MITTEILUNGEN DES KUNSTHISTORISCHEN INSTITUTES IN FLORENZ

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HEFT I

Photography and the Art Market around 1900

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1 *Objects staged in Bardini's display in the Palais de la Femme at the* Exposition Universelle *in Paris*, 1900.
Florence, Archivio dei Musei Civici Fiorentini

FROM VISUAL INVENTORY TO TROPHY CLIPPINGS
BARDINI & CO. AND THE USE OF PHOTOGRAPHS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ART MARKET

Lynn Catterson

This essay takes as its point of departure the nuance of the first moments when photographs began to replace engravings as a means of visually reproducing art. The site of this transition was the Florentine print shop of Luigi Bardi, who encouraged and supported the young Leopoldo Alinari (1832–1865) to set up an adjacent laboratory for photography in 1853. The technology evolved rapidly in the years leading up to the unification of Italy. In 1865, Florence took center stage when it became the capital, thus acquiring tremendous economic, political, and cultural momentum. Here, photographs would record art and monuments, carefully staged portraits of the elite, and function as internationally exchanged surrogates for objects on the art market. Analyzing the practices of the hundred-year activity of the dealers Stefano (1836–1922) and Ugo Bardini (1892–1965) through their photo archives of more than 30,000 photographs, this essay examines photographs as the primary agents in all of the stages of transacting art.

The Context

Broadly speaking, the emergence of photography in nineteenth-century Florence was initially impelled by scientific interests: the first Italian daguerrotype was made at the Museo di Fisica e Storia Naturale in Florence in 1839.[1] Almost immediately, the artists would join the chemists in exploring the medium of photography. It very quickly gained traction in Florence, and no doubt one of the reasons was the grand ducal appointment of Lorenzo Bartolini (1777–1850) as chair of sculpture at the Accademia di Belle Arti

[1] Emanuela Sesti, "Gli Alinari e le origini della fotografia a Firenze", in: *Alle origini della fotografia: un itinerario toscano. 1839–1880*, exh. cat., ed. by *eadem*/Michele Falzone del Barbarò/Monica Maffioli, Florence 1989, pp. 59–80: 59.

in 1839.[2] Bartolini enthusiastically embraced the technology, in both practical and theoretical ways;[3] photographs would quickly become mainstream in the Accademia, functioning as an alternative to plaster casts and engravings for exercises in copying masterworks, as compositional starting points for painting and sculpture, as well as the basis for engravings. Among other first uses of this new technology was the visual reproduction of masterworks and monuments, the agency of which had long been achieved by the engraved reproduction.

At the time, foremost in the field of engraving in Florence was Luigi Bardi (1784–1854),[4] whose shop was located in the present-day Piazza Antinori.[5] He was surely the son of Giuseppe Bardi, who, together with Niccolò Pagni (active 1785–1830 ca.),[6] edited in 1791–1795 *L'Etruria pittrice*. This elegant bi-lingual two-volume set contained engraved illustrations of some 120 Tuscan paintings and frescoes accompanied by descriptions in Italian and French.[7] For his part, from 1837 to 1842, Luigi would edit the four-volume set of engravings reproducing paintings in the collection of Palazzo Pitti. As the royal chalcographer, Luigi dedicated the publication to Leopold II, the last grand duke of Tuscany (r. 1824–1859); it was ambitious in its scope, containing nearly 500 illustrated entries.[8] Luigi would have been uniquely disposed to immediately recognize that the new technology of photography was poised to replace the print as a medium for reproduction; he also would have noticed that his great patron, Leopoldo II, had taken an avid interest in it.[9]

In 1853, the Società Fotografica Toscana was inaugurated, no doubt compelled by the rapid evolution of the technology and the increasing number of painters who saw photography as a potentially more viable career path, especially when it came to portraiture.[10] Founded in the Via Garibaldi by the chemist Pietro Semplicini,[11] the landscape painter Francesco Bensa,[12] and the painter and calotype photographer Vero Veraci,[13] the society was heralded in the 15 December 1853 issue of the *Bullettino delle Arti del Disegno in Italia*. Touting the development of the collodion print, the announcement advertised its advantages to artists –

[2] For Bartolini see, most recently, Annarita Caputo/Silvia Melloni Franceschini, *Lorenzo Bartolini: nuove prospettive fra Carrara e Firenze*, Pisa 2016.

[3] Andrea Greco, "Dagherrotipi e documentazione d'arte all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze: Lorenzo Bartolini e Pietro Freccia scultori. 1840–1856", in: *AFT*, XX (2004), 39/40, pp. 44–54; Monica Maffioli/Luigi Tomassini, "Il dagherrotipo nell'Italia del 1839", in: *L'Italia d'argento: 1839–1859. Storia del dagherrotipo in Italia*, exh. cat. Florence/Rome, ed. by Monica Maffioli/Maria Francesca Bonetti, Florence 2003, pp. 15–30: 28.

[4] Silvia Marilli, "Luigi Bardi", in: *Segni di luce: la fotografia italiana dall'età del collodio al pittorialismo*, exh. cat., ed. by Italo Zannier, Ravenna 1993, II, pp. 197–202, esp. p. 197, note 1, and p. 198.

[5] The 1858 edition of Murray's handbook describes his print shop, which retained its name after Bardi's death, as "one of the most extensive print sellers in Italy" (Octavian Blewitt, *A Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy [...]*, 5th, rev. and enl. ed., London 1858, p. 81).

[6] Pagni is mentioned as "Librajo da Orsanmichele" in an *avviso* of the *Gazzetta toscana*, 1780, p. 84. Mentioned with Bardi in *Gazzetta universale, o sieno: Notizie istoriche, politiche, di scienze, art, agricultura, ec.*, 17 October 1786, and *ibidem*, 28 June 1788.

[7] [Marco Lastri], *L'Etruria pittrice ovvero storia della pittura toscana, dedotta dai suoi monumenti che si esibiscono in stampa dal secolo X. fino al presente*, Florence 1791–1795. Barthélemy Renard was responsible for the French translation.

[8] Luigi Bardi, *L'imperiale e reale Galleria Pitti*, Florence 1837–1842. This was followed by a French edition, *idem*, *Galerie du Palais Pitti: gravé sur cuivre par les meilleurs artistes italiens et illustrée par une societé des gens de lettres*, Florence 1842–1845. In 1841, Luigi edited the *Catalogo delle stampe incise dal celebre R. Morghen ed altri stimati artisti italiani [...]*, Florence 1841. Another early work is *Le tre porte del battistero di San Giovanni di Firenze incise ed illustrate*, Florence 1821.

[9] Andrea Greco, "Fotografia e documentazione d'arte all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze 1839–1865", in: *L'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze negli anni di Firenze capitale 1865–1870*, conference proceedings Florence 2015, ed. by Cristina Frulli/Francesca Petrucci, Florence 2017, pp. 291–335; see esp. p. 298 and fig. 5, showing a daguerrotype portrait of Leopold II.

[10] Sesti (note 1), pp. 59f.

[11] On Semplicini see *ibidem*, p. 59. See also Sara Ragazzini, "Fotografi a Firenze 1839–1914", in: *AFT*, XX (2004), 39/40, pp. 73–143: 137f. Semplicini produced a series of photographs of the most noteworthy animals in the *Esposizione Agraria Toscana* held in the Cascine in 1857, forty-nine of which were published as colloidal prints.

[12] On Bensa, see Sven-Wieland Staps, *s.v.* Bensa, Francesco, in: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, ed. by Günter Meißner *et al.*, Munich *et al.* 1992–, IX, p. 145. It is not sure if he is identical with the Nice-born painter François Bensa (1811–1885/1895), for which see Catrin Ritter, *s.v.* Bensa, François, *ibidem*.

[13] On Veraci see Michele Falzone del Barbarò, "La calotipia in Toscana:

compositions could be photographed and consulted at leisure, and, significantly, photographs could preserve the memory of works that had left the studio.[14]

The literature which discusses the mid-nineteenth-century up-tick in the photograph's visual and cultural encroachment on the city of Florence takes as its point of departure the young Leopoldo Alinari, acknowledging his brief stint in circa 1850 in the print shop of Luigi Bardi.[15] It would be a very different story were it told from the point of view of Giuseppe and Luigi Bardi.[16] No doubt in an effort to embrace the new technology for creating reproductive images of masterworks, so as to preserve their livelihood, the Bardi invested and established Leopoldo Alinari in a photographic laboratory near their print shop in Via Cornina, the present Via del Trebbio. In 1854, Leopoldo's brothers Romualdo (1830–1890) and Giuseppe (1836–1890) joined the firm.[17] Though this information is customarily given cursorily, it is a moment in time that deserves more notice and elaboration. For one, the impetus here is not Leopoldo Alinari, but rather Luigi Bardi, the royal engraver, who funded and sponsored enterprise in the new technology of photography, to stay ahead of the curve as it were.[18] Luigi Bardi's venture was well-placed – his royal connections carried an implicit guarantee that his investment in the new medium of photographic reproduction was sure to be a commercial success.

The Florentine dealer Stefano Bardini[19] studied at the Accademia di Belle Arti from 1854 to 1859, a period of time that was effectively bookended by the inauguration of the Società Fotografica Toscana at one end, and preparations for the *Esposizione Nazionale Italiana* held in 1861 at the other. At the time Bardini began his studies, photography had been inculcated in various ways in the Accademia for more than a decade.[20] This is to say, all the while he studied painting, photography had become ubiquitous and, for him, tightly bound with art. To begin at the beginning is first to recognize that most Italian dealers were trained as artists, a condition not commonly shared by dealers outside of Italy. And to close the circle more tightly, Bardini and his generation were

origini e protagonisti inediti", in: *Alle origini della fotografia* (note 1), pp. 31–56: 33.

[14] "La Società Fotografica Toscana", in: *Bullettino delle Arti del Disegno in Italia*, I (1853), pp. 6f.

[15] See, for example, Silvia Paoli, *s.v.* Alinari, Fratelli, in: *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, New York 2008, I, pp. 25–27.

[16] My first interest in Luigi Bardi was as an individual of the same name in Bardini's network from whom Bardini bought copies of paintings. As it turned out, this Luigi Bardi was the grandson of the royal engraver. Further digging in guidebooks, newspapers, published volumes of engravings, auction databases, all far too numerous to list, reveals the Bardi family to be one with at least three generations of copyists: Giuseppe Bardi (active circa 1790–1831); Luigi Bardi the elder (1784–1854; see also Susanna Partsch, *s.v.* Bardi, Luigi, in: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* [note 12], VII, p. 36); Giuseppe Bardi (1811–after 1861), but for whom I find no activity; Luigi Bardi the younger (active 1860s–1893). ASEB preserves two receipts for painted copies made for Bardini by the younger Luigi Bardi. The first, dated 1878, was a painting of Titian's *Portrait of Clarissa Strozzi*, 1542 (the original [?] now in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin) for which he received 300 lire; the second, dated 1891, was of Justus Sustermans' *Portrait of Valdemaro principe di Danimarca* (Florence, Galleria Palatina) for which he received 200 lire. In online databases and auction sites, the painted copies by both the elder and younger Luigi are often conflated as the work of a single Luigi Bardi. However, it is easy to distinguish the work of one from the other. While no doubt they both studied the masterworks in situ, once back in the studio they would have relied upon a reproduction of the work. The paintings by the older Luigi evince a somewhat harsh tonal range, while those painted by the younger Luigi display a much finer and more subtle tonal gradation. This difference is testament to the influence of the photographs that replaced the engravings as the models for part of the process of making painted copies.

[17] Susanna Weber/Ferruccio Malandrini, "Fratelli Alinari in Florence", in: *History of Photography*, XX (1996), pp. 49–56. By 1863, the Alinari moved their operations to Via Nazionale 8.

[18] For the fact that finances were a critical ingredient and for a recognition of Luigi Bardi's resources, see P.C., "Della fotografia in Toscana", in: *Rivista enciclopedica italiana*, II (1855), pp. 63–70: 67–70.

[19] For the bibliography on Bardini, see Lynn Catterson, "Introduction", in: *Dealing Art on Both Sides of the Atlantic, 1860–1940*, ed. by *eadem*, Leiden/Boston 2017, pp. 1–38.

[20] See Chiara Migliorini, "La fotografia come modello: l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze", in: *AFT*, X (1994), 19, pp. 43–51; see also the contributions in: *L'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (note 9), in particular Greco (note 9) and Monica Maffioli, "'Del metodo del fare e del metodo del vedere': la fotografia all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento", pp. 337–361.

2 Models posing in historical costume, ca. 1855–1859, albumen print, 20.8 × 16.5 cm. Florence, Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, inv. 1107

among the first to be trained as artists in an academy that was already mature in its integration of the photographic medium within its casual practice, formal curriculum, and for its own merit. Thus, for example, models dressed in period costume while posing for a history painting could be captured in a photograph to be lingered over, improvised upon, and eventually become a painting. The Bardini archive preserves numerous photographs of models (or fellow artists) dressed as *garibaldini*, armed to the teeth and in striking poses either heroic or tragic. Other examples recreate Medicean Florence from the Golden Age of Lorenzo il Magnifico. One photograph depicts a group of people in historic costume clustered together in the cloister of San Marco (Fig. 2). Using this photograph as his point of departure, Stefano Bardini broadened out the composition to include more figures and more of the cortile; still extant is the bozzetto of this composition for a painting currently in the Villa Medici at Cerreto Guidi, right outside of Florence (Fig. 3). His

3 Stefano Bardini, *Men gathered in the cortile of San Marco* (bozzetto), ca. 1855–1859, oil on canvas, 30 × 53 cm. Florence, Archivio Storico Eredità Bardini, inv. Bd. 9049

daughter Emma (1883–1962) staged landscape photographs, obviously intended for a journey into paint as evinced by the residual streaks of water color on their backs.[21] Likewise, her brother Ugo, younger by some nine years, actively used photographs as the first vehicle to craft a painting. The model would be posed and photographed, then the print would be annotated with the boundaries of the future painted compositional frame (Fig. 4). At times Ugo would annotate a black and white print with colors. Often photographs of different compositions would be amalgamated into a single painted composition. Ugo took the process yet another step further when the model was re-photographed in the company of the painting for which she had sat, in the same attitude as that in which she originally posed (Fig. 5). As an example for the reversal of this process, the archive preserves an Alinari photograph of the Chiasso dei Manetti, the alleyway connecting the eastward part of the Via delle Terme to the Borgo Santi Apostoli, onto which Ugo sketched additions to the composition (Fig. 6).

There is no evidence that Bardini ever trained to be a photographer, something that, at the time, would have been a considerable investment in time and money, as demonstrated by the other artists, such as Leopoldo Alinari and Giacomo Brogi (1822–1881), who gave up their painting or graphic career to study and train in photography. Indeed, although Bardini continued to take on a few painting commissions, he was otherwise fully engaged as a dealer since 1866.[22] And

[21] A number of these landscape photographs are conserved in AFEB.

[22] Many years later, responding to a request by a certain Sig. Gatteschi to obtain from Bardini a sketch for the design of the stage curtain for the Politeama, Bardini wrote: "Dal 1866 in poi non ho più dipinto. Non

4 *Seated model posing for Ugo Bardini*, ca. 1910, glass negative. Florence, Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, inv. N.V. 1338

5 *Seated model posing in front of Ugo Bardini's painting of her*, ca. 1910, glass negative. Florence, Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, inv. N.V. 1337

this is all notwithstanding the fact that, fairly early in his career, he employed some three hundred people and maintained a communication and transactional network with another thousand or so museum agents, dealers, collectors, and suppliers. When considered in this way, it seems unlikely that he had much spare time for activities other than managing the business, including dabbling in photography. That the photographs were taken by others is borne out by the archival presence of hundreds of receipts for the purchase of negatives and photographic prints, and by Bardini's repeated statements to clients that certain photographs were not sent as promised because he needed to have them retaken. There is also the fact

posso quindi contentarla nel desiderio che ha di avere un ricordo del telone da me dipinto per il Politeama [...]" (ASEB, Copialettere, 20 October 1894). On the project for the Politeama, see Lynn Catterson, "Duped or Duplicitous? Bode, Bardini and the Many Madonnas of South Kensington", in: *Journal of the History of Collections* (forthcoming). Bardini's first documented activity as a dealer was selling copies of masterworks in Palazzo Pitti executed by a certain Eugenia Formigli, for which see Catterson (note 19), p. 26.

6 Ugo Bardini, sketch on an Alinari photograph of the Chiasso dei Manetti, pen and ink on gelatin silver print, 25.3 × 19 cm. Florence, Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, inv. 1846

that in the nineteenth-century guidebooks Bardini is never listed among the photographers practicing in Florence. Taking all of the evidence together, and despite notions to the contrary, it becomes fairly obvious that Bardini was not a photographer. Until he died in 1922, the trajectory of Bardini's career ran parallel with that of photography. His two children, Emma and Ugo, themselves also trained as painters, ran the business after their father's death. Thus, for one hundred years, the Bardini family and business were inseparable from the constant use of photographs, and the use was far more than simply illustrative.

The Photographic Archive

There are two primary archival Florentine repositories of material concerning Stefano and Ugo Bardini and their business of transacting art, which have occupied my full attention since 2010. One group of written and photographic documents, representing a small percentage of the entirety of extant material, is located in the archive of the Museo Stefano Bardini, which is under the jurisdiction of the municipality of Florence (Comune di Firenze, Direzione Cultura, Musei Civici Fiorentini) and known as Fondo Stefano Bardini in the Archivio dei Musei Civici Fiorentini. This archive has been processed and it represents material largely confined to the decade from 1905 to 1915 and photographic material evidently left in the gallery after it was inherited by the city in 1922. The other repository, which is now known as the Archivio Storico Eredità Bardini and the Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, is in the custodianship of the state and under the jurisdiction of the Polo Museale della Toscana.[23]

Once upon a time unknown, the photographs associated with the business were attached by a pin to or enclosed with the correspondence, or arranged in neatly organized inventory albums. However, Stefano Bardini and his staff actively used these photos; later in time, Ugo raided, pillaged, and reorganized them. And, at some point in the distant past, nearly all of the photographs were detached from their correspondence or their album, most likely before the death of Stefano. This could have happened out of concern for conservation; however, I have come to think instead that the photographs functioned far more efficiently and fluently than the written letters in the transactional lives of objects active in an international art market. It remains impossible to associate most of the thousands of "Madonnas" mentioned in the correspondence and inventories with a specific *Madonna* since almost all of the time there is little or no description attached to the mention. Whereas, the successful association of a photograph with an object is a classic case of 'a picture is worth a thousand words'.

Approximately 10,000 photographs and glass negatives and their prints exist in the Archivio dei Musei Civici Fiorentini; these are kept for the most part in their older organizational system, in large *faldoni* categorized by subject, medium, or type. In the Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, there are approximately 30,000 photographs and print images, whose archaeological complexion is anything but neat, with most resting in piles loosely associated by subject or media type and hundreds of them grouped as what is now deemed "miscellanea". Of course, there are many duplicates between the Archivio dei Musei Civici and the Archivio Fotografico, but on the whole, the two collections have different personalities; those in the Archivio dei Musei Civici are what remained in the galleries after Bardini's death,

[23] On Bardini's photo archive, see also Annalea Tunesi, *Stefano Bardini's Photographic Archive: A Visual Historical Document*, PhD diss. Leeds 2014, http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/7490/. I wish to express my ongoing gratitude to Stefano Casciu, Marco Mozzo, and Stefano Tasselli of the Polo Museale della Toscana for their incredible generosity with respect to my consultation of ASEB and AFEB.

whereas those in the Archivio Fotografico throughout the ensuing years, during the life of Ugo, were housed variously in Bardini's Palazzo Mozzi, located across the street from the galleries. This essay mainly considers the photographic material in the Archivio Fotografico.

Added to an already multi-layered historical strata are the many clippings (*ritagli*) from journals and magazines representing hundreds of objects which Ugo commingled with the photographs – this is a particular category of image to which I shall return. From the beginning, I had been working with the photographs on a case-by-case basis, knowing that I was not prepared to grapple with, nor make proper sense or use out of the entire collection. Following several years of trying to understand the structure of the Bardini business, its social network, and, most importantly, its archive as an entity in and of itself, it was time to try to construct some kind of schema for the photographs. Thus, for several months beginning in early 2015, I devoted my attention mainly to all of the photographic documentation that exists in the archive. Needless to say, my close encounter with the photographs was predicated on all of the previous years' worth of work in the archive in order to understand the business broadly, as well as very specifically. For example, Bardini had many men in his employ, and specifically, there is finally a successful identification of the handwriting of the various managers and their years of tenure. This in turn brought the added dimensions of timeframe and person responsible for many of the annotations on the photographs. What follows are some observations that, while simple on the surface, were far from easy to reach.

The Photographers

The archive preserves photographs from more than hundred different photographers; the photographs were either commissioned by or sent to Bardini or collected by his staff. The photographs that Bardini needed for his business were commissioned mainly from local Florentine photographers. Most often objects would be photographed on site in the galleries or in the rooms and ateliers in Palazzo Mozzi; this would be especially the case for large or heavy objects, and this is also the reason why photographic equipment was kept on premises – marble sculpture and photographic equipment were far too heavy to drag around. Sufficient light was critical for the quality of the image, and this is why the gallery showrooms on Piazza dei Mozzi and many of the rooms in Palazzo Mozzi have large skylights, still visible today from inside both properties.[24]

In the same way that Bardini had an eye and a standard for high quality with respect to the objects he transacted, so too did he apply that eye and standard to the photographs. Thus, for portraits he relied heavily on Giacomo Brogi and Carlo Brogi (1850–1925), Michele Schemboche,[25] and Luigi Montabone.[26] Bardini & Co. had ongoing relationships with other photographers, Fratelli Alinari among them, as testified to by the numerous receipts recording hundreds – or probably thousands – of negatives and prints that were commissioned over the course of nearly one hundred years.

To date, the earliest receipt to be found in the archive is from Giacomo Brogi.[27] Dated 16 August 1878, it lists, along with negatives commissioned of "due busti", twelve copies of a portrait of Bardini and twelve copies of a portrait of his sister Marghe-

[24] This is also observed in the Alinari studio, in Via Nazionale.

[25] For Schemboche see *Fotografie del Risorgimento italiano*, exh. cat., ed. by Marco Pizzo, Rome 2004, p. 412.

[26] For Montabone see Piero Becchetti, *Fotografi e fotografia in Italia, 1839–1880*, Rome 1978, p. 118.

[27] For Brogi see Giacomo Arbib, *Di Giacomo Brogi fotografo: la sua vita e le sue opere*, Rome 1882; Silvia Silvestri, "Lo studio Brogi a Firenze: da Giacomo Brogi a Giorgio Laurati", in: *AFT*, X (1994), 20, pp. 9–32; Francesca Recine, *La documentazione fotografica dell'arte in Italia dagli albori all'epoca moderna*, Naples 2006, pp. 35–37.

rita (1845–1927).[28] Another receipt, dated 11 April 1879, itemized copies of photographs and negatives of "oggetti diversi" commissioned during the months of January and February of that year.[29] As a young teen, Giacomo Brogi worked for the publisher Batelli, and he also took private instruction in engraving with Antonio Perfetti (1792–1872)[30] at the Accademia di Belle Arti.[31] Following some time spent with the engraver Achille Paris (1820–1884), Brogi went to work for Luigi Bardi retouching photographs. After various work experiences, he opened a shop at Via Tornabuoni 1 and a laboratory at Lungarno delle Grazie 15.[32] In 1861, Brogi successfully participated in the *Esposizione Italiana* in Florence and by 1865 he had acquired a house at Corso Tintori 79.[33] At the height of his career, the business expanded to include a shop in Naples and one in Rome.[34] Early on, Brogi turned his attention to carbon printing, realizing the importance of print multiples, which was not possible with the daguerrotype. In *Bacciotti's Handbook of Florence and Its Environs* of 1883, along with four other photographers, Brogi was described as "preeminent as photographer and editor of several collections of Italian views" and offering "the most complete collection in Italy of Statuary, Monuments, ancient and modern bas-reliefs". The guidebook further advertised his "direct reproduction from originals of designs, pictures and frescoes, taken from the principal galleries of Florence, Pisa, Milan and Turin", by which Brogi's establishment had acquired "a very high and well-deserved reputation and renown". He was recommended for walk-in business at his atelier on the Lungarno delle Grazie for "portraits executed in any size, from the 'carte da visita' to life-size, at fixed and moderate prices". Visitors were also directed to his shop in the Via Tornabuoni, where both English and French were spoken and where they would find "besides a good collection of the best copies of our original paintings, a large depôt of photographs of every species – Album-maps – Guide-books – Albums of views with descriptions, Engravings etc. etc.".[35]

Another important photographer was Luigi Montabone (1828–1887),[36] who followed the exodus from Turin to Florence in the years of *Firenze capitale*, opening a shop at Via dei Banchi 3 as well as one at Piazza di Spagna 9 in Rome.[37] Interested in landscape photography, he traveled to Persia for a campaign for which he received honorable mention in 1867 at the Paris *Exposition Universelle*. By 1873, Montabone was the royal photographer to the shah of Persia as well as the royal house of Italy,[38] by 1895 to the queen of Serbia,[39] and by the end of

[28] ASEB, Corrispondenza Misc., 1878.

[29] ASEB, Amministrazione, 1879. Some years before Bardini opened his gallery on Piazza dei Mozzi, he had been receiving mail from at least 1873 on the Lungarno Torrigiani 29, and he maintained an additional space on the Via dei Benci 3, at least from 1877, according to addresses on envelopes in ASEB, Corrispondenza Misc., 1877. This is to say that he was operating in the immediate neighborhood of Giacomo Brogi. Also in this neighborhood was the first establishment of the plaster cast maker Oronzio Lelli and the dealer and art critic Alessandro Foresi (1814–1886).

[30] On Perfetti see *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, *s.v.* Perfetti, Antonio, https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00138788.

[31] Giacinto Gamberucci da Prata, *Di Giacomo Brogi e delle sue opere*, Florence 1882, p. 9.

[32] Silvestri (note 27). This space would be amplified in 1888. See also Italo Zannier, *s.v.* Brogi, Giacomo, in: *Grove Art Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T011474 (accessed on 1 February 2018).

[33] Silvestri (note 27), p. 10.

[34] *Ibidem*.

[35] Emilio Bacciotti, *Bacciotti's Handbook of Florence and Its Environs [...]*, Florence 1883, Appendix "Interesting Adresses for Strangers Visiting Florence", p. 73. The other photographers mentioned were Fratelli Alinari, Luigi Montabone, Alvino & Co., and George A. Cole.

[36] On Montabone, see Maria Francesca Bonetti/Alberto Prandi, "Italian Photographers in Iran 1848–64", in: *Journal of the History of Photography*, XXXVII (2013), pp. 14–31, esp. pp. 26–31; Ragazzini (note 11), pp. 122–124.

[37] Becchetti (note 26), p. 118.

[38] Bonetti/Prandi (note 36), pp. 26-31.

[39] See his advertisment in the *Guida manuale di Firenze e de' suoi contorni: con vedute, pianta della città ed i cataloghi delle gallerie*, Florence 1895, p. 8.

the nineteenth century to the queen of England. In Bacciotti's guidebook of 1883, Montabone's business was also described as "much resorted to for portraits executed in any size, natural and oil coloured – Photo-miniature etc." and as "highly estimated", having earned "a well-deserved celebrity" for "good likeness and fine execution".[40] Bardini turned frequently to Montabone for extraordinary amounts of work – just three receipts from 1888 recorded 308 negatives in an assortment of sizes. Quality was not the only reason for which Bardini gave so much business to Montabone. Writing to Bardini on 25 September 1890, Leopoldo Alinari declared that it was impossible for him to compete with Montabone's prices for isochromatic negatives, but that, in order to demonstrate good will, he would nevertheless offer Bardini discounts on non-isochromatic ones.[41] Bardini maintained a relationship with Alinari over the years, ordering batches of large numbers of negatives, as is documented, for example, by a receipt from 1902 that records 82 negatives and their respective subjects – "Robbia", "Bronzi", "Mobili", et cetera.[42] When large-format plates were needed, Bardini & Co. would turn to Michele Cappelli[43] in Milan. For prints, Bardini would frequently order from Mannelli e Reggioli, located down the street from Bardini in Via San Niccolò 141. Receipts from 1901 record some 2500 prints received from Mannelli e Reggioli – signaling the upcoming auction of 1902.[44] For 1902, the archive preserves receipts for 72 prints, whereas there are 415 recorded for 1903.[45]

Marketing Art with Photographs

To say that the Bardini business relied heavily upon photographs to market their objects is an understatement. But in the early years, it is evident that there were at times difficulties in the production of adequate photographs, most especially of sculpture. White Carrara marble posed the biggest challenge, wreaking havoc with depth of field as well as emanating considerable glare when sufficiently illuminated. When the photograph did not do an object justice, as in, for example, the so-called *Pazzi Madonna* sold to Bode in Berlin, Bardini would send a plaster cast.[46] On numerous occasions Bardini would inform a client that the promised photograph was delayed because it had to be retaken. In a more general way, sculpture was photographed from various angles so as to identify the best viewing angle for the reproduction. An example may be found in the three photographs of the *Madonna and Child* attributed to Benedetto da Maiano now in the Bode-Museum (Fig. 7):[47] the large sculptural group was photographed from several angles (Figs. 8–10). In another example, and one that is testament to Bardini's ardent practice of pastiche, a male marble torso had been photographed three times, from different angles, in three different locations, and each time with a different head (Figs. 11–13).[48]

[40] Bacciotti (note 35), Appendix "Interesting Adresses for Strangers Visiting Florence", p. 73.

[41] ASEB, Corrispondenza Misc., 1890.

[42] ASEB, Conti, Saldati, Ricevute, 1902.

[43] Cesare Colombo, "Le lastre di Cappelli", in: *AFT*, V (1989), 9, pp. 11–14.

[44] ASEB, Conti, Saldati, Ricevute, 1902.

[45] *Ibidem*.

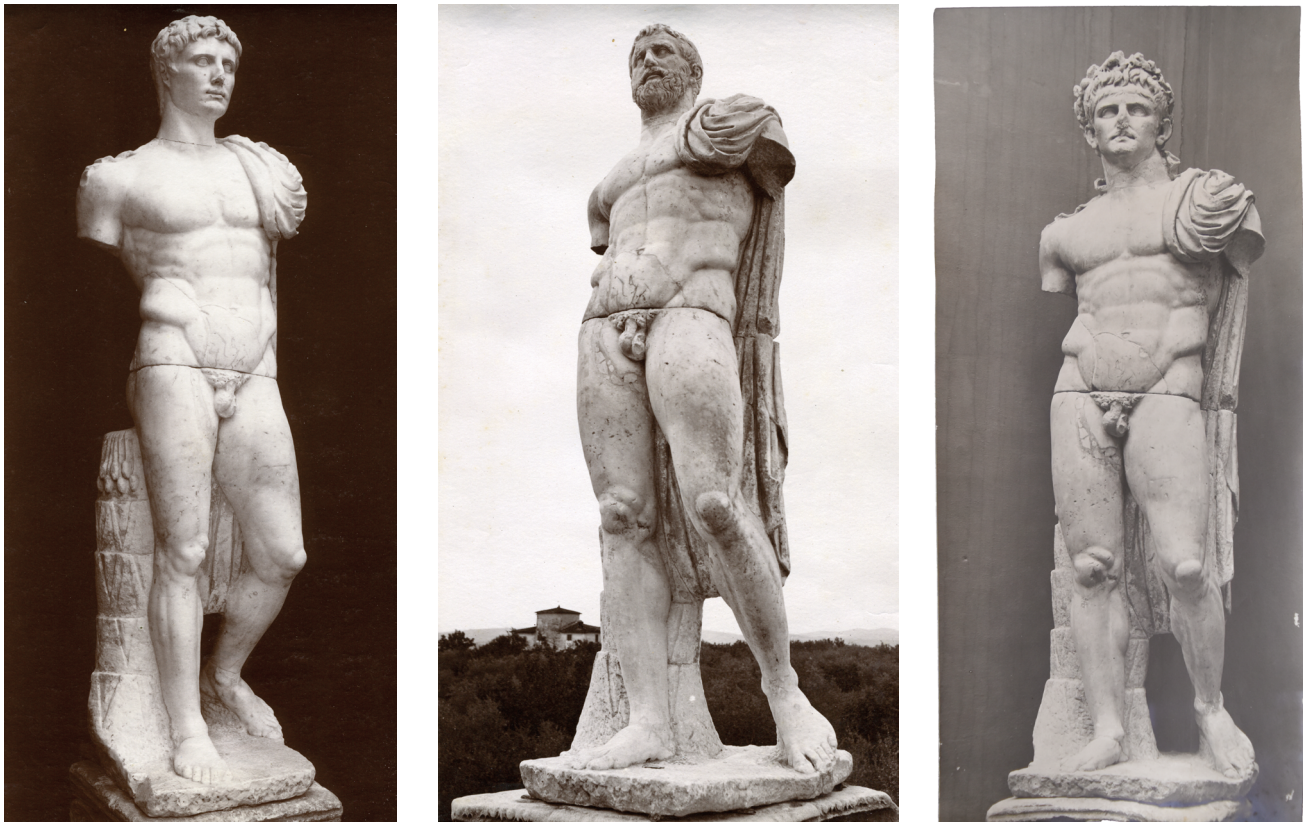
[46] See the correspondence in: ASEB, W. Bode: Corrispondenza, Conteggi, Appunti, Relativi agli Acquisti, 1884–1901; ASEB, Corrispondenza 1885 & 1886; Berlin, Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, IV/NL Bode 0629: Bardini, 1884–1886. Indeed, Bardini often sent plaster casts as surrogates for sculpture.

[47] The polychromed terracotta figure (127 cm high, inv. 104) was acquired by Bode in 1887. See, most recently, Doris Carl, *Benedetto Da Maiano: A Florentine Sculptor at the Treshold of the High Renaissance*, Turnhout 2006, p. 98, pl. 36.

[48] For yet another combination, see Gabriella Capecchi, in: *Augusta Fragmenta: vitalità dei materiali dell'Antico da Arnolfo di Cambio a Botticelli a Giambologna / vitalité des matériaux antiques, d'Arnolfo di Cambio à Giambologna, en passant par Botticelli*, exh. cat. Aosta 2008, ed. by Mario Scalini, Cinisello Balsamo 2008, pp. 98–101, no. 10.

7 Benedetto da Maiano (attr.), *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1480?, height 127 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Bode-Museum, inv. 104

8–10 *Madonna attributed to Benedetto da Maiano*, ca. 1886, albumen print, 25.9 × 18.6 cm, 26 × 18.2 cm, and 24.5 × 16.7 cm respectively. Florence, Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, inv. 1843, 1844, 1845



11–13 *Statue of male nude, head pastiched*, 32 × 15 cm, 32.1 × 17.5 cm, and 35.9 × 15.3 cm respectively. Florence, Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, inv. 1849, 1850, 1851

Acquisition Photographs

By process of elimination, a large group of photographs can be broadly categorized as 'acquisition photographs'.[49] These take the form of field photographs, cabinet cards, mounted and unmounted albumen prints. Some rare and precious examples include the purposeful inclusion of a person standing near the object in order to capture scale. In a photograph of a well in the cortile of a monastery, a monk stands in the foreground so as to give a sense of size (Fig. 14a). The back of the photo was annotated "Grande Pozzo di ordine Toscano", along with the dimensions of the various sections of the structure (Fig. 14b). In other cases, the photographer was unable to conceal a surreptitious hand caught steadying the object. Many of the acquisition photographs are accompanied by the printed name of the photographer, on the mount framing the picture or stamped upon the back. In many cases, they are annotated variously with descriptions or dimensions. In other cases, one of Bardini's

[49] By the 1890s Bardini often declined to buy objects offered to him in letters if not accompanied by a photograph.

secretaries would record the name of the person with whom he saw the object as well as the date of the visit. With this kind of secretarial annotation, one can consult written material in the Archivio Storico Eredità Bardini, such as that in the sections Corrispondenza and Copialettere, and search for the annotated name and/or the date. Occasionally, image and text can be reunited, as the first step in reconstructing the story of the object's journey. As such I call this group 'reconnected acquisition photographs'. In other cases, despite the presence of a secretarial annotation, the archive lacks any additional information; this group is called 'orphan photographs', that is photographs that, for the time being, cannot be associated with a specific object. Many of these orphan photographs actually represent objects that were ultimately not acquired by Bardini & Co. Other orphan photographs represent objects that were actually acquired, and despite lack of written archival evidence, their acquisition is testified to by a second photographic campaign of the object, this time in a studio setting.

Field Photographs

Bardini employed at least one in-house photographer, the painter Vincenzo Todaro (1855–1926).[50] At least by 1897, if not before, Todaro was working for Bardini, traveling around Italy to scout objects and photograph them; numerous small diaries record his travels 'checking' on objects for Bardini.[51] Though it is difficult to find much information about him, he was a talented painter, who left a small corpus of works. He is also referred to as "pittore" in connection with the large tapestry laboratory that Bardini operated for many years. Todaro was evidently friends with the fellow painter Achille Glisenti (1848–1906), who was born in Brescia and was also active as a dealer.[52] Unlike for Todaro, a rather large corpus exists for Glisenti, who maintained either a studio or shop in the Via Lungo il Mugnone 7;[53] by 1899 he had transferred it to Borgo Ognissanti 10,[54] at the same address as the painter, copyist, and dealer Emilio Costantini (1842–1926).[55] In January 1901, Glisenti and Todaro were in Brescia, where they visited Villa Martinengo to inspect and photograph objects for sale by the resident count. They both reported back to Bardini, with descriptions and opinions on the objects, among them the painting *Boy with a greyhound* attributed to Veronese.[56] Today in the Metropolitan Museum, the painting was evidently bought by Bardini, whereupon it was resold via the mediation of one of Bardini's managers, Albert Harnisch, to Mrs. Havemeyer.[57] It seems likely that Todaro's increasingly ambitious career path as a photographer competed with his career as a painter, which accounts for his sparse oeuvre. And that he proudly regarded himself professionally as a photographer is testified to by an elegantly written inventory of twenty-nine groups of photographs with the object locations dating to the years 1899–1900, entitled "Fotografie Todaro".[58]

[50] Todaro was born in Patti, in northeastern Sicily (*La Pinacoteca Tosio e Martinengo*, Bologna 1927, p. 142).

[51] ASEB preserves material related to Todaro from the years 1897–1903.

[52] For Glisenti, see Ildikó Fehér, "Károly Pulszky and the Florentine acquisitions for the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest between 1893 and 1895", in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, LIV (2010–2012), pp. 319–364: 328f. That they were friends and colleagues can be confirmed by the many letters in ASEB, wherein they refer to each other; they also collaborated on transactions.

[53] ASEB, Corrispondenza, 1886.

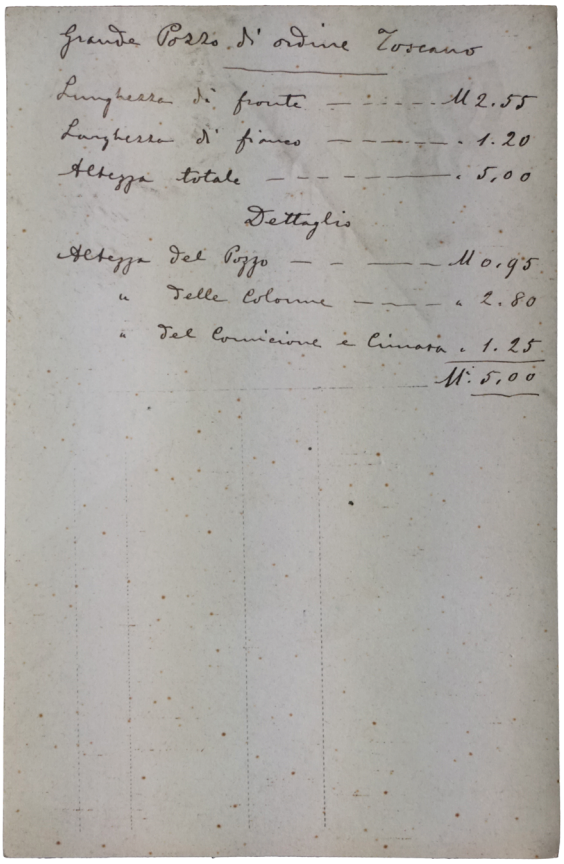
[54] See the copy of a dated letter written to him at that address in Berlin, Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, *Acta*, I/SKS 31 III 2, Bd. 12, no. 670/99 (208).

[55] For Costantini, see Fehér (note 52), pp. 323–326. Costantini was already producing copies for the Arundel Society by 1869, for which see the watercolor copy after the painting *Triumph of Minerva* by Cosmè Tura in the Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. E.289–1995 (http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O206232; accessed on 26 February 2020).

[56] ASEB, Corrispondenza, 1901.

[57] Mrs. Havemeyer recalled the transaction rather differently, describing a visit to a villa accompanied by Albert Harnisch, and the subsequent discovery of the painting (Louisine W. Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector*, New York 1961, pp. 125–128). For the painting, see also the museum website, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437890 (accessed on 26 February 2020).

[58] AMCFiFSB, untitled folder, single page on cardstock, "Fotografie



14a, b *Monumental well in a cloister with monk* (recto and verso), 14.1 x 8.9 cm. Florence, Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, inv. 1842

Object Surrogate Photographs

A category of photograph is that of 'object surrogate',[59] and these were called into service when objects under consideration were very large or in deep storage. Examples of this are the photographs of wood coffered ceilings, one of which was under consideration to be sent to Paris just ahead of the *Exposition Universelle* in 1900, as indicated by an annotation on the back.[60] Another photograph depicts an enormous marble tondo bas-relief of an Aragonese heraldic device still encased in its packing crate.[61] A remarkable surrogate use of the physical

Todaro", with immense gratitude to Laura Di Martile for her archival acumen, generosity, and patience. For example, the first few entries are as such: "No. 1 Quadri porte in Marmo Mobili etc – Genova, Savona / No. 2 Frammenti Marmi diversi – Ferrara 1899 / No. 3 Quadri Marmi e Mobili e Affreschi – Brescia Salò [1899]".

[59] On the topic of object surrogacy in photo theory, see Costanza Caraffa, "From 'Photo Libraries' to 'Photo Archives': On the Epistemological Potential of Art-Historical Photo Collections", in: *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, conference proceedings London/Florence 2009, ed. by *eadem*, Berlin/Munich 2011, pp. 11–44.

[60] AFEB, untitled box of miscellanea.

[61] *Ibidem*. For its reported sale, see *Sculpture and Works of Art*, auction cat. Cambi Casa d'Aste, Genoa, 17 November 2016, no. 1419, https://www.cambiaste.com/uk/auction-0292/a-large-circular-marble-

photograph was for object replication.[62] Two types exist in the archive. One is annotated with vectors and measurements that indicate sculptural projection, that is, the object's third dimension which is not represented by a two-dimensional photograph: examples are the photographs of the terracotta *Bust of Filippo Strozzi* (Berlin, Bode-Museum) and of the so-called *Madonna di Verona* sometimes attributed to Donatello, both of which I have elsewhere published.[63] One more recently defined category is less easily explained, but it involves Bardini's production of free-hand copies from photographs of objects already housed in museums before Bardini began his career. In this way he could market his version as on par, or better, or more original than one already owned by a museum.[64]

Inventory Albums

Proper and consistent written record-keeping was seriously lacking for the one hundred years of activity of Bardini & Co. Occasionally, a daybook or register would be started and very quickly abandoned, leaving the majority of the book with blank pages. On the other hand, it is very evident that the business was run with a heavy dependency on the use of photographs. Among the earliest collocations of photographs are what I have come to regard as 'inventory albums', since the photographs within can be connected to objects transacted by Bardini or those that were in his storerooms. Each of these more than a dozen large books consists of about fifty bound brown paper pages onto which photographs were mounted, sometimes with glue, other times by inserting them into incisions neatly cut to accommodate them at the corners. For example, one album, entitled "Stucchi", though presently missing many photographs, still contains some 233 photographs of various kinds of objects spread throughout its pages. Other photographic albums record the inventory of ceilings, fireplaces, friezes, busts, reliefs, et cetera. Very often, an inventory number is penciled in on the page, and sometimes that number corresponds with a number annotated on the back of the photograph. Although they are undated, the size, quality, and style of the many albumen prints suggest that the initial compilation of these books coincided with the opening of the galleries in Piazza dei Mozzi. While on the surface this looks to be an orderly system, in reality, constant daily use of the photographs by Stefano Bardini, the secretaries, and then his son Ugo meant that photographs would get dislodged and filed elsewhere, or simply be given away. This is also to say that in the Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini one can observe simultaneously both respect and disrespect for the photograph as material object – or in other words: here we can grasp to what extent photographs are not just images but rather objects that are used and transformed over and over.[65] Within the context of Stefano's activity, photographs were often actively annotated on their verso, adding information such as dimensions or the name of the person in possession of the object, whereas Ugo seems to have redistributed and organized them so

basrelief-with-heraldi.asp. This immense tondo was sold by Ugo Bardini to the Neapolitan book collector and dealer Tammaro De Marinis (1878–1969) on 6 September 1946 (ASEB, Ugo Bardini, "Crediti Saldi", 1923–48), after which it was acquired by the Florentine antiquarian Chiavacci, in whose shop on Via della Spada I saw it as early as 2011. Although it is listed by Cambi as sold in 2016, it is still on display in the Chiavacci shop as of December 2019.

[62] For a parallel case of the use of photographs for replication (and forgery) of objects in the Sangiorgi gallery in Rome, see also the paper by Francesca Mambelli in this volume, especially pp. 22–30.

[63] Catterson (note 19), p. 23.

[64] More on this is contained in a larger study, which also offers a hypothesis on Bardini's early career and his relationship with the older Florentine dealers, for which see *eadem*, "Duped or Duplicitous? Bode, Bardini and the many Madonnas of South Kensington", in: *Journal of the History of Collections* (forthcoming).

[65] For the literature wherein photographs are viewed as three-dimensional objects in their own right and photographic archives are seen as dynamic environments rather than static repositories, see the volume *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History* (note 59), particularly the papers by Co-

that they functioned purely as illustrations. As is the case with all of the photographs, their active use over time creates a challenge when trying to understand what had been their original archaeological stratification, or the course of its development over time. Often, a photograph in an inventory album will exist in multiples – multiple copies of the photograph, multiple photographs of the same object, or single photographs of multiple versions of the same object. Frequently, Bardini would try to sell the same single object to several people simultaneously.[66] If an object was thought to be potentially popular, Bardini & Co. would have multiple versions (read, *make* multiple versions) to meet expected demand. Therefore, the archival presence of photographic multiples is evidence of an object's anticipated popularity or perceived potential marketability as well as evidence of Bardini's ownership. Seen from this perspective, the challenge posed by this photo archive must be seen as a potentiality that I have just started to explore.

In addition to the inventory albums, Bardini & Co. collected professional photographs from Alinari, Brogi, and others, and these were also mounted in albums that were generally classified by epochs, through titles such as "Fotografie Rinascimento" and "Fotografie Barocco". Interestingly, the order of the photographs within each of these albums is somewhat haphazard, as though they were added in the order they were received, and not necessarily as they were published but, more likely, when they were acquired for a reason. As for the purpose of these photographs, I believe they were collected not necessarily for their own sake but, more likely, as a functional pattern book for the manufacturing and pastiching aspects of the business.

Photographs and Art for Sale at Auction

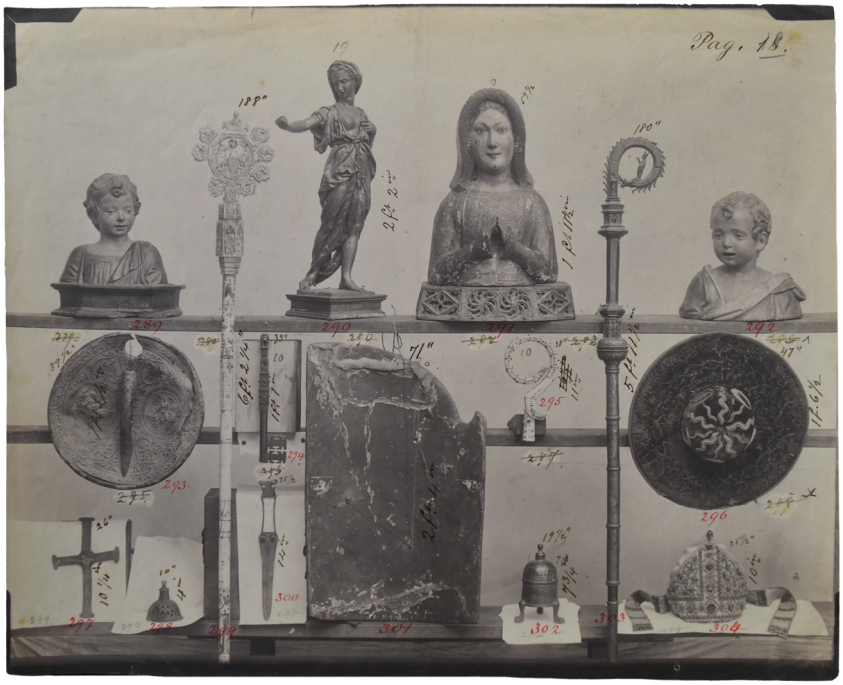
Running chronologically parallel with the increasing commodification of fine art and decorative art, the Universal Expositions – organized first in London (1851, 1862) and later in other cities around the world, especially in Paris (1855, 1867, 1878, 1889, 1900) – functioned as nexuses for the meta-social network of the art market. Ample archival material indicates that Bardini effectively structured his business around these events, sending large quantities of stock and staff to Paris. Long-time and potential clients would be sent invitations to visit what was Bardini's carefully crafted display room. In the months following the close of an exposition, Bardini & Co. transferred their stock to London, augmented it, and readied it for auctions, which were accompanied by lavishly produced catalogues.[67]

Photographs were indispensable and used variously at every step of the process – readying objects for travel, display, and eventual sale. Beginning in Florence, objects would be placed on wooden planks with an eye to balance and composition, that is, the overall display of the group as a whole. The resultant assemblage would be photographed and the print would then be annotated with the dimensions of the objects (Fig. 15). This served two purposes: the measurements recorded here would then be carried over into the text entry of the printed catalogue, and, at the same time, this information would be transmitted to whomever of Bardini's managers was responsible for the offsite display at the exposition or auction. Eventually, catalogue entry numbers would be added; they were then sometimes revised with ink of different color. In order to save time in the post-production phase of the first negative, a white

stanza Caraffa *ibidem* as well as Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographs: Material Form and the Dynamic Archive", pp. 45–56. See also Julia Bärnighausen *et al.*, "Photographs on the Move: Formats, Formations, and Transformations in Four Photo Archives", in: *Photo-Objects: On the Materiality of Photographs and Photo Archives in the Humanities and Sciences*, conference proceedings Florence 2017, ed. by *eadem et al.*, Berlin 2019, pp. 33–66.

[66] Catterson (note 19), p. 23.

[67] For example, *Médailles de la Renaissance: collection de M. Stefano Bardini de Florence*, auction cat. Drouot, Paris, 12 June 1885; *Catalogue of a Choice Collection of Pictures, Antiquities, Works of Art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, from the Collection of Signor Stephano Bardini, of Florence*, auction cat. Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd., London, 5 June 1899.



15 *Objects staged in preparation for an auction*, ca. 1898/99, albumen print with handwritten annotations, 24.5 × 29.2 cm. Florence, Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, inv. 1847

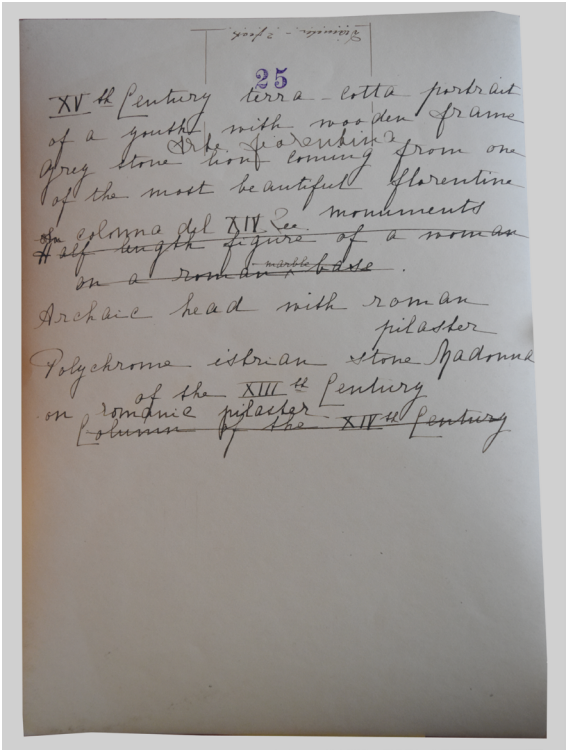
16 Plate of auction lots, in: *Catalogue of a Choice Collection of Pictures, Antiquities, Works of Art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, from the Collection of Signor Stephano Bardini, of Florence*, catalogue of the auction at Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd., London, 5 June 1899, pl. 18

17 Collage of annotated cuttings from the auction catalogue in Fig. 15, ca. 1899. Florence, Archivio Storico Eredità Bardini

cloth sheet or white pieces of paper initially would be placed behind the objects, setting them up to be more easily masked. The negative would then be masked and printed again, so as to hide the staging boards. The edited negative would become the finished plate to accompany the catalogue in print (Fig. 16).

Bardini could afford to be lavish with the labor that must have gone into this process because one set of illustration plates was produced that could do double duty to accompany both the French and the English versions of the printed catalogues. The next step in the process saw the individual object images being physically dismembered from the illustration plate, regrouped according to the order in which they were auctioned the day of the sale, and glued onto the back of another plate (Fig. 17). Here would be added various notes and often times prices. In another example, on an illustration plate of medals in the catalogue of Bardini's auction at Christie's, London, in 1902, the name of every buyer was annotated in the margins of the plate.[68] Other examples indicate that the photograph was used to create the catalogue entry, as in an annotated photograph in the Archivio dei Musei Civici Fiorentini (Fig. 1). The annotations on the back, which correspond to the object description in the catalogue, are in the handwriting of Emma Bardini (Fig. 18); as such this serves as a first real archival evidence of her involvement in this aspect of the business.

[68] This annotated photograph is illustrated at the beginning of Catterson (note 19).



18 Emma Bardini, object description on the verso of Fig. 1. Florence, Archivio dei Musei Civici Fiorentini

Changes in Practice from Father to Son

Owing of course to the evolution in photo technology and the increasing use of printed photographic illustrations, by the time Ugo inherited the business when his father died in 1922, much had changed. During the war, when there was a definite lull in market activity and when, as I suspect, Ugo had time on his hands, he consequently actively pillaged the albums and folios of photographs. In ways reminiscent of Emma's scrapbooking and as an evolution of the epochal albums of collected photographs, Ugo created a filing system that allowed them to function as a visual atlas for art, categorized by artist in alphabetical order. Within that structure, there would be folder subdivisions for each artist, with categories depending upon oeuvre and production but also more subtly on market popularity. So, for example, Michelangelo's work is divided by medium, as one would expect: sculpture, architecture, fresco, painting, drawings, with all the usual suspects therein. The folders for other artists who enjoyed a late nineteenth-century market popularity, such as Filippo Lippi, contain a mix of works, some with a pristine provenance, such as the frescoes in Prato, as well as art market objects that today could hardly be considered the work of Filippo.[69] This sensibility is particular to the Bardini business, and it does not change from father to son: when selling an object, the attribution represented to the buyer rested upon what it was believed the object could be sold as; for example, attribution took into account a buyer's preference for Filippo Lippi rather than Botticelli. And, attributions were made and proffered regardless of what was believed to be an object's actual claim to authenticity.[70] Likewise, Bardini surely knew that co-mingling fakes with authentic objects raised the perception of authenticity for the imposters.

In general, Ugo had a different system for managing correspondence and photographs, in a way that makes it much easier to follow a transaction or an evolving relationship with a client. Ugo would usually draft his response or thoughts directly onto an incoming letter. Likewise, he would annotate a possible acquisition photograph with, for example, the note that of the three objects depicted he only bought the one in the middle. Marvelously, this would be kept alongside the studio photograph of the single object he had bought as it was being prepared for marketing. On the whole, Ugo worked more with print

[69] See, for example, the *Madonna and Child with two angels*, attributed to Botticelli (tempera on wood, 99,7 × 71,1 cm), now in the Metropolitan Museum, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, inv. 29.100.17. Though currently labeled as by Botticelli, and currently in storage, at the time of its acquisition it was attributed to Filippo Lippi. And it can indeed be found in the folder for Filippo Lippi compiled by Ugo in AFEB.

[70] The same can be said for object provenance, which was very often invented. See Lynn Catterson, "Art Market, Social Network and Contam-

19 Annotated cutting from *Catalogue des tableaux anciens, écoles primitives et de la Renaissance [...], composant la collection de feu Édouard Aynard [...]*, Paris 1913, no. 300. Florence, Archivio Storico Eredità Bardini

20 *Bust of a child*, ca. 1880–1885, albumen print, 12.3 x 9 cm. Florence, Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, inv. 1848

media – that is, with illustrations cut from magazines – than with original photographs, although much of his active inventory was inherited from his father. Rather than in albums, Ugo recorded the inventory in folders, and much of the photographic material contained therein was from the days of his father.

To be sure, Stefano Bardini kept track of the afterlives of objects he originally transacted. Anecdotal comments in the correspondence portray his seemingly casual recollection of the whereabouts of objects and the circumstances of their acquisition or sale. What can be noted for certain was his primary *modus operandi* of consistently monitoring the art historical literature, especially when issues of attribution were involved. In these cases, the archive preserves offprints and copies of the relevant published articles and, when necessary, their typed translations into Italian. Another business practice that tracked objects, but which seems to have been distinctly a practice of Ugo, was the collecting of what I would call 'trophy clippings'.[71] Taking advan-

ination: Bardini, Bode and the Madonna Pazzi Puzzle", in: *Florence, Berlin and Beyond: Social Network and the Late Nineteenth-century Art Market*, ed. by *eadem* (forthcoming).

[71] For more on paper clippings, see Anke te Heesen, *The Newspaper Clipping: A Modern Paper Object*, Manchester 2014; Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Scissorizing and Scrapbooks: Nineteenth-Century Reading, Remaking, and Recirculating", in: *New Media: 1740–1915*, ed. by Lisa Gitelman/Geoffrey B. Pingree, Cambridge, Mass./London 2003, pp. 207–277.

tage of the increased presence of photographic illustrations, Ugo kept track of Bardini objects when they were published in art-historical journals or when they were published for resale in auction catalogues. He would annotate at the edge of the clipping the name of the previous or new owner, including sometimes a citation for the publication and often a price. While they are technically not photographs, these cut-out photographic illustrations record the ongoing lives of Bardini objects. In one example however, the archive preserves a complete set, as it were, of documentation. In one clipping of a bust of a little boy from an auction catalogue, using pencil, Ugo annotated along the lower edge, "Italia Nord // '400 / terra-cotta / vend. Aynard"; an accompanying inscription in ink, probably in the hand of a secretary, gives the price as "6000" (Fig. 19). A little digging reveals Aynard to be Édouard Aynard (1837–1913), the French banker and collector from Lyon whose collection was sold at auction upon his death in 1913.[72] Magically, the Archivio Storico Eredità Bardini also preserves among its library of auction catalogues a copy of the catalogue for the Aynard sale conducted by the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris in the first days of December 1913.[73] It was from this copy that Ugo cut out the image of the bust of the little boy. Further digging across the archive, in search of exchanges between Aynard and Stefano Bardini, reveals the bust to have been sold by Stefano to Aynard sometime shortly after 1886, when the shipment of the photograph of it was discussed in the correspondence between the two.[74] In addition, the archive preserves several other of Stefano's old photographs, taken from different angles and with different bases (Fig. 20).

Many years of analysis of its archive has shown that the enterprise of the Bardini business was enormous, and I marvel at how incredibly well it functioned within a very complex network of people, institutions, and photographs. As a result, it has become very clear to me that while the documentary archival material is a treasure-trove for, at the very least, one hundred years in the life of Bardini & Co., the photographic material, physically exchanged and integral to the business, was the visual language with which an international group of art market participants most effectively communicated across a multilingual divide.

I wish to thank Costanza Caraffa and Julia Bärnighausen for their kind invitation to participate in the study days The Art Market in Italy Around 1900: Actors, Archives, Photographs *in November 2017, during which this paper has first been presented. The concept and execution was brilliant in every aspect. Moreover, this opportunity was the very impetus for me to aggregate and analyze some very recent research on yet another aspect of Stefano Bardini's art market activity.*

[72] Louis Bernier/Paul Beauregard/Alexandre Ribot, *Funérailles de M. Édouard Aynard [...]*, Paris 1913; "Art Market of Paris", in: *Times*, 29 November 1913, p. 7; *Édouard Aynard, le fondateur du musée: 1890–1990, centenaire du musée des tissus*, ed. by Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, Lyon 1990; Sylvie Geneste, *Édouard Aynard: banquier, député, mécène et homme d'œuvres (1837–1913)*, PhD diss. Université de Lyon III 1998.

[73] *Catalogue des tableaux anciens, écoles primitives et de la Renaissance, écoles anglaise, flamande, française, hollandaise des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles; tableaux modernes, dessins et pastels anciens et modernes; objets d'art de haute curiosité et d'ameublement, composant la collection de feu Édouard Aynard [...]*, auction cat. Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 1–4 December 1913.

[74] ASEB, Corrispondenza, 1886, "Aynard".

Abbreviations

AFEB	Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini, Florence
AMCFiFSB	Archivio dei Musei Civici Fiorentini, Fondo Stefano Bardini, Florence
ASEB	Archivio Storico Eredità Bardini, Florence

Abstract

Analyzing the practices of the hundred-year activity of the dealers Stefano and Ugo Bardini, with its photo archives of more than 30,000 photographs, this essay examines photographs as the primary agents in all of the stages of transacting art in an international market. The essay begins by situating Bardini within the broader context of the evolving use of photography in Florence generally, and more specifically in the Accademia di Belle Arti just prior to and during the years of his tenure there. This is followed by the first in-depth description of the extensive holdings of the Bardini photographic archive. This material is examined in combination with the other archival material, such as correspondence and receipts, in order to specifically name the photographers with whom Bardini conducted business, thus correcting the notion that he himself was a photographer. The essay continues to identify the various types of photographs and how they functioned within the business, calling attention to their descriptive importance in a multilingual art market. Physical photographic evidence suggests that they were used to illustrate inventory, for marketing objects to prospective buyers, or they were sent to or commissioned by Bardini as potential acquisitions intended for resale. Photographs often functioned as surrogates for objects that were large, heavy, or in storage. The photographs would also be used at every stage in the preparation for an auction, the printing of its catalogues, as well as for keeping track of buyers and prices on the day of sale. Last, an examination of the change in practice from Stefano Bardini to that of his son Ugo reveals that photographs and clipped illustrations were aggressively used in order to document the post-sale afterlife of the objects put into market circulation by the Bardini business.

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Umschlagbild | Copertina:

Archivschachtel mit Sangiorgi-Fotos in der Photothek des Kunsthistorisches Instituts in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut | Scatola d'archivio con foto Sangiorgi nella Fototeca del Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut
(Detail aus Abb. I, S. 42 | dettaglio da fig. I, p. 42)

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