or, L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 290](#), n. 4382: *Antica pianta dell'inclita Città di Venezia delineate circa la metà del XII Secolo*, Venice, in the print house of Carlo Palese, 1781, 'Book full of valuable information taken from the archives'. Finally, see *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 255](#), n. 4101: *Le Antichità di Rimini*, Venice, Giambattista Pasquali, 1741, 'work that, although not broad enough, does not cease to be excellent'.)

¹⁰⁶ EMILIO DE TIPALDO, *Biografia degli Italiani illustri*, Venice, Gio. Cecchini, 1844, IX, [p. 358](#).

¹⁰⁷ Regarding De Lazara, see GIOVANNI PREVITALI, *La fortuna dei primitivi*, Turin, Einaudi, 1964, pp. 145-157; PIER LUIGI FANTELLI, *Nel 1793 a Padova: Luigi Lanzi e il suo taccuino di viaggio*, 'Padova e la sua provincial', XXXIII, 1977, 5, pp. 22-25 and 6, pp. 17-26; EAD., *Eruditi e collezionisti: Luigi Lanzi e Tommaso degli Obizzi*, 'Padova e la sua provincial', XXXIII, 1977, 11-12, pp. 12-16; ALBERTA DE NICOLÒ SALMAZO, *La catalogazione del patrimonio artistico nel XVIII secolo. 1793-1795: Giovanni De Lazara e l'elenco delle pubbliche pitture della provincial di Padova. Attualità di un sistema*, 'Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova', LXII, 1973 (1979), pp. 29-103; PIER LUIGI FANTELLI, *Un noto corrispondente del Lanzi: Giovanni De Lazara*, 'Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere e Arti', XCIV, 1981-82, pp. 107-144; GIOVANNA BALDISSIN MOLLI, *Un inventario settecentesco di pitture coneglianesi 'esposti alla pubblica vista'*, 'Ca' Spineda', XXIII, 1982, 2, pp. 11-33; EAD., *Le 'Postille' di Bartolomeo Campagnola alle 'Vite' di Bartolomeo Dal Pozzo*, 'Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova', 1991 (1994), pp. 147-174; EAD., *Giambettino Cignaroli e Saverio Dalla Rosa: postille e note inedite*, 'Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona', CLXIX, 1992-93, pp. 349-422; FABRIZIO MAGANI, *Teodoro Matteini amico di Giovanni De Lazara, ovvero lo studio dei 'primitivi' attraverso il recupero di Andrea Mantegna*, 'Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti', CLI, 1992-93, 2, pp. 431-459; GIOVANNA BALDISSIN MOLLI, *Notizie su pittori, orafi, stuccatori, intagliatori e incisori vicentini raccolti nelle 'Miscellanee' De Lazara*, 'Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova', LXXXV, 1996 (1998), pp. 183-229; DONATA LEVI, *Appunti su Luigi Lanzi e alcuni suoi corrispondenti veneti e friulani*, in *Ad Alessandro Conti (1946-1994)*, edited by Francesco Caglioti, Miriam Fileti Mazza, and Umberto Parrini, 'Quaderni del Seminario di Storia della critica d'arte', VI, 1996, pp. 249-267; EAD., *'Troppo modestia, o troppo alta meta...': note sull'erudito padovano Giovanni De' Lazara*, in *Giornata di studio in onore di G. Previtali*, 'Annali

As for the aforementioned Malmusi, Cicognara focused his attention on volumes that were about to come out,¹⁰⁸ or on works by Malmusi himself, for which Cicognara will always show 'keen satisfaction'.¹⁰⁹ To the Paduan Giovanni De

della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa', s. IV, Quaderni 1-2, 2000, pp. 321-337; GIOVANNA BALDISSIN MOLLI, *I pittori friulani nelle Miscellanee del conte padovano Giovanni De Lazara, in Fabio Maniago e la storiografia artistica in Italia e in Europa tra Sette e Ottocento*, Atti del Convegno (Pordenone-Udine 25-27 November 1999), Udine, Università degli studi di Udine, 2001, pp. 131-142; LUCA CABURLOTTO, *Private passioni e pubblico bene. Studio, collezionismo, tutela e promozioni delle arti in Giovanni De Lazara (1744-1833)*, 'Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte', XXV, 2001, pp. 123-237; ID., *Un'equivoca 'fortuna': i primitivi nelle collezioni Correr e Molin*, 'Arte Veneta', LIX, 2002, pp. 187-209; ID., *Giovanni De Lazara e il patrimonio artistico fra Venezia, Napoleone e l'Austria*, 'Padova e il suo territorio', XVI, 2003, 104, pp. 16-19; GIOVANNA BALDISSIN MOLLI, *Di tante preziose e singolari memorie egli con diligenza ha format tanti ordinate fascicoli. Indici ragionati delle Miscellanee De Lazara*, Padua, Il prato, 2007.

¹⁰⁸ 'I am much obliged to you for the civility and courtesy with which you responded to the concern I indicated by having the copies of my book that I sent to Rome reach many different parts. I would have wanted to be able to tell you that, for my part too, I can satisfy the books you are seeking in Florence. But it is absolutely impossible to find here some of the works indicated by you, and Bartsch alone could be in Vicenza, but without certainty of success, and this might also be said of the other works named among your most dear. The greatest number are books for which a single edition was made and that are rather difficult to find. There is only the chance of the sale of some library. Now a Chalcographic dictionary is coming out in London, which will be the finest work of this type by Mr. Ottley, but it is just in its inception, and it will be better made than that of Brulliot, which came out in Munich, and which the author corrects and reprints' (letter dated 17 March, s.a., Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori). The work present in the *Catalogo* (vol. I, p. 45, n. 266): *An inquiry into the origin and early History of Engraving upon Copper and in Wood with an account of Engravers and their Works from the invention of Chalcography by Maso Finiguerra to the time of Marcantonio Raimondi*, London, 1816: 'A work highly esteemed for the extensive knowledge of the most learned Author, and for the valuable plates located within the Text, where there are Facsimiles of the early prints in wood and copper by the most celebrated engravers, and the most distinguished works in Niello, marvellously imitated'. See moreover this further testimony, also preserved at the Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori, undated: 'Sig. Giuseppe del Tasso has never printed a History of Architecture, nor has he left any Plan in his fatuous Testament for it to be addressed. A subject established in the introduction is the gift of his Books, of which there are not many, to whoever handled the subject best in a five-year period, to be reduced, if none of the work was prepared in competition for a decade, always with the same award to be judged for Knowledge of art by various theoretical Architects and for language by Sig. Lodovico Valeriani'.

¹⁰⁹ 'I skimmed your book of inscriptions and monuments, and I can do nothing but praise the wonderful manner, simple, clear, sober, of its interpretations without dreams, without pompous visions, that sage critique, that good taste that reigns throughout, and that culture of intelligence with which you are abundantly endowed, and which the well-educated Youth of Modena does not lack. You thus receive my sincere congratulations, and often present Italy with similar productions' (letter dated 31 January 1832, Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori). Also see another letter to Malmusi, undated (Biblioteca Estense

Lazara (1744-1833), a specialist in fine arts, scholar, and collector of prints rather admired by Cicognara (to the extent that he calls him ‘my Oracle Friend’),¹¹⁰ he addresses questions tied to prints and drawings by quite renowned fifteenth- to sixteenth-century artists, particularly Paduan, such as Guariento and Mantegna, or less well-known, such as Francesco Segala.¹¹¹ These are matters that must have taken on a certain interest for Cicognara, demonstrated by the fact that his library includes three works by Brandolese on Paduan art (specifically *Pitture, Sculture, e Architettura di Padova nuovamente descritte*, Padua, 1785; *Del genio dei Lendinaresi per la Pittura, e di alcune pregevoli pitture di Lendinara*, Padua, 1795; *Testimonianze intorno la paternità di Andrea Mantegna*, Padua, 1805),¹¹² also cited in the *Storia della Scultura*.¹¹³ In his letters with De Lazara we also find quotes from the *Vite degli architetti* by Temanza¹¹⁴ (an author who, as we have already pointed out, is the subject of Cicognara’s particular attention) and from the work of Bartsch (regarding a print by Parmigianino with the

di Modena, Autog. Campori): ‘I am pleased that the little drawing of Peace has arrived well, and I hope that you will make not a guide, but a *Modena illustrate*, in the manner of what Marchese Scipione Maffei made for Verona. And I am infinitely pleased about this, knowing your diligence, your taste, your judgment. However, as for wanting to call this work, either because of its Form, or its title, a *Guida*, I would advise renaming it, and titling it as I have noted above, since even a guide that is published in Fascicles does not fit all that well with the custom of giving this name to a pocket-size little volume, as this succinctly gestures towards things to see in the homeland. You need to do one or the other, not an amphibious thing, of which we already have wonderful examples in each separate genre of similar works. In any case, when you can, let me read Your Writing, I will never fail to anticipate a pleasure – promising to tell you my opinion, whatever disagreement you might have about its worth’ (italics are in the text).

¹¹⁰ Letter of 1 July 1828: Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara.

¹¹¹ Regarding the latter (the ‘sculptor and foundry worker about whom everyone is silent’), Cicognara asks to ‘be provided with recollections, documents, and those maps of his written in time and place so as to suitably assist his friends; regarding this you can help me a great deal in my great, turbulent sea’ (letter dated 5 February, s.a.: Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara).

¹¹² See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 278](#), n. 4276; vol. II, [p. 272](#), n. 4229; vol. I, [p. 381](#), n. 2219.

¹¹³ See L. CICOGNARA, *Storia*, vol. V, [p. 296](#), regarding Franco Segala and a statue of Saint Catherine placed ‘in the basin of holy water in the church of the Saint near the sacristy, recalled by Brandolese on the basis of a manuscript of Monterosso, and confirmed by an earlier manuscript chronicle, by Cesare Malfatti, owned by Cavalier Giovanni de Lazzara’.

¹¹⁴ See a letter dated 4 February 1815 (Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara): ‘Besides the aforementioned statue by Franco Segala there is the beautiful Saint John the Baptist by him above the baptismal font of San Marco in Venice, marked with the initials F.S.P.F., meaning Franciscus Segala Patavinus fecit M. Malfatti. Temanza, in his work on the Venetian Architects [*Vite dei più celebri architetti*], [p. 254](#), attributes to this sculptor, whom he calls Franco Segalino Pad.no, the statues in the niches on the landing in the middle of the second branch of the Staircase that ascends to the Collegio of the Palazzo pub.o in Venice’.

Virgin and Saints),¹¹⁵ or requests for verification of information hastily transcribed by Cicognara and which needed confirmation,¹¹⁶ concerning either bibliographic details or monuments that he intended to illustrate in his works.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, Cicognara tells him he is sending a 'bundle of volumes of Apostolo Zeno's correspondents' in exchange for the 'Petrarch of Mr. Marchaud' and that he is grappling with researching Brulliot's work, which he desires at all costs.¹¹⁸ Finally, he thanks him for the 'two very beautiful and magnificent examples of Zannetti's Freschi, one illuminated, the other not, and with authentications, and with seals, with everything that can verify their preciousness.'¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ See a letter dated 27 July, s.a. (Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara). Cicognara owned four works by Bartsch, all in the section 'Cataloghi' (*Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 303, n. 4538: *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes, qui forment l'œuvre de Lucas de Leyde*, Vienna, 1788; *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 304-305, n. 4550: *Catalogue raisonné de desseins originaux qui faisoient partie du Cabinet du Prince de Ligna*, Vienna, 1794; *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 305, n. 4551: *Catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées à l'eau forte par Guido Reni, et ses disciples*, Vienna, 1795; *Catalogo*, vol. II, p. 305, n. 4553: *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes, qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt*, Vienna, 1797).

¹¹⁶ 'I have gone mad having to find where I got the information that I had written, about how between 1354 and 1378 there was a certain sculptor Alberto Fiorentino who was given in Milan to do works that did not correspond to public expectations; I have never again been able to verify from where I got this fact, reading I don't know what book: and I would have liked to discover it again. Oh, it would be a curious and rare thing if you could succeed in what I desire, as I have lost hope of succeeding' (letter from Cicognara to De Lazara, 5 February, s.a.: Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara).

¹¹⁷ 'I would like to have for a few days a good proof of the tomb in bronze made by Verrocchio in S. Lorenzo in Florence, which was engraved by Cornelio Cort in 1570, perhaps in Padua. It will be found with some of those *amateurs* and collectors of prints. I will guard it jealously, and I will return it' (letter dated 5 February: Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara). Also see the letter dated 21 November 1818 (Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara): 'I am more interested than ever in seeing whether there is a well-designed Façade of the Church of S. Antonio: I have no doubt about the precision of the drawing of my little façade that I had drawn on site for the Storia, but about the uncertainty that there have recently been any larger and not lacking in accuracy. I come to You, dear friend, Source of much knowledge, and precious depository of infinite information, so that you might kindly bestow upon me your Favour'. Finally, see the letter dated 3 May 1820: 'I have finished printing the Pala d'Oro, one of the most laborious tasks done in that work. I wrote on the bronze fonts; I still need to comment on the Murano choir, on the Torcello tempietto, and on the three palaces of the Ca' d'Oro, Foscari, and Pisani s. Polo. Would you have anything in your safekeeping to aid our friendship? If you have any information, or ideas, or if you know of anyone who speaks of this, please let me know'.

¹¹⁸ Letter from Cicognara dated 26 April 1823: Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara.

¹¹⁹ Letter from Cicognara dated 3 May 1820: Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara.

While, for the Veneto, Cicognara was able to count on De Lazara's support, in the Umbrian-Tuscan region he could avail himself of advice from Giovanni Battista Vermiglioli, someone he considered the greatest expert in Etruscology and with whom he corresponded.¹²⁰ These letters include frequent requests on Cicognara's part for information, for research always in the realm of Etruscology,¹²¹ or for bibliographic exchanges, nurtured by intense esteem for this scholar who was distinguished for his 'depth of scholarship and frequently admired [...] diligence'.¹²²

¹²⁰ Vermiglioli was also in touch with Ricci, again through Cicognara: see letter from Cicognara to Angelo Maria Ricci dated 19 October 1829 (Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele): 'I have the pleasure of having seen our clever Vermiglioli, completely Etruscan apart from his personal robustness [...] excellent excavator of rare little pamphlets'. Regarding Vermiglioli, a fundamental reference is GIOVANNI CARLO CONESTABILE, *Della vita, degli studi e delle opera di G.B. Vermiglioli*, Perugia, Tipografia Bartelli, 1855; but also see *Erudizione e antiquaria a Perugia nell'Ottocento*, ed. by Leandro Polverini, Naples, Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1990, pp. 127-166.

¹²¹ 'I fervently and confidently beg you for that which no one can clarify through well-substantiated facts better than you. I have no doubt that the Persians, the Indians, the ancient Egyptians did not work enamels of various colours as much as the moderns. The Mosaics, the Nilometers, the rings, the masterpieces in the guise of artificial Onyxes of varicoloured enamels have led me to believe this, verifying the drawings obtained from Museums of Paris and of Turin. Every tradition and presumption demands that it must have been so with the Etruscans, considering the origin of glass, or coloured enamels, to be buried in the most ancient eras; but what things can I produce as palpable proof of this palpable conjecture or these traditions? Here I turn to you'. See 'Oniologia', XVII, November 1834, [p. 219](#), letter dated 24 June 1822.

¹²² Letter of 7 October 1814: 'Oniologia', XIII, July 1834, [p. 237](#). But see also a letter dated Rome 29 December 1821 ('Oniologia', XIV, August 1834, [p. 338](#)): 'You are much more precise than I am, and diligent in all things [...]. You have such abundant harvests in your fields of precious memories and roving erudition, that all can come confidently to your fountain to drink'. Or, see a letter of 14 February 1822 ('Oniologia', XIV, August 1834, [p. 340](#)), where Cicognara informs of the arrival in Perugia of the Earl of Guilford ('director of public education of the Ionian Islands') 'to learn about Etruscan things and the precious monuments that are preserved in that city. Highly cultured as he is, he could have brought with him Dempstero, and Lanzi, and Passeri, and Inghirami, and that entire inventory of authors who attest to this subject; but it is much better for him to personally meet Vermiglioli and to leave the books at home, so that by supporting his thinking, he will be fully instructed, and you will have the benefit of making an acquaintance for which I am certain you will thank me, because this respectable Knight in addition to much scholarship also brings that rare cordiality that is the seasoning for every other more essential requirement'. The Earl of Guilford was not the only scholar sent by Cicognara to Perugia on a study mission: 'Meanwhile prepare yourself for a very great pleasure, since within a few days you will have to instruct one of the most learned Italians in Etruscan matters, professor Ab. Furlanetto, who is coming to Perugia, and is stopping expressly to be educated by you. Oh, how gladly I would be a third party among people of such amiability and such learning'; 17 November 1825 ('Oniologia', XIV, August 1834, [pp. 342-343](#)). Finally, see the

If we take, for example, a letter from Cicognara dated 13 March [no year given],¹²³ we see how insistent his requests were for a 'folio quire of the Malatesta temple of Rimini', '10 volumes of *Symbola Literaria*', and the pamphlets of Gori and Passeri ('which interest me because of the infinite particulars that fill them; I only have the first two little volumes, how do you get the others?'),¹²⁴ or concerning who wrote the anonymous 'historical-lapidary dissertation on the Arch of Fano in 4° 1772' and who is the 'Citizen of Tolentino' of the second apologetic letter to Abbot Colucci regarding Picene antiquities.¹²⁵ The same relentless pace is found in a letter from a few months later (13 July), in which he requests the 'Tusculano of Zuzeri',¹²⁶ the 'Obsequies for the King of Poland' and 'those of Maria Sobieski', 'Zonca's Machine, provided [...] not the one of 1622'¹²⁷ and, finally, the *Imprese nobili e ingegnose di*

letter dated 10 April 1821 (Biblioteca Comunale di Perugia, mss. 1514) where Cicognara concludes: 'Wish me well, always love our studies, and do not reduce your tireless care for the honour of Italy of which you are one of the pillars; and if everyone like you played his part, it would not languish, nor be oppressed, nor ill-treated'.

¹²³ 'Oniologia', XVIII, December 1834, [pp. 297-298](#).

¹²⁴ Both authors are amply present in the Cicognara Library: for Gori, see *Inscriptiones antiquae in Etruriae urbibus extantes*, Florentiae, 1724-47 (*Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 100](#), n. 3115); *Museum Etruscum exhibens insignia veterum Etruscorum Monumenta aereis tabulis C.C. nunc primum edita, et illustrate*, Florentiae, 1737 (vol. II, p. 18, n. 2584); *Risposta al Marc. Maffei autore delle Osservazioni letterarie pubblicate nel quarto Tomo*, Florence, 1739 (vol. II, [p. 18](#), n. 2585); *Difesa dell'alfabeto degli antichi Toscani pubblicato nel 1737 dall'Autore del Museo Etrusco, disapprovato dal Mr. Maffei nel tomo quinto delle sue osservaz. letterarie, date in luce in Verona, con tavole e figure*, Florence, 1742 (vol. II, [p. 18](#), n. 2586); *Notizie del memorabile scoprimento dell'antica Città di Ercolano, del suo Teatro templi etc. avute per lettere da varj celebri letterati*, Florence, 1748 (vol. II, [p. 30](#), n. 2673); *Storia Antiquaria Etrusca, del principio de' progressi fatti finora nello studio sopra le Antichità Etrusche scritte, e figurate*, Florence, 1749 (vol. II, [p. 18](#), n. 2587); *Thesaurus Gemmarum antiquarum astriferarum interprete Jo. Bap. Passerio, cura et studio Ant. Fr. Gori*, Florentiae, 1750 (vol. II, [p. 61](#), n. 2869); *Dactyliotheca Smithiana*, Venetiis, 1767 (vol. II, [p. 61](#), n. 2870); *Descrizione della Cappella di S. Antonio nella Chiesa di S. Marco di Firenze presentata da Alamanno Salviati a Benedetto XIII*, Florence, 1728 (vol. II, [p. 242](#), n. 4020); *Monumentum sive Columbarium Libertorum et servorum Liviae Augustae et Caesarum, Romae detectae in via Appia*, Florentiae, 1727 (vol. II, [p. 196](#), n. 3750).

¹²⁵ 'If he wrote a second, he will also have written a first. I only have the second, I would also like the first. I am asking if these Picene Antiquities can be easily found, and for what price'. See 'Oniologia', XVIII, December 1834, [p. 298](#) (footnote: 'The Author of these Letters was Carlo Santini, Author of the Saggio di Memorie della Città di Tolentino 1789'). A work present in the Cicognara Library: see Giuseppe Colucci, *Lettera in difesa delle osservazioni e della continuazione alle origini e antichità Fermane, contro la critica di un anonimo stampata in Lucca*, Fermo, 1789 (*Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 206](#), n. 1151).

¹²⁶ Zuzeri is present in the Cicognara Library with three works: *D' una antica villa, Di una medaglia d' Atalo Filadelfo*, and, specifically, the *De Tusculano Ch. T. Ciceronis*.

¹²⁷ A work present in the Cicognara Library in two editions: Vittorio Zonca, *Nuovo teatro di macchine, e di edifici per varie e sicure operazioni*, Padua, 1607 and 1622. See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 176](#), nn. 970-971.

diversi Principi ed altri personaggi illustri del Dolci, present in the *Catalogo* in the Venetian edition of 1783.¹²⁸ There is a very specific request for a short poem of the *Laocoonte* of Cardinal Sadoletto, published in Perugia in 1548, an extremely rare edition that Cicognara himself corrected, was translated into poetry by Missirini, and published in the 'Efemeridi Letterarie di Roma' in February 1822. It was Cicognara's intention, in fact, to 'make known that a Cardinal of S.M. Church was engaged in illustrating the monuments, writing verses, and honourably preceded the current Librarian, Monsig. Mai in his love of studies. All expediency will be the goal, and Perugian honour; and I am certain you will like the version more than the original'.¹²⁹

But Cicognara's requests were not limited to printed works, and also extended to codices previously seen in the Biblioteca Capitolare in Perugia¹³⁰ and to original works of particular value such as, for example, 'a little letter by Raphael' that Cicognara wanted to acquire and 'put to good use'.¹³¹ Persistent requests (unsuccessful in only very rare cases)¹³² were also due to the fact that Cicognara was working tirelessly on his major works, the *Storia della Scultura* and *Le Fabbriche più cospicue di Venezia*, as attested by his requests to Vermiglioli for help regarding, for example, the Pala d'Oro in San Marco,¹³³ or the discovery of inscriptions that would allow greater understanding of the monuments and their history.¹³⁴ As we have

¹²⁸ 'Oniologia,' XVIII, December 1834, [p. 302](#). See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 321](#), n. 1883.

¹²⁹ See also a letter dated 9 January 1822: 'Oniologia', XIV, August 1834, [p. 339](#).

¹³⁰ 'I believe I have observed an extremely early codex in a capitular library in Perugia, with images that I do not remember having seen depicted, and of an extremely early date. Please refresh my memory about the place, the book, the painting, and the date, in other words correct me if I have been mistaken'. See 'Oniologia', XII, June 1834, [p. 155](#), letter of 15 April 1810.

¹³¹ Letter dated 10 February 1818: 'Oniologia', XIII, July 1834, [p. 240](#).

¹³² 'It pains me that your search was unsuccessful regarding the Canzoniere edition sought, although I thought I had removed from my note all the difficult ones to obtain. I do not despair, however, that patient insistence will fail to produce an effect'. Letter from Cicognara dated 10 April 1821 (Biblioteca Comunale di Perugia, mss. 1514).

¹³³ 'I am working on the illustration of an extremely singular monument completed before the year 1000, the most beautiful that Agincourt could have illustrated. I mean the Pala d'Oro of S. Marco, a Byzantine work of the first order. If I had it here, in a single sitting it would enlighten me further and remove more doubts than if I spent a month of study and effort'. See 'Oniologia,' XVIII, December 1834, [pp. 298-299](#), letter of 13 March [s.a.].

¹³⁴ See letter dated 24 May 1824 (Biblioteca Comunale di Perugia, mss. 1514): 'The great comfort that remains is in the multiplication of the discoveries of monuments with which to establish comparisons, and for the hope of finding bilingual tombstones, through which we could make much more conclusive progress. God knows what he did when he gave me birth far from Perugia, since I believe that not having your calmness nor your strength of ingenuity, but being bolder and more impatient, I would have ended up going mad'.

already seen with De Lazara, Cicognara relied on Vermiglioli to find good quality drawings of pieces of particular value, including ivories, marbles, monuments that he intended to include in his own works.¹³⁵

Of course Cicognara paid great attention to the works by Vermiglioli himself, whether purchased or, more often, given to him as gifts from the author, even after the sale of his library, such as, for example, the 'precious volume of inscriptions combined with other interesting little things'¹³⁶ including 'that of the monthly superstition of ancient Romans regarding Hygiene', the 'leaflet about the sculptures of Pisans and Florentines living in Perugia',¹³⁷ the *Bibliografia Perugina*,¹³⁸ a

¹³⁵ 'I would be happy', Cicognara writes, 'if there were in Perugia someone capable of indicating for me in the size of a *quartuccio* of this paper, with pure thin contours, with a gentle pen, the Bronze Pope by Vincenzo Danti, touching it with grace and fidelity, but without a speck of chiaroscuro. If there is a suitable person for this, you may well know better than anyone entrusted with this work that I will make good any compensation that you will inform me of having spent. [...] I would like to know or have, if possible, the illustrations that can be published on the ancient Church of Assisi: I believe I do not have them, and I do not know if there is anything accurate and usable' (letter of 15 April 1810, 'Oniologia', XII, June 1834, [pp. 154-155](#)). 'I would like a favour from you. I examined a beautiful ivory in the Perugian museum that is outside the City, and it is owned (I do not remember if by the Signori Baglioni Oddi). That ivory is from the XVI century and cannot be mistaken with others on account of its unique beauty. I cannot flatter myself that it would be sent to me for however many guarantees I could offer, but I would like a very precise description of it, remembering nothing more than the single gratifying impression' (letter of 19 April 1813, 'Oniologia', XIII, July 1834, [p. 236](#)). Moreover, 'years ago a marble was found buried in Rimino and was sent to Milan where it is kept. I had a drawing made of it, which I am attaching most meticulously. I beg you to study it, and tell me what you know, or believe particularly related to the subject, so that they can perhaps not make false conjectures about the era or Author. Let me know your opinion, since it seems worthy to deal with things of not the greatest antiquity, and to descend to study our monuments, among which there are some obscure ones such as this certainly is' (letter dated 27 May 1815, 'Oniologia', XIII, July 1834, [p. 239](#)). Also see letters dated 1 April and 1 May 1812 ('Oniologia', XII, June 1834, [pp. 157-158](#); XIII, July 1834, [pp. 233-234](#)) with the request for a drawing in the Church of San Domenico.

¹³⁶ Letter dated 5 December 1833 (Biblioteca Comunale di Perugia, mss. 1515). Also see the letter dated 19 July 1832: 'Oniologia', XVII, November 1834, [p. 225](#) ('I'm hearing of the next new edition of your Inscriptions, which will be extremely accurate'). Finally, see L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 104](#), n. 3151, where 'extremely learned and extremely accurate work' is defined.

¹³⁷ 'When the volume is completely assembled and finished, you will send it to me', he assures Cicognara, having a rather precise goal in mind: 'I will give an excerpt from this in the new journal of Arts and Technology that is printed here, in which I compose the Articles under my initials, like the others under my name, during the intervals I pass between death and life' (see 'Oniologia', XVIII, December 1834, [p. 304](#)).

¹³⁸ See letters of 10 April 1821 and 24 May 1824 (Biblioteca Comunale di Perugia, mss. 1514), where Cicognara praises the *Bibliografia Perugina*, a booklet 'always flavoured, varied, like

‘precious series of extremely learned little pamphlets’, the *Lezioni archeologiche*, a ‘golden and unique book’ which will ‘infinitely [serve] the need to see summarised, for teaching with order and clarity, that which every type of artist and scholar must know’.¹³⁹

These books were all present in the Biblioteca Cicognara, which could boast thirteen works by Vermiglioli, more specifically: the *Sepolcro Etrusco Chiusino dichiarato nelle sue Epigrafi*, 1818; *Patera Etrusca inedita esposta in un Ragionamento Accademico*, 1811; *Saggio di bronzi Etruschi trovati nell’agro Perugino nel 1812*, 1813; *Lettera sopra un’antica Patera Etrusca*, 1800 (‘at the end we find the plate with this beautiful and precious patera’); *Dell’antica Città di Arna Umbro-Etrusca. Commentario storico-critico con note, e figure*, 1800; *Del Municipio Arnate nell’Umbria nuovamente scoperto in marmo inedito nel Museo Lapidario di Perugia*, 1819; *Di uno scritto autografo di Pietro Perugino nell’Archivio dell’Accademia delle Belle Arti di Perugia inciso al fac simile*, 1820; *La Deposizione di Croce di Federico Barocci nella Cattedrale di Perugia*, 1818; *Testimonianze e confronti sul Tempio di Marte in Todi*, 1819; *Le antiche Iscrizioni Perugine raccolte e illustrate*, 1804; *Della Zecca, e delle Monete Perugine, memorie e monumenti inediti raccolti e pubblicati*, 1816; *Lettera sopra un Cammeo che appartiene al cittadino G.B. Tomitano*, 1798. The respect Cicognara had for Vermiglioli’s works was so great that he advised another scholar of antiquities, the Veronese Bartolomeo Giuliani, to consult specifically the books of his learned correspondent, to help him in the writing of the pamphlet on the amphitheatre in Verona.¹⁴⁰

everything of his, and of wide-ranging erudition’, the ‘latest demonstration of the power of your intelligence, and of the immensity of your scholarship in palaeographic research. I will tell you the truth’, Cicognara continues, ‘that for me you are an object of admiration, since I do not know who wouldn’t lose courage after the research that has been underway for so long, and also after reading texts with sufficient evidence as to the letters but leaving the meaning to conjecture. Without the help of proper nouns and some bilingual inscriptions, we would truly be much further behind where we are, but with all this, we have not reached the first elements of Grammar. I do not know how the soul of those who beat their heads on such hard rocks does not become irritated, and I see that we are not worthy to kiss where so many Men step with determination and learning such as yours’.

¹³⁹ See ‘Oniologia’, XIV, August 1834, [pp. 338-339](#), letter dated 29 December 1821. Also see the letter of 12 June 1822 (‘Oniologia’, XIV, August 1834, [p. 341](#)): ‘I have refreshed my memory of many excellent things, and with a sincere heart I applaud your work, which we needed. [...] I hope that there will be many and better editions, since the work deserves to be not only elementary for young eyes, but an aid for ... age’ (the ellipses are in the text).

¹⁴⁰ ‘As regards its exceptional antiquity, the arguments seem quite convincing, and I was immensely pleased by them because they are plausible as well as ingenious and erudite. However, I would have much loved for you to have once quoted the opinion of Sig. Vermiglioli, who in these recent years must have visited the Monument numerous times, and is extremely scholarly, and very well-versed in everything Etruscan’ (Biblioteca Civica di Verona, Carteggio Giuliani, b. 72, 23 April 1825).

This attention to the works of Vermiglioli is also demonstrated by the promptness with which Cicognara asked him for clarifications regarding certain passages such as, for example, the one where the scholar illustrates a 'wonderful Patera of the Fates with Meleager, Atalanta, the mother, etc.'¹⁴¹ This information finds validation in the *Catalogo*, not only in reference to the aforementioned *Lettera sopra un'antica Patera Etrusca*, but also regarding a work by Pietro Antonio Magalotti, *Terni, ossia l'antica Interamna Nahartium, non già colonia, ma municipio dei Romani* (Foligno, 1765), where Cicognara notes: 'See at the end an Etruscan Patera, which we have also seen interpreted by Vermiglioli'.¹⁴²

Indeed, it must be specified that the section on Etruscan antiquities enjoyed Cicognara's particular attention, as seen in the section of the *Catalogo* expressly dedicated to this realm, composed of ninety works including writings by Gori, Guarnacci, Inghirami, Lanzi,¹⁴³ and, as we have seen, Vermiglioli.

¹⁴¹ 'Tell me a little, Cicognara urges, 'because he did not speak (as far as I can tell, having rapidly skimmed through the dissertation) about that group of ornaments, or points, or leaves, or flames, in which it appears that Necessity drives the nail which, precisely, I believe is Necessity? And in the etymologies, and in the roots of words in some Oriental languages there will be an affinity between some of the names of the Fates and that of Necessity, since nothing is more uncertain and inflexible than Necessity, since nothing is more inevitable than the Fates' (see 'Oniologia', XVIII, December 1834, [p. 298](#)).

¹⁴² L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 20](#), n. 2601.

¹⁴³ Regarding Gori, see *Museum Etruscum exhibens insignia veterum Etruscorum Monumenta aereis tabulis CC nunc primum edita, et illustrata*, Florentiae, 1737-1743 ('the most impressive work that has appeared on this extremely vast subject, and through which this eminent and industrious author has made himself so praiseworthy in literature and his Homeland'); *Risposta al March. Maffei, autore delle Osservazioni letterarie e pubblicate nel quarto Tomo*, Florence, 1739; *Difesa delle Osservazioni letterarie pubblicate nel quarto Tomo*, Florence, 1739; *Difesa dell'alfabeto degli antichi Toscani pubblicata nel 1737 dall'Autore del Museo Etrusco, disapprovato dal Mar. Maffei nel tomo quinto delle sue osservazioni letterarie*, Florence, 1742; *Storia Antiquaria Etrusca, del principio de' progressi fatti finora nello studio sopra le Antichità Etrusche scritte, e figurate*, Florence, 1749; *Istoria delle Città di Chiusi in Toscana dal 1436 al 1595*, Florence, 1747. For Guarnacci, see *Origini Italiane, ossia memorie Istorico-Etrusche*, Lucca, 1767-1782. For Inghirami, instead, please note: *Etruscarum antiquitatum fragmenta quibus urbis Romae, aliarumque gentium primordia, mores, et res gestae indicantur*, Frankfurt, 1637 ('Beautiful and precious edition for the precision of the plates engraved in copper and in wood, located within the text, as well as for the elegance of the typeface and beauty of the papers, uncommon in Germany'); *Monumenti Etruschi o di Etrusco nome disegnat, incise, illustrate, e publicati*, Bovara di Fiesole, 1819. For Lanzi, see *Dissertazione sopra un'Urneta Toscana e difesa del Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, Rome, 1799; *De' vasi antichi dipinti, volgarmente chiamati Etruschi*, Florence, 1806; *Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, e di altre antiche d'Italia per servire alla storia de' popoli, delle lingue, e delle arti*, Rome, 1789.

Cicognara will also conduct research on behalf of Vermiglioli, but to a much more limited degree and often with unsuccessful results,¹⁴⁴ providing him with information about Venetian works and writers.¹⁴⁵ Now, as we have seen the author (in this case Vermiglioli) donate some of his works to Cicognara, so too Cicognara became a donor, or lender,¹⁴⁶ of his own works or those by other authors to his various interlocutors. In fact, in 1810 he will donate to Vermiglioli the pamphlet on Bibliomania and in 1832 the *Memorie Calcografiche*.¹⁴⁷ He will donate to the Librarian

¹⁴⁴ Letter dated 13 May, s.a. ('Oniologia', XVIII, December 1834, [pp. 299-300](#)): 'If I have anything by Ignazio Danti I will let you know but I am afraid I have nothing'. Also see a letter dated 30 August 1831 ('Oniologia', XVII, November 1834, [p. 221](#)). 'Try to research the booklet [*Nuova trasfigurazione delle Lettere Etrusche*, 1754] that I am seeking; I fear it is difficult to find it. Perhaps you have some knowledge of the printed Catalogue of my Library, now in the Vatican, where at n. 2606 Volume II it is indicated with this note 'Extremely interesting little pamphlet, where there are found discrepancies between the true Etruscan alphabets, and the resemblances among many characters considered Etruscan and runic'.

¹⁴⁵ 'The second volume of the Library of Greek and Latin mss. of Morelli, although done, has never been printed. The Life of Apostle Zeno has been written by Sig. Negri, but has not been printed, nor is it being printed for now. For the Dictionary of Antiquities by Rubbi, 16 volumes have been printed, the last reaches the Letter M and each volume costs 50 Venetian *soldi*. Regarding works by Maffei, only 21 volumes are printed. As for information he hoped to obtain from the Murano Bookstore, this is under the seal of finance, and will remain so, so that my efforts were fruitless. You see how poorly I have succeeded in the things about which you were so concerned' (letter dated 1 April 1812: 'Oniologia', XII, June 1834, [p. 156](#)).

¹⁴⁶ See letter from Carlo Botta, 'Direttore dell'Accademia di Ruen', to Cicognara, dated 18 April 1818 (Biblioteca Comunale di Torino, Fondo Prior): 'I still need those books with which you favoured me, and I will need them for some months and perhaps for a year. I hope for your kindness, and for that of the person who is making a copy, that you will allow them to remain in my hands for as much time. I assure you that they are jealously guarded and will be returned in due course on time. I myself will bring them back to Paris, and I shall consign them to a person who will send them back to Venice in a safe manner. The first volume brought back to me by Signora Ginguéné, I left in Paris with a friend of mine, to whom I am writing, begging him to bring it, in keeping with your intention, to Sig. Percier'. On 13 August 1824 Carlo Botta wrote to Cicognara from Paris: 'My History of Italy from 1789 to 1814 is not only completed, but even published; since I no longer need the two books, which he so graciously loaned to me for the composition of this history, and which speak of Venetian things. I beg you to let me know to whom I should send them, and by what means they should be sent'.

¹⁴⁷ 'You have always donated books to me', Cicognara writes to Vermiglioli on 28 January 1832, 'of precious and extremely erudite essays about all your precious things, and Perugian literary glories, and I have never known how to repay you, and I am taking advantage of the meeting of our Commander Borgia to send you a notebook [*Memorie spettanti alla Storia della Calcografia*, Prato, 1831] printed with various plates, which despite its small size has demanded on my part more care, research and effort than you can ever imagine'. See 'Oniologia', XVII, November 1834, [p. 222](#).

of Perugia a copy of the *Ragionamenti sul Bello*;¹⁴⁸ to someone only specified as Young Prince ('in whom many hope') 'three volumes, fittingly bound, and printed on tissue paper, which [...] still cost five hundred lire';¹⁴⁹ and, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, *Le Fabbriche più cospicue di Venezia*, as we have already seen. It must also be noted, however, that sometimes Cicognara's gifts implied the hope of economic advantage, namely of finding a greater number of underwriters or purchasers of his own literary efforts, as seen in his requests to Vermiglioli and to De Lazara.¹⁵⁰

But Cicognara did not limit himself to donating his most 'monumental' works, but rather also put in circulation less voluminous writings such as, for example, the essay on Bibliomania,¹⁵¹ the article on Cennino's codex,¹⁵² or his

¹⁴⁸ Letter to Vermiglioli, 15 April 1810 ('Oniologia', XII, June 1834, [p. 154](#)).

¹⁴⁹ Biblioteca Comunale Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli.

¹⁵⁰ See letter to Vermiglioli of 1 May 1812 ('Oniologia', XIII, July 1834, [p. 234](#)): 'Shortly I shall send you a printed prospectus of the work [the *Storia della Scultura*], not that I flatter myself that you will find me subscribers, since this sort of book is only purchased by very few, and one can hardly count on the few Libraries that barely remain. Despite the volume of work, and the nature of the work, and the prints, I supply it at a very low price so as to sell as many as possible'. And to De Lazara he wrote on 14 October 1817 (Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara): 'I attach the latest brochure for my third large tome, to which I am completely dedicated, and which costs time and money, more than I have. You can give it to some bookseller or acquaintance, and this could allow me to obtain more subscribers, of which I have much need'. In this sense, the help provided to him by Giordani was irreplaceable: 'I wrote to Canova for all the German courts, for Turin, Florence, and Naples: although in these cities you too can and must do something. He will see to the courts. Have you sent him the terms and prospectuses? Remember to send them to him. I await Bentivoglio's parcel. Our good Head [...] is however very busy [...] send me some prospectuses for him as well, so he will evangelize for you. Didn't I write you about libraries? The directorate has withdrawn the funds; it is not sufficient to restrict its employees. And the greatest torture is that it is also binding the hands of the municipal government, which does not receive a penny [*soldo*] from it. Thus no one can be subscribed: but I shall see that the work on Italy comes out; buy it, that is ask permission to buy it. You see where we are! I certainly shall send you some names: but have a little patience. I believe I have two in Cremona, and I hope for more [...].

Remember that Somenzari is prefect in Brescia, and there are wealthy people who can spend and spend; what does it matter if they do not read? I am also sending to Magenta in Vicenza' (letter of 7 June 1812 in P. GIORDANI, *Epistolario*, II, [pp. 311-312](#)).

¹⁵¹ Also see the letter dated 28 August, s.a., addressed to the Secretary of the Istituto Nazionale di Bologna (Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori): 'I take an opportune occasion to send you [...] a pamphlet on *Bibliomania*, omitting various things of minor importance that are reported in some Journals, no longer having any more samples'. Furthermore, see a letter to an unknown recipient of 10 May 1808, published by F. FEDI, *L'ideologia*, p. 161: 'In the summer I republished a certain life of S. Lazaro Monk and Painter, an extremely rare--and ridiculous--little book, but I preceded it with an intriguing

‘Academic chatterings’ to Cancellieri and to De Lazara, to whom he recommended the greatest circumspection, although ‘they are no more than opinions on art, or the declaration of a gentleman’.¹⁵³

Instead, regarding the gifts of works by others, it must be said that Cicognara’s choices were always particularly focused, either based on the interests of the person receiving the gift or based on the rarity of the book. Indeed, we know that he donated two volumes of Morelli illustrating Latin and Italian manuscript codices present in the Biblioteca Nani in Venice,¹⁵⁴ and an extremely beautiful, richly gilded and illuminated codex, which had belonged to Filippo di Borgogna, a gift of which Cicognara felt particularly proud.¹⁵⁵

Likewise, he was proud to have received gifts from particularly illustrious figures: the *Iconographie Grecque et Romaine* by Visconti, from the King of France, as we have seen;¹⁵⁶ and the Epic Poem by Louis Camoens, from the Marquis of Sousa Coutinho (who was, among other things, editor of the edition given to him), for which Cicognara had words of great appreciation.¹⁵⁷

dissertation on Bibliomania. I don’t have a copy of this, but I could send it to you, if you also would like to know the literary and antiquarian miseries that occupy me’.

¹⁵² See letter of 23 November 1821 to De Lazara: Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara.

¹⁵³ See the letters of 9 May and 14 October 1817: Biblioteca Comunale di Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara. In addition, there is this excerpt from a letter of 13 August, s.a., to Cancellieri (Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori): ‘I thank you for the book of the Pontificals, which I place together with your many works, always special to me. When I can, I will send you a Volume of the Academic Transactions of the Venetian Athenaeum of which I am also President, and where there are many of my things’.

¹⁵⁴ See ‘Oniologia’, XII, [p. 155](#), letter dated Venice, 1 April 1812: ‘As for volume 2 of the Biblioteca mss. Farsetti’, Cicognara continues, ‘it is extremely uncommon, not for sale, and a bookseller who professes to have it, but cannot find it, keeps me at bay with many excuses and pretexts, but the fact remains that I have never been able to have it’. Regarding the Nani bookshop (three ‘branches’ of which existed in Venice, in Cannaregio, Giudecca, and San Trovaso), see MARINO ZORZI, *La Libreria di San Marco. Libri, lettori, società nella Venezia dei Dogi*, Milan, Mondadori, 1987, pp. 311, 342.

¹⁵⁵ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, n. 380, letter dated Florence 24 October 1823, addressed to the Minister of State for Internal Affairs of the Duchy of Livorno, Ascanio Mansi.

¹⁵⁶ Also see a letter dated 22 October 1825 (Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele): ‘I did send to Monsignor Mai the continuation of the Visconti’s Iconography in folio, sent to me as a gift from S.M. the King of France, which I hope has already been received’.

¹⁵⁷ ‘One of the most beautiful books published in this era, with the greatest diligence and richness, and taste, and in such a small number of examples, none of which was sold, that *amateurs* would pay thousands of Francs to have just one on offer. This increases a bit the preciousness of my library’ (letter dated Paris 8 March 1819: Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori). See L. CICOGNARA, *Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 192](#), n. 1087: Camoens Louis, *Os*

On the other hand, he was irritated with equal energy by the rejection of his proposal to the Biblioteca Braidense to exchange two extremely precious codices from the fifteenth century for a copy of a work by Piranesi, unidentified, but whose value we know to be 70 *zecchini*, versus 500 for the two codices. Confronted with the Ministry's rejection, Cicognara responded by sending one of the two codices as a gift, accompanied by the following letter, which we quote here as indicative of how he envisioned his library's public function:

Judging bibliographical curiosities to be useless in a national library is not worthy of those who devote themselves principally to literature, sciences, the arts; because excluding the precious curiosities that give us faith in the origins of progress and excellence is the same as comparing a library to the shop of any dealer in schoolbooks. But the crush of work, and the urgency of greater attention, must have resulted in the vote on this affair being committed to some unintelligent subordinate. Since, however, the constant disinterest that I have always professed, and of which I am proud, is known, I have the honour of sending you one of the codices in question, which you will keep among the possessions of the library; and, although a century and a half earlier, it will be the first in connexion with the very wonderful Choral books of the Certosa of Parma. The State does not take offense at gifts: it does not have the burden of remuneration, nor need anyone to take on the task of giving thanks for it, since the citizen who donates to the State gives to himself. But if, however, the State does not authorize anyone to reject gifts in its name, I protest, in my capacity as private citizen, that I will not accept any exchange agreement now, as that for me would be an insult.¹⁵⁸

Thus, from these lines emerges a great focus on rare editions and, above all, on care for their public fruition. These are but some of the many qualities that Cicognara showed that he possessed, in addition to the great competence that made him one of the most effective and up-to-date bibliophiles of the time. Not surprisingly scholars, literary figures, historians, and critics of the time did their best to send him their works, and not only in the artistic-archaeological realm but also the literary. These without doubt included Vincenzo Monti,¹⁵⁹ Giustina Renier Michiel,¹⁶⁰ Missirini,¹⁶¹ Marchese Ricci,¹⁶² Cancellieri¹⁶³ and, once again, Vermiglioli:

Lusiados Poema Epico, Nova edição correcta, e dada a' luz por D. Jose M. de Souza-Botelho, Paris, Didot, 1817, in 4 large figures. ('This is one of the most splendid and accurate editions of Firmino Didot, embellished with elegantly engraved plates based on drawings by M. Gerard. A book that, due to the restricted number of examples in this form, will always be, in addition to highly valuable, of the greatest rarity').

¹⁵⁸ See V. MALAMANI, *Memorie*, I, pp. [238-239](#).

¹⁵⁹ 'I thank you for your courteous submission to me of an example of the Classical and very useful work to which you have consecrated your years, which required such a great quantity of vast knowledge no less than extremely profound study and effort that for once other

purists might be silent, and the over-abundant libertines and followers of every foreign manner might not lose restraint, wandering dissolute [...]. I have devoured those two delectably flavourful Volumes, and I see that we were in great need of a Work which would come to the aid of beautiful writing in order to complete it like the builders of the tower of Babel' (letter dated Venice 4 May 1818: Biblioteca Comunale Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli). Also see Cicognara's letter to Monti of 20 December 1824 (Biblioteca Comunale Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli): 'Your book that he had heard about from many without being able to see it in the first moments because, due to universal mania, all snatched it away to devour it. You have given me much more than one flavour at a time, and you have also seasoned my convalescence with education and delights, far from over. But more than anything it has greatly comforted me to see that you remember my name, and the person of one of your early admirers and friends, who blamelessly feared being forgotten, since after the second volume of your kind *proposal*, I remained ignorant of the others. You make one forget that sort of evidence and severity that is inseparable from language studies, and in general from the criticism that it incites, and deconstruct the meaning of words with the help of luminous examples and the aid of sound logic'.

¹⁶⁰ See Cicognara's letter dated 28 June 1825 (Biblioteca Comunale Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli): 'I find myself honoured with an extremely precious gift [le Feste Veneziane] which certainly will provide a pleasant and instructive hour: nor will it be the first time that things written by you, in which you so rightly bring together the grace of speaking with the solidity of thinking, give me a not ephemeral and a real delight'.

¹⁶¹ In fact, the notes that Cicognara sends him, with his observations regarding the Life of Canova and the Sonnets written by Missirini in honour of the sculptor of Possagno, are long, complex, and detailed: see Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele, letters dated 19 April 1817, 27 June 1817, 29 June 1817, 23 August 1817, 21 October 1817, 8 November 1817, 18 November 1817, '4 of 1823'. Cicognara possessed the following of Missirini's works: *Sui marmi di Antonio Canova. Versi*, Venice, 1817 (*Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 161](#), n. 3531); *Monumenti di Scultura e Architettura. Sonetti*, Rome, 1818 (*Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 161](#), n. 3532, and vol. I, [p. 184](#), n.1028); *Le antichità di Ravenna. Poemetto* (*Catalogo*, vol. I, [p. 184](#), n. 1029).

¹⁶² See letter of 9 May 1833 to Pietro Paoletti, where he mentions having received the 'wonderful idyll of Cav. Ricci. Having read it has made me increasingly an admirer of this cultivated and passionate writer'. Also see the letter of 18 October 1829 to Ricci: 'You are printed, illuminated, engraved, set to music, at this point you only lack being placed upon altars, but I have already given you a place of honor on the altarpiece of friendship'. Both letters are at the Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele.

¹⁶³ 'Yesterday I received one of your old letters written to me on 22 October of last year together with observations on the originality of Dante', Cicognara writes to Cancellieri on 22 April 1815 (Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Autog. Campori) 'which I did not want to fail to devour before night, so as to lie down with the taste of having lived with you for at least one day. You have such extremely worthy erudition that you have filled your exposition with an emporium of precious information, and endowed as you are with immense memory, it would be for me a treasure if you could live close by, so that you might give me a hand in my immense and laborious work'. Here Cicognara is referring to the *Osservazioni intorno la qaestione da varj promossa sull'originalità della Divina Commedia*, Rome, 1814, present in his library (*Catalogo*, vol. II, [p. 179](#), n. 3646).

I read, indeed devoured, the Memoria sulla Rose and there was [...] a person of your brilliance not withered by the tremendous example of rigorous scholarship with which it is adorned, because you have such abundant harvests in your fields of precious memories and roving erudition, that all can come confidently to your fountain to drink.¹⁶⁴

At times, correspondingly, he did his utmost to ensure that the work of some of his learned interlocutors might find greater prominence, as seen, for example, in this letter sent to De Lazara on the first of July 1828:

I have been sent a report of the acclaimed works of Paoletti. The writer is Cav. Angelo M.a Ricci, Author of so many beautiful poetic works, and perhaps even a bit of poetry in this report. I am sending it all to you so, *mutatis mutandis*, with your tact, seek publicity for it in political or literary journals of the Venetian state. This ought to give pleasure and courage to *amateurs* and artists, and return great honour to the State, and our Arts. Do what is possible to make it so.¹⁶⁵

(to be continued)

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¹⁶⁴ See 'Oniologia', XIV, August 1834, [p. 338](#), letter dated 29 December 1821.

¹⁶⁵ Biblioteca Comunale Lendinara, Fondo De Lazara.