

## DE CHIRICO'S FORMATION IN FLORENCE (1910-1911): THE DISCOVERY OF THE B.N.C.F. LIBRARY REGISTERS

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*I am also studying a lot, particularly literature and philosophy and I even intend to write books in the future [...]*

G. de Chirico, Florence, 26 December 1910<sup>1</sup>

As an artist best known for his earlier work, it is unsurprising that countless studies have focused on the paintings de Chirico executed in Florence, Paris and Ferrara (1910-1918), often exploring the philosophical influence that Nietzsche, Schopenhauer and Weininger exerted upon him at the time. And yet, somewhat surprisingly, very little fact-led study has been dedicated to the artist's general formation immediately leading up to and following the famous 'revelation' that he experienced in Piazza Santa Croce during the autumn of 1910 (fig. 1), a period informed by an intense study of literature and philosophy.<sup>2</sup> The author's recent discovery and analysis of library registers belonging to the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, located in Piazza dei Cavalleggeri 1 (fig. 2), brings to the fore *all-important* primary source material that finally offers the reader a completely new perspective on the artist's Florentine formation (1910-1911). Her close examination of both the B.N.C.F. Day Books and Local Loan Registers, together with the B.N.C.F.'s library card system, has enabled her to compile a specific time-line of books consulted by both de Chirico and Savinio during this period, providing long-awaited and



fig. 1 Postcard of Piazza Santa Croce, Florence, photographed by G. Brogi, late 19<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>1</sup> G. de Chirico to F. Gartz, Florence, 26 December 1910. Originally written in German, this letter forms part of surviving correspondence sent by the artist to his friend and fellow companion of Munich's Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Fritz Gartz, July 1909-May 1914. Enthusiastically announcing his discovery of metaphysical painting, the date of this all-important letter has been the subject of prolonged and often heated debate amongst dechirichian scholars. In the past, some have suggested that the letter was written on 26 January 1910 (thus establishing Milan during the autumn of 1909 as the date and place of de Chirico's initial endeavours into metaphysical painting) whilst others believe that it was written on 26 December 1910. The latter theory supports the traditionally-held view (as maintained by de Chirico himself) that the birth of metaphysical painting took place in Florence during the late summer/early autumn of 1910. Given the succinct nature of this paper, the merits and downfalls of individual arguments will not be discussed here. For

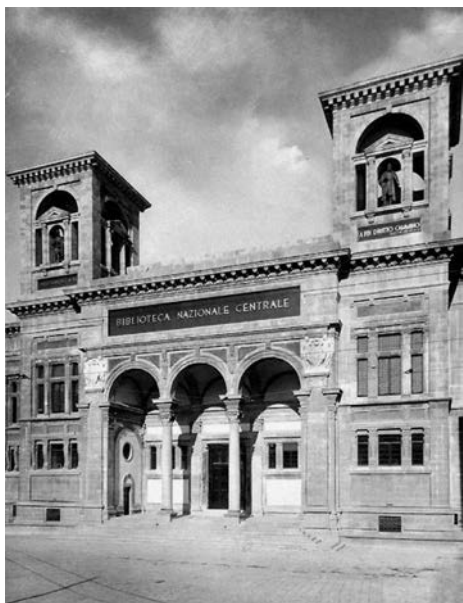


fig. 2 Photograph of Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, early 20<sup>th</sup> century

indisputable facts in the form of authors, publication titles and editions, and their respective consultation dates (*B.N.C.F., Loans 1910-1911*, Supporting Document A).<sup>3</sup> As a result, the author has been able to identify 27 individual publication titles that de Chirico read between 23 April 1910 and 17 May 1911 and 20 publication titles consulted by Savinio between 20 April and 3 October 1910.

Further to Roos' discovery of the de Chirico-Gartz correspondence (1908-1911) in the early 1990s, the unearthing of the B.N.C.F. registers constitutes perhaps the most important discovery of primary source material regarding the birth of metaphysical painting over the last 20 years.<sup>4</sup> To date, the copy of Savinio's Florentine concert programme (early January 1911, fig. 3), which contains a list of authors and abbreviated publication titles jotted down by de Chirico, has provided the main-

further reading, see G. Roos, *The Most Profound Music Ever Written (1909-1911) – on the early collaboration between Alberto Savinio and Giorgio de Chirico*, in *Alberto Savinio – Musician, Writer and Painter*, exh. cat., Paolo Baldacci Gallery, New York, 27 April-16 June 1995, Paolo Baldacci Gallery Ltd., New York-Milan 1995, pp. 55-68; P. Baldacci, *De Chirico – The Metaphysical Period 1888-1919*, Bulfinch Press, New York 1997, pp. 52-53; G. Roos, *Giorgio de Chirico e Alberto Savinio. Ricordi e documenti. Monaco, Milano, Firenze 1906-1911*, Edizioni Bora, Bologna 1999, pp. 352-354; P. Picozza, *Giorgio de Chirico and the Birth of Metaphysical Art in Florence in 1910*, «Metafisica. Quaderni della Fondazione Giorgio e Isa de Chirico», n. 7-8, 2008, pp. 56-92; P. Picozza, *Betraying de Chirico: The Falsification of Giorgio de Chirico's Life History over the Last Fifteen Years*, «Metaphysical Art. The de Chirico Journals – Fondazione Giorgio e Isa de Chirico», n. 9-10, 2010, pp. 28-60; P. Baldacci but signed 'Gerd Roos' (as specified in footnote 32, p. 42), *The birth and first steps of Metaphysical art in Milan and Florence between 1908 and 1911 in De Chirico - Max Ernst - Magritte - Balbus. A Look into the Invisible*, exh. cat., curated by P. Baldacci, G. Magnaguagno and G. Roos, Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, 26 February-18 July 2010, Mandragora, Florence 2010, pp. 29-47; P. Baldacci, «La nostra poesia metafisica». *Genesi, cronologia e fonti di un'estetica globale* in *Atti del Convegno. Origine e sviluppi dell'arte metafisica. Milano e Firenze 1909-1911 e 1919-1922*, Palazzo Greppi, Milan, 28-29 October 2010, Scalpendi Editore, Milan 2011, pp. 25-55; P. Baldacci and G. Roos, *Ancora sulla data della lettera del 26.01.1910*, Archivio dell'Arte Metafisica, Milan, February 2012, <http://www.archivioartemetafisica.org/home-it/notiziario/201202-ancora-sulla-data-della-lettera-del-2/>; and K. Robinson, *Florentine Period 1910-1911. Biographical Chronology and Documentation*, 2013, published in the present periodical, pp. 129-136. For the original German and English translation of the de Chirico-Gartz correspondence (1909-1911), see *Lettere di Giorgio de Chirico. Gemma de Chirico e Alberto de Chirico a Fritz Gartz, Milano-Firenze, 1908-1911*, «Metafisica. Quaderni della Fondazione Giorgio e Isa de Chirico», n. 7-8, 2008, pp. 542-550 and pp. 559-567.

<sup>3</sup> Paola Italia's recent research at Milan's Biblioteca Braidense is of singular interest with her fact-led study and interpretation of its library loan registers (1907-1910). Savinio appears in the registers from 8 September 1909 to 15 February 1910. A certain 'de Chirico' (who could refer to either Savinio or Giorgio de Chirico) is listed on 10 September, 24 September and 10 November 1909. See P. Italia, «Leggevamo e studiavamo molto». *Alberto e Giorgio de Chirico alla Braidense (1907-1910)*, in *Atti del Convegno. Origine e sviluppi dell'arte metafisica. Milano e Firenze 1909-1911 e 1919-1922*, Scalpendi Editore, Milan 2011, pp. 11-23. Such research demonstrates that either one or both of the de Chirico brothers started frequenting the library from the late summer of 1909 onwards.

<sup>4</sup> To this end, the following B.N.C.F. registers were examined: i) Day Book Registers (*Registri di lettura*), vol. I = Jan – 31.3.1910 (n. 3913); vol. II = 1.4.1910-30.6.1910 (n. 3914), vol. III = 1.7.1910 – 31.12.1910 (n. 3915), vol. I = 2.1.1911-30.6.1911 (n. 3916), and vol. II = 1.7.1911-30.12.1911 (n. 3917); and Local Loan Registers (*Registri di prestito locale*), vol. I = 1.1.1910-31.03.1910 (n. 2722), vol. II = 31.3.1910 – 15.7.1910 (n. 2723), vol. III = 1.8.1910-31.12.1910 (n. 2724), vol. I = 2.1.1911-1.4.1911 (n. 2725) and vol. II = 3.4.1911-1.8.1911 (n. 2726).

<sup>5</sup> Roos first reported news of his findings in W. Schmied and G. Roos, *Giorgio de Chirico. München 1906-1909*, Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Munich 1994. Considering the significant amount of interest that the de Chirico-Gartz correspondence (1908-1911) subsequently provoked, it is rather bewildering that Baldacci (President of the Archivio dell'Arte Metafisica) has marginalised recent (albeit considerably incomplete) research carried out by Nicol Mocchi (Archivio dell'Arte Metafisica) at the B.N.C.F. In his article «La nostra poesia metafisica». *Genesi, cronologia e fonti di un'estetica globale* (2011), Mocchi's research was relegated to a mere footnote by Baldacci who specified that "numerous loans were requested by both Alberto and Giorgio at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale from 22 April 1910 [sic] onwards." Indeed, he dedicates just one sentence in the main text to this discovery: "An investigation into 1910-1911 loans taken out from Florentine libraries, as one will see later on, has strengthened our theory that the Florentine period does not constitute a break with the Milanese period but just represents the coherent continuation of a philosophical, historical and literary study, prompted by the reading of Nietzsche and the first revelations, above all [orientated] just towards religious history and the origins of Western thought." Somewhat

stay for attempted reconstructions of the artist's formation at the time.<sup>5</sup> This key primary source documentation enabled art historians to transform purely speculative hypotheses into partly founded theories.<sup>6</sup> However, theories they nonetheless remain owing to the fact that not only are some of the hand-written author and publication titles illegible or difficult to decipher but also the uncertainty as to whether de Chirico read these publications prior to sending Gartz the programme, as both Roos and Baldacci quite rightly point out.<sup>7</sup> Conversely, the recent B.N.C.F. discovery has enabled the author to reconstruct a comprehensive reading list and detailed chronology of books read by both brothers as detailed further on.<sup>8</sup> This, in turn, has allowed her to establish new lines of thought as well as draw a series of initial conclusions. Such documentation also permits previous theories regarding the brother's Florentine formation to be dismissed or affirmed accordingly.<sup>9</sup> Owing to the sheer mass and breadth of the

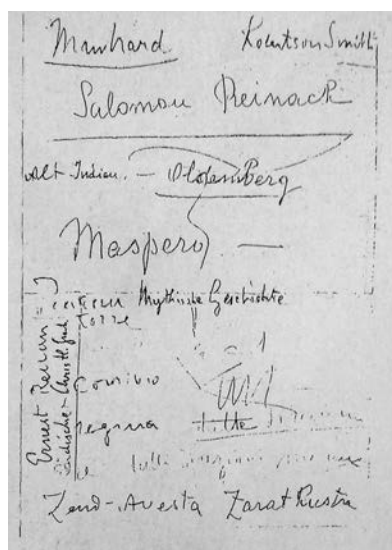


fig. 3 Annotations by de Chirico written on the back of Savinio's concert programme originally planned for 9 January 1911, Salone del Regno, Teatro della Pergola, Florence

curiously, Baldacci does not go on to provide details in the main text about either de Chirico's or Savinio's loans but rather explains in another footnote: "For the moment, we limit ourselves in observing that the date of the first loan was 22 April 1910 [sic], that all of the loans from April to September of 1910 were taken out in the name of Alberto, whilst the loans from November 1910 until the month of May 1911 were carried out by Giorgio. The date of 22 April 1910 might seem rather late compared to that which we have ascertained as the move to Florence (25 January). But I do not believe that this puts conclusions drawn here at stake as it is certain that the Milanese loans ended on 24 January [in reality, the last books were returned on 15 February 1910] and because, as aforementioned, we have not had the possibility of checking loans taken out at the Biblioteca Marucelliana, located in Via Cavour and therefore much closer to the house where the de Chiricos' lived in Via Lorenzo il Magnifico (both the roads lead off Piazza della Libertà which was, furthermore, previously called Piazza Cavour) unlike the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, which was rather more inconvenient to reach. It is obvious that the first library frequented by the two brothers in Florence was the Biblioteca Marucelliana, which enjoyed a very rich historical, artistic and humanistic library collection." In the absence of surviving registers for the Biblioteca Marucelliana (as confirmed in an email dated 4 November 2013 from Adriana Camarlinghi to the author of this paper), nothing is "obvious" (as previously cited) as the B.N.C.F. constitutes the region's national central library and houses an even richer collection of books. Furthermore, located just c. 2 km from de Chirico's house, the B.N.C.F. was well within walking distance from Via Lorenzo il Magnifico 20. Based on the dates of the B.N.C.F. registers cited by Baldacci, the author of this paper can confidently conclude that the Day Book Registers were categorically not examined by Mocchi. For example, Baldacci states that Savinio's first loan took place on 22 April 1910. Indeed, this was his first loan, as recorded in the Local Loan Register, but it was not the first publication that he borrowed at the B.N.C.F. as the Day Book Register confirms (he consulted the journal 'Coenobium' on 20 April 1910). Similarly, he states that de Chirico's first loan took place in November 1910. As can be seen in the accompanying chart of *B.N.C.F. Loans (1910-1911)* (Supporting Document A), the Local Loan Register records that the artist borrowed Reinach's *Cultes, mythes et religions* (1908) on 10 November 1910. However, had the Day Book Register for 1910 been consulted, one would have seen that de Chirico first started consulting books at the B.N.C.F. on 23 April 1910. Between 23 April and 10 November 1910, the artist visited the library on no less than 51 separate occasions. De Chirico's last loan listed in the Local Loan Register – Schopenhauer's *Saggio sul libero arbitrio* (1908) – was returned on 3 May 1911. If the Day Book Register for 1911 had alternatively been examined by Mocchi, one would have discovered that the last publication that the artist consulted was 'Revue' on 17 May 1911. Having evidently not consulted the Day Book Registers for 1910-1911, Baldacci's conclusions warrant revision. See P. Baldacci, *op. cit.*, 2011, pp. 51-52, footnotes 47 and 52.

<sup>5</sup> In early January 1911, de Chirico sent Gartz a copy of his brother's music concert programme which had originally been planned for Florence's Salone del Regno Teatro della Pergola on 9 January 1911. In the end, the concert was postponed and held in Munich later that month. The programme not only contains a list of annotated author and title names (*recto*) but also de Chirico's hand-written German translation of the programme's contents (*verso*).

<sup>6</sup> Both Baldacci and Roos have provided brief theoretical accounts about the de Chirico brothers' supposed Milanese and Florentine formation. See G. Roos, *op. cit.*, 1995, pp. 55-68; P. Baldacci, *op. cit.*, 1997, pp. 88-90; G. Roos, *op. cit.*, 1999, pp. 260-262 and pp. 372-379; and P. Baldacci, *De Chirico e Savinio, la parabola di una fratellanza intellettuale*, in *Alberto Savinio*, exh. cat., curated by P. Vivarelli, Fondazione Antonio Mazzotta, Milan, 29 November 2002-2 March 2003, Edizioni Gabriele Mazzotta, Milan, 2012, pp. 55-76.

<sup>7</sup> See Baldacci, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. 90 and Roos, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 372.

<sup>8</sup> As this paper concentrates on de Chirico's rather than Savinio's formation in Florence (1910-1911), the author has provided a simplified list of works consulted by Savinio (without individual descriptions), thus enabling key links and observations to be drawn. It is hoped that scholars of Savinio's work will use this primary source material as a basis for further study.

<sup>9</sup> Due to the succinct nature of this paper, the author will not detail the merits and weaknesses of previous theories regarding de Chirico's formation in Milan or Florence (1909-1911).



B.N.C.F. material, this paper does not offer an in-depth analysis of de Chirico's formation parallel to the birth of metaphysical painting but rather a solid basis upon which fellow art historians and researchers can contribute to over time. A detailed study of this nature would demand extensive and collective scholarship between dechirichan scholars and experts of various disciplines studied by the artist, an investigation that the author actively encourages in the near future.

Prior to listing the consulted publication titles in chronological sequence (ordered according to when they were borrowed), it is worth providing a brief overview of de Chirico's Florentine period in order to set the scene for the reader. As reinforced by Savinio's last library return date of 15 February 1910 at Milan's Biblioteca Braidense and de Chirico's first Florentine letter to Gartz dated 11 April 1910, the de Chirico family moved from Milan to Florence at some point during the late winter or early spring of 1910.<sup>10</sup> De Chirico soon set up his artist's studio in Viale Regina Vittoria 3, as attested by the aforementioned letter, and the family eventually moved to nearby Via Lorenzo il Magnifico 20.<sup>11</sup> "Florence is very pretty in spring", wrote de Chirico to Gartz, "I have found a beautiful studio."<sup>12</sup> As later recalled by the artist in his *Memoirs*, they "stayed in Florence for a little over a year." Indeed, the end of his Florentine period can confidently be dated to the second week of July 1911 with his arrival in Paris falling on the night of Bastille Day, 14 July.<sup>13</sup>

As dechirichan scholars are only too aware, the artist's Florentine sojourn is of fundamental importance as the birthplace of metaphysical painting, an event that took place soon after his arrival. It was a year of catalytic discovery intrinsically linked to the gradual evolution of complex ideas that found visual expression in his painting. The shadow of ill health continued to plague him, as agonisingly recollected by the artist himself: "We arrived in Florence. I was very depressed physically because, while staying in Milan, I had had serious intestinal troubles, chronic pains accompanied by much weakness. [...] I consulted various doctors who prescribed for me a quantity of pastilles, powders, compresses, drops, drugs to take before, during and after meals [...] but this supply served no purpose and my condition did not improve. As a result I did very little work. I did more reading than painting. Above all I read books of philosophy and was overcome with severe crises of black melancholy./ In Florence my health grew worse. Sometimes I painted small canvases. The Böcklin period had passed and I had begun to paint subjects in which I tried to express the strong and mysterious feeling I had discovered in the books of Nietzsche: the melancholy of beautiful autumn days, afternoons in Italian cities. It was the prelude to the squares of Italy painted a little later in Paris and

<sup>10</sup> A precise arrival date in Florence has yet to be determined. The earliest surviving letter from a Florence-based de Chirico to his friend Gartz is dated 11 April 1910. In a previous letter written to Gartz dated 27 December 1909, the Milan-based artist explained how "I took a trip to Florence and Rome in October [1909] and in the spring I will probably go to Florence to live as it is the city I like the most." As spring officially starts on 21 March, this would suggest that, at the time of writing, he intended to go to Florence after such a date.

<sup>11</sup> Today, Viale Regina Vittoria is known as Viale Don Giovanni Minzoni. As later recalled by Savinio in 1943, the de Chiricos first stayed with their late father's siblings, Baron Gustavo de Chirico and widower Marchioness Aglae Afan de Rivera, in Via Ricasoli 44. See Roos, *op. cit.*, 1999, pp. 354-355. It is unknown when the de Chiricos moved to Via Lorenzo il Magnifico 20. The address appears on the previously cited letter from the artist to Gartz, 26 December 1910.

<sup>12</sup> G. de Chirico to F. Gartz, Florence, 11 April 1910.

<sup>13</sup> De Chirico recounts: "We decided to leave for Paris. We sold the house in Florence and took the train for Turin. I felt very unwell. It was July and the summer of 1911 was torrid. [...] There was a train leaving for Paris [from Turin] that evening and we took it. We reached the Gare de Lyon in Paris in the middle of the night. My brother was waiting for us. [...] It was the night of 14 July and Paris was celebrating [...]." See G. de Chirico, *The memoirs of Giorgio de Chirico*, translated by M. Crosland, Da Capo Press, New York, 1994, p. 63.





then in Milan, in Florence and in Rome./ [...] My health gave no sign of improvement. I felt very weak and struggled continually with pain and disturbances of all kinds. [...] I was not working and I had lost all faith in doctors [...]."<sup>14</sup> As de Chirico recalled, his ailing health prohibited him from painting at will, an activity that was forcibly reduced and temporarily replaced by intense study. In hindsight, this was to be of great benefit to his artistic career with the interconnecting triad of Florentine events (ill-health ↔ discovery ↔ intense study) cumulatively contributing to the indelible *stimmung* that permeates not only his early metaphysical painting but his entire *œuvre* (1910-1978).

As consistently recollected by the artist, much of de Chirico's Florentine period was spent studying, "particularly literature and philosophy". By late 1910, the intensity of his reading had reached such heights that he unveiled his intention of writing books in the future, as revealed by his letter to Gartz.<sup>15</sup> Having lain undiscovered for over a century, an analysis of the B.N.C.F. registers not only confirms that which de Chirico has always maintained but also provides rare and highly significant insights into the direction his thinking and work took in 1910-1911. A summary of these key points is outlined below:

**I.** De Chirico was a frequent visitor of the B.N.C.F. during his time in Florence. During his first and last registration (23 April 1910 and 17 May 1911), the artist visited the library on 66 separate occasions, consulting a total of 27 individual publications (the Day Book and Local Loan Registers document him borrowing these works on 78 occasions). Between 23 April and 9 November 1910, de Chirico exclusively used the in-house consultation system whereby he studied in the actual library (11 different titles were consulted on 57 occasions over the course of 49 separate days). Between 10 November 1910-17 May 1911, the artist began to use (and indeed favoured) the Local Loan system which allowed him to borrow and study the books outside of the library (15 different titles were borrowed between 10 November 1910 and 3 May 1911) whilst the Day Book Registers document him consulting three different titles on six separate occasions.

**II.** De Chirico studied a vast number of disciplines during his c. 13-month frequentation of the B.N.C.F., including the fields of philosophy, literature, grammar, religion, music, history and archeology. Above all, the B.N.C.F. registers demonstrate that he cultivated a strong interest in ancient Greek and Roman history (he consulted works on this subject from 23 May until 17 October 1910) as well as harboured an intense, albeit short-lived, interest in the history of the East (as documented between 23-30 July 1910<sup>16</sup>) and Jewish history (16 January-12 April 1911). Interestingly, de Chirico developed a concentrated interest in Greek grammar (25 October-19 November 1910) immediately after his prolonged study of ancient Greek and Roman history. From 10 November 1910 onwards (the first time he is listed in the Local Loan Register), his choice of reading was informed by much more specific

<sup>14</sup> G. de Chirico, *op. cit.*, 1994, pp. 60-62.

<sup>15</sup> G. de Chirico to F. Gartz, Florence, 26 December 1910.

<sup>16</sup> The author is of the opinion that Savinio borrowed Maspero's *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient* (1886) on behalf of de Chirico between 1-29 August 1910. For further details, see pp. 154-155 of this paper.



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Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze

Numero d'ordine	Nome e Cognome del Lettore	Distributore	Titolo dell'Opera	RIVISTE			Luogo e anno di stampa o segnatura
				Italiane	Straniere	Volume	
1	Garni A.	5	Platone - Corinto			1	P. 122
2	Carli O.	1	Marconi - Storia			1	P. 42
3	Napoli L.	2	Cervantes - Egloghe			1	2 B. 5. 10
4	Cipolla C.	7	Pass. Sughale			1	P.
5	D.	7	Plat. Perse 1904			1	P.
6	Schultz F.	8	Orizhanti - crepazioni			1	B. 10. 27
7	Crettenere G.	7	Archeologia 1910			1	P.
8	De Chirico F.	5	origine della tragedia			1	C. 10. 23
9	Valeri J.	8	Manuale - documenti			2	2000
0	Ratti P.	5	Veneti - sup.			1	P. 5
50	Wasi L.	8	H. Corne			1	C. 10. 7
2	Schultz F.	7	Manuale del 1905			1	P.
3	Mastelli A.	5	N. pat. H. Wabbeum			1	B. 10. 31
4	Schultz F.	8	Leistungsbuch			1	P. 4. 3
5	Selli G.	7	Giornale de' tempi 8-10			3	P.
6	Mariani A.	5	Dir. Comunità			1	C. 5. 6
7	Leoni L.	8	Valla - opere			1	P. 1. 10
8	Manzetta O.	8	Gatti - Manuale			1	C. 10. 27
9	Graschi E.	8	Crallang - Dizion.			1	P.
0	Dei M.	5	Antologia - Scienza			1	C. 3. 4
60	Manzetta G.	8	Nassi - Discepoli			1	C. 10. 27
2	Selli G.	4	Altomelli - Opuscole			1	490 3
3	Quacini G.	2	Giornale - Scienza			1	6. 6. 32
4	Celcarelli C.	8	Morroni - Dante			1	P. 5. 31
5	Salvini G.	2	Harvey - Orizzonti			1	2. 2. 10
6	Leontini S.	2	Storia - Monografia			1	10. 4. 49
7	Fineschi G.	5	Magnum 1. 800			1	P. 6. 27
8	Beccarelli M.	5	Chirico - Storia			1	P. 5
9	Beccarelli M.	1	Dante - Dir. Com.			1	P.
0	Colli G.	8	Volpi - Ann. del 300			1	C. 9. 16
70	Morpurgo A.	8	Fumagalli - Op. 1. 1. detto			1	P. 5. 350
2	Costa M.	5	Storia - la donna			1	C. 9. 42 6
3	Cozzani J.	7	Compendium 1908			1	P.
4	Diapolo F.	8	Mantini - Opere			1	C. 5. 32
5	Schunke J.	5	Trattato. Botanica			1	P. 11.
6	Bertani L.	1	Sup. App. 1910			1	P. 11.
7	Fineschi G.	5	Compendio 1888			1	P.
8	Morpurgo A.	8	Sup. - Dizionario			1	P. 6. 37
9	Mantini F.	7	Impresso 27			1	P.
0	Garni A.	5	Armonia - Lunde			0	P. 4. 44

fig. 4 B.N.C.F. Day Book Register entry for 23 April 1910 (vol. II, p. 652) which lists de Chirico's consultation of *L'origine de la tragédie ou bellénisme et pessimisme*, F. Nietzsche, Paris 1901

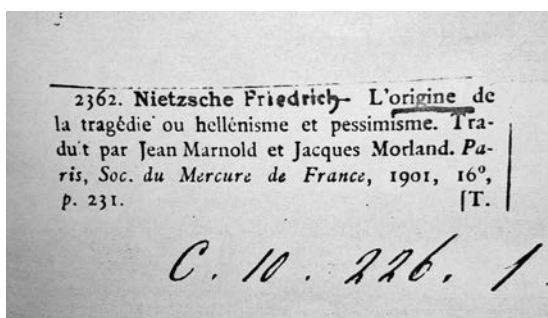


fig. 5 B.N.C.F. library card for *L'origine de la tragédie ou hellénisme et pessimisme*, F. Nietzsche, Paris 1901



fig. 6 Frontispiece of *L'origine de la tragédie ou hellénisme et pessimisme*, F. Nietzsche, Paris 1901

choices, covering a wide range of disciplines that crossed over one another in terms of loan periods, ranging from ancient Greek mythology, the origins of liturgical singing, Scandinavian old folk songs to 19<sup>th</sup> century Italian literature (Foscolo) and ancient and modern-day philosophy (Plato, Kant and Schopenhauer).

**III.** The library registers prove that de Chirico nurtured a constant interest in philosophy during his time in Florence as demonstrated by his first B.N.C.F. loan (a 1901 French edition of Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy, Or: Hellenism and Pessimism*, figs. 4-6) which was taken out on 23 April 1910, and his penultimate loan (a 1908 Italian edition of Schopenhauer's *On the Freedom of Will*) which he returned on 3 May 1911. During the intervening year, the artist also studied a 1908-1910 French translation of Gomperz's *Griechische Denker – Eine Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* (fig. 27), an 1880 Italian translation of Plato's *The Dialogues*, as well as a 1902 French edition of Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason*. Noteworthy is the intensification of de Chirico's philosophical studies undertaken between March and May 1911. During this period, he read Kant, Plato and Schopenhauer with the loan of the latter's *On the Freedom of Will* lasting over a month (29 March-3 May 1911, figs. 30-31) as opposed to the three week loan of Kant's work (8-29 March 1911, fig. 26) and one week loan of Plato's *The Dialogues* (10-17 March 1911, fig. 28).

**IV.** De Chirico's frequent visits to the B.N.C.F. substantiates the traditional theory (as maintained by the artist himself) that he experienced his revelation in Piazza Santa Croce during the autumn of 1910. If we take 23 September 1910 (the official start of autumn) as the earliest possible date of this revelation taking place, the B.N.C.F. registers prove that de Chirico had already visited the library on 34 separate occasions (23 April-21 September 1910). Located *directly behind* the B.N.C.F., the artist would almost certainly have passed through Piazza Santa Croce on his way to and from the library during these 34 visits, with his home located first in Via Ricasoli 44 and then Via Lorenzo il Magnifico 20, as clearly shown on the illustrated map (fig. 7). This corresponds to de Chirico's 1912 description of this revelation, when he specified how "on a clear autumn afternoon, I was sitting on a bench



in the middle of Piazza Santa Croce in Florence. Indeed, it was not the first time I had seen this square. [...] The autumn sun, lukewarm and without love, lit the statue as well as the façade of the temple. I then had the strange impression that I was seeing everything for the first time [...].”<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, de Chirico's abrupt change in library system (preferring the Local Loan system over the in-house consultation arrangement) from 10 November 1910 until his departure for Paris the following summer, further substantiates the long-held belief that the revelation took place during the autumn of 1910. As the catalytic stimulus for his first metaphysical painting, *L'énigme d'un après-midi d'automne* (*The Enigma of an Autumn Afternoon*, 1910) – “And the composition of my painting came to me and every time I look at it, I relive this moment once again” – it would appear logical that de Chirico's intense reading within the library should be replaced by out-of-library loans.<sup>18</sup> As such, he would have been able to continue his studies, presumably in the comfort of his home or atelier, parallel to his newfound artistic inspiration and resultant burst of activity. One will recall that, up until the autumn of 1910, de Chirico's time in Florence had been marred by a long period of ill health – “I had just recovered from a long and painful intestinal illness and found myself in a morbid state of sensitivity” – which directly resulted in him painting less.<sup>19</sup>

V. Interesting points of contact and divergence can be drawn between de Chirico and Savinio in terms of the frequency with which they visited the B.N.C.F., their choice of lending system, and the selection of publication titles that they consulted. As aforementioned, Savinio frequented the B.N.C.F. between 20 April-3 October 1910 and noticeably preferred to study outside of the library (he only used the in-house day loan system between 20 April-16 May 1910). Although he lived in Florence until early January 1911, he chose not to frequent the B.N.C.F. after mid-September 1910. This is in stark contrast to de Chirico who was a far more frequent library visitor, whose B.N.C.F. visits took place *throughout* his time in Florence, and who favoured studying at the library for the first half of his Florentine sojourn before opting for out-of-library loans after 10 November 1910. As made apparent in the accompanying chart of *B.N.C.F. Loans (1910-1911)* (Supporting Document A), both of the brothers read a number of the same publications, albeit at different times, including Renan's *Histoire du peuple d'Israël* (vol. I of 1887 and vol. II of 1889), Reinach's *Cultes, mythes et religions* (1908, fig. 17) and potentially (although unlikely) Maspero's *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient* (1886, fig. 14).<sup>20</sup> Whereas de Chirico's choice of publications centred on the history of ancient Greece and Rome, philosophy and some literature, Savinio favoured works regarding ancient religious history (Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism), ancient writing (Vedic Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit) as well as popular tales (deriving from ancient Egypt, the German middle-age *Nibelungenlied* and de Balzac's *Les contes drolatiques*). When one compares Savinio's B.N.C.F. reading list with that

<sup>17</sup> G. de Chirico, *Méditations d'un peintre. Que pourrait être la peinture de l'avenir*, Paulhan Manuscripts, in G. de Chirico, *Scritti I (1911-1945). Romanzi e scritti critici e teorici*, edited by A. Cortellessa, Bompiani, Milan 2008, pp. 649-652. English translation extracted from Picozza, *op. cit.*, 2008, pp. 58-59.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> As detailed later on, the author of this paper believes that Savinio borrowed this book on behalf of de Chirico. For further details, see pp. 154-155 of this paper. All three of these authors' names are listed on the back of the previously cited concert programme sent to Gartz.





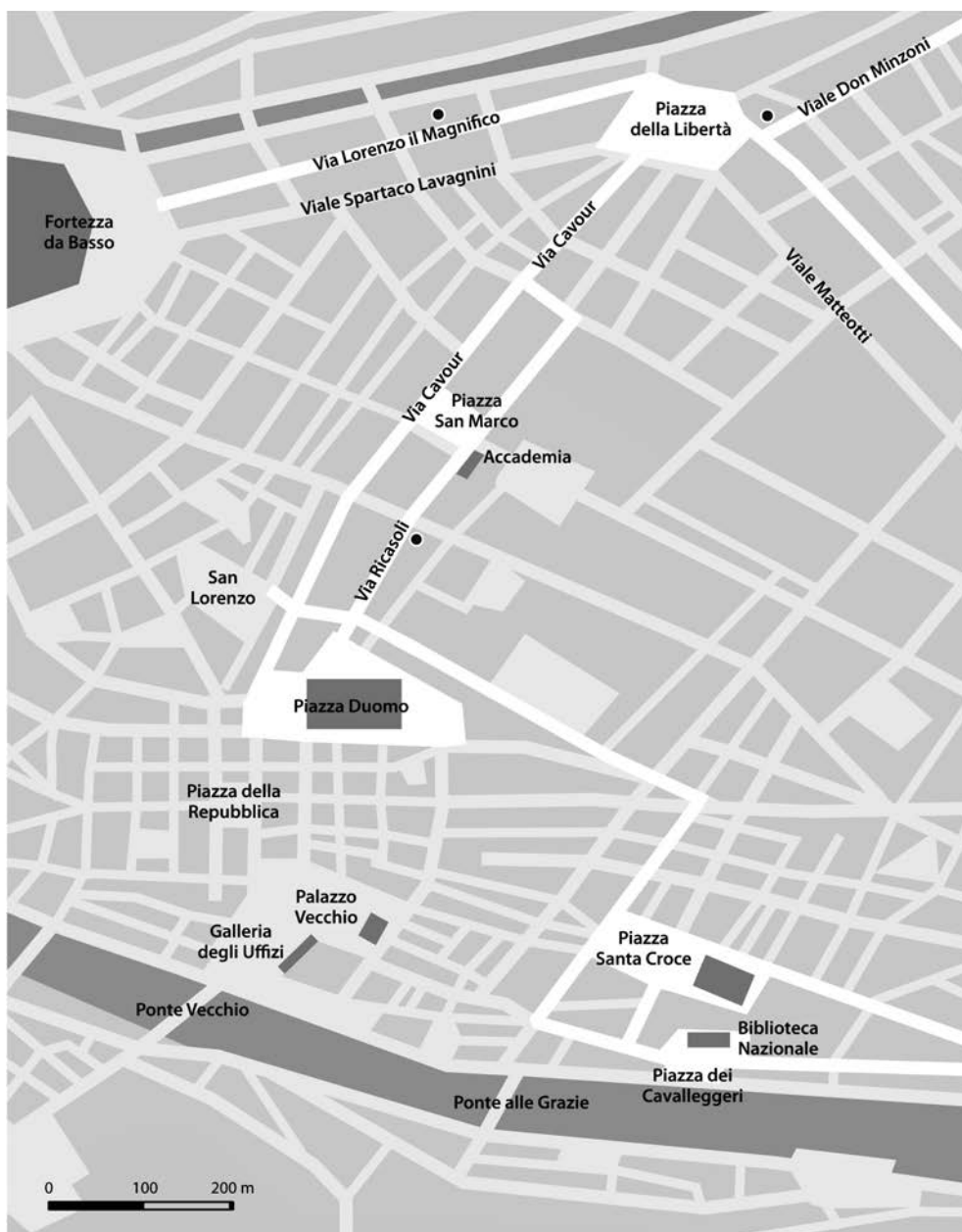


fig. 7 Map of Florence's historical centre which indicates the following places:

- i) *Piazza dei Cavalleggeri 1 (the B.N.C.F.);*
- ii) *Piazza Santa Croce;*
- iii) *Via Ricasoli 44 (home of de Chirico's aunt and uncle);*
- iv) *Viale Don Giovanni Minzoni 3 (previously known as Viale Regina Vittoria, de Chirico's artist studio);*
- v) *Via Lorenzo il Magnifico 20 (de Chirico's home).*

The black dots marked on the map refer to the street number but are only indicative owing to street numbers changing over the years.

Pag. 1116		BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE				1910		
NUMERO progr. della RICEVUTE	DATA della consegna		Nome, Cognome E DOMICILIO DEL RICHIEDENTE	TITOLO DELL'OPERA PRESTATA e sua Collocazione in Biblioteca	PRESTITO			DATA della restituzione
	SENZA RUBRICA	CON RUBRICA			Locale	Esterno	Interno	
	vol.	vol.			vol.	vol.	vol.	
1115 1		31 Nov	Barinca Edo	Bonoy Le comte Bonoy Paris 1909 B. 4. 361	1			1 2 05/1911
2		19/10	Calzelli Luigi	Thuniz Riviera Paris 1910 B. 5. 151	1			018/1910 83
3		d	S	Zabirghini G. L. ... Gottaferrate 1910 B. 4. 213	3			5/1 12/11
4		d	Capalaso M	Majonchi Breve compendio dei po fiori dell'educazione di Januelli L. de' ... 1880 81	1			1/12/10
5		d	Caputo Gode	Staal (S) Lettre inédites Paris 1915 B. 73 5. 132	1			7/1
6		d	→ Chirico (G. de)	Sabatier Philosophie de la grec Paris 1897 B. 7 3. 216	1			1/1 1/12/10
7		d	→ S	Gevaert Les origines du chant liturgique de l'église latine Gand 1890 7. 188 7	1			018/1910 82
8		d	Calzelli Mario	Parigi Lettre inédites Milan 1916 7 5 87	1			018/1910 84
9		d	Collino Luigi	Reggoli Storia e Letteratura Lorenz 1919 22 6 199	1			1/1 2 9/11
1116 0		d	S	Paris Fausset Villen Paris 1901 6 1 57	1			1/1 2 9/11

fig. 8 B.N.C.F. Local Loan Register entry (vol. III, p. 1116) which shows de Chirico borrowed *Les origines du chant liturgique de l'Église latine. étude d'histoire musicale*, F-A. Gevaert, Gand 1890, between 30 November-7 December 1910, as well as *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion d'après la psychologie et l'histoire*, L-A Sabatier, Paris 1897, between 30 November-1 December 1910

of de Chirico's, together with the artist's notes jotted down on the concert programme (early January 1911), one notes that both 'Oldenberg' and 'Zend-Avesta Zarathustra' are listed on the programme but were effectively consulted by Savinio and not by de Chirico.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, Renan's name appears next to the abbreviated note 'Jüdische-Christl. Gesch.' (History of Judaism and Christianity), a topic that covers two French editions read by Savinio at the B.N.C.F., principally *Histoire du peuple d'Israël* (vols. I-III of 1887, 1889 and 1891) and *Vie de Jésus* (1863).<sup>22</sup> Seeing as other author names and titles, principally 'Manhard' (Wilhelm Mannhardt, German scholar and folklorist, 1831-1880), 'Robertson Smith' (William Robertson Smith, Scottish, 1846-1894) and 'Mythische Geschichten' (Mythical Tales), appear on the concert programme but were not consulted by de Chirico at the B.N.C.F. – arguably finding closer thematic parallels with Savinio's rather than the artist's reading list – one must consider the possibility that the concert programme does not necessarily constitute a reading list linked exclusively to de Chirico.<sup>23</sup>

**VI.** De Chirico's reading of two very particular books on music in late 1910 – he borrowed Gevaert's *Les origines du chant liturgique de l'Église latine: étude d'histoire musicale* of 1890 from 30 November-7 December 1910 (fig. 8) and Pineau's *Les vieux chants populaires Scandinaves (Gamle nordiske Folkeviser). Époque barbare: la légende divine et héroïque* of 1901-1902 from 1 December 1910-16 January 1911 (fig. 9) – not only provides an insight into potential lines of influence found in the 'profound' music co-composed by de Chirico and Savinio in 1910 but also strengthens the theory that the much-disputed letter written to Gartz by the artist was written on 26 December 1910 rather than 11 months earlier.<sup>24</sup> With the exception of de Chirico's letters to Gartz regarding the planning of Savinio's concert in Munich (January 1911), the only reference to be found in the surviving de Chirico-Gartz correspondence (1908-1911) which mentions the de Chirico brothers' musical collaboration is found in this very letter. He wrote "I have many other things to tell you, for example that now my brother and I have composed the most profound music." Bearing in mind that de Chirico consulted just two books on music at the B.N.C.F. throughout his time in Florence (30 November 1910-16 January 1911) and that the front cover of Savinio's obsolete Florentine concert programme (originally planned for 9 January 1911) proudly announced "The first great orchestral concert by Alberto de Chirico. The first

<sup>21</sup> Savinio consulted two publications by Oldenberg at the B.N.C.F. *Le Bouddha. Sa vie, sa doctrine, sa communauté* and *La religion du Vedā* (both 1903 French editions of the original German) which were respectively read between 4-12 May 1910 and 12-21 May 1910. One notes that the concert programme specifies *Alt-Indian-Oldenberg*, short-hand for Oldenberg's *Die Literatur des Alten Indien* (Gebrüder Paetel, Berlin, 1899-1903), a book that the B.N.C.F. owned (as proved by a surviving B.N.C.F. library card) even though Savinio did not consult it at the B.N.C.F. On the other hand, he consulted a French edition of *Avesta, livre sacré des sectateurs de Zoroastre* (1875-76) between 13 September-3 October 1910. For further details, see p. 173 of this paper.

<sup>22</sup> Roos was the first to decipher 'Jüdische-Christl. Gesch.' as a German abbreviation of 'History of Judaism and Christianity'. See Roos, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 374.

<sup>23</sup> It is possible that *Mythische Geschichten* included (in its entirety or in part) the *Nibelungenlied* (the 'Song of the Nibelungs') which was a heroic epic poem written in Middle High German, most likely in Austria, during the early 13<sup>th</sup> century. The *Nibelungenlied* was another version of the Nibelungen cycle which differs to the Icelandic works. It was the most popular epic written in medieval German. As documented later on in this paper, Savinio consulted a 1909 French translation of the *Nibelungenlied* between 13 September-3 October 1910. With regard to Savinio's reading of work by Robertson Smith, he recalled in 1951 that he first started reading his work at 16 years old. See Roos, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 373. Interestingly, Robertson Smith, who compared elements of the Old Testament with early Hebrew folklore, encouraged his friend Sir James George Frazer (Scottish, 1854-1941) in his studies, the renowned social anthropologist whose work was known to Savinio. See Roos, *ibid.*, p. 378.

<sup>24</sup> For further details, see pp. 161-162 of this paper.

Pag. 1121		REGISTRO DEI LIBRI DATI IN PRESTITO					1910	
NUMERO progressivo delle RICHIESTE	DATA della consegna		Nome, Cognome E DOMICILIO DEL RICHIEDENTE	TITOLO DELL'OPERA PRESTATA e sua Collocazione in Biblioteca	PRESTITO			DATA della restituzione
	SENZA BILIVERA	CON BILIVERA			Locale vol.	Esterno vol.	Internat. vol.	
1121	1	1910	Bella Ugo J.	Robbesi La cooperazione italiana Milano 1886 J. 8 241	1			01/12/10
2	d		S	Biblioteca dell'Università per l'art. 12 S. J.	1			01/1/10
3	d		Bovio Gius.	Agaliti La dottrina del premio nelle gare di architettura Milano 1897 n. 9 146	1			2/12/10
4	d		Bracchi Gius.	Capri Tutto capri una vacanza ed altro G. Neri Napoli 1887 7229/11	1			20 DIC 1910
5	d		Callaini Ugo	Siena Dirigenti di diritto in Amministrazione pubblica Napoli 1908 6-10-799	1			01/12/10
6	d		Cammelli Gius.	Bozzetti L'età aurea del Rinascimento per l'arte 1877-7	1			27 DIC 1910
7	d		→ Chirico G.	Pineau Les vieux chants populaires scandinaves Paris 1901-1902 Bibl. France 1901.02.14/8	1			16 GEN 1911
8	d		→ S	Decharme Mythologie de la Grèce antique Paris 1886 13 4.6	1			1-2-91
9	d		Ciani Guido	Fischer La penitente italiana Milano 1902	1			01/12/10
1121	0	d	Cocilovo M.	Bozzetti Tutte le opere di G. Bardi e P. Paganini 1903 6/13-10	1			30 DIC 1910

fig. 9 B.N.C.F. Local Loan Register entry (vol. III, p. 1121) which shows de Chirico borrowed *Les vieux chants populaires scandinaves* (Gamle nordiske Folkeviser). *Époque barbare: la légende divine et héroïque*, L. Pineau, Paris 1901-1902, between 1 December 1910-16 January 1911, as well as *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, P. Decharme, Paris 1886, between 1 December 1910-1 February 1911



musical event. The most profound music ever written", it would appear logical that all three events (de Chirico's study of musical literature, his letter to Gartz, and Savinio's concert) took place at about the same time.<sup>25</sup>

**VII.** Having established a precise reading list for de Chirico at the B.N.C.F., one notes the complete absence of publications by Leopardi. This, in turn, would appear to weaken the theory promoted by Baldacci that de Chirico conducted an intense study of Leopardi's work from 1909 onwards.<sup>26</sup> In terms of Italian literature read at the B.N.C.F., the artist alternatively studied a 1837 published dissertation by Fanelli that included a commentary about Foscolo's *Discorso sul testo della Commedia di Dante* (1818) between 1-8 February 1911, immediately followed by an 1843 edition of Foscolo's *I sepolcri* between 8-15 February 1911. Indeed, his study of the Italian poet's work corresponds to a recollection cited by de Chirico in a letter dated 1928: "[...] my father gave me my first lessons in Italian literature by making me read Dante, Tasso, Ariosto and Ugo Foscolo. I then continued on my own and also studied Latin, ancient Greek, French and German."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> To this end, Roos' theory that de Chirico and Savinio composed music together in Milan during the autumn of 1909 would appear all the more illogical. Had the de Chirico brothers composed "the most profound music ever written" at the time, it begs the question as to why they (or indeed just Savinio) would have waited well over a year before attempting to debut it in a concert.

<sup>26</sup> See Baldacci, *op. cit.*, 1997, pp. 53-54.

<sup>27</sup> Letter from G. de Chirico to G. Scheiwiller, Paris, 14 July 1928, reproduced in P. Picozza, *Evaristo de Chirico*, in this issue of the periodical, p. 122.





## Publications & Journals Consulted by de Chirico

### 1) Friedrich Nietzsche, *L'origine de la tragédie ou hellénisme et pessimisme (Die Geburt der Tragödie, Oder: Griechentum und Pessimismus, 1886)*, translated by Jean Marnold and Jacques Morland, Société du Mercure de France, Paris 1901<sup>28</sup>

The renowned German philosopher (1844-1900) requires little introduction to de Chirico scholars who are well aware of Nietzsche's decisive influence upon the artist's early metaphysical paintings. First published in 1872, Nietzsche's dramatic theory *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik (The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music)* was reissued in 1886 with the modified title *Die Geburt der Tragödie, Oder: Griechentum und Pessimismus (The Birth of Tragedy, Or: Hellenism and Pessimism)*. This later edition – which de Chirico read in French translation – contained an introductory essay by Nietzsche entitled *An Attempt at Self-Criticism* which auto-critiqued his 1872 publication. Consulted by de Chirico at the B.N.C.F. on 23 April 1910, *L'origine de la tragédie ou hellénisme et pessimisme* constitutes the first book that de Chirico borrowed (Day Book Register, vol. II, p. 652, figs. 4-6).<sup>29</sup> His choice of title is important for the following reasons: i) de Chirico chose to consult a work by Nietzsche as his first book, demonstrating his active interest in the German philosopher's work during the spring of 1910; ii) the artist preferred to read a French translation of Nietzsche's work rather than the original German despite his proficiency in the language;<sup>30</sup> and iii) de Chirico's choice of title – *The Birth of Tragedy, Or: Hellenism and Pessimism* – is of great significance owing to his imminent revelation in Piazza Santa Croce several months later. The work discusses the history of the tragic form as well as the dichotomy of two elements, namely the Apollonian (reality as ordered, rational and differentiated by forms) and Dionysian (reality as chaotic, irrational and undifferentiated by forms). For Nietzsche, life consisted of a constant struggle between the Apollonian and its Dionysian antithesis, each battling for control over human existence: tragedy is born out of their synthesis as a single art form. Owing to its seamless weave of the Apollonian and Dionysian, Nietzsche championed ancient Greek tragedy as the highest form of art. In light of this Hellenic preference and the fundamental role that the Apollonian and Dionysian play in de Chirico's early metaphysical painting, the artist's comprehensive reading of Curtius' *Storia della Grecia (History of Greece, 1877)* immediately after his consultation of *The Birth of Tragedy, Or: Hellenism and Pessimism*, proves all the more enlightening.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for the 1901 edition although the book is no longer available. The inventory number found on the library card (n. C.10.226.1) corresponds to the one specified in the Day Book Register (n. C.10.226).

<sup>29</sup> To this end, the author of this paper has consulted the Day Book Register (vols. I-II) dating from January-April 1910.

<sup>30</sup> Having lived in Munich from 1906-1909, de Chirico possessed a very good command of German, as attested by his letters to Fritz Gartz (1909-1914).

<sup>31</sup> As detailed later on, the artist consulted Curtius' publication 28 times between 23 May-17 October 1910. For further details, see p. 151 of this essay.



## 2) Giuseppe Ferrari, *Corso sugli scrittori politici italiani*, Tipografia di Manini, Milan 1862<sup>32</sup>

Giuseppe Ferrari (Italian, 1812-1876) was a philosopher, historian and politician whom some have described as a philosophical skeptic and a political revolutionist. A prolific writer, other books by his hand include: *Les Philosophes Salariés*, *Machiavel juge des révolutions de notre temps* (1849), *La Federazione repubblicana* (1851), *La filosofia della rivoluzione* (1851), *L'Italia dopo il colpo di Stato* (1852) and *Histoire des révolutions, ou Guelfes et Gibelins* (1858). Written in 1862, *Corso sugli scrittori politici italiani* provides a historical overview of 13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century Italian political writers. As listed in the Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 670, fig. 10), it was consulted by de Chirico on 25 April 1910.



fig. 10 Frontispiece of *Corso sugli scrittori politici italiani*, G. Ferrari, Milan 1862

## 3) Ernst Curtius, *Storia della Grecia (Griechische Geschichte, vols. I-III, 1857-1867)*, translated into Italian by G. Müller and G. Oliva, ed. Loescher, Turin 1877<sup>33</sup>

Ernst Curtius (German, 1814-1896) was a prominent German archaeologist and historian who was appointed tutor to Prince Frederick William (later Emperor Frederick III) between 1844-1850. Amongst the various works that he published, Curtius is best known for his monumental work *Griechische Geschichte (History of Greece)* which helped establish his reputation. Comprising of three volumes published periodically between 1857 and 1867, it offered up-to-date research in a legible, easily digestible manner that was later criticised for its dearth of scholarship. Registered in the Day Book as both 'Curtius - Storia' and 'Curtius - Storia greca' (with various inventory numbers: '0', '0.5.9' and '0.5.10'), de Chirico periodically consulted the three different volumes (with a preference for vol. III) on no less than 28 occasions between 23 May-17 October 1910 (fig. 11).<sup>34</sup> The most intense consultation period of Curtius' work took place between late May and late July, a time-frame that coincided with his imminent discovery of metaphysics. When compared to other books that de Chirico read between April 1910-July 1911 at the B.C.N.F., *Storia della Grecia* was by far and away the most consulted, a clear indication of his fervent interest in ancient Greek history at the time.

<sup>32</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card as well as the 1862 edition of this book (inventory n. MAGL.15.7.612). The inventory number found on the library card (n. 15.7.612) corresponds to the one specified in the Day Book Register (n. 15.7.612).

<sup>33</sup> Although the author of this paper has been unable to source the B.N.C.F. library card for this publication (presumably lost or mislaid in the intervening years), research of Curtius' work has led her to believe that de Chirico consulted the 1877 Italian edition of *Griechische Geschichte*. This theory is further strengthened by the existence of a library card for the English version of the book (*The History of Greece*, translated by Adolphus William Ward, vols. I-V, ed. Richard Bentley & Son, London, 1869-1873). With the B.N.C.F. in possession of an early English translation, it is highly likely that they also owned an Italian edition.

<sup>34</sup> De Chirico consulted the publication on the following days: 23 May, 24 May, 27 May, 28 May, 2 June, 3 June, 4 June, 7 June, 10 June, 17 June, 20 June, 22 June, 28 June, 2 July, 4 July, 5 July, 8 July, 19 July, 21 July, 23 July, 25 July, 27 July, 29 July, 30 July, 25 August, 26 September, 10 October and 17 October 1910.

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1910 - 24 maggio

Opere date in lettura

Numero d'ordine	Nome	Nome e Cognome del Letto	Distributore	Titolo dell'Opera	RIVISTE			Luogo e anno di stampa o segnatura
					Italiane	Straniere	Volume	
1				24 Maggio 1910				
2		Poston J.		Aut. sui Rom.	1			
3		Cipolla E.	4	Reggione - Venet.	1			74.5.40
4		D.	5	Dioma - Venet.	1			600.80
5		D.	2	Mandell - Venet.	1			1.7.45
6		Vamba S.	1	Luccini - Filologia	3			30
7		Poston J.	5	Autol. del. arte	1			15.6
8		Anna O.	7	R. 2 under 1840	1			4
9		Preti J.	2	Vasari - Flo	1			52
10		Murino G.	8	Lepton - Chimica	1			8.3.27
10A		Simon G.	7	Publ. Storia 1903	1			4
2		D.	7	Ateneo Veneto 1895-97	2			1
3		Vamba S.	8	Index Roman	1			1
4		Raccone M.	C	Suppl. H	1			1
5		Machin J.	8	monumenti - Venezia	2			Coy
6		Zippel A.	8	Veneta - Florid	1			Coy
7		De Chirico S.	1	Curtius - Florid green	3			0
8		Murino G.	8	Murino - Florid	3			8.4.34
9		Murino G.	5	Rom. - Letter. Ital.	3			8.27
10		Murino G.	2	Leggim. S. Chimica	1			6.6.41
20		Vecchioni S.	4	Misure elettriche	1			20.5.94
2		Murino G.	1	Revista - Florid	3			0
3		Orlandi C.	4	Chimica Mercurio	1			20.5.96
4		Orlandi P.	2	Lounges - L'Europe	1			50
5		Carpanti P.	2	Memoria - Carita	1			10.5.17
6		M. P. P.	1	Memoria - Florid	1			12
7		Bluff S.	5	Caracci - Florid	1			8.7.3
8		M. P. P.	10	Storico - Florid	1			26
9		Roman G.	5	Dir. Corie	1			2.7
30		Michel D.	4	Tab. Cartouge	1			45.27.11
1		Jacuzzi N.	4	Mercurio - Florid	1			66.86.26
2		del Chiaro L.	1	Fine - Dis. Interogl.	3			0.7.36
3		Jacuzzi N.	2	Calce - Florid	3			50
4		Orto J.	C	Suppl. C.	1			1
5		Orto J.	2	Caracci - L'Europe	1			6.7.36
6		Zippel A.	1	Peramb. - Florid	1			0.4.12
7		Vecchioni S.	4	Orto - Cristall	1			23.4.12
8		Jacuzzi N.	5	Anatomia comparata	1			2.1
9		Jacuzzi N.	4	S. Banno	1			3.27.12
10		Vecchioni S.	5	Capelli - Dr. Camer	1			8.10.10

fig. 11 B.N.C.F. Day Book Register entry for 24 May 1910 (vol. II, p. 830) which lists de Chirico's consultation of *Storia della Grecia*, E. Curtius, Turin 1877



**4) «La Nouvelle Revue Française», directed by A. Gide, Paris, June 1910 (n. 18), October 1910 (n. 22) and May 1911 (n. 29)**

As documented in the Day Book Register, de Chirico consulted a foreign magazine on 16 and 21 June 1910 (vol. II, pp. 923 and 939). Listed as «Revue», the author of this paper is of the opinion that this journal corresponds to the then recently launched «La Nouvelle Revue Française».<sup>35</sup> Founded in Paris in 1909 by a group of intellectuals, including André Gide (who directed it until 1914), Jacques Copeau and Jean Schlumberger, this monthly literary journal enjoyed a classical leaning and contained regular contributions by writers such as Paul Bourget and Anatole France. Its popularity and influence quickly grew to the point at which it was considered the leading literary journal during the interwar period, significantly contributing to contemporary French culture. As a monthly review, it is plausible that de Chirico consulted the June 1910 issue (n. 18) twice in the space of a week (fig. 12). The artist consulted «Revue» on 8 October 1910 (Day Book Register, vol. III, p. 315), presumably consulting the October issue of «La Nouvelle Revue Française» (n. 22), and again on 17 May 1911 (Day Book Register, vol. I, p. 814), most probably consulting the May issue (n. 29).

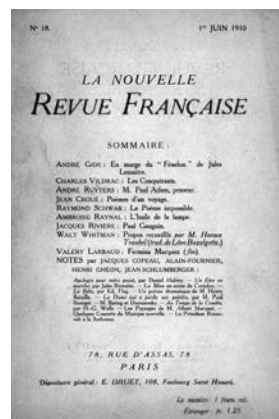


fig. 12 Frontispiece of «La Nouvelle Revue Française», directed by A. Gide, Paris, June 1910, n. 18

**5) Christian Matthias Theodor Mommsen, *Storia di Roma antica* (Römische Geschichte, 1854-1856), translated by Luigi di San Giusto, illustrations by Ettore Pais, Casa Editrice Nazionale Roux e Viarengo, Rome-Turin 1903 (vol. I), 1904 (vol. II), and 1905 (vol. III)**<sup>36</sup>

Mommsen (German, 1817-1903) is generally regarded as one of the greatest classicists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As well as being a prominent classical scholar, he was also a historian, archaeologist, politician, jurist and journalist. Publishing over 1500 works, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1902. His works on Roman law and the law of obligations also exerted a significant impact on the German civil code. Mommsen's main work (albeit unfinished) is, however, widely regarded as *Römische Geschichte* (*History of Rome*) of 1854-1856 which documented Roman history up until the end of the

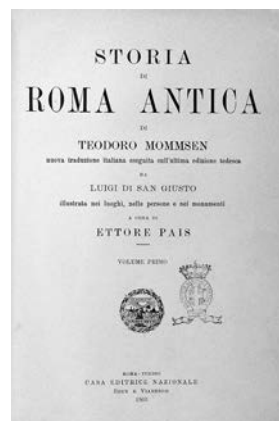


fig. 13 Frontispiece of *Storia di Roma antica*, T. Mommsen, vol. I, Rome-Turin 1903

<sup>35</sup> The French journal «Revue politique et littéraire» (commonly referred to as «Revue bleue») constitutes a less valid alternative to «La Nouvelle Revue Française». Founded in 1871, «Revue bleue» was a French centre-left political magazine. One notes that on 25 January 1911 (Day Book Register, vol. I, p. 135), a certain «Di Chirico L» consulted a foreign magazine listed as «Revue Bleu [sic] 1863». The clearly legible «L» instead of «G» or «A» prevents the author from confidently attributing this loan to one of the de Chirico brothers. The fact that a 1863 issue of the journal was listed is also problematic as the «Revue bleue» was founded in 1871.

<sup>36</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card as well as the three-volume edition of this book (inventory n. F.2.199). The library card specifies that this work was a «Consultation» volume («Cons. Stor. 58») as does the Day Book Register. Today, Mommsen's work still forms part of the «History – consultation» section in the library.

Roman Republic and Julius Caesar's rule. It was specifically mentioned during Mommsen's Nobel Prize ceremony. Written early on in his career, the first of three volumes appeared in Italian translation (*Storia di Roma antica*) in 1903, the year of his death (fig. 13). The epic work – which proved exceptionally popular in Mommsen's day and cemented his success despite contemporary criticism – is still considered a valid instrument of research for today's historians. This publication, together with others, helped establish a new method for the systematic study of Roman history, as well as pioneered the discipline of epigraphy (the study of inscriptions as writing). As recorded in the Day Book Register, the multi-volume history book was consulted by de Chirico on four consecutive days during the summer of 1910 (19-22 July, vol. III, pp. 64, 67, 73 and 76).

**6) Gaston Camille Charles Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, IV edition, Librairie Hachette et C.ie, Paris 1886<sup>37</sup>**

Maspero (French, 1846-1916) was an acclaimed Egyptologist. Amongst the numerous publications by his hand, his best-known work is the unabridged edition of *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique* (1895-1897, III vols.) which documented the history of the near East from its origins up until the conquest of Alexander the Great. A reduced version entitled *Histoire des peuples de l'Orient* (single volume) passed through six editions between 1875 and 1904. De Chirico read the 1886 version (IV edition, fig. 14). As documented in the Day Book Register (vol. III, pp. 81, 86, 89, 94, 99, 103 and 106), the artist frequently consulted this book during late July 1910, studying it no fewer than seven times in the space of a week (23 July, 25 July, 26 July, 27 July, 28 July, 29 July and 30 July). One should note that Savinio who, up until that date, was the only brother to take books out of the



fig. 14 Frontispiece of *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, G. Maspero, IV edition, Paris 1886

library via the local loans system, borrowed this very edition on 1 August 1910 (the day after de Chirico is listed as having consulted it). It constitutes one of three titles borrowed by Savinio that day (the other two were Maspero's *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* [1900] and Schliemann's *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja* [1874]), all of which were returned on 29 August 1910. As the B.N.C.F. was closed between 2-15 August 1910 for the summer break, it is plausible that Savinio's request to borrow *Histoire des peuples de l'Orient* on the last day that the library was open (his previous loan occurred on 2 July 1910) was done on behalf of de Chirico. This is plausible owing to the fact that: i) Savinio had never consulted the 1886 book nor any other title by Maspero until this date; ii) de Chirico had read Maspero's book practically every day during the week leading up to 1 August; iii) Savinio never consulted Maspero again at the B.N.C.F. during his remaining time in Florence; and iv) de Chirico, unlike his brother, had previously never requested any out-of-library loans (he did so

<sup>37</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card as well as the 1886 edition of this book (inventory n. MAGL. 53.5.125.00000). The inventory number found on the library card (n. 53.5.125) corresponds to the one specified in the Day Book Register (n. 53.5.125).

only between 10 November 1910-29 March 1911). With regard to the latter point, it is possible that, owing to bureaucratic and practical reasons, de Chirico asked his brother to borrow the book for the summer break, allowing the artist to conclude his in-depth study of the publication.<sup>38</sup>

**7) Ernst Curtius, *Inscripfen aus Olympia*, extract from «Archäologischen Zeitung», Jahrg. 36, Berlin 1878<sup>39</sup>**

Author of the aforementioned work *Storia della Grecia (History of Greece)* of 1877, which de Chirico frequently consulted during May-October 1910, the German archaeologist and historian also published *Inscripfen aus Olympia* (1878). It was written a few years after the 1874 exclusivity agreement that Curtius helped procure for the German government in Athens that entrusted Germany with the archaeological dig at Olympia. The publication recorded the inscriptions subsequently found at Olympia. As listed in the Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 240, fig. 15), the book was consulted by de Chirico on 21 September 1910.

**8) Iginio Gentile, *Trattato generale di archeologia e storia dell'arte italica, etrusca e romana*, with contribution by Serafino Ricci, III edition, ed. Ulrico Hoepli, Milan, 1901; or Iginio Gentile, *Trattato generale di archeologia e storia dell'arte greca*, with contribution by Serafino Ricci, II edition, ed. Ulrico Hoepli, Milan 1905<sup>40</sup>**

Little is known about Iginio Gentile (1843-1893) other than he was an Italian archaeologist, professor and author of *Trattato generale di archeologia e storia dell'arte italica, etrusca e romana* (1901) and *Trattato generale di archeologia e storia dell'arte greca* (1905). It is difficult to determine with absolute certainty which of these two publications de Chirico borrowed on 19 October 1910 as the Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 359) cites '*Gentile – Trattati*' ('treatises' rather than 'treatise'). Both books also share the same library inventory number. Despite this, one can safely conclude that the artist consulted a comprehensive treatise detailing the archaeology and history of art of ancient Mediterranean civilisation(s), whether Greek or Italian, Etruscan and Roman.

**9) Unidentified 'Consultation' book, possibly an encyclopaedia**

As recorded in the Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 359), de Chirico took out a publication by Iginio Gentile, as documented above, together with another volume on 19 October 1910. Unfortunately, the illegibility of the registrar's handwriting has prevented the identification of the author or title of the work. In light of the fact that the publication was located in the 'Consultation' reading room and the registrar's writing, it is possible that de Chirico consulted an encyclopaedia.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> For further details about Maspero's *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* (1900), see p. 173, footnote 86.

<sup>39</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for the 1878 edition although the book is no longer available. The inventory number found on the library card (n. 8652.6) corresponds to the one specified in the Day Book Register (n. 8652.6).

<sup>40</sup> The B.N.C.F. possesses a library card for the 1901 and 1905 publications, both of which still belong to the library (inventory n. C.10.27 and n. C.10.27). The inventory numbers found on the library cards (n. C.10.27) correspond to the one specified in the Day Book Register (n. C.10.27).

<sup>41</sup> As documented in the Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 788), Savinio consulted encyclopaedic volumes on 16 May 1910. The handwriting, which belongs to the same registrar as that of 19 October 1910, is more legible and bears some correspondence with that written next to de Chirico's name several months later.

1910 - 21 Set

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**Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze**

Numero d'ordine	Nome	Nome e Cognome del Letto	Distributore	Titolo dell'Opera	RIVISTE			Luogo e anno di stampa o segreteria
					Italiane	Straniere	Volume	
10		Cremaschi A.	2	Holloman - Chimica			1	24.1.26
2		Fusini G.	4	Suffanelli - Geografia			1	J. 8. 83
3		Valeri B.	7	Her. Jahn für. die Augen			2	12. 6. 0
4		Mantovani S.	2	Prunetti - chimica			1	6. 6. 22
5		Fulvi B.	8	Severus - vocal latino			2	8. 2. 198
6		Fusini G.		Giornale D. Stato 1910			108	J. 24
7		mezzianni C.		Cremona Giurisprud.			1	
8	1	Casteyran G.	7	Antologia fil.			1	17
9		Vico G.	8	Mercato - Filologia			1	8. 4. 351
0		Salvi A.	2	Nome diverse			1	25. 2. 10
10		Toni M.	1	Vera - Elektrotechnik			1	7. 6. 16
2		Martino V.	5	Napadava - chimica			1	4. 4. 134
3		D.	5	Molinari - Chimica			1	6. 2. 3
4	1	Cescherelli G.	7	Part. Bibliop. 1901			1	
5		Salvi A.	2	Nome di diverse antich.			1	2. 5. 2. 7
6		Gustav A.	5	Perudini - Geografia			1	6. 5. 41
7		Desani L.	8	Bullett. meteorol. 1910			4	4. 7
8		de Chirico J.	4	Curtius - Inschriften			1	8. 6. 2. 6
9		Nottola U.	8	Poggio - Epistolar			2	3. 3. 322
0		Falkenberg P.	4	Geogr. Zeit. 1910			1	7. 8. 7
60		Coluzello L.	4	May - mineralog.			1	23. 4. 17
2		Mancini G.	4	Botica - Farm. Gallica			1	26. 2. 117
3		Castagnari G.	1	Severus - mineralog.			1	8. 6. 44
4	1	Schneiders A.	2	Gianotti - i. Opuscula			1	24. 8. 384
5		Imprezza G.	8	Migne C. lat. 103			1	1. 1. 1
6		Zippoli A.	2	Stroppello - Ostia			1	29
7		Croci A.	8	Venturi - Storia			1	8. 39
8		Vico G.	8	Letteratura gran.			1	6. 10. 25
9		Toni M.	5	Ferrari - Elektrotechnik			1	6. 3. 144
0		Griffoli A.	8	Cordi - Geografia			1	8. 3. 203
10		Murphy L.	5	Murphy - Storia			1	28. 5. 23
2		Federici A.	7	Foto Statistica 1896			1	7
3		Chelardi G.	2	Actis - de arte			1	11. 8. 176
4		Ciaroni G.	5	Natali e Vitelli			3	6. 5. 183
5		Traversari A.	5	Verzaglio - Dir. e Cerale			1	6. 11. 144
6		Vespi A.	7	Arch. Veneto 1900			1	7
7		Nottola U.	7	Proc. Filolog. 29 1901			1	7
8		Schneiders A.	7	Met. glob. 8.			1	7
9		D.	2	B. Cavour - Stud.			1	10. 2. 121
0		Fiori G.		Das et Lat.			1	7

fig. 15 B.N.C.F. Day Book Register entry for 21 September 1910 (vol. III, p. 240) which lists de Chirico's consultation of *Inschriften aus Olympia*, E. Curtius, Berlin 1878

**10) Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *Libro 3 delle Istorie*, comments and notes by Luigi Valmaggi, ed. V. Bona, Turin 1906<sup>42</sup>**

Tacitus (c. AD 56 – post-117) is generally considered to be one of the greatest Roman historians. His writing style is noted for its conciseness and compactness of Latin prose as well as his insightful observations – as senator – into political psychology. His two most important surviving, albeit incomplete, works, the *Annals* and the *Histories*, analyse the reigns of a series of Roman Emperors, ranging from Tiberius, Claudius and Nero, to those who governed during the Year of the Four Emperors (AD 69), spanning AD 14-70. De Chirico consulted a 1906 Italian edition of the latter work on 24 October 1910, as documented by the Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 381). Comments and notes by Luigi Valmaggi (Italian, 1863-1925), who was a classical philologist and also edited and provided commentaries for other important editions by Quintilian, Martial and Minucius Felix, accompany the text. Written in c. AD 100-110, the *Histories* recount the Year of the Four Emperors, the rise of Vespasian as well as the rule of the Flavian Dynasty (AD 69-96). De Chirico consulted the third book that covers Emperor Vitellius' brief rule during the year of civil war that took place in AD 69.

**11) Georg Curtius, *Grammatica della lingua greca (Griechische Schulgrammatik, 1852)* reviewed by Bernardo Gerth and translated into Italian by Giuseppe Müller, XV edition, Casa editrice Ermanno Loescher, Turin 1903<sup>43</sup>**

Georg Curtius (German, 1820-1885) was a classicist and Indo-European language scholar, whose philological theories were of great importance for the study of the Greek language. He was also the younger brother of the historian and archaeologist Ernst Curtius, whose work (*Storia della Grecia* [1877] and *Inscriften aus Olympia* [1878]) had already been consulted by de Chirico at the B.N.C.F.<sup>44</sup> Georg Curtius' most influential work is widely regarded as *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie (Fundamentals of Greek Etymology)* of 1858-1862. A few years earlier, he published *Griechische Schulgrammatik (A Grammar of the Greek Language)* in 1852 which proved to be very popular, running into its XXIII edition by 1902. As recorded in the Day Book Register (vol. III, pp. 387, 393, 398, 403, 414, 420, 426, 440, 452, 458, 464, 483 and 489), de Chirico undertook an intense study of the Italian version of this book (*Grammatica della lingua greca*, 1903, fig. 16) during October and November 1910, consulting the book on 13 separate occasions.<sup>45</sup>

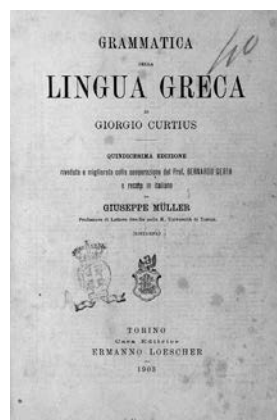


fig. 16 Frontispiece of *Grammatica della lingua greca*, G. Curtius, Turin 1903

<sup>42</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for this 1906 edition although it no longer possesses a copy of the book. The inventory number found on the library card (n. C.5.54.87) is an extended version of the one specified in the Day Book Register (n. 5.54.87).

<sup>43</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card as well as the 1903 edition of this book (inventory n. 8.3.290). The inventory number found on the library card (n. 8.3.290) corresponds to the one specified in the Day Book Register (n. 8.3.290).

<sup>44</sup> For further details, see pp. 151 and 155 of this paper.

<sup>45</sup> He consulted the book on the following days: 25 October, 26 October, 27 October, 28 October, 31 October, 3 November, 4 November, 7 November, 9 November, 10 November, 12 November, 16 November and 17 November 1910.



### 12) Salomon Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions*, II edition, Éditions E. Leroux, Paris 1908<sup>46</sup>

Reinach (French, 1858-1932) was a classical art historian and renowned archaeologist, who was involved in important archaeological discoveries such as Smyrna (1880-1882), Carthage and Meninx (1883-1884) as well as Odessa (1893). He was appointed keeper of France's national museums in 1902. Reinach's first published work was a translation of Schopenhauer's *Essay on Free Will* (1877) which subsequently passed through many editions, a book that de Chirico incidentally borrowed from the B.N.C.F. between 29 March-3 May 1911 (albeit a 1908 Italian version).<sup>47</sup> Reinach himself was a prolific writer and produced numerous scholarly publications and articles, including *Manuel de philologie classique* (1880-1884); *Grammaire latine* (1886); *La Nécropole de Myrina* (1887); *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* (1897-1898, III vols.); and *Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques* (1900). In 1905, he began work on *Cultes, mythes et religions* which was completed in 1923. De Chirico is recorded in the Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 1030, fig. 17) as borrowing a 1908 edition (III vols.) from the B.N.C.F. between 10-30 November 1910. It was the first title that the artist borrowed via the Local Loan system as opposed to consulting books *in loco*, a system that he had used exclusively for the previous six months or so. Of note is the fact that Savinio consulted the same publication by Reinach in late August, as documented in the Local Loan Register (29 August-13 September 1910).<sup>48</sup>

### 13) Vigilio Inama, *Etimologia in Compendio ad uso dei ginnasi della grammatica greca*, D. Briola, Milan 1892<sup>49</sup>

Vigilio Inama (Italian, 1835-1912) was a philologist, historian, epigrapher and scholar of ancient Greece and Rome. He also spent over half a decade lecturing Greek Literature at the Accademia scientifico-letteraria in Milan. A great admirer of ancient Greek life, thought and art, he produced various books on Greek grammar and grammatical exercises that were widely used in secondary schools. He also published numerous historical and literary manuals regarding the history of Greek literature, Greek lyrics, the history of Greek and Latin classical philosophy, Greek antiquities, as well as ancient Greek and Roman theatre.<sup>50</sup> As documented in the Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 502, fig. 18), it appears that de Chirico borrowed Inama's *Etimologia* (found in *Compendio ad uso dei ginnasi della grammatica greca* of 1892) on 19 November 1910. Despite the registrar's semi-illegible handwriting, one can detect 'Inama – Compendio'. This choice of book is of great significance as it demonstrates that de Chirico was not only interested in Greek grammar at the time (one will recall that he consulted Georg Curtius' *Grammatica della lingua greca* 13 times between 25 October-17 November 1910) but was also interested in the etymology of the Greek language. Inama and Curtius' publications constitute the only two books consulted by the artist at the B.N.C.F. that specifically regard Greek grammar.

<sup>46</sup> The B.N.C.F. possesses a library card (n. 3.1.419-423) for the 1908-1923 (II edition, V vols.) although it no longer possesses the publication. One notes that the library card's inventory number does not correspond to the one recorded in the Local Loan Register (n. 0.5.83).

<sup>47</sup> For further details, see p. 171 of this paper.

<sup>48</sup> For further details, see p. 173, footnote 88, of this paper.

<sup>49</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for the 1892 edition as well as a copy of the book (inventory n. MAGL. 8.4.160.00000). The inventory number found on the library card (n. 8.4.160) corresponds to the one specified in the Day Book Register (n. 8.4.160).

<sup>50</sup> One notes that Savinio borrowed an Italian translation of Apollonius of Rhodes' *Gli Argonauti* (1873) between 30 June-14 July 1910 that contains a preface by Inama.



Pag. 1030		BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE					1910	
NUMERO progressivo delle RICEVUTE	DATA della consegna		Nome, Cognome E DOMICILIO DEL RICHIEDENTE	TITOLO DELL' OPERA PRESTATO e sua Collocazione in Biblioteca	PRESTITO			DATA della restituzione
	SENZA BALLEVERA	CON BALLEVERA			Locale vol.	Esterno vol.	Interna vol.	
1029	10	11/10	Amphoux Wilde	Mythes Culturalité humaine e sua supremazia. Roma 1908 vol. 2. p. 3. 1909	2			01/11 NOV 1910
2	d		S	Bochner Le finis de l'art 1910 p. 53-57	1			01/11 NOV 1910
3	d		Apollato Eldo	Magioni Glorie e onori dell'arte e della civiltà. Turin 1905. p. 4. 13	1			12 NOV 1910
4	d		S	Parati La letteratura nazionale Firenze 1861 p. 15	1			18 NOV 1910
5	d		Bajoli brist	Alighieri Vita nuova a cura Bartol. Milano 1907 p. 19-148	1			16 NOV 1910
6	d		Chiappa Ade	Alti Atti dell'Accademia di Torino a 1889 vol. 15 p. 22	1			01/11 NOV 1910
7	d		→ Chirico (S)	Reinach Cultes, mythes et religions Paris 1908 vol. 1 p. 55	3			30 NOV 1910
8	d		Ciaffa Raff	Sumat Origine del brigantaggio e modi di combattere Napoli 1812 p. 12-16	1			15 NOV 1910
9	d		S	Turiello Governo e governanti in Italia. Bologna 1889 vol. 2. p. 6-8	2			11/11
1030	d		S	Sanforti Napoli nel 1899. Napoli 1899 p. 15-16	1			11/11

fig. 17 B.N.C.F. Local Loan Register entry (vol. III, p. 1030) which shows de Chirico borrowed *Cultes, mythes et religions*, S. Reinach, II edition, Paris 1908, between 29 March-3 May 1911

1900 - 19 ghere Pag. 502

**Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze**

Numero d'ordine	Nome	Nome e Cognome del Lettore	Distributore	Titolo dell'Opera	RIVISTE			Longo e anno di stampa o segnature
					Italiane	Straniere	Volume	
3	α	De Jansing. G.	2	Vicine - Albertini			1	15.4.42
2		Maffettani. Z.	4	Primo - finta			1	23.5.1
3		Bovri. G.	2	Murcell. - Ortolani			1	24.9.38
4		Di'cchielli. G.	2	Curios. arabicella			1	8.2.3
5		Nucci. C.	C	Digi. - Madam			1	ca
6		Franco. V.	7	Ortolani 1843			1	ca
7		?	3	Stapp. - ed. - Comm.			1	C. 5. 1743
8		Guaraldi. J.		Ortolani			1	ca
9		Chiri. G.	5	Ortolani - German			1	C. 6. 2
0		Ortolani. F.	1	Ortolani - Cort			1	4.21.102
1	α	Coca. S.	7	Stap. lett. Nat.			1	D. 5. 30
2	1	Amadio.	8	Carsoni - Nigini			6	8.3.270
3		Jalardi. P.	1	Curiosita' e ricerche			1	D. 5. 34
4		Ortolani	1	Carsoni - Marone			3	ca 9442
5		Radoli. L.	4	Stap. - Sociologia			1	S. 1. 27
6		Caronati. L.	4	Carli - L'immagine			1	Stap. 3
7		Rege. F.	8	Reber - Pappi			1	ca
8		Stigo. G.	8	Ortolani - German			1	ca
9		Rege. F.	2	De Jansing - Albertini			1	6.4.249
0		Ortolani. F.	7	Ortolani 1910			3	ca
5	α	Ortolani. V.	8	Mares - Maritiche			1	C. 10. 24
→		De Chirico. J.	8	Franco - Amadori			1	8.6.150
3		Del Riccio. F.	8	Carsoni - Lettere			1	ca
4		Baroni. A.		Rev. - Publicista			1	ca
5		Franconi. S.		Ortolani - Nigini			1	ca
6		Magnoli. L.		Rev. - Publicista			1	ca
7		Magnoli. J.		Rev. - Publicista			1	ca
8		Brunacci. J.	2	Ortolani - Nigini			1	60.6. 42
9		Ortolani. G.	1	Platone - Dialoghi			2	0
0		Ortolani. G.	4	Ortolani - Nigini			7	49. 24
6	α	?	8	Carsoni - Lettere			1	C. 10. 27
2		Franco. P.	C	Ortolani - Nigini 50			1	ca
4		?	C	Ortolani - Nigini 23			1	ca
8		Carsoni. G.	4	Ortolani - Nigini 10			1	0. 82
5		Gallini. V.	4	Ortolani - Nigini			1	302. 10
6		Carsoni. G.	4	Ortolani - Nigini			1	46. 8
7		Franco. P.	4	Ortolani - Nigini			1	7. 5. 13
8		Franco. P.	C	Ortolani - Nigini 1821			1	13. 5. 133
9		Franco. P.	C	Ortolani 1877			1	ca
0		Carsoni. G.	4	Ortolani - Nigini			1	32. 8. 14

fig. 18 B.N.C.F. Day Book Register entry for 19 November 1910 (vol. III, p. 502) which lists de Chirico's consultation *Etimologia in Compendio ad uso dei ginnasi della grammatica greca*, V. Inama, Milan 1892



**14) Louis-Auguste Sabatier, *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion d'après la psychologie et l'histoire*, Éditions Fischbacher, Paris 1897<sup>51</sup>**

Sabatier (French, 1839-1901) was a prominent Protestant theologian who, together with Eugène Ménégoz, successfully established L'Ecole de Paris, known today as Institut de théologie protestante de Paris. Amongst his chief works number: *Mémoire sur la notion hébraïque de l'Esprit* (1879); *Les origines littéraires de l'Apocalypse* (1888); and *Religion et culture moderne* (1897). As documented in the Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 1116), de Chirico borrowed Sabatier's 1897 publication *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion d'après la psychologie et l'histoire* (*Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*) on 30 November 1910, returning it the following day on 1 December (fig. 8). This book was borrowed together with *Les origines du chant liturgique de l'Église latine: étude d'histoire musicale* by Gevaert (1890), as detailed below.

**15) François-Auguste Gevaert, *Les origines du chant liturgique de l'Église latine: étude d'histoire musicale*, Librairie générale de Ad. Hoste, Gand 1890<sup>52</sup>**

Gevaert (Belgian, 1828-1909) was an accomplished composer, teacher, historian and lecturer who acted as 'Chef de Chant' at Paris' Academie de Musique and later became the head of the Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles. As a composer, he produced a dozen operas including *Quentin Durward* and *Le Capitaine Henriot*. His numerous prose writings include *Treatise on Instrumentation*, a book on harmony, and a handbook for organists. In 1890, he published *Les origines du chant liturgique de l'Église latine: étude d'histoire musicale* which de Chirico consulted between 30 November-7 December 1910, as documented in the Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 1116, fig. 8). The artist's choice of reading – 'the origins of liturgical singing within the Latin Church: a study of musical history' – is of great interest owing to the type of music he composed at the time.<sup>53</sup>

**16) Léon Pineau, *Les vieux chants populaires scandinaves (Gamle nordiske Folkeviser). Époque barbare: la légende divine et héroïque*, Paris 1901-1902<sup>54</sup>**

As recorded in the Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 1121, fig. 9), de Chirico borrowed *Les vieux chants populaires scandinaves (Gamle nordiske Folkeviser). Époque barbare: la légende divine et héroïque* (1901-1902) by Pineau (French, 1861-1965) between 1 December 1910-16 January 1911. As attested by the extensive loan period, it would appear that he found it of great interest. Pineau's thesis (as specified on both the library card and in the register itself) probably formed the basis of the author's later publication *Le Romancero Scandinave: Choix de Vieux Chants Populaires* (1906). De Chirico's decision to consult a volume detailing Scandinavian old folk songs would, at first sight, seem a curious choice. However, when one considers his parallel reading of Gevaert's *Les origines du chant liturgique*

<sup>51</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for the 1897 edition although the book is no longer available (a 1903 edition does, however, still exist). The inventory number found on the library card (n. B.7.3.24) corresponds to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. B.7.3.24).

<sup>52</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for the 1890 edition although the book is no longer available. One notes that the inventory number found on the library card (n. 7565.7) is slightly different to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. 7560.7).

<sup>53</sup> For further details, see pp. 147 and 149 of this paper.

<sup>54</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for Pineau's 1901-1902 thesis although the library no longer possesses a copy of it. The inventory number found on the library card (n. 1901.1902.1658) corresponds to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. 1901.02.1658).



fig. 19 Frontispiece of *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, P. Decharme, II edition, Paris 1886



fig. 20 Illustration, *Double herm of Dionysus and Ariadne*, reproduced in *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, P. Decharme, 1886, p. 453, fig. 118



fig. 21 Illustration, *Bacchus takes Ariadne by surprise*, reproduced in *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, P. Decharme, 1886, p. 454, fig. 119

de l'Église latine: étude d'histoire musicale (1890, borrowed between 30 November-7 December 1910, fig. 8) – the only other musically-themed title that he consulted at the B.N.C.F. during his time in Florence – it is likely that de Chirico's interest in this specific type of music influenced the music that he composed at the time.<sup>55</sup> The lack of surviving music written by de Chirico prevents further comparison between its style and composition with the contents of Pineau's and Gevaert's volumes. As detailed below, Pineau's book was borrowed along with Decharme's *Mythologie de la Grèce antique* (1886).

### 17) Paul Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, II edition, Libraires-Éditeurs Garnier Frères, Paris 1886<sup>56</sup>

Little is known about Paul Decharme (French, 1839-1905) who taught at the University of Paris during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. He penned several books, most of which dealt with ancient Greece, including *La critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs des origines au temps de Plutarque* (1904); *Euripides and the spirit of his dramas* (1906); and *Le comptoir d'un marchand au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'après une correspondance inédite, avec une introduction sur la ville et les gens de Honfleur* (1910). *Mythologie de la Grèce antique* (1886) – one of Decharme's earliest publications – was consulted by de Chirico between 1 December 1910-1 February 1911 (vol. III, p. 1121, figs. 19-21). This extensive loan period (two entire months) would suggest that de Chirico attentively studied the book's contents, the mythology of ancient Greece. It is worth noting that Reinach's *Cultes, myths et religions* (1908), which de Chirico had borrowed between 10-30 November 1910 (immediately prior to the Decharme loan), constitutes the only other mythically-themed title that the artist consulted at the B.N.C.F. One can confidently conclude that de Chirico found Decharme's volume of greater use, perhaps owing to its focus on ancient Greek myths which served as an important source for the early metaphysical paintings executed at the time.

<sup>55</sup> See previously cited letter from de Chirico to Gartz, Florence, 26 December 1910, on p. 149 of this paper.

<sup>56</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card as well as the 1886 edition of this book (inventory n. MAGL. 13.8.6 00000). The inventory number found on the library card (n. 13.8.6) corresponds to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. 13.8.6).

**18) Salomon Reinach, *Manuel de philologie classique*, II edition, Librairie Hachette et C.ie, Paris 1883 (vol. I) and 1884 (vol. II)**<sup>57</sup>

Having already consulted Reinach's *Cultes, mythes et religions* (1908) between 10-30 November 1910, de Chirico chose to study *Manuel de philologie classique* of 1883-1884 from 12 December 1910-7 January 1911, as documented in the Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 1175, fig. 22). This earlier publication by Reinach is a treatise on Greek epigraphy, a noteworthy title in light of the fact that de Chirico had already consulted Mommsen's *Storia di Roma antica* (1903-1905) between 19-22 July 1910, a work that substantially progressed the discipline of epigraphy. As such, one can conclude that de Chirico was particularly fascinated with the study of classical inscriptions as writing, an interest that seemingly finds resonance in both the Latin inscriptions and indecipherable symbols that appear in his early metaphysical painting.

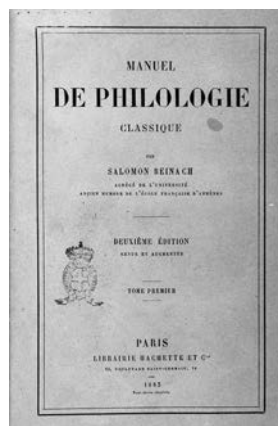


fig. 22 Front cover of *Manuel de philologie classique*, S. Reinach, vol. I, II edition, Paris 1883

**19) Joseph Ernest Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, vols. I-V, Éditions Calmann-Lévy, Paris 1887-1893**<sup>58</sup>

Considered immensely influential during his lifetime and eulogised after his death as the embodiment of the West's progressive spirit, Renan (French, 1823-1892) was a philosopher, writer and expert of Middle East ancient languages and civilisations. He published several important historical works documenting early Christianity as well as his political theories (with a focus on nationalism and national identity). Upon the completion of his eight-volume epic *Histoire des origines du Christianisme* (1866-1881), Renan embarked upon *Histoire du peuple d'Israël* which was published in five volumes between 1887 and 1893. According to the Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 56, fig. 23), de Chirico borrowed the book between 16 January-12 April 1911, the longest length of time that the artist took out a book from the B.N.C.F. The work is based on a lifelong study of the Old Testament and *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (published by the Académie des Inscriptions under Renan's direction). When viewed as an essay regarding the evolution of the religious idea, it has been described as being extraordinarily important whereas its historical facts and theories have been criticised. The first volume came out in 1887, the second in 1889, the third in 1891, and the last two posthumously. One notes how Savinio consulted volumes I (1887), II (1889) and III (1891) prior to de Chirico, as documented by the Local Loan Register (he borrowed vol. I from 27 May-8 June 1910, vol. II between 8-21 June 1910, and vol. III between 20-30 June 1910). Alternatively to his brother

<sup>57</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses the library card as well as the 1883-1884 edition of this book (vol. I: inventory n. MAGL.53.3.144 00000; vol. II: inventory n. MAGL.53.3.144.2). The inventory number found on the library card (n. 53.3.144) corresponds to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. 53.3.144).

<sup>58</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for the 1887 publication (vol. I) as well as the 1887, 1889 and 1891 publications of this book (inventory n. MAGL.60.4.11.1/2/3). The inventory number found on the library card (n. 0.7.61) corresponds to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. 0.7.61) even if the '61' was eliminated when later whole-punched.

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NUMERO progressivo della RICHIESTA	DATA della consegna		Nome, Cognome E DOMICILIO DEL RICHIEDENTE	TITOLO DELL'OPERA PRESTATO e sua Collocazione in Biblioteca	PRESTITO			DATA della restituzione
	SENZA BILIBERA	CON BILIBERA			Locale	Esterno	Interne	
	vol.	vol.			vol.	vol.	vol.	
56 1		16 Genno 1911	Bruni Laura	Del Lungo La donna fiorentina del suo tempo antico Firenze 1906				25 FEB 11
2		d	Chiappa Ida	Alfieri Vita - Firenze 1910 8 5 5f				5 MAR 1911
3		d	→ Chirico Ida	Renan Histoire du peuple d'Israël - Paris 1887 vol. I & II 8 7 6f				MAR 1911
4		d	Chiti Maria	Giorgi L'effettiva della lingua Milano 1904 B. 23 4 f				17/2/11
5		d	Cacilovo Maria	banti popolari siciliani rari da P. P. Palermo 1907 vol. 2 8 6 f				19/1/11
6		d	Callina Mich	Gambler Le livre de la femme dans la poésie latine au Moyen Age - Paris 1909/10				1/2/11
7		d	Carnieri Ono	Cugini L'infantamento dei frang gi. uardi - Bologna 1903 7 8 3 f				20/1/11
8		d	S	Giorgi Cento favole all'acqua cattura Firenze 91 8 4 4 f				d
9		d	Carradi Ida	Deffizzari Tulle nella W. Napoli 1909 8 6 5 f				20/1/11
56 0		d	Sendi Vitt	L. Catinari Sartogio a cura figlio Firenze 1907 vol. 2 17 1 4 10 f				20 FEB 1911

Arch. M. Art. 30-44 Reg. - Arch. Stor. Univ. - 1900

fig. 23 B.N.C.F. Local Loan Register entry (vol. I, p. 56) which shows de Chirico borrowed vols. I (1887) and II (1889) of *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, E. Renan, 5 vols., Paris 1887-1893, between 16 January-12 April 1911

(who had already left for Munich with their mother to perform at his concert of 23 January 1911), de Chirico chose to consult just the first two volumes.<sup>59</sup>

**20) Eugène Félicien Albert Goblet d'Alviella, *Un curieux problème de transmission symbolique: les roues liturgiques de l'ancienne Égypte*, Hayez, Brussels 1899, extract from «Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique».**<sup>60</sup>

Count Goblet d'Alviella (Belgian, 1846-1925) was a professor of the History of Religions. He was also a lawyer and liberal senator of Belgium. He published numerous books regarding the subject of religion, including *La migration des symboles* (1891) which he is best known for and is often accredited for having helped lay the foundations of religious archeology. Other books by his hand include: *L'évolution religieuse contemporaine chez les Anglais, les Américains et les Hindous* (1884); *Introduction à l'histoire générale des religions* (1887); *La loi des progrès dans les religions* (1894); *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce: des influences classiques dans la civilisation de l'Inde* (1897); and *Croyances, rites et institutions* (1911, vols. III). His 1899 publication *Un curieux problème de*

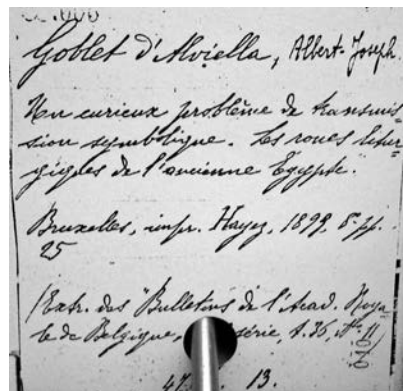


fig. 24 B.N.C.F. library card for *Un curieux problème de transmission symbolique: les roues liturgiques de l'ancienne Égypte*, E. Goblet d'Alviella, Brussels 1899

*transmission symbolique: les roues liturgiques de l'ancienne Égypte* – which explored the issue of symbolic transmission within ancient Egyptian liturgical practice – was consulted by de Chirico between 1-8 February 1911, as documented by the Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 134, fig. 24).

**21) Giovanni Battista Fanelli, *Alcuni squarci tratti dal 'Discorso sul testo della Commedia di Dante' di Ugo Foscolo*, taken from *La Divina Commedia. Opera patria, sacra-morale, storica-politica*, Tipografia Cino, Pistoia 1837**<sup>61</sup>

Fanelli was a 19<sup>th</sup> century Italian who wrote *La Divina Commedia. Opera patria, sacra-morale, storica-politica* (1837), a published dissertation that included a commentary about Ugo Foscolo's *Discorso sul testo della Commedia di Dante* (1818). Foscolo (Italian, 1778-1827) was a prominent writer, poet and revolutionary. Amongst the numerous poetic and theatrical works that Foscolo produced, he published a translation of Homer's *The Illiad* (1807) and several dissertations on Dante, Boccaccio

<sup>59</sup> One notes that the Local Loan Register entry for this loan (vol. I, p. 56) contains discrepancies as it lists the publication date as 1887 for vols. I and II (which were published in 1887 and 1889 respectively) whilst a single volume is listed as actually being taken out. As such, the author of this paper has reached the conclusion that vols. I and II were taken out by de Chirico with the single volume entry constituting a librarian registrar's error.

<sup>60</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for the 1899 edition but no longer possesses a copy of the book. The inventory number found on the library card (n. 4786.13) corresponds to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. 4786.13) even if the '86' was eliminated when later whole-punched. Furthermore, one notes that the B.N.C.F. erroneously listed Albert-Joseph Goblet d'Alviella (Belgian, 1790-1873) as the book's author instead of Eugène Félicien Albert Goblet d'Alviella.

<sup>61</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for this 1837 volume although it no longer possesses a copy. One notes that the inventory number found on the library card (n. B.19.1.263) differs to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. 4786.13). Despite this, there is good reason to believe that the publication's title corresponds to the one identified by the author.

and Petrarch's work during the latter part of his life. Such publications helped cement his reputation as a man of letters. De Chirico – evidently interested in a modern evaluation of Dante's classic (as seen through the eyes of both Fanelli and Foscolo) – is recorded in the Local Loans Register (vol. I, p. 134) as borrowing this publication between 1-8 February 1911 (together with the aforementioned *Un curieux problème de transmission symbolique: les roues liturgiques de l'ancienne Égypte* by Goblet d'Alviella, fig. 24). His reading of the 1837 volume probably prompted the artist's decision to read more of Foscolo's work. One notes that, upon returning it on 8 February, de Chirico immediately took out Foscolo's *Sermone* from *I sepolcri* (1807), as detailed below.

**22) Ugo Foscolo, *I sepolcri*, with the collaboration of Ippolito Pindemonte and Giovanni Torti, translated into Latin hexameters by Abbot G. Bottelli, contains a sermon and three unpublished letters by Foscolo and an introduction by Achille Mauri, Tipografia e Libreria Pirota, Milan 1843<sup>62</sup>**

Foscolo's poem *I sepolcri*, which was originally written in 1807, has been described as a sublime effort to escape the mediocrity of the present age by seeking refuge in the past. Summoned from their tombs, the mighty dead are requested to fight on behalf of their nation. Foscolo's inaugural lecture entitled *Dell'origine e dell'ufficio della letteratura* (*On the origin and duty of literature*) was conceived in the same spirit as *I sepolcri* with the poet encouraging young Italians to study literature independently of academic traditions.<sup>63</sup> It is interesting to note that Florence's Basilica di Santa Croce (which is located immediately behind the B.N.C.F.) contains a funerary monument dedicated to Foscolo (fig. 25). Having died and been buried in London in 1827, the King of Italy ordered his remains to be brought over to Florence in 1871 (44 years after his demise) and be interred in the basilica. As the pantheon of Italian glory, it was deemed



fig. 25 Funerary monument dedicated to Ugo Foscolo (1778-1827), Basilica of Santa Croce, Florence

an appropriate final resting place for the poet alongside monuments erected in honour of illustrious figures such as Machiavelli, Michelangelo and Galileo. Indeed, one will recall how Foscolo himself had cited the celebrated basilica in *I sepolcri*. In reference to the Florentine city, he declared that it was “[...] Blessed because one temple still preserves / Italy's glories [...].” As documented by the Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 172), de Chirico borrowed this book between 8-15 February 1911. Foscolo's definition of the nearby Basilica di Santa Croce (the location of de Chirico's recent revelation during the late summer/early autumn of 1910) as *l'itale glorie* is particularly poignant.

<sup>62</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for this publication although it no longer possesses a copy of the book. The inventory number found on the library card (n. 4925.10) corresponds to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. 4925.10). One notes that although the library card bears no publication date, the author of this paper is confident that it corresponds to the publication cited.

<sup>63</sup> The lecture was delivered in January 1809 on occasion of his appointment to the chair of Italian eloquence at the Università di Pavia, a tenure that was short-lived owing to Napoleon's suspicion of free speech.

**23) Theodor Gomperz, *Les penseurs de la Grèce: histoire de la philosophie antique (Griechische Denker - Eine Geschichte der antiken Philosophie, 1896-1909)*, translated by Auguste Reymond, with preface by Alfred Croiset, Éditions F. Alcan, Paris - Payot, Lausanne 1908-1910<sup>64</sup>**

Gomperz (Austrian, 1832-1912) was a philosopher and classical scholar. A prolific writer, he also supervised a translation of John Stuart Mill's complete works (XII vols., Leipzig, 1869-1880) and wrote a biography of his life. His main works include *Beitrage zur Kritik und Erklarung griech. Schriftsteller* (VII vols., 1875-1900); *Platonische Aufsätze* (III vols., 1887-1905); *Zu Aristoteles Politik* (1888-1896); as well as *Griechische Denker - Eine Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* (III vols., 1896, 1902 and 1909). As attested by the Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 210, fig. 27), de Chirico briefly consulted vol. III (1910) of the latter publication's French edition between 15-16 February 1911. Having studied several books at the B.N.C.F. dedicated to the history of ancient Greece and Rome (principally by Ernst Curtius and Theodor Mommsen), Gomperz's work is noteworthy for its focus on ancient Greek philosophy.

**24) Immanuel Kant, *Critique de la raison pratique (Kritik der praktischen Vernunft, 1788)*, translated by François Picavet with preface by him, Éditions F. Alcan, Paris 1902<sup>65</sup>**

As a pivotal figure of modern philosophy, Kant (German, 1724-1804) demands just a brief overview. The main theme of his philosophy centres upon reason acting as the source of morality, with human concepts and categories structuring our view of the world and the laws that govern it. His work has exerted an immense influence on both modern day and contemporary thinking, particularly in the area of metaphysics, aesthetics, ethics, epistemology and political philosophy. His key work is generally regarded as *Kritik der reinen Vernunft (Critique of Pure Reason)* of 1781 which aimed at drawing reason and experience together in an attempt to go beyond that which he believed to be the flaws of traditional philosophy and metaphysics. Amongst other things, he believed that the concepts of space and time formed an integral part of human experience (similarly to the notions of cause and effect) with humans experiencing things *indirectly* (the phenomenal world) as opposed to directly (noumenal world). In addition to *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant also published *Die Metaphysik der Sitten (Metaphysics of Morals)* of 1797 which examined ethics and *Kritik der Urteilskraft (Critique of*

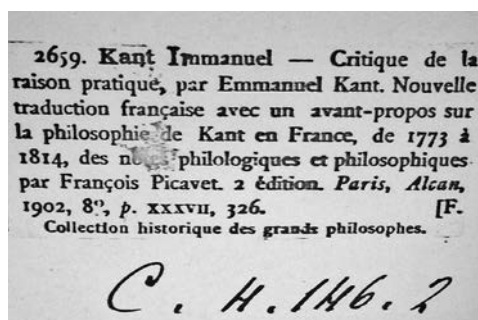


fig. 26 B.N.C.F. library card for *Critique de la raison pratique*, I. Kant, Paris 1902

<sup>64</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for the 1910 edition but no longer possesses a copy of the book. The inventory number (n. 0.5.189) found on the library card corresponds to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. 0.5.189) even if it was subsequently crossed out.

<sup>65</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for the 1902 edition but no longer possesses a copy of the book. The inventory number found on the library card (n. C.4.146) effectively corresponds to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. C.4.146.2).

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NUMERO progressivo delle RICEVUTE	DATA della consegna		Nome, Cognome E DOMICILIO DEL RICHIEDENTE	TITOLO DELL' OPERA PRESTATATA e sua Collocazione in Biblioteca	PRESTITO			DATA della restituzione
	SENZA BALLEVERA	CON BALLEVERA			Locale vol.	Esterno vol.	Interna vol.	
2091	15 Feb	1911	Blasi / S. J.	Luogo Milano Le vergini 1890 13 7 200	1			1 MAR 1911
2	d		Bonardi Ant	Farnari L'arte del dire Napoli 1. 1874 voll 1 Napoli	1			16 MAR 1911
3	d		Bovic Gioi	Siciliani Sul rinnovamento della filosofia positiva in Ita- lia - Torino 1871 95	1			25 FER 1911
4	d		Campacci Gioi	Lavoriosa Contribution à l'étude de la psychogénèse 1904 - Paris 1905 et 1911	1			16 MAR 1911
5	d		Chiarsoni Vinc	Angolelli La donna sul procello cristiano e sof. Milan 1903 13 20. 2 244	1			2 MAR 1911
6	d		→ Chirico / S. J.	Gomperz Les penseurs de la Grèce Lausanne 1910 voll 3 1 4 189	1			16 / 12 11
7	d		Falco Ant	Lagrange Théorie de W. Baire de Math. Paris 1892 voll 2 - Paris 1911	2			1 / 13 11
8	d		Falorsi Gioi	Machiavelli L'invito involto riguarda la storia e la politica Firenze 1857 95	1			8 MAR 1911
9	d		Gaudenzi / S. J.	Claretta L'aria veta e tempi di 6. Comunità di Genova 77 voll 3 5 9 811	3			16 / 12 11
2100	d		Ginevri Gioi	Luciano Dialoghi fletti e camini Napoli Milano 1906 5 8 160	1			1 / 13 11

fig. 27 B.N.C.F. Local Loan Register entry (vol. I, p. 210) which shows that de Chirico borrowed vol. III (1910) of *Les penseurs de la Grèce: histoire de la philosophie antique*, T. Gomperz, Paris-Lausanne 1908-1910, between 15-16 February 1911



*Judgment*) of 1790 which dealt with aesthetics and teleology. In 1788, he published *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (*Critique of Practical Reason*), a philosophical text that de Chirico consulted in French translation from 8-29 March 1911, as documented in the Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 316, fig. 26). Amongst the various German philosophers influenced by Kant's ideas was Schopenhauer who modified and developed the Kantian system that resulted in the advancement of various forms of German idealism. In fact, shortly after reading Kant, one notes how de Chirico chose to read a 1908 Italian edition of Schopenhauer's *On the Freedom of Will* at the B.N.C.F. from 29 March-3 May 1911.<sup>66</sup>

## 25) Plato, *Dialoghi*, translated by Ruggero Bonghi, ed. Fratelli Bocca, Turin 1880-1904<sup>67</sup>

Together with his mentor Socrates and his pupil Aristotle, the ancient Greek philosopher Plato (c. 425-348 BC) has long been regarded as helping lay the foundations of Western philosophy and science. Parallel to his philosophical activity, he was also an important mathematician and founder of the Academy in Athens, the first Western institution dedicated to higher learning. Plato also discussed the issue of metaphysics (although only orally) as noted in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Plato's written work takes the form of dialogues and epistles.<sup>68</sup> His various dialogues cover nearly every problem confronted by subsequent philosophers. His *Dialogues* (which de Chirico consulted in Italian translation from 10-17 March 1911) consist of 36 Socratic dialogues and 13 letters. The arrangement and order of these dialogues has been the subject of much debate. As documented in the Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 329, fig. 28), de Chirico consulted vol. I which might have corresponded to *Euthyphro*, *Apology* (of Socrates), *Crito* and *Phaedo*.

## 26) Wolfgang Helbig, *L'épopée homérique expliquée par les monuments* (*Das homerische Epos, aus den Denkmälern erläutert*, 1884), translated by Florentin Trawinski, with an introduction by Maxime Collignon, Librairie de Firmin-Didot et C.ie, Paris, 1894<sup>69</sup>

Helbig (German, 1839-1915) was a classical archaeologist who travelled extensively throughout Italy, Greece, France, North Africa and Russia during his career. From 1887 until his death in 1915, he lived in Rome as a scholar and antique dealer. He is best known for his scientific studies of Pompeian wall painting (such as *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* of 1868 and *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei* of 1873) as well as his publication *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* (1892), a very popular guide to Rome's classical antiquities. In 1884, he published *Das homerische Epos, aus den Denkmälern erläutert* (*The*

<sup>66</sup> For further details, see p. 171 of this paper.

<sup>67</sup> The B.N.C.F. no longer possesses a library card that corresponds to the inventory number specified in the Local Loan Register (n. 0.9.122). Despite this, two other library cards (n. 53.9.53 and n. 0.9.399) list various volumes (1880-1904) of Bonghi's Italian translation of Plato's *The Dialogues*. As such, they constitute credible alternatives, particularly the former of the two with one of the volumes listed on it plausibly corresponding to n. 0.9.1.122 (subsequently misplaced or lost). Whilst the B.N.C.F. no longer possesses vol. I (1880) which de Chirico consulted, it still owns various volumes published between 1888 and 1904.

<sup>68</sup> Later scholarship has disproved the authenticity of some of the dialogues and many of the epistles whilst others remain shrouded in doubt.

<sup>69</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for this volume (although it states 1894 rather than 1898 as the date of publication) as well as a copy of the book (n. MAGL.6.4.138 00000). The inventory number found on the library card (n. 6.4.138) slightly differs to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. 6.4.738). The '7' instead of '1' might have been an error made on the registrar's behalf. The difference in publication date might also have been a registrar mistake as a 1898 French edition of this work does not appear to have been published.

Pag. 329 REGISTRO DEI LIBRI DATI IN PRESTITO 1911

NUMERO progressivo della RICEVUTA	DATA della consegna		Nome, Cognome E DOMICILIO DEL RICHIEDENTE	TITOLO DELL'OPERA PRESTATA e sua Collocazione in Biblioteca	PRESTITO			DATA della restituzione
	SENZA BILIBERA	CON BILIBERA			Locale vol.	Esterno vol.	Interni vol.	
328 1	10 Maggio	1911	Casalecchio M.	Trattato di Teologia phi in teologia Lazio 1910 n. 22. 1.3				15 MAR 1911
2	d		Bucarelli M.	Boite Krone Milano 1911 n. 1. 31				18 MAR 1911
3	d		Chiappo Aldo	Vivaldi sant'arcangelo intesa alla lingua del 1800. Torino n. 194. 95. voll. 2. 9. 25				16 MAR 1911
4	d	→	Chirico / D. /	Platone Dialoghi. Torino. 1880-1904. n. 9. 122				17 MAR 1911
5	d		Cianca Raff.	Guattaro Gli ottimi risorgimenti Lavi - Napoli 1911 voll. 2. 5. 9. 9.				17 MAR 1911
6	d		Cigheri A.	Opinioni geografiche voll. 1. 2. 1911-26. 1 n. 1. 37				28 MAR 1911
7	d		J	Monografia idropatia di (Malia) = 1 H. Turin. Torino 1911 M. A.				8 MAR 1911
8	d		Sordi V. H.	Umanità / D. / Spillo. Napoli 1911 n. 1. 337				15 MAR 1911
9	d		Lojz. Zan	Teodoro Lilla Biblioteca storica Comprognari. Milano 1828. voll. 1. 3. 179				29 MAR 1911
329 0	d		Fassa Conf.	Venturi Scritti. Torino. 1911 n. 9. 4/6				18 MAG 1911

Mod. N. 1. Art. 10. Ed. Reg. - Mod. Settembre 1910 - 1910

fig. 28 B.N.C.F. Local Loan Register entry (vol. I, p. 329) which shows that de Chirico borrowed *Dialoghi*, Plato, Turin 1880-1904, between 10-17 March 1911



fig. 29 Front cover of *L'épopée homérique expliquée par les monuments*, W. Helbig, Paris 1894



fig. 30 Front cover of *Saggio sul libero arbitrio*, A. Schopenhauer, Milan 1908



fig. 31 Frontispiece of *Saggio sul libero arbitrio*, A. Schopenhauer, Milan 1908

*Homeric epic explained by the monuments*) which de Chirico read in French translation between 17 March-3 May 1911 (Local Loan Register, vol. I, p. 357, fig. 29). The extensive loan period would lead one to believe that de Chirico was particularly taken with the contents of Helbig's book.

## 27) Arthur Schopenhauer, *Saggio sul libero arbitrio* (*Über die Freiheit des menschlichen Willens*, 1839), translated by Mario Cerati, Società editrice Sonzogno, Milan, 1908<sup>70</sup>

Similarly to Nietzsche, Schopenhauer (German, 1788-1860) is no stranger to dechirichan scholars with his influence on the artist's early metaphysical work having long been acknowledged. His major philosophical work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (*The World as Will and Representation*) of 1818 – which contains some parallels with Vedantic and Buddhist thought – maintains that our world is propelled by a persistently dissatisfied will that constantly seeks satisfaction. Other important works by his hand include *Über den Willen in der Natur* (*On the Will in Nature*) of 1836 and *Parerga und Paralipomena* (*Parerga and Paralipomena*) of 1851. As listed in the Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 412, figs. 30-31), de Chirico consulted an Italian translation of Schopenhauer's *Über die Freiheit des menschlichen Willens* (*On the Freedom of the Will*) of 1839 between 29 March-3 May 1911, entitled *Saggio sul libero arbitrio* (1908, part of the 'Biblioteca Universale' series). It was written in response to the academic question "Is it possible to demonstrate human free will from self-consciousness?" posed by the Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences. It forms one of the fundamental essays of his work *Die beiden Grundprobleme der Ethik*, the other being *Über die Grundlage der Moral* (*On the Basis of Morality*) of 1840. In *Saggio sul libero arbitrio*, the German philosopher discussed the issue of free will and determinism, distinguishing the freedom of 'willing' from the freedom of 'acting', affirming the latter whilst refuting the former.

<sup>70</sup> The B.N.C.F. still possesses a library card for the 1908 edition as well as a copy of the book (n. C.7.29.377). The inventory number found on the library card (n. C.7.29) effectively corresponds to the one specified in the Local Loan Register (n. C.7.29.377).



## Publications & Journals Consulted by Savinio

- 1) «Coenobium», Lugano 1910;<sup>71</sup>
- 2) «Journal asiatique», Société Asiatique, Paris 1907;<sup>72</sup>
- 3) Honoré de Balzac (French, 1799-1850), *Les contes drolatiques. Colligez ez abbayes de Touraine et mis en lumière par le Sieur de Balzac pour l'esbattement des Pantagruélistes et non aultres*, with 425 drawings by Gustave Doré, Garnier, Paris 1867;<sup>73</sup>
- 4) Hermann Oldenberg (German, 1854-1920), *Le Bouddha. Sa vie, sa doctrine, sa communauté (Buddha: sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde, 1881)*, translated into French by A. Foucher, preface by Sylvain Lévi, II edition, Éditions F. Alcan, Paris 1903;<sup>74</sup>
- 5) Hermann Oldenberg, *La religion du Véda (Die Religion des Veda, 1894)*, VIII edition, Éditions F. Alcan, Paris 1903;<sup>75</sup>
- 6) Encyclopedia, volumes 'N' and 'J';<sup>76</sup>
- 7) Kālidāsa (Indian, 4<sup>th</sup> century-5<sup>th</sup> century AD), *Sacountala; drame en sept actes mêlé de prose et de vers*, translated by Abel Bergaigne and Paul Lehugeur, Librairie des bibliophiles, Paris 1884;<sup>77</sup>
- 8) Angelo De Gubernatis (Italian, 1840-1913), *Buddha: dramma in cinque atti in versi*, Tipografia cooperativa sociale, Rome 1902;<sup>78</sup>
- 9) Giuseppe Cozza-Luzi (Italian, 1837-1905), *Della geografia di Strabone: frammenti scoperti in membrane palinseste della Biblioteca Vaticana*, VIII edition, ed. Poliglotta della S.C. De Propaganda Fide, Rome, 1898, extract from «Studi e documenti di storia e diritto» (1898);<sup>79</sup>
- 10) Joseph Ernest Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, 5 vols., Éditions Calmann-Lévy, Paris 1887-1893;<sup>80</sup>
- 11) Apollonius of Rhodes (Greek, early 3<sup>rd</sup> century-late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), *Gli Argonauti*, trans-

<sup>71</sup> This journal was consulted by Savinio on 20 April 1910 (Day Book Register, vol. II, p. 636). Founded in 1906 by E. Bignami, A. Ghisleri and G. Rensi, it covered literature, philosophy, religion, art, politics and science. It was internationally distributed and remained in circulation until 1919. During its 14-year duration, it included contributions from some of the most important European cultural voices such as G. Prezzolini, F. Turcati, A. Gide and R. Rolland.

<sup>72</sup> This journal was consulted by Savinio between 22-26 April 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. II, p. 493). Established in 1822 by Société Asiatique, this biannual academic journal published articles in French and several other European languages on the topic of Oriental studies.

<sup>73</sup> Savinio consulted de Balzac's book between 26 April-4 May 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. II, p. 512).

<sup>74</sup> Savinio consulted this publication between 4-12 May 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. II, p. 550).

<sup>75</sup> Upon returning Oldenberg's *Le Bouddha. Sa vie, sa doctrine, sa communauté* (1903) on 12 May 1910, Savinio borrowed another work by the author entitled *La religion du Véda* (1903) which he borrowed between 12-21 May 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. II, p. 582).

<sup>76</sup> Savinio consulted two different encyclopaedic volumes during the course of 16 May 1910 (Day Book Register, vol. II, p. 788). Judging by the library registrar's handwriting, it appears that he consulted the 'N' and 'J' volumes.

<sup>77</sup> Savinio borrowed Kālidāsa's work on 21 May 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. II, p. 616). It is unclear when he returned the book.

<sup>78</sup> De Gubernatis' *Buddha: dramma in cinque atti in versi* (1902) was consulted between 24-27 May 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. II, p. 626).

<sup>79</sup> Savinio consulted this publication between 27 May-8 June 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. II, p. 635).

<sup>80</sup> This work was the second loan taken out by Savinio on 27 May 1910 (see above for details regarding Cozza-Luzi's *Della geografia di Strabone: frammenti scoperti in membrane palinseste della Biblioteca Vaticana* of 1898). Savinio consulted vols. I, II and III of Renan's 5-volume publication (Local Loan Register, vol. II, pp. 635, 679 and 715, 27 May-8 June 1910, 8-21 June 1910 and 20-30 June 1910). For further details about de Chirico and Savinio's readership of this publication, see pp. 163-165 of this paper. One notes that the inventory number of vol. I (1887, registered in the Local Loan Register as n. 0.6.53) differs from the register number that appears on the library card for this 5-volume edition (n. 0.7.61). It is possible, as such, that the B.N.C.F. once owned two complete editions of Renan's work.



- lated from the Greek into Italian by Felice Bellotti, preface by Vigilio Inama, Successori Le Monnier, Florence 1873;<sup>81</sup>
- 12) Joseph Ernest Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, Michel Lévy Frères, Paris 1863;<sup>82</sup>
  - 13) Joseph Ernest Renan, *Marc Aurèle et la fin du monde antique*, Calmann Lévy, Paris 1882 or 1899;<sup>83</sup>
  - 14) *Testamentum (Novum) – graece* (New Testament in original Greek), late 19<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>84</sup>
  - 15) Gaston Camille Charles Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, IV edition, Librairie Hachette et C.ie, Paris 1886;<sup>85</sup>
  - 16) Gaston Camille Charles Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, III edition, Librairie Orientale et Américaine, E. Guilmoto Éditeur, Paris 1900;<sup>86</sup>
  - 17) Heinrich Schliemann (German, 1822-1890), *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja im Jahre 1890*, foreword by Sophie Schliemann and written contribution by Wilhelm Dörpfeld, F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1891;<sup>87</sup>
  - 18) Salomon Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions*, II edition, Éditions E. Leroux, Paris 1908;<sup>88</sup>
  - 19) Zoroaster (ancient Persian prophet), *Avesta, livre sacré des sectateurs de Zoroastre*, translated by Charles Joseph de Harlez, Firmin-Didot & Cie, Paris 1875-1876;<sup>89</sup>
  - 20) Unidentified Middle Ages author, *La chanson des Nibelungen*, translated by Joseph-Léon Firmery, Librairie Armand-Colin, Paris 1909.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>81</sup> This publication was borrowed between 30 June-14 July 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. II, p. 739). It was one of three books taken out by Savinio on the same day. The other two were by Renan (*Vie de Jésus* and *Marc Aurèle et la fin du monde antique*, both published in 1863). One notes that de Chirico later read Inama's *Etimologia in Compendio ad uso dei ginnasi della grammatica greca* (1892) on 19 November 1910. For further details, see p. 158 of this paper. Recent research conducted by Paola Italia at Milan's Biblioteca Braidense (1907-1910) proves that Savinio had already consulted Apollonius' *Argonautiche* between 18 October 1909 - 10 January 1910. See P. Italia, *op. cit.*, 2011, p. 21.

<sup>82</sup> Savinio consulted this book between 30 June-14 July 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. II, p. 739).

<sup>83</sup> Renan's publication was borrowed between 30 June-16 July 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. II, p. 739). As a publication date is not specified in the Local Loan Register and a B.N.C.F. library card for this publication no longer exists, it is impossible to determine whether Savinio consulted the 1882 or 1899 edition.

<sup>84</sup> Savinio consulted the New Testament in original Greek between 2-14 July 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. II, p. 748). As no publication date is specified in the register, it is difficult to ascertain which precise publication was consulted. Even though the inventory number does not correspond with that found in the register (n. 11.10.106), the author of this paper has identified three possibilities amongst the surviving B.N.C.F. library cards: i) *Testamentum (Novum) – graece*, F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1873; ii) *Testamentum (Novum) – graece*, E. Jos, Perin, Typ. Seminarii, 1890; and iii) *Testamentum (Novum) – graece*, Leipzig 1898.

<sup>85</sup> Savinio borrowed Maspero's publication between 1-29 August 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. III, p. 726), together with Maspero's *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* (1900) and Schliemann's *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja im Jahre 1890* (1891). All were returned after the summer break on 29 August 1910. The author of this paper is of the opinion that Savinio probably borrowed *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient* on behalf of de Chirico. For further details, see pp. 154-155 of this paper.

<sup>86</sup> Savinio consulted Maspero's publication between 1-29 August 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. III, p. 726). Should Savinio have borrowed *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient* (1886) on behalf of his brother, as previously suggested, one cannot exclude the possibility that *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* was also taken out on behalf of de Chirico. Roos' theory that Savinio read this book at some point, as suggested in Savinio's 1943 publication *Casa "La vita"*, does not prove nor disprove that Savinio took out Maspero's work for his brother. Parallel to the artist's in-depth study of the 1886 volume, these are the only two times that Savinio borrowed Maspero's work at the B.N.C.F. during his stay in Florence. See Roos, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 376.

<sup>87</sup> This publication was consulted between 1-29 August 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. III, p. 726).

<sup>88</sup> Savinio borrowed Reinach's *Cultes, mythes et religions* (vols. I-III of the 5-vols.) between 29 August-13 September 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. III, p. 792). As aforementioned, de Chirico consulted the same volume a few months later (10-30 November 1910). Although the Local Loan Register cites an abbreviated 'Chirico' (without specifying the first initial of the lender's name) as taking the book out on 29 August 1910, the identity of the borrower can almost certainly be linked to Savinio rather than de Chirico. This supposition is based on the fact that Savinio was the only brother at the time who exclusively chose to borrow titles via the loans system as opposed to in-house consultation. Alternatively, de Chirico only started using the Local Loan system from 10 November 1910 onwards. Indeed, the first book that he took out was this very edition by Reinach. For further details, see p. 158 of this paper.

<sup>89</sup> Savinio consulted this publication from 13 September-3 October 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. III, p. 826). He also took out *La chanson des Nibelungen* (1909) on the same day.

<sup>90</sup> This book was borrowed by Savinio between 13 September-3 October 1910 (Local Loan Register, vol. III, p. 826).



## Supporting Document A

**B.N.C.F. Loans**

1910-1911

<b>Consultation or Loan Date</b>	<b>Reader</b>	<b>Type of Register</b>	<b>Author</b>
20-Apr-10	Savinio	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 636)	VV.AA
22-Apr-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 493)	Société Asiatique
23-Apr-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 652)	Friedrich Nietzsche
25-Apr-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 670)	Giuseppe Ferrari
26-Apr-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 512)	Honoré de Balzac
4-May-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 550)	Hermann Oldenberg
12-May-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 582)	Hermann Oldenberg
16-May-10	Savinio	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 788)	VV.AA
16-May-10	Savinio	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 788)	VV.AA
21-May-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 616)	Kālidāsa
23-May-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 824)	Ernst Curtius
24-May-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 626)	Angelo De Gubernatis
24-May-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 830)	Ernst Curtius
27-May-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 635)	Giuseppe Cozza-Luzi
27-May-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 635)	Joseph Ernest Renan
27-May-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 843)	Ernst Curtius
28-May-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 848)	Ernst Curtius
2-Jun-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 868)	Ernst Curtius
3-Jun-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 872)	Ernst Curtius
4-Jun-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 878)	Ernst Curtius
7-Jun-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 887)	Ernst Curtius
8-Jun-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 679)	Joseph Ernest Renan
10-Jun-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 903)	Ernst Curtius
16-Jun-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 923)	VV.AA
17-Jun-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 927)	Ernst Curtius
20-Jun-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 931)	Ernst Curtius
20-Jun-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 715)	Joseph Ernest Renan
21-Jun-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 939)	VV.AA
22-Jun-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 943)	Ernst Curtius
28-Jun-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. II, p. 960)	Ernst Curtius
30-Jun-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 739)	Apollonio Rodio
30-Jun-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 739)	Joseph Ernest Renan
30-Jun-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 739)	Joseph Ernest Renan
2-Jul-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. II, p. 748)	VV.AA
2-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 6)	Ernst Curtius
4-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 11)	Ernst Curtius
5-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 14)	Ernst Curtius
8-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 27)	Ernst Curtius
19-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 63)	Ernst Curtius
19-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 64)	Theodor Mommsen
20-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 67)	Theodor Mommsen
21-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 73)	Ernst Curtius
21-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 73)	Theodor Mommsen
22-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 76)	Theodor Mommsen
23-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 81)	Ernst Curtius
23-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 81)	Gaston Maspero
25-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 86)	Gaston Maspero
25-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 86)	Ernst Curtius
26-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 89)	Gaston Maspero
27-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 94)	Gaston Maspero
27-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 95)	Ernst Curtius
28-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 99)	Gaston Maspero
29-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 103)	Ernst Curtius
29-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 103)	Gaston Maspero
30-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 106)	Gaston Maspero
30-Jul-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 106)	Ernst Curtius
1-Aug-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 726)	Gaston Maspero
1-Aug-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 726)	Gaston Maspero



Publication Title	Pub. Date	Vol. N.	Inventory N.	Return Date
<i>«Coenobium»</i>	1910	3	R	Same day
<i>«Journal Asiatique»</i>	1907	6*	R.8.4*	26-Apr-10
<i>L'origine de la tragédie ou hellénisme et pessimisme</i>	1901	1	C.10.226	Same day
<i>Corso sugli scrittori politici italiani</i>	1862	1	15.7.612	Same day
<i>Les contes drolatiques....</i>	1867	1	B.12.5.151	4-May-10
<i>Le Bouddha. Sa vie, sa doctrine, sa communauté</i>	1903	1	C.3.8	12-May-10
<i>La religion du Vêda</i>	1903	1	C.3.8	21-May-10
<i>Encyclopedià - N*</i>	Unknown	1	Cons.	Same day
<i>Encyclopedià - J*</i>	Unknown	1	Cons.	Same day
<i>Sacountala, drame en sept actes mêlé de prose et de vers</i>	1884	1	Th.I.D.I	Not clear
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	2	00:00	Same day
<i>Buddha: dramma in cinque atti in versi</i>	1902	1	Th.4.D.529	27-May-10
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Della geografia di Strabone....</i>	1898	1	6091.9	8-Jun-10
<i>Histoire du peuple d'Israël</i>	1887	1	0.6.53	8-Jun-10
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0.5.9	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0.5.9	Same day
<i>Histoire du peuple d'Israël</i>	1889	1	0.7.61	21-Jun-10
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877	1	0.5.9	Same day
<i>«La Nouvelle Revue Française»*</i>	1910*	1	Illegible	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0.5.9	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Histoire du peuple d'Israël</i>	1891	1	0.7.61	30-Jun-10
<i>«La Nouvelle Revue Française»*</i>	1910*	1	Illegible	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0.5.9	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Gli Argonauti</i>	1873	1	9B	14-Jul-10
<i>Vie de Jésus</i>	1863	1	0.7.61	14-Jul-10
<i>Marc Aurèle et la fin du monde antique</i>	1882 or 1899	1	0.7.61	16-Jul-10
<i>Testamentum (Novum) - graece</i>	Late 19 <sup>th</sup> cent.	1	11.10.106	14-Jul-10
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0.5.9	Same day
<i>Storia di Roma antica</i>	1903-1905	3	Cons.	Same day
<i>Storia di Roma antica</i>	1903-1905	3	Cons.	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	1	0.5.9	Same day
<i>Storia di Roma antica</i>	1903-1905	1	Cons.	Same day
<i>Storia di Roma antica</i>	1903-1905	1	Cons.	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient</i>	1886	1	53.5.125	Same day
<i>Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient</i>	1886	1	53.5.125	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0.5.9	Same day
<i>Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient</i>	1886	1	53.5.125	Same day
<i>Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient</i>	1886	1	53.5.125	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	1	0.5.9	Same day
<i>Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient</i>	1886	1	53.5.125	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0.5.10	Same day
<i>Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient</i>	1886	1	53.5.125	Same day
<i>Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient</i>	1886	1	53.5.125	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0.5.10	Same day
<i>Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient</i>	1886	1	53.5.125	29-Aug-10
<i>Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne</i>	1900	1	B20.4.59	29-Aug-10

Consultation or Loan Date	Reader	Type of Register	Author
1-Aug-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 726)	Heinrich Schliemann
25-Aug-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 144)	Ernst Curtius
29-Aug-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 792)	Salomon Reinach
13-Sept-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 826)	Zoroaster
13-Sept-10	Savinio	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 826)	Unidentified Middle Ages Author
21-Sept-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 240)	Ernst Curtius
26-Sept-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 261)	Ernst Curtius
8-Oct-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 315)	VV.AA
10-Oct-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 320)	Ernst Curtius
17-Oct-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 348)	Ernst Curtius
19-Oct-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 359)	Iginio Gentile
19-Oct-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 359)	VV.AA
24-Oct-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 381)	Publius Cornelius Tacitus
25-Oct-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 387)	Georg Curtius
26-Oct-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 393)	Georg Curtius
27-Oct-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 398)	Georg Curtius
28-Oct-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 403)	Georg Curtius
31-Oct-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 414)	Georg Curtius
3-Nov-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 420)	Georg Curtius
4-Nov-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 426)	Georg Curtius
7-Nov-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 440)	Georg Curtius
9-Nov-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 452)	Georg Curtius
10-Nov-10	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 1030)	Salomon Reinach
10-Nov-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 458)	Georg Curtius
12-Nov-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 464)	Georg Curtius
16-Nov-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 483)	Georg Curtius
17-Nov-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 489)	Georg Curtius
19-Nov-10	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. III, p. 502)	Vigilio Inama
30-Nov-10	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 1116)	Louis-Auguste Sabatier
30-Nov-10	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 1116)	François-Auguste Gevaert
1-Dec-10	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 1121)	Léon Pineau
1-Dec-10	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 1121)	Paul Decharme
12-Dec-10	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. III, p. 1175)	Salomon Reinach
16-Jan-11	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 56)	Joseph Ernest Renan
1-Feb-11	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 134)	Eugène Goblet d'Alviella
1-Feb-11	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 134)	Giovanni Battista Fanelli
8-Feb-11	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 172)	Ugo Foscolo
15-Feb-11	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 210)	Theodor Gomperz
8-Mar-11	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 316)	Immanuel Kant
10-Mar-11	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 329)	Plato
17-Mar-11	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 357)	Wolfgang Helbig
29-Mar-11	de Chirico	Local Loan Register (vol. I, p. 412)	Arthur Schopenhauer
17-May-11	de Chirico	Day Book Register (vol. I, p. 814)	VV.AA

**Key:**

- i) The above table (with the exception of the *Volume Number* and *Inventory Number* columns) reflects the author's in-depth analysis of the B.N.C.F. library registers and does not constitute a transcription of their contents;
- ii) The *Publication Date* entry refers either to the publication date of the consulted book or journal (unless otherwise specified) or, when explicitly indicated in the library register, lists the specific year in which a particular volume of a multi-volume publication was issued;
- iii) Both the *Volume Number* and *Inventory Number* columns replicate that which is specified in the B.N.C.F. library registers. With regard to *Volume Number*, this column denotes the quantity of actual volumes taken out rather than the specific volume of a multi-volume publication. For example, '2' does not necessarily indicate Vol. II of a IV-volume publication but, unless otherwise specified, any two of those four volumes;
- iv) Designated asterisks (\*) that appear immediately after a publication title, publication date, volume or inventory number denote
  - a) the transcription of near-illegible handwriting;
  - b) likely mistakes made by the library registrar or;
  - c) highly plausible (rather than irrefutable) data based on the author's systematic research of the B.N.C.F. library registers. The main text details specific issues on a case-by-case basis.



Publication Title	Pub. Date	Vol. N.	Inventory N.	Return Date
<i>Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja im Jahre 1890</i>	1891	1	7677.23	29-Aug-10
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	2	0	Same day
<i>Cultes, mythes et religions</i>	1908	3	0.5.33	13-Sept-10
<i>Avesta, livre sacré des sectateurs de Zoroastre</i>	1875-1876	2	02.3.83	3-Oct-10
<i>La chanson des Nibelungen</i>	1909	1	53.5.426	3-Oct-10
<i>Inscripfen aus Olympia</i>	1878	1	8652.6	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>-La Nouvelle Revue Française*</i>	1910*	1	Illegible	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0.5.9	Same day
<i>Storia della Grecia</i>	1877*	3	0	Same day
<i>Trattato generale di archeologia e storia dell'arte....*</i>	1901 or 1905	1	C.10.27	Same day
<i>Encyclopedia*</i>	Unknown	1	Cons.	Same day
<i>Book III of the Istorie</i>	1906	1	5.54.87	Same day
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca</i>	1903	1	8.3.290	Same day
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca</i>	1903	1	8.3.290	Same day
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca</i>	1903	1	8.3.290	Same day
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca</i>	1903	1	8.3.290	Same day
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca</i>	1903	1	8.3.290	Same day
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca</i>	1903	1	8.3.290	Same day
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca</i>	1903	1	8.3.290	Same day
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca</i>	1903	1	8.3.290	Same day
<i>Cultes, mythes et religions</i>	1908	3	0.5.33	30-Nov-10
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca*</i>	Unknown	1	8.7.293	Same day
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca</i>	1903	1	8.3.290	Same day
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca</i>	1903	8*	8.3.290	Same day
<i>Grammatica della lingua greca</i>	1903	1	8.3.290	Same day
<i>Etimologia in 'Compendio ad uso dei gimnasi della grammatica greca'</i>	1892	1	8.4.160	Same day
<i>Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion d'après la psychologie et l'histoire</i>	1897	1	B.7.3.24	1-Dec-10
<i>Les origines du chant liturgique de l'Église latine: étude d'histoire musicale</i>	1890	1	75.60.7	7-Dec-10
<i>Les vieux chants populaires scandinaves...</i>	1901-1902	1	1901.02.1658	16-Jan-11
<i>Mythologie de la Grèce antique</i>	1886	1	13.8.6	1-Feb-11
<i>Manuel de philologie classique</i>	1883	2	53.3.144	7-Jan-11
<i>Histoire du peuple d'Israël</i>	1887 e 1889	1*	0.7.61	12-Apr-11
<i>Un curieux problème de transmission symbolique...</i>	1899	1	4786.13	8-Feb-11
<i>Alcuni squarci tratti dal 'Discorso sul testo della Commedia...' di U. Foscolo</i>	1837	1	B19.1.263	8-Feb-11
<i>I sepolcri, (including sermon &amp; 3 unpublished letters)</i>	1843	1	4925.10	15-Feb-11
<i>Les penseurs de la Grèce...</i>	1910	1	0.5.189	16-Feb-11
<i>Critique de la raison pratique</i>	1902	1	C.4.146	29-Mar-11
<i>Dialoghi</i>	1880-1904	1	0.9.122	17-Mar-11
<i>L'épopée homérique expliquée par les monuments</i>	1894*	1	6.4.738*	3-May-11
<i>Saggio sul libero arbitrio</i>	1908	1	C.7.29	3-May-11
<i>-La Nouvelle Revue Française*</i>	1911*	1	Illegible	Same day

*The author would like to thank the staff of the B.N.C.F.'s Manuscripts Room for their kind assistance during her consultation of the library's registers.*