

**Overcoming the Past: An Examination of the Repatriation of Italian
Painting in Post-Napoleonic Italy**

THESIS

Presented for the

DEGREE

Of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Michelle L Clarabut

School of Modern Languages, Literatures and Cultures

Royal Holloway and Bedford New College

University of London

2017



Declaration of Authorship

I, Michelle L Clarabut, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr Giuliana Pieri of Royal Holloway for her kind support and patience over the past four years. Her encouragement, enthusiasm and helpful critique were much appreciated. Many thanks are also given to Dr Colin Davis for his guidance and support throughout this research project.

My grateful thanks are also extended to Dr Sandra Parmegiani and Dr Sally Hickson of the University of Guelph for their support and encouragement during my Master's research paper that formed the basis of this thesis, and in suggesting I pursue the research at the doctoral level.

I would also like to acknowledge the staff of the Italian state archives of Modena, Parma, Turin and Venice for their helpful support and patience while conducting my archival research. In particular, I wish to thank Valentina from the Archivio di Stato di Modena, for her extra help and suggestions for further research; it was greatly appreciated.

All of this would also not have been possible without the overwhelming support of my family, in particular my parents, Peter and Josée, and my brother, Mark, who have been incredibly patient with my periods of frustration and incommunicado. I feel very fortunate to have a father who is equally enthusiastic about history and with whom I can chat about my research for days on end, and a mother who helps to keep my sanity in check during my long skype calls home. I would not be where I am today without their love and support.

Lastly, I would like to thank the Development Department at Royal Holloway for taking a chance on my data entry skills and for putting up with me these last four years. I have learned a lot from my role that has contributed positively to the quantitative part of my research. In particular, I owe a great deal of thanks to Shilpi for helping me sort out my data and constantly showing me new ways of interacting with it, and LBM for her constant support and friendship.

I would also like to thank all my friends both near and far who have helped me through the last four years in providing numerous breaks and support; including Delia for being a second pair of eyes.

Abstract

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a case study that explores the art confiscations experienced by Italian States during the Napoleonic wars and culminates in a discussion on the repercussions of this experience in Italy through an in-depth analysis of the confiscations and the changes that occurred on the peninsula. This will be done in three ways; the first being an examination of the motives of the French Revolutionary government in creating the Louvre. The second part will look at the historical context, data of confiscated paintings and the issues encountered during the repatriation process on a regional level. The regions having been organized into the following types; foreign-ruled Italian states, Italian-ruled states and the Papal States. Both of these sections will then contribute to the final comparative and quantitative discussion on the larger issues and obstacles resulting from the original confiscations and later repatriation efforts. It will also touch on some of the broader ideological issues including the role of the museum within society.

Limiting the focus of the discussion to Italian states to as far south as Rome, and the type of artwork to paintings; this study aims to provide a quantitative and comparative approach to the issue of art confiscations and cultural repatriation. Observations suggest that despite diplomatic efforts to repatriate cultural treasures, only about half of the paintings were successfully returned to Italy. Furthermore, of those that were returned very few found their way back to their original locations – an issue that would affect all three regions in varying degrees. Whereas much has been done on individual states, other countries and works by specific artists, very little research has been conducted on the overall experience. Furthermore, this thesis is unique in that it takes a quantitative approach to the topic by using a database of paintings to explore the list of works with a set of criteria including artist, century and location. In doing so, this study is able to provide an accurate breakdown by region while also providing an in-depth look at the combined list of paintings that would not otherwise be available.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	3
Abstract	4
List of Tables.....	8
List of Figures	11
Introduction	12
Chapter 1 – From Rome to Paris: the burgeoning of French interest in the Arts....	25
1.2 – The birth of the Louvre	33
1.3 – The debate concerning art plunder	45
1.4 – Conclusion.....	52
Chapter 2 – Repatriation in the Papal States	56
2.1 – The historical context from 1796-1815	57
2.2 – The analysis of the database of confiscated works.....	77
2.2.1 – Cities.....	78
2.2.2 – Artists	79
2.2.3 – Location.....	80
2.2.4 – Returned status and success rate	84
2.3 – The process of repatriation.....	89
2.4 – Conclusion.....	106
Chapter 3 – Repatriation in foreign-ruled states	107
3.1 – The historical context from 1796-1815	108
3.2 – The analysis of the database of confiscated works.....	123
3.2.1 – Cities.....	123
3.2.2 – Artists	125
3.2.3 – Location.....	127
3.2.4 – Repatriation Status	129
3.2.5 – Success rate	131
3.2.6 – Location in France.....	133
3.3 – The process of repatriation.....	136
3.3.1 – Concerning the paintings.....	139

3.3.2 – The obstacles	141
3.4 – Conclusion.....	150
Chapter 4 – Repatriation in Italian-Ruled States.....	151
4.1 – The historical context from 1796-1815	152
4.2 – The analysis of the database of confiscated works.....	170
4.2.1 – Cities.....	171
4.2.2 – Artists	172
4.2.3 – Location.....	174
4.2.4 – Success Rate	178
4.2.5 – Location in France.....	181
4.3 – The process of repatriation.....	184
4.4 – Conclusion.....	200
Chapter 5 – A comparative discussion of repatriation	202
5.1 – The confiscated works.....	203
5.1.1 – State.....	205
5.1.2 – Artists	207
5.1.3 – Time period	218
5.1.4 – Location.....	220
5.1.5 – The returned works.....	227
5.2 – The obstacles	229
5.3 – Conclusion.....	241
Chapter 6 – Concluding remarks.....	243
Bibliography.....	250
Image Sources	250
Archives	250
Libraries	252
Secondary Sources	253
Appendixes – Table of Contents	270
Appendix A – Map of Italy 1796	271
Appendix B – Map of Italy 1810	272
Appendix C – Map of Italy 1815	273

Appendix D - List of returned works belonging to the Papal States (Images).. 274

Appendix G – Database of Paintings from Foreign-ruled States electronic

Appendix H – Database of Paintings from Italian-ruled States electronic

List of Tables

Chapter 2

2.1 – Number of paintings from ‘deleted religious houses	73
2.2 – Number of paintings from ‘undeleted’ religious houses	73
2.3 – Count of paintings by city	78
2.4 – Count of paintings by artist (top 10)	80
2.5 – Count of paintings by original location and city	83
2.6 – Repatriation status	85
2.7 – Repatriation success rate by city	86
2.8 – Repatriation success rate by artist	87
2.9 – Percentage of not returned paintings by artist	87
2.10 – Percentage of not returned paintings by city	88
2.11 – Count of paintings remaining in France	100

Chapter 3

3.1 – Count of paintings by city	124
3.2 – Count of paintings by artist (top 5)	125
3.3 – Count of paintings by top 3 artists and their location	126
3.4 – Count of paintings by location type and city	127
3.5 – Repatriation status	130
3.6 – Repatriation success rate by city	132
3.7 – Percentage of not returned paintings by city	132
3.8 – Repatriation success rate by artist	133
3.9 – Count of paintings remaining in France	134

3.10 – Count of paintings based on returned versus original location in Lombardy-Venetia	135
3.11 – Count of paintings based on returned versus original location in Papal States	136
3.12 – Count of paintings remaining in France	144

Chapter 4

4.1 – Count of paintings by city	172
4.2 – Count of paintings by artist (top 10)	173
4.3 – Count of paintings by original location type and city	175
4.4 – Count of paintings by the top 5 artists removed from the Palazzo Pitti	176
4.5 – Repatriation status	177
4.6 – Repatriation success rate by city	178
4.7 – Repatriation success rate by artist (top 10)	179
4.8 – Percentage of not returned paintings by artist (top 10)	180
4.9 – Count of paintings remaining in France	181
4.10 – Count of paintings based on returned location versus original location	182

Chapter 5

5.1 – Number of paintings confiscated by state	206
5.2 – Count of confiscated paintings by state	207
5.3 – Count of confiscated paintings by artist	208
5.4 – 5.6 – Count of confiscated paintings by century in the first, second and third campaigns	220
5.7 – Number of confiscated paintings by location type	221
5.8 – Repatriation success rate by artist (top 10)	228

5.9 – Repatriation success rate by century	228
5.10 – Count of works remaining in France	233
5.11 – Count of works in returned location type with a breakdown by original location type	237
5.12 – List of original and returned locations for specified artists	239
5.13 – List of returned works by artist to each returned location (top 10 artists)....	240
5.14 – Number of paintings by century from churches returned to a gallery	246

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 – *Galleria del cardinale Silvio Valenti Gonzaga*, Giovanni Paolo Panini, 1749 29

Figure 1.2 – *Triumphal Entry of Work of Art Taken from Italy- July 27, 1798*, Prieur and Berthault 43

Figure 2.1 – Archival document listing art objects to removed from Papal States following the Treaty of Tolentino 63

Introduction

In 2009, Peter Greenaway prepared the Venetian installation of his series *Nine Classical Paintings Revisited* in which he created a visual and theatrical interpretation of various European masterpieces; among them were Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* and Rembrandt's *The Nightwatch*. Of particular interest, however, is his focus on Veronese's *Marriage Feast at Cana* (1563, oil on canvas, Louvre) in that unlike the others this installation allowed for the public to revisit the history, creation and display of the painting in its original context during the 2009 Venice Biennale.¹ Rather than using the original painting in the Louvre, Greenaway instead made use of the full-scale digital reproduction produced to take the place of the original masterpiece, and as a result revisited the unfortunate history of Veronese's masterpiece. Thus, in the span of two years the 200-year-old dispute was once again brought to the forefront. Beginning in 2007 with the full-scale digital reproduction of Veronese's painting; the art world and the Venetians were witness to what Pierluigi Panza referred to as 'the third miracle at Cana.'² Similarly, the impact of Greenaway's exhibition, two years later, was one of a cultural, political and art historical nature; both projects reintroducing the world to the reason for the absence of the original painting. If nothing else, these two projects demonstrate a contemporary interest in the confiscations of artworks of over two centuries ago.

¹ Peter Greenaway's intent was to create a dialogue between various artistic expressions – visual and cinematic – as a way of revisiting masterpieces from various schools of western art. The case of Veronese's painting providing an opportunity for visitors to experience the history of the subject and painting in its original context. The article by Roberta Smith in the New York Times provides a clear account of the exhibition at the Venice Biennale; see Roberta Smith, 'In Venice, Peter Greenaway Takes Veronese's Figures Out to Play' *The New York Times* (21 June 2009), accessed 21 June 2016 <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/22/arts/design/22greenaway.html?_r=0>. For more information about the exhibition see Peter Greenaway, *Classic Paintings Revisited* (accessed 21 June 2016) <<http://www.changeperformingarts.com/shows/10paintings/10paintings.html>> or UC Berkeley Events' *Peter Greenaway: "Nine Classical Paintings Revisited"* (5 Oct 2010), accessed 21 June 2016 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=plWSGEAuD_0>

² Elisabetta Povoledo, 'A Painting Comes Home (or at least a Facsimile)' *The New York Times* (Sept. 29, 2007), accessed 21 February 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/29/arts/design/29pain.html?_r=0>. See also 'The Miracle of Cana: The Wedding at Cana 'returns' to San Giorgio after 210 years' *Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Onlus*, accessed 21 June 2016 <<http://old.cini.it/uploads/box/2a493868a94e80a8774dc93cb2206264.pdf>> and 'A facsimile of the Wedding at Cana by Paolo Veronese' *Factum Arte*, accessed 21 June 2016 <<http://www.factum-arte.com/pag/38/A-facsimile-of-the-Wedding-at-Cana-by-Paolo-Veronese>>.

In questioning the absence of Veronese's canvas, we are reminded of the political context for its displacement and then are immediately drawn into the cultural and conservationist implications – why has the painting not been returned to Venice?³ Which then in turn leads to the question of whether it should be returned, and once there why not take one step further and suggest the return of all artworks and thus question the institutional presence of the museum. The aim of this thesis, however, is not to question the function and responsibility of the contemporary museum, but rather to explore the events that occurred on the Italian peninsula two-hundred years ago and the influence they had on the establishment of public cultural institutions which continue to hold a prominent role within society. Further to this is the development of the role of art within society and what these confiscations tell us about the cultural and artistic taste of the period. The events that took place in Paris in July 1789 had repercussions

³ In addressing this question I draw your attention to several articles in the Italian press in relation to Veronese's painting, the first of which refers to the facsimile of 2007 to which Natalia Aspesi states; 'la Francia con varie scuse non volle mai mollare il frutto più splendido delle razzie napoleoniche ed è stata ben contenta adesso di collaborare attraverso il Louvre alla sua "restituzione simbolica".' Natalia Aspesi, 'Le false Nozze di Cana belle come l'originale' *La Repubblica.it* (14 September 2009) accessed 24 June 2015 <<http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2007/09/14/le-false-nozze-di-cana-belle-come.html>>. In this instance the case of restitution and repatriation is taken into a different light; suggesting a symbolic versus actual return of the painting. Several comments in an article from 2015 rehash similar sentiments without suggesting the return, but nevertheless demonstrate an existing animosity towards Napoleon; 'Napoleone è stato il peggior ladro che la storia ricordi. Il Louvre è pieno di opera trafugate di Napoleone.' Adri5 (20 dicembre 2015 / 14:25) in Paolo Conti 'Il Cenacolo Palladiano, Caravaggio e i busti del Pincio. Le riproduzioni hi-tech in giro per il mondo' *Corriere del Sera* (20 December 2015) accessed 24 June 2016 <<http://roma.corriere.it/cronaca/cards/cenacolo-palladiano-caravaggio-busti-pincio-riproduzioni-hi-tech-giro-il-mondo/opere-veronese-veneziana.shtml>>. Perhaps most interesting, however, is the article by Paola Vescovi of 7 January 2010 in the *Corriere del Veneto* entitled 'Cara Carlà, aiutaci a fare tornare le Nozze di Cana' which follows on the appeal made by Ettore Beggiano to Carlà Bruni Sarkozy (wife to former French President Nicolas Sarkozy) in which was written; 'la questione venga riproposta all'opinione pubblica francese e si possa approdare alla naturale ricollocazione del capolavoro nell'isola di San Giorgio dove oggi c'è una riproduzione fotografica che accrescere l'amarrezza e il risentimento nei confronti della Repubblica Francese.' More to the point, however, are the various statements made by Italian politicians, and scholars; including Franco Miracco (spokesperson to Giancarlo Galan of the Veneto) who stated 'inutile aprire contenziosi che allora potrebbero riguardare moltissime altre opere;' and Pasquale Gagliardi (former head of the ISTUD Foundation) who, in discussing the facsimile, suggested; 'nessun esperto ha colto una differenza con l'originale. Non capisco che senso abbia scatenare guerre diplomatiche, politicamente non sarebbe fattibile il ritorno a Venezia del vero dipinto.' Instead, the importance of the cultural institution is stressed by Miracco – 'Magari tornasse il vero dipinto ma non potrà avvenire, la formazione del Louvre appartiene ormai essa stessa alla storia dell'arte' – though it is nevertheless suggested that 'sarebbe comunque un bel gesto se il Louvre restituisse l'originale, che ha una collezione infelice, in cambio della copia.' Beppe Gullino in Paola Vescovi, 'Cara Carlà, aiutaci a fare tornare le Nozze di Cana' *Corriere del Veneto* (7 January 2010) accessed 25 June 2016 <<http://corrieredelveneto.corriere.it/veneto/notizie/cronaca/2010/7-gennaio-2010/appello-carla-bruni-faccia-tornare-veneziana-nozze-cana-1602254631330.shtml>>.

that far surpassed the political and economic situation in Europe; the abolition of the French monarchy by the revolutionaries and the spreading of their ideals ultimately led to the creation of a national cultural institution, the Louvre museum, that would come to threaten the cultural patrimony of more than one nation. It is from this conflict that Veronese's masterpiece owes its fate.

The French confiscations of this period extended far beyond the borders of France, following in the steps of the revolutionary and later imperial army as far east as Prussia, south to Egypt and west to Spain. Research on this experience has touched upon the theft and displacement of artworks in different countries, France's interest in undertaking these confiscations, as well as the impact these events had on individual countries and the people involved. Beginning with Eugene Müntz⁴ in 1897, we have a thorough account of both the confiscations and their impact on international relations, along with events that took place in Paris in 1814-1815 surrounding repatriation efforts. Müntz's work provides a historical discussion of the events that took place in Paris, incorporating first-hand accounts of the events to present a clear picture of the scene in Paris during the repatriation efforts. His publications on the French perspective are followed a decade later with the work of A. Tuetey and J. Giuffrey⁵ (1910) who published research on the *Commission du Muséum* and the creation of the Louvre; therefore prefacing the events of 1814-15. Into the twentieth-century is the research by Marie-Louise Blumer⁶ (1936) which catalogues the list of paintings removed from Italy from 1796 to 1814. Her research forms the basis for much of the work done by later scholars as she provides a detailed catalogue of the works removed from Italy,

⁴ Eugene Müntz, *Les annexions d'art ou de bibliothèque et leur rôle dans les relations internationales, principalement pendant la révolution française*, (Paris, E. Leroux, 1896): 485, accessed 15 May 2015 <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k673659/f2.zoom.r=Eugene%20Muntz.langEN>>. Also, Eugene Müntz, 'Les invasions de 1814-1815 et spoliations de nos musées,' *Nouvelle Revue CVII* (1897): 205. accessed 15 May 2015 <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k360152/f1.image>>.

⁵ A. Tuetey and J. Giuffrey, *La Commission du Muséum et la Création du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1910) : 23. Accessed 24 May 2015 <<https://archive.org/stream/lacommissiondumu00tuetuoft#page/22/mode/2up>>.

⁶ Marie-Louise Blumer, 'Catalogue des peintures transportées d'Italie en France de 1796 à 1814' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* 46 (1936). The importance of this catalogue and its contribution to this thesis will be elaborated later in the introduction.

referencing the artists, locations and dates. Dorothy MacKay Quynn's⁷ journal article of 1945 presents a condensed look at the French confiscations of the first Italian Campaign, incorporating newspaper articles and contemporary engravings to discuss the arrival of the first convoy of artworks in Paris and the developments of the latter half of the wars. Twenty years later, Cecil Gould⁸ (1965) presents a chronological overview of the Napoleonic confiscations using existing published sources. His discussion explores the beginnings of the Louvre in the *Ancien Régime* before examining the confiscations of the Belgian and Italian Campaigns, their disbursement in France and the Louvre of Napoleon, before concluding with a chapter on the process of restitution. Gould's monograph provides a look at the overarching experience of the European countries without focusing too specifically on any type of artwork. Though his focus does mainly pertain to sculptures and paintings, this work provides a valuable, overall account of the period. Then we have the decision to focus, on the conservation element of this experience by Martin Rosenberg⁹ in his journal article of 1985, addressing Napoleon's cultural politics with Raphael's *Transfiguration* as the primary example. Not long after Rosenberg is the more general discussion of the confiscation and repatriation process by Paul Wescher¹⁰ (1988), exploring the experiences of various countries including Italy and is not restricted to any one form of art. His monograph provides a discussion from the initial wave of confiscations during the Revolutionary war through to the final defeat in 1815 and the subsequent repatriation efforts.

More recent publications, however, have provided a focus on individual aspects of this experience. Andrew McClellan¹¹ (1994) has explored the circumstances that led to the creation of the Louvre and establishment of its collection. Using a historical approach with a focus on the French perspective, McClellan's monograph incorporates

⁷ Dorothy MacKay Quynn, 'The Art Confiscations of the Napoleonic Wars' *The American Historical Review* 50, 3 (April 1945): 437-460.

⁸ Cecil Gould, *Trophy of Conquest: The Musée Napoleon and the Creation of the Louvre* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965).

⁹ Martin Roseburg, 'Raphael's *Transfiguration* and Napoleon's Cultural Politics' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19, 2 (Winter: 1985-6): 180-205. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2738641>>

¹⁰ Paul Wescher, *I furti d'arte: Napoleone e la nascita del Louvre*, Flavio Cuniberto, tr. (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore s.p.a., 1988).

¹¹ Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). See also Hans Belting, *The Invisible Masterpiece* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

primary sources from newspaper articles and archival documents to explain the context of the confiscations and the establishment of the Louvre. Similarly, Jean Chatelain's¹² (1999) monograph examines the figure of Dominique-Vivant Denon, Directeur-Générale of the Louvre from 1804, to explore the evolution of the Louvre during the reign of Napoleon. This publication, however, is not limited to any one type of artwork, but includes a general account of artefacts to demonstrate the extent of the French confiscations. Finally, while focusing on the experience of the Germanic states, the research of Paige Goodwin¹³ (2011) into the theft and displacement of Flemish art presents an exemplary case study of the situation that occurred in Flanders. Further to providing a historical discussion of the experience, Goodwin's thesis explores the situation in the present, using laws and ethics to explore the possibilities for restitution now. Rather than a historical approach, this case study addresses the topic from a legal point of view using examples of current restitution claims from various countries including Greece's Elgin marbles and Italy's Etruscan artefacts.

In relation to Italy, much has discussed the efforts made by Rome and within some individual states, or has explored the contributions by certain individuals, namely Antonio Canova on behalf of the Papacy. Giuseppe Bertini's¹⁴ (1987) work on the Parma collection and its dispersion investigates, to a certain extent, the confiscations that occurred in the state of Parma and Piacenza using archival documents. His research is followed by the more detailed approach of Raffaella Salvalai¹⁵ (1998) whose journal article presents a straight-forward look at the works that were taken from the state of Parma. Referring specifically to Rome and the Papacy, Christopher Johns¹⁶ (1998)

¹² Jean Chatelain, *Dominique Vivant Denon et le Louvre de Napoleon*, (Paris: Librairie Academique Perrin, 1999).

¹³ Paige Goodwin, 'Mapping the Limits of Repatriable Cultural Heritage: A Case Study of Stolen Flemish Art in French Museums' *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 2011 accessed 13 March 2011 <<http://www.pennumbra.com/issues/article.php?aid=203>>. Further sources on the history of art plunder and confiscations include Margaret M. Miles, *Art as Plunder: The Ancient Origins of Debate about Cultural Property* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); and Wayne Sandholtz, *Prohibiting Plunder: How Norms Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁴ Giuseppe Bertini, 'I dipinti della Galleria del Duca di Parma e la loro dispersione' in *La Galleria del Duca di Parma: Storia di una collezione* (Parma: Cassa di Risparmio, 1987).

¹⁵ Raffaella Salvalai, 'Napoleone e i furti d'arte. I dipinti del ducato di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla requisiti e non più ritrovati' *Aurea Parma*, fasc. 1 (genn.-apr., 1998): 74-83.

¹⁶ Christopher M.S. Johns, *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe* (Berkeley and LA: University of California Press, 1998).

focuses on the political efforts of Antonio Canova to return the cultural treasures of the Papal States. He provides an in-depth discussion on the artist's views and involvement in the diplomatic relations that took place in Paris on the part of the Papal States. Remaining in Rome, we also have the research conducted by Cathleen Hoeniger¹⁷ (2011) who provides an art historical exploration of the paintings of Raphael. By focusing on the physical history of his paintings, particularly the Napoleonic confiscations, Hoeniger explores how this reflects their reception along with their displacement.

Turning to the recent research done by Italian scholars, Daniela Camurri¹⁸ (2003) and Cristina Galassi¹⁹ (2004) each explore the confiscations of an individual city; the former with a focus on Bologna and the latter on Perugia. Camurri uses French and archival documents to explore the displacement of artworks from both Bologna to Paris and Bologna to Milan during the advent of the establishment of the Brera museum. Whereas, Galassi focuses on the paintings acquired by French officials throughout the wars, providing a concise discussion on both the Revolutionary government and Imperial France's acquisitions in Perugia. She also includes a final discussion on the repatriation of these works by Antonio Canova and their fate once back in Italy. Gabriele Paolini's²⁰ (2006) research on Tuscany's experience provides an overview of the situation in the Grand Duchy, using archival material, with particular interest on artworks, both sculptures and paintings. However, much like the others, the discussion provides an overview of the experience throughout the wars and restoration period without focusing on the content of the confiscations and how it is affected by the political and social context. Finally, Veronica Gabrielle²¹ (2009) presents a general look at each state with specific focus on the archival material available. Her individual

¹⁷ Cathleen Hoeniger, *The Afterlife of Raphael's Paintings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹⁸ Daniela Camurri, *L'arte perduta: le requisizioni di opere d'arte a Bologna in età napoleonica (1796-1815)* (Bologna: Minerva edizioni, 2003).

¹⁹ Cristina Galassi, *Il tesoro perduto: le requisizioni napoleoniche a Perugia e la fortuna della 'scuola' umbra in Francia tra 1797 e 1815* (Perugia: Volumnia, 2004).

²⁰ Gabriele Paolini, *Simulacri spiranti, imagin vive: il recupero delle opere d'arte toscane nel 1815* (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2006).

²¹ Veronica Gabrielli, *Patrimoni Contesi: gli stati italiani e il recupero delle opere d'arte trafugate in Francia, storia e fonti (1814-1818)* (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2009).

discussions provide a brief overview of the situation in the Italian states and some of the problems encountered during repatriation, as well as a list of the archival material available within each state.

In each respect, research to date has explored the overall European experience, or has focused on a particular region or nation's struggle to rescue their cultural patrimony from the designs of the Louvre's administrators. In this thesis, however, I intend to pursue a comparative and quantitative approach to the confiscations and repatriation experienced by the northern Italian states. In doing so, the discussion will incorporate a political, military, cultural and art historical perspective in order to breakdown the overall experience and explore its implications in Italy. The key being how the experience and the database of paintings affect one another; the latter relying heavily on the political and cultural changes of a state. There are, however, several parameters which need to be taken into consideration. First, the focus of this discussion will be limited to the geographical constraints of northern Italy based on the borders established in 1815; therefore, with Rome and the Papal States marking the farthest point south, the Kingdom of Naples and the island of Sardinia have been excluded. The reasons for these exclusions are that Sardinia remained under the rule of the House of Savoy and was not directly affected by the confiscations of artworks. The Kingdom of Naples has also been omitted for reasons of both time and circumstance. Its exclusion allows for a more in-depth examination of the confiscations in the remaining Italian states, and is further helped by the fact that the Kingdom witnessed very few removals and experienced very different political changes, with its borders having for the most part remained unaltered. Physically distant from the main scene of war in Europe and on the peninsula; it was for the most part removed from many of the other political reorganisations that affected the other Italian states. Conquered and then abandoned by the French in 1799; the Kingdom was later ruled by Joseph Bonaparte and eventually Joachim Murat.²² Therefore, the states which will be addressed in this thesis include Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, the Duchies of Parma and Modena, the Grand Duchy of

²² Spencer M. di Scala, *Italy: From Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present*, 4th Edition, (USA: Westview Press, 2009) and Napoleon Bonaparte, *Mémoires de Napoleon, La Campagne d'Italie*, Thierry Lentz, Ed. (Paris: Editions Tallandier, 2010).

Tuscany and the Papal States. In addition, is the division of these states into three separate regions based on their political situation in 1815, which will facilitate a more comparative discussion on the shared experiences. The first region encompasses the Papal States for reason of its size and political independence; the second is the foreign-ruled Lombardy-Venetia and lastly the remaining Italian-ruled independent states. From these divisions, a clear understanding of the circumstances that led to these regional classifications and how this affected their efforts to repatriate will become clearer.

The third parameter pertains to the artworks themselves. The French confiscations of this period extended far beyond the removal of paintings and ranged from smaller objects including cameos and jewelry to larger items such as vases and marble busts.²³ There was a tremendous variety in the cultural objects pillaged and acquired from conquered lands, and to cover all these objects is a task best left to further research. Furthermore, while considered to be another form of fine art, sculpture has also been excluded for the same reason. The extent of the sculpture confiscations means that its inclusion would prevent an intensive discussion of the paintings; furthermore, the sculpture collection extended to works dated as far back as Ancient Rome and therefore while geographically located within the Italian peninsula it presents a different discussion in relation to repatriation. Unlike the paintings that were the product of an Italian cultural history, the sculptures of Ancient Rome date from a different cultural heritage and in the case of others (eg. Venetian bronze horses) from their own history of conquest. Thus, for the purpose of this thesis the type of cultural artefact has been limited to that of paintings, specifically those by Italian artists. Other artefacts will, however, be mentioned to provide a greater perspective on the confiscations and evidence of the interest of the French government and museum administration in all cultural artefacts. It is therefore important to understand that the

²³ Jean Chatelain includes a detailed table of the various artefacts that were confiscated by the French in various European countries. Among the numerous paintings were also various types of vases, cameos, drawings and maiolica (Italian tin-glazed pottery). Further evidence of the diversity will be mentioned within the thesis, but focus in particular on sculptures and musical instruments. For the detailed number of objects by country see Chatelain's table in *Dominique Vivant Denon et le Louvre de Napoleon*, (Paris: Librairie Academique Perrin, 1999): 250

focus on paintings provides a brief glimpse of a much larger picture; the enormity of the confiscations of this period could not be covered within the confines of a thesis and therefore the focus will remain on the Italian paintings identified by Blumer and confiscated during this period.

Finally, the origins of these paintings range from public locations,²⁴ galleries and private collections – all of which will figure into an accounting of the works. However, for the purpose of the discussion on the repatriation process and its outcomes, the situation concerning those paintings originating from private collections will not be discussed. For the reason that, in the context of the rest of the analysis, those of the private sector present a slightly different situation and one that warrants its own discussion.²⁵ The United Kingdom based charity, the Collections Trust,²⁶ defines restitution as ‘the process by which cultural objects are returned to an individual or a community;’ whereas, repatriation relates to a similar process but rather than being returned to an individual they are returned to a ‘nation or state at the request of a government.’²⁷ As an added guide is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization’s 1970 Convention on the Restitution of Cultural Property which attributes much the same definition with claims offered the possibility of return or restitution; the latter signifying some form of compensation whether it be the object’s

²⁴ The term public, here, refers to paintings originating from churches, museums and academies. A more elaborate discussion of these locations and their grouping under the term public will occur in the analysis of the list of confiscated paintings.

²⁵ Many of the paintings acquired from private collections were obtained or purchased under duress. Prominent Italian families who were reluctant to adhere to French rule often found themselves facing financial hardships and thus forced to sell or negotiate using their cultural possessions. Some mention of these families, primarily Roman, will be made in the first chapter to provide some context; however, their works have been eliminated from the analysis. The Braschi and Albani families of Rome having suffered this fate in 1798 around the time of Pius VI’s last bid to overthrow the French and reclaim the Papal State. See Raymond Joseph Maras, *Napoleon: Patron of the Arts and Sciences* (Berkeley: University of California, 1955): 135. Also, Susan Vandiver Nicassio, *Imperial City: Rome under Napoleon* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

²⁶ The Collections Trust is a professional association that works worldwide with museums, galleries and other cultural and public institutions to ensure the efficient management and use of their collections. In addition, the Trust also aids in the researching and processing of stolen art claims as well as providing a database of stolen cultural patrimony. Further information about the Trust can be found on their website, <http://www.collectionstrust.org.uk/about-collections-trust>

²⁷ *Restitution and Repatriation of Cultural Heritage*, The Collections Trust, (accessed 12 December 2015) <<http://www.collectionstrust.org.uk/2015-11-03-15-25-31/cultural-property-advice/restitution-and-repatriation>>.

return or financial reparation.²⁸ Repatriation, therefore, encompasses both the return and/or restitution and ‘has the added advantage of being equally applicable to the acquisition of cultural heritage items outside their country of origin [...] without any activity on the part of the State in which they have been held.’²⁹ Thus, in focusing on the situation in Italy in 1815 we are referring to the concept of repatriation and will therefore limit the discussion to artworks originating from non-private collections

While the predominant part of this experience lies in the political and cultural context of Italy around the turn of the nineteenth-century; the same examination needs to be addressed in France as it forms an equally important part of the discussion. In order to understand the situation on the Italian peninsula in 1815, we must first explore the circumstances that led to these confiscations. It is for this reason that the discussion begins with a look at the French perspective before continuing to the Italian experience. The first chapter will address the period leading up to the French Revolution and will lead into an examination of the history of the Louvre and its collection; more specifically it will explore the history of private and public collections in eighteenth-century Italy and the motivations of the new Republic in establishing a national public museum. An examination of these collections and France’s exposure to them provides the contextualization necessary for a comparative look at the birth of the Louvre and the subsequent establishment of Italian institutions in the restoration period. It will conclude with an exploration of the contemporary debate on art plunder, and the arguments made by Quatremère de Quincy in defending the importance of context, extending into such topics as conservation practices. The French perspective forms an equally integral part of the thesis and has been included for the simple reason that it is only through an understanding of the motivations of one party that we can begin to comprehend the experience and difficulty encountered by the other.

The central part of this thesis, however, will concentrate on the experiences of the aforementioned Italian regions; each with its own chapter. Within these individual

²⁸ ‘Terminology’ *Public Debate: Memory and Universality: New Challenges Facing Museums*, Museum International, accessed 28 June 2016
<<http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/39308/12458323313Terminology.pdf/Terminology.pdf>>

²⁹ Ibid.

discussions will be a breakdown of the historical context, an analysis of the list of confiscated works and finally an examination of the repatriation process. The purpose of the historical context is to provide a basis for the analysis of works and the repatriation process; as will become evident, the political and military circumstances faced by the Italian states often directly affected the type and number of confiscations. Furthermore, these same factors have a direct impact on the state's effort to return their cultural patrimony; the political situation of a given state in 1815 would have been a key factor in the opening deliberations between the Allied Powers and the French government at that time. It is the second section of these chapters, however, that forms the unique approach of this thesis. The analysis of the list of confiscated works will provide a breakdown of the paintings within each region by city, artist and location, with a final analysis of the success of repatriation. Using the detailed catalogue published by Marie-Louise Blumer in 1936 – *Catalogue des peintures transportées d'Italie en France de 1796 à 1814*³⁰ – a database of works has been created using an Excel spreadsheet in order to present the information in a clear format and is also the reason for the focus on paintings.

Blumer's catalogue of 1936 is a detailed account by artist of the paintings that were acquired by the French in Italy from 1796 to 1814, it also includes a small list of works by non-Italian artists acquired from the peninsula. This catalogue is the result of substantial archival research by Blumer in the French National and Louvre Archives, using inventories dated from the opening of the museum, reports prepared by Denon and the *procès-verbaux* from the returns that were issued in 1815 by the Allies. In addition to these primary sources were several secondary sources including the exhibition catalogues of the nine exhibitions that were held from 1798 to 1814, the catalogues of the Louvre, French regional museums and those of the Italian museums that housed the returned works. Therefore, the information provided in this catalogue is based on the material supplied by the French revolutionary and Napoleonic period, and thus there are instances where the attribution of the painting has changed. This is not the fault of Blumer's work or of any one scholar, but rather a limitation that arises

³⁰ Blumer, (1936).

from the study of artworks that has been done since the 1930s. In the cases where attributions have changed since the wars, Blumer has indicated the changes in her catalogue.

The database has been provided in an electronic format attached to the thesis and is an integral part of the overall discussion, and structured into four separate documents based on the aforementioned regions; 1) master list of works, 2) works from the Papal States, 3) works from foreign-ruled states, and 3) works from Italian-ruled states. Within each Excel document the list has been further divided into the main list of works, a list of returned, not-returned and those with a location in France; these have been identified in green. Within each of these lists the paintings have been listed in the rows, sorted by artist, with the relevant information pertaining to each work across the columns. This format facilitates the location of a painting and allows for clear and easy access to information concerning its confiscation and repatriation. For instance, Veronese's *Marriage at Cana* can be located by opening the first document, *master list of works*, and either scrolling by artist to 'V' or by searching for Veronese or Marriage at Cana. Once located, the columns will provide the basic information including year of the artist, location of the work (location type, city, state and region) as well as the dates for confiscation and repatriation information. The other benefit of having the works organized in this manner means that filters can be placed on lists to identify the works based on certain criteria. Continuing with the previous example, by filtering the artist to Veronese we are able to see all the works confiscated by this artist and their relevant information. This database enables a statistical consideration of paintings in order to discern any trends. From these numbers, we then turn to the obstacles the delegates would have encountered in Paris and which account for the various different success rates. At present, of the 406 paintings that were removed from the northern Italian states between 1797 and 1814, only about half of them have been returned. This leaves a rather staggering number of paintings either remaining in France or unaccounted for.

Having examined the database of paintings with respect to the regions and the difficulties encountered by the Italian delegates, the last chapter addresses the questions

concerning these trends and what they say about the priorities and tastes of Italy and France in the early decades of the nineteenth-century. Further to these observations come some of the more intriguing examples of the fate of some individual works and what they say about the social and cultural views of particular Italian states. Finally, this chapter will explore the fate of confiscated artworks upon their return to Italy and with it the emergence of regional museums and galleries that seem to follow the example of the French with the Louvre. There is a noticeable trend in the establishment of public art collections in many of the states following the experiences of the French and Napoleonic wars; a trend that deserves a closer analysis as it relates to the database of works.

Chapter 1 – From Rome to Paris: the burgeoning of French interest in the Arts

If we consider for a moment the concept of a museum literally, we realize that the term means “seat of the muses” and refers to the ancient Greek muses who were the guardians of the Arts and Sciences, and all that is sacred to learning.³¹ Thus, a museum encompasses the arts and sciences. In our contemporary society the museum is considered part of civic society, listed in the guidebooks as a necessary site to see by visitors to the city or country. Very nearly every town or city has a museum or some type of building designated as a place that holds civic importance, regardless of what types of objects are kept safe-guarded inside. In most cases, the museum has come to hold objects from history; from the humble war medals of a local hero in a community’s town hall or Raphael’s most revered works of art in many of Europe’s major cities. However, the museum as a public institution is a relatively new concept and has evolved to become an integral part of a larger community. Nonetheless, it is worth questioning how this institution became such an important part of our society and the value it holds within a community. As Jonah Siegel points out, ‘it is a particularly *modern* hope [...] that the divinities that stand for inspiration will be summoned by the practice of gathering together and contemplating prized objects.’³² However, before a discussion on the museum’s induction into society can be made, we must first take a look at the historical context surrounding the establishment of Europe’s museums. For the purpose of this chapter, the majority of the discussion will focus on historical and cultural developments leading up to the French Revolution – the Grand Tour being a notable example – as well as the revolutionary thought surrounding the creation of the Louvre and the plundering of art from Italy.

³¹ Jonah Siegel, ‘Introduction’ in *The Emergence of the Modern Museum: An Anthology of Nineteenth-century sources*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 3.

³² *Ibid*, 3.

1.1 – Private and public collections in Italy prior to the French Revolution

While art has largely functioned to fulfill a religious or devotional purpose, or as a form of decoration and a demonstration of wealth and social standing – such as in the commissioning of palazzo frescoes and family altarpieces – the establishment of museums and national galleries meant that art was displayed for overt educational and later art historical purposes.³³ Therefore, artworks became pieces of history, valued as a result of the artist and school, rather than their ability to decorate. Moreover, the museum became a permanent extension of the Grand Tour, whereby prominent individuals, usually male, would tour Europe as part of their education. In many instances, aristocratic young gentlemen from northern European countries, particularly England, France and Prussia, travelled to Italy and Greece to witness antiquity and the artistic genius of Italian Renaissance artists as part of their education. Grand tourists were welcomed into the houses, villas and galleries of some of Italy's most prominent families; thus, establishing a setting for the discussion of culture and art collecting. In response to this influx in tourism the wealthy Italian patrons constructed galleries and gardens to better display and accommodate their educated guests. One notable example is the Borghese family in Rome, whose family collection is still considered one of the richest in the world.

³³ The use of the term 'art historical' refers to a modern concept that officially evolved as a discipline several decades after the events we are discussing, and therefore points to the emergence of the study of art history as a result of the cultural and social changes that occurred in Europe. During the Renaissance, the art community witnessed the writings of Vasari who wrote on the artists and schools of Italian art; while the eighteenth-century saw the emergence of collectors and intellectuals such as Winkelmann who were influenced by the Enlightenment practice of systems and methodology in exploring the world around them; thus becoming a system for classifying and discussing the evolution of art. The practice which took shape in the display arrangements of the Louvre presents a culmination of the Enlightenment's often scientific approach to the world; artworks having been grouped by geographical location, artistic school (often regional) and then chronological in order to demonstrate the evolution of art in Western Europe. For further discussion on the history of the discipline consult Patricia Emison, *The Shaping of Art History: meditations on a discipline* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University, 2008). In Italy, the institution of art history developed following unification as another means of protecting their cultural legacy as discussed by Laura Iamurri, 'Art History in Italy: Connoisseurship, Academic Scholarship and the Protection of Cultural Heritage' in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*, M. Rampley, T. Lenain, H. Locher, A. Pinotti, C. Schoell-Glass and K. Zijlmans, Eds. (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2012): 393-406.

The Borghese collection finds its beginnings in the sixteenth century under Cardinal Scipione Borghese who, as Cardinal-nephew to his uncle Pope Paul V (1605-1621), acquired and renovated the Villa Mondragone and Taverna – later to become the Villa Borghese. Like other contemporary newly aristocratic families, the Borghese family sought social advancement through marriages with prominent, long-standing noble Roman families, alliances with Phillip II of Spain and seats within the Papacy.³⁴ As a result, they gradually acquired property, offices, titles and the funds necessary to become patrons of the arts. Scipione is responsible for the establishment of the majority of the painting collection in the Galleria Terrena (Palazzo Borghese) and the construction and building of the Casino in the villa, to serve expressly as a museum for the statuary. Therefore, when the age of the Grand Tour was at its peak,³⁵ in the eighteenth-century, the collection was already established and became a popular site for tourists with the help of Princess Agnese Borghese. Often referred to as a gracious host, the Princess Borghese impressed her guests with her involvement in all aspects of life and was respected by politicians and artists alike. Described by the French politician, Charles de Brosses, as ‘amiable, lively, spirited, elegant, with a pleasing face,’³⁶ her qualities and their praise served only to further the popularity of the Borghese family and by extension its collections. Travel writers had already begun to voice their praise by 1760, as in the case of William Patoun in *Advice of Travel in Italy*. A Scottish painter, connoisseur and guide, Patoun stated;

The Roman nobility are very civil to strangers of distinction. The families to whom the English commonly have letters are the Borghese, Barberini, Corsini and Giustiniani.³⁷

³⁴ Further information about the Borghese family history during this period can be found in Anthony Majanlahti, *The Families Who Made Rome: A History and a Guide* (London: Pimlico, 2006) and Carole Paul, *The Borghese Collection and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008).

³⁵ The age of the Grand Tour is often allocated to the period from about 1660 to the early 1800’s. Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

³⁶ Charles de Brosses, *Le Président de Brosses en Italie*, Ed. R. Colomb, 2ed., 2 vols (Paris: P. Didier et Cie, 1869):187 in Carole Paul, *The Borghese Collection and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008): 8.

³⁷ William Patoun, *Advice on Travel in Italy* (1766) in Carole Paul, *The Borghese Collection and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008): 9.

When Marcantonio IV (1730-1800), son of Princess Agnese, inherited the family collection, he became the ‘leader of a family that had placed itself, in less than two centuries, among the most powerful of Roman nobility.’³⁸ Upon inheriting the collection, he commissioned Antonio Asprucci Marcantonio to renovate and re-decorate the interior design of the Casino Nobile, in the villa, and the Galleria Terrena, in the palazzo. The project took place from 1765 to 1767 and was intended to coincide with the increasing number of visitors to the collection. Marcantonio recognized the importance of the collection in the eyes of the Grand Tourists and, therefore, this project can be seen as a desire to make the display of artworks in the Casino and Galleria Terrena more effective and accommodating to the growing number of art pilgrims.

This collection and its display demonstrate that by the mid-eighteenth-century there had developed an active interest, within learned communities, in encouraging artistic and cultural discourse among patrons and the social elite. Families and individuals were investing in the overall presentation of their artworks for the purpose of displaying their wealth and social standing, and, furthermore, for educating the public. However, it should be noted that this ‘public’ was still limited to those individuals with high social standing – that is, those with title and perhaps wealth, for it was in the interest of the host to welcome such individuals as part of their own social elevation. Carole Paul points out that the manner in which artworks were displayed changed dramatically during the 1700’s from a style labelled as the ‘mixed school’ to that of a more historical and chronological interest, both of which pertained to the display of paintings.³⁹ In comparison, sculpture was generally displayed thematically in gardens and in some cases in interiors decorated expressly to house the work in question.⁴⁰ The ‘mixed school’ was exactly what the name suggests; the paintings were displayed without any distinction between artistic schools and styles, but it did differentiate between genres (ie. portrait, landscape, historical, etc.), much like the

³⁸ Paul, (2008): 64.

³⁹ Ibid, 16-17.

⁴⁰ The thematic display of sculpture in galleries and gardens was a practice adopted by many patron families of the arts including the Borghese, Medici and of course the Papacy – Julius II’s collection later to contribute to the establishment of the Pio-Clementino. Carole Paul, “Introduction” in *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th and Early 19th Century Europe* (LA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012): 8-9.

Gallery of Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga pictured in figure 1.1. In this manner viewers could partake in what Andrew McClellan described as ‘comparative viewing’, whereby the viewer could further his/her own education by partaking in discussions on artistic theory and history.⁴¹ Keeping in mind that the individuals viewing the collections were members of the upper class and therefore were well educated in classical history, art history and language as part of their upbringing, then this type of display served to further education by encouraging reflection and conversation. In other words, these semi-public spaces became theatres ‘for the enactment of an enlightened aristocratic ideal, [and] for the exercise of courtesy and polite conversation.’⁴²



Figure 1.1 – *Galleria del cardinale Silvio Valenti Gonzaga*, Giovanni Paolo Panini, 1749

Further to the wealthy tourists were the aspiring artists from across Europe who travelled to Italy in order to study the ancient masters; among them were Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825) in 1785, Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Wicar (1762-1834) in 1785 with

⁴¹ Paul (2008): 17.

⁴² Ibid, 3.

David where he remained until joining the French army as a Commissioner, and Jean-Simon Berthélemy in 1770-74.⁴³ Evidence of France's encouragement of this type of study is perhaps most notable in the French Academy's Grand Prix, or Prix de Rome; whereby the victors of the annual history painting competition were awarded three or five years of study in Rome, all at the government's expense.⁴⁴ These two movements set the stage for the developments that were to occur in the early nineteenth-century.

Before moving forward to the discussion of the Louvre, I would first like to point out some developments in sculpture collections as well as the establishment of more public institutions in Italy, among them the *Museo Capitolino* (1734, Rome), the *Pio-Clementino* (1771, Vatican) and the Uffizi gallery (1765, Florence). While the focus of this thesis will, for the most part, focus on painting collections, an understanding of sculpture collections will also provide insight into the idea of a museum and collections designed for public display. While the Borghese collection was open to the public, it was nevertheless a private collection and therefore entry relied on the permission of the Borghese family. The *Museo Capitolino* and *Pio-Clementino* were designed as public museums and were intended to be viewed by all. In the case of the *Capitolino*, the museum was built expressly to hold the collection of sculptures bought by Pope Clement XII from Cardinal Alessandro Albani. Therefore, if the sculpture collection was acquired in order to build a civic institution, then it suggests that there was a recognition among contemporaries of the importance of cultural property. It had long been believed within the art community that the antiquities of Greece and Rome were the best and purest form of subject for study, as artists could learn art in its most ideal form. So much so that many art academies in other European countries began to request plaster casts of the most celebrated antiquities, and to undertake their own excavations and acquisitions in Italy. For instance, Francis Haskell points out that the aforementioned French Academy was opened in Rome for French artists, by Louis XIV, so as to 'extend to French artists the advantages which had long

⁴³ Gilles Bertrand, *Le Grand Tour Revisite, pour une archéologie du tourisme: le voyage des français en Italie, milieu XVIIIe siècle* (Rome : Ecole Française de Rome, 2008): 164-65, 169.

⁴⁴ Simon Lee, *David* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1999): 21-22.

been available to the Italians.⁴⁵ A small collection of bronze and plaster casts was created within the academy to further the education of French artists, and eventually extended to acquiring originals through Roman families, who parted with the works for reasons of financial strain or an interest in art dealership and connoisseurship. In the case of the Albani collection, Haskell explains that the Cardinal ‘was as much concerned with selling as with buying;’ thus, when the antique sculpture collection went on the market there was a fear that the works would be divided and bought by a foreign power – that is, beyond the limits of the peninsula, namely countries like England and France. Pope Clement XII’s acquisition ensured that these works would remain in Italy. Furthermore, the location of the Capitoline, which was to house the collection, was built on what was believed to be the location of the political centre of ancient Rome. Therefore, the *Capitolino* and the Albani collection within it, came to hold both political and cultural significance to Rome and Italy, and soon became the site of two art academies – French and Italian.

The Pope’s acquisition was in reaction to a very real threat to cultural patrimony that, as a result of the Grand Tour, had become a regular occurrence on the peninsula. While the Grand Tour encouraged cultural discourse within the aristocratic community, it also allowed tourists to witness the results and findings of archeological explorations, not to mention the Great Masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance. In the mid-1700’s the licensing then in force meant that ‘the popes were entitled to one-third of any excavation carried out within their dominions and could also prevent the export of any other specific pieces which were considered to be of great importance.’⁴⁶ While the more famous works remained in Italy, a significant number of antiques were removed from Italy by foreigners, many of them English, for their own collections. As an example, Haskell points to the dealings of Thomas Jenkins and Gavin Hamilton,⁴⁷ both rich Englishmen, who shipped large quantities of antique sculpture to add to their own

⁴⁵ Francis Haskell, *Taste and the Antique: the Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*, (London: Yale University Press, 1981): 37.

⁴⁶ Carlo Pietrangeli, “Il Museo Clementino Vaticano”, *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, (Rendiconti, 1951-2, XXVII): 89-90. As quoted in Francis Haskell, *Taste and the Antique*, (London: Yale University Press, 1981): 66-67.

⁴⁷ See Brendan Cassidy, *The Life & Letters of Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798). Artist & Dealer in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (London and Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012).

collections. Recalling Cardinal Albani's earlier actions involving the collection bought for the *Capitolino*, we remember that this prominent individual while being an art collector also sought to increase his purse and did so by aiding the sale and acquisition of antiques for such foreign collectors. The regulations in place to prevent the loss of cultural property did succeed in protecting some of the more famous works, however many were still lost to foreign acquisition.

The combination of lack of funds, previous acquisitions and further excavations allowed for the export of some renowned works from antiquity, among them a marble vase, the *Cincinnatus* and the *Belvedere Antinous*. The marble vase excavated in 1771 was purchased and restored through the patronage of Sir William Hamilton, and was later sold to the Earl of Warwick. As a result of copies made on a reduced scale by various artists, the vase soon become one of the most 'famous antique marble vase[s] after those in the Borghese and Medici collections,' soon to be sought after by the French Committee of Public Instruction and Napoleon.⁴⁸ The *Cincinnatus* and the *Belvedere Antinous* found their fame in the collections of Lord Shelburne in London. The former was excavated in 1769 and the latter in 1771 by Gavin Hamilton, neither of which were purchased by Pope Clement XIV; thus, resulting in their shipment to England. While both statues were held in high regard within the cultural community, the acquisition of two similar statues in the Papal collection meant that the Pope was not inclined to purchase.⁴⁹ Acquisitions by the English resulted in greater, more prominent collections; however, none could rival the public collections visited by Grand Tourists traveling in the home country of these collections.

Essentially, antiquities were considered to be the highest form of art, ideal for educational purposes and examples of cultural wealth; when they could not be acquired or removed from their homeland, casts were ordered to replicate them, or, as an alternative, the collector would seek works from Renaissance artists. Cathleen

⁴⁸ In addition, the continental campaigns, the French and Napoleonic government had also planned a British campaign. Similar to previous campaigns, the French commissioners had an idea of the what artworks could be acquired from such a campaign. Francis Haskell, *Taste and the Antique*, (London: Yale University Press, 1981): 67.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 68.

Hoeniger, along with many scholars, stresses the importance of such works in that while the sculptures of Ancient Greece and Rome were the most revered artworks during the Renaissance and once again during the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries, they were not always available. In such cases a ‘modern’ painting or sculpture in the classical style from the Renaissance and Baroque period could act as a model for artistic production, particularly those that followed the ancients more closely in terms of style. Furthermore, ‘the desire to acquire Raphael’s art, in particular, can be associated with the French academic tradition and with the role of Raphael’s paintings in the royal collection [...]. French academic writers followed Vasari’s view that Raphael was the best artist to imitate because he had drawn on a rich variety of sources.’⁵⁰ Thus, in the decades leading up to the creation of the Louvre, there was a strong taste for antique sculpture and Renaissance works that followed closely the style of Ancient Greece and Rome. This taste, as we shall see, had a direct impact on both the artworks confiscated and later repatriated on the Italian peninsula over the course of the Napoleonic wars.

1.2 – The birth of the Louvre

At first glance, the decision to transform the *Palais du Louvre* into a national museum in 1792 may seem to be based purely on convenience; however, this designation holds a far deeper meaning. Having been a Royal palace since the twelfth century, it continued to remain a symbol of the monarchy even after Louis XIV moved the court to Versailles in 1682; therefore, the transformation of the Louvre into a public institution would come to symbolize the triumph of the people over the monarchy. In turn, ‘the museum would be a national monument, affirming at one and the same time the “will of the nation.”’⁵¹ The art collected by the Republic and its generals was not only used to create a museum presenting the history of art for educational purposes, but also became the centre for the age-old war ritual of pillaging art from conquered

⁵⁰ Hoeniger (2011), 178.

⁵¹ McClellan (1994), 91-2.

territories. Keeping in mind that this form of pillaging differed greatly from previous wars in that many works were acquired through treaties and legal documents, it is evident that the French government was conscious of the power the Louvre could hold as a symbol of military victory and political power. While the treaties and legal documents, such as the Treaty of Tolentino (1797), will be discussed in a later chapter, I would like to point out that the French revolutionary government's confiscations were planned and deliberate when the First Italian Campaign began. Furthermore, from 1793-1807, the type of art acquired changed: 'in the early days of the Louvre, the policy was to acquire only works [...] "suitable to serve as models for artists to study" [and a little more than a decade later] the public was being assured that the restrictive barriers associated with connoisseurship had been dismantled, and that even works that did not qualify as examples for artists to study would now be included.'⁵² In effect, Napoleon sought to legalize and rationalize cultural plunder as a symbol of military victory and political power, requiring the conquered to sign away the right to their own patrimony.

Regardless of the actions taken by Napoleon to secure the artworks for France, it is important to keep in mind that these initial orders stemmed from the Revolutionary Government's Committee of Public Instruction. The collapse of the monarchy on 10 August, 1792, marked the beginning of the Louvre project with the National Assembly taking an active interest in accelerating the renovation of the palace and the creation of a museum to house the arts. The decree of August 19, of the same year, announced;

L'Assemblée nationale, considérant qu'il importe de réunir dans le Museum les tableaux et autres monuments relatifs aux Beaux-Arts qui se trouvent épars en divers lieux, décrète qu'il y a urgence.⁵³

Noting that there was no specification as to the geographical limits of these locations only that works will be brought together, France's Minister of the Interior, Jean-Marie Roland, who was first in charge of the museum project, created the *Commission du Muséum* in September 1792. The *Commission* consisted of a panel of six men, five artists- J.-B. Regnault, F.-A. Vincent, N.-J.-R. Jollain, J. Cossard and Pierre Pasquier –

⁵² Hans Belting, *The Invisible Masterpiece*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001): 32-3.

⁵³ Tuetey and Giuffrey (1910), 23.

and one mathematician – C. Bossut.⁵⁴ The panel's sole charge was to renovate the *Palais du Louvre* and create a national museum using the artworks they believed to have 'liberated' from the Royal collections. From the beginning, before the victories in Italy, the idea of what this new institution would symbolize and become was clear. In a letter to Jacques-Louis David, Roland states his intentions;

Ce Muséum doit être le développement des grandes richesses [...] il doit nourrir le goût des Beaux-arts, recréer les amateurs et servir d'école aux artistes. Il doit être ouvert à tous le monde, [...] ce monument sera national, et il ne sera pas un individu qui n'ait droit d'en jouir. [...] La France doit étendre sa gloire sur tous les temps et sur tous les peuples; le Muséum national sera l'élément des plus belles connaissances, et fera l'admiration de l'univers. D'après ces idées grandes, dignes d'un peuple libre [...] le Muséum [...] sera l'un des plus puissants moyens d'illustrer la République française.⁵⁵

The grand ideas of the French Revolution and its republic were *Liberté, Egalité, and Fraternité*; ideals which revolutionaries sought to uphold. Therefore, in order to become 'among the most powerful illustrations of the French Republic'⁵⁶ the museum also needed to uphold these ideas. In liberating the arts and making the institution accessible to the public, the museum would become a powerful symbol of the Revolution, both of which the *Commission du Muséum* sought to achieve in the opening years of the new Republic.

As a result of the events of 1792-3 and the threat of Royalist conspiracy,⁵⁷ the Revolution experienced a radical shift in government and witnessed the creation of various Committees in order to ensure the survival of the Revolution and the new Republic. Among these committees was the Committee of Public Instruction (CPI) which sought to educate the French people and 'regenerate a society along Republican

⁵⁴ McClellan (1994), 93.

⁵⁵ 'Lettre de M. Roland, ministre de l'Intérieur à M. David, peintre, député à la Convention nationale, du 17 octobre 1792, l'an 1^{er} de la République française' *Le Moniteur Universel* (22 octobre 1792).

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 91.

⁵⁷ The autumn of 1792 through to the spring of 1793 witnessed a series of tumultuous events that culminated with the execution of King Louis XVI on 21 January, 1793. Other influential events included peasant uprisings which sought the support of the 'Royal Catholic Army' in the spring of 1793, as well as the threat of allied forces – namely Belgium and Prussia – along France's eastern borders. A detailed breakdown of these events can be found in Colin Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1990): 24-32.

lines.⁵⁸ Dominique Garat's appointment as Minister of the Interior in April 1793 had a positive contribution to the development of the museum, as he encouraged the Convention to invest in the new institution and in the organization of a festival to celebrate the first anniversary of the Republic, on 10 August 1793. Although there continued to remain negative public opinion, Boissy d'Anglas' argument in year II (1793-1794) – 'it is by educating a man [...] that you will regenerate him in a manner complete and absolute,'⁵⁹ – continued to prove a powerful force within the new government. Furthermore, in making the official opening of the Louvre August 10, 1793, the same day as the Festival of National Unity (first Anniversary of the Republic), the Convention highlighted the importance of the museum as a symbol of the Republic and a top priority within the new government and cultural society. However, the increasing interest in centralizing control brought about a series of debates which resulted in the elimination of the *Commission du Museum*. In the forefront of these debates were Jacques-Louis David's arguments concerning the restoration, and the choice and arrangement of works of art. A prominent neo-classical artist, David became an important figure in the revolution, elected into the National Convention in 1794 and later nominated into the Committee of the Public Instruction. In his report from April 1794 (Nivôse, an II) he accuses the current commission of neglect and puts forward a solution to the problem;

Ceux qui composent la commission actuelle ont perdu plusieurs chefs-d'œuvre en employant des hommes inhabiles pour les réparer. Pour se convaincre de cette vérité, il faut lire les observations sur le muséum, publiées par les citoyens les plus éclairés de l'Europe dans cette partie. [...] Que la Convention se hâte de réparer les torts de la malveillance et de l'ignânerie [sic]; qu'elle confie promptement à des artistes, aussi éclairés que patriotes, le soin de conserver et de transmettre à la postérité les sublimes travaux des grands artistes de tous les pays.

C'est ainsi qu'elle rendra l'Europe entière tributaire de son génie et en n'offrant aux jeunes élèves des arts que de beaux modèles, l'on

⁵⁸ McClellan (1994), 94.

⁵⁹ Boissy d'Anglas, *Essai sur les fêtes nationales suivi de quelques idées sur les arts* (Paris, an II): 5 in Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 96.

verra bientôt disparaître ce goût factice et manière qui a caractérisé jusqu'à présent presque tous les maîtres de l'école française.⁶⁰

This report not only outlines the problems of the current Commission, but also demonstrates the level of interest and concern the *Convention Nationale* had for the museum and the masterpieces held within. In publishing the report and its decree, the Convention appealed to the French people; thus, making them directly involved in the establishment of the Louvre and in the collection and conservation of artworks. David argued that as a result of the *Commission du Muséum's* failure to restore and choose appropriate works of art, 'the Louvre, that "temple of liberty," was a source not of glory to the Republic, but of shame.'⁶¹ In a second report he reminds the nation's citizens of the importance of the Museum both to the arts and the public;

Ne vous y trompez pas, citoyens, le Muséum n'est point un vain rassemblement d'objets de luxe ou de frivolité, qui ne doivent servir qu'à satisfaire la curiosité. Il faut qu'il devienne une école imposante. Les instituteurs y conduiront leurs jeunes élèves; le père y mènera son fils. Le jeune homme, à la vue des productions du génie, sentira naître en lui le genre d'art ou de science auquel l'appela la nature.

Il en est temps, législateurs, arrêtez l'ignorance au milieu de sa course, enchaînez ses mains, sauvez le Muséum, sauvez les productions qu'un souffle peut anéantir, et que la nature avare reproduirait peut-être jamais.⁶²

In explaining that the museum is not simply a collection of frivolous or luxury objects and inserting the word '*citoyens*' the purpose of the museum is clarified – it will become an imposing school, for both artists and the public. Finally, the *Commission du Muséum* was disbanded and under Article VI of the Convention's decree, the responsibility of

⁶⁰ Jacques-Louis David, *Convention Nationale, Rapport sur la suppression de la Commission du Museum* (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1794): 4-5; in *Pièces Diverses sur David, membre de la Convention pour le département de Paris, Peintre de l'Empereur*. Collection historique de M. Ch. Renard (Caen, 1854).

⁶¹ McClellan (1994), 104.

⁶² Jacques-Louis David, *Second Rapport sur la nécessité de la suppression de la Commission du Museum, fait au nom des Comités d'Instruction publique et des finances, par David, député du département de Paris. Dans la séance du 27 Nivôse, l'an II de la République française*. (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1794): 4-5; in *Pièces Diverses sur David, membre de la Convention pour le département de Paris, Peintre de l'Empereur*. Collection historique de M. Ch. Renard (Caen, 1854).

the museum fell under both the CPI – overall direction – and the Minister of the Interior – for all administrative responsibilities.⁶³

The new administration saw a renewed interest in pursuing the idea of the museum as an educational institution and a ‘temple of liberty’, most notably with the authorization of official art confiscation in June 1794. Beginning in the Germanic states, the *Commissions temporaires des Arts* (CTA) – consisting of 4 members, Jean-Baptiste Pierre Lebrun, Abbé Grégoire, A.-C. Besson and Casimir Varon – were charged with preparing instructions and lists of artworks to be acquired from conquered territories.⁶⁴ Building on the experience of these confiscations and the revolutionary ideals of liberty and equality, the confiscations sought to liberate works from private collections,⁶⁵ making them accessible to the public, and make Paris the new capital of the art world. A concept further realized when the Revolutionary war turned towards the Italian peninsula in 1796 under the command of General Napoleon Bonaparte. With him were five commissioners; Claude-Louis Berthollet (chemist), Gaspard Monge (mathematician), Andre Thouin and J.-J. de la Billardière (botanists), and J.-S. Barthélemy (painter) later to be assisted by artists Jean-Baptiste Wicar and Antoine-Jean Gros.

A combination of personal experiences from the Grand Tour, collections of travel guides and common historical studies contributed to the final compilation of artworks to be confiscated. However, the commissioners made their final decisions based on one of two criteria: ‘first, celebrity, second rarity. In the first category those canonical paintings and sculptures esteemed the world over.’⁶⁶ In discerning between the two categories, I draw your attention to two examples; the first, Raphael’s *Transfiguration* (1516-20, oil on wood, Vatican) and the second, the *Apollo Belvedere* (2nd Century AD, marble, Vatican). Painted during the High Renaissance by an artist revered for his ability to recapture “the spirit of ancient art,” the *Transfiguration* is a

⁶³ David, *Second Rapport (1794)* in *Pièces Diverses sur David* (1854): 9.

⁶⁴ McClellan (1994), 114. See also Cecil Gould and Paige Goodwin.

⁶⁵ Recall that those works not located in churches or public spaces would have been largely private. Works in galleries were most often only available to invited guests and therefore a large portion of the educated ‘public’ would not have been able to visit the paintings; they were in their opinion private.

⁶⁶ McClellan (1994), 119.

perfect example of this canon; thus, in ‘acquiring his masterpieces for the Louvre would increase the respectability and importance of that institution, both in terms of a display of national pride and a centre for the education of young artists.’⁶⁷ While Raphael remained truthful to the ancients, the works of Ancient Greece and Rome held an equal if not greater value – particularly in the case of those with literary evidence – as a result, the *Apollo Belvedere* is a great example of a work sought after for its rarity. Haskell explains that the disputed origins of the sculpture, by contemporary scholars, were either Apollo’s oracle at Delphi where it was removed by Augustus, or an attribution to Kalamis, as was made by Pliny.⁶⁸ Both of which would have been a point of interest on the nobleman’s tour of the peninsula.

In addition to common historical knowledge of the artworks from Italy and a pre-existing set of criteria, the Grand Tour and the subsequent publication of guidebooks proved a valuable source for choosing works and determining their location, further proof that the French knew in advance what they wanted. As with today, the purpose of a guidebook is to provide an introduction to an area’s sights, history and culture; those of the eighteenth-century were no different. While they are generally much longer, they nevertheless provide a unique description of the country’s, or this case the peninsula’s, cultural treasures. Suggested as a possible reference for Thouin and his fellow commissioners, Joseph Jérôme le Français de Lalande’s *Voyage d’un Français en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 et 1766* (Paris, 1769) provides a detailed overview of each of Italy’s major cities with a discussion of their society, history, geography and arts. The volumes progress geographically from France with several chapters, and in the case of Rome volumes, dedicated to major cities and historical centres. Furthermore, subtitles are made in the margins in order to facilitate the reader’s experience. As a tool for the *Commissionaires*, this guidebook and others like it were designed in such a way that the arts were organized by location and artist so that visitors were given step-by-step instructions to some of the most revered works

⁶⁷ Hoeniger (2011), 177.

⁶⁸ Haskell (1981), 149-50.

of art.⁶⁹ For instance, in his chapter on Milan, entitled '*Sculpture et Tableaux*,' Lalande marks Raphael in the margins and provides a concise and alluring description of 'le canton de l'école d'Athènes [...] de la même grandeur que celle qu'il a peinte au Vatican, morceau très-précieux.'⁷⁰ In volume 8 and the Veneto, Veronese's esteemed *Marriage at Cana* (1562-3) is found in Chapter 10 *Autres Eglises*, where it is described as 'une grande machine et l'un des plus beaux ouvrages de ce Peintre.'⁷¹ The fame of these two artists and their respective works, as evident in their special mention in the guidebook, suggests that the commissioners would have been more likely to use such resources as a reference for locating the works during the confiscations.

These resources, however, were nothing compared to the practice France received in confiscating art in Belgium and the Germanic states, which ultimately meant that by the time General Bonaparte began in his First Italian Campaign in the spring of 1796, art confiscation had reached an entirely new level. Believing that they were 'liberating' Europe, and by extension its art, the Revolutionary government instructed its Commissioners to waste no time in cataloguing the works in prominent collections and cities. Although the Commissioners travelled to Italy with the French army, it was ultimately Napoleon's responsibility to see to the official confiscation with the help of his troops. However, being an opportunist, the General wasted no time in adopting a more formal approach which stipulated the surrender of works through treaties and legal documents. This ensured a legal change of ownership and would cause significant problems during the process of repatriation. Furthermore, this method ensured a civil surrender of art signifying a positive image, as opposed to theft which has a negative image. Although these treaties will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter, I would like to provide one example for the purpose of our current discussion. As part of an armistice signed with the Duke of Parma on 9 May 1796, the following was agreed;

⁶⁹ The use and influence of guidebooks will be discussed in chapter 5 with regards to the popularity of certain artists in the list of confiscated paintings. Of interest are the writings by Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1771) and M. l'Abbe Richard (1766).

⁷⁰ Joseph Jérôme le Français de Lalande, *Voyage d'un Français en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 et 1766*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1769): 307.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 130.

Le 9 mai au matin, l'armistice fut signé à Plaisance. Le duc paya deux millions en argent, versa dans les magasins de l'armée une grande quantité de blé, d'avoine, etc., fournit 1,600 chevaux d'artillerie ou de cavalerie, [...]. C'est dans cette occasion que Napoléon imposa une contribution d'objets d'art pour le musée de Paris: c'est le premier exemple de ce genre qu'on rencontre dans l'histoire moderne. Parme fournit vingt tableaux, au choix des commissaires français; parmi eux se trouva le fameux *Saint Jérôme*. Le duc fit proposer deux millions pour conserver ce tableau; les agents de l'armée étaient fort de cette opinion. Le général en chef dit qu'il ne resterait bientôt plus rien des deux millions qu'on lui donnerait, tandis que la possession d'un pareil chef-d'œuvre à Paris ornerait cette capitale pendant des siècles et enfanterait d'autres chefs-d'œuvre.⁷²

This extract originates from Napoleon's *Mémoires* which were written before his death during his exile in Saint Helena. These accounts were dictated by Napoleon and were written in the third person in order that they may be presented as a historical account of the events of the French campaigns; though only three of them were to be completed. While the material used in the writing of these memoirs is a combination of personal letters, campaign documents, newspaper articles both English and French, and any other publications about the Emperor; the fact remains that the publication is biased in that it provides the French perspective. However, with regards to accuracy, these memoirs are based on the primary sources of the campaign documents and correspondence that would have been necessary for their success. The precision, sources and personal accounts of Napoleon's interest in presenting an historical account of the campaigns suggest that while the bias remains in favour of the French, there is nevertheless a strong degree of accuracy, as will become further evident in later references to this publication.

Returning to the above extract on the description of the armistice, Napoleon lists the various military contributions and then refers to the artworks separately; furthermore, he mentions that this method of acquisition is the first of its kind in modern history. The responsibilities of each individual are clearly stated; Napoleon includes a

⁷² Napoléon Bonaparte, *Mémoires de Napoléon, La Campagne d'Italie*, Thierry Lentz, Ed. (Paris: Éditions Tallandier, 2010) : 89-90.

section in the treaty for the contribution of twenty paintings from the city and the commissioners are to make the selection. In addition to the aforementioned allocations, Napoleon reveals his opinion on the glory and importance Correggio's painting of *Saint Jerome* would bring to Paris when he states that while the two million in coin paid by the Duke of Parma will soon run out, the masterpiece will honour the capital and give birth to new works for centuries. Thus, in 1796 the value of Italy's masterpieces were two-fold; first, they would honour and glorify the city as the 'new' capital of the arts and, second, they would inspire and educate artists to give birth to new masterpieces.

By 1798, the cleverly executed military victories and treaties signed by various Italian states in northern Italy, resulted in the removal of just under 200 paintings and 100 sculptures from the Italian cities; including Bologna, Milan, Modena, Parma, Perugia, Rome and the Vatican, Venice and Verona. In Paris, the arrival of these acquisitions coincided with the fifth anniversary of the Louvre, which had officially opened its doors in 1793. After the long and costly process of shipping the works to Paris, the third convoy's arrival was soon after commemorated with a triumphal procession throughout the city on 27 July 1798. An engraving by Prieur and Berthault (figure 1.2), depicts this event and some of the more notable masterpieces, among them the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Venus de' Medici*, and the *Laocöon* from Rome, and the *Four Horses of San Marco* from Venice.



Figure 1.2 - *Triumphal Entry of Work of Art Taken from Italy- July 27, 1798, Prieur and Berthault*

Essentially, this procession was another propaganda exercise. The *Fêtes de la Liberté*'s programme, published by the National Convention in 1798, provides a clear layout of the festivities and the extent of the celebration and procession. Among the carts carrying the crated prized works of Italy, ornamented by banners and garlands, were prominent artists, apprentices, a military detachment and not least of whom were the Commissioners sent to Italy. Of particular interest is the banner accompanying the *Four Bronze Horses* from Venice; the inscription reading: 'Chevaux transportés de Corinthe à Rome, et de Rome à Constantinople; de Constantinople à Venise, et de Venise en France. Ils seront enfin sur une Terre Libre.'⁷³ Whereas the cities of their

⁷³ *Fêtes de la Liberté, et entrée triomphale des objets de sciences et d'arts recueillis en Italie.* Programme. (Paris: l'Imprimerie de la République, 1798, Thermidor an VI) : 7. See also Gould (1965), 65.

previous destinations are used to identify their location; the organizing committee has used 'France' rather than 'Paris' when in fact the bronze horses were to remain in the capital. This may have been a generalization on their part; however, it could also have been a ploy to create unity within the new Republic. In displaying the acquired works within a triumphal procession the French government was appealing to the people's continued support, but what they did not realize was that these trophies also spoke to Napoleon's successes far more clearly than any report. Throughout the Italian Campaign the *Moniteur Universel* had kept the public up-to-date of the successes of the Italian army. General reports, political correspondence by Bonaparte as well as other French and Italian delegates were published daily for the public. The French newspaper's 25 January 1797 issue is one example of the praise given to Bonaparte's initiatives;

On regarde cette place comme le *palladium* de l'esclavage de la Lombardie, et l'on croit que, dès qu'elle sera tombée, la liberté renaîtra. Les patriotes italiens dont des vœux ardents pour les succès du général Bonaparte, dont le génie les a sauvés plus d'une fois. Ils soupirent après le moment où ils pourront substituer au titre de conquérant, commun à tous les héros, celui de libérateur, qui, selon l'expression d'un poète, ne convient qu'aux dieux.⁷⁴

While this particular update does not refer to the acquired trophies, it nevertheless presents an esteemed view of the Général-en-Chef and his efforts to liberate the Italian states. Essentially, these trophies were proof of the successes on the Italian peninsula, and their arrival in Paris added both to the museum's collection as well as to the building of a common national idea and the concept of Paris as the new Rome. This last point evidenced in the opening pages of the Louvre's catalogue of 1797 which outlines the merits of a collection in Paris; 'ce complément de la récolte faite par les Commissaires en Italie [...] dans quell autre lieu de monde pourrait-on voir réunis la Carton de l'Ecoles d'Athenes, la Transfiguration [...] et que serait-ce si à ces chefs-d'oeuvres l'administration eût pu joinder plusieurs autres morceaux du premier ordre.'⁷⁵

⁷⁴ 'Politique: Italie: Milan, le 1^{er} janvier', *Le Moniteur Universel*, 25 January 1797, 101. Accessed 3 June 2013. <<http://archive.org/stream/gazettenationale17971panc#page/500/mode/2up>>.

⁷⁵ *Notice des principaux tableaux recueillis en Italie par les commissaires du gouvernement français, seconde partie* (Paris: L'imprimerie des Sciences et Arts, 1797): vi.

1.3 – *The debate concerning art plunder*

In light of this discussion it must be noted that while the practice of art plunder frequently found supporters within the populace in their recognition of these objects as trophies of war; it was often met with opposition by learned contemporaries who advocated against these practices. Among these individuals was Antoine Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849), an archeologist and architectural theorist actively involved in the revolution and the Committee of Public Instruction. Of particular interest to this discussion are his series of letters to General Francisco de Miranda from 1796 which deal primarily with the issues concerning ‘revolutionary vandalism’ and encompass a variety of perspectives.⁷⁶ His main argument addressed the concept of context, arguing that ‘the loss of context [...] demolished the possibility of scientific interest in the works [and therefore] the supposedly universal museum of the Louvre, far from embodying the project of the Enlightenment actually threatened its very existence.’⁷⁷ Quatremère de Quincy speaks of the order of nature; having been placed in its site of origin by nature itself, the plundering of art was actually disrupting nature. In the case of Italy, and specifically the artwork of Rome ‘a été placé là par l’ordre même de la nature, qui veut qu’il ne puisse exister que là – le pays fait lui-même partie du muséum.’⁷⁸ In support of this argument we can turn to the Antiquities of Rome as examples; excavated directly from Italy’s natural foundations they are none other than a piece of Italy, or at least as close as one can get to its ancient heritage.

In August 1796 Quatremère de Quincy formulated a petition against the removal of art from Italy by the Directoire; among those signing were Jacques-Louis David, Dominique-Vivant Denon⁷⁹ (1747-1825) and Jacques-Guillaume Legrand

⁷⁶ Dominique Poulot, ‘The Cosmopolitanism of masterpieces’ in *Letters to Miranda and Canova on the Abduction of Antiquities from Rome and Athens*, Chris Miller and David Gilks, Trs. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012): 10.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 20.

⁷⁸ “Was placed by order of nature itself, that wishes it will exist only there: the country is itself part of the museum.” (Personal translation) Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres à Miranda sur le Déplacements des Monuments de l’Art de l’Italie*, (Paris: Editions Macula, 1989): 101.

⁷⁹ Dominique-Vivant Denon is an important figure in the history of confiscation for his role as Director-General of the Louvre. He was an artist, traveller, diplomat across the reign of several French monarchs from Louis XV and was soon favoured by Napoleon, which is argued to have been a result Denon’s interest in Egypt Expedition of 1798. His importance to this discussion, however, is most

(1753-1807).⁸⁰ However, in response to this petition a counter-petition by Charles-Joseph Trouvé was published in the *Moniteur Universel* in 1796. The counter-arguments often held nationalist sentiments in its claims that the advantage of certain artists in examining masterpieces should in fact be enjoyed by everyone. Thus, ‘the French republic, by virtue of its strength, its superior enlightenment, and superior artists, is the only country in the world that can provide inviolable sanctuary for these masterpieces.’⁸¹ This argument would certainly have stemmed from the revolutionary government’s belief in their responsibility to ‘liberate’ Europe and by extension its art. On both sides of the debate, arguments can be narrowed to four key points; restoration, equality for all artists and the importance of an educational institute, and finally mitigating social schisms.

At the time of the French Revolution, restoration was often criticized for its extreme practices, including removing paintings from wooden panels and transferring them to canvasses. Martin Rosenberg’s study of *Raphael’s Transfiguration* introduces the debate concerning restoration and its place within the larger controversies relating to art plunder. This first argument concerning restoration has two aspects; first, the condition of works prior to their acquisition and their shipment, and in the second, the actual restoration process in Paris. Rosenberg, using the *Transfiguration* as an example, explains that a report, begun in Rome and completed in Paris, described the conditions of works and supported two popular French beliefs: ‘that the former owners were not fit to keep such a masterpiece, and that its transportation to France, rather than posing unnecessary danger of destruction, was an act of preservation.’⁸² The transportation of artworks from Italy to Paris was difficult, especially with the Alps as a geographical barrier. In many cases the works were transported by cart to the sea where they were then shipped to the French port of Marseille. As was the case with the first convoy that left in April 1797; ‘wagons hauled enormous crates to Leghorn, where

evident during the discussion of Imperial France and the repatriation process where he exerts all his diplomatic skill to ensure the Louvre collections remains intact and that Allied Powers do not succeed. See Gould (1965), 86-102, and *Vivant Denon, l’Impossible Négociateur de 1814-1815*, Pecout, G, Galla, D, Denon, D-V. (Dec, 1999): 497-516.

⁸⁰ Poulot (2012), 18.

⁸¹ Ibid, 19.

⁸² Rosenberg (Winter: 1985-86), 193. See also Gould (1965), 26.

they were placed on a ship to Marseilles.⁸³ However, depending on the weight and fragility of the piece, rather than being sent by carriage to Paris it would be transported on boats up the Rhône. Regardless of the means of its transportation, those against these acquisitions used these convoys to their advantage, pointing out the enormous risk involved especially if the ship transporting the cargo should be attacked.

Once in Paris, the debate focuses on restoration practices. Andrew McClellan and Cathleen Hoeniger both address these issues when discussing two of Raphael's best-known works: the *Madonna di Foligno* (1512, oil on canvas, Vatican) and the *Transfiguration*. McClellan explains that reports were made for internal consumption on the conditions of artworks and the restoration they were to undergo. The public, on the other hand, was privy to the positive reports published in the papers describing 'the extraordinary care taken by French agents in packing and transporting the republic's newly acquired artistic treasures.'⁸⁴ One such instance was published in the *Decade Philosophique* in July 1797, states; 'toutes les caisses de tableaux ont d'abord été goudronnées en dehors pour être à l'abri de toute l'humidité, puis recouvertes d'une toile cirée, ensuite emballées avec de la paille, et enfin chargées comme les caisses des statues sur des rouleaux de nattes de jonc pour les défendre des secousses.'⁸⁵ In the fall of 1793 the National Convention published a decree that called for the allocation of 100,000 *livres* to the Commission des Monuments. According to the decree, the Commission would be authorised to use these funds towards 'les dépenses relatives à [...] la conservation et le rassemblement des tableaux, statues, livres [...] ou autres objets utiles aux sciences et aux arts.'⁸⁶ This was later followed by a report written by Felix Vicq d'Azyr entitled *Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver, dans toute l'étendue de la République, tous les objets qui peuvent servir aux arts, aux*

⁸³ Quynn (April 1945), 442.

⁸⁴ Andrew McClellan, "Raphael's Foligno Madonna at the Louvre in 1800: Restoration and the Reaction at the Dawn of the Museum Age" *Art Journal* 54, 2 Conservation and Art History (Summer, 1995): 81.

⁸⁵ Monge, Bertollet, Moitte 'Details des precautions prises pour le voyage des objets d'Arts conquis en Italie par nos armees' *La Decade Philosophique* no. 29 (Paris: Au bureau de la Decade, 20 messidor an 5 [5 July 1797]): 87.

⁸⁶ Décret de la Convention nationale, du 21e jour du premier mois de l'an second de la République française, une et indivisible n^o 119 [Objets d'art et Musée] Visé par l'Inspecteur, Signé S. E. Monnel. A Chaalons, Chez Mercier, Imprimeur de Département, grande rue. (Paris : 1793) : 1.

sciences, et à l'enseignement. Proposed by the *Commission temporaires des Arts*, it was adopted by the CPI as a guideline for Louvre officials and the teams of Commissioners sent abroad to acquire artworks. The following extract, reveals the precision and care taken to carefully outline the procedures for packing and shipping artworks depending on their medium – sculpture, oil painting, oil on wood, etc.

Le transport des tableaux exige des précautions qui doivent être indiquées ici. 1^o Lorsqu'on placera des tableaux dans des caisses, on aura soin que les barres ou traverses y soient posées à une distance suffisante de la toile, pour que les balancements ne l'exposent point à être coupée; ce qui entrainerait la destruction, ou au moins da dégradation du tableau. 2^o Lorsqu'on voudra transporter de grands tableaux roulés, on y procédera comme il suit: le rouleau ou cylindre aura moins huit pouces de diamètre, et sa surface sera très-polie. En roulant les tableaux, on aura soin que la peinture, soit en dehors [...] En même temps, on placera du papier entre la peinture et la toile.⁸⁷

Of course, some of these procedures would prove disadvantageous to some works, notably Paolo Veronese's *Marriage at Cana* which will be discussed in a chapter three. Note in particular that the transportation, care and custody were of importance to the public; further evidence that this art was desired by the public and thus important to acquire as a consequence of conquest.

In the winter of 1797 a series of allegations favoured those against art plunder, but what resulted was a published detailed report with responses to several important questions; among them, the question of whether the restoration of paintings was useful or harmful. Anthèlme Marin (1758-1825), French painter turned politician, accused the Louvre and its committee of being careless with the art, insisting that 'paintings were being stored pell-mell in stairwells and humid storerooms and of others permanently damaged by incompetent restoration.'⁸⁸ While these accusations were soon put to rest with the committee's published report, it was only two years later that more rumours began to circulate at which point the museum's administration invited

⁸⁷ Felix Vicq d'Azyr, *Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de converser, dans toute l'étendue de la République, tous les objets qui peuvent servir aux arts, aux sciences, et à l'enseignement, proposée par la Commission temporaire des Arts, et adopte par le Comité d'Instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, (Paris, 1793-4, an II) : 62.

⁸⁸ McClellan (Summer, 1995), 81.

four experts from the National Institute to supervise the restoration of Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno*. McClellan draws attention to the formal report, dated December 1801, whereby the administration stated that 'restoration had made great progress in modern times, [...] and nowhere more than in Paris under the vigilant eyes of the Louvre administration.'⁸⁹ The purpose of these reports was to state the condition of the picture upon its arrival in Paris and the restoration they would undergo; in doing so the administration and by extension the government was securing further support and confidence from the people who regarded such works as a symbol of French conquest. In support of this last point, I bring your attention again to McClellan's article in which he references Millin's general dictionary and explains that a combination of the publications from the Louvre, the Institute and the aforementioned author helped to quell the controversies surrounding restoration.

As previously mentioned, Quatremère's arguments rested in the belief that art was not for the appreciation of a single individual but was to be shared and appreciated by all; artists should learn and all others should first learn, and then appreciate. Any error in restoration would only serve to help the petition against the removal of art, more so if the work was damaged on the trip to Paris. However, in absence of said errors focus was placed on the argument concerning context and the impact of art on culture. In his letters to Miranda, Quatremère stated;

C'est que, par une heureuse révolution, les arts et les sciences appartiennent à toute l'Europe, et ne sont plus la propriété exclusive d'une nation [...] l'amélioration enfin de l'espèce humaine. Tout ce qui peut concourir à cette fin appartient à tous les peuples; nul n'a le droit de se l'approprier ou d'en disposer arbitrairement.⁹⁰

In this particular statement, the argument of nature is used once again to highlight the importance of the arts on humanity. While their locations may be specific, art is for the people and not restricted to one nation and therefore no one has the right to appropriate

⁸⁹ McClellan (Summer, 1995), 83.

⁹⁰ Antoine Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettre sur le préjudice qu'occasionneraient aux arts et à la science, le déplacement des monuments de l'art et l'Italie, le démembrement de ses écoles, et la spoliation de ses collections, galeries, musées, etc.* (Paris: Desenne, 1796): 4-5.

it. In doing so they would be breaking a rule of nature and betraying the public. Before continuing I would like to specify that this reference to the ‘public’ pertains to those individuals who had the means to view the works, both financially and socially. However, when speaking of religious and civic art this definition can be broadened to include a more diverse public for in many cases access was available to many social classes through the Church.

In addressing the importance of context, Quatremère makes a strong argument in favour of cultural patrimony. In his third letter to Miranda, he asserts that to divide is to destroy and uses the fundamentals of science to prove his point;

Vous êtes trop instruit pour douter que disperser les éléments et les matériaux d’une science, ne soit le véritable moyen de détruire et de tuer la science. Si cela est, la décomposition du muséum de Rome serait la mort de toutes les connaissances dont son unité est le principe.⁹¹

Using a similar logic for a more historical perspective, we could say that Rome is a book that modern scholars seek to repair and in some cases, acquire; therefore, in removing works, the ignorant is ripping out the pages where he would find its story. In attempting to ‘save’ and restore the selected works brought to Paris, they are in fact destroying a much larger entity. He continues by explaining;

Que dans l’Europe civilisé, tous ce qui appartient à la culture des arts et des sciences, est hors des droits de la guerre et de la victoire; que tout ce qui sert à l’instruction locale ou générale des peuples doit être sacré.⁹²

To a certain degree he could be criticizing the French for being uncivilized, regardless of their own interests and beliefs in the ultimate preservation of the arts. However, the underlying argument is that art is for the people and is firmly rooted in the history and culture of the locale for which it was commissioned.

⁹¹ Quatremère de Quincy (1796), 20.

⁹² Ibid, 32.

These arguments can also be applied to the second main argument concerning the plundering of art, relating to the equality of all artists which rested largely on the necessity of creating a centralized educational establishment that could allow all artists to study the finest art in one location. While the plaster casts, commissions and royal collections would certainly have provided a good basis for their educational institute, the French artistic community lacked the diversity of Italy and therefore the education of the artist would have to continue to rely on the artist's trip to Italy, an often financially draining undergoing for a young artist. As addressed earlier in this chapter one of the main reasons for the establishment of the Louvre lay in its design as a public educational facility, much in the same way as the *Musée d'Histoire Naturelle*.⁹³ Both the Constitutions of 1791 and 1793 stipulate that the state will provide public education and in its section on the Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen states the personal right to equality of opportunity.⁹⁴ Further to the notion of equality of opportunity was the belief that the current French collections were inadequate for the training of great artists, who would in turn glorify the republic both artistically and in some cases as a propaganda tool with state commissions. As part of his arguments concerning the disbandment of the Commission des Monuments, David in his *Rapport sur la suppression de la commission de museum* stated: 'by offering young students only the most beautiful models, we will soon see the end of that mannered and artificial taste which has characterized up till now the work of every master of the French school.'⁹⁵ In this statement David is referring to the Rococo period, often associated with the French aristocracy of the eighteenth-century, and relates to a style often described as frivolous. Thus, in order to obtain a purer form of art and mark a clear difference from the art of the Ancien Regime, the new Republic needed to instruct its artists in the style of ancient Rome and the Renaissance. In the re-education of the French artists this

⁹³ The *Musée d'Histoire Naturelle* in Paris, much like the Louvre, was established in the early years of the Revolution (10 June 1793) and combined the Royal Gardens with the natural and scientific collections in an effort educate its citizens. See Bertrand Daugeron, *Collections naturalistes: entre science et empires (1763-1804)*, (Paris: Publications Scientifiques du Museum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2009); and E.C. Spary, *Utopia's Garden: French Natural History from Old Regime to Revolution* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000) which provides a discussion on the confiscation of scientific objects during the wars in Italy and the rest of Europe.

⁹⁴ Jones (1990), 66 and 71.

⁹⁵ J.-L. David, *Rapport sur la suppression de la commission du muséum* (Paris: 1793) in McClellan (1994), 106

period adopted the movement introduced during the Enlightenment. The neo-classical style became widely associated with the art of the Republic and later under Napoleon's reign as Emperor for the purpose of propaganda; thus, marking a clear distinction with the past and with its glorification of the new Republic.⁹⁶

Lastly, the plundering of art can be said to have helped in the mitigating of social schisms, a common occurrence when a nation invests in war. While this last argument may not have been a primary reason for the confiscations, it nevertheless proved beneficial in gaining the support and unity of the people under the new Republic; particularly evident during the organization of festivals of national unity in the early years of the Republic. By 1796 when the Italian Campaign began, France was at war with Austria, Hungary, Holland, the Germanic States, Spain and Britain and had also encountered revolts by royalists within its borders. While its armies had made some victories to the east, the French army was not yet the powerful army that would later be commanded by Napoleon. Thus, the confiscation of art in accompanying the dispatches published in *La Décade Philosophique* and *Journal de Paris* acted as proof of France's victories and created a positive image for the French people. The army's victories became the nation's victories. The confiscations, the festivals of national unity and the Republic's adoption of popular symbols, such as the tricolour flag, the red bonnet and the cockade all contributed to creating a positive image behind which the people of France could unite.

1.4 – Conclusion

The *Musée du Louvre* may not have been the first museum in Europe; however, it was the first national public museum to be established in Europe, encompassing not only an art historical arrangement of display, but also an institution behind which a nation could

⁹⁶ Silvestra Bietoletti, *Neoclassicism and Romanticism: 1770-1840*, Angela Arnone, Tr. (Florence: Giunti Editore, 2005); and Rolf Lessenich, *Neoclassical Satire and the Romantic School, 1780-1830* (Gottingen: V&R unipress, 2012).

unite. The European Grand Tour encouraged social and cultural discourse; ultimately encouraging aristocrats, intellectuals and artists to travel across Europe as part of their education. To hosting countries and the fortunate families who hosted these pilgrims this educational tour provided a means of displaying their collections. The Borghese collection, generally considered the high-point of the tour, is one notable example of a family's interest in attracting visitors, particularly with their efforts to renovate the galleries to accommodate larger crowds of viewers. Furthermore, the Grand Tour encouraged acts of collecting and acquiring works of art both for profit and protection, as was the case with Cardinal Albani's collection bought by Pope Clement XII. His express purpose in acquiring this collection was to prevent it from being dispersed throughout Europe and to keep Italy's treasures within its ancient capital. Recalling that the *Museo Capitolino* was built with the sole reason to hold this collection and that Papal restrictions had been introduced as a means of protecting Italian artefacts; we can deduce that the importance of Italy's cultural treasures was already of great priority by the mid eighteenth-century.

The result of the Grand Tour was the production of guidebooks and an increased interest in display practices. The publication of guidebooks enabled tourists to locate artworks and learn about local customs and cultures. More importantly these books had a positive contribution to the catalogues and lists drawn up by French commissioners during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The fall of the Bastille on 14 July 1789 and the overthrow of the monarchy on 10 August 1792 brought with it the wave of revolutionary values of liberty, equality and fraternity that would soon come to embody the new French nation. In an effort to unite and re-educate the people of France along these new French ideals, the Revolutionary government created the Committee of Public Instruction and took an active interest in the creation of a national public museum that would act as both an educational institution and a symbol of the Revolution. In upholding its ideals of equality for all artists and liberty, through the confiscation of art from royal collections, the Louvre would embody the values and ideas of the new French state.

The French army's campaign, first in the Germanic states and later in Italy, allowed for the spread of these ideals, particularly in the confiscation of art. More than a demonstration of military glory, these confiscations also represented the Revolution's triumph over the monarchy. Seeing themselves as the saviours of the French people, freeing them from the bonds of royal servitude, Revolutionaries sought to liberate Europe and re-invent Paris as the new artistic, cultural and political centre of Europe. In assimilating all of Europe's finest treasures into one public location, Paris and by extension the French nation would become a model of the 'new regime'. Napoleon's clever actions in Italy resulted in many successful military campaigns, but more importantly he legalized art confiscation for the benefit of France's new art museum. In total 'just under 200 paintings and 100 sculptures were chosen during this first phase of the French conquest,'⁹⁷ from a number of prominent northern Italian cities.

On the home-front, these victories were welcomed with parades through Paris, festivals of national unity and the publication of dispatches and reports in prominent Parisian newspapers all in an effort to garner support from the French people and further unite them. Confiscated art arrived in Paris via land and sea, and was paraded through Paris for the benefit of the people before being taken to the Louvre for restoration and eventual display – evident in the earlier Prieur and Berthault depicting the arrival of works in July 1798 (figure 1.2). Government efforts to create positive images for the people through newspaper publications and parades were nevertheless often thwarted by those who objected to art plundering. Quatremère de Quincy's arguments against these confiscations mostly addressed the issue of context. Believing that art was painted or designed for the express purpose of its intended location, the removal of the artwork would also be its destruction. As an alternative, he suggests;

Il serait beaucoup plus glorieux de les laisser où elles sont, avec l'envie qu'elles attirent, et de mettre la gloire de leur patrie, non dans l'abondance et la beauté des tableaux et des statues, mais dans la gravité des mœurs et la noblesse des sentiments.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ McClellan (1994), 118.

⁹⁸ Quatremère de Quincy (1796), 9.

Further to his arguments concerning context was the debate surrounding the restoration practices and the state of the artworks upon their arrival in Paris. An example of this is the damaged suffered by Veronese's *Marriage at Cana*⁹⁹ and the accusations against the Louvre's administration with the example of Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno*, the administration eventually succeeded in convincing the public through the publication of decrees and newspaper articles that they were saving the art.

The decades leading up to the French Revolution introduced Europe to the act of collection and display, all of which were combined along with revolutionary principles to create a national public museum for the people of a 'liberated' Europe. Art plunder as a common practice of military conquest extended to a form of legalized confiscation, whereby the patron, under duress, signed over his cultural patrimony to the conquering French government. As it will be explored over the next three chapters, these actions, believed to be for the benefit of all Europeans, proved difficult in the years following Napoleon's defeat when Italian states sought to repatriate their stolen patrimony.

⁹⁹ Veronese's painting suffered greatly during its removal from the island of San Giorgio and its trip to Paris and will be elaborated on in chapter three.

Chapter 2 – Repatriation in the Papal States

By 1796 the Papal States had come to occupy a significant portion of the Italian peninsula, its geographical area spanning the mid-section of the peninsula from coast to coast with Rome as its capital (Appendix A). Its designation as its own region-type, separate from the other Italian-ruled states is three-fold; first, the sheer size of the state means that the territory includes several other cities with prominent art historical affiliations – namely, Bologna, Perugia and Cento – and thus, the analysis of this region will be quite extensive. The second reason relates to the political power of the state; as the seat of the Catholic Church it had a strong political hold in Europe, the Pope lacking only in military forces by the end of the wars. While the remaining Italian states were much smaller and politically weaker by comparison, with the exception perhaps being Piedmont, the history of the Papacy meant that the state continued to hold a strong political position on the peninsula – its temporal power having been restored.¹⁰⁰ Finally, drawing on the first chapter’s discussion of public and private collections, we realize that the Papal States also held a strong artistic and cultural base within Italy when we consider the cultural history of Rome, also largely a result of the Papacy, and the aforementioned artistic centres throughout the state. Thus, while this State does fall under the Italian-ruled region type, it has been separated from other Italian states for the purpose of this discussion.

The following chapter will explore the three main topics previously outlined in the introduction; beginning with a discussion of the historical context from 1796-1815, the first section will include an examination of the treaties and the major players during the wars in order to identify the context of the confiscations. Following the contextual analysis, the second section will address the works that were confiscated to discern any particular trends. Of particular interest are questions pertaining to the artist; were

¹⁰⁰ With the Papacy possessing the spiritual power of the Christian Church due to its position in the history of the Church; temporal power referred to its sovereign rule of a state – in this case the Papal States. For more information about the history of the Papacy see John Julius Norwich, *Absolute Monarchs: a History of the Papacy* (Random House Trade Paperback, 2012) or James A. Wylie, *The History of the Papacy: the rise and progress of ecclesiastical supremacy* (US: Delmarva Publications, Inc., 2013). Discussion on the Papal situation in 1815 will be addressed in the third section of this chapter.

particular artists chosen over others and how does this reflect the taste of the period? If certain works were taken over others, then what can be said about those that were returned? Finally, does the artist affect the cities and locations where confiscations took place? Such observations will highlight the artistic taste of the period and contribute to a final discussion on the importance of certain artworks and artists to a particular region. Finally, this chapter will explore the repatriation process, its major players and will address the difficulties experienced by the state and the individuals as it relates to the overall success of the region. This last section will ultimately contribute to the final chapter's discussion on the parameters of cultural repatriation.

2.1 – The historical context from 1796-1815

The Papal States' conflict with the French Revolutionary government ultimately began when the French peninsular army entered Bologna on 19 June 1796. What ensued was the Armistice of Bologna (23 June 1796) between the Papacy, France, Bologna and Ferrara, the details of which were discussed in Paris after deputies from Bologna and the Papacy met with the Directory in July of 1796. Correspondence between these Deputies often discussed the future of Bologna and the Romagna in terms of its political independence from Rome. A letter dated 11 Thermidor Year 4 (29 July 1796) from the Bolognese Deputies in Paris to Citoyen Barras, a member of the Executive Directory, in addition to mentioning the arrival of Papal ambassadors, also makes an appeal for independence and liberty suggesting a feeling of salvation and release from the bonds of the Papacy;

Vous avez pû désirer, Citoyen Directeur, que nous n'eussions l'honneur de vous revoir que lorsque les Envoyés du Pape seraient rendus à Paris. Nous venons d'être informés qu'ils y sont arrivés. Vous nous empressons en conséquence, [...] de vous offrir, tous les éclaircissements qui pourront vous mettre à poser, de nous procurer ce bienfait imprécisable, de l'Indépendance et de la liberté; cette gloire est bien digne du Directoire

ainsi la félicité d'un Peuple entier deviendra son ouvrage; ainsi vous serez vous-mêmes les premiers objets de notre juste gratitude.¹⁰¹

This letter was written with great diplomatic care, appealing to the Directory's interest in promoting liberty and independence in Europe and suggests that, in addition to the glory they would feel in helping the Bolognese achieve their independence, they were also rewarded with 'les premiers objets de notre juste gratitude'. While these objects could easily refer to jewels and coin, there is no denying the coincidence in the removal of art at the same time. Further investigation into the Armistice reveals that these objects would extend beyond basic military supplies to include works of art. In Paris, the delegates decided on the following course of action;

Que l'armistice durerait jusqu'à la conclusion de la paix, que Bologne mettrait garnison à Ancône; que le Pape payerait 21 millions en argent, chevaux et d'autres nécessaires à l'armée; qu'il livrerait cent objets d'art, au choix des commissaires français pour être envoyés au musée de Paris.¹⁰²

While this armistice is with the Pope and thus specifies what the Papacy will be giving; the exchange of artworks is observed in Bologna as described in a letter dated 20 June 1796, 'volendosi inoltre titolo di particolare Requisizione vari copi di Pitture perlocché con recapito inferiore si erano dovuti autorizzare i Commissari francesi destinate perché fossero ricevuti ove si presentassero, e venisse loro dato il comodo di osservare, e raccogliere gli oggetti delle belle Arti.'¹⁰³ However, this particular extract also suggests

¹⁰¹ Copie de la Lettre remise le jour 11 Thermidor an 4 les Deputés de Bologne au Citoyen Barras, membre du Directoire Exécutif, *Miscellanea di magistri e lettere dei deputati a Parigi (1796)*, Archivio Napoleonico III – 155, Series I, Box 26, Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Bologna, Italy.

¹⁰² Bonaparte (2010), 112. These stipulations are written out in Article VIII of the Armistice agreement; 'Le Pape livrera à la République Française cent tableaux, bustes, vases ou statues au choix des Commissaires qui seront envoyés à Rome, parmi lesquels objets seront notamment compris le buste en Bronze de Junius Brutus, celui en marbre de Marcus Brutus, tous les deux places au Capitole, et cinq cents manuscrits au choix des Commissaires qui seront envoyés à Rome.' This document is part of a small collection of reports and documents relating to the political relations between France and the Papacy at this time (1796). A complete account of the armistice agreement can be found in 'Raccolta di Documenti riguardanti le presenti emergenze tra la Repubblica Francese e la Corte di Roma', No. 41, *Bandi, Editti e Provvisioni in circostanza della conquista fatta dalla Repubblica Francese della città di Bologna nell'anno 1796, Tome V-VI, per tutto il Mese di Marzo 1797. Palazzo Vaticano 27 giugno 1796 (Bologna 1797)*.

¹⁰³ Lettera dai 20 giugno 1796, Archivio Napoleonico III – 155, Series I, Box 1: Atti del Senatorio Provvisorio, dal 18 giugno al 18 ottobre 1796, Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Bologna, Italy.

that the artworks were easily accessible, as French Commissioners could observe and collect works as a result of their convenience. Ultimately, by July 1796 the city of Bologna had lost 31 paintings to the French commissioners and the nearby city of Cento witnessed the confiscations of 12 paintings.

Unfortunately, the Papacy refused to accept French victory and the Armistice of Bologna was soon discarded. The news of Austrian troops once again moving against the French and the increasing conflicts in Mantua encouraged the Pope to disregard the armistice and renew efforts against the French. Barbara's discussion of Bonaparte's relations with the Papacy explains that up until this point Napoleon sought to position himself as the saviour of the Holy See and not its enemy.¹⁰⁴ It was an intercepted letter from Cardinal Busca to Roman Ambassador Monseigneur Albani in Vienna in January 1797 that ultimately led to Napoleon's final loss of patience. In it the Papacy revealed its decision to repudiate the peace treaty; whereby, Busca wrote;

Les Français voulait la paix, la sollicitaient même avec instance, mais qu'il en éloignait la conclusion parce que le Pape était décidé à se confier entièrement à la fortune de la maison d'Autriche; que les conditions de l'armistice de Bologne n'étaient ni ne seraient exécutés.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, this meant that no formal peace treaty was executed and thus Napoleon once again advanced against the Papal army, eventually conquering them entirely.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Sr. M. Barbara, 'Napoleon Bonaparte and the Restoration of Catholicism in France' *The Catholic Historical Review* 12, no. 2 (July 1926): 244. This is further supported by Lewis Rayapen and Gordon Anderson in their article from 1991 *Napoleon and the Church*; whereby they outline the history of Napoleon's political views of the Church, arguing Bonaparte's belief that religion needed to fall under the power of the state 'in order not to be victim of it.' (120) While the Directory argued for the imprisonment of the Pope in 1796, Bonaparte would rather be its saviour, for it 'was necessary for the state to shape the minds of men and establish social order.' (120) Lewis Rayapen and Gordon Anderson, 'Napoleon and the Church' *International Social Science Review* 66, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 117-127. Accessed 28 May 2016

<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/stable/41882000?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Napoleon&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText=Church&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicResults%3FQuery%3DNapoleon%2Band%2Bthe%2BChurch%26amp%3Bacc%3Don%26amp%3Bwc%3Don%26amp%3Bfc%3Doff%26amp%3Bgroup%3Dnone%26amp%3Bvf%3Djo&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents>

¹⁰⁵ Bonaparte (2010), 207.

¹⁰⁶ In a document dated 13 Pluviose An 5 (1 February 1797), Napoleon sets out the main reasons for the dissolution of the Armistice of Bologna. Among the first five articles he outlines the Pope's decision not to carry out the armistice's stipulations, the armament and advanced of Papal troops on Bologna, and his negotiations with Austria against the French. In article VI he declares, 'Le traité d'Armistice a donc été violé et enfreint par la Cour de Rome, en conséquence je déclare que

The Pope's defeat was finalized by the Treaty of Tolentino, 19 February 1797, which re-instated the terms of the previous Armistice with an added stipulation of more artworks. These further confiscations seem to have been more an act of punishment and humiliation by the French as a way of setting an example for the rest of Italy, a forewarning if you will. For had Rome accepted the terms of the Armistice of Bologna perhaps only the original 31 paintings would have been removed. Instead, the Treaty of Tolentino resulted in further confiscations from various cities within the Papal States; namely, Foligno, Perugia, Pesaro, Rome and the Vatican.

Unlike previous treaties and armistices, the Treaty of Tolentino was signed in Tolentino and not in Paris. This was due to a dispute between Napoleon and the French Revolutionary government in Paris which occurred in late 1796 concerning the authorization of agreements and the future plans for the Italian peninsular army. This dispute marked a turning point in the Italian campaign and in Napoleon's career, and in hindsight one cannot help but wonder if confiscations would have been far less in number. However, the point here is not to begin a discussion of Napoleon's military career but rather to understand that these turning points did influence the political layout of the peninsula during the next twenty years and the outcome of the confiscations. From this moment onwards, the Général-en-Chef points out 'le gouvernement ouvrit les yeux et rapport ces mesures liberticides. Depuis il ne s'occupa de l'armée d'Italie que pour approuver ce que Napoléon avait fait ou projeté.'¹⁰⁷ In other words, 'the Directory decided to confer upon Napoleon full power in the diplomatic and military order.'¹⁰⁸ The terms of treaties became the responsibility of Bonaparte and relied more readily on his ability to acquire both the necessities for his army and the sought after cultural treasures demanded by the French government.

As a result, when the Treaty of Tolentino was signed in February of 1797 it was soon ratified in Italy and was not delayed by travel to Paris. It was signed on the

l'Armistice, conclu le 3 Messidor entre la République et la Cour de Rome, est rompu. No 39, *Bandi, Editti e Provvisioni in circostanza della conquista fatta dalla Repubblica Francese della città di Bologna nell'anno 1796, Tome V-VI, per tutto il Mese di Marzo 1797* (Bologna, 1797)

¹⁰⁷ Bonaparte (2010), 96.

¹⁰⁸ Barbara (July 1926), 244.

peninsula by a handful of delegates from Rome (Cardinal Mattei, Mr Caleppi, Mr le Duc Braschi, Mr le Marquis Massimi), Paris (Citoyen Cacault) and the Italian army (le Général-en-Chef Bonaparte). The basis of this treaty, apart from peace, was to establish control over the Papal legations and for the Papacy to provide military support and resources to the French army. All other stipulations were simply bonuses derived from the practicality of the situation, one which Napoleon and the French took full advantage of. For the purpose of this discussion, I draw your attention to three different clauses within the treaty. The first of these clauses is relevant in terms of understanding the changes in the political layout of Italy after the campaign.

Article vii, Le Pape renonce également à perpétuité, cède, et transporte à la République Française tous ses droits sur les Territoires, connus sous le nom de Légations de Bologne, Ferrare, et de la Romagne; il ne sera portée aucune atteinte à la Religion Catholique dans les susdites Légations.¹⁰⁹

The three Legations were to be united under the Cisalpine Republic and would succeed in being an independent state, for a short while at least – an interest expressed in the earlier mentioned letter between the delegates in Paris and the French Directory. Such sentiments were also described by Napoleon upon his arrival in Bologna, believing that the populace in fact welcomed French intervention. He goes so far as to refer to these sentiments as expressed by a group – most likely the sentiments of the learned community. He quotes;

Quoi de pis, disaient-ils, que d’êtres gouvernés par des prêtres? Nous n’avons aucune patrie; nous sommes régis par des célibataires qui appartiennent à la chrétienté et considèrent les affaires sous un point de vue faux; ils sont accoutumés dès l’enfance aux études théologiques, qui n’apprennent rien moins qu’à juger des affaires du monde.¹¹⁰

Although the Legations of Bologna and Ferrara were pleased with their independence from the Papacy and had welcomed French intervention to the extent of petitioning the

¹⁰⁹ *Traité de Paix entre le Pape et la République Française signé à Tolentino le 19 février 1797* (Rome: Church of Popes, Pius VI) : 3.

¹¹⁰ Bonaparte (2010), 111.

French Directory directly the previous summer, they would nevertheless feel the brunt of another round of art confiscations.

The second clause reinstates the exigencies of the Armistice of Bologna:

Article xiii, L'Article 8 du traité d'Armistice, signé à Bologne, concernant les Manuscrits, et objets d'Art, aura son exécution entière à la plus prompte possible.¹¹¹

However, in addition to the above mentioned 31 paintings, a further 53 paintings were confiscated from the major cities of the Papal States. Note also that confiscations were not restricted to artworks but were extended to include manuscripts, an equally important part of cultural history – a discussion of which, however, is reserved for another day. A document (Camerale II, Busta 6 fasc 169 – oggetti d'arte e d'antichità consegnati alla Francia) located in the State Archives in Rome and pictured below (figure 2.1) provides a list of the specific art objects delivered to the French as per Article 8 in the Armistice of Bologna and the above quoted Article 13 from the Treaty of Tolentino. This list recounts not only paintings but various other cultural objects including statues and vases. Notable examples include Raphael's *Transfiguration* and *Coronation of the Virgin* (1502-3, oil on canvas, Vatican), Guercino's *San Petronilla* (1620, oil canvas, Capitoline), and several busts and statues from the Capitoline museum including an *Apollo*, *Venus* and bust of *Marcus Brutus*.

¹¹¹ *Traité de Paix entre le Pape et la République Française* (Rome: Church of Popes, Pius VI), 5.

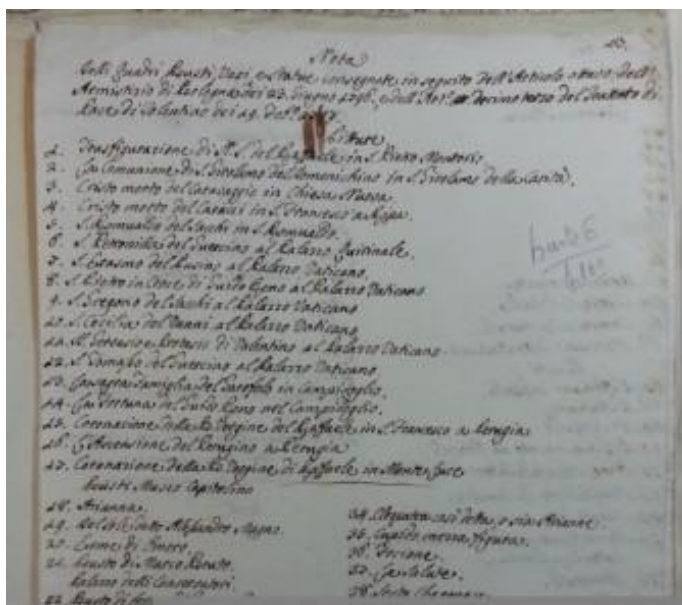


Figure 2.1 – Archival document listing art objects to be removed from Papal States following the Treaty of Tolentino

In response to the removal of the *Apollo Belvedere*, I draw your attention to an excerpt from the *Corriere di Milano* dated 7 May 1797 which recounts its removal from Rome;

Bonaparte laisse le Pape à Rome, mais il en fait sortir l'Apollon. Certainement le prêtre est utile à Rome, mais Apollon est un dieu et ce dieu, autant que le prêtre, nourrit la cité qu'il habite, et ce dieu, plus que le prêtre, est la gloire de cette cité. L'Apollon – et quand nous parlons de lui, nous comprenons aussi toutes les grandes artistiques qui l'entourent – l'Apollon impose, au profit des habitants de Rome et de l'Italie, un immense tribut à tous les hommes qui cultivent les arts.¹¹²

This extract provides an invaluable account of the sentiments of not only the citizens of Rome, but those living as far as Milan, on the spoliation of their cultural and religious institutions. The *Apollo Belvedere*, by virtue of its fame provides the symbol of all Italian artworks needed in order to convey the depth of their emotions; it is given an appointment greater than the Father of the Catholic Church, deemed by the citizens of

¹¹² *Corriere di Milano*, 7 May 1797, in Eugene Müntz, *Les annexions d'art ou de bibliothèque et leur rôle dans les relations internationales, principalement pendant la révolution française*, (Paris, E. Leroux, 1896): 485, accessed 15 May 2015

<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k673659/f2.zoom.r=Eugene%20Muntz.langEN>>

Italy a type of god. Furthermore, it could be said that the great works are therefore, by extension, recognized as the apostles of the *Apollo*.

A more specific account of the confiscations is presented by Müntz in his discussion on the city of Perugia in February 1797. In response to the treaty's aforementioned confiscations, the city of Perugia presented a petition to the French Général-en-Chef expressing their displeasure at the increased number of artworks to be expropriated;

Une seule chose troublait cette satisfaction réciproque: c'était la réquisition faite par le commissaire Tinet, non-seulement des trois superbes tableaux, choisis en exécution de l'armistice de Bologne, mais de bien d'autres, au nombre de vingt-sept, sans parler de plusieurs manuscrits [...]. Elle daigne consoler cette population entière en lui permettant de conserver ces antiques monuments qui forment le plus grand lustre de la cité, et dont plusieurs nous ont chers en tant que souvenirs d'un de nos glorieux concitoyens. [...] Celui qui porte le front ceint de tant de lauriers, qui a rempli l'univers de son nom, qui fera l'admiration de la postérité, ne saura refuser cette grâce à ceux qui l'implorent humblement au nom public, et qui ont l'honneur d'être, avec les sentiments de respectueux dévouement.¹¹³

In addition to the specific mention of paintings by Raphael and Perugino, this extract also demonstrates the importance of their cultural treasures to the citizens of Perugia both in terms of their beauty and as a part of their cultural history. Furthermore, the petition speaks of this importance to the citizens of Perugia – an entire population – rather than that of a few.

If we recall that part of the French Republic's reasoning behind creating their national museum was for the education of their artists, then this final clause becomes even more relevant;

Article xxiv, L'école des Arts instituée à Rome pour tous les Français, y sera rétablie et continuera d'être dirigée comme avant la Guerre. Le Palais appartenant à la République, où cette École était placée, sera rendu sans dégradations.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Müntz (1896), 481. This is further supported by Cristina Galassi's research on the city of Perugia where she provides further evidence of the city's reluctance and frustration with the number and identity of the confiscated works. Galassi (2004), 25.

¹¹⁴ *Traité de Paix entre le Pape et la République Française* (Rome: Church of Popes, Pius VI), 8.

The simple fact that this clause and the previous one were included within the Treaty suggests that art, education and culture were on par with the political reconfiguration of Italian states. In addition to legalizing art confiscations, this special mention of artworks and the French Institute or Academy of Art in Rome suggests they were equally concerned with their cultural community as with their political ambitions. This is not to say that confiscations would not have occurred had they not been mentioned within the treaty, but rather that they had cause to remove a certain number of works to be chosen by the French commissioners. Further evidence of the recognition of the power of art and culture has been referenced in our earlier discussion in chapter one, but has also been examined in studies concerning Napoleon's reign – 'il [Napoleon] assigna aux arts un rôle politique, une fonction de glorification.'¹¹⁵ Martin Rosenberg argues that in seeking to legitimize his rule Napoleon looked to the arts as a means of demonstrating that he 'was fit to join the ranks of great leaders.'¹¹⁶ While this of course pertains more to the period after his appointment as First Consul, Edgar Munhall's research on Napoleon's interaction with French artists Baron Antoine-Jean Gros and Jacques-Louis David demonstrates an early appreciation for artists and their works. The former having toured with the General during the First Italian Campaign and from which was produced his portrait of *Bonaparte at the pont d'Arcole* (1801, oil on canvas, Versailles). Regardless of Bonaparte's later interests in the fine arts, at this early stage the General was still under the direction of the French Revolutionary government in Paris and therefore his main focus was the continued conquest of Italy.

The relationship with the Papacy from this point onwards would continue to be one of disagreement and restitution, particularly after Napoleon became First Consul in Paris in November 1799. By December 1797, the First Italian Campaign had come to a successful end and Napoleon had returned to Paris leaving the Italian peninsula entirely reconstructed into various Republics and independent states free of the royalist influence of foreign powers – Austria and the House of Bourbon. Austria's next

¹¹⁵ Ferdinand Boyer, 'Les artistes italiens et napoléon' *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 1, no. 3 (Jul-Sept., 1954): 226.

¹¹⁶ Rosenberg (Winter, 1985-82), 181.

campaign against France, during the war of the Second Coalition (1798-1802), was soon supported by the Pope in an effort to regain their lost Legations. There are a number of reasons for the success of this campaign, many having to do with the failure of French reforms to improve social, economic and political laws as well as France's increased opposition to liberal and independent movements which gradually led to Italian anti-French sentiments.¹¹⁷ Thus, by early 1799 northern Italy was once again overrun by Austrian and Russian troops who succeeded for a short while in ridding the area of the French. After the government was re-established in Paris, the First Consul once again crossed the Alps for his Second Italian Campaign and by 1800 Napoleon had once more conquered the peninsula to the borders of the first campaign.

Edward Hales' discussion on Napoleon's relationship with the Pope and religion puts forward some strong evidence to support the First Consul's decisions concerning the Papacy. There is a recurring interest in bringing the Pope to heel in his efforts to create Italian Republics and then in a partnership when a new Pope is elected in 1800. Hales suggests that the First Consul believed that France should be united in her religion and that 'from her religion stemmed her courage, her morality, her industry, her good sense and especially her sense of order.'¹¹⁸ The relationship with the Papacy faltered initially with Pope Pius VI (1717-1799), who had been opposed to the French revolutionary efforts and had been involved in the Treaty of Tolentino. After the treaty had been signed and France had claimed victory, a riot in Italy which was blamed on the Papacy resulted in a march on Rome in January 1798. The Pope, refusing to be taken prisoner made his way to Tuscany where he was then removed to Valence by the French after war had been declared against the Grand Duchy. When he passed away on 29 August 1799, he was embalmed and would not be given a burial or a Catholic

¹¹⁷ Duggan explains that the Italian Jacobins, believing that Italian unity would eventually create independence, had 'addressed several petitions to the government in Paris urging it to pursue a policy of Italian unification as the best way of ensuring France had a strong ally on its southern flank.' Christopher Duggan, *The Force of Destiny: A History of Italy since 1796*, (London: Penguin Group, 2007): 25.

¹¹⁸ Edward E. Y. Hales, *Napoleon and the Pope: The Story of Napoleon and Pius VII*, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962): 10. See also Lewis Rayapen and Gordon Anderson, "Napoleon and the Church" *International Social Science Review* 66, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 117-127. Accessed 28 May 2016 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41882000>>

funeral until after the Concordat of 1801 which also saw the return of his remains to Rome.

This final confrontation, unfortunately, also resulted in the confiscations of 1798 following the entry of the French into Rome in response to the assassination of Duphot. Eugene Müntz, in his detailed history of the annexations of art and manuscripts, and their role in international relations, recalls a proclamation by General Berthier whereby article 14 ‘accorde toute latitude aux commissaires français pour choisir les œuvres, de quelque nature qu’elles soient, qui leur paraîtront dignes d’être envoyées à Paris. Bien plus, les collections particulières de Pie VI, des familles Albani et Braschi sont confisquées, à titre de représailles pour l’assassinat de Duphot.’¹¹⁹ With these works also went Gaetano Marini, prefect of the Vatican archives, and Cardinal Ennius Quirinus Visconti; the former to ensure the safe transport and treatment in Paris, and the latter to ensure their return to Rome on the day of repatriation.

This culmination of events meant that it was even more necessary for Napoleon to obtain the positive relationship he believed necessary with the Papacy and regain control of the Italian peninsula; a Pope had to be elected who would not be the nominee of Austria and who could look ahead rather than dwell on the turmoil of the past. Barbara explains that after Napoleon’s appointment as First Consul ‘the hostility within the Republic towards the Papacy dropped significantly [and] it became evident that the success of the new Republic [and] the unification of the nation as well depended largely upon the settlement of the religious question.’¹²⁰ Thus, out of respect for the Papacy and in the interest of mending their fragile relationship, Bonaparte ordered the burial of Pope Pius VI and for six hundred copies of the Order of Burial to be published so that it may be known all the way in Venice where the new Conclave was underway.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Müntz (1896), 485.

¹²⁰ Barbara (July 1926), 247. Further supported by Rayapen and Anderson’s argument that Napoleon ‘needed the pope as the central figure that would assist him to bring the Catholics of France [and the rest of Catholic Europe] under the authority of the Republic.’ Rayapen and Anderson (Summer 1991), 121.

¹²¹ Hales (1962), 26.

Pope Pius VII (1742-1823) was elected and coroneted at San Giorgio in Venice while the city and most of northern Italy (Papal Legations of Bologna and Ferrara included) were still under Austrian control, as a result of the Second Coalition War.¹²² However by the time the new Pope reached Rome in early April 1800, Bonaparte had succeeded in his second Italian campaign and was now concerned with entering into peaceful negotiations with the Vatican. In Paris, the papal ambassador Cardinal Consalvi¹²³ proceeded to enter into negotiations which eventually led to the Concordat of 1801. This agreement ensured peace with the Papacy with the understanding that the Church would be re-established in France under the control of the state.¹²⁴ The Concordat, however, did not see the return of the Legations to the Vatican as previously hoped.

While this new relationship was not ideal, it managed to portray the First Consul in a positive light to the citizens of France. Cardinal Caprara (1733-1810),¹²⁵ the Papal ambassador in France, explains that the French people ‘believed that under him [Napoleon] the peasants would keep the land they had seized and the bourgeoisie would keep its newly won equality of opportunity [...]. If ever a ruler owed his position to what is called the Will of the People, Napoleon did.’¹²⁶ These sentiments of course are proven when Napoleon Bonaparte is elected Emperor of the First French Republic. Having earned this seat ‘the hard way’ through the votes of the people of France and in battle with his sword much the same way as Charlemagne, Bonaparte believed himself the successor of this first Emperor. He was not King by divine right, but rather Emperor

¹²² The War of the Second Coalition (1798-1802) was a joint effort made by Austria and Russia, later joined by Britain, in an effort to push back the French forces from conquered territories mainly in Germany and Italy.

¹²³ Cardinal Consalvi had been in the service to Pope Pius VI, but was later promoted to pro-secretary of state by the newly appointed Pope Pius VII on 18 March 1800 after which he they began a project of resolving the economic problems affecting the Papal State and later extended to appointing Carlo Fea as director of architectural refurbishments in both contemporary and ancient Rome. John Martin Robinson provides a chronological account of the Cardinal’s life and involvements throughout the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. John Martin Robinson, *Cardinal Consalvi, 1757-1824*, (London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1987).

¹²⁴ Hales (1962), 51.

¹²⁵ Giuseppe Pignatelli, ‘Caprara Montecuccoli, Giovanni Battista,’ in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani –Treccani*, Vol 19 (1976), accessed 20 February 2016 <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/caprara-montecuccoli-giovanni-battista_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>.

¹²⁶ Hales (1962): 59.

through the Grace of God and the Will of the People. Therefore, just as Charlemagne had been crowned by Pope Leo III, Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte intended to be crowned by Pope Pius VII. In November 1804, Pope Pius VII left Rome for Paris to do just that and on 2 December 1804 the First Consul became Emperor.¹²⁷ In the spirit of peace and moving forward, and despite critique by Austria,¹²⁸ the Pope granted this concession; however, this did not preclude the French from refusing to present promised gifts to the Church. Among these gifts were to be two ceremonial coaches and an altar. Furthermore, ‘the heavily jeweled tiara, which did arrive, only incensed [Cardinal] Consalvi further when he saw that it displayed, as its empirical jewel, a stone which Pius VI had been compelled to take from his own tiara to help pay the indemnity imposed by the French in 1797.’¹²⁹ Thus the general feeling in Rome that Napoleon had taken advantage of the pope and the papacy was to be expected.

Before continuing I would like to point out that the only works confiscated from the Papal States after the First Italian Campaign occurred in 1802 and in 1811, the latter of which will be discussed in a short while. The confiscations of 1802, however, only occurred in Rome and must be examined in a different light for they originated from the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi – the national church of the French in Rome.¹³⁰ Thus, in removing works from this church the French commissioners were essentially transferring them from one French location to another. Furthermore, only one of the eighteen paintings taken from this church was returned after 1815.

In Italy, the period post-coronation is most relevant to the two Kingdoms – Italy and Naples (Appendix B) – that were to be established on the peninsula and which will be discussed in chapters three and four. However, it is worth mentioning here because of the Papacy’s involvement once again in Napoleon’s coronation, this time as King of

¹²⁷ Hales (1962): 69.

¹²⁸ Jean-Marc Ticchi, ‘Le Vicaire du Christ en France: Pie VII en Voyage pour le Couronnement de Napoléon Ier’ *Archivu, Historiae Pontificae* 43 (2005): 139-155.

¹²⁹ Hales (1962), 79.

¹³⁰ The history of the church of San Luigi dei francesi in Rome is a complex one in that the church became the property of the French in the fifteenth-century when France obtained from the Benedictine monks of Farfa their possessions situated in the current location of the church and coincides both with the arrival of the French in this area and the Papal Bull of Sixtus IV (2 April 1478) approving their acquisition of this property. See Sebastiano Roberto, *San Luigi dei Francesi: la fabbrica di una Chiesa nazionale nella Roma del ‘500* (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2005): 1.

the Kingdom of Italy in Milan. While the Pope refused to crown Bonaparte, he did send Cardinal Caprara in his stead to perform the ceremony and bless the historic Iron Crown.¹³¹ Pius VII's argument was based on the concept of temporal versus spiritual power, realising that Caprara would represent the spiritual power, but if he was to attend as Pope he would 'be in the paradoxical position of personally presiding at the coronation of his own supplanter'¹³² – a concept that holds a far deeper connotation when taking place on Italian soil. The decision to employ the Iron Crown reflects an interest in drawing upon regional history as a means of reconciling relations with the Italian people.

Following his coronation in Milan on 26 May 1805 as King of the Kingdom of Italy, the alliance with the Papacy once again encountered tensions. While these tensions and the complex relationship between France and the Papacy may not seem integral to this particular discussion they do in fact play a large role in the political developments that occurred on the peninsula post 1805 and the subsequent art confiscations. For the most part, these tensions were due to cultural and social struggles most notably in the form of the introduction of the French Civil Code within the Italian territories.¹³³ Protests from the Pope via Cardinal Fesch (1763-1839)¹³⁴ did little to change the new regulations and ultimately resulted in the Papal States joining Piedmont in their annexation to France – the rest of Italy reorganised into the Kingdom of Italy in the north and the Kingdom of Naples in the south.

The later annexation of two more devoutly Catholic territories – Poland and Spain – to France mean that Napoleon had further reason for maintaining a positive relationship with the Papacy as he would have a difficult time in asserting authority

¹³¹ The Iron Crown was the symbolic of the Kingdom of Lombards and later the Medieval Kingdom of Italy and thus has strong historical and political implications. Hales, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962): 75. See also Valeriana Maspero, *La corona ferrea. La storia del più antico e celebre simbolo del potere in Europa* (Monza: Editore Vittone, 2003).

¹³² Hales (1962), 76.

¹³³ This code essentially removed power and influence from the Papacy over to the people within its dominion and 'meant that birth, upbringing, marriage and death – the family cycle, over which the Church in Italy watched so closely – was transferred to the supervision of the state.' Hales (1962), 84.

¹³⁴ Paolo Alvazzi del Frate, 'Fesch, Joseph' in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani –Treccani*, Vol 47 (1997), accessed 20 February 2016, < http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/joseph-fesch_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>.

over a country such as Spain if he were branded an enemy of the Pope and the Papacy. Hales explains that this important precaution did not prevent Napoleon from seeking to annex the Papal States to France and remove the Pope's sovereign rule over the state. As a means of accomplishing this goal, the Emperor sent representatives to Rome to police the city in hopes of limiting the Pope's power within its territory. Pius VII's response to this occupation and future threats to his sovereign rule over the Papal States is one of resistance and a firm refusal to relinquish sovereign control over Rome. Believing that the Eternal City 'was the heart of the temporal power, the shrine over which he *must* stand guard, over which his predecessors had stood guard before the days of Charlemagne [... and] as ruler of the Church Universal, with subjects in every land, he must not allow himself to become politically subject to any government.'¹³⁵

The first step in implementing Napoleon's plan of annexing Rome and the Papal States to France was the gradual reduction of Papal control of Rome by confiscating the orders and official papers of papal officers. However, the Pope's influence over Rome was such that French efforts were only able to extend to military control over the city and it soon became evident that the only way to gain any further control would be to arrest the Pope's newest pro-secretary of state, Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca.¹³⁶ In arresting Pacca, it was hoped that the Pope's resolve would weaken. However, similar to previous efforts to control the Papacy, the arrest was met with resistance and it was not until 17 May 1809, after a victory over Austria, that Napoleon did issue his decree by which the Pope was to be dethroned and the Papal States annexed to France.¹³⁷ In a

¹³⁵ Hales (1962), 105.

¹³⁶ Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca was appointed the 18th June 1808 by the Pope as pro-secretary of state following the arrest of his previous pro-secretary, Cardinal Gabrielli on the 16th of June. Upon his appointment, Pacca explains the state of mind of the public in Rome: 'a total absence of confidence in the stability of the government, not only with reference to the apprehension of temporary political changes, but of its powers of revival; and people, on the contrary, instead of entertaining a sentiment so indispensably necessary to preserve the public tranquillity, to keep the ill-conditioned in the path of duty, to hold in check the riotous and dissatisfied, and encourage and conciliate the population, were expecting from day to day the French to take possession of the city and to change the dynasty.' See Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca, *Historical Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca, Prime Minister to Pius VII: Volume I*, Sir George Hand, Tr. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, Paternoster Row, 1850): 30.

¹³⁷ An honest account of the decree and the Papacy's reaction and response to the Imperial decree are provided by Cardinal Pacca in volume I, chapter IV of his Memoirs, translated from Italian by Sir George Hand.

last effort to resist the Emperor's decree and forceful limitation of Papal control, Pius VII 'issued the "*Quum Memoranda*," excommunicating all who had committed sacrilege by invading the Holy See.'¹³⁸

What ensued was the imprisonment of both Cardinal Pacca and Pope Pius VII and their transportation to Fenestrelle and Savona, respectively. Over the course of the next several years, Napoleon sought to further reduce the Pope's influence after several unsuccessful efforts to reach a more peaceful negotiation; resulting in the Pope's administration being moved to Paris. More importantly, however, the Pope's refusals resulted in the incorporation of Rome into the French Empire, and the closing of a large part of the religious houses across Italy leaving their treasures subject to confiscation.¹³⁹ This last round of confrontations between Napoleon and the Church is ultimately responsible for the last wave of confiscations which occurred in 1811 throughout the peninsula and they were by no means limited to the Papal State. Oddly enough, no works (paintings) were removed from Rome, but focused rather on the city of Perugia with a few artworks confiscated from Todi and Foligno as well – totalling 13 paintings. This is perhaps due to the already large number of preferred works that had been removed during the First Italian Campaign.

Of further concern, however, are the origins of this round of confiscations. In response to the Emperor's conflict with the Church and Pope, this last round of confiscations targeted the religious institutions in all regions of Italy covered within this thesis. To present a preliminary idea of the damage caused by the suppression of religious houses and the confiscation of their artworks; I turn your attention to the charts below. The first (left) provides a count of the number of works confiscated in each city and whose religious house was 'deleted'; whereas the second (right) chart provides a count of the number of works removed from houses that were not destroyed. As you can see the former far out-numbers the latter. The number of paintings originating from suppressed religious houses demonstrates that this particular event had a tremendous

¹³⁸ Rayapen and Anderson (Summer 1991), 123.

¹³⁹ Hales (1962), 143.

impact on the confiscated paintings, one which will be explored further during the quantitative analysis.

City	Number of Works
Arezzo	1
Chiavari	2
Close to Florence	1
Close to Pisa	1
Florence	11
Foligno	1
Genoa	6
Levanto	1
Parma	5
Perugia	4
Pisa	5
Savona	4
Spezia	1
Todi	3
Grand Total	46

City	Number of Works
Close to Perugia	1
Fiesole	1
Florence	6
Genoa	2
Perugia	4
Pisa	3
Prato	1
Savona	2
Grand Total	20

Table 2.1 (left) – Number of paintings from ‘deleted’ religious houses

Table 2.2 (right) – Number of paintings from ‘undeleted’ religious houses.

However, further to the count of these works we must also consider the political situation in each of the region types while moving forward with the discussion. As will be addressed in the third and fourth chapter, the period of French control varied greatly between states and, as a result, the lasting effect of these sales and suppressions would become problematic at the end of the wars.

The political situation between the Pope and the Emperor intensified in the last years of the Napoleonic wars; however, what became most problematic were the ramifications of this conflict on the citizens of the French Empire. By the spring of 1812 Napoleon was preparing for his invasion of Russia which meant that the western borders of the French Empire were weaker – the advancing British army led by Wellington having made serious advances on the Iberian Peninsula. Recognizing the threat of Allied forces once again in the Mediterranean and the compromising location of the Pope in Savona; Napoleon ordered for the removal of the Pope from Savona to

Paris. In doing so, Napoleon was also achieving his goal of establishing the Papacy in Paris. What he did not realize was that his decision to travel through the larger cities at night coupled with the failure of the Russian campaign would eventually lead to his downfall.

By this point the Papacy had experienced political fragmentation, cultural confiscations, the removal and imprisonment of its temporal ruler and subsequent annexation to the French Empire, and limitations placed on its spiritual ruler all of which left Pope Pius VII in both a physically and spiritually fragile state. One which Bonaparte took advantage of upon his return from the east in late December 1812, when he reached a new concordat with the Pope after six days of negotiations. However, this new concordat was accepted not without popular reaction from both French and Italian citizens. Their reaction to this new agreement upheld a belief that it was a new imposture of the government. Cardinal Pacca recounts that this belief was also the opinion in Germany and in Italy; for,

In Rome the news of the Concordat was received with hisses and laughter [...]. In fact, the Roman people were firmly persuaded that the Pope had never approved this strange convention; and even when there arrived from France letters from persons worthy of implicit confidence, stating that they themselves had actually seen the Pope's own signature [...] many formed an ingenious method to explain away the contradiction, by imagining that the Holy Father, previous to being arrested and carried away from Rome, left with Signor Domenico Sala [...] several of his pontifical signatures in blank [...] and that the French, got possession of the sheets of paper [...] and inscribed the articles of the pretended Concordat upon one of them, in such a manner as to make the world believe that the Pope had approved the articles and signed the paper with his own hand.¹⁴⁰

Thus, regardless of the Emperor's effort to bring the Church under French control and weaken the position of the Pope, popular reaction grew increasingly against his decrees. Furthermore, the political situation in early 1813 was such that any further threat to the Papacy could result in a strengthening in the British-Russian-Prussian alliance with the

¹⁴⁰ Pacca (1850), 20-21.

inclusion of Austria – one which was realized in August 1813 after the Duke of Wellington’s success in helping the Spanish resistance against France.¹⁴¹

The Allied forces had begun the invasion of France by 1813 and Murat, King of Naples, began his march north in order to drive French forces from Rome, and with this threat Napoleon instructed the Pope to be returned to Savona. The Pope continued to remain a neutral party in refusing to negotiate with either side until there was peace and his reluctance to negotiate ultimately meant that the Papal States would not be restored until after the Battle of Waterloo in June 1815. Following Napoleon’s abdication in April 1814, Austria had succeeded in claiming the Papal Legations of Bologna, Ravenna and Ferrara at the Congress of Vienna at which point Murat once again allied himself with Napoleon. This alliance came to threaten the Italian peninsula again during the 100 days war when Napoleon returned from Elba to resume his fight against Europe. Having no troops, Pius VII was forced once again to leave Rome for Genoa until after France’s final defeat at Waterloo. Realizing the need for order and unity in Italy, the Allies agreed to accept the appeal made by the Papal States regarding the return of their Legations – Consalvi having been in France since his reappointment as secretary of state in May of 1814.¹⁴²

As an aside to this discussion and before continuing with an analysis of the confiscated works, I would first like to point out several observations made by Cardinal Pacca upon his return to Paris after his release from Fenestrelle in early February 1813. Once in the capital he endeavoured to attend mass, tour the city and visit its major palaces and establishments, among which was the Louvre. In his Memoires, he writes;

Determined as I was not to quit Paris without first seeing the Museum [Louvre] and Library of Napoleon, I went thither also; though the pleasure I experienced here by the sight of so many fine things collected together was not a little embittered by perceiving many objects of antiquity, chefs-d’oeuvres in painting and sculpture, and precious manuscripts, which,

¹⁴¹ Chris Cook and John Stevenson, *The Routledge Companion to Britain in the Nineteenth-Century, 1815-1914* (London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2005): 218.

¹⁴² Note du Cardinal Consalvi aux plénipotentiaires des grandes Puissances, Londres, 23 juin 1814 (pg. 33-40 and 45-54) and Lettre de Consalvi à Metternich, Rome, 10 juillet 1815 (pg. 81 – 86) in *Correspondance du Cardinal Hercule Consalvi avec le Prince Clement de Metternich, 1815-1823*, C. van Duerm, Ed. (Louvrain, 1899).

exhibited in token of glorious trophies of the victories of the French in Italy, had been taken from Rome. The collection of pictures, although crowded together promiscuously as in a magazine, and for the most part placed in bad light, was surprising, both for the number and beauty of the objects, which altogether comprised everything in the way of painting, most esteemed of its kind, on canvas and on wood, that had been collected from Italy. The museum of marble statuary was so abundantly furnished as the picture gallery, but the articles had almost exclusively been transported from Rome and Florence; in fact, upon the pedestals of a great many of the statues, and also upon several of the vases, the well-known inscription, ‘Munificentia Pii VI’ was prominently visible. At that moment of exile, and in an unhappy state of uncertainty, that in the same period of the season the last week of February, three years afterwards, I should, in company with several members of my own family, attended by persons of note in the belle arti, namely, Canova, Camuccini, Stern etc, re-visit in Rome those identical chefs-d’oeuvres which subsequently were restored to their places in the Museo Pio-Clementino.¹⁴³

His account of the museum and its collection, while it does not provide specific examples of confiscated works, should not be disregarded as it does provide first-hand insight into the display of works and an Italian’s reaction towards them. Although he suggests the manner in which the paintings were displayed gives the impression of a catalogue, he seems amazed to see the collection of everything most esteemed from Italy brought together in one location – together giving witness to Italy’s artistic accomplishments. Whether these observations were noticed by other visitors and had an influence on the returned location of works will be addressed in the final chapter.

Finally, I draw your attention to his identification of ownership for these works; while the painting collection is identified as originating from Italy, the marble statuary is identified as being Florentine and Roman in origin and is further recognized as belonging to the Papacy with the inscription *Munificentia Pii VI*.¹⁴⁴ Cardinal Pacca provides an important glimpse into the situation concerning the location of works that were returned to Rome; one which needs to be kept in mind as we move into a discussion of the database of confiscated paintings. It is unclear as to whether he refers to both the paintings and the statuary, however his reference to ‘those identical chefs-

¹⁴³ Pacca (1850), 11-12.

¹⁴⁴ Generosity of Pius VI

d'oeuvres ' does suggest that all works were returned to the Pio-Clementino and perhaps more specifically placed in a museum. Of course, we know that the Museo Pio-Clementino was a museum designed primarily for the ancient art collection of Pope Julius II.

2.2 – The analysis of the database of confiscated works

Keeping in mind the historical context behind these confiscations, let us move to an examination of the list of artworks confiscated from the Papal States. The data of which, as indicated in the introduction to this thesis, is based on Marie-Louise Blumer's research in creating a catalogue of the works transported from Italy to France during the wars. Her catalogue was published in 1936 and provides the most in-depth account of the paintings confiscated during this period by including the original location, the date of their removal and arrival in France as well as their final location. It is nevertheless important to keep in mind the sources used in compiling this catalogue and that the works included, and information pertaining to them, are those identified through the primary investigations by Blumer. Using the sub-group that has been created from the master list of artworks (Appendix G), this next section will examine the data more carefully and contribute to the third section's discussion on the repatriation process. For the purpose of this discussion, I ask you to recall the first parameter outlined in the introduction to the thesis – the geographical restrictions of the Papal States – in addition to two others that pertain to this region. The first relates to the original locations which have been identified as four different types – Church, Gallery, Private Collection (PC) and other. Finally, as some works have been lost over time, the repatriation status will be one of the following: yes, no, lost, destroyed, not returned-destroyed (NR-destroyed), not returned-lost (NR-lost) and lost-post (after 1815). Based on these parameters, this section will first examine the works that were confiscated with particular attention to their origin – both location and artist; followed by a look at the repatriation success rate with respect to artist and original location.

This breakdown will facilitate the identification of possible trends and problems arising from these confiscations.

2.2.1 – Cities

From the date of the first confiscation in 1796 until the end of the wars in 1814 a total of 138 paintings were confiscated from the Papal States. The table below (table 2.3) gives a breakdown of the number of works taken from each city; Bologna, Perugia and Rome having experienced the highest number of confiscations. The fact that these cities were the most affected is not entirely surprising considering that they formed the largest artistic centers in the Papal States. Rome, with a total of 35 paintings, of course possessed several art academies and was the home of some of Italy’s most prominent writers on art and patrons during the Renaissance; whereas, Bologna, with a total of 31, was distinguished with its own school of art. Finally, Perugia’s inclusion, with a total of 39, relates to the city’s popularity during the Renaissance, having been the birthplace of Perugino and having hosted many renowned artists such as Raphael.

City	Number of Paintings
Bologna	31
Cento	12
Close to Perugia	1
Fano	3
Foligno	2
Perugia	39
Pesaro	7
Rome	35
Todi	3
Vatican	2
Loreto	3
Grand Total	138

Table 2.3 – Count of paintings by City

2.2.2 – Artists

The breakdown by city provides a superficial look of the confiscations in this region, demonstrating the overall breakdown of the origins of the paintings; therefore, by incorporating the artist into the discussion, we can ascertain new observations. For instance, evidence to support the high number of confiscations within Perugia is the fact that Pietro Perugino was of interest to the French commissioners and all but two of the works confiscated by this artist were located in Perugia. Of the 138 paintings taken from this region, those by Perugino were the most popular with a total of 23 paintings from Perugia, Rome and Bologna. He is then followed by Guercino with 17 and Guido Reni with a total of 10. The table below (table 2.4) lists the top 10 artists with the number of their confiscated paintings. Note that next on the list is Raphael with a total of 8 paintings, whose works may have been fewer in number but posed far greater controversy within the cultural community simply because he was considered one of the most revered artists of all time during the French Revolutionary period and Napoleonic wars.¹⁴⁵ The fact that his paintings are fewer in number should not however be construed as them being less popular or sought after, but rather they may not have been as readily available to commissioners. For instance, many of Raphael's works in Rome were frescoes and therefore could not be removed from their location. A look at Appendix F will show that those counted above all originated from a religious institution, except for the *Madonna di Loreto* (1509-10, oil on wood, Museum of Condee, Chantilly). This last painting has been the subject of much debate amongst the art historical community with regards to the author of the painting, often argued to be a copy as indicated in Blumer's catalogue. Present research, however, argues that the painting referred to here is understood to be the version by Raphael.¹⁴⁶ The argument

¹⁴⁵ While the significance of Raphael in the history of art will be discussed over the course of the next few chapters, I would draw your attention back to the previous chapter's brief discussion on Raphael in relation to the criteria for artworks; in particular, what the French government and its commissioners sought in terms of works. It is because his works were seen as coming closest to recapturing the style of Ancient art that he was sought after during this period of Classical revival. If the French could not acquire original Greek and Roman pieces, they would settle for the next best thing – works created by artists such as Raphael. See Hoeniger (2011) and Gould (1965), chapter six.

¹⁴⁶ *The Madonna of Loreto by Raphael (1509)*, accessed 24th April 2017, <<http://www.domainedechantilly.com/en/accueil/chateau/the-art-galleries/selected-works/>>. See also

concerning location should be taken into consideration when reflecting on these statistics, for these numbers could easily increase when added to the list of works taken from the other regions in Italy. Following Raphael, we see Albani and Barocci has being popular with a total of 6 and 7 paintings, respectively. They are followed by number of artists who seem to have roughly the same number of confiscated paintings, generally around 3 or 4, amongst the Carracci family and those identified by schools of art rather than artist.

Artist	Number of Paintings
Albani (1578-1669)	6
Barocci (1526-1612)	7
Carracci (Annibale) (1560-1609)	4
Carracci (Ludovico) (1555-1619)	3
Domenichino (1581-1641)	3
Guercino (1591-1666)	17
Guido Reni (1575-1642)	10
Perugino (1446-1523)	23
Pintoricchio (1454-1513)	3
Raphael (1483-1520)	8
School of Bologna	3
Venetian School	4
Grand Total	91

Table 2.4 – Count of paintings by artist (top 10)

2.2.3 – Location

The availability of works did, however, have an impact on which works were taken, as I touched briefly upon with Raphael and to which I bring your attention to the original location of the painting. As mentioned in the second guideline for this discussion, original locations have been divided into four types – church, museum, private collection and other. It is important, however, to recall that these types have been categorised based on the identifications made by Blumer. Being a public space by

Burton Frederickson, ‘New Information on Raphael’s *Madonna di Loreto*’ *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 3 (1976): 5-45, accessed 24th April 2017 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4166340>>.

virtue of its role as a place for religious congregation, the church provided easy access to artworks and based on the number of works that were taken from a church by the commissioners it would also suggest the subjects of the works were religious in nature. Of course this is also due to the fact that High Renaissance and sixteenth-century works were most sought after¹⁴⁷ and that religious painting was one of the most common subject matters. Similarly, the museum, made the paintings accessible to the French commissioners; in the case of this region the museum refers to the Capitoline in Rome.

On the other hand, the private collections hindered access to certain works and those works that were obtained from private collections were often as a result of purchase. While the discussion of private collections has been excluded from this project, I mention them here to provide some reference and explanation for the analysis in this chapter and because of their specific mention in the catalogues of Blumer. If we recall our discussion in chapter one concerning private collections and the act of collecting, we remember that many Roman families engaged in art dealing. I draw your attention once again to the Borghese family, whose collections rested in the hands of Camillo Borghese, a committed republican, who allied himself with Napoleon and the French government in a marriage to Pauline Bonaparte Leclerc in 1803. The alliance witnessed some years later the sale of ‘most of the best antiquities then in the Casino and the Muses di Gabii [which were] brought to Paris at great expense and not without some damage.’¹⁴⁸ Although this sale pertains to antiquities, Carole Paul explains that after the wars and the Congress of Vienna, Camillo requested the restitution of these sculptures in 1816, but to no avail. In the case of the 9 paintings listed as originating from a private collection in the table below, they originate from either the Braschi or Albani family collection.

The table below (table 2.5) illustrates the number of works taken from each type of original location and breaks down the numbers by city to give an idea of which were

¹⁴⁷ This is evident in both the data and the scholarly research of Cathleen Hoeniger and Cecil Gould. The former referring to the preference for Raphael and those that followed closely the style of the ancients, and the latter expanding on the academic preferences of ancient regime France and the changes that developed in taste throughout the Napoleonic wars. See Hoeniger (2011) and Gould (1965).

¹⁴⁸ Paul (2008), 239.

most affected. I would have you note that there is also a type designated ‘other;’ in this case, due to the fact that the original location is unknown. The location with the highest number of confiscations was that of the church with 123 paintings, and coinciding with our earlier observations on the cities, we notice that Bologna with 31, Perugia with 39 and Rome with 25 were the ones to witness the removal of a significant number of paintings from their religious institutions. With the exception of Fano, the last three types only affected the capital or the Papacy – the 3 paintings from Loreto having originated from the Pontifical Palace or having been housed in a private collection – thus, demonstrating that it was the public that was most affected by these confiscations. Apart from the church, the 10 paintings taken from Rome were largely from private collections with the exception of two from the Capitolino; *the Holy Family* (1520, oil on canvas, Capitoline) by Garofalo and *the Fortune* (1637, oil on canvas, Vatican) by Guido Reni. These numbers are consistent with the previous tables’ trends in that with a large majority of the paintings originating from a church the works painted were mostly by the identified top three artists – Perugino, Guercino and Guido Reni. Apart from the paintings in top three cities (Bologna, Perugia and Rome), the fourth city of Cento, though more remote, nevertheless experienced a high level of confiscations – 10 of the 12 by the artist Guercino. This last observation provides further evidence of the targeting of cities based on the location and author of the work.

Location	Number of paintings
Church	123
Bologna	31
Cento	12
Close to Perugia	1
Fano	1
Foligno	2
Perugia	39
Pesaro	7
Rome	25
Todi	3
Vatican	2
Museum	2
Rome	2
Other	2
Fano	2
Palace	2
Loreto	2
Private Collection	9
Loreto	1
Rome	8
Grand Total	138

Table 2.5 – Count of paintings by original location and city

While these observations primarily demonstrate the extent and range of the confiscations, they do, however, also provide valuable evidence to suggest that the French commissioners and the Directors of the Louvre had specific artists and works in mind – an observation that will be discussed further in chapter five. Furthermore, tendencies towards certain groups of artists can also relate to their artistic school and their relationship to one another. It has already been established that Raphael was much sought after; however, the fact that he was a pupil of Perugino provides further explanation of the high number of paintings confiscated by this artist. The same can be said for Guercino, whose early paintings were similar in style to those of Annibale Carracci while his later paintings reflected the style of Guido Reni.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ An exploration of these relationships and similarities in style will be explored in the first section of the fifth chapter of this thesis.

2.2.4 – Returned status and success rate

Having established that the French Commissioners followed certain guidelines for the selection of artworks to be confiscated, it is no surprise that the data of repatriated paintings demonstrated similar tendencies. Thus, we must ask ourselves, what do the returned paintings say about the priorities of the regions calling for their repatriation? Of course, this process had also been influenced by the limitations of repatriation which will be discussed in the next section. The status of returned works – that is to say, whether they were returned – varies significantly by region; in the case of the Papal States, their success in this process is relative. If we look specifically at table 2.6 the numbers of those returned (49) versus not returned (63), we see that the difference is not all that great, rather it is the number of works that were destroyed or lost, many before 1815, that gives cause for concern. The alarming number of works that were not returned and are now lost (NR-lost), totaling 17, was not for lack of trying, but is generally due to the painting's location in France. As will be discussed at a later point, and which is just as much of an issue in the other two region types in Italy, there was a significant number of artworks that were sent to various cities within the French territory. For instance, two Peruginos and one Guercino were sent to Strasbourg in 1801 and were therefore not returned in 1815. They are now understood to be lost due to the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 when the city was heavily bombed. A similar fate was shared by a Guercino located in Bordeaux in 1801, which was destroyed in a fire at City Hall where the museum was housed.¹⁵⁰ While these incidents describe specific events, the fact remains that a large number of paintings were dispersed to France's *Départements*, a detail that had a significant impact on the repatriation process. Nevertheless, 54 (lost-post, split and yes) of the original 138 paintings shipped to France were successfully returned after the wars, four of which are now lost due to reasons unknown.

¹⁵⁰ Originally housed in the Rohan Palace, a fire on 7 December 1870 resulted in the damaging and destruction of many works. The result was the construction and redesigning of the museum which ultimately extended the wing of the museum in the existing palace. Guillaume Ambroise, *History of the museum collections*, accessed 29 May 2016 <<http://www.musba-bordeaux.fr/en/article/history-museum-collections>>

Status	Number of Paintings
Lost	1
Lost-post	4
No	63
NR- Destroyed	3
NR- Lost	17
Split	1
Yes	49
Total	138

Table 2.6 – Repatriation status

Recalling the table 2.3 highlighting the total number of paintings taken we can draw some observations concerning the success rate of each city based on the number of works returned in table 2.7. This data set includes both the number of paintings that were returned and those that were returned but whose location is unknown. The reason for this being that the success of a region's efforts in repatriation should be based on the total number of works returned, regardless of whether they are now lost or were destroyed due to unforeseen circumstances. Furthermore, you will note that three paintings are missing from the original 138 which is due to the fact that Fano did not succeed in recovering any of their stolen treasures. Using the table below we recognise that only a town close to Perugia, Foligno and the Vatican had an hundred percent success, followed by Loreto with fifty percent. However, looking at the earlier three cities with the highest number of confiscations (Perugia, Rome, Bologna) we see that they had some of the lowest success rates with Bologna taking the lead at 48.39% followed by Perugia with a success rate of 35.90% and Rome at 22.86%. Finally, in total, this region's overall success rate of 40% suggests that it fared rather poorly; however, the later comparison to the other regions might prove more favourable.

Status	Number of Returned	Number Taken	% of Returned
Bologna	15	31	48.39
Cento	6	12	50.00
Close to Perugia	1	1	100.00
Foligno	2	2	100.00
Perugia	14	39	35.90
Pesaro	3	7	42.86
Rome	8	35	22.86
Todi	2	3	66.67
Vatican	2	2	100.00
Loreto	1	3	33.33
Grand Total	54	135	40.00

Table 2.7 – Repatriation success rate by city

This statistic, however, should not be taken literally for there are three key factors that need to be taken into consideration. The first relates to the artist and addresses the question of whether more efforts were made to retrieve works by certain artists over others. Having established that the French commissioners were interested in acquiring works by certain artists and schools; can the same be said for those regions seeking to repatriate? Furthermore, how much of an influence did the French have in selecting which works were going to be returned to their original country? The following two charts depict the success rate for the top five artists; the first is the number of returned works by artist and the second provides the other half of the situation with the number of not returned works. As with the previous chart based on cities, this data includes those that were lost and destroyed. The number of returned works also includes an altarpiece by Alunno da Foligno that was split; the predella having remained in Paris after 1815. It has been included in the returned data due to the fact that the majority of the altarpiece was successfully repatriated.

Artist	Number of Paintings	Number Taken	% of Returned
Barocci	3	7	42.86
Domenichino	3	3	100.00
Guercino	9	17	52.94
Guido Reni	5	10	50.00
Perugino	5	23	21.74
Raphael	7	8	87.50
Total	32	68	47.06

Table 2.8 – Repatriation success rate by artist

Artist	Number of Paintings	Number Taken	% of not returned
Albani	5	6	83.33
Barocci	4	7	66.66
Guercino	8	17	47.06
Guido Reni	5	10	50.00
Perugino	18	23	78.26
Total	40	63	64.52

Table 2.9 – Percentage of not returned paintings by artist

Based on these results we can deduce that those artists whose works were most popular during the confiscations were equally difficult to repatriate. Perugino, Guercino and Guido Reni, who had been the top three artists during the French confiscations, had some of the lowest success rates at 21.74%, 52.94%, and 50%, respectively. Fortunately, Raphael, who was equally revered by both parties, had a relatively high success rate of 87.5% with all but one painting returned to its country of origin; this work being the Madonna di Loreto which was relocated to the Museum Condé in Chantilly, France. Interestingly, we also have Albani listed in the second chart and while he factored into the most popular artists (table 2.4), 83.33% of paintings were not returned.

The second factor pertains to the shipment of the work in question to France and its maintenance once in France. While the majority of confiscated artworks reached Paris, some were nevertheless lost or destroyed on route. Examples of works that fit the circumstances include two paintings by Albani, three by Guercino, four by Perugino along with a number of works by lesser known artists. Interestingly, though not

surprising, is the fact that most of these works originated from Bologna and Perugia.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, the physical state of the work might have prevented its transportation back to Italy for fear of further damage; as was the case of a Venetian work which will be discussed in the next chapter. Finally, as previously mentioned, paintings were often sent to other cities in France and were thus more difficult to retrieve regardless of who the artist was. I draw your attention once again to the Guercinos and Peruginos that were relocated during the wars to museums in Bordeaux and Brussels. For the purpose of providing both sides of the spectrum, I direct you towards the table below (table 2.10) which illustrates the percentage of works that were not returned or are now lost or destroyed by city. Similar to the previous chart, this data accounts for those cities that did not see the return of all of their cultural treasures. Thus, while the paintings that were taken from the area close to Perugia and the Vatican – amounting to three – are not included in this data pull, Fano has now been included in the list with 100% of their works not being returned.

City	Number of Paintings	Number Taken	% of not returned
Bologna	16	31	51.61
Cento	6	12	50.00
Fano	3	3	100.00
Loreto	2	3	66.67
Perugia	25	39	64.10
Pesaro	4	7	57.14
Rome	27	35	77.14
Todi	1	3	33.33
Total	84	133	63.16

Table 2.10 – Percentage of not returned paintings by city

Finally, the diplomatic influence and political power of the region seeking to repatriate had a significant impact on the success of restitution claims. The Papal States had Rome and the Vatican – essentially the Papacy – as its political base and as a result held a significant level of influence within Western Europe. Having religious ties with a large part of Europe and having struggled to resist against the French Empire’s efforts

¹⁵¹ A breakdown of this information can be found through the database in Appendix F under the tab ‘list of not returned’ and by filtering returned status by ‘no/lost’ and ‘no/destroyed’.

to remove its power, the Papacy could and did appeal to its Allies for support during the period following Napoleon's defeat. The advantage of maintaining diplomatic relations with the Allies should not be underestimated and, as will be discussed shortly, strongly contributed to the relative success of the repatriation process in this region of Italy.

2.3 – The process of repatriation

Possessing no strong military force and having had to rely on the Allied powers for liberation from the French Empire, the political situation of the Papacy in the final years of the Napoleonic Wars meant that the Pope was unable to contribute to the Emperor's final defeat. As a result, when the Allied forces met in Vienna to discuss a peace treaty in September of 1814 the Papacy did not have a strong representation; its delegate, Cardinal Ercole Consalvi, being of the minority. The Congress of Vienna concluded in June of 1815 with a document signed by the major European powers as a means of preventing another power struggle in Europe. The Allied powers sought to weaken France through several means, one of which was to reduce their army and increase Allied strength around its borders. Essentially, 'the frontiers of almost every country in Europe were to be redrawn, and the overseas possessions of the Continental Powers were to be re-allocated on a new basis.'¹⁵² The Congress brought prosperity to the major Allied Powers – Great Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia – however, smaller countries and states, such as the Papal States, were left with little diplomatic power and influence. Thus, when the Papal States sought to retrieve their stolen collections, they turned to the Allied Powers for help.

Although Prussia had begun to take decisive action after the Treaty of Paris¹⁵³ in 1814 to return confiscated works, it was not until after the Battle of Waterloo in June

¹⁵² Sir Charles Webster, *The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963): 19.

¹⁵³ The Treaty of Paris was signed in May 1814 by the Allied Forces and France and marked the end of the war up until Napoleon's escape from Elba in the spring of 1815. The Treaty dealt most broadly on

of 1815 that the rest of Europe began to show an active interest in reclaiming their art. The articles of the Treaty of Paris and the Congress of Vienna demonstrate a valid belief in the advantages that could be had, should France continue to hold a strong army and territorial possessions; however, these advantages soon extended to thoughts about what might unite a nation. The Allies, in particular Great Britain, believed that although financial reparations and territorial losses were important, art treasures were invaluable in terms of their ownership in garnering a sense of national pride.¹⁵⁴ Miles refers specifically to the popular reaction of the French whereby ‘ladies were said to have wept over the loss of the Apollo [and] crowds nearly prevented the removal of the Venetian Bronze Horses;’¹⁵⁵ and thus suggests the French nation thought of their trophies of conquest with a sense of pride and ownership. If the public festivals discussed in chapter one are any indication, then if France were to keep their acquisitions, it could give them the incentive to unite once again as a tyrannical force against the rest of Europe. In July 1815 the Prussian delegate, von Ribbentrop, ‘threatened to send soldiers to seize the pictures and to send Denon to a prison in Prussia unless he acceded’ and a day later the soldiers arrived without resistance from Vivant Denon.¹⁵⁶ Where Prussia was able to make successful reparations by virtue of its size and military power, the Papal States did not possess such a force and had to appeal to a more dominant power.

Upon arriving in Paris on 28 August 1815, Pope Pius VII’s delegate, Antonio Canova, sought out the delegates of both Prussia and Austria for support in the repatriation of their cultural treasures. The former’s response to this appeal was unfavourable, ‘le baron regarde comme absolument impossible la réussite de notre

the redrawing of geographical borders and prepared for the meeting of plenipotentiaries from respective countries in Vienna to finalise negotiations. This treaty did not, however, make any stipulations regarding artworks only territorial and political. For further information and consultation on the Treaty of Paris see J. P. T. Bury, *France, 1814-1940* (London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2003) and Gould (1965).

¹⁵⁴ Miles (2008), 330.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 334.

¹⁵⁶ Quynn (Apr. 1945), 450. This is further evidenced in the *London Courier* of 10 October 1815 where it was reported that the Prussian troops had replaced Wellington’s guard at the museum. Express from Paris, Paris, 7 October, *London Courier* (10 October 1815). For further information regarding Prussia’s repatriation efforts consult Sandholtz (2007); Bette Wyn Oliver, *From Royal to National: The Louvre Museum and the Bibliotheque Nationale* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007).

dessein, et parce que le traité de Tolentino n'a pas été annulé, et parce que l'Angleterre et la Russie en particulier sont résolues à ne pas irriter ou froisser l'amour-propre de la nation française.'¹⁵⁷ The latter, unfortunately, proved even cruder in their response, believing that they had already done enough for Italy in having secured the return of the Venetian horses and the lion of Saint Mark. By this point, however, English efforts to return artworks to the Netherlands¹⁵⁸ had proved fruitful and newspapers were beginning to circulate parts of Wellington's dispatches as a means of demonstrating England's intent to help in these endeavours. *Le Moniteur Universel* on 13 October 1815 published;

Le duc de Wellington, a adressé le 23 septembre à Lord Castlereagh une lettre, dans laquelle sa grâce prie le noble Lord d'exposer à S. A. I. le prince régent la conduite qu'il a tenue au sujet de la reprise des chefs-d'œuvres de l'art [...] Cette lettre porte qu'après la bataille de Waterloo, lorsque le prince Blücher arriva devant Paris [...] les commissaires français proposèrent un article relatif à l'inviolabilité des monuments et des établissements du Louvre; mais que le prince Blücher refusa absolument d'accéder à cette condition.¹⁵⁹

You will note that the article also mentions France's effort to keep these works by suggesting the inviolability or sanctity of art monuments and museums – the Louvre being their primary example. By understanding the diplomatic advantage of such an alliance, Pope Pius VII's delegate in Paris, Antonio Canova, proceeded to align himself with the English powers in order to succeed in his mission of bringing the looted Italian works back to their place of origin. This was done after exhausting possible leads for support at visits to both Prussian and Austrian delegates; the most notable of these delegates being Sir Arthur Wellesley (1759-1852), otherwise known as the Duke of Wellington, who had been sent to Paris as a minister of the Prince Regent. Dispatches between the Duke and Lord Castlereagh (1769-1822) of that year reveal Wellington's

¹⁵⁷ Müntz (1897), 205.

¹⁵⁸ Delegates from the Netherlands arrived on 18 September 1815 at the Louvre to reclaim their stolen treasures.

¹⁵⁹ *Le Moniteur Universel*, Paris (Mardi, le 17 octobre 1815), Institut Nationale d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris, France.

strong belief in the restitution of artworks. In his letter dated 23 September 1815, Wellington makes his position clear;

I stood there as the ally of all the nations in Europe, and anything that was granted to Prussia I must claim for other nations. [...] The feeling of the people of France upon this subject must be one of national vanity only. It must be a desire to retain these specimens of the arts, not because Paris is the fittest depository for them, as, upon that subject, artists, connoisseurs, and all who have written upon it, agree that the whole ought to be removed to their ancient seat, but because they were obtained by military concessions, of which they are the trophies.

The same feelings which induce the people of France to wish to retain the pictures and statues of other nations would naturally induce other nations to wish, now that success is on their side, that the property should be returned to their rightful owners, and the Allied Sovereigns must feel a desire to gratify them [...] the day of retribution must come.¹⁶⁰

This letter highlights a couple of important issues that had an impact on the repatriation process and which were put forward as arguments on several occasions. The first being Wellington's explanation that, regardless of the motives for wanting to retain the artworks for reasons of conservation, these confiscations were in essence trophies of war. They had been confiscated from conquered territories and were obtained under duress, thus the Allied powers, as the victors, had every right to reclaim what was rightfully theirs. In the second instance is the concept of property and retribution. Similar to the first, this second argument draws upon the concept of personal and public property and thus extends beyond the simple desire to take away from the French. Yes, the property rightfully belongs to a specific country or state, but it is what this property means to its original owner; it is no longer simply physical property but adopts a cultural value. Wellington's justifications provide evidence that the idea of cultural patrimony and the importance of cultural property in the service of patriotic and national sentiment was an important concept, especially when considering that Britain was not a victim of Bonaparte's plundering.

¹⁶⁰ Arthur Wellesley, Wellington and John Gurwood, *The Dispatches of Field Marshall the Duke of Wellington during his various campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, the Low Countries and France, from 1799-1818* (London: J. Murray, 1837-9): 644-6.

Before continuing I would first like to point out another primary document that supports Wellington's opinions and further demonstrates Britain's involvement and belief in the return of artworks. While the newspaper was not dated in the state archives in Rome, it states that Canova had arrived a fortnight before; having arrived on 28 August 1815 we can date the article to early September 1815.¹⁶¹ In it the English press describes the situation in Paris;

The celebrated Canova [...] has been in Paris a fortnight, and no journalist has dared to publish the real motive of his voyage. They have announced his arrival, and to give a colour to it, they have asserted that he comes to make the statue of Alexander. Now we happen to know from the best authority, [...] that Canova comes to Paris, not as a private individual, but as an envoy from his Sovereign the Pope, and the Senators of Rome, to demand – loudly and justly to demand from the restored KING and the justice of his Allies, the objects of art and literature of which Rome and the Roman States had been plundered at various times by a rapacious Government now happily no more [...].

Claims so just and unobjectionable have met with the strongest support, where all good causes ought to meet support, from the British Minister, now the only asylum and advocate of the weaker Powers [...].

We hope that the firmness and independent spirit of which our Minister was accused a few days since by a Parisian journalist, will shine forth even on this occasion, and that while he insists on a proper and just regard being had to the national existence of France, he will not be backward in demanding restitution of that endless list of monuments, which had never been accumulated in France, had she in her days of glory respected the national existence of other powers.¹⁶²

Apart from describing Canova's reasons for being in Paris and its biased wording, this article highlights Britain's support for Wellington (the Minister in Paris) and his work to help the less powerful nations in retrieving what was plundered. Furthermore, it hints to the national existence of other powers, a concept that could be debated when referring to the Papal States. Alternatively, this reference could suggest a level of

¹⁶¹ Gould (1965), 118.

¹⁶² Sulla missione di Canova a Parigi per reclamare gli oggetti d'arte e di letteratura da quali Roma e lo Stato erano stati spogliati (da un giornale inglese), fasc. 225, Roma, 1800-1815, Esportazione di oggetti d'arte o di antichità dopo l'anno 1789, Camerale II, 6- Antichità e Belle Arti, Busta 9, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome, Italy.

recognition in the ability of states to associate with cultural objects. For if the national existence of other powers had been recognized and respected then their cultural property would not have been confiscated, suggesting a correlation between a state's property and its cultural importance within the state.

As previously mentioned, Canova was met with several obstacles upon his arrival in Paris. Chief among these problems was the fact that the majority of the works were obtained via the Treaty of Tolentino and therefore the argument could be made that the artworks had been legally transferred between powers. In order to proceed with their repatriation claims and obtain support from the Allies, the Papacy first needed to undermine the authority of the Treaty mentioned in his earlier meetings with Austria and Prussia. This was done in two ways; first, Pius VII addressed the diplomatic authorities of Europe, including Castlereagh of Britain and Prince Clemens von Metternich of Austria, by stating that he had helped exiled French clergymen and royalty during the Napoleonic wars.¹⁶³ As seen previously, this act caused problems for the Pope's relationship with Napoleon. In reiterating their support of individuals who supported the French Royalists, the Papacy attempted to demonstrate their involvement against the French in the only way they could. Secondly, the Papacy relayed the events in the years following the Treaty of Tolentino explaining that even after the ratification of the Treaty the French armies had continued to invade the streets of Rome. The Papacy's Commissioner of Antiquities at the time, Carlo Fea (1753-1856), contributed to this argument in February of 1816 in a memorandum for Cardinal Pacca. Having been appointed Commissioner of Antiquities in April 1801 and later Director of the Capitoline Museum in May 1801 until the French administrative reorganisation in 1809, both as a result of his studies on civil and canon law and later archeology,¹⁶⁴ he provides a unique perspective into the importance of cultural history and its value within society. His memorandum consists of thirty arguments all with the

¹⁶³ This relates in particular to Pope Pius VI who had welcomed exiled French priests in Rome, and refused to turn out the several thousand who had made their way to Rome for protection. Richard Henry Horne, *The History of Napoleon* vol. 1 (London: Robert Tyas & Paternoster Row, 1841): 88. See also, Frank J. Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789* (NY: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁶⁴ Ronald T. Ridley, 'Fea, Carlo,' in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani –Treccani*, Vol 45 (1995), accessed 28 June 2015, <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-fea_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>.

aim of addressing the importance of restitution and more importantly the advantages and disadvantages of placing these works in galleries. Among his arguments concerning the state of requisitions and the future of those works, Fea explained that the treaty's violation also came in the form of robbery. In argument 19 he recounts;

Dei nostri monumenti alcuni furono estorti ingiustamente al General Bonaparte nel pretteso Trattato di Tolentino; altri moltissimi alcuno per mera rapina, e più dirsi contro quel trattato stesso, il quale garantiva al Sommo Pontefice il resto dello Stato nella Sua integrità. Quel trattato come estorto, e iniquissimo, è nullo in sé.¹⁶⁵

While his memorandum dates several months after the initial efforts began in Paris, the argument nevertheless provides important proof of France's complete disregard of the Treaty of 1797. I return your attention to the earlier cited newspaper article which summarizes the reasons for the nullity of the Treaty of February 1797.

To the demands of Rome, Paris opposed the treaty of Tolentino, by which the Pope had been forced to purchase his political existence from a ferocious soldiery and a rebellious chief, with the sacrifice of part of its territory, and some objects of fine arts, by which Rome had been embellished for so many centuries; but that Treaty (a treaty between the wolf and the lamb) was immediately after violated, by the same army that made it, and the Republican Government of France declared it 'null and void, and *comme non avenue*.' The Roman territory was invaded – the public property plundered – the Sovereign Pontiff imprisoned, and sent into banishment [...] – and the limited number of statues originally demanded and surrendered (a useless sacrifice) swelled into an endless list.¹⁶⁶

This second argument combined with a petition Lord Castlereagh received from 'thirty-nine artists of several nationalities living in Rome [...] begging for the restitution of the

¹⁶⁵ Carlo Fea, *Promemoria per Sua Emminenza Reverendissima il Sig. Cardinale Pacca Camerlengo di Santa Chiesa da Carlo Fea, Commissario delle Antichità 16 febbraio 1816*, fasc. 246, Roma: Narrative in Milano per ottenere dal governo austriaco la restituzione dei libei, quadri, manoscritti che il governo napoleonico aveva portati dello Stato Pontificio. Relazione del Commissario sulle antichità per la restituzione alla loro antica sede degli oggetti d'arte che torna della Francia, 1816, Camerale II, 6- Antichità e Belle Arti, Busta 10, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome, Italy.

¹⁶⁶ Sulla missione di Canova a Parigi per reclamare gli oggetti d'arte e di letteratura da quali Roma e lo Stato erano stati spogliati (da un giornale inglese), fasc. 225, Roma, 1800-1815, Esportazione di oggetti d'arte o di antichità dopo l'anno 1789, Camerale II, 6- Antichità e Belle Arti, Busta 9, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome, Italy.

confiscated and looted works of art,¹⁶⁷ went a long way to declaring the Treaty of Tolentino null and void.

Regardless of the agreement among the Allies to declare the Treaty of Tolentino invalid, there still remained two other obstacles. The Bourbon monarchy having been reinstated in France under King Louis XVIII proved to be less cooperative than expected. As a result of their victories over the last two decades, France was now in possession of a national museum filled with Europe's most renowned works of art. Furthermore, they were trophies which the French nation took great pride in. Having been reinstated as the new King after a revolution that proved fatal for its last monarch, it is understandable that Louis XVIII would seek to generate support from the people and what better way than to protect that which the people believed to be theirs. In a final reference to the newspaper article from September 1815, I identify the underlying problem and resulting public reaction;

This treaty of Tolentino, now brought forward by the Bourbon government to retain the plunder from Rome, was occasioned by a war which the unfortunate Pontiff had drawn upon himself, for having given asylum at his court to the Aunts of Louis the Desiré!! [...]

But what must strike everyone with greater astonishment is the reflection that a King, dating his reign over France from the moment of his nephew's death, and consequently denying the legitimacy of the Governments that have succeeded each other in his Kingdom during his exile, should now bring forth, as an argument in his own favour, a transaction which was preceded and followed by acts of rebellion and was itself but a rebellious act, since it had been committed by an army rebellious to the King's dynasty, marching against a supporter of that dynasty.¹⁶⁸

This last quote gives voice to two important points; the first being that the further destruction and plundering experienced by the Papal States was of their own doing which is an absurd argument by France against a state whose only crime was to protect what was rightfully theirs at all costs. Finally, in support of the Allied forces, if the

¹⁶⁷ Blumer (1936), 347.

¹⁶⁸ Sulla missione di Canova a Parigi per reclamare gli oggetti d'arte e di letteratura da quali Roma e lo Stato erano stati spogliati (da un giornale inglese), fasc. 225, Roma, 1800-1815, Esportazione di oggetti d'arte o di antichità dopo l'anno 1789, Camerale II, 6- Antichità e Belle Arti, Busta 9, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome, Italy.

King recognized his rule as commencing after the murder of his nephew, then all treaties and agreements issued by the French Revolutionary government could not be recognized by Louis simply because he was not present in their ratification. Further evidence of the French government and King's reluctance is given by Müntz in his account of Canova's meeting with Prince Talleyrand, France's Foreign Minister, on 9 September and the King on 10 September 1815. The first essentially replayed the argument presented by Austria and Prussia, in addition to explaining that the Pope should have petitioned Bonaparte when the pontiff was in Paris for his coronation and that the cessation of artworks was outlined in the Paris Treaty of 1814 – which of course it was not. However, during the second, the King 'se montra pas moins catégorique que son ministre et refusa-net-toute restitution.'¹⁶⁹

The second obstacle, and one that was a major factor in the overall success of the repatriation process across all of Italy, relates to the cost of transporting the cultural treasures back to Italy. This cost is not only financial but also pertains to the risk involved in transporting fragile artworks across the Alps and by sea. While this particular issue is more prevalent in the other regions of Italy, it does not mean that the Papal States could afford to ship all their treasures home. The Napoleonic Wars had been a long and costly war, already evidenced by the indemnities the Papacy was forced to pay as a result of treaties and agreements. The French Revolutionary government may have called for the acquisition of artworks from across Europe; however, it was the states seeking restitution that were left to pay for their return. Thus, the expense involved had to be weighed against the value of the art. The cost of shipping artworks had to take into account their packaging in Paris and their escort across the Alps or via the sea; this last consideration a necessity to avoid theft along the route. Returning to Carlo Fea's memorandum, I draw your attention to argument 16 which addressed the actual cost of transporting the work back to Italy;

Sua Altezza poi ha fatto il di più. Ha realizzata l'esibizione del denaro verso la Santità di Nostro Signore, e di Roma, con regolare in Parigi per

¹⁶⁹ Müntz (1897), 206.

l'occorente dell'incassatura, imballaggio, e trasporto a Roma dei nostri monumenti di Antichità, e belle arti, 200 mila franchi.¹⁷⁰

From this argument, it appears that the help received from the Allies extended beyond military support in Paris, but went so far as to contribute to the pecuniary cost of shipping works to Rome. Nevertheless, in keeping in mind the cost of shipment, the Papal States was forced to make concessions on which works were to be returned, a decision whose outcome seems to have reflected the criteria the French used in the first place.

Taking a look at a list of returned works belonging to the Ecclesiastical State (Appendix D), compiled in Rome, we can draw some conclusions as to which artists were most commonly returned. The list in Appendix D titled *Nota degli Oggetti di Belle Arti recuperati dal Museo Reale di Parigi, ed appartenenti allo Stato Ecclesiastico* has been organized by the city from which the work originates and provides a description of the work in question along with the artist, its original location and its location when the list was compiled in March 1816. A closer examination of the list reveals many of the same conclusions drawn in section B; however, it is worth noting that the majority of the works were located in the Vatican when the list was created, apart from several that were located in Bologna. While this observation is understandable considering that Rome was the capital of the Papal States, it nevertheless demonstrates that the fate of these works came to rest in the hands of the Vatican. I will not disregard the relative success of the Papal States in repatriating these paintings, but this success is complex. Yes, these works were successfully returned to Italian soil; however, their final location rested in the hands of the Papacy and thus poses the question as to why religious works – paintings designed for devotional purposes – were not returned to their original location, particularly when their fate was decided by none other than the head of their supposed religion. This final point will be discussed in a short while.

¹⁷⁰ Carlo Fea, *Promemoria [...]*, fasc. 246, Camerale II, 6- Antichità e Belle Arti, Busta 10, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome, Italy.

The third obstacle was briefly addressed during the analysis of the data and pertains to the geographical location of the painting in question when the Allied countries arrived in Paris to reclaim their property. While the majority of stolen paintings were located in Paris at the Louvre, I would return your attention to the significant number of works relocated to regional cities or conquered territories, the earlier mentioned Guercino being just one example. These relocations were justified by the Minister of the Interior, Chaptal, in a decree dated September 1800 as a way of dealing with the issue of space in the Louvre's depot and galleries. It is referenced;

The immense gallery to which the public have access cannot accommodate more than half of masterpieces belonging to the nation. [...] The reunion of these masterpieces was doubtless an advantage in the critical days when the breath of vandalism was pitilessly consuming the works of genius. [...] But those times are past and we must now try to reconcile the maximum benefit of the arts with our duties towards the provinces, some of which have enriched us with their spoils and all of which have combined to bring us the monuments of the conquered nations.

It cannot be disputed that Paris must retain the greatest works in every category. Paris should preserve in its collections those works most intimately bound up with the history of art, which mark its progress, epitomize the various genres and enable the spectator to form clear impression of all the revolutions and phases of the history of painting. Beyond question Paris deserves this honourable distinction. But the inhabitants of the provinces may also claim an inviolable share in the fruits of our conquests and of the heritage of French artists...¹⁷¹

Believing that the relocated works would contribute positively the knowledge and development of art in the regional location, the decision was made to send various to the provinces. Unfortunately, in the end, none of the works located in the provinces from this region were returned to the Papal States in 1815. The table below (table 2.11) outlines the ten most common locations outside of the Louvre; the Palais de Compiègne¹⁷² proving to be the most common at a destination.

¹⁷¹ Chaptal's report is referenced in Gould (1965), 76.

¹⁷² The Palais de Compiègne was a royal palace built by Louis XV and Louis XVI, and eventually taken over by Napoleon I and later occupied by Napoleon III. The palace underwent substantial renovations from 1808-1810 under the orders of Napoleon for use by the Imperial family. The placement of paintings from Italy would have coincided with the use of the palace as a state residence.

Location outside of Paris	Number of Paintings
Disappeared	2
Museum, Bordeaux	3
Museum, Dijon	4
Museum, Grenoble	4
Museum, Lyon	4
Museum, Nantes	2
Museum, Rouen	3
Museum, Strasbourg	3
Museum, Toulouse	4
Palais de Compiègne, Compiègne	5
Museum, Brussels	2
Paris, Notre-Dame	2
Grand Total	38

Table 2.11 – Count of paintings remaining in France

A letter from Vivant Denon to the General Director of the central art museum in Bordeaux provides an example of a situation whereby 27 artworks from various countries were sent to Bordeaux. Among this list is Perugino's *Virgin and Child with Saint Augustin and Jerome* which originated from the church of St Augustin in Perugia. The letter also describes the transaction;

Je viens de remettre au citoyen Gérard Scellier, commissionnaire, une caisse de tableaux formant le premier envoi de ceux destinés par le gouvernement à la ville de Bordeaux. [...]

Les frais de la restauration des tableaux que je vous envoie ont dépassé la somme de 800F remise par versement de fonds par le sénateur Journu-Aubert et exigent un second [pour la] continuation de celle des grands tableaux qui sont restes au musée de Paris.¹⁷³

In addition to providing a list of all the works to be transferred, this letter also explains that the paintings were distributed by order of the government and were done so in exchange for funds which were later used towards art restoration projects. Another important example would be Perugino's *Marriage of the Virgin* (oil on wood, 1500-4,

Un Palais Royal et Imperial, accessed 2 April 2017, < <http://palaisdecompiègne.fr/un-palais-trois-musees/un-palais-royal-et-imperial> >

¹⁷³ Vivant Denon, 'Le directeur général du musée central des arts au préfet du département de la Gironde' (30 janvier 1803) in *Directeur des Musées sous le Consulat et l'Empire: Correspondance (1802-1815) Tome I* (Paris : Editions de la Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1999): 54-5.

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen) from Perugia, which was sent to museum in Caen. Thought not included in the above table because the city's museum did not factor into the top ten regional locations, this particular painting provides an excellent example of a renowned work which has yet to be returned to Italy.¹⁷⁴ However, while these transactions were beneficial for the art monuments located in Paris, they ultimately proved disadvantageous for the Papacy. Allied forces were centered in Paris and military troops had been stationed at the Louvre; however, resources were not available to send these troops to all regional cities.¹⁷⁵

By the spring of 1816 nearly half of the confiscated paintings had been returned to Italy; however, they had yet to be returned to their original locations. Having overcome the obstacles they faced in Paris, the Papacy and its committee concerned with repatriating cultural treasures now faced the problem of returning works to their respective churches, palaces and galleries. Works had been packaged and shipped in bulk; thus, when they arrived in Rome they essentially constituted a large collection. As I alluded to in my earlier discussion concerning the lists of returned works in Appendix D, the fate of these paintings ultimately resided with the Papacy. While the issue concerning the return of cultural patrimony had been more or less resolved, proprietors now faced the question of whether the repatriated works should be returned to their original location or placed in a museum.

Carlo Fea's memorandum of February 1816, presented to Cardinal Pacca, provides a clear breakdown of the various arguments concerning the establishment of galleries and placement of artworks within these institutions. In the introduction to his thirty arguments, his initial observations echo those of the French in their initial efforts to create the Louvre. He suggests;

Ma siccome qualche Amatore di pittura, poco riflessivo, potrebbe desiderare, che essi piuttosto figurassero riuniti in una Galleria, anziché

¹⁷⁴ Gould argues that Perugino's painting has long been considered a model for Raphael's later work of the same subject and which was bought for the Brera Museum in Milan in 1806. Gould (1965), 78.

¹⁷⁵ An exploration of the artworks sent to Brussels and Bordeaux will be discussed in chapter 5 to provide a more detailed analysis of the obstacles of repatriation and the repercussions of confiscation.

divisi, all'antico loro posto nelle Chiese, per ragione di supposta miglior custodia e di più facile accesso per lo studio dei Professori dell'Arte.¹⁷⁶

While his arguments draw on various different themes, for the purpose of this discussion I will highlight a few of the main points in an effort to provide an initial look at this second debate concerning the placement of art in galleries. On one side of the debate, the argument advocating the placement of works in their original location, the defense stems from the points made concerning the importance of repatriating works and in some ways, builds upon the earlier discussed debate featuring Quatremère de Quincy's *Lettres à Miranda*. Having established that property should be returned to its original owners, then this should be maintained beyond simply removing the work in question from Paris to Italy. Fea explains;

I monumenti di belle arti e di antichità si debbano rendere liberamente ai rispettivi antichi proprietari, e specialmente i quadri alle chiese; non si vede, come potrebbe con ragione, e con decoro approvarsi, che il Capo della Chiesa [...] debba, o possa a buon diritto agire diversamente colle chiese particolari di Roma, e dello Stato, le quali col dovuto rispetto supplicano per loro stesse, e per tutto il Popolo, di ottenere, e ricuperare dalla di Lui saviezza, giustizia, pietà e religione i loro oggetti di devozione.¹⁷⁷

In reiterating this point, Fea addresses an important aspect of an artwork that is often ignored by the viewer; this being the function of the work in question. A quick look at the list of works (table 2.5) taken will remind you that the majority of the works were of a religious subject and were placed in churches; thus the function of the work surpassed aesthetic beauty and pertained to its role as a form of religious devotion. Having been located in a secular setting for nearly twenty years, religious paintings had been removed from their original context – that of the church – and thus were less recognized for their role in religious devotion and more for their individual cultural and artistic value. In support of this opinion, the memorandum's second argument suggests that however false the love and respect of religion may be, 'fu sempre la prima base fondamentale e il più valido sostegno del governo e della morale pubblico dei nostri

¹⁷⁶ Carlo Fea, *Promemoria [...]*, fasc. 246, Camerale II, 6- Antichità e Belle Arti, Busta 10, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome, Italy.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

antichi.¹⁷⁸ Fea's use of ancient laws and public life are referred to several times throughout the text often for their support of public well-being and morality.

In his third argument, Fea reminds us that while Roman ideas were often grandiose, they supported the concept *commune magnum* (common good). He draws upon ancient Rome's custom of decorating temples and public places in order to suggest that 'le belle pitture asportabili in tavola, e le statue, dovevano rendersi pubbliche, ossia collocarsi in luoghi pubblici, ove tutti potessero goderne con libertà, e facilità: il che, dice Plinio, sarebbe stato assai meglio, che esiliarle nelle Gallerie di Ville private.'¹⁷⁹ It is here where the debate conflicts, for the argument can be made that the church – following the same principles as ancient Rome's temples – is a public place and thus should be adorned with its paintings. For such a location would surely be better than the artwork's placement within a private collection. However, by the end of the Napoleonic wars the argument in support of the museum and public galleries becomes equally compelling.

As we shall see with the other two region types, several major cities including Milan and Florence opted to take advantage of the temporary grouping of repatriated artworks and coordinated with one another to create an exhibition for the public. These efforts reflect an acknowledgement of the benefits of public exhibitions and an interest in establishing public galleries. The situation in Rome being no different as it had already established two museums prior to the wars. Initial arguments against galleries recognize the earlier mentioned claim for the common good; however, in referring specifically to Rome Carlo Fea explains;

E per Roma una massima falsa il voler ridurre tutte le belle cose pubbliche in un museo, e in una Galleria. Oltre i pericoli, la contro massima è la vera, e la utile. Tutta Roma è, e deve essere una Galleria. Il suo insieme, e la molteplicità delle belle cose in ogni genere così disperse, è quello che ne

¹⁷⁸ Carlo Fea, *Promemoria [...]*, fasc. 246, Camerale II, 6- Antichità e Belle Arti, Busta 10, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome, Italy.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

forma l'ammirabile, il seducente, il magnifico, l'unico bello al mondo, e il vero incantesimo.¹⁸⁰

The multitude of artworks scattered across the city and adorning the temples, churches and public places – in their original settings – constitute in themselves a magnificent gallery. However, while this argument sides with efforts to return works to their original locations the committee was nevertheless faced with the issue of the safety and security of the works in question. Recalling France's main argument that the confiscation of artworks and their placement in the Louvre was for the protection of these objects, the committee in Rome argues the same. Argument 24 of the memorandum pertains to the overall welfare of the works and what damage could be inflicted if they should be permitted to return to their original locations. In it Fea explains;

Nè varrebbe a giustificare questa pretesa traslocazione il motivo dello studio, o la più diligente custodia degli oggetti, o la devozione, che si frastorna dai curiosi. Gli oggetti tutti, anche di pietra, e di bronzo soccombono alle ingiurie del tempo. Niuna opera pubblica si dovrebbe fare nelle strade, nelle piazze, nei portici, alle fontane, perché sta esposta alle intemperie, e alle sassate. Così non si dovrebbe fare verun quadro nelle chiese, perché vanno esposti al fuoco, e al fumo delle candele, o dell'incenso; perché le chiese non sono aperte a tutte le ore degli importuni diletstanti; perché questi spesso disturbano la devozione.¹⁸¹

This argument reveals a strong awareness of the fragility and physical state of cultural objects; moreover, it could be argued that the confiscations of artworks was in fact beneficial for it contributed to a general recognition and concern for the preservation of artworks. The committee in Rome no doubt recognized the detrimental effect that years of exposure to the elements had on the physical state of sculptures and of burning candles on the paintings located in churches.

¹⁸⁰ Carlo Fea, *Promemoria [...]*, fasc. 246, Camerale II, 6- Antichità e Belle Arti, Busta 10, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome, Italy. This is further supported by the reference Galassi makes to Canova's letter dated 15 September 1814 which outlines much of the same argument regarding the usefulness of having a central collection for educational purposes. Galassi (2004), 132.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

However, it is his last statement which reveals an interesting development in public instruction – by which I mean education. He argues that while the church is open to the public, it is not always open to young artists and moreover they can disturb those in prayer. As will be explored in the final chapter, the practice of training young artists had begun in the Renaissance through apprenticeships, whereby the apprentice enters the workshop of an artist to study models and existing works in order to master techniques.¹⁸² This could be done anywhere and would definitely have been done in churches; however, the influence of the Louvre and the French Republic's interest in creating an educational space for professional and amateur artists alike is undeniable especially when we consider the history of art academies in Italy. While the century leading up to the revolution witnessed the emergence of Art Academies for the training of young artists both in France and Italy, the experience contributed to an expansion of this concept.¹⁸³ By following the example of Paris, the Papacy could ensure the education of young artists and the continuation of the arts in Italy as well as benefit the common good.

¹⁸² Artists in Renaissance Italy would have been members of a guild or corporation of artists within a particular city. Due to its fractured political geography since the fall of the Roman Empire, each city would have built up its own artistic and artisanal community and from such communities developed the role of the guild to provide structure, economic stability and power. From this system arose the workshop for the training of new artists and the collaboration between more experienced artists on commissions. Evelyn Welch provides an in depth look at the role of workshops and collaboration in the training of artists as well as training underwent by its students in the early Renaissance – see Evelyn Welch, *Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). Evidence of Italian academies emerging in the 16th century in Florence under Cosimo Medici and in Bologna at the end of the 16th century by the Carracci family is provided by Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci: a study in the reform of Italian painting around 1590, vol. I* (London: Phaidon Press, 1971). Further information can also be found in the art historical research of Frederick Hartt and David G. Wilkins, *History of Italian Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture*. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007).

¹⁸³ An example of the eighteenth-century education of young artists is provided in the life of Jacques-Louis David who apprenticed with Joseph-Marie Vien in 1765 along with fifty to sixty other students and eventually attended the Royal Academy of painting whereby he was encouraged to 'paint directly from the life model and to study Renaissance artists.' Lee (1999), 21-22. Further reference for Art Academies are Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public life in 18th Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) and Horst Woldemar Janson and Anthony F. Janson, *History of Art: The Western Tradition*, 6th Ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education 2004).

2.4 – Conclusion

The experiences of the Papal States during the Napoleonic wars and the period of repatriation provide a valuable comparison for the rest of Italy. Being one of the largest territories on the peninsula prior the First Italian Campaign, and having the Papacy as its main political force proved to be both an advantage and a disadvantage for this region during the wars. Initial resistance on the part of Pius VI and French ambitions for the peninsula resulted in a Treaty that compromised both territorial and cultural properties. However, being the seat of the Roman Catholic Church the Papacy was well positioned for negotiations with the French Republic regardless of Bonaparte's interests in controlling it. During these negotiations, while the church continued to resist relinquishing complete control, they nevertheless witnessed a significant cultural loss. The number of confiscated paintings from the churches, and both private and public collections, as demonstrated during the analysis of repatriated works, was disastrous and not only affected the Papacy and prominent families but extended to every social class. The significance of this loss, however, is most evident during the period of repatriation, particularly when the Papacy dispatched its most notable artist to Paris in an effort to return their stolen property.

Whereas the political state of the Papacy in 1815 was too weak to secure a strong negotiating presence during the Congress of Vienna, its influence did extend to securing the help of the Allied powers in their efforts to repatriate. The extent of art confiscations across Europe and the success of the Louvre in garnering national pride provided valuable motives for restitution and eventually contributed to the Papal States' own awareness of the importance of artworks both culturally and educationally. It is worth questioning whether governments and society would have come to recognize the value of art in terms of educational and cultural property had the confiscations never occurred. For the efforts, both diplomatic and financial, taken to repatriate and Carlo Fea's arguments concerning the final location of artworks reveal a new interest in the value of art – particularly with religious paintings which were no longer simply for devotional purposes but came to be recognized on an art historical level.

Chapter 3 – Repatriation in foreign-ruled states

Moving north, the Duchy of Milan and the Republic of Venice, which by 1815 had been designated Lombardy-Venetia, encompass the second region type, and essentially covered the north-eastern part of the peninsula with the Po as its southern border. During the restoration, this area fell under the rule of the Austrian Empire and thus classifies as a foreign-ruled region. Among its most prominent cities and artistic centres are Venice, Verona and Milan – Venice being most notable for its famous school of art which introduced the world to such artists as Giovanni Bellini (1426-1516), Tiziano Vecellio (1490-1576) and Paolo Veronese (1528-1588). The Republic of Venice, having experienced a period of decline prior to the French Revolutionary war often became the bargaining chip in political treaties because of this decline. On the other hand, the Duchy of Milan had been ceded to Austria during the Spanish War of Succession in the early eighteenth-century with the ratification of the Treaty of Boden.¹⁸⁴ Thus, when the borders of Europe were re-established during the Congress of Vienna these two states were combined to form the state of Lombardy-Venetia and included within the borders of the Austrian Empire. This was also largely a result of Allied efforts to secure stronger borders and Austria's interest in extending its Empire. Following a similar format as the previous, this chapter will explore the historical context of this region during the period of 1796 to 1815 in order to outline the major treaties and political players. This discussion will then be followed by an analysis of the confiscated works that will provide a basis for a further examination of some of the questions previously outlined in our discussion of the Papal States concerning the trends in confiscation and repatriation. The chapter will end with a final discussion of the repatriation process in order to discern any new obstacles and debates encountered by those who sought to return their cultural patrimony, and they affected the final outcome.

¹⁸⁴ *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession: An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, Eds. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995): 293.

3.1 – *The historical context from 1796-1815*

The Duchy of Milan which came to be known as Lombardy in 1815 was one of the first territories to be occupied by French troops during the campaign. Following the Battle of Lodi in early May 1796, the Général-en-Chef led his forces into Milan once Austrian officials had left the city in retreat. The city's municipality and the state of Lombardy sent Francesco Melzi d'Eril (1753-1816) as a delegate to meet the French army and appeal for clemency. Thus the arrival of French troops in Milan was met with a peaceful procession 'sous un arc de triomphe, au milieu d'un peuple immense et de la nombreuse garde nationale de la ville, habille aux trois couleurs, vert, rouge et blanc.'¹⁸⁵ A similar account is recounted in Stendhal's *The Charterhouse of Parma*, published in 1839. Having been employed as a dragoon in Napoleon's army, Stendhal was present during the invasion of Italy and it was on this occasion that he fell in love with the city of Milan. His influential novel sheds light on the pro-French feelings in the north and the imposition of French reforms. At one point he describes the changes in emotion and society, revealing strong Italian support of the French; 'so much pleasure and happiness poured into Lombardy with these Frenchmen, [...] these French soldiers laughed and sang all day long; [...] such youth, such gaiety, such free and easy ways offered a fine answer to the furious imprecations of the monks who for six months had preached that the French were monsters under orders, on pain of death, to burn down everything and cut off everyone's head.'¹⁸⁶ These reactions and the relatively peaceful alliance with the Duchy of Milan are reflected not only in these observations but also in the confiscation of artworks. In comparison to the relatively large number of confiscated paintings in other regions of Italy, the Duchy only experienced the removal of 15 paintings in May-June of 1796. Finally, these observations provide some evidence for the reasons behind the selection of Milan as the capital of the Kingdom of Italy in 1805.

¹⁸⁵ Bonaparte (2010), 92.

¹⁸⁶ Stendhal, *The Charterhouse of Parma*, Richard Howart, Tr., (New York: The Modern Library, 2000): 5.

Regardless of France's success in Milan, Austria was reluctant to retreat from Lombardy and in hopes of weakening French forces they contributed to local revolts in various cities including Pavia and Mantua. The uprisings that began around 24 May 1796 were eventually subdued when Bonaparte's forces attacked the walls of Pavia eventually forcing its citizens and magistrates to surrender. In his *Memoires*, Napoleon explains that it was not Italian forces that were beaten but rather those of Austria;

Les Lombards, les Italiens ne se regardaient pas come vaincus: c'était l'armée autrichienne qui avait été battue; aucun corps italien n'était au service de l'Autriche; le pays payait même une contribution pour être exempt du recrutement. [...] Cette circonstance, d'être obligé de vivre des ressources locales, retarda beaucoup l'esprit public de l'Italie. Mais vouloir appeler une nation à la liberté, à l'indépendance, vouloir que l'esprit public se forme au milieu d'elle, qu'elle lève des troupes, et lui enlever en même temps ses principales ressources, sont deux idées contradictoires.¹⁸⁷

Thus, the situation in Lombardy differs greatly from that of the Venetian Republic and the rest of Italy. Having been ceded to Austria in 1714, the resistance encountered on this territory was primarily Austrian rather than the individual Italian state. Whereas in the Papal States and other duchies the French were fighting both Austrian and Italian forces, the Duchy of Milan did not contribute directly to French resistance and as a result suffered far less in terms of confiscations. As Napoleon explained and was briefly touched on in chapter one, France's interests in liberating the Italian people from monarchist bonds were intended to support a liberated and independent republic, and in doing so aimed to reduce foreign influences. These intentions are apparent in Milan's eventual status as capital of the Kingdom of Italy and in the initial establishment of Italian Republics governed by Italians, but based on the French system.

France's interest in cutting off Austrian and Papal forces meant that by February 1797, the revolutionary government had secured armistices with Naples, Rome, and the various smaller Italian states; all that remained was the reinforced Austrian army still present in the Venetian Republic. As previously mentioned, this Republic's political and economic state in the opening years of the French Revolution were such that they

¹⁸⁷ Bonaparte (2010), 102.

could offer little in terms of defense or bargaining. Upon the French army's arrival in Milan in 1796 and the Austrian army's Belgian general Jean-Pierre Beaulieu's (1725-1819) retreat onto the Venetian mainland, Venice opted for armed neutrality – that is to say, that they would fortify their cities and territory but would only act if their borders were invaded. Thus, the Venetian Republic found itself placed in the middle of two warring nations – France which sought to impose its revolutionary ideas and Austria which sought to maintain control on the peninsula by threatening the Republic's independence. Faced with two options, Venice decided to offer the French army both a defensive and offensive alliance which they hoped would secure their own interests. Essentially this meant that the Republic would neither help nor hinder French efforts against the Austrians, but would simply accord the same privileges to both forces. What ensued was a divisional struggle on the *terra ferma*¹⁸⁸ with various cities surrounded by either a French or Austrian presence and resulted in civil unrest, much of it the result of fear and uncertainty in the face of these advancing armies. In pursuing France's interest in conquering the Austrian army on the peninsula, it soon became evident that the French army could not proceed throughout the *terra ferma* without first ensuring order and a relative level of tranquility in their wake otherwise their efforts could only be hindered.

In chapter two I noted that Napoleon's relationship with the French government in Paris became increasingly strained during the first year of the Italian campaign; however, at this point in the campaign the Général-en-Chef had yet to take a firm stand. Thus, under orders not to engage against new forces – i.e. the Venetians – Napoleon undertook only precautionary measures to ensure the French army's strong presence on the Venetian mainland. In doing so he conferred with Francesco Pesaro (1740-1799), member of the Venetian Council of Elders and plenipotentiary to the Doge. Pesaro sought to restore the republic and the morale of its citizens, and in light of these sentiments Napoleon proposed an alliance:

Il est un moyen de sortir votre république de la situation pénible où elle se trouve: je lui offre l'alliance de la France; je lui garantis ses États de terre ferme, même son autorité dans Brescia et dans Bergame; mais j'exige

¹⁸⁸ Venetian mainland.

qu'elle déclare la guerre à l'Autriche et fournisse à mon armée un contingent de 10,000 hommes d'infanterie, 2,000 de cavalerie et vingt-quatre bouches à feu [...]. Retournez à Venise, faites délibérer le sénat, et venez signer un traité, qui seul peut sauver votre patrie.¹⁸⁹

Unfortunately for the French (and perhaps also the Venetians), this initial alliance was declined in favour of maintaining a position of neutrality; to which Bonaparte, soon to advance toward Vienna, explained in no uncertain terms, 'si mes soldats étaient assassins, mes convois inquiétés, mes communications interrompues sur le territoire vénitien, votre république cesserait d'exister: elle aura prononcé sa sentence'¹⁹⁰ – a threat which would soon come to fruition.

This understanding, however, did not prevent the Venetian republic from encouraging a revolt against the French, most notably in the form of the Easter massacre (17-23 April 1797) in Verona.¹⁹¹ It was not long after that Bonaparte's successes against Vienna were known in Venice and thus resulted in an awareness of the possible consequences for the uprisings. In an effort to excuse their actions, delegates were sent from Venice to Paris and the Général-en-Chef's base in Graetz. However, in recalling the developments that occurred in the relationship between the French government and Bonaparte in late 1796, the decisive actions made by Napoleon without the government's official directive are not surprising. Following the interception of communications from the Venetian aristocracy to Milan, Bonaparte published a declaration of war against the Republic of Venice on 3 May 1797 based on the principle of fighting force with force. Within this manifest are the following terms:

Vu les griefs ci-dessus,¹⁹² et autorisé par le titre XII, article 328, de la Constitution de la République, et vu l'urgence des circonstances,
Le général en chef requiert le ministre de France près la république de Venise de sortir de ladite ville;

¹⁸⁹ Bonaparte (2010), 246-7.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 248.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 248.

¹⁹² Easter massacre in Verona, sinking of French vessel in Venice's harbour and general slaughtering of French troops within the Republic.

Ordonne aux différents agents de la république de Venise dans la Lombardie et dans la terre ferme vénitienne de l'évacuer sous vingt-quatre heures;

Ordonne aux différents généraux de division de traiter en ennemies les troupes de la république de Venise; de faire abattre dans toutes les villes de la terre ferme le Lion de Saint-Marc.¹⁹³

On 16 May 1797, the French entered Venice and soon after controlled its defenses and had placed their tricolour flag in the Piazza San Marco. However, what proved most upsetting was the removal of the Lion of Saint Mark and the four bronze horses from Corinth which had both become prominent symbols of the republic.¹⁹⁴ The bronze *Winged Lion*, a symbol of the city of Venice which would have been seen by approaching vessels, was removed from the top of the column erected next to the Doge palace. Whereas the four bronze horses were located on the front façade of the Basilica of San Marco and were considered a symbol of Venice's merchant history and conquests. Thus, these removals strike to the heart of the city and the republic's identity, and present further proof of Napoleon making good on his threat. Following these actions, the cities of the *terra ferma* revolted against Venice proclaiming their independence and own sovereignty. Adopting the principles of the French revolution these cities formed the basis for the Cispadane and Transpadane Republics, 'elles adoptèrent les principes de la révolution française; elles abolirent les couvents, mais respectèrent la religion et les propriétés des prêtres séculiers, constituèrent des domaines nationaux, supprimèrent les privilèges féodaux [...] les couleurs de ces nouvelles républiques furent celles d'Italie.'¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Bonaparte (2010), 252-3

¹⁹⁴ Quynn (Apr 1945), 441.

¹⁹⁵ Bonaparte (2010), 254. This is further evidenced in a document dated 19 Messidor Year 5 (7 July 1797) from the central government of Padua to the Municipal government of Venice, revealing their interests in a republic as well as those of surrounding cities. It states; 'Senza inserirci, o Cittadini, in quello che s'abbiano fatto tutte le altre Provincie, e Citta libere dell'Italia, abbiamo proclamato in faccia all'Italia tutta il nostro libero voto di unirici alla Repubblica Cisalpina. Siamo stati molto contenti di sentire che anche le altre Provincie, e Citta libere si siano unite nel medesimo sentimento, e ci consigliamo che in questo voto siate voi pure ora concorsi con una libera ed ampia sottoscrizione.' 19 Messidor Anno V dal Governo Centrale del Padovano alla Municipalità di Venezia, *Municipalità provvisoria 1797-1798*, Busta 21, Municipalità Provvisoria o Democrazia, Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Venice, Italy.

Having defeated the Austrian forces and secured the cooperation of the Venetian Republic, the delegates of each nation met in Campoformio to establish the Treaty of Campoformio in the autumn of 1797. In establishing the peace treaty, France sought to secure territories along the Rhine as well as profitable northern Italian states; thus, the Venetian Republic became a bargaining chip for the new Republic's political goals. Christopher Duggan explains that 'Italy was a diversion from the main theater of war in northern Europe, and any conquests were intended as bargaining counters with which to try to persuade Austria to make peace and agree to the Rhine frontier.'¹⁹⁶ Further to these political interests was the subtler approach of using public sentiments towards the two powers to their advantage. In considering France's perspective Napoleon noted:

La maison d'Autriche, en s'en emparant, exciterait au dernier degré leur mécontentement et leur jalousie. Le sénat de Venise s'était très mal conduit pour la France, mais très bien pour l'Autriche. Quelle opinion les peuples concevraient-ils de la moralité du cabinet de Vienne, lorsqu'ils le verraient s'appropriier les États de son allié, l'État le plus ancien de l'Europe moderne, celui qui nourrissait les principes les plus opposés à la démocratie et aux idées françaises. [...]

L'Autriche serait contente; car, si elle cédait la Belgique et la Lombardie, elle recevait un équivalent, sinon en revenu et en population, du moins sous le rapport des convenances géographiques et commerciales; Venise était contiguë à la Syrie, à la Carinthie et à la Hongrie.¹⁹⁷

By appropriating some of the territories of the Venetian Republic, France could ensure the support of the populace as they would question the morality of Vienna, because both parties (Vienna and Venice) were opposed to the principles of the French revolution and yet Austria was willing to divide the long-standing Venetian Republic. Evidence of these Italian sentiments would later come in the form of Ugo Foscolo's Novel *Le Ultime Lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, published in 1801 in Milan. Although published several years after the negotiations between France and Austria, inspiration and work on this novel date back to 1797 while Foscolo lived in Bologna. Written as a series of dated letters it recounts the life of the fictional character of Jacopo Ortis

¹⁹⁶ Duggan (2007), 11.

¹⁹⁷ Bonaparte (2010), 293.

during the period of October 1797 to March 1799. Of particular interest is the entry of 28 October 1797 which provides a glimpse of the sentiments felt by the Italian people living on the *terra ferma*:

Taci, taci: – vi sono de' giorni ch'io non posso fidarmi di me: un demone mi arde, mi agita, mi divora. Forse io mi reputo molto; ma è mi pare impossibile che la nostra patria sia cose conculcata mentre ci resta ancora una vita. Che faccia, noi tutti i giorni vivendo e querelandoci? [...] Che vuoi tu imprendere fra due potenti nazioni che nemiche giurate, feroci, eterne, si collegano soltanto per incepparci? E dove la loro forza non vale, gli uni c'ingannano con l'entusiasmo di libertà, gli altri col fanatismo di religione.¹⁹⁸

Beyond simply expressing the losses experienced on the Venetian *terra ferma*, this entry provides a level of personal reflection on the part of Jacopo Ortis with respect to these events. Perhaps most poignant is his description of oppression of the Italian people 'mentre ci resta ancora una vita,' forced to choose between the lesser of the two evils.

The second part of the French quote (Bonaparte, 293) refers to the territorial outcome of the treaty. Having established that the city of Venice was valuable in terms of its geographical location and commercial history, the French sought to transfer control of the city to Austria in exchange for Belgium and Lombardy – further strengthening the argument of the peninsula having been viewed as a bargaining chip. It was not until after some deliberation with regards to the implication of territorial losses that the Austrian delegates resigned themselves to adhering to France's demands.¹⁹⁹ On the evening of 17 October 1797, in the small town of Campoformio the Treaty of Campoformio was signed between the Austrian Empire and the new French Republic. It stipulated the following:

La République française consent à ce que sa majesté l'Empereur et roi possède en toute souveraineté et propriété les pays ci-dessous désignés, savoir, l'Istrie, la Dalmatie, les îles ci devant vénitiennes de l'Adriatique, les bouches du Cattaro, la ville de Venise, les lagunes et les pays compris entre les états héréditaires de sa majesté l'Empereur et roi, la mer

¹⁹⁸ Ugo Foscolo, *Ultime Lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, (Florence: Giunti Editore S.p.A., 1997): 28-9.

¹⁹⁹ Bonaparte (2010), 287.

Adriatique, et une ligne qui partira du Tyrol, suivra le torrent en avant de Gardola, traversera le lac de Garda jusqu'à la Cise [...]. La ligne de limite passera ensuite l'Adige à San Giacomo, suivra la rive gauche de cette rivière jusqu'à l'embouchure du canal Blanc, y compris la partie de Porto-Legnago [...] La ligne continuera par la rive gauche du canal Blanc, la rive gauche de Tartaro, la rive gauche du canal dit la Polisella jusqu'à son embouchure dans le Po, et la rive gauche du grand jusqu'à la mer.²⁰⁰

The stipulations of this treaty are, evidently, different from that of the Treaty of Tolentino as it is primarily a political treaty and thus does not make any specific demands for the confiscation of artworks. The reasons for these differences are twofold; the first being that the treaty was between France and Austria and thus any art stipulations would have to come from Austria; which at this point could not extend to Vienna. Therefore, any confiscations would have to be dealt with separately and would occur on the peninsula. Secondly, while the Papacy signed a treaty which stipulated artworks, this occurred prior to the French occupation of the entire state. By the time the Treaty of Campoformio was signed, Napoleon's army had already secured the surrender or cooperation of the city of Venice and every other major city on the *terra ferma*; thus, these conditions would be redundant.

The ceding of the city of Venice and the northern part of the *terra ferma* to Austria could be considered a form of penance by the French delegates and demonstrates an interest in creating a strong unified republic on the peninsula. The remaining cities and states would be left to run their own republic with the support of France whereas ceded territories of the Venetian Republic would be under the rule of the Austrian Empire. It is suggested in Napoleon's Memoires that this situation would eventually lead the Venetian populace within the Austrian Empire to resent its rule. He reflects:

Il n'y avait pas à craindre qu'un peuple de mœurs aussi douces put jamais prendre de l'affection pour un gouvernement allemande, et qu'une grande ville de commerce, [...] s'attachât sincèrement à une monarchie étrangère à la mer et sans colonies; et si jamais le moment de créer la nation italienne

²⁰⁰ Bulletin des Lois de la République française No. 166, (Paris: de L'Imprimerie de la République) in Angela Geatti, *Il trattato di Campoformido tra Napoleone Bonaparte e l'Austria, 17 ottobre 1797* (Arte Grafiche Fridane, 1997): 174.

arrivait, cette cession ne serait point un obstacle: les années que les Vénitiens auraient passés sous le joug de la maison d'Autriche leur feraient recevoir avec enthousiasme un gouvernement national.²⁰¹

Turning once again to Foscolo's *Ultime Lettere di Jacopo Ortis*; I draw your attention to the first entry, dated as little as six days prior to the signing of the Treaty, and in which Foscolo writes; 'il sacrificio della nostra patria è consumato: tutto è perduto; e la vita, seppure ne verrà concessa, non ci resterà che per piangere le nostre sciagure, e le nostre infamie.'²⁰² And little than two weeks later on 29 October 1797, Jacopo's sentiments suggest a greater depression and sense of loss; 'un demone mi arde, mi agita, mi divora. Forse io mi reputo molto; ma è mi pare impossibile che la nostra patria sia così conculcata mentre ci resta ancora una vita.'²⁰³ While not a firsthand account in the same way as a letter or government report, the success of Ugo Foscolo's novel and his involvement with French movements on the Veneto²⁰⁴ during this time provide valuable evidence to suggest a certain amount of discord and unrest amongst the Venetians, not to mention evidence of the experiences of the Italian populace.

By the end of 1797, the Duchy of Milan and the south-western part of the Venetian Republic had been incorporated into the Cisalpine Republic with Milan as its capital. The new republic encompassed Austrian Lombardy, part of the former Republic of Venice, the territories of the Duke of Modena, and the Papal provinces of Ferrara, Bologna and Romagna. Using France as their model; the Cisalpine Republic adopted a democratic government with the administration of its public affairs based on a Constitution.²⁰⁵ By the time the First Italian Campaign came to a successful end this republic had demonstrated a strong interest in maintaining the principles of the French

²⁰¹ Bonaparte (2010), 293-4.

²⁰² Foscolo (1997), 23.

²⁰³ Ibid, 28.

²⁰⁴ See introduction by J.G. Nichols in *Opere: Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis, Odi, Sonetti, Dei Sepulchri, Le Grazie*, (Gimma: Gius, Laterza et Figli, 1962) for further information regarding Foscolo's life and French military involvement.

²⁰⁵ W. Oppenheim, *A geographical and statistical account of the Cisalpine Republic, and maritime Austria*, (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1798): 28.

Revolution and establishing an independent republic, going so far as to build on Lombardy's previously non-existent defence legions.²⁰⁶

These institutions remained in place until Austrian forces returned to the peninsula in late 1798 during the war of the Second Coalition. 'Opposed to the expansion of French influence in Italy, [and] guaranteed Russian support in the form of a large army that had been mobilised by Paul I on his western front [...], Francis II finally decided on war' and not long after the occupation of Naples the Emperor's troops invaded northern Italy.²⁰⁷ Charles Esdaile describes the reason for the successes on this campaign as being primarily a result of the fragility of the French government in Paris while their forces were met with increased hostility in Italy forcing them to 'evacuate all their conquests except Genoa.'²⁰⁸

Count Francesco Melzi d'Eril – now Napoleon's principal lieutenant in the Cisalpine Republic – became a popular supporter of France's influence in northern Italy and embraced patriotic ambitions. Duggan explains that Melzi d'Eril 'hoped the Republic might, if it was administered efficiently and produced a good army, become the natural kernel of an Italian nation.'²⁰⁹ Believing it for the best to support popular patriotic discussion, the new First Consul encouraged these interests to secure the support of the Italian people and eventually succeeded in regaining control over the peninsula. This second Italian campaign came to an end in 1802 with the Peace of Lunéville signed between the French Republic and the Holy Roman Emperor Francis II on 9th of February 1802. With this treaty Austria retained the Italian boundaries agreed upon in the treaty of Campoformio, while France acquired the Duchy of Tuscany.²¹⁰ Thus, in the year 1802, Italy witnessed the transformation of the Cisalpine Republic into the Italian Republic which elected Napoleon Bonaparte as its President and Count d'Eril as Vice-President, and established a new constitution based on that of

²⁰⁶ Oppenheim (1798), 28.

²⁰⁷ Charles Esdaile, *The French Wars 1792-1815*, (UK: Routledge, 2001): 20.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 21.

²⁰⁹ Duggan (2007), 30.

²¹⁰ L. M. Roberts, 'The Negotiations Preceding the Peace of Luneville' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, vol 15 (1901): 48-49.

France. Unfortunately, while Melzi d'Eril secured a more efficient administrative system, all other policy decisions, and the penal and civil codes fell under Paris' control.

As it was, the Italian Republic and within it the Duchy of Milan fell increasingly under French control, particularly after Napoleon was crowned Emperor of the French and then sought to become King of the Kingdom of Italy. Edouard Driault's research on this period gives a clear breakdown of the ideas and challenges behind the decision to appoint Napoleon as King of Italy and perhaps most concisely states: 'l'Empereur ne pouvait pas rester à Milan un président provisoire de la République: l'Empire enveloppe dans sa signification propre l'Italie comme l'Allemagne; l'Italie devenait une partie de l'Empire et non plus seulement une annexe de la France.'²¹¹ Thus, in seeking to maintain their independent status, the Consulate in Milan took pre-emptive steps. Driault describes the course of action;

Voici en effet quel était le vœu de la Consulte d'Etat: après avoir considéré que "la félicité du peuple italien ne doit pas être plus longtemps abandonnés à des hasards que la prudence humaine ne peut ni revoir ni calculer" elle présentait à l'approbation de l'Empereur les articles suivants.

1. Le gouvernement de la République italienne est confié à un chef inamovible qui prend le titre de roi avec tous les honneurs et prérogatives analogues.
2. Son majesté Napoléon, empereur des Français, est nommé roi.

[...]

3. Les bases à conserver dans la susdite reformation sont: 1, le maintien de la religion catholique, apostolique et romaine; 2, l'intégrité du territoire de la République; 3, son indépendance politique.²¹²

Recalling the discussion of the Pope's involvement with the coronation of Napoleon as Emperor and the issue concerning his coronation as King of the new kingdom, we know that Bonaparte sought to incorporate historical symbols to invoke patriotic sentiments – namely in the form of the Iron Crown. One possible justification for this decision is presented by Driault, who suggests that the ever-present image and similarity to

²¹¹ E Driault, 'Napoleon Ier et l'Italie. Troisième Partie Napoleon Roi d'Italie (Suite et fin)' *Revue Historique* 89, 2 (1905): 275.

²¹² Archives Nationales, AF IV, 1708 and Affiche étrangère, Corriere de Milan, 60, 287 (dated 28 May 1804), text referenced in E Driault, 'Napoléon Ier et l'Italie. Troisième Partie Napoléon Roi d'Italie (Suite et fin)' *Revue Historique* 89, 2 (1905): 276-7.

Charlemagne, coupled with Napoleon's belief of his embodiment of the former Emperor, was largely responsible for the use of the Iron Crown. He argued that because Charlemagne had been crowned with the Lombard crown prior to becoming emperor, then Napoleon could never truly be emperor unless he too had been crowned with Italy's crown; 'c'est un fait historique que la couronne que donne le pape est le symbole de la domination de l'Europe occidentale, qu'elle a un caractère en quelque manière universel.'²¹³ Maintaining the image of himself as the new Charlemagne, Napoleon Bonaparte was crowned King of the Kingdom of Italy on 23rd of May 1805 by Cardinal Caprara. Regardless of the Italian stipulations to uphold an independent kingdom, these agreements did not prevent Napoleon from maintaining a position of supreme authority over the kingdom. Further to this was the appointment of Bonaparte's stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, as viceroy who was often described as loyal to a fault and thus ensured that the King's directives were followed.

While the Duchy of Milan had been hosting the government of the new Kingdom for the past several years, the former Republic of Venice had continued to remain under the control of the Austrian Empire. These borders remained as such until the signing of the third treaty between Austria and France on 26th of December 1805 following the Third Coalition War and the signing of the Treaty of Pressburg. The latter of which required the Holy Roman Emperor to cede the territories of the Veneto, Istria and Dalmatia to France, incorporating them into the newly formed Kingdom of Italy (Appendix B).²¹⁴

Reuben Rath's examination of the Kingdom of Italy provides a clear examination of the social and legal changes that occurred in French occupied Europe following the coronation of Napoleon. He explains that the countries under the domination of the French Empire, or in the case of this region of Italy ruled by Napoleon, experienced the creation of a new order; in Italy, 'the old political laws [...] were destroyed, and [...] the last vestiges of feudalism were wiped out.'²¹⁵ New laws

²¹³ Driualt (1905), 283.

²¹⁴ Geatti (1997), 227.

²¹⁵ Reuben John Rath, *The Fall of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy (1814)*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1975): 21.

which supported civil equality and justice along with the establishment of various professional groups and educational institutions were established.²¹⁶ These developments were most notable in Milan which underwent a citywide refurbishment in an effort to transform the once provincial capital into a political, economic and social centre of an Italian kingdom. These changes, when compared with the number of confiscations from Milan post-1805, give some credence to the concept of Milan being recreated in the image of the French capital – the building of a triumphal arch in Milan in honour of the new King and Emperor being one example.²¹⁷ As we shall see in the next section only five paintings were removed from the city after its designation as capital, all of which were taken from the Brera museum. Thus, for all intents and purposes their confiscation could be considered a simple transaction from one museum to another, rather than the forced transfer for borrowing purposes.

Further to being a newly united and independent nation, the Kingdom of Italy also provided a fresh supply of resources for the French Emperor's military campaigns, chief among them being the Russian campaign of 1812.²¹⁸ However, the failure of this campaign along with the growing anti-Napoleonic sentiments on the peninsula due to increased expenditure eventually contributed to the downfall of Bonaparte within this region of Italy. More importantly, it was these French reforms and the Italian reaction – largely from the lower classes – to them which 'helped significantly in extending the principles of unity and independence for the peninsula.'²¹⁹ By 1813, industry, trade and agriculture had suffered severely as a result of French exploitation and ultimately meant that the formerly wealthy Duchy of Milan and Republic of Venice now faced economic exhaustion. Of course, this also meant that the region would enter the end of the Napoleonic wars in a weak negotiating position.

²¹⁶ E. J. Miller, 'The Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy' *The British Museum Quarterly* 31, 3/4 (Spring 1967): 75.

²¹⁷ Amongst the projects decreed by the State Consulate; 'le premier de ces décrets comportait la construction d'un monument, composé essentiellement d'un colossal portique à l'antique servant de cadre à une statue équestre de Napoléon.' Driault (1905), 275-6.

²¹⁸ Rath and Miller point out the heavy cost of conscription which increased steadily from 4,500 men in 1807 to nearly 91,788 men by the end of the Russian Campaign of 1812 during which all but 1,000 of the original 27,000 men returned to their homeland. Rath (1975), 22.

²¹⁹ Di Scala (2009), 37.

Following their successes in Spain, the British proceeded to work with the two kingdoms in Italy to eliminate France's influence on the peninsula while Bonaparte was busy in Russia. These efforts centered mainly on Italian liberal-nationalist movements which emerged throughout the peninsula in 1812 and aimed to encourage the Italian people under French rule to revolt against their masters.²²⁰ Support for this cause came from Milanese Augusto Bozzi Granville who had been working as a translator in the British Foreign office along with secret societies and liberal minded individuals within Italy who had grown tired of the demands of the increasingly French ruled state. Combined these initiatives encouraged 'a new spirit of nationalism,'²²¹ whereby a new national kingdom would be created.

The final leg of the Napoleonic wars began in the autumn of 1813 when Austria joined the seventh coalition in their 'War of Liberation'. This coalition meant that France was facing Allied armies on all front and what occurred was the rapid advancement of Emperor Francis II's Italian army through the Veneto towards Milan. Reuben Rath points out that while the Austrians advanced through the Veneto they made a point of issuing propagandist proclamations in the hopes of rallying the Italian people against the French. The primary message of these proclamations focused on assuring the citizens of Italy 'that Austria was coming to bring them freedom and promised that they would have a fortunate future if they were faithful to those who love and protect them.'²²² Emperor Francis' delegates also made several attempts to convince Viceroy Beauharnais to abandon the French Emperor and join the Allies; however, the fact that all efforts were refused makes one wonder whether the Kingdom of Italy would have survived and had a stronger bargaining position in the later peace negotiations of 1814-1815, had Beauharnais chosen to negotiate with the Allies.

The coalition's efforts on the Italian peninsula were eventually joined by the alliance of the Kingdom of Naples, ruled by Joachim Murat. Their efforts finally culminated in early February 1814 with the Battle of the Mincio which forced Eugene Beauharnais' army to retreat and eventually surrender on 16 April 1814 with the signing

²²⁰ Rath (1975), 34.

²²¹ Miller (Spring 1967), 76.

²²² Rath (1975), 48.

the Convention of Schiarino-Rizzino, placing the fate of the Italian Kingdom in the hands of the Allied Powers.²²³ Unfortunately for the Italians of Milan, it was not until delegates were sent to meet with Austrian General Bellegarde that their fate was made known as the Austrian General arrived in Milan in late May and announced the annexation of Lombardy to the Austria.²²⁴ The deputations permitted to present themselves at the Allied headquarters to express the wishes of the Italian people faced a daunting task and one which pitted the interests of the small state of the Kingdom of Italy against the great force of the Allied diplomats.

By comparison, the Republic of Venice gradual liberation from the French by Austria was not finalised until the signing of the Treaty of Fontainebleau in April 1814 which state the city of Venice was to be handed over to the Austrians in the form of a provisional government.²²⁵ As a result of the wars, the economic situation faced by Austria and Italy meant citizens were increasingly subject to greater demands and contributed to growing unrest within these territories. These tensions eventually led to the final political outcomes of Lombardy-Venetia which combined meant they were reliant on the support of the Austrian Empire during the Congress of Vienna and the negotiations in Paris. By 1814, after a period of unrest and debate over political independence,²²⁶ the Kingdom of Italy was dissolved and a provincial regency had been established, while the Republic of Venice fell under an Austrian ruled provisional government. What will be addressed in a short while is how these two states came to be joined following the Congress of Vienna under Austrian rule, and how this influenced the return of their cultural patrimony.

²²³ 'Milano Napoleonica' part I in *Storia di Milano (1796-1814)* vol XIII (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1959): 318-320.

²²⁴ Bolton King, *A History of Italian unity: being a political history of Italy from 1814 to 1871*, (London: Nisbet, 1899): 6.

²²⁵ Margaret Plant, *Venice: Fragile City 1797-1997* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002): 78.

²²⁶ For a further breakdown of these events and the circumstances surrounding them see Rath (1975).

3.2 – The analysis of the database of confiscated works

The historical context we have just discussed provides this next section with the information needed to understand the circumstances of the confiscations. The events that occurred during the wars are intricately tied to the confiscations and repatriation efforts we will be analysing in that they affected the negotiations of both the French in taking them and the Allies in returning them. As we have seen in chapter two, the Papal States experienced several rounds of confiscations, but their political circumstances, while strong in terms of relations, meant that they were nevertheless in a weak negotiating position. However, the observations concerning the data could not be properly understood without a focused discussion of the historical context.

Having established in chapter two that the database of confiscated works was sub-grouped by region type, we can now turn to the list which identifies those works which were taken from a foreign-ruled state (Appendix H), based on the borders established in 1815. Once again, for the purpose of this discussion, the same guidelines have been applied to this analysis as they were for Italy's other two region types. However, in this region the original locations have been identified as five different types; church, museum, palace, unknown and other. Finally, the restitution status is also much the same with the exception being that many of the works from this region were exchanged; therefore, the status of the work will be one of the following: yes, no, lost, exchanged, destroyed-post, lost-post and not returned-post (NR-post). Following a similar organisational format as chapter two, the analysis will begin with a discussion of the cities and location types before progressing to the artist and finally the repatriation status and success rate based on the confiscation criteria.

3.2.1 – Cities

Unlike the Papal States, the wave of confiscations only occurred twice during the period of 1796 to 1814 with a total of 57 paintings being removed to Paris and affected far fewer cities. Looking at the chart below (table 3.1) we see that the bulk of the

confiscations occurred in Venice and Milan with Verona following closely in third with a total of 14 paintings removed. These numbers, however, are not unexpected when we consider the cultural history of the cities. Venice’s high number of confiscations is not surprising, as like Bologna (table 2.3) it had its own school of art and its long-standing independence from the rest of Italy meant that it had developed its own economic and political reputation in the world through trade. Milan’s placement within this list with 17 paintings is not unusual either when we consider the history of the city as a powerful economic and political centre in northern Italy; especially since Leonardo da Vinci had spent a period in the city under the commission of Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan.²²⁷ It becomes evident that the individual wealth of a city often correlates to the wealth of cultural property; the artistic industry in Italy having relied heavily on wealthy patrons who sought to further demonstrate their wealth and prosperity through the commissioning of artists.

City	Number of Paintings
Cremona	6
Mantua	3
Milan	17
Venice	18
Verona	14
Grand Total	58

Table 3.1 – Count of paintings by city

²²⁷ The role of Lodovico Sforza in the cultural world of Milan is integral to the development of the Lombard school of art. Following the lead of his predecessor Francesco Sforza in the early fifteenth century and his encouragement of humanist discussion and artists such as Pisanello and Michelozzo Michelozzi; Lodovico aimed to create a strong cultural and artistic centre in northern Renaissance Italy. Corrado Ricci explains that prior to the arrival of Leonardo da Vinci, the Lombard school of art largely followed the style of Ambrogio Bergognone (1480-1523) and the Foppa group and who would have included Donato da Montorfano – a style described as old and sober. The arrival of Leonardo provided for the development of a second phase of Lombard art, that which became known as Leonardesque and included followers Andrea Solario (1460-1515), Cristoforo Solario (Il Gobbo) and Giovanni Boltraffio (1467-1516). Corrado Ricci, *Art in Northern Italy* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1911): 133-160. See also *A Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Art*, Babette Bohn and James M. Saslow, Eds. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

3.2.2 – Artists

It is, however, when we take a closer look at works that were confiscated by artist (table 3.2) that we come to realize the popularity of a particular region and artistic school. The three most popular artists – Paolo Veronese with 15, Andrea del Mantegna (1431-1506) with 7, and Tiziano Vecellio with 5 – originated from or worked primarily in the Veneto and even Tintoretto (1519-1594), with 3 paintings following closely behind in fourth, owes his beginnings to this region.²²⁸

Artist	Number of Paintings
Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506)	7
Fra Bartolommeo (1472-1517)	2
Luini (1480-1532)	2
Moretto da Brescia (1498-1554)	2
Salvator Rosa (1615-1673)	2
Tintoretto (1518-1594)	3
Titian (1488-1576)	5
Veronese (1528-1588)	15
Grand Total	38

Table 3.2 – Count of paintings by artist (top 5)

Upon closer examination of the works by these three artists (table 3.3) it is revealed that their paintings were in fact located principally in Venice and Verona and thus explains the high number of works confiscated from these cities; you will see 6 Mantegnas confiscated from Verona, 3 Titians from Venice, and 8 Veroneses from Venice. It begs the question of whether the French commissioners targeted these areas for the purpose of obtaining works by these artists or if it was merely coincidence. If we assume the former to be the case we can conclude that the Venetian school of art was just as much valued as the paintings of Raphael in Rome. Furthermore, it suggests that French taste was as much concerned with the style of Raphael as with the Venetian preference for *colore* over *disegno*. Giorgio Vasari attributes the difference in these techniques to the manner in which the artist chose to complete the painting. He takes great care to outline the importance of studying

²²⁸ It is worth noting that Andrea del Mantegna was actually from Mantua and owes his ties the Veneto because of his work in Padua. Joseph Manca, *Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Renaissance* (London and New York: Parkstone International, 2006).

nature and the ancient sculptures in order to achieve what he refers to as the modern style and the artist’s ability to accurately depict perspectives and the human figure. In studying these examples and completing preparatory drawings and sketches before painting to canvas, the artist will follow the style of *disegno*. The origins of the second technique – that of *colore* – are attributed to Giorgione and differ from the former in that the artist does not prepare the canvas for painting by sketching the scene, but rather eliminates the sketch and progresses directly to painting the canvas and allowing colour rather than line to create form; thus, believing ‘that painting alone with its colours [...] was the truest and best method of working and the true art of design.’²²⁹ However, as will become evident in chapter five, the remaining artists of table 3.2 originate, like Mantegna, from the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries with the exception of Salvator Rosa. Fra Bartolommeo and Luini having worked equally across both centuries, and Moretto da Brescia primarily in the sixteenth.

Artist	Number of Paintings
Mantegna	7
Mantua	1
Verona	6
Titian	5
Milan	1
Venice	3
Verona	1
Veronese	15
Mantua	1
Venice	8
Verona	6
Grand Total	27

Table 3.3 – Count of paintings by top 3 artists and their location

²²⁹ In consulting Giorgio Vasari, he gives much praise to the style of Titian and the technique of *colore*. Although the advances in the study of colour and the practice of painting directly to canvas unique the Venetian school of art are admired, Vasari does point that should Titian visit Florence and Rome and study the technique of *disegno* – specifically Michelangelo and Raphael – ‘he would have created the most stupendous works, given his knowledge of colours; [...] Titian deserved the reputation of being the finest and most able imitator of Nature in his use of colour.’ In Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, Julia Conaway Bondanella, Tr., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991): 492. This is further supported by Pat Rubin’s *Giorgio Vasari, art and history* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995).

3.2.3 – Location

Keeping these interests in mind, we must then of course look at the accessibility of the paintings based on their location type (table 3.4). Whereas some of the paintings from the Papal States were from private collections, a significant number of works from this region were to be found in palaces and social institutions. The Doge Palace in Venice (6 paintings) and the Bevilacqua Palace in Verona (4 paintings) were popular locations in the Veneto while the Ambrosian Library in Milan (5 paintings) was the unfortunate location of a large number of confiscated paintings from this city.

Location Type	Number of Paintings
Church	36
Cremona	6
Mantua	3
Milan	5
Venice	12
Verona	10
Museum	5
Milan	5
Other	5
Milan	5
Palace	10
Venice	6
Verona	4
Unknown	2
Milan	2
Grand Total	58

Table 3.4 – Count of paintings by location type and city

All of these locations differ greatly from those we encountered in the Papal States (table 2.5) for they did not originate from a private collection, and this fact meant that the artworks would have been more accessible than those protected within a private household. A look at table 3.4 above demonstrates that not only did these palaces contain many of the sought-after paintings but that the paintings may have been more accessible than one would expect. Of course, when we consider that negotiations would have been conducted with the political leader of the city or state then this high number of confiscations is understandable. This argument, however, cannot pertain to

the city of Venice which experienced confiscations prior to the signing of Campofornio when the French invaded the city and stripped it of its cultural symbols whether they were in the public piazza of San Marco or the private chambers of the Doge Palace. Thus, perhaps more so than in Milan, the Republic of Venice's confiscations struck to the heart of the republic's political and cultural identity. Turning towards the remaining location types we see that, much the same way that the Papacy was stripped of the cultural treasures in their museums, the political and social institutions which formed an integral part of the Republic of Venice and the Duchy of Milan's history and identity were robbed of theirs. Furthermore, the trend seems to be that the church and therefore the populace was most affected by these appropriations with the confiscations amounting to 35 paintings.

Before continuing, I would like to point out that the museum listed in the chart above refers to the Brera museum in Milan which was in fact an art academy before the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Unlike the Capitoline and Pio-Clementino in Rome, which were designed as a place to hold a collection, the Brera collection developed as a result of its history as an academy. Unlike Venice and Bologna with its strong artistic schools, 'Milan, with its role as capital, was unable to limit itself to such a regional function, and was [therefore] obliged to assemble representative works of art from all the provinces conquered by Napoleon.'²³⁰ Milan became one of the numerous regional cities who developed a public museum during this period. Rosalba Tardito explains that from 1806 to 1813 the Brera museum steadily acquired paintings from various artists and schools; helped further by Andrea Appiani (1754-1817) who, in addition to being a painter, also served in varying capacities as a commissar for visual arts. Appiani's role in the Brera's collection is important in that his inventories contributed to the selection and compilation of paintings for the museum.²³¹ Among them were Giovanni Bellini's *Madonna and Child*, bought in 1806 by Eugène Beauharnais; the *Saint Mark Working Many Miracles* by Tintoretto, in 1811; and

²³⁰ Rosalba Tardito, 'The Creation of the 'Grande Brera'' *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship* 5 (1986): 338.

²³¹ 'Andrea Appiani' *Art Directory*, accessed 25th April 2017 <<http://www.art-directory.info/fine-art/andrea-appiani-1754/>>.

works by Flemish and German artists, in 1813, in exchange for the aforementioned five paintings. Recalling our earlier discussion on the political changes occurring in Milan at this time and the discussion presented by Rosalba Tardito, it is realistic to assume that these confiscations were treated as a transaction rather than the one-sided confiscations witnessed in other areas – an issue to keep in mind for our later discussion on repatriation. Not to mention the transactions that were occurring on the peninsula in an effort to ‘stock’ regional collections for Academies.²³² Of interest, however, is the instance of Milan’s reluctance to part with a painting by Boltraffio which Denon was attempting to acquire from the museum, Gould explaining that ‘on the ground that it was the only one [the museum] had Denon replied that that would make it even more desirable for the Louvre.’²³³

3.2.4 – Repatriation Status

Having established that the French commissioners sought to acquire works that followed the Venetian style of painting and even within these parameters had narrowed their preferences to a select few, we must discern whether this taste was reflected in the efforts made by this region to repatriate. Furthermore, we must also take into account the significant number of paintings that were removed from the palaces and ask ourselves whether the fact that they were removed from a political setting had an impact on repatriation.²³⁴ I would reiterate here that the term palaces refers to the locations explicitly identified by Blumer; while palaces could have had their own galleries, these paintings are nevertheless recognised as originating from a separate secular and political location. The paintings identified as originating from a gallery are due to the differentiation made by Blumer and speak to the nature of the location; a gallery referring to the specific display of artworks like those discussed in chapter one. Like the church where the painting held a function of its own, the painting located within a

²³² Gould (1965), 111.

²³³ Ibid, 110.

²³⁴ I would refer you back to the definitions of location types provided in the Introduction to disseminate between palaces, galleries and private collections.

palace often spoke to the political or social history of the region and thus could have held a far greater importance to those seeking repatriation. Similar to the Papal States, whereby the difference between the number of works that were returned versus not returned is not substantial, the Duchy of Milan and the Republic of Venice also faced the problem of those works that were lost or destroyed during the wars.

A quick look at the chart below (table 3.5) allows for an initial comparison of the success rate between this region and the Papal States. Narrowing the criteria to those paintings that were either returned or not returned we can conclude that Lombardy-Venetia fared slightly better than the Papal States. While in the Papal States 36.5% of the paintings were returned and 44.5% remained in France, in the foreign-ruled Lombardy-Venetia 43.9% (25 of the 57 confiscated) of the paintings were returned and 38.6% (22 of the original 57) remained. This of course leaves out the 5 paintings that were lost or destroyed.

Status	Number of Paintings
Exchanged	5
Lost	2
No	22
NR – lost	2
Yes	25
Destroyed – post	1
Lost – post	1
Total	58

Table 3.5 – Repatriation status

However, while they seemed to have managed better in this respect, this region unfortunately witnessed a number of exchanges (the 5 paintings listed in table 3.5) and therefore raises the question of the value of this exchange – that is to say, did the works differ in cultural and/or artistic value and importance? I turn your attention to Veronese’s *Marriage at Cana* of 1563 which was removed from the refectory of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice in September 1797 and placed in the Louvre. Due to the size of the painting and enthusiasm of the French government to acquire it, the work suffered significant damage in its shipment to Paris – having to be cut in three places in order to be properly packaged. Thus, when the Venetian Republic sought to

repatriate it there was much concern as to the overall welfare of the work, as shipping it back to Venice might in fact cause more harm.²³⁵ Further evidence of the Republic's concern for cultural property comes in the form of the establishment of a *Commissione Provinciale per la conservazione degli oggetti d'arte* in 1818, evidence of which is apparent as early as 1806 in a report by Signore Eduard dated 30 May 1806 describing the efforts that will be made to establish a museum and work on the restoration of artworks.²³⁶ In the end, it was decided that Veronese's masterpiece should remain in Paris in exchange for a work by French artist Charles Le Brun titled *The Feast at Simon the Pharisean* (1653, Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice). While Venice could take some pleasure in having acquired a work by a prominent French artist, we must nevertheless question whether it was a fair trade. Could Le Brun's painting be equally compared to the loss of a painting by one of Venice's own masters? A deeper examination of these exchanges will be reserved for a later discussion.

3.2.5 – *Success rate*

It is however the examination of the returned work that provides a greater understanding of the success of the repatriation process. Knowing two of the cities – Milan and Venice – were in fact their own political centres, we must take into consideration the percentage of returned works by city and artist in order to draw any conclusions. In looking at the works that were returned, the data set also includes those that were exchanged, lost after they were returned and destroyed after their return. The reason for the inclusion of those that were exchanged is simply due to the fact that they were in the end able to

²³⁵ Johns (1998), 190.

²³⁶ No. 39 Rapporto Sig. Eduard Protocollato al No. 6574 30 maggio 1806. Elenco inserto al No. 5645, 14 maggio, *Magistrato Civile in Venezia*, Busta 41, Regno d'Italia (1806-1814), Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice, Italy. Pietro Edwards was the Director of the Restoration of the Public Pictures of Venice and was an advocate for the preservation of Venetian art. During this work, Edwards is recognised for having devised a new theory and practice that focused on preserving the artist's original intentions. During the wars he worked with the French to ensure the safe transportation of works to Paris and played a key role in the establishment of the Brera and the Accademia in Venice. Elizabeth Jane Darrow, 'Pietro Edwards and the restoration of the public pictures of Venice, 1778-1819: necessity introduced these arts,' PhD Thesis, *University of Washington* (2000).

retrieve some form of art – it may not have been the exact painting but it would have been worst to receive no form of restitution. The two tables below outline the success rate of each city based on the number of returned in the first chart and the reciprocal in the second the chart. Apart from Venice having the highest success rate at 83%, two paintings are missing from the original 57 in the first chart; this is due to the fact that Mantua did not succeed in recovering any of its stolen treasures, but does appear in the second table with 100% of its paintings remaining and not returned.

City	# of Paintings	Number Taken	Success Rate (%)
Cremona	2	6	33.33
Milan	8	17	47.06
Venice	15	18	83.33
Verona	7	14	50.00
Grand Total	32	55	58.18

Table 3.6 – Repatriation success rate by city

City	# of Paintings	Number Taken	NR Rate (%)
Cremona	4	6	66.67
Mantua	3	3	100.00
Milan	9	17	52.94
Venice	3	18	16.67
Verona	7	14	50.00
Grand Total	26	57	43.86

Table 3.7 – Percentage of not returned paintings by city

Recalling that Venice, Milan and Verona had the highest number of confiscations (table 3.1) we realize that success was relative, for only Venice came close to reacquiring all their stolen property. By comparison, Milan, while being the third most successful city, is also the second least successful in its efforts to repatriate. Considering the developments of the city and the Brera museum during the wars, these numbers are staggering, but a closer look reveals that 4 of the 9 paintings not returned were located outside of Paris, 2 were lost and the remaining 3 were in Paris, two of which were in the Louvre and another in a city church. All of which would suggest one of two things; first, that the experiences of the city as a capital and its role in the building and exchange of a regional collection contributed to the negotiation process, or that the location of the works in France played an equally strong role in the outcome. However,

once again conclusions cannot be made until an examination of the success rate by artist and the painting's location in France has been made.

Having recognized the French government's interest and taste in the Venetian school of art, we must question whether the Duchy of Milan and the Republic of Venice were equally concerned with these artists and if so whether that concern was purely proprietary or whether it held further cultural significance. The chart below (table 3.8) lists the artists with the highest number of returned works; the data restricted to highlight the most affected artists.

Artist	Number of Paintings	Number Taken	Success Rate (%)
Andrea Mantegna	3	7	42.86
Luini	2	2	100.00
Moretto da Brescia	2	2	100.00
Tintoretto	2	3	66.67
Titian	4	5	80.00
Veronese	8	15	53.33
Grand Total	21	34	61.76

Table 3.8 – Repatriation success rate by artist (top 5)

These numbers provide a harsh look at the ramifications of these confiscations and reflect much of the same trends we encountered with the Papal States; this being that the three most sought after artists – Veronese, Andrea del Mantegna, Titian and even Tintoretto – also had some of the lowest percentage of returned works at 53%, 42.8% and 80%, respectively. Of course, the percentage of returned paintings is relative; for instance, of the five paintings by Titian all but one were repatriated. These statistics also coincide with the numbers from tables 3.6 and 3.7 in that the above artists originated primarily from Venice and Verona, with the works by the two successful artists both originating from Milan.

3.2.6 – Location in France

As evident in the discussion on the repatriation by city, the success rate of this region needs to take into account the location of the works in France, for it was not only the

Papal States that saw the shipment of its works outside of Paris. Table 3.9 provides a list of the various locations paintings were placed once in France, Paris of course holding the highest number with 13 paintings. Looking specifically at the works that were located outside of Paris – a total of ten – we realize that the number is relatively low when compared to the 34 paintings from the Papal States. Alternatively, we can view this number as a percentage whereby roughly 17.5% of the works from this region type were relocated outside of Paris, compared with 24.8% from the Papal States. Following on earlier observations, the works of Andrew Mantegna and Veronese found themselves in the museums of Tours and Caen, and Rouen and Versailles, respectively; demonstrating that this obstacle did in fact have a detrimental effect on repatriation.

Location	Number of Paintings
Disappeared	1
Museum, Brussels	1
Museum, Caen	1
Museum, Geneva	2
Museum, Montpellier	1
Museum, Rouen	2
Museum, Tours	2
Paris	9
Paris, Notre-Dame	1
Paris, St Philippe-du-Roule	1
Versailles and Paris	2
Grand Total	23

Table 3.9 – Count of paintings remaining in France

There is however one other factor that must be considered when discussing the success of repatriation and it deals primarily with the artworks original owner. The success of a particular region’s repatriation has thus far taken into account the number of works that were returned to Italy from France but does not take a closer look at whether the work in question was returned to its original location. Based on current observations we have concluded that both the Papal States and Lombardy-Venetia were relatively successful in bringing their cultural property back to Italy; however, we must take these conclusions further and question whether their original locations – the churches and political institutions of the region – were equally successful. Recalling

that the restitution status is one of yes/ exchanged/ destroyed-post/ lost-post, table 3.10 presents the count of returned paintings based on their returned location. The numbers are divided first by their final location in the Italian region (highlighted in orange) and then by the original location. For instance, the 9 paintings placed in a museum upon their return to Lombardy-Venetia all originated from a church. From these figures, we can deduce that while the region itself was able to repatriate 32 paintings, the majority of these locations did not see the return of their cultural patrimony. In the case of the church, 20 paintings were returned to the region but only 11 experienced complete repatriation with the remaining 9 paintings being placed in a museum. A quick comparison with the Papal States (table 3.11), however, reveals that Lombardy-Venetia fared much better in achieving complete repatriation. Using the church once again as an example, we see that only three of the 42 paintings taken from a religious house achieved complete repatriation in the Papal States.

Location type in Lombardy-Venetia	Number of Paintings
Church	11
Church	11
Museum	9
Church	9
Other	2
Other	2
Palace	4
Palace	4
Unknown	1
Palace	1
Exchanged	5
Gallery	5
Grand Total	32

Table 3.10 – Count of paintings based on returned versus original location in Lombardy-Venetia

Location type in the Papal States	Number of paintings
Church	3
Church	3
Museum	41
Church	38
Palace	1
Museum	2
Unknown	10
Church	10
Grand Total	54

Table 3.11 – Count of paintings based on returned versus original location in Papal States

Overall the analysis of works repatriated is no better than the Papal States and to a certain extent seems to have been even more affected by the artist. Furthermore, where the confiscations in the Papal States extended between several cities and affected mainly churches, those of the Duchy of Milan and the Republic of Venice seem to have centered far more on political centres affecting not only religious institutions, but also secular ones. This accounts for the relatively low number of paintings placed in a museum in table 3.10 when compared the 41 paintings from the Papal State in table 3.11 that found their way into a museum upon their return. The reasons for this trend having been touched on section three of the last chapter with regards to Carlo Fea’s arguments, but will be touched upon again in chapter five when looking at the overall experience.

3.3 – The process of repatriation

With the provisional regency in Lombardy and an Austrian provisional government in the territories of the Republic of Venice all that remained after the abdication of Napoleon was the formal establishment of the state’s borders and government – both of which were to be decided by the Allied Powers during the Congress of Vienna. In preparation for these negotiations the new electoral colleges of Milan sent delegates to

meet with the Allied Powers in Paris and their commanders in Italy.²³⁷ The purpose of these envoys was to secure a personal relationship with the Allied commanders so that they may provide support to the interests of the Kingdom of Italy. The extra effort made with the British delegates demonstrates the level of hope and expectation the Italians had in procuring their support, believing that they more than the Austrians would be willing to support their cause. According to Rath the open support for the Italian cause at this point is not surprising, for many Austrian officials on the peninsula were favourable towards establishing an independent Kingdom of Italy with an Austrian archduke as its king. However, as we shall soon see, the fate of the kingdom and of Lombardy ultimately resided with the Allied Powers in Paris.

Essentially the British and Austrians, at this point, were concerned with maintaining order and tranquility in the conquered territories which included Milan by the end of April after the arrival of Austrian delegates and troops. These concerns derived from the aims of the Allied Powers in creating a balance of power in Europe. Thus, the Austrian and British delegates in Milan during this time acted in the interests of their representative countries; reasons for which were outlined in chapter two. Austria, maintained a conservative and authoritative policy as a means of extending their influence over the territories and in an effort to return to a pre-revolutionary system of government and states; while Britain, equally concerned with returning peace and stability in Europe, 'was promoting the creation of a new balance of power in Europe, in which independent, national states, with liberal governments, would be established to prevent Austria and France from becoming too strong.'²³⁸ However, the dual efforts by these two Allied Powers were nevertheless opportunistic.

During the last years of the Napoleonic wars it was in the interest of the Allied Powers and Britain to support Italian independence and the creation of a liberal constitution for it would mean the support of the populace in the defeat of Bonaparte.

²³⁷ Decree, Electoral Colleges, Milan, April 23, 1814, in *The London Times*, 9 May 1814, Issue 9216, pg. 2.

<http://find.galegroup.com/dvnw/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=DVNW&userGroupName=rho_ttda&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=CS34486953&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

²³⁸ Rath (1975), 164.

Therefore, regardless of the interests of the Lombards, their fate ultimately resided in the political play of the Allied Power in Paris no matter their efforts to present the wishes of the Italian people. In comparison, the Republic of Venice, believing their occupation would mark an improvement from the previous couple of years; the Venetian population became increasingly frustrated and soon voiced their own wish for an independent government and state. Having existed under an Austrian provisional government since October 1813 and partly under their rule from 1797 to 1806, the Veneto was eager to see a more permanent solution established; hopefully in the form a Venetian state ruled by a Hapsburg prince but entirely independent from the Austrian Empire – much like the aspirations of Milan.²³⁹

Rath explains that the fate of the Veneto had been decided during the formation of the seventh coalition in the summer of 1813 whereby Austria made claim to the Italian territories east of the Mincio – a dividing line between Lombardy and Venetia. As an established ally of Austria, Britain owed their allegiance first to Emperor Francis II not Italy; thus, it was only Lombardy that needed to be settled in the Peace of Paris and the Congress of Vienna.²⁴⁰ The final decision came in May 1814 when it was decided for the sake of maintaining peace and tranquility in Europe that Austria would acquire Lombardy. In the end, it was decided that the territory of Lombardy and of Venetia would be given to Emperor Francis II of Austria and would be ruled by an Austrian archduke, in the name of the Emperor, with Milan as its capital. It was not until after the Congress of Vienna that the two Italian states were combined to form the Austrian ruled territory of Lombardy-Venetia.

²³⁹ King (1899), 12. Margaret Plant expands further on the discontent amongst the populace in the years following the defeat of the French and the arrival of the Austrians. Both countries suffering from the economic strain of war, blockades and poor harvests created discord and depression. With little changing with the arrival of the Austrians, the new Austrian government was forced to use censorship and many visitors to the city of Venice blamed its disrepair on the Hapsburgs. Plant (2002), 83-84.

²⁴⁰ Duggan (2007), 78.

3.3.1 – Concerning the paintings

Upon acquiring the Lombard state, the Austrian Emperor, among other stipulations, assured the Milanese delegates ‘that he would attempt, at all costs, to revive the commerce and industry of their country, and would begin negotiations with the French government to have all the art treasures taken from Italy during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period restored.’²⁴¹ The subject of the artworks was reiterated in a later meeting with the Emperor whereby the Italian delegates, in accordance with the Emperor’s offer to review petitions and particular requests, presented their concerns. By 24 May 1814 these deputies had presented Austrian Delegate Prince Klemens von Metternich with ‘a list of the chief works of art and manuscripts which the French had taken from Lombardy during the campaign of 1796.’²⁴² These reparations of course would not begin until after Napoleon’s return and the Battle of Waterloo as the primary concern of the Allies was the establishment of peace in Europe during the Congress of Vienna. Johns suggests that one possible reason for this delay was tied to the Allied interest in appeasing the French public into supporting the reinstated Bourbon monarchy, ‘and a restoration of art would have damaged this political goal.’²⁴³ By this point the Allied leadership had suffered severe losses both military and financial, and therefore issues concerning the return of artworks were relatively low on their list of priorities.

While the Allied governments concerned themselves primarily with the establishment of peace in 1814-1815, individual requests for the return of stolen property were made directly to the newly appointed King Louis XVIII. Dorothy Mackay Quynn explains that in the interest of maintaining peace in France the Allies desired ‘to deprive the French of nothing except such articles as contributed to military strength;’²⁴⁴ thus, it was expected that nations would deal with the issue of repatriation privately. Little did they realize that the artworks themselves could be a rallying point for the French people. By the summer of 1815, the Allied Powers took a more severe

²⁴¹ Rath (1975), 193.

²⁴² Ibid, 197. See also Gabbrielli (2009).

²⁴³ Johns (1998), 172.

²⁴⁴ Quynn (April, 1945), 447.

approach in dealing with France and were adamant about returning stolen property to its rightful owners. Both the dispatches of Lord Wellington and Castlereagh, and the newspaper articles mentioned in chapter two made the position of Britain known to the delegates in Paris, in whom they found encouragement and support. Austria's efforts in securing the return of Italian treasures continued in early August 1815 when Austrian delegate Prince Metternich made an appeal for the return of these treasures and Joseph Rosa, director of the Belvedere Gallery in Vienna, was sent to Paris.²⁴⁵ They were soon supported by England and Prussia after the three nations signed an agreement in Vienna on 20 September whereby these powers 'agreed that all art objects should be returned to their original owners.'²⁴⁶ As evidenced in chapter two by Canova's meeting with Austrian delegates, their initial involvement was as a result of the Venetians appeal for the *Four Bronze Horses* and the *Lion of St Mark*, and their reluctance could have been offset by England's active support of repatriation.

What began with Prussian military support soon expanded to include Austrian and British guards surrounding the Louvre while agents from these nations – including Italian representatives – began to remove and crate their treasures within its walls. The packing of the Venetian Bronze horses, as described in the *London Courier* on 4 October 1815, provides some insight as to the level of Austrian presence in Paris and further illustrates the sentiments of the populace;

The Austrians are taking down the bronze horses from the Arch [Carousel]. The whole court of the Tuileries, and the Place du Carousel are filled with Austrian infantry and cavalry under arms; no person is allowed to approach; [...] the troops on guard amount to several thousands; there are crowds of French in all the avenues leading to it, who give vent to their feelings by shouts and execrations.²⁴⁷

The article later goes on to explain that the placement of canons along bridges in the event of military intervention was required – the entire scene is one of tension. Another account of these events is recounted by Polish Countess Helene Potocka, who was in

²⁴⁵ Gabbrielli (2009), 75-76.

²⁴⁶ Quynn (April, 1945), 451.

²⁴⁷ Private Correspondence, Paris, Sept. 30, *London Courier* (4 October 1815).

Paris at the time. In a letter to her husband, Count Vincent Potocka, dated 25 to 28 September 1815, she recaptures the event;

On est occupé à descendre les chevaux antiques qui étaient sur l'arc de triomphe des Tuileries. L'Empereur d'Autriche les redemanda au nom des Vénitiens. On a cassé, en les descendant, un petit morceau du harnais, le peuple s'est jeté dessus et on se l'est partagé. Nossarzewski m'en a apporté un petit morceau.

Les soldats autrichiens cernaient tout le Carrousel pendant cette opération et on avait braque sept canons, mèche allumée, sur la place.²⁴⁸

The similarities of these accounts are undeniable; however, it is the difference which deserves further elaboration. The *London Courier*, being a public newspaper, chose to leave out any mention of the damage suffered by the horses, while the Countess retells her joy at receiving a piece of these famed sculptures. This omission is of course understandable in that they would not want to cause further social unrest; however, it is worth noting here in order to present a clearer picture of the risks involved in the repatriation process and the reaction of the public to their presence. Potocka's description of a crowd throwing themselves upon the broken pieces of the harness demonstrates the incredible emotion experienced by the people of Paris. Finally, the extent of Austria's efforts in securing these treasures and their later support of the Pope's delegates in Paris provide valuable insight into the Emperor's considerable interest in repatriating the cultural objects of his Italian states and goes a long way to explain the data from the previous section.

3.3.2 – The obstacles

In chapter two we outlined three major obstacles that the Italian – and Austrian – delegates would have encountered upon their arrival in France; however, in the case of this region all but one was applicable. Whereas many of the artworks obtained from

²⁴⁸ Letter from Countess Helene to Count Vincent, 25 to 8 September 1815 in Clara Adele Luce Herpin, *Histoire d'une grande dame au XVIIIe: la comtesse Helene Potocka*, (Paris: Calmann Levy, 1888): 478.

the Papal States were acquired via treaty, this was not the case with the Duchy of Milan or the Republic of Venice. The confiscations in Milan occurred in May-June of 1796 after the arrival of the French but were not obtained because of any particular agreement, while the works removed from the Venetian territories occurred before the signing of the Treaty of Campoformio; thus, this particular obstacle is not relevant. The only phase of confiscation that warrants further investigation are those that occurred in Milan in 1812, all of which were restricted to the Brera Museum.²⁴⁹ The second obstacle pertained to the cost of transportation, both financial and the general wellbeing of the work in question. Looking first at the financial cost of packaging the works in Paris and transporting them to Italy, we can already deduce from the presence of Austrian troops in Paris that this process would have been more expensive. The Papal States was presented with the packaging and transportation as expenses, however Austria had the added burden of the wages of the guard stationed around the Louvre. Further to this issue was the economic situation in Austria which, as a result of the wars and the forced financial reparations to France, forced them to levy heavy taxes on the Empire, now including Lombardy-Venetia. In a letter to the Imperial court in Austria from the Director of Accounting dated 27 April 1819, the Director provides a breakdown of the expenses of the shipment of artworks from Paris to Milan. He recounts;

Siccome più parte delle dette spese dovevano stare a carico dei Governi ai quali appartenevano gli oggetti trasportati, così l'I. R. Casse ebbe ordine di regolare la partita delle dette £12,049.25.

Come spesa definitiva a carico di questo Stato per la quota delle spese di trasporto occasionate dagli effetti appartenenti alle Città di Milano, Monza, Mantova e Cremona £1277.25.

Come versamente fatto nell'I. R. Cassa Universale del debito pubblico di Vienna, e ciò per la quota spettante all'I. R. Governo di Venezia per gli effetti destinate per Venezia e Verona £6815.00.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ The fate of exchanged works will be explored further in section two of chapter five.

²⁵⁰ Lettera al I. R. Eccelsa Camera Aulica, li 27 aprile 1819 dal L'Imp. R. Direzione generale di Contabilità, (No. 5739/1692), fasc. 10, *Atti di Governo, Studi parte moderna (Parma e Modena)*, Busta 328, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Milan, Italy.

From this letter, we can deduce that the costs of transportation were to be borne by those governments to which the objects belonged. As such the cities of Lombardy were to contribute just less than 1,300 lira, those of the Veneto were to pay a little over 6,800 lira; while the remaining 3,900 lira was divvied up between the Duchy of Parma and Modena.

While the financial requirements of such an endeavour were substantial, the physical condition of the works proved a far greater concern particularly for Venice. Although not a painting, I would draw your attention to the *Winged Lion* from Venice as an example of the damage removal and transportation could incur upon one of these objects. Having already sustained severe damage upon its initial removal from the Piazzeta of San Marco in Venice, the statue faced further damage upon its removal, in late September 1815, from the fountain in the Esplanade des Invalides in Paris. A later letter dated 5 October 1815, once again from Countess Helene to her husband describes the removal of the lion;

On a voulu enlever le lion qui était sur la place des Invalides, car les Vénitiens le redemandent. Les Autrichiens se sont donc mis en train de le descendre eux-mêmes, car on n'a pu trouver aucun Français qui voulut travailler à aucun des ouvrages servant à dépouiller la France. Tout le peuple en silence était rassemblé sur la place [...] mais les maladroits ont laissé tomber le lion du haut de son piédestal et il s'est brisé en vingt pièces. Aussitôt les acclamations, les rires et éclats de joie ont fait retentir les airs, ce qui a mis les Autrichiens dans une horrible colère! Le lion de Saint Marc ne sera plus pour personne.²⁵¹

Regardless of these damages, the Venetians were nevertheless able to procure the lion; the same could not be said for one of their most prized works of art. During the journey to Paris Paolo Veronese's *Marriage Feast of Cana* of 1562-3 was torn in three and later French efforts to restore it made it difficult to move.²⁵² The enormous size of the painting (262 x 390 inches) alone posed considerable risk of damage, but, coupled with the damage it had already sustained during its shipment to Paris the Italian delegates

²⁵¹ Letter from Countess Helene to Count Vincent, 5 October 1815 in Clara Adele Luce Herpin, *Histoire d'une grande dame au XVIIIe: la comtesse Helene Potocka*, (Paris: Calmann Levy, 1888): 479.

²⁵² Quynn (April, 1945), 456.

were reluctant to risk transportation; thus, accounting for its exchange. Veronica Gabbrielli explains that this issue was already of concern to the Austrian diplomats, having decided on a practice of selective repatriation by taking into account the size and fragility of the work in question.²⁵³

This selection was further hindered by the third and final obstacle which pertained to the location of works in France and which, based on the chart below (3.12), seems to have been less of an issue than the Papal States. Recalling that this data is restricted to those paintings with the returned status of ‘no, not returned-lost, and exchanged’ and with a location in France other than the Louvre we can deduce that this region of Italy was relatively fortunate, when compared to the Papal States, in that most of the works remained at the Louvre. Of the 23 paintings that remained in France a little under half of them were located in the Louvre, while the remainder were sent to various regional museums.

Location	Number of Paintings	Artist
Disappeared	1	Antonio Allegri
Museum, Brussels	1	Procaccini
Museum, Caen	1	Veronese
Museum, Geneva	2	Fra Bartolommeo
Museum, Montpellier	1	Palma Vecchio
Museum, Rouen	2	Giorgione, Veronese
Museum, Tours	2	Mantegna
Paris	9	
Paris, Notre-Dame	1	Salvator Rosa
Paris, St Philippe-du-Roule	1	Bernardo Strozzi
Versailles and Paris	2	Veronese
Grand Total	23	

Table 3.12 – Count of paintings remaining in France

The two paintings that are listed as being located in the church of St Thomas d’Aquin or the church of St Philippe-du-Roule go back to the method of selective repatriation explained by Gabbrielli whereby those works located in the *departements* and Parisian museums were to be left behind; however, it also poses the question of whether they remained in France for reasons of protection, difficulty of removal or simply the value

²⁵³ Gabbrielli (2009), 76.

of the work in question.²⁵⁴ These works are attributed to Salvator Rosa and Bernardo Strozzi and although perhaps not some of Italy's most renowned artists in the history of art, in comparison to those listed amongst the most confiscated, they were nevertheless listed amongst the stolen treasures and relatively easy to acquire in terms of their location. The 9 works listed as located in Paris refer to the Louvre as their primary location and include paintings by several artists; namely, Giovanni-Antonio Boltraffio (1467-1516), Carpaccio (1455-1525), Gaudenzio Ferrari (1470-1546), Andrea del Mantegna (1431-1506), Marco da Oggiono (1460-1540), Alessandro Bonvicino (said Moretto da Brescia, 1500-1555), School of Mazzola, Tintoretto (1512-1594), Tiziano Vecellio (1488-1576) and Veronese (1528-1588). Further investigation is required to provide a more accurate picture of the reasons for the remainder in Paris and will be provided in chapter six; however, in focusing on a couple of the paintings by the more celebrated artists we can conclude that their location at the time coupled with Austrian policy and the fragility of the painting in question were significant factors in the decision process.

From this region, there are five paintings by Paolo Veronese which remained at the Louvre, one of which – *the Holy Family with Saint Ursula* – was later attributed to Felice Brusasorci.²⁵⁵ Of the remaining four, two – *Jove Expelling Crimes and Virtues* and *St Mark Crowning the Theological Virtues* – were located in Versailles when repatriation claims were made in 1815, only to be later moved to the Louvre; the first of which, according to Blumer, was moved from Versailles to the Louvre in 1858. While location would have hindered its repatriation, Veronese's *Jove Expelling Crimes and Virtues* would have also been affected by physical damage. Richard Cocke explains that after the painting was removed from its location in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice it was then 'removed to Versailles in 1810 and [later] cut to fit the ceiling of Louis XIV's bedroom.'²⁵⁶ Similar to the physical injury of this mythological painting, is the damage suffered by the *Marriage Feast at Cana*. The final painting by Veronese

²⁵⁴ Gabrielli (2009), 76. The issue pertaining to taste will be expanded in the third section of chapter six when a looking specifically at what were returned and their fate upon their return.

²⁵⁵ Current reference is from the Louvre's online database, *Felice Brusasorci, La Sainte Famille avec une Sainte (vers 1560)* <http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=28435>

²⁵⁶ Richard Cocke, *Veronese*, (London: Jupiter Books Publishers, 1980): 5

was a portrait of a young woman, later known as *Portrait of Isabella Guerrieri Gonzaga Canossa*,²⁵⁷ its remainder in Paris most likely because the identity of the woman in the portrait was still unknown in 1815.

Tintoretto and Titian each had one work to remain in the Louvre; the former a cartoon of *Paradise* (1588, cartoon in the Louvre and the completed painting in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Doge Palace) and the latter *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (1542, Louvre). Unlike the paintings by Veronese, it is the individuality of these two paintings which seem to have posed the greater threat. Tintoretto's cartoon is a preparatory drawing for the Palazzo Ducale commission in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio for a canvas painting of the same name. Thus, of greater importance would have been the final painting which was safely located in Venice. Whereas Tintoretto's painting was a cartoon and therefore not a final production, Titian's *Christ Crowned with Thorns* was a completed painting; the difference being that there was a later version painted thirty years later. With the later version capturing more readily the 'mature style' of Titian, it is possible that the Austrian and Venetian diplomats decided to focus their efforts on the remaining works.

Having procured the works that were to return to Italy, the next task lay in securing the safe transport of the numerous crates to Italy. The means of transportation has already been elaborated on in chapter two; however, I will add that the Italians and the Austrians were equally concerned with the safety of the artworks during the voyage as with their removal in Paris. Published in the London *Courier* on 16 October 1815, Antonio Canova's letter to a friend dated 9 October recalls the organisation of the convoy;

The most valuable of them [artworks] are to go by land, and will set off next week, accompanied by the celebrated Venetian Horses, and all other previous articles belonging to Lombardy, Piedmont, and Tuscany. The convoy will be escorted by strong detachments of Austrian troops. The

²⁵⁷ Veronese, Paolo, *Isabella Guerrieri Gonzaga Canossa*, accessed 26 May 2016
<http://www.wga.hu/html_m/v/veronese/12/01canoss.html>

remainder, which may belong to Rome, will be embarked and sent by sea to Italy.²⁵⁸

This letter seems to suggest that once the artworks arrived in Italy they were directed to Milan where they were then dispersed according to their owners; this would allow for the safe passage of all objects through France and Italy.

By February 1816 most the artworks had successfully arrived in Milan and like in Rome the question arose about what should be done with these works. Expanding on the discussion from chapter four, there seems to have been a growing interest in establishing collections in museums; Lombardy-Venetia being no exception. In Milan there already existed the Brera museum and in Venice the Accademia had been established in 1806, both of which were to become the home of many of the repatriated paintings. In February 1815, a report was made of the organization of the Academy of Fine Arts in Milan with the express purpose of providing suggestions as to the improvement of its collections – including both display and acquisitions. Addressed to the Provisional government and dated 6 February 1816, the report provides some interesting insight into the cultural changes that were occurring in the region;

Le statue servivano al solo disegno, primo elemento dell'Arte, e no a formar dei' pittori ai quali era necessaria una vasta collezione di quadri delle varie scuole ove potessero erudire; occhio e la fantasia alla composizione e al colorito. [...]

Tale era lo stato delle scuole frequentate da circa trecento scolari nel 1796 alla prima discesa de' Francesi in Italia e nel loro posteriore ritorno. In mezzo pero all'universale sommossa [sic] di tutto il pubblico sistema l'Accademia restò illesa e tranquilla. Erudito tanto il Governo francese quanto il susseguente Repubblicano dalla storia di tutti i secoli sulla necessità delle belle arti alla gloria della nazione e all'interesse del popolo tra le cui mani si dividono i prodotti delle opere rispettarono questo stabilimento come uno de' più utili agenti politici. [...]

La Galleria de' Quadri per quanto sia ricca di preziose pitture e tuttora mancante di molti Capi Scuola e manca quasi totalmente de' Classici Autori Tedeschi, Fiamminghi, ed Olandesi e Paesisti. Sarebbe poi di un necessario decoro alla Lombardia il formare nella [sic] Collezione una serie della

²⁵⁸ Letter from Canova dated October 9 in Paris to a friend in London, *London Courier* (16 October 1815).

Scuola Lombarda, cominciando dai quattrocentisti fino ai nostri tempi. Uno dei mezzi per ottenere qualch'uno degli Autori che si desiderano sarebbe di cambiarli ove si trovino colle Chiese, sciogliendo dai doppi della Galleria quelli che più loro convengono come si è già praticato sotto al cessato Governo.²⁵⁹

This report outlines an awareness of both the requirements for training new artists as well as the importance of the fine arts to a nation. In this government report the President of the Academy Carriglioni [sic] emphasizes the need for both sculpture and painting in order to properly educate its young artists and ensure the continued glory of the fine arts in Lombardy. In the third section, he argues for the organisation of a gallery with the express purpose of chronicling the history of the Lombard school. Perhaps most surprising, however, is the proposition to acquire this comprehensive collection by purchasing the missing works from regional churches. Having only just recovered many of its artworks, the President does not seem concerned by the prospect of the removal of more regional paintings. Rather, concern is placed on the creation of a centralized art collection with the express purpose of educating a new generation of artists. However, while education seems to be the main argument, Carriglioni subtly argues the value of this collection in terms of glorifying the Italian region and that it would later be priceless; recalling the motivations of the French from chapter two, he cleverly narrows the role of an art collection as 'uno de' più utili agenti politici' ('one of the most useful political agents').

In Venice, a large number of the paintings were placed in the Accademia which had been reorganized during the city's inclusion within the Kingdom of Italy. Particular attention had been made during the wars in establishing a collection within the Fine Art Academy and seems to have developed into a government effort to preserve cultural patrimony and educate new artists. In these years following the repatriation of works, considerable efforts were made to catalogue the works in churches and make note of their physical condition. These reports then led to the ever-present question regarding

²⁵⁹ Rapporto sulla primitiva organizzazione dell'Accademia delle Belle Arti fondata dall'Imperatrice Maria Teresa d'Austria in Milano sull'attuale suo Stato, e mezzi atti a farla vie più prosperare. Milano 6 febbraio 1815, *Atti di Governo, Studi Parte Moderne*, Busta 335, Archivio di Stato di Milano, Milan, Italy.

the protection and conservation of the artworks. In a note dated 13 January 1818 to Austria's delegate in Venice, the Venetian Commission of Fine Arts outlines their main concerns; thus, demonstrating the region's existing awareness of the importance of protecting their cultural objects.

Colla vista di conservare e custodire gli oggetti d'arte preziosi esistenti nelle Chiese, e pubblici stabilimenti di questa Città, e Provincia [...] il Governo ha trovato opportuno d'istituire un'apposita Commissione, la quale abbia ad occuparsi esclusivamente di questo importante oggetto, che tanto interessa le paterne cure di Sua Maestà, e mirabilmente influire deve al progresso delle Arti, ed al Nazionale decoro. [...]

Si ritornano gli atti accompagnati al rapporto sopra indicato coll'incarico al Reg. Delegato di passare alla Commissione gli Elenchi già conformati degli oggetti di Arte esistenti nelle Chiese, e che sono presso la Delegazione, perché possano servire di base ai suoi studi e di sentire la medesima anche sopra le misure proposte per la custodia di quelli, che si trovano nelle Chiesa di San Sebastiano, ed in tutte quelle altre Chiese non ufficiali, dove possano correre il rischio di deperire.²⁶⁰

The lists mentioned in this note are of a similar design to those compiled by the Papal States on the status and condition of their repatriated treasures. Pertaining specifically to Venice they are organized first by district and then by church and provide a list 'dei più ragguardevoli oggetti dispersi nelle Chiese principali di Venezia.'²⁶¹ While these catalogues were compiled long after the initial return of artworks to the Veneto, we can deduce that the French influence in art acquisition for the purpose of creating a museum coupled with the damages suffered by many of their cultural treasures had a significant impact on the Veneto's cultural policies.

²⁶⁰ No. 41519/3118 All'Imp. Reg. Delegazione Provinciale di Venezia, *Commissione provinciale delle Belle Arti in Venezia*, Busta 1, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice, Italy.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

3.4 – Conclusion

The tremendous political changes incurred by this region of Italy during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars may have had a positive impact on the Italian efforts for independence; however, there is no denying the negative impact on their cultural patrimony. Having lost their artworks by means of confiscation rather than legalized art plunder – as was the case in the Papal States – Lombardy-Venetia should have fared better during the repatriation process. However, what we encounter most in this region was the issue concerning the overall wellbeing of the works in question. The damage done to the *Winged Lion* demonstrated the reality of the situation and, if anything, may have prevented further damage to Veronese's *Marriage Feast at Cana*. Finally, while the former Italian states of the Duchy of Milan and the Republic of Venice may have been opposed to the ceding of their territories to the Austrian Empire, this change seems to have been somewhat beneficial for the process of repatriation. Of course, it will not be until the situation in the remaining Italian states is examined that we can draw any specific comparisons and conclusions. Nevertheless, we can suggest that considering the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of Lombardy-Venetia by Austria it is understandable that the Emperor would seek to repatriate their property at all costs as this would improve popular support of the regime.

Chapter 4 – Repatriation in Italian-Ruled States

In dividing the states of Italy into region types, the idea was to provide an in-depth discussion of each state except for the Kingdom of Naples. Thus, Lombardy-Venetia was classified as a foreign-ruled state due to its placement under the rule of the Austrian Empire in 1815, and the Papal States, while essentially an Italian state, was singularised because of its size and political power. This then leaves the remaining Italian states who, like the Papal States, were independent entities, regardless of the nationality of their ruler. For instance, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was ruled by Ferdinand III of Austria but did not form part of the Austrian Empire.²⁶² In 1796 these states consisted of the Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia, the Republics of Genoa and Lucca, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Duchies of Modena, and of Parma and Piacenza (Appendix A). The fact that the cities within these states, much like the other regions, came with their own cultural and artistic histories is both something of interest as well as a cause for concern. Their independence meant they cultivated and attracted their own artists and artistic schools; however, this also meant that they often became the primary interest of the French commissioners. Continuing with the format established in chapters two and three; this chapter will survey the historical context of this region during the period of 1796 to 1815 and will highlight the major treaties and political changes that occurred. From this contextualization, the discussion will move to the detailed analysis of works which will in turn provide the basis for the examination of the repatriation process in section three of this chapter.

²⁶² Following the death of the last Medici heir, Gian Gastone Medici, in 1737 the Duchy was passed to Francis Stephen Lorraine and was later rule by the Hapsburg-Lorraine family after the marriage of Francis to Maria-Theresa of Austria, who was to become Empress. This transfer of power was an act of compensation between Austria and France for Francis Lorraine's loss of the Duchy of Lorraine; also a condition of his marriage to Maria-Theresa. For further information, consult John S. C. Abbott, *The Empire of Austria; its Rise and Present Power*, (New York: Mason Brothers, 1859): 397-8

4.1 – *The historical context from 1796-1815*

Considering the political geographical layout of Europe in 1796, it is only natural that the French Italian campaign would begin in the Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia and from there would proceed east and south. Unlike the other Italian states of this discussion, this state was ruled by a monarch, hence its designation as a kingdom; therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the French would have been met with far greater resistance as the French Republic sought to liberate the oppressive nature of the monarchical system. When Napoleon began his assault of Italy in early April 1796 the defending army was commanded by General Jean-Pierre Beaulieu from Belgium and consisted of Sardinians, Neapolitans and Austrians with further support coming from the Pope, Parma and Modena.²⁶³ The strength in numbers, however, did little to prevent the French army from advancing and by 12 April 1796, Napoleon had reached Montenotte thus signalling the French arrival in Piedmont. However, it was not until after the Battle of Millesimo that the French took up a strong offensive position which concluded not long after when French and Piedmont forces met in Cherasco to sign an armistice. On 28 April 1796, the Armistice of Cherasco was signed by Baron de la Tour and Colonel Costa on behalf of the King of Piedmont and Sardinia with the conditions that the King would withdraw from the coalition; a final peace treaty to be signed in Paris at a later date.²⁶⁴ Having established a temporary peace with Piedmont, the main concern at this point became what to do next and how far should the French army continue through Italy. Napoleon's *Mémoires* recount the main concerns faced by the French Italian campaign and the Republican government in Paris;

On concevait que l'armistice qui avait fait tomber toutes les places fortes et séparé l'armée piémontaise de l'armée autrichienne était utile; mais ne serait-il pas désormais plus avantageux de profiter des moyens acquis pour révolutionner entièrement le Piémont et Gênes avant d'aller plus loin? Le gouvernement français avait le droit de refuser les négociations proposées et de déclarer sa volonté par un *ultimatum*. [...] Aujourd'hui la disposition

²⁶³ 'An Overview of 1750-1800 – Chronology' in *A Global Chronology of Conflict: From the Ancient World to the Modern Middle East, Vol. 3*, Spencer C. Tucker, Ed., (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO LLC, 2010): 989. Bonaparte (2010), 74.

²⁶⁴ David G. Chandler, *The Campaigns of Napoleon: The Mind and Method of History's Greatest Soldier* vol. 1 (New York: Scribner, 2009): 75.

des esprits de cette cour [Piedmont and Sardinia] ne saurait permettre la moindre illusion; les nobles et les prêtres la dominant; ils sont ennemis irréconciliables de la République. [...] Enfin, où doit-on donc s'arrêter, après avoir passé le Tessin? [...] Est-il sage de laisser sur ses derrières de si nombreuses populations si mal disposées? Le moyen d'aller vite n'est-il pas d'aller doucement et de se faire des appuis dans tous les pays où l'on passe, en changeant le gouvernement et confiant l'administration à des personnes de mêmes principes et de mêmes intérêts que nous?²⁶⁵

Of course, we know now that the decision was made to continue east and south; however, this account also provides evidence of the general discord in Piedmont and the interest of the French in securing control of a region before proceeding to the next. Owing to the severe municipal factionalism in Piedmont coupled with the agricultural problems experienced by much of the peninsula, was a series of what Broers describes as patriot revolts. After the signing of the armistice and the partitioning of the country into French and Savoyard zones, 'the dislocation of the recent campaigning [...] led to a massive peasant *jacquerie* in the high valleys of the southern Alps, and subsistence riots in the towns of [the] lowlands.'²⁶⁶ This history of revolt coupled with the monarchy's inability to resolve them, seems only to have encouraged the French to take a stronger position in Piedmont by establishing a provisional government. Furthermore, it was necessary for the preservation of the new French Republic to secure its borders, particularly when the Austrian army could have invaded via the Italian peninsula. On 15 May 1796, a peace treaty was ratified in Paris between Piedmont and Sardinia's delegate, the Comte de Revel, and the Parisian government. This treaty secured the cooperation of Piedmont; 'les places d'Alexandrie et de Coni furent remises à l'armée d'Italie; Suse, la Brunette, Exilles, démolies, et les Alpes ouvertes; ce qui mit le roi à la disposition de la République, n'ayant plus d'autres points fortifiés que Turin et le fort de Bard.'²⁶⁷

The physical geography of the peninsula meant that once the French army had crossed the Alps following the Battle of Montenotte, they had entered the valley of the

²⁶⁵ Bonaparte (2010), 83-4.

²⁶⁶ Michael Broers, 'Revolution as Vendetta: Patriotism in Piedmont, 1794-1821' *The Historical Journal* 33, no. 3 (Sept., 1990): 583.

²⁶⁷ Bonaparte (2010), 86.

Po. This meant that the French army essentially had relatively easy access to all of northern Italy, provided they could cross the Po River. Furthermore, the seclusion of the Republic of Genoa below the Apennine mountain range and next to the Mediterranean meant that they would be of little concern to France provided that the main routes in and out of Genoa were secured. However, by this point Napoleon's main concern was moving on Milan in order to secure the Lombard territory. In order to do so he was forced to enter the territories of the Duke of Parma via Piacenza which had been ruled jointly with Parma under the House of Bourbon since 1731. Ruled by Duke Ferdinand of the House of Bourbon, the duchy immediately sought peace with France; a negotiation described as advantageous in terms of resources, although not necessarily on political grounds. The Armistice, signed 9 May 1796 in Piacenza, consented:

Le duc paya deux millions en argent, versa dans les magasins de l'armée une grande quantité de blé, d'avoine, etc. fournit 1 600 chevaux d'artillerie ou de cavalerie, et s'engagea à défrayer toutes les routes militaires et les hôpitaux qui seraient établis dans ses Etats. C'est dans cette occasion que Napoléon imposa une contribution d'objets d'art pour le musée de Paris [...]. Parme fournit vingt tableaux, au choix des commissaires français; parmi eux se trouva le fameux *Saint Jérôme*.²⁶⁸

In examining this treaty, I call to mind three important points; the first being that this is the first instance which employed art confiscation by means of an official treaty. Secondly, the allocation of art occurred before the French commissioners arrived on the peninsula and thus begs the question of what influenced Napoleon to include this distinct condition. Finally, scholarship on this period of Napoleon's life suggests that the French General was not overly concerned with artistic and cultural achievements, at least not until he undertook the position of First Consul and Emperor, but rather recognised a tradition of glorification in the arts.²⁶⁹ It was not until he had secured his political and military future that he did start to adopt a more personal relationship with

²⁶⁸ Bonaparte (2010), 90.

²⁶⁹ Boyer (1954), 226. See also Gould and Lee's discussion of David and the relationship the artist had with Napoleon. He incorporates references from Jean-Antoine Chaptal Minister of the Interior, and Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, to demonstrate the Emperor's interest only in so far as it focused on him or its use as propaganda.

the arts and its artists. Simon Lee's research on the life of Jacques-Louis David suggests that the future Emperor's relationship with artists began with requests for accompaniment in Italy and Egypt to paint the battles;²⁷⁰ however, whether this was for personal or national glorification it is difficult to say. What can be concluded is that while the arts did not hold as strong a position in the early stages of his career, this does not appear to be a result of lack of interest but perhaps merely one of practicality. Once his position as First Consul and later Emperor had been secured there would have been more opportunity for artistic and cultural pursuits. Or, recalling our earlier discussion in chapter two regarding Napoleon's instigation of art confiscation through treaty, it could be concluded that this decision is purely opportunistic. In his *Mémoires*, Bonaparte describes the Duchy of Parma as possessing few political advantages – the instigator being the Duke himself – thus, this stipulation of art within the treaty could have been a means of justifying the alliance and benefiting from it. Furthermore, Umberto Silvagni's research on Napoleon's correspondence goes so far to explain that the Duke of Parma 'per ottenere di conservare questo quadro [...] fece offrire al Generale in capo *due milioni in oro*;' however, Napoleon, in recognizing the value of this work, simply explained that while further gold coin would be quickly spent, the possession of such a masterpiece would decorate the French capital for centuries to come.²⁷¹ Thus, the Duke in an effort to salvage the State and avoid occupation eventually agreed to the terms of the treaty.

Perhaps most surprising in this recounting of the Treaty with Parma is the specific mention of Correggio's *St Jerome* (1525-28, oil on canvas, Galleria Nazionale Parma). Apart from the mention of sculptures, there is only one other instance in these *Mémoires* that make a specific reference to artworks in Italy and pertain to the frescoes by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo Te in Mantua. In describing his visit to the city Napoleon mentions the discovery of several paintings including Romano's fresco series *War of the Titans*. Such was its admiration by the art commissioners that they 'présenta divers projets pour les enlever et les faire transporter à Paris; mais on eût risqué de

²⁷⁰ See chapter 5 'Napoleonic Panoramas, the Emperor's Painting' in Lee (1999), 221-286.

²⁷¹ Umberto Silvagni, *Napoleone Bonaparte e i suoi tempi, Parte I, vol. II* (Rome, 1895): 349-350.

perdre et de détruire ces chefs-d'œuvre.'²⁷² The only other instance which may have warranted specific mention may have been the visit to Loreto in June 1797; recognised perhaps most notably for the *Madonna di Loreto* housed within the city's cathedral. The description of this stop-over, however, surprisingly gives no mention of Raphael's famed *Madonna di Loreto* but describes only the wooden statue of the Virgin Mary and the treasure to be found within the cathedral. Looking at Marie-Louise Blumer's detailed account of the Italian paintings provides an explanation for any mention of the painting being left out. Blumer catalogues the painting as having been removed by the Braschi family in 1797 – most likely in response to the confiscations that were occurring throughout the peninsula – and it was not until 1798 when much of the Braschi collection was confiscated that it was sent to Paris.²⁷³

In much the same manner as Parma, the Duchy of Modena sought to sign an armistice with France in the hopes of preventing political and social upheaval within the duchy. In a document dated 11 May 1796, the Duke of Modena relates part of his instructions and reasoning for the armistice with France; he explains, 'S.A.S [Suo Altezza Sovrano] non aveva luogo di temere di essere riguardato come nimico, non avendo mai provocata la Nazione Francese colla più piccolo ostilità, essendo questa credenza tanto vera in fatto, quanto che senza timore alcuno ha lasciato gran parte di quanto ha di prezioso, come l'Apartamento di quadri, il Museo, la gran Biblioteca [...] in piena balia di un Custode in Modena senz'altra difesa che quella della Realtà de' Comandanti delle Truppe Francesi.'²⁷⁴ Ercole III, the last d'Este duke, signed an armistice in Milan on 17 May 1796 and, much like in the case of his neighbour the Duke of Parma, the treaty also stipulated, in addition to military supplies, a number of works of art.²⁷⁵ However, unlike Parma the Duchy of Modena suffered far greater confiscations in May and June 1796, and again in October of the same year and

²⁷² Bonaparte (2010), 215.

²⁷³ Blumer (1936), 306.

²⁷⁴ No. 2; Ercole III per la grazie di Dio Duca di Modena (11 May 1796), fasc.2, Archivio Napoleonico, Busta 6409/1, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Italy.

²⁷⁵ In a document dated 3 June 1796 written by the Ercole III, the removal of artworks are mentioned as having already been removed from the Apartments of the Ducal Palace – 'che siano [sic] già stati estratti dal Grande Apartamento i venti Quadri, che dal nostro Ministro Plenipotenziario furono premessi e convenuti colla Generalità Francese.' Ercole III per la grazia di Dio Duca di Modena (3 June 1796), Archivio Napoleonico, Busta 6409/1, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Italy.

February 1797. In May and June alone twenty paintings were removed from the city's gallery and were later joined by a further thirty-one paintings by February 1797; however, this high number should not be accepted without first understanding the role the Este family has had in the history of art patronage. The most famous of their patrons being the Marchesa Isabella d'Este (1474-1539) whose role in the art community extended to the commissioning and collecting of works by many prominent Renaissance artists.²⁷⁶ Their collection alone would have held great cultural value in the eyes of the French commissioners, regardless of the substantial number of paintings sold in 1746 by Francesco III to Elector Augustus III of Saxony,²⁷⁷ and the frailty of the current Duke coupled with the fact that he had relocated to Venice meant that the collection was essentially unguarded – as described above. In a *Promemoria* dated 21 June 1796, the arrival of the French commissioners is followed by a visit to the ducal gallery;

Nel giorno 18 del corrente alle ore Quattro pomeridiane giunsero in Modena i Cittadini Tinet, e Barthelemy Commissari della Repubblica francese [...] immediatamente i due Consiglieri Prandini e Ansalmi, il maestro di Casa, Cavaliere Boccolari [...] si portarono alla Ducale Galleria nel Grande Appartamento, ove i due Commissari osservarono tutti Quadri, e dichiarandosi pianamente contenti che quattordici Quadri che il Signor Generale Nesta aveva fatti trasportare a Milano [si riservarono di ritornare nella mattina [...] far nuova osservazioni, e scegliere i mancanti sei Quadri.²⁷⁸

The fourteen paintings confiscated in May of that year, and which had already been transported north, consisted mainly of Guercinos and, not surprisingly, the majority of the remaining six were also by the same artist along with an Annibale Carracci. In chapter two we explored the role of the guidebooks of the Grand Tour in providing information concerning the location of artworks and collections. From the

²⁷⁶ For further reading of Isabella d'Este and her collections, please consult Leandro Ventura, *Isabella d'Este Committenza e Collezionismo* in *Isabella d'Este, la Primadonna del Rinascimento*, Daniele Bini, Ed., (Mantua: Civiltà Mantovana, 2001): 85-108. Daniela Pizzagalli, *La Signora del Rinascimento: vita e splendori di Isabella d'Este alla corte di Mantova*, (Milano: RCS Libri S.p.A., 2001).

²⁷⁷ 'Collections', accessed 24 April 2017 <<http://www.gallerie-estensi.beniculturali.it/en/galleria-estense/collections/>>

²⁷⁸ No. 26; 21 giugno 1796 Promemoria, fasc. 3, Archivio Napoleonico, Busta 6409/1, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Italy.

confiscations that ensued from these smaller states, there is no doubt that these sources held a wealth of knowledge for the French commissioners. Of particular interest would be some of the published French guidebooks; including the previously discussed writings of Lalande, other published sources included Charles-Nicola Cochin's *Voyage d'Italie* (1758) and M. l'Abbé Richard's *Description historique et critique de l'Italie* (1766).²⁷⁹ Each of these texts provides clear and concise description of the artefacts to be found in each region, with specific sections devoted to various sights. With respect to Modena specifically, Cochin writes;

La galerie ou appartement du Prince, quoique privée des morceaux les plus estimés, tels que la nuit du Corregio, un grand Paul Véronèse, et autres, contient encore quelques tableaux fort beaux. [...] Quatre tableaux ovales, d'Annibal Caracci, représentant les quatre éléments [...] ce sont néanmoins de fort beaux tableaux.²⁸⁰

A more in-depth look at some of these publications will take place in chapter five when discussing the popularity of individual artists and their works; however, they are worth mentioning here in the context of the political developments of the Italian Campaign.

Having made significant advances throughout northern Italy, the government in France was now faced with the problems arising from the Republic of Genoa, who, being surrounded on all fronts by either one of French, Austrian or English forces began to act against these forces. The banishment of French nobles and families from the city ultimately encouraged the Directory to instigate a political offensive that would ensure the Genoese people's support of French Revolutionary ideas and efforts. Fortunately for France, their army's victory over Austria and the King of Sardinia meant that the Republic of Genoa was entirely at their mercy and thus soon entered negotiations for peace in June 1796. By October of the same year, a treaty had been secured in Paris which stipulated; 'le sénat paya 4 millions de contributions et rappela les bannis [French

²⁷⁹ For further information on these French travellers and their publications, please consult Bertrand (2008).

²⁸⁰ Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie, ou Recueil de notes sur les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture, qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie, Vol. I*, (Paris: Ch. Ant. Jombert, imprimeur-libraire du Roi, 1758): 77-79, accessed 20 Feb 2016, <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k106464n/f92.item.r=Cochin+Voyage++d'Italie,+ou+Recueil> >

families that had been banished]. Il eût été possible, et on eût dû profiter de cette circonstance pour lier cet État par une alliance offensive et défensive, accroître son territoire des fiefs impériaux et de Massa-di-Carrara, et en exiger un contingent de 2 400 hommes d'infanterie, 400 de cavalerie et 200 d'artillerie.²⁸¹

In comparison to the smaller duchies of Parma and Modena, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was considered more valuable to France for two reasons; first, in order to get to Rome, the army had to cross the state unless of course it planned to go around, which would entail a much longer voyage. Secondly, the state was the home of the port of Leghorn, a strategic military city whose port was currently under the control of the English. Of course, one should also not forget the vast cultural wealth of the state. Fortunately for Tuscany its Archduke, Ferdinand III, had opted for neutrality and peace with France – reminiscent of the Venetian Republic – going so far as to recognise the new Republic in 1795. Thus, when French troops arrived in the Grand Duchy in late June 1796, Napoleon reassured its ministers that their sole purpose was to cross the state to arrive in Siena and would later also use the territory as a means of arriving in Leghorn in order to rid the city of its English occupants.²⁸² Following their victory over the English, Napoleon proceeded to Florence after receiving a formal invitation to visit the city.

Arriving at the end of June with little escort, the French General was welcomed openly into the city where he spent several days dining with its ministers and touring the many sites. Among these stops was a visit to the Uffizi gallery, for which we have two accounts. In his Mémoires, Napoleon describes his visit on 29 April following a dinner with the Duke Ferdinand III; 'le grand-duc conduisit son hôte dans la célèbre galerie de Florence, pour y considérer les chefs-d'œuvre des arts; il admira la *Venus de Medicis*. L'anatomiste Fontana lui fit voir de superbes modèles en cire; il en commanda de pareils pour Paris.'²⁸³ Apart from describing where this visit took place and mentioning the famous Medici sculpture, this excerpt reveals very little. However, an Italian description of the event provides a far different perspective and questions the

²⁸¹ Bonaparte (2010), 185.

²⁸² Ibid, 112-3.

²⁸³ Ibid, 114.

motivations of France's general. A discussion between Napoleon and Tommaso Puccini, the collection's director, recounts the following;

Un po' per scherzo, un po' sul serio Napoleone disse che si doveva stare attenti a che la Toscana non dichiarasse Guerra, nel caso in cui la Venere [*Venus de Medici*] fosse stata portata a Parigi. La risposta di Puccini fu brillante ma decisa: egli disse di essere più che sicuro dei sentimenti pacifici della Toscana verso la repubblica e di sperare che la Venere ne sarebbe divenuta l'eloquente e duratura testimonianza. Del resto, aggiunse il Puccini, dopo tutto quello che i francesi avevano acquistato da Roma, Parigi possedeva ormai la prima collezione d'arte d'Europa ... anche senza la Venere medicea.²⁸⁴

This account suggests that Napoleon was very much aware of the importance and value of art; however, it is the underlying threat that provides an invaluable insight into the motives behind some of these confiscations. The argument alluded to in our earlier discussion in chapter three on the uprisings that occurred in Verona in April 1797 (the Easter massacres), whereby confiscations often occurred as a direct result of retaliation against France is further justified in this excerpt. The French General is essentially reminding Tuscany's ministers of what they could lose should they decide to declare war on the French Republic, and what better way to do so than to threaten their cultural heritage.

Having secured an alliance with Tuscany and treaties with the remaining Italian states of Piedmont, Parma and Modena – not to mention the successes in Lombardy; all that remained was the construction of a unified republic that would see the ideals of the French Revolution upheld. Furthermore, it was hoped – at least from the Italian perspective – that this union would encourage further unification and independence. The correspondence referenced first in chapter two demonstrates the interest of the Bolognese to establish their own independent state when the delegates speak of the independence and liberty they wish to procure.²⁸⁵ Thus, by January 1797 the Cispadane

²⁸⁴ Franz Pesendorfer, *Ferdinand III e la Toscana in età napoleonica*, (Firenze: Sansoni, 1986): 156.

²⁸⁵ 'Vous nous empressez en conséquence, Citoyen Directeur, de vous offrir, tous les éclaircissements qui pourront vous mettre à poser, de nous procurer ce bienfait imprécisable, de l'Independence et de la liberté; cette gloire est bien digne du Directoire ainsi la félicité d'un Peuple entier deviendra son ouvrage; ainsi vous sens vous-mêmes les premier objets do notre gratitude.' Copie de la Lettre remise le jour 11 Thermidor an 4 par les Députés de Bologne au Citoyen Barras, membre du Directoire

Republic was established along the upper east coast and central Italy and included Reggio, Modena, Bologna and Ferrara. Delegates from each of these regions formed a congress in Modena where they agreed upon the following terms;

Ils y adoptèrent les couleurs lombardes comme couleurs italiennes convinrent de quelques bases de gouvernement, savoir: la suppression de la féodalité, l'égalité, les *droits de l'homme*, etc., se fédèrent pour la défense commune, et se cotisèrent pour lever la première légion italienne [...] Bologne fut déclarée la capitale, et ils adoptèrent une constitution représentative.²⁸⁶

As discussed in chapter two, this republic was eventually reorganised into the Cisalpine Republic when the French army had secured the territories of the Veneto in the summer of 1797. Further evidence suggests, that this union was equally sought after by the core states of the Cispadane Republic – Modena, Reggio, Massa and Carrara. A published letter from the Général-en-Chef in a publication by the Republic mentions its wish (*son voeu*) to unite Romagna with the Cispadane which would unite with the Cisalpine.²⁸⁷ Its establishment as a formal republic was then confirmed at the signing of the Treaty of Campoformio.

The main negotiations that occurred in 1797 were between France and the Republic of Genoa and the Kingdom of Piedmont. The former began as a petition presented to the Doge to abolish the aristocracy and promote liberty, but ultimately led to a popular insurrection on 22 May 1797 which was soon quelled by the occupation of French troops within the city. By early June 1797 the former constitution of Genoa established by Andrea Doria was concluded and a democracy was established, forming the Ligurian Republic.²⁸⁸

Exécutif, Miscellanea di magistri e lettere dei deputati a Parigi (1796), Archivio Napoletano III – 155, Series I, Box 26, Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Bologna, Italy.

²⁸⁶ Bonaparte (2010), 194-5. Further supported by Umberto Silvagni, *Napoleone Bonaparte e suoi tempi, Parte I, Vol. II* (Roma: Forzani E C. Tipografi del Senato, 1895): 529; and Duggan (2007), 51-2.

²⁸⁷ Au quartier General de Montebello, le 39 Floréal An 5 de la République Une et Indivisible, Bonaparte General en Chef de l'Armée d'Italie aux Députés du Corps Législatif de la République Cispadane. No. 69 Atto del Corpo Legislativo, seduta degli 22 maggio 1797, anno I Repubblicano, in *Bandi, Editti e Provvisioni in circostanza della conquista fatta dalla Repubblica Francese della città di Bologna nell'anno 1796, Tome V-VI, per tutto il Mese di marzo 1797* (Bologna, 1797).

²⁸⁸ Bonaparte (2010), 260.

By the end of the First Italian Campaign, the borders of these Italian states had been redrawn to form the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Duchy of Parma, Piedmont and the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics. The first two retained their Italian rulers; Tuscany, by virtue of its decision to remain neutral, continued to be ruled by Ferdinand III and the Duchy of Parma, apart from the removal of some of its artworks, remained largely untouched under the rule of the house of Bourbon. The latter territories, however, underwent significant territorial and administrative changes; the first being the Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia which saw the ruler, Charles-Emmanuel IV, reduced to the island of Sardinia, whereas mainland Piedmont was placed under French administrative control.²⁸⁹ The Cisalpine Republic and the Ligurian Republic were both reorganized administratively based on the new French Republican system. Finally, the only states to be subjugated to art confiscations during this period were the Duchies of Parma and Modena, and the city of Leghorn in Tuscany. The first two sets of confiscations having been identified as being a result of Treaties signed with these Duchies. The Caravaggio removed from Leghorn during the city's brief occupation by the French in June 1796 – now lost – however, is an intriguing mystery as it is the only painting to be removed from this city.²⁹⁰

Such were the borders that remained until late 1798 when the Allied Power's Second Coalition²⁹¹ renewed their assault against the French on the Italian peninsula; resulting in all but the Ligurian Republic being conquered by a joint Austrian-Russian army. In reaction to this war, the French launched their Second Italian campaign in the early months of 1800; however, lacking the military genius of their favoured General,

²⁸⁹ Broers (Sept., 1990), 583.

²⁹⁰ The situation concerning this painting requires a more substantial investigation, which unfortunately due to time constraints can not be explored on this occasion. All that is certain from what knowledge we have of the French army's movements and the political negotiations occurring in Italy at the time is that the paintings would have been removed some time during the French occupation of the city in June-July 1796. This timeframe is further supported by Blumer's catalogue which dates the painting's removal to 8 July 1796 and its arrival in Paris in July 1798. It was then later moved to the church of Saint Germain-des-Près in Paris in 1811.

²⁹¹ Peter Wilson, in his article 'Bolstering the Prestige of the Hapsburgs: the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806' argues that Austria's decision to join the Second Coalition was in the hopes of avoiding the terms of the Treaty of Campoformio. If the Emperor could succeed in conquering the French with the support of the English and Russians, then he could ultimately avoid upholding the terms of the treaty of October 1797.

by May 1800 the French army in Italy had been surrounded in Genoa. By this point, the House of Savoy had been restored by Russian decree in May 1798 and the formerly established Cisalpine Republic had been eliminated in April 1799.²⁹²

Believing it essential to cut off Austrian communications in Italy, the newly elected First Consul entered Italy from the north via the Saint Bernard pass in an effort to arrive quickly in Milan and outflank the Austrian. A. B. Rodger provides a detailed account of the military manoeuvres of the war of the Second Coalition; however, what is important to this discussion are the changes that occurred within the peninsula and how they affected the Italian states. The fall of the Second Coalition saw the restoration of the Cisalpine Republic, whereas Piedmont – joined with the Ligurian Republic – and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany were annexed to France through the Treaty of Lunéville.²⁹³ The Cisalpine Republic, however, was to become the Italian Republic, on 24 January 1802, with Bonaparte as its President; the main aim of this reorganization to secure peace on the peninsula and strengthen France's power.²⁹⁴

More importantly, however, are the repercussions of this Second Campaign on the cultural heritage of the peninsula. During this period there were three sets of confiscations; the first in the spring of 1799, then in 1801 and again in May 1803. The first round occurred in Turin and Florence during the months of February to April with all works originating from either a gallery, in the case of Turin, or a private residence, as was the case with the Pitti Palace. Only three paintings were removed in 1801, all from Turin, and were most likely a direct result of the second coalition war and Piedmont's eventual annexation to France. On the other hand, the confiscations from May of 1803 originated solely from Parma and amounted to the removal of 23 paintings.

²⁹² A. B. Rodger, *The War of the Second Coalition, 1798 to 1801* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964): 71, 162.

²⁹³ Peter Wilson, 'Bolstering the Prestige of the Hapsburgs: the End of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806' *The International History Review* 28, no. 4 (Dec., 2006): 715.

<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40109811>>

²⁹⁴ Rodger (1964), 283-4.

This last round is most surprising in that this smaller state had already experienced a substantial number of removals during the signing of the treaty of May 1796; these added removals account for a doubling in the number of confiscations. However, before continuing it is important to note that these removals were not the result of a treaty; as Parma was part of the Republic of Italy, these acquisitions could be considered more as a process of relocation rather than confiscation. In understanding these acquisitions, let us turn to an archival document from 1803 written by Denon in Paris and Moreau St-Méry (Administrateurs General des Etats de Parme) in Parma. The first of which is a letter from Denon to St-Méry dated 9 March 1803 which provides evidence of France`s motivations, and the instructions St-Méry was to follow. Denon`s letter begins by mentioning the First Consul as responsible for the directive, believing that some of the artworks remaining in Parma could help to complete the collection in the *Musée Nationale*. He goes on to explain;

Quelque riche que soit notre Musée en Ouvrages des grands maîtres, on doit désirer qu'il en possède des tous et qu'il présente à l'Artiste et à l'Amateur studieux une suite complète [sic] des productions des maîtres qui se sont distingués dans les diverses Écoles depuis la renaissance des Arts jusqu'à nos jours.

C'est dans cet esprit, Citoyen Administrateur, que la note ci-jointe a été rédigée. Vous n'y verrez pas des noms fameux, des morceaux capitaux dont la perte puisse être sensible au Pays que vous administrez; elle ne désigne guères que des Ouvrages de maîtres du second ordre; mais qui manquent entièrement à notre Musée, où dont il ne possède jusqu'à présent que des productions trop faibles pour y figurer.

La personne que vous chargerez des ordres du Premier Consul [...] aura soin de choisir parmi les Tableaux des maîtres indiqués, eux qui par leur mérite et leur conservation sont la plus propres à donner une juste idée des talents de l'Auteur; et si dans le cours de ses recherches elle rencontrait, soit à Parme, soit dans toute autre ville de l'État, d'autres morceaux qui par leur ancienneté ou leur singularité lui paraîtraient mériter d'entrer dans la Collection Nationale, vous voudrez bien l'autoriser à la joindre à l'envoi. [...]

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous prier de donner les ordres les plus précis pour que les encaissements et le transport des objets qui auront été recueillis, soient faits avec le soin qu'ils exigent, bien persuadé qu'on ne négligera aucune des précautions nécessaires pour qu'ils arrivent en bon états.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ Letter from Vivant Denon to Moreau St-Méry, Paris le 18 Ventose an 11 (9 mars 1803), folder 4, fasc. 12, Moreau St-Méry, Accademia di Belle Arti, Busta 28 (1758-1806), Archivio di Stato di Parma, Parma, Italy.

This letter provides valuable evidence on the interests of the French government and the Louvre's administration during the mid-point of the Napoleonic wars; furthermore, it clarifies the motivations behind the confiscations from this point onwards. The First Consul, via Denon has made a point of clarifying the museum's intent on educating the public as well as the completion of an art historical collection – perhaps most appealing to this discussion is their interest in works from which their age and singularity marks them as valuable in the eyes of the museum's administration. While at this point the final selections were still being made by representatives in Italy and not Denon, guidance was nevertheless provided from Paris. Attached to this letter, Denon included a preliminary list of paintings he had an interest in acquiring based on their location in Parma. As you will recall from chapter one, the information for these lists was often provided by an existing guidebook or art text; an example of this can be found in the list of paintings by their artist sent by Denon, in which he mentions Lalande's descriptions of the artworks in the Parma Duomo. In addition, Denon points out the benefits certain acquisitions would have to the Paris collection; in listing works from the San Vitale Palace, he states 'plusieurs tableaux anciens et des Premiers maîtres, ils sont nécessaires pour établir la chronologie des arts depuis leur renaissance.'²⁹⁶

The Italian peninsula's political reorganization following the peace of 1802 essentially remained the same for the rest of war, the only exception being the transformation of the Italian Republic into the Kingdom of Italy. This transformation was marked with the acquisition of the Veneto in 1805, the annexation of Tuscany and the Duchy of Parma to France, and the changes in power within the Duchy of Lucca which was given to Napoleon's sister Elisa; Piedmont having already been annexed to France in the Treaty of Lunéville following military occupation. Stuart Woolf describes this transformation as a means of eliminating Hapsburg rule from central Italy. Following the Treaty of Aranjuez with Spain, Napoleon transformed the Grand Duchy of Tuscany into the Kingdom of Etruria with the Duke of Parma's own son Ludovico as its King. This new Kingdom remained independent until 1807 when Tuscany was

²⁹⁶ Note des Objets d'art qui sont à Parme et qui peuvent convenir au Musée Central à Paris, folder 4, fasc. 2, Moreau St-Méry, Accademia di Belle Arti, Busta 28 (1758-1806), Archivio di Stato di Parma, Parma, Italy.

annexed to France.²⁹⁷ By this point in the war it was essentially France's 'Continental Europe' against the British Empire who now controlled the import and export of goods – most commonly known as the Continental Blockade.²⁹⁸ Thus the annexation of Tuscany was a means to an end and intended as an extension of the blockade; of course, it could also be considered an excuse for Napoleonic expansionism.

Following his coronation as Emperor of the French, it became increasingly common for Napoleon to anoint members of his family to heighten the family's social and political standing. The most famous example likely being the appointment of Joseph Bonaparte as first King of Naples in 1806 and then King of Spain in 1808; such was the case with Elisa Bonaparte Baciocchi (married to Felice Baciocchi). The principate of Piombino and the small Duchy of Lucca had largely remained unaffected by the political changes occurring on the peninsula, having been left as a Republic following their occupation. In 1805, however, these two territories were consolidated and placed under the rule of Elisa Baciocchi. Her dominion over Lucca, however, soon extended to the Duchy of Tuscany in 1809 when she was anointed Grand Duchess.²⁹⁹ The Duchy of Parma, on the other hand, as a result of its connection with the Bourbons of Spain remained under the control of Duke Ferdinand until his death in October 1802 when it was occupied by the French until its annexation to the Empire on 21 July 1805.³⁰⁰ In what Woolf describes as a transformation of policy from one of 'natural frontiers' towards that of a 'Grand Empire,' the remaining Ligurian Republic faced a fate similar to that of its neighbours when the Emperor induced the republic to vote for its annexation to France in May 1805.³⁰¹ This also meant that those regions which now formed part of the French Empire were now governed by French laws and reforms, answering to a government in Paris.

²⁹⁷ Stuart Woolf, *A History of Italy 1700-1860, the social constraints of political change*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1979): 194.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 193.

²⁹⁹ Michael Broers, 'Cultural Imperialism in a European Context? Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Napoleonic Italy' *Past and Present*, no. 170 (Feb., 2001): 163.

³⁰⁰ Woolf (1979), 192.

³⁰¹ *Ibid*, 191.

By 1810, the Italian peninsula had essentially been reorganized into five regions; Kingdom of Italy in the north; Kingdom of Naples in the south; Lucca; the combined territory of Piedmont, Piacenza and Liguria in the northwest; and the annexed territories of Tuscany and the Papal States along the central west (Appendix B). It was within this reorganisation and in the ensuing four years that another wave of confiscations began; beginning in 1811 as a result of a large-scale suppression of convents and monasteries across France and Italy, due mainly to the Emperor's reaction to church politics. Paul Wescher explains that this wave was in its simplest terms a chance for Denon to take advantage of the displacement of artworks from religious institutions; in travelling to Italy in 1811 he placed himself in the ideal position of being able to decide the fate of these paintings.³⁰² Of the 48 paintings that were removed after 1811, all but four originated from a church. This suggests that while the first wave that occurred during the First Italian Campaign was associated with political agreements, this third wave seems to have extended beyond such parameters. The fact that they for the most part originated from churches demonstrates that it was the church and by extension the people that were most affected. Furthermore, looking at the variety of artists whose paintings were removed reveals the diversity of the collection and provides further proof of the priorities of the French commissioners in compiling a greater array of artistic styles to fill their museum – the concept of which having already been touched upon in previous chapters. A much earlier letter from Director of the Louvre, Vivant Denon, to the First Consul provides some evidence of the layout of the museum as early as 1803. The letter, dated 1 January 1803, reads;

La première fois que vous traverserez la galerie, j'espère que vous trouverez que cette opération porte déjà un caractère d'ordre, d'instruction et de classification. Je continuerai dans ce même esprit pour toutes les écoles, et dans quelques mois, en parcourant la galerie, on pourra faire sans s'en apercevoir un cours historique de l'art de la peinture.³⁰³

³⁰² Wescher (1988), 137. This is further supported by Gould's discussion of the museum in the latter half of the wars when Denon and the Director of Antiquities, Visconti, sought to expand the collection to include more primitive works. This expansion demonstrating a move away from the taste of the ancien régime to one that would become of the dominant taste of collectors in the nineteenth-century. Gould (1965), 108-9.

³⁰³ Denon (1999), 1238.

Although this letter dates nearly ten years before the third wave of confiscations; it nevertheless presents an idea of the direction Denon intended the collections and their display to take – as does the earlier discussed letter from the 1803 Parma confiscations. In keeping with a display of paintings historically by school; the removal of artworks dating from the early Renaissance and the Baroque period can be attributed to an interest in creating a well-rounded collection with a purpose towards education.³⁰⁴ In fact, none but Giulio Romano were included among the list of the most popular artists, as outlined in the next section. Finally, the location of these paintings extended far beyond the main city centres of this region to include minor cities such as Arezzo and Fiesole in Tuscany, and Chiavari and Spezia in the former Republic of Genoa.

It has been previously mentioned that in addition to the confiscation of paintings, many other forms of cultural patrimony were removed by the French, including manuscripts and jewelry. For the most part we have referred to the fine arts as encompassing paintings and sculpture; however, music has also been considered an important part of culture particularly with the increase in popularity of operas. Furthermore, in reaction to these confiscations it is understandable that some noble families would choose to protect their collections by removing them to a remote location; such was the case with some of the musical instruments of Grand Duke Ferdinand III on the night of 25 May 1799. This honour fell to Vincenzo Geri, Gardener of the Imperial and Royal Garden of Boboli, who describes his responsibilities and the objects in a note;

Oggetti conservati nella prima invasione dei Francesi l'anno 1799.
La sera dei 25 maggio 1799 verso le ore dieci di notte fui chiamato all'Imperiale e Reale Anticamera e per ordine di Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale il Gran-Duca Ferdinando terzo di Gloriosa Memoria mi furono consegnati gli oggetti qui sotto descritti per conservarglieli segretamente fino a nuovo Suo Ordine. [...]

³⁰⁴ Denon's interest in acquisition and establishing an historical arrangement within the museum has also been touched upon by Jean Chatelain. His book *Dominique Vivant Denon et le Louvre de Napoleon* provides a great source for the life of Denon and valuable evidence pertaining to his career as the Louvre's director; arguing that in Denon's opinion the Louvre project would never be complete: 'comment pourrait-on en effet s'assigner une limite quand on cherche à atteindre à la perfection. Si beau que le Louvre soit devenu à la suite d'une nouvelle acquisition, il le sera encore plus après la prochaine.' Chatelain (1999), 171.

Due Calcesi di Acciajo, Due Taglie simili, [...] Un Contrabbasso, Due Violoncelle, Due Viole, Due Violini, Due Corni da Caccia.

Tutti questi Oggetti furono trasportati da me, e dai miei figli durante la notte nella Casa di mia abitazione in Boboli e posti nel luogo il più recondito onde non essermi trovati. [...]

Questi Oggetti restarono lunga pezza presso di me, e fino a tanto che le Truppe Austriache ripresero possesso della Toscana in nome di S. A. I e R^{le} il Gran-Duca.³⁰⁵

This note not only demonstrates the great lengths some families went to protect their possessions, but also reveals the importance of other types of artefacts. Focus has largely been on the large quantity of artworks, namely sculpture and paintings when in fact confiscations extended to a number of various artefacts,³⁰⁶ the aforementioned musical instruments being just one example. The extent of the efforts made to protect these lesser known examples, further solidifies the importance of cultural artifacts to family or society. Finally, this document refers to the first French invasion as taking place in 1799 because during the first Italian campaign Tuscany remained neutral; thus, this marks the first time the French bared arms against the Tuscan people.

The previous two chapters have already established that the social and economic situation on the peninsula had become increasingly tense during the last years of the Napoleonic wars and it goes without saying that these tensions extended to the Italian territories addressed in this section of the thesis. Furthermore, Woolf emphasizes the negative impact of the sale of ecclesiastical and national property – for the most part sold to ‘small groups of nobles and upper bourgeoisie.’³⁰⁷ A culmination of all these factors contributed to growing social unrest among the lower classes which soon

³⁰⁵ Elenco degli oggetti salvati da me Vincenzo Geri infrascritto già Giardiniere dell’Imperiale e Reale Giardino di Boboli, nella prima invasione dei Francesi in Toscana l’Anno 1799, e nella seconda invasione dei Napolitani l’Anno 1815. (cc.19-20), Imperiale e Reale Corte, Busta 1492 (1799-1860), Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

³⁰⁶ The types of artefacts confiscated and collected by the French extended far beyond the works typically associated with the Fine Arts (sculpture, painting, etc.); the times removed to Paris ranged from precious jewels, and medals to manuscripts and musical instruments. A complete list of these items can be found in Chatelain (1999), 250.

³⁰⁷ Woolf (1979), 210. Alan Reinerman provides a general overview of the sale of ecclesiastical lands and suppression of Italian religious orders on the peninsula during this period. See his article ‘The Napoleonic Suppression of Italian Religious Orders and Sale of their Property: Studies Since 1960’ *The Catholic Historical Review* 57, no. 2 (July, 1971): 290-297, accessed 17 January 2016, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25018875>>

resulted in an increase in popular uprising across the peninsula. By 1814, this unrest eventually encouraged the British to send a contingent of Anglo-Sicilian troops to Italy in March 1814 in the hopes of starting an insurrection against Napoleonic rule. The party landed in Leghorn where ‘a proclamation calling on Italians to put their trust in Britain, take arms and fight the French’³⁰⁸ was issued and which unfortunately caused little response. Following which, the choice was then made to liberate Genoa and restore the Republic.³⁰⁹ At this same time, the Austrians had advanced through the Veneto and into Lombardy, pushing the Italian army led by Eugène Beauharnais back across the Alps and restoring former ruling families to their duchies and states.

4.2 – The analysis of the database of confiscated works

Continuing with the discussion from chapters two and three, we now turn to the analysis of confiscated works from the remaining Italian-ruled states (Appendix I) – namely, those regions not covered in the previous two examinations, with the exception of course being the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. They included the Kingdom of Sardinia, the Duchies of Lucca, Massa, Modena, Parma and Tuscany. Once again the data of this analysis is based on Marie-Louise Blumer’s catalogue of the works transported from Italy to France, the reasons for which having been addressed in chapter two. Much like chapter three’s examination of foreign-ruled states, this final compilation of data does not distinguish between states and cities, but combines all remaining Italian states with the express purpose of providing a clear analysis and comparison between this region type and the previous two. Apart from the location types and returned status of the works, the remaining guidelines are the same as those of the previous two region types. In order to encompass the wide variety of locations within various types of Italian states the following original location types have been

³⁰⁸ Duggan (2007), 65.

³⁰⁹ Ibid, 65.

applied; academy, church, gallery, palace and unknown. Whereas the restitution statuses for this region have been identified as yes, no, lost, not returned-lost (NR-lost) and lost-post (after 1815). This region's analysis will mark the first use of the term gallery in defining a location, and it has been employed to distinguish from museum. In the last two regions, the term museum was used because the location it defined was recognised as a museum; however, this same term cannot be employed in this context. In these instances, gallery refers to the term employed by Blumer and is necessary in order to differentiate from the type of institution the term museum refers to in chapters two and three – a recognised, established institutions such as the Capitoline. As we will explore shortly, the location in this chapter is recognised as a gallery.

4.2.1 – Cities

While the remaining Italian states did not include the large cultural and economic centers of the likes of Milan, Rome and Venice, the cities within this region nevertheless comprised several important cultural and artistic centers – particularly in the time of the Renaissance. Florence, for instance, had flourished during the Medici reign and became the home of many of Italy's most famed artists. The cities of Parma and Modena also housed a great deal of cultural wealth because of its history of ruling families. From these remaining states, the French commissioners were able to procure a total of 210 paintings between 1796 and 1814. Table 4.1 below provides a breakdown of the affected cities with the three cities with the highest number of confiscations highlighted in yellow; they include Florence with 69, Modena with 50 and Parma with 42. The middle column has been added to indicate the state within which these cities are located; keeping in mind that these states are identified based on the borders of 1815. Genoa and other cities once located within the Republic of Genoa are identified under Piedmont. Breaking down the analysis of this region by state; the Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia witnessed the confiscation of 33 paintings, Modena 51, Parma 43 and Tuscany 74. However, while the confiscations in Piedmont and Tuscany

extended over several cities within its territory, those of Modena and Parma were limited to their respective capitals.

City	State	Number of Paintings
Arezzo	Tuscany	1
Chiavari	Piedmont	2
Close to Florence	Tuscany	1
Close to Pisa	Tuscany	1
Fiesole	Tuscany	1
Florence	Tuscany	69
Genoa	Piedmont	8
La Spezia	Piedmont	1
Levanto	Piedmont	1
Livorno	Tuscany	1
Modena	Modena	50
Parma	Parma	42
Piacenza	Parma	2
Pisa	Tuscany	8
Prato	Tuscany	1
Savona	Piedmont	6
Turin	Piedmont	15
Grand Total		210

Table 4.1 - Count of paintings by city

4.2.2 – Artists

Recalling the artistic centers of the Renaissance and the fact that the cities with the highest number of confiscations were in fact capitals, it comes as no great surprise that these same capitals would experience the brunt of the thefts of cultural treasures. However, let us turn to an examination of the removal of paintings by artist in order to discern any possible reasons for the popularity of some cities. Following the organization of the previous two chapters, this chart (table 4.2) captures the number of confiscated paintings by artist, and is once again limited to the top ten. Thus, providing a better understanding of the style, artist and period the French commissioners were most interested in.

Artist	Number of Paintings
Albani (1578- 1660)	8
Annibale Carracci (1560-1609)	7
Lodovico Carracci (1555- 1619)	4
Correggio (1494- 1534)	5
Giulio Romano (1499- 1546)	8
Guercino (1591-1666)	16
Guido Reni (1575-1642)	8
Mazzolino (1480- 1528)	4
Raphael (1483-1520)	9
Spada, Lionello (1576- 1622)	4
Titian (1488- 1576)	5
Grand Total	78

Table 4.2 – Count of paintings by artist (top 10)

Similar to the Papal States, Guercino figured into the most popular artist with a total of 16 paintings removed from this region, followed by Raphael with a total of 9. Following the numbers based on cities, a breakdown down of Guercino and Raphael's paintings show that all their works originated from Parma or Modena in the case of Guercino, and Florence for Raphael, except for one painting coming from Parma. Even the 5 paintings by Titian and 8 by Giulio Romano originated from a location in Florence of Modena. These numbers demonstrate, if nothing, else that the high count of works from the above cities are in some respects due to the artist and the location of their works. The third most popular artists are not surprising either, many of them having counted among the top ten artists in the previous two region types (see tables 2.4 and 3.2); they include Albani with 8 paintings, Annibale Carracci with 7 paintings and Guido Reni with another 8 paintings. It is Giulio Romano with a total of 8 paintings, however, that provides for an interesting, but not altogether surprising, comparison. Having been one of Raphael's most prominent pupils, his inclusion would suggest that the French commissioners sought the works by an artist closely linked to this prominent artist, particularly when we recall the large of number of paintings by Perugino taken from the Papal States.

4.2.3 – Location

Building on these observations, we turn to the question of the availability of artworks in Italy in order to discern any further evidence that could account for the high number of confiscations in Florence, Modena and Parma. As earlier stated, the location types for this region have been identified as academy, church, gallery, palace and unknown. Unlike the previous regions, the location of paintings within this region needs to distinguish between academies and galleries. Whereas the foreign-ruled states and the Papal States had the museum, the works from the remaining Italian states originated from both academies and galleries. The difference being that the academy signified a school of fine art, whereas the gallery would have been exactly that, a place for the exhibition of artworks. Furthermore, this would have meant that many of the paintings located in an academy would have held the additional responsibility of serving as an educational model. As had long since been the tradition, young artists would have been instructed to practice by copying older masters.³¹⁰ From the data outlined in the table below (table 4.3), we see that unlike the other two regions, the confiscated paintings originated primarily from both churches and galleries, followed closely by palaces.

³¹⁰ This practice would have been common in 18th Century France as described in Simon Lee, *David*, (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1999): 20-21. See also Evelyn S. Welch, *Art in Renaissance Italy, 1350-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Location Type	# of Paintings
Academy	3
Parma	3
Church	73
Arezzo	1
Chiavari	2
Close to Florence	1
Close to Pisa	1
Fiesole	1
Florence	17
Genoa	8
La Spezia	1
Levanto	1
Parma	24
Piacenza	2
Pisa	8
Savona	6
Gallery	63
Modena	49
Turin	14
Palace	51
Florence	50
Modena	1
Unknown	20
Florence	2
Livorno	1
Parma	15
Prato	1
Turin	1
Grand Total	210

Table 4.3 – Count of paintings by original location type and city

While the nature of the galleries in Modena and Turin warrant further investigation, we can nevertheless deduce that once again it was the public that was most affected by the confiscations. The number of churches affected covers a large geographical area and accounts for the inclusion of smaller and lesser known cities in table 4.1; further demonstrating the French commissioners' resolve in acquiring particular paintings. Following closely behind the churches and galleries is the significant number of paintings that were removed from palaces, totalling 51; which is not altogether surprising when the city of Florence is included. The role of Florence's

famous Medici family in establishing the city as a prominent cultural and artistic centre ultimately meant that their collection encompassed many works by some of Italy’s most renowned artists. While a significant portion of their collection was gifted to the people of Florence with the creation of the Uffizi gallery, a large number of works remained in the Palazzo Pitti, the primary residence of the Medici family. Therefore, these paintings would have essentially been held within the private domain, less accessible to the public. The reasons for the high number of confiscations from this palace could be two-fold; the first pertains to the paintings themselves while the second relates to the period in time in which the confiscations took place. A closer examination of the paintings that were removed from the Palazzo Pitti, suggests that the artist once again played an important part in the decision process – the table below listing the top five artists whose works were removed, Raphael being the most popular with 8 paintings. Interestingly, Giulio Romano and Titian, who follow with 4 paintings each, further support the total by artist in table 4.2; half of the Romanos and all but one of the Titians originating from the Pitti Palace.

Artist	Number of Paintings
Andrea del Sarto	3
Giulio Romano	4
Raphael	8
Rosa, Salvator	3
Titian	4
Grand Total	22

Table 4.4 – Count of paintings by the top 5 artists removed from the Palazzo Pitti

In comparison, the paintings originating from a gallery consisted mainly of works by Guercino (14), Guido Reni (7) and Albani (5); though the majority were single works by a variety of different artists.

Turning to the issue pertaining to the events that led to the removal of works from the Florentine palace, it is reasonable to assume that Napoleon once again issued these confiscations as a result of the Grand Duchy’s involvement in the Second Coalition War of 1798-1802 – as you will recall from the first section of this chapter, all of these paintings having been removed between March and April of 1799.

Furthermore, it is entirely possible that the French commissioners would have made their selections upon Napoleon’s first visit to Florence in 1796 when he visited with the Grand Duke Ferdinand III. Recalling his observations of the Uffizi gallery, one might deduce that the French were simply waiting for an excuse to move ahead with their confiscations.

4.2.3 – Repatriation status

The status of returned works in the remaining Italian states differs only slightly from the previous two regions (tables 2.6 and 3.5), most notably in that none were exchanged or destroyed. While some works were lost, the majority were either returned to Italy or remained in France. A breakdown of the returned statuses can be found in table 4.5 below; an initial observation of which suggests that the overall success of repatriation was just under 50%. In comparison to the Papal States which witnessed 17 paintings not returned and subsequently now lost – four of which were lost post-1815 – this region seems to have suffered far greater in this respect with a total of 34 paintings now understood to be lost. The key difference to keep in mind, however, is that while the previous two chapters discussed the works taken from one singular, unified state (Papal States and Lombardy-Venetia), this region type covers various smaller, independent Italian states. Thus, it is entirely possible for some cities to have experienced a very low success rate – a closer examination of which will be provided in chapter five.

Returned Status	Number of Paintings
Lost	5
No	75
No/Lost	17
Yes	101
Yes/Lost	12
Grand Total	210

Table 4.5 – Repatriation status

4.2.4 – Success Rate

Table 4.6 provides the overall success rate of the repatriation process by city; those with the lowest success rate highlighted in orange. Following the guidelines from the earlier analyses, this data includes those paintings which were returned and those that were returned and are now lost. Those paintings which have been identified as lost are incorporated amongst the number of works that were not returned to Italy. At the top of the list is Pisa with only the painting by Il Sodoma (1477-1549) returned and is followed by Savona with 2 paintings by Brea (1443-1520) and Andrea da Tuccio (15th century) returned and Modena with 21 paintings, consisting primarily again of works by the previously identified most popular artists. Of greater concern is the fact that all three of these cities are located within different states and that Modena was essentially the capital; whereas, Savona was not the only city affected from Piedmont.

City	Number of Paintings	Number Taken	Success Rate (%)
Chiavari	1	2	50.00
Florence	45	69	65.22
Genoa	6	8	75.00
La Spezia	1	1	100.00
Levanto	1	1	100.00
Modena	21	50	42.00
Parma	25	42	59.52
Piacenza	2	2	100.00
Pisa	1	8	12.50
Savona	2	6	33.33
Turin	8	15	53.33
Grand Total	113	199	56.78

Table 4.6 – Repatriation success rate by city

Of course, a more detailed examination of the obstacles that affected this region’s repatriation process will be required and will be provided in the next section; however, let us first turn to the factors that might have influenced which works were returned to Italy. The first of which is the issue concerning the artist; whether there are any noticeable trends in the artists whose paintings were returned and how this differs from those that were originally confiscated. Keeping in mind that much like the other regions of Italy, the paintings removed from these cities largely encompassed masters

from the High Renaissance, like Raphael, and early Baroque masters like Guercino and Annibale Carracci. This region type witnessed a greater diversity of artists when compared to the previous two regions; table 4.7 below presents the statistics for the top ten artists whose paintings were returned. You will notice that Guercino, while having the highest number of confiscations also had the lowest success rate at 31.25%. However, unlike the Papal States and Lombardy-Venetia, whose confiscations centered among a select group, those from the Italian States are more varied. In comparison, the second table (table 4.8) provides the opposite side of the equation with the percentage of works not returned; some of the artists from table 4.2, namely Albani, Annibale Carracci and Romano, faring much better statistically.

Artist	Number of Paintings	Number Taken	Success Rate (%)
Albani	6	8	75.00
Andrea del Sarto	3	3	100.00
Annibale Carracci	5	7	71.43
Correggio	5	5	100.00
Giulio Romano	6	8	75.00
Guercino	5	16	31.25
Guido Reni	4	8	50.00
Raphael	9	9	100.00
Salvator Rosa	3	3	100.00
Titian	4	5	80.00
Grand Total	50	72	69.44

Table 4.7 – Repatriation success rate by artist (top 10)

Artist	Number of Paintings	Number Taken	NR Rate (%)
Albani	2	8	25.00
Bonifazio de Pitati	2	2	100.00
Caravaggio	2	2	100.00
Annibale Carracci	2	7	28.57
Ludovico Carracci	2	4	50.00
Castagno	2	3	66.67
Fra Filippo Lippi	2	2	100.00
Giulio Romano	2	8	25.00
Guercino	11	16	68.75
Guido Reni	4	8	50.00
Lanfranco	2	3	66.67
Mazone	2	2	100.00
Mazzolino	2	4	50.00
Ricci	2	2	100.00
Lionello Spada	3	4	75.00
Veronese	2	2	100.00
Grand Total	44	77	57.14

Table 4.8 - Percentage of not returned paintings by artist (top 10)

At first glance, it would seem that this region was more successful in repatriating the works that were most popular to the French. Looking at the artists with 100 percent success rates – Andrea del Sarto, Correggio, Raphael and Salvator Rosa – we see that their works all originated from Florence or Parma, contributing to the successes of these cities as identified in table 4.6; the same goes for the 80 percent success rate of Titians paintings. Whereas with the Papal States and Lombardy-Venetia those artists with 100 percent success rate were those with some of the lowest number of works taken, the same does not seem to be true of this region. Raphael, Correggio and even Titian had a success rate of 80 percent and factored among the top ten most confiscated works by artist. The only artist who seem to have fared extremely poorly was Guercino; the reasons for which bring us to the second factor and pertain to the transportation of artworks to France and their location once in France.

4.2.5 – Location in France

Recalling that the transportation of works from Italy to France affected a great number of paintings from the Venetian Republic, this region seems to have fared slightly better. Thus, we must turn our attention to the location of works that were not returned during the repatriation process (table 4.9). Far more than the previous regions these locations mainly included regional museums across France and once again included Brussels and Lyon which seem to have benefited greatly from these confiscations. The situation in Brussels is one that warrants further investigation for several works across Italy were returned in the latter half of the nineteenth-century. A closer look at these examples will follow in section two of chapter five when discussing the repercussions of repatriation and the lasting controversy concerning the return of artworks to their native country or state.

Location in France	Number of Paintings
Chateau de Maisons- Lafitte	2
Fontainebleau	2
Museum, Bordeaux	2
Museum, Brussels	3
Museum, Dijon	2
Museum, Lyon	4
Museum, Rennes	2
Museum, Rouen	2
Museum, Toulouse	3
Palais de Compiegne, Compiegne	5
Palais de Saint-Cloud	2
Paris	45
Paris, Notre-Dame	2
Grand Total	76

Table 4.9 – Count of paintings remaining in France

Having established in our earlier discussions that the Allied effort to repatriate artworks was focused in Paris, the 45 works which remained in the capital after 1815 is quite significant. Unlike the paintings of the foreign-ruled states of Lombardy and Venetia, and the Papal States, those from this region remaining in Paris amounted to more than half of the total number of works not returned, and do not include any of the works by

the identified more popular artists. An examination of the works in the other common locations (Palais de Compiegne and Lyon) demonstrate that the artist varied greatly to include works by Guercino and Guido Reni, among others from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One cannot help but ask why this is the case and a further examination of which will be provided in the third section of this chapter.

In chapter three we determined that while artworks may have been repatriated to Italy, this did not necessarily mean that the work in question was returned to its original location and thus questions the overall success of repatriation efforts. Recalling that the majority of repatriated paintings were relegated to museums – most prominently in the Papal States – let us examine the location type of works returned to the peninsula. Unfortunately, looking at table 4.10 below, the same seems to be the case with the remaining Italian states.

Location Type	Number of Paintings
Church	4
Church	4
Museum	53
Academy	2
Church	20
Gallery	24
Palace	3
Unknown	4
Palace	44
Church	1
Palace	43
Unknown	12
Church	7
Gallery	4
Unknown	1
Grand Total	113

Table 4.10 – Count of paintings based on returned location versus original location

With 73 paintings having been removed from churches during the wars and only 4 of the 32 returned paintings delivered back to the church, it would seem that the public – by which I mean the populace in a given region that would have frequented the churches in question – in these states fared worse than even those in the Papal States. The Italian

states by this point were still largely composed of various social factions and hierarchies with a large uneducated peasant population.³¹¹ Thus, it would be the educated aristocratic and merchant classes who availed themselves of the galleries and museums being established on the peninsula. This, however, does not mean that the lower classes would not have been affected by the confiscations from local churches, but that it was the way they were affected that differs. Being of a religious nature by their placement in churches, their purpose was therefore to help in the spiritual education of the congregation; however, once removed and placed in a secular setting their purpose shifted from a spiritual to that of a cultural one. This would then, of course, have only extended to the upper and some middle-class citizens. Finally, if one takes a closer look at the large number of paintings placed in a museum, it becomes apparent that the establishment of museums was becoming of greater interest to these states – an issue which will be explored in the next chapter.

The palace, following closely behind the museum with a total of 44 paintings, refers specifically to the Palazzo Pitti in Florence; the success of which was no doubt influenced by the re-establishment of the Austrian duke Ferdinand III as the Duchy's ruler and whose main residence was the former Medici palace. While these observations suggest that in comparison to the other two regions the repatriation process was more advantageous, it seems that this was only the case in the larger and politically stronger states. Furthermore, this gives some credence to the conclusion that the Austrian Empire proved a valuable diplomatic player in the return of artworks, with Austrian-ruled Lombardy-Venetia being the most successful overall. These conclusions, however, cannot be confirmed until we examine the process of repatriation; only then will we be able to discern any trends and the advantages and disadvantages of each city, state and region.

³¹¹ Duggan (2007), 53. See also Woolf (1979), 169-70.

4.3 – The process of repatriation

Following the British occupation of the ports of Leghorn and Genoa, and the Austrian arrival on the peninsula via the north-east, the French were gradually pushed out of Italy and back into France. In chapters two and three we have already addressed the involvement of Joachim Murat's Neapolitan army in the effort to overthrow the French governments in Italy; therefore, for the purpose of this chapter the focus will be placed on the reorganisation of the Italian States in this region. A brief look at a map of 1815 Italy (Appendix C) demonstrates the reversion back to pre-revolutionary or 1796 Italian borders; particularly when we recall that the Allied Powers were largely interested in re-establishing peace and tranquility in Europe. The idea being to ensure that territories bordering France would be politically strong enough to act as a buffer; of course, the only state in Italy for which this applied was Piedmont. Thus, it was concluded that Piedmont would return to its position as a territory within the Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia under the rule of Victor Emmanuel I; the Allied Powers having placed great value in their independence.³¹² With Piedmont remaining independent, the Austrian Empire was nevertheless able to achieve some of their political goals through the remaining Italian states. In the reorganisation of the peninsula the remaining states, with the exclusion of Piedmont, consisted of Modena, Parma, Lucca and Tuscany – most of which were ruled by some extension of the Hapsburg family. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany was returned to the Emperor's brother Ferdinand III, Modena was returned to the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine through Francis IV (cousin to the Austrian Emperor), Parma was given to Marie-Louise, Napoleon's Hapsburg wife and finally the small Duchy of Lucca, formed after the Congress of Vienna to compensate for the House of Bourbon-Parma's loss of the Duchy of Parma, was ruled by Maria Luisa of Spain. Thus, it is evident that although the Austrian Empire only ruled the territory of Lombardy-Venetia directly, it was nevertheless an indirect ruler of much of the Italian states in 1815.

³¹² Woolf (1979), 231.

Following the Battle of Waterloo, much like the Papal States had sent Antonio Canova and Lombardy-Venetia had looked to the Austrian Empire, the Italian States also took measures to repatriate their cultural treasures – Tuscany perhaps being the most notable. With the support of the Austrian Empire via the Grand Duke, Tuscany looked to Cavalier Karcher, who was in Paris on behalf of the Austrian government, for support along with *Commissari* Pietro Benvenuti (1769-1844) and Giovanni degli Alessandri (1765-1830) who were the Ministers sent by the Duchy. A document in the Florentine state archives dated early September 1815 relates to important pieces of information that help to frame the position of the Ministers along with their views on the issue. The first part relates to the objects they were seeking to repatriate;

Son Altesse Impériale et Réale le Grand-Duc met le plus grand prix à pouvoir recouvrer les différents chefs-d'œuvres, et tout ce qui se trouve dans les Etablissements et Dépôts publics de la Ville, ainsi que dans les Palais des ci-devant Princes, et Individus de la Famille Bonaparte, mais quand à la restitution des objets moins rares transportés dans les provinces, s'il y en a, elle ne devra former un obstacle à l'issue favorable de vos démarches.³¹³

The most important piece of information relates to the works that were to be repatriated and more specifically where they were to be found, as well as their rarity. It is clear that anything located within the city of Paris or in any of the palaces occupied by Bonaparte's family was to be removed, however it is those works that are located outside of the city – those which we have identified as existing in regional museums – that become of greater interest to the case for repatriation. It has already been established that nations and states approached the repatriation process with the intent of returning all of their cultural treasures, but that those located outside the vicinity of Paris posed greater difficulty and thus explained the reason for a low success rate among these works. However, the above cited text provides evidence to support that paintings located in regional museums and palaces were not returned because they were not deemed rare enough. That is to say, the artist, subject matter, style or original

³¹³ Summary of communication between Cavalier Karcher and Italian Commissioners in Paris and the Florentine government. No. 29, Segreteria e Ministero degli Esteri: Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di settembre 1815, Busta 107, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

ownership did not warrant further efforts to return the work in question. A closer examination of the works from the Duchy of Tuscany located in the French provinces (including Belgium) suggests that this was in fact the case. Having narrowed the data to those paintings which were repatriated from a location outside of Paris only two exist – leaving six to remain in France. Of the two works, the first was the *Baldaquin Madonna* (1507-8, oil on canvas, Pitti Palace) by Raphael from the Pitti Palace which had been in Brussels since 1801, whereas the second was a *Mary Magdalene* (1533, oil on canvas, Pitti Palace) by Titian also from the Pitti Palace located in a museum in Bordeaux after being moved from Paris in 1801; both of them were returned in 1815 to the Pitti Palace. A quick look at those paintings which were not repatriated from the provinces suggests that in 1815 none of these paintings warranted extra effort. These works having been painted by Andrea del Castagno,³¹⁴ Jacopo da Empoli, Zanobi de' Michiavelli, Matteo Rosselli and Taddeo di Bartolo,³¹⁵ all of which date either from the early renaissance (pre-1460) or the late renaissance and early baroque (post-1560).

In addition to providing evidence for the discussion of paintings located in regional museums, the aforementioned text also provides strong evidence on the interests of the Grand Duke to repatriate the Duchy's cultural patrimony. This is further expressed in a later section of the same document which highlights the involvement of Prince Klemens von Metternich, minister to the Austrian Empire, as well as the debate occurring amongst the Allied Powers.

La restituzione ai vari Paesi d'Europa degli oggetti d'arte era tuttavia in discussione, che non era ancora risolta neppure la questione, se dovessero

³¹⁴ In his telling of the lives of the most eminent artists, Vasari describes Andrea del Castagno as having excellent talent, but was so overcome with the envy that his works failed to integrate the beauty of the world. He writes, 'the wickedness of envy [...] sets to work to deprive of life those whom it cannot despoil of glory; as did that miserable Andrea del Castagno, who was true great and excellent in painting and design, but even more notable for the rancour and envy that he bore towards other painters, insomuch that with the blackness of his crime he concealed and obscured the splendour of his talents.' Vasari goes on to explain that while his paintings demonstrated a great knowledge of draughtsmanship and design, his works lacked a great use of colour and often 'appeared grave in aspect.' Vasari, vol. 3 (1912), 95-101. <<https://archive.org/details/livesofmostemine03vasaooft>>

³¹⁵ Vasari's account of the life of Taddeo Bartoli describes the artist as hardworking and devoted – particularly for his altarpiece in the chapel of the Palazzo della Signoria in Siena. He goes to explain that his commission for the chapel was entrusted to him because he was said to be 'the best master of those times' and as a result of his hard work and dedication, 'Taddeo increased his glory and fame' among the patrons of Tuscany. Vasari, vol. 2 (1912), 61. <<https://archive.org/details/livesofmostemine02vasaooft>>

rendersi quelli appartenenti ai Paesi riuniti già Legalmente alla Francia, e ritornati ora ai Loro Legittimi Principi, e che le Potenze Alleate sembrando determinate a non impiegare la forza per la risoluzione di questa vertenza.³¹⁶

This first part dates from early September, before the official involvement of the Allied Powers – the English having established their position a couple of weeks later – thus, what we see expressed here is the debate which occurred amongst the Allies regarding the extent of their involvement in the repatriation of artworks and whether this involvement would require force. Furthermore, there is also the issue that has not yet been discussed and pertains to the degree to which the state in question was united with France; for as we saw in the earlier discussion of the historical context many of the Italian states found themselves annexed to France or at certain times Allied with France. It is to this issue that this second part becomes important;

On ne saurait pas douter que le résultat de la discussion, dont vous m'informez ne soit pas tel qu'on a droit de l'attendre, mais si par hasard la décision pouvait être contraire aux intérêts des Pays légalement cédés à la France, et rendus à leurs anciens Souverains, vous n'oublierez pas, Monsieur le Chevalier, de faire remarquer que la Toscane qui est de ce nombre, ne réclame pas seulement des objets enlevés de son territoire lorsqu'elle faisait partie de l'Empire Français.

Ce n'est pas à ceux-ci qu'elle attache une importance majeure, mais ce qui Lui intéresse le plus est sans doute la restitution des monuments précieux dont elle a été dépouillée à une époque où sa réunion à la France était bien loin d'être effectuée.

[...]

Je vous répète, qu'on est fondés à compter sur le recouvrement total de nos objets d'art, mais que dans le cas le moins favorable vous devrez donner tous les soins possibles à l'effet de pouvoir fixer la destination d'époque, dont je vous ai parlé.³¹⁷

In this section, Tuscany makes it clear that their repatriation claims pertain not only to the periods of French annexation (1805-1815) but also encompass those years when the Grand Duchy was considered an enemy of France; this being the period that began with

³¹⁶ Summary of communication between Cavalier Karcher and Italian Commissioners in Paris and the Florentine government. No. 29, Segretaria e Ministero degli Esteri: Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di settembre 1815, Busta 107, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

the War of the Second Coalition when the Grand Duke and his family were forced to leave Florence, a period marked by the first wave of confiscations in Tuscany.

In a similar way, the Duchy of Parma's ambassador in Paris, Giuseppe Poggi (1761-1842), approached the Austrian government as early as July-August 1815 with regards to the return of Parma's treasures. A letter dated 5 August 1815 from Comte Etienne Lauvital to Marquis Bausset, Grand Maître to the House of Empress Marie-Louise, relates the information regarding the Austrian Emperor's demands concerning the artworks as well as Poggi's plea for their return. Lauvital writes, 'je fais cet envoi sur la demande de Monsieur Poggi, qui semble entrevoir des espérances fondées que tout sera rendu à ses légitimes maîtres, s'y trouvant des objets de propriété du Souverain et de plusieurs particuliers et de corporations religieuses.'³¹⁸ Poggi's intentions were later joined by Parma's delegates, Biagio Martini and Cesare Corsini, who were charged with the identification and removal of the Duchy's artworks. Dated nearly two months later, a Modenese letter to Prince Talleyrand in France from Comte Munarini, Minister of External Affairs, introduces the delegates from this duchy charged with the restitution mission. The letter, dated 27 September 1815, to Talleyrand provides an introduction to Antonio Lombardi, Premier Bibliothécaire Royale, and Antonio Boccolari, Sous-Directeur de l'Academie de Peinture de Modene;

Mon Auguste Maitre m'a ordonné d'écrire à V. A. [Votre Altesse] pour le prier de toute son assistance à l'égard de M. Lombardi [...] et de M. le Chevalier Boccolari [...] qui auront l'honneur de lui présenter ma lettre, afin qu'ils puissent réussir à s'acquitter parfaitement de la mission, dont ils ont été chargés, et dont le but est de reconnaître et de faire ensuite transporter à Modène les objets précieux, que sa Capitale jadis possédait, et que [l'Empereur d'Autriche], par un trait de son éminente religion, a bien voulu consentir à remettre aux Etats, et aux villes d'où on les avait tirs.³¹⁹

Included amongst the Duchy's correspondence is also a rough document detailing the instructions of these efforts for the Modenese delegates; although no date is provided

³¹⁸ Letter dated 5 August 1815, Vienna, from Comte Etienne Lauvital to Marquis Bausset, Presidente dell'Interno, Busta 192, Archivio di Stato di Parma, Parma, Italy.

³¹⁹ Letter to Prince Talleyrand, France's Minister of External Relations, from Comte Munarini, 27 September 1815, Modena, Affari Esteri, Atti non riservati (1814-16), Busta 10, Ufficio del Ministero, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Italy.

the fact that it includes a list of instructions would suggest that it was prepared before the Modenese delegates were sent to France. While much of the letter has been edited, there are nevertheless clear indications of the mission the Italian delegates.

Beginning in Turin, the delegates were instructed to meet with Piedmont's Minister of External Affairs to discuss the Kingdom's strategy for repatriation and perhaps more crucially, a joint effort once in Paris. From this meeting, the delegates were to travel to Paris where they were to present letters to both Baron de Vincent (Austrian ambassador) and Prince Metternich (Austrian delegate) with an appeal for guidance and support on their mission. More specifically, 'se la restituzione, quando sia stabilità, potesse incontrare difficoltà, sarà dal [sic] proprio dell'attenzione dei Deputati, di svilupparla e separarla, prendendo [...] direzioni al [sic] S.E. il Barone de Vincent. [...] che si trovasse non per anche [sic] definitivamente stabilità a favore dagli Stati d'Italia, che debba aver luogo la restituzione dei Capi asportati, dovrà interessarsi il pregio mio Sig. Vincent ad adoprarsi [...] con ogni efficacia, onde, la medesima abbia luogo a favore della Casa Estense, che con tanto diritto ha ragione di reclamare degli effetti, dei quali fu spogliata dalla violenza di una rivoluzione.'³²⁰ The last steps of the instructions detail the packaging and transportation of the artworks back to Italy with the utmost care and security. Also included is a letter prepared by Modena's Minister of External Affairs, Munarini, to be presented by the Modena delegates to Baron de Vincent upon their arrival in Paris, and which presents a clearer idea of de Vincent's involvement and what Modena hoped to gain by approaching him. Munarini writes,

Ils [Modenese delegates] d'être chargés par Mon Auguste Maitre de vérifier tous les objets précieux qui se trouvaient dans ces Etats et de les faire ensuite transporter à Modène. Je prie V.E. au nom de S.A.R de vouloir bien leur accorder votre très-valable appui dans cette occasion.

S.A. le Prince Albani Grand Maitre de la Maison de S.A.R. doit avoir intéressé la Chancellerie d'Etat à Vienne pour obtenir qu'elle voulût bien charger V.E. d'entreprendre les négociations analogues afin que les objets appartenant au Duc de Modène soient rendus sitôt qu'ils seraient réclamés et qu'on les aurait auparavant identifiés. [...] Je ne balancerai à croire que

³²⁰ Istruzioni ai Deputati il Sig. Lombardi e Boccolari desintati a Parigi, Affari Esteri, Atti non riservati (1814-1816), Busta 10, Ufficio del Ministero, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Italy.

V.E. se prêtera à favoriser ces deux Messieurs pour que le résultat heureux de leur mission ne rencontre aucun obstacle.³²¹

The fact the letter was written in Modena and is dated 27 September 1815 coupled with a later letter from Lombardi and Boccolari to Munarini in Paris dated 19 October 1815 reveals that this Duchy's delegates arrived in Paris long after the process of repatriation had begun. You will recall that Antonio Canova and Tuscany's Benvenuti and Alessandri were already in Paris by this point. The late arrival of Modena into the mix can in some ways be considered an advantage as Britain and Austria had already pledged their support and the delegates were already working on removing their property from the Louvre. Finally, Turin sent lawyer Ludovico Costa, in September 1815, with the responsibility of identifying and organizing the return of the combined Kingdom's cultural objects – those of both Piedmont and the former Republic of Genoa.

Going back to the Florentine text, *Summary of communication between Cavalier Karcher and Italian Commissioners in Paris*, I draw your attention to a third section which addresses the Tuscan effort to approach the Allied Powers in hopes of securing their support. Much like Antonio Canova sought an audience with Britain's Parisian diplomats – Wellington and Castlereagh – on behalf of the Papal States and the Grand Duchy sought the support of the Austrian Empire; this of course was to be expected when we recall that the Grand Duke was brother to the Austrian Emperor. This was done through a meeting with Austrian Diplomat Prince Klemens von Metternich;

Il Cavalier Karcher di avere presentati a Sua Altezza il Principe di Metternich [...] i due Commissari Toscani Benvenuti e Alessandri spediti dal nostro Governo a Parigi, per ricevere la consegna dei monumenti che la Maestà Sua si era degnata di accoglierli con la maggior bontà, e di assicurarli che avrebbe cooperato col più vivo impegno per la Sua parte, all'oggetto che i reclami del di Lei Augusto Fratello sortissero l'intento desiderato, e che essa pure si era mostrata penetrata degli speciali motivi che assistevano le nostre domande.³²²

³²¹ Letter to Baron de Vincent, General de Cavallerie et Ambassadeur de S.M.I.E.A. pres de la Cour de France a Paris, from Munarini, Ministère des Affaires étrangères a Modene, (27 September 1815), Affari Esteri, Atti non riservati (1814-1816), Busta 10, Ufficio del Ministero, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Italy.

³²² Summary of communication between Cavalier Karcher and Italian Commissioners in Paris and the Florentine government. No. 29, Segreteria e Ministero degli Esteri: Protocollo degli Affari Esteri

This of course adds to Modena's earlier mentioned correspondence with Austrian ambassador, Baron de Vincent, and should not exclude any relations with Metternich on the part of Modena and Parma. The letters to Metternich by these two duchies are written in much the same tone as that described by Cavalier Karcher and the Florentine delegates; the former's letter of 27 September 1815 is similar in style to that of the one sent to the Baron, while a later letter from Metternich to Comte de Marescalchi (Plenipotentiary minister in Modena), dated 11 October 1815, discusses Austria's demands on behalf of the Italian states.³²³ Thus, the Austrian interest in aiding repatriation efforts seems sincere and, as we discussed in chapter three, did provide some benefits; however, they were soon to be helped by further Allied involvement in the form of the British who, by the end of September, had begun to take an active interest in maintaining the principle of justice.

The reluctance of the new French King, to part with these works of art created further tensions amongst the Allies who now witnessed the tremendous wealth to be found in Paris. On both sides was the awareness of the power of this collection both in terms of its cultural and political value. In a document dating October 1815, the sentiments of France towards of this collection are expressed in a recounting of the events that occurred during the last week of September 1815.

Geloso di conservare in Parigi la preziosa ed insigne Collezione degli oggetti d'Arte che si trovava raccolta in quella Capitale, il Ministero di Sua Maestà Cristianissima si opponeva col più vivo impegno ai reclami, che per la restituzione di tali oggetti venivano concordemente avanzati dai vari Stati

spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di settembre 1815, Busta 107, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

³²³ Letter from Munarini to Metternich 27 September 1814, Modena, writes 'S.A.R. Mon Auguste Maitre dès qu'il a pu s'assurer que tous les objets précieux d'histoire naturelle, aussi bien que les anciens chefs-d'œuvres des sciences et des Arts dont le gouvernement français [...] s'était emparé, doivent être incessamment rendus aux États qui en avaient été dépouillés, a pris la résolution d'expédier à Paris Monsieur ... avec des dépêches pour M le Baron Vincent Ambassadeur de S.M.I.R près de S.M.R.C pour obtenir tous les moyens possibles afin de pouvoir retirer ceux qui avaient été enlevés à Modène.' The second letter, from Metternich to Marescalchi, dated 1 October 1815, Paris, writes; 'tous les objets d'art enlevés à l'Italie par les français dans le cours des guerres précédentes et pendant l'occupation de ce beau pays, viennent à la demande de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, notre Auguste Maîtres et de ses Alliés, [...] l'Empereur [...] a mis un intérêt particulier à seconder les vœux et les intentions des gouvernements d'Italie.' Both letters are from Affari Esteri, atti non riservati (1814-1816), Busta 10, Ufficio del Ministero, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Italy.

della Germania e d'Italia [...] Ma quantunque tali reclami appoggiati dagli evidenti, ed incontrastabili diritti che assistevano i detti Stati, fossero sostenuti altresì da alcune delle grandi Potenze Alleate pur non estante era si ferma l'opposizione del Governo di Francia, che come già si è veduto nel Protocollo antecedente al No 29 non sembrava che col solo mezzo delle diplomatiche trattative vi fosse da concepire la speranza di un favorevole risultato.³²⁴

The key note here would be to remark upon the use of the word *geloso* meaning jealous to describe the situation in Paris. It is not simply an issue of resentment for the loss of cultural patrimony, but that what the French government had managed to create a central cultural institution possessing a precious collection or rather several precious collections. As such it is something that becomes of greater importance later when we turn our discussion to the fate of the works once they arrived in Italy in the next chapter. The second half of this text relates primarily to the opinion and position of the Allied Powers regarding the return of artworks. It had still been undecided as to how these powers should react to the obvious reluctance of the French King to part with this collection; nevertheless, it was believed – at least among the Allies – that

Gli oggetti d'arte esistenti a Parigi essendo stati rapiti ai legittimi Possessori dai cessati Governi Militari Francesi in opposizione ad ogni principio di giustizia, ed agli usi moderni della Guerra, non potevano per verun legittimo titolo riguardarsi come appartenenti alla Francia, e che quindi era un assoluto dovere dei Sovrani Alleati di procurare la restituzione di tali monumenti agli Stati che si giustamente la reclamavano.³²⁵

Whether by peaceful negotiation or by force, the Allied Powers undertook a repatriation policy based on the principles of justice and as has already been established applied the use of force to ensure that some level of justice was obtained.

The obstacles encountered by Italian ambassadors and delegates in Paris are further confirmed in a letter from Antonio Lombardi and Antonio Boccolari written in Turin to Modena's Minister of External Affairs. Not only does this letter contribute to Modena's timeline of restitution claims, it also describes the problems occurring in Paris that Piedmont was encountering. Dated 4 October 1815, Lombardi and Boccolari

³²⁴ No. 7, Segretaria e Ministero degli Esteri: Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di ottobre 1815, Busta 108, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

³²⁵ Ibid.

communicate Piedmont's decision to send the advocate, Ludovico Costa, to Paris and his reports to Turin on the difficulties he has faced since his arrival. They write:

Ci siamo presentati a Sua Eccellenza il Ministro primo Segretario di Stato per gli affari esteri [...]. Consegnatagli la lettera di Vostra Eccellenza ed informato da noi più diffusamente dell'oggetto della nostra missione egli ci ha comunicato le direzioni prese da questa Corte per ricevere le Carte degli archivi, e gli oggetti di scienze³²⁶ e d'arti asportati da questi stati a Parigi oltre alcune persone che trovassi colà da nostro tempo per procurare questa restituzione sua Maestà vi ha ultimamente spedito il Signore Costa impiegato negli archivi, il quale ha già informato questa Reale Corte del suo operato. Non dissimula egli le difficoltà che si incontrano per ricuperare gli oggetti specialmente di Belle Arti [...]. Uno degli stratagemmi che usano i Francesi per impedire ed intralciare le operazioni si è quello di offrire che il tal pezzo è nel tal museo mentre si trova in un altro stabilimento. Per superare questo ed altri simili ostacoli si è convenuto con sua Eccellenza che uno dei migliori mezzi sarà quelle di visitare da privati i pubblici stabilimenti di Parigi e cercare di unirsi agli altri Deputati Italiani per vedere di scoprire gli oggetti che ci interessano, e quindi procurarne la consegna il che procureremo di fare con tutti quei mezzi che da noi dipenderanno. Diciamo così perché lo stesso ministro ci ha pure informati che la prima nota presentata dall'ambasciatore di S.M. Sarda presso la Corte di Francia per procurare la ricupera di cui sopra non produsse alcuno effetto, e che alla seconda diretta dall'ambasciatore stesso a quelli delle potenze alleate per lo stesso fine, non si è per anche avuto riscontro.³²⁷

In addition to the insight this passage provides into Piedmont's repatriation efforts, the Modenese delegates outline a slightly different tactic taken by the French to prevent the return of artworks. Not only were French ministers formally declining repatriation requests, but they also circumvented the problem by directing delegates in a different direction – convincing them that certain works were not in fact housed in the museum – ‘il tal pezzo e nel tal museo mentre si trova in un altro stabilimento’ – but had actually been moved to a different location. While this was the case with many paintings, it could well have been a tactic used to delay efforts and dissuade Italians from pursuing the matter. In response to this obstacle, it was suggested that the Italian deputation visit

³²⁶ See earlier mentioned Daugeron (2009).

³²⁷ Letter from Antonio Lombardi and Antonio Boccolari to Ministero degli Affari Esteri di Modena, 4 ottobre 1815, Affari Esteri, atti non riservati (1814-1816), Busta 10, Ufficio del Ministero, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Italy.

the various locations in private as a means of ascertaining for themselves the location and condition of paintings. More importantly, this passage speaks of a combined Italian effort to both discover and procure the paintings by any means, and one that could confront the French ministers.

In addition to the principles of justice, and as is evident from the previous passage, came the similar belief that had been expressed in chapter two which pertained to the impact these artworks had on the French people – being that they symbolized their triumph over other states. Thus, similar to Wellington’s argument regarding the power of trophies of war to elicit further sentiments of glory and conquest, this issue is reiterated later in the same document.

Perché conservare dei Monumenti atti ad impedire la riconciliazione morale tra la Francia e gli Stati nuovamente negli animi de’ Francesi il desiderio delle conquiste, opponendo così un altro ostacolo al ritorno a quelle abitudini morali, e pacifiche, nelle quali soltanto può trovare la Sua felicità uno Stato agitato per un quarto di secolo dalle guerre esterne, e dalle discordie Civili?³²⁸

I would like to point out that, in addition to the obvious belief that these treasures were revered as trophies of war, there is also mention of an effort made towards moral reconciliation; that is to say, that rather than simply removing what was taken during the revolutionary and imperial government, the Sovereign nations, or at least the Duchy of Tuscany, wished to return French relations to a time of peace. In removing those objects that would incite memories and sentiments from a time of war, the Allied Powers would in turn encourage the French people to reflect upon a time of peace and thus begin a period of moral reconciliation.

One of the slight benefits for the Grand Duchy pertained to the fact that the majority of the confiscations did not occur via treaty; however, this was overshadowed by the earlier mentioned issue concerning the state of relations with France during the wars. A quick look at the works that were not returned suggests that this was a major factor in the repatriation as these works were confiscated during the second and third

³²⁸ No. 7, Segretaria e Ministero degli Esteri: Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di ottobre 1815, Busta 108, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

waves – post 1805 when Tuscany would have been considered part of France. That is to say, the majority of the works returned to Tuscany had been confiscated in 1799, before the annexation of the Duchy to France. The issue concerning ratified treaties and the relationship with France at the time of confiscations is one that caused great difficulty amongst the Allies for the simple reason that they could be considered a legalized form of plundering. As an example, Parma's delegate Giuseppe Poggi discusses the issue in his correspondence with Comte Magawly dated 17 October 1815. Included in this letter is a detailed recounting of the obstacles faced by Parma, along with the subsequent packaging and transportation of the artworks back to Italy. However, for this argument I draw your attention to a passage on the second page of the letter;

Mi dichiaro essergli stato fatto divieto da S.A. il Principe di Metternich di por mano nei quadri di Parma, per motivo del Trattato che il Duca Ferdinando conchiuse colla Francia nel maggio del 1796. [...] Tutte mie diligenze rivolsi contro la prima [difficolta]. Ed anzi ogn'altra cosa mi accinsi a rendere una memoria per dimostrare la povertà dell'ostacolo che col trattato Ferdinandino ci si opponeva. Ne certo mancavano ragioni onde combatterlo [...] le circostanze che accompagnarono l'ingresso dei francesi negli stati di Parma, quelle che secondano oggi gli Alleati in Francia, il numero dei quadri sottratti al di là del convenuto, tutti i bronzi [...] non compresi nel Trattato, le esazioni ed altre simili cose, erano senza meno ragioni che persuadere dovevano il Signor Principe a porre in un canto il funesto trattato e a concederci il riacquisto dei nostri monumenti.³²⁹

The issue concerning legalization was a pressing one; and in this case, was resolved by the comparison of the arrival of the Allied powers (the victors) in Paris to those of the French who had entered the territories of Ferdinand III in 1796. Further support was the fact that the original confiscations were later added to by the further spoliation of churches, galleries and other establishments which had not been previously agreed to. From these circumstances, Metternich is said to have recognised the need to disregard the Treaty of May 1796 in favour of the reacquisition of monuments.

³²⁹ Letter to Signor Comte Magawly, Ministro dei Ducati di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla, from Signore Poggi, 17 October 1815, Paris, Presidente dell'Interno, Busta 192, Archivio di Stato di Parma, Parma, Italy.

Further to the question of treaties and legalization is the issue of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1814 which marked the end of the Napoleonic wars through a declaration of peace. Having been signed on the first of May 1814, the treaty makes no stipulation for the return of artworks, but rather limits negotiations as a means of legalizing a peace quickly – the remaining stipulations to be addressed during the Congress of Vienna. While this will be addressed in the next chapter, I will nevertheless point out that efforts were made in 1814 after the abdication of Napoleon, only that they were done on a smaller scale. Eugene Müntz in his description of what he titles the ‘spoliation de nos musées,’ by which he means the French museums, explains that not long after this change in power the Papacy had made efforts to return their Archives, while Austria and Prussia sought the return of their manuscripts. In referring to Italy, he mentions some Italian municipalities seeking the return of their treasures making specific reference to Perugia who reclaimed their artworks in June 1814, but that ultimately it was only Prussia who made strong efforts for repatriation during that year.³³⁰

The second major obstacle experienced by the Allied nations did however continue to play a factor amongst the remaining Italian states. The French King’s reluctance to part with these treasures is once again brought to light in a Florentine document which describes the lack of orders from the King and the eventual decision to apply the aforementioned force. Furthermore, it describes a precedent for the use of force in the form of the problems encountered by the Netherlands – who relied upon British support.

Dopo questa Nota restando sempre più confermata l’idea che col mezzo delle trattative amichevoli non potesse sperarsi di riuscire nell’intento desiderato, il Ministero del Re dei Paesi Bassi s’indirizzo al Duca di Wellington come Comandante in Capo dell’Armata di quel Regno, domandandogli se egli avesse difficoltà d’impiegare le Truppe di Sua Maestà per metterla al possesso di ciò che incontestabilmente le apparteneva. Il Duca di Wellington dopo avere comunicata una tal domanda ai Ministri delle Corti Alleate, che la trovarono giustissima, partecipa al Principe di Talleyrand questo progetto ed il risultato della sua conferenza coi Ministri delle Corti predette, invitando il Principe a por l’affare sotto gli occhi di Sua Maestà Cristianissima, ed a pregarla d’indicare il modo con cui senza urtare la di Lei delicatezza, potesse

³³⁰ Müntz (1897), 707.

adempirsi la domanda del Re dei Paesi Bassi. Il Principe Talleyrand promise una risposta per la sera successiva, ma non avendola poi fatta pervenire altrimenti, il Duca di Wellington si portò nella notte a trovare il Ministro, e venne in cognizione [sic] che Sua Maestà non avrebbe dato alcun ordine su tal proposito, e che Egli poteva prendere quelle misure che avesse reputate convenienti. Intanto il Ministero Francese aveva dato al Direttore del Museo l'ordine di non consegnare, e di non lasciare uscire dallo stabilimento veruno oggetto d'Arte senza esservi astretto dalla forza. Allora la Milizia Inglese e Prussiana fu postata alla Galleria, ed i Quadri appartenenti al Regno dei Paesi Bassi ne furono esportati.³³¹

This description of events not only confirms the identity of the person responsible for ordering the resistance towards the relinquishing of artworks – namely the King himself – but also demonstrates the steps made towards the final decision to employ force. The Duke of Wellington having exhausted other means of persuasion and negotiation, and having been supported by the Allied Powers in his final decision eventually used military force to see that the principle of justice was upheld. Finally, having gone to these lengths for the Netherlands, it is only justified that such lengths should also be taken for other nations. Thus,

I reclami Toscani essendo assistiti da eguali ragioni che quelli del Regno dei Paesi Bassi, la benevolenza di Sua Maestà l'Imperatore d'Austria, e la ferma cooperazione del Ministero Inglese fece nel 23 settembre predetto stabilire la restituzione dei nostri monumenti, e fu così la Toscana il primo fra gli Stati d'Italia che recuperasse questa preziosa proprietà, e che vedesse assicurato il ritorno nel suo seno di quegli Insigni capi d'opera delle arti che attestavano la sua magnificenza ed il suo splendore, e che avevano forma già da più secoli uno dei suoi più belli ornamenti.

Non ostante gli ostacoli che il Direttore del Museo di Parigi, e gli altri Impiegati Francesi tentarono di opporre, il Cavalier Karcher nostro Incaricato d'Affari ed i due Deputati Senatore Alessandri³³² and Professore Benvenuti³³³ andarono senza ritardo ad impossessarsi dei Monumenti di cui

³³¹ No. 7, Segretaria e Ministero degli Esteri: Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di ottobre 1815, Busta 108, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

³³² Senator Giovanni degli Alessandri was a Tuscan Baron who had been appointed Director of the Uffizi following Tommaso Puccini. Further information about his life consult Chiara Pasquinelli, 'Giovanni Degli Alessandri: i primi anni del directorato agli Uffizi fra nuovi e vecchi ruoli' *Annali di Storia di Firenze* VI (2011): 155-170, <http://www.storiadifirenze.org/pdf_ex_eprints/ASdF_2011_6_155-170.pdf>

³³³ Senator Pietro Benvenuti was a Tuscan artist from 1769-1844. He studied in Florence and made several trips to France to study with Jacques-Louis David and was nominated Director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence in 1803. For a complete biography see 'Benvenuti, Pietro' *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol 8 (1966) <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-benvenuti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>

si tratta, e protetti, e coadiuvati [sic] nell' operazione dai Carabinieri Inglesi postati per tale oggetto al Museo ultimarono felicemente l'operazione.³³⁴

Austria's use of force and their belief that it would only be a last resort is evidenced in a letter from Prince Metternich to Comte Marescalchi, Austria's plenipotentiary Minister in Modena. Metternich makes it clear that in following the orders of the Austrian Emperor, the commissioners are – should the need arise – to employ force in securing the reacquisition of monuments;

Tous les objets d'art enlevés à l'Italie par les français [...] viennent à la demande de sa Majesté l'Empereur, notre Auguste Maître et de les Alliés, d'être rendus aux Commissaires respectifs chargés de venir les réclamés. Loin de se laisser arrêter par les obstacles et les désagrèments [sic] inséparables de toute réclamation de cette nature, l'Empereur, dans cette circonstance, a mis un intérêt particulier à seconder les vœux et les intentions des gouvernements d'Italie; ses commissaires avaient l'ordre exprès d'appuyer puissamment leurs réclamations, de les confondre pour ainsi dire avec celles dont ils étaient spécialement chargés pour les objets d'art enlevés dans nos Provinces; [et] de leur prêter main forte en cas de besoin.³³⁵

These instructions build upon Britain's initiatives and demonstrate a clear reluctance to employ force, while at the same time recognizing that it should be applied if necessary.³³⁶ In a similar way, Giuseppe Poggi's letter to Comte Magawly describes the rising tension in Paris and the actions taken to move forward with repatriation.

Such efforts ensured the return of those works located in Paris and which were deemed worth the risk. You will, however, recall that Italian Commissioners had already decided that works by what were considered secondary artists were not to be

³³⁴ No. 7, Segreteria e Ministero degli Esteri: Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di ottobre 1815, Busta 108, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

³³⁵ Letter from Metternich to Marescalchi (11 October 1815), Affari Esteri, atti non riservati (1814-1816), Busta 10, Ufficio del Ministero, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Italy.

³³⁶ Should force become necessary, Austrian Governor of Paris General Muffling was instructed to assist with force; as evidenced in a letter from Modena's delegates Lombardi and Boccolari dated 19 October 1815, 'Sua Altezza va a scrivere immediatamente a Sua Eccellenza il Signore Generale Muffling, Governatore di Parigi, perché ci assista con la forza onde eseguire la nostra commissione.' Affari Esteri- atti non riservati (1814-1816), Busta 10, Ufficio del Ministero, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Italy.

removed and packaged up for transport unless there was room for them. This third major obstacle seems to have related more to the financial cost of transportation when looking at the remaining Italian states. In the summary list of Tuscany's returned cultural property were the *Medici Venus*, 47 paintings, Virgil's manuscripts, the Medici Oriental collection, 14 sculptures, and various objects belonging to the archives of Siena. Unfortunately, a closer examination of the 47 returned paintings suggests that not only was preference placed upon the artist but also upon the original owner. Of this number, all but one of the 47 returned paintings were from the Pitti Palace; the exclusion having originated from the Duomo in Pisa. Finally, the 29 works that remained in France all originated from public locations, that is to say from churches and academies. In making these decisions it was decided by the Commissioners that the 29 works to remain in France 'non meritassero la spesa del trasporto' and that leaving them would 'facilitarsi la restituzione dei precitati più interessanti oggetti d'Arte esistenti nei Dipartimenti e nei Palazzi Reali.'³³⁷ Nevertheless, the efforts of Cavalier Karcher and Commissioners Alessandri and Benvenuti were well appreciated and recognized;

Je vous félicite bien sincèrement [Cavalier Karcher] sur l'issue heureuse qu'ont sorti vos démarches relativement à la restitution de nos objets d'Art, et Monuments précieux existant à Paris.

[...]

Vous avez très bien fait, ainsi que Messieurs les Députés à ne point insister pour le recouvrement des 29 Tableaux qui vont rester au Musée, vu que d'après l'avis de Messieurs Alessandri and Benvenuti ces objets ne sont pas d'un grand prix, et que leur abandon a pour bût de préparer des facilités à la plus prompte restitution d'articles plus intéressants.³³⁸

One additive of this obstacle that has yet been discussed concerned the time of year and the weather. The last of the removals from the Louvre occurred in late September and the careful packaging and labelling of works would have taken several more weeks, all of which meant that the objects would be subjected to rain and possible snow when crossing the Alps. The urgency with which the Italian nations wanted the return of the

³³⁷ No. 7, Segretaria e Ministero degli Esteri: Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di ottobre 1815, Busta 108, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

³³⁸ Ibid.

cultural treasures is demonstrated here when the decision could have been made to hold the departure until the spring when the threat of the elements could be more controlled. Instead it seems that extra money was spent to protect the works and ensure that the elements would not impede the convoy's timely departure in October. In response to an earlier letter date 3 October Cavalier Karcher explains the delay,

Cette réponse devait vous marquez, qu'attendu la saison pluvieuse, on aurait préféré le moyen d'emballage le plus soigné, voulant éviter le déperissement des objets. Ce que vous m'annoncez par rapport au nombre de caisses, que ne seront plus cent cinquante, mais seulement quarante environ, est une raison de plus pour ne point éviter le surcroit de dépense que causera l'opportunité de mettre par une reliure, et couverture ferme, et solide, lesdites Caisses en état d'être transportées sans danger sur des voitures Militaires.³³⁹

Furthermore, this extra consideration also helps to explain the financial factor involved in identifying the number of works that were to be returned. All this aside, following their removal and packaging, they were then escorted by Austrian military convoy from Paris on 20 October 1815 back to Italy – including Rome, Lombardy-Venetia and the other various Italian states.

4.4 – Conclusion

Overall the final location of the majority of paintings, with the exception of the Pitti Palace, was that of a museum or gallery, particularly in the cities of Modena and Parma. At this point it is unclear why this is the case; however, observations suggest that for the most part it was due to the fact that they were taken from one. In those cases where the original location was a church, it is possible to hypothesize that their later placement in a museum was a question of conservation. A closer examination of this phenomenon will be relegated to our discussion of the emergence of the museum and the role of art

³³⁹ No. 8, Segretaria e Ministero degli Esteri: Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di ottobre 1815, Busta 108, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

within society in the final chapter of the thesis. Taking a quick examination of the artist of these works, however, reveals several big names including Correggio, Titian, Ludovico Carracci, Guercino and even Raphael. While the number of works by these artists is not substantial it does suggest an interest in protecting cultural treasures, not to mention providing an educational environment for the training of young artists – an elaboration of which will be discussed in the next chapter. Not including Florence, the returned location of these paintings centered on major cities which would have been considered the political centre of the state in 1815 or, in the case of Genoa, prior to the wars. Therefore, the establishment of galleries and museums in these locations further suggests an interest in creating an ‘Italian Louvre’ – a local institution that would promote and protect the cultural treasures of the individual state or region.

Chapter 5 – A comparative discussion of repatriation

It has already been established that France's and later Napoleon's motivations for conquering Europe and spreading the ideals of their revolution had ramifications that far surpassed the political layout of the continent, extending to the confiscation of the cultural heritage of more than one state. Over the course of this thesis we have explored the political and social context of the confiscations, and the subsequent repatriation efforts, along with a quantitative analysis of these works as a way of identifying the intricate connections the political can and will have with the cultural. In the Papal States the reluctance of the Pope to adhere to the demands of the French resulted in several waves of confiscations and the loss of sovereignty which left the States in a weaker political position at the close of the wars; Lombardy-Venetia witnessed several periods of political reorganisation which had an effect on the physical wellbeing of their cultural treasures; whereas, the smaller independent Italian states were forced to make decisions that would be least harmful to their citizens, sacrificing their cultural property in exchange for a peaceful treaty and later political reorganization. France's decision to establish a national cultural institution, as both a symbol of national unity and a place for the education of the people, on the one hand had a disastrous physical effect, through confiscations; while, on the other, a positive ideological effect on the social and cultural layout of Europe. Over the course of this next chapter I will examine the database of works from a wider perspective – removing the geographical and political constraints of their 'regional' classifications – to address any new trends and observations. From this final analysis, these observations will contribute to a final discussion on some of the more prevalent obstacles encountered during repatriation and what they can tell us about some of the ideological trends that emerged from the experience, of foremost interest being the rapid emergence of regional museums across Italy.

5.1 – *The confiscated works*

Thus far our discussion has explored the list of confiscated paintings on a regional level based on a pre-determined political grouping of states – the Papal States, foreign-ruled states and the Italian-ruled states. In investigating the various elements of this database, observations concerning artists and location types have been made; however, it is necessary, before continuing, to take a more general look at the paintings without the limitations of borders in order to discern any new trends. In approaching the entire list of confiscated paintings, a couple of new guidelines have been established; the first of which is the artist's years of operation which then allows them to be assigned a century. The centuries have been divided in such a way as to account for the lifespan of the artist; they have been divided into the thirteenth, thirteenth-fourteenth, fourteenth, fourteenth-fifteenth, fifteenth, fifteenth-sixteenth, sixteenth, sixteenth-seventeenth and seventeenth century. The second is a compiled list of the various location types in order to discern between the secular and spiritual, private and public. They have been identified as Academy, Church, Gallery, Museum, Other, Palace, Private Collection and Unknown.³⁴⁰ Rather than combining the Other and Unknown location, I have chosen to keep them separate because those marked as 'Other' generally relate to secular locations; whereas an unknown location could encompass any type.

Original locations have been broken down to differentiate between galleries and museums; however, the returned location will only account for museums and therefore include those paintings placed within a regional gallery. This has been done for two reasons; first, in some instances paintings originated from designated museums, specifically the *Capitolino* in Rome, while the remainder were confiscated from galleries, often in the form of a ducal collection. Of these I refer to those paintings from Modena and Turin where the collection is identified as having been housed in a gallery; public, yet still private in that admission was often the result of invitation or social

³⁴⁰ In pursuing the discussion on locations, I would ask you to recall the parameters set in the introduction to this thesis with regards to the differentiation between gallery, museum, palace and private collection. The palace holding a state function, whereas galleries may have been owned by ruling families, but they had been recognised as a location for the display of collections. Finally, these identifications pertain to those specified in Blumer's catalogue.

connection. Secondly, upon the return of works to Italy, locations have been limited to museums as this then refers to the nature of the location immediately following repatriation and in the future. While the paintings of Parma, Modena and Turin were technically returned to galleries, the future of these institutions meant that they came to be classified as museums eventually open to the public, providing a cultural and educational establishment within the state. Finally, while those paintings originating from a Private Collection do not amount to many, they nevertheless warrant a separate category because of the nature of their ownership.³⁴¹

The final guideline refers to the three phases of confiscation which, as has been discussed in the historical discussions of the previous chapters, tend to reflect the changes in political and military spheres. The first spans from 1796-98, the second from 1799-1805 and the final phase largely relates to the suppression of religious institutions from 1811-1813. Some may choose to argue that the second phase, 1799-1805, should in fact be considered as two separate phases; however, I would argue that for the purpose of this discussion they represent a single phase on the basis of the political events that occurred during this period. The war of the Second Coalition initiated the second wave of confiscations, however the political reorganisation of the Italian states continued until the coronation of Napoleon as King of Italy. The political developments discussed in the previous chapters were a constant string of changes that, coupled with the political and ideological changes occurring in Paris,³⁴² contributed to these further removals. Furthermore, if this phase were to be divided there would be the added question of where to divide it as there were several differences in the removals across these states during this period. On a final note, the individual states mentioned with the regional discussion in chapters two, three and four should continue to be observed; having been identified based on their political borders in 1815 and as

³⁴¹ The fact that they originated from the private sector presents a different situation in that the families who relinquished them would have faced a different confiscation process and one which warrants its own investigation. I ask you to refer to the parameters set in place in the introduction of this thesis.

³⁴² Elaboration of these culminating factors will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

such consist of Lombardy-Venetia, Modena, Parma, the Papal States, Piedmont and Tuscany.³⁴³

Finally, in approaching the discussion on artists, a more extensive analysis has been made on the individual artists that factored into the highest count of confiscated paintings. In doing so, the 1797 Louvre catalogue was used to identify French taste for these artists and to provide some context for the confiscation of certain paintings. These catalogues were published by the Louvre administrators for use by the public and provide a descriptive list of the paintings on display in the museum's galleries. More importantly, however, are the comments added about the artist and paintings where the administrators have taken the time to detail points of interest regarding the education and background of the artist, and with the paintings a summary of their history and location. Thus, their inclusion provides a valuable reference in support of the quantitative analysis of the confiscations, giving some justification for the trends we have seen with regards to artistic periods and locations. In summarising these histories, the Louvre administrators quite often reference the work of Giorgio Vasari; therefore, the inclusion of his *Lives* is intended as further context for the arguments concerning the popularity of certain artists over others.

5.1.1 – State

Taking a look at the complete list of confiscated paintings based on Marie-Louise Blumer's detailed catalogue of 1936, located in Appendix F, a total of 406 paintings have been identified. As we have seen during our historical analysis, the first wave originated from Modena and Milan in mid-May 1796 and continued as late as 1813 in Tuscany. Each region experienced differing degrees of confiscation at various times as a result of the political changes and cultural importance of a given state. Furthermore, these political changes also had a detrimental effect on the negotiating power of the

³⁴³ You will note that the Duchy of Lucca has been left out of this list. While the state does factor into the political reorganisation of the peninsula in 1815, none of the works listed in the database originated from Lucca and therefore it has been left out of this discussion.

state in 1815, forcing them to make sacrifices in terms of what they could reclaim. Looking first at the confiscations of individual states, we get a more general idea of how states fared compared to their neighbours. Table 5.1 provides a breakdown of these states and more importantly provides a necessary comparison, particularly when looking at the number of paintings from the smaller states versus their larger neighbours. For instance, Modena (red) and Parma (purple) were the two smallest states and experienced a far greater number of confiscations in comparison to Piedmont (34) which would have been one of the larger territories. Similarly, Tuscany (orange) with 82 paintings surpassed Lombardy-Venetia (dark blue) at 58 paintings and would have been roughly half the size of the combined territory.

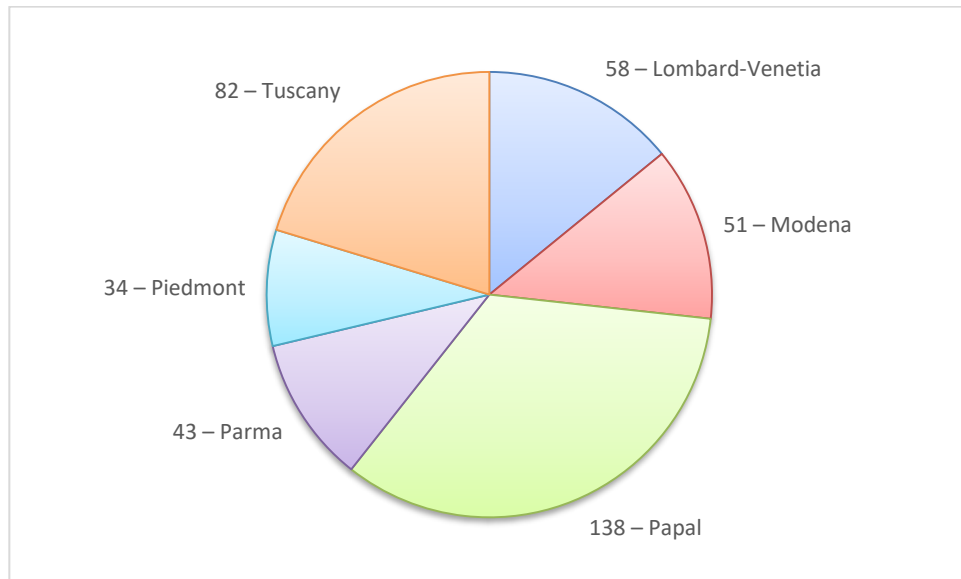


Table 5.1 – Number of paintings confiscated by state

Furthermore, if we take into consideration the number of cities (table 5.2) concerned within each state we get a more accurate understanding of the number of people affected by the removals – in other words, the density of the confiscations.

State	# of Paintings	Percentage of total (%)	# of Cities
Lombardy-Venetia	58	14.29	5
Modena	51	12.62	1
Papal	138	33.99	11
Parma	43	10.64	2
Piedmont	34	8.41	7
Tuscany	82	20.30	7
Grand Total	406		33

Table 5.2 – Count of confiscated paintings by state.

These numbers provide interesting observations on the impact these confiscations had on the Italian populace; the state of Tuscany, much smaller by comparison to the Papal States, had nearly as many cities affected by this experience (7 versus 11) and though the cities may have varied in size by comparison, we are nevertheless presented with an alarming observation. Regardless, of size or population density the fact remains that this experience had a detrimental effect on the cultural layout of individual cities and states.

5.1.2 – Artists

Turning to a combined list of the top ten artists (table 5.3) whose paintings were removed we get a better idea of which were most sought-after by the French; this in turn provides for an exploration of the reason for their popularity, and then raises the question of why. The top three – Guercino, Guido Reni and Perugino – should come as no surprise considering their numbers within the Papal States (table 2.4); however, what becomes most interesting are the totals for the remaining artists. We have already discussed the importance and popularity of Raphael, so for the purpose of this discussion let us turn to the others on this list. Remarkably enough, the remainder have all been influenced in some way or another by each other or by Raphael, the exception perhaps being Perugino whose relationship was one of teacher-student. The earliest of these artists, Pietro Perugino, was a pupil of Andrea del Verrocchio in Florence and was credited with many works across Italy both in fresco and on panel. Giorgio Vasari attributes his successes to Perugino’s ‘understanding of colour, both in fresco and in

oil,³⁴⁴ and goes on to describe his fame and intelligence in the context of the years leading up to the introduction of Michelangelo into the world of art. Stating, ‘not one out of all these disciples ever equalled Pietro’s diligence, or the grace of colouring that he showed in that manner of his own [...]. And a trade was done in his works, as has been said, by many, who sent them to diverse places, until there came the manner of Michelangelo.’³⁴⁵ These notes are further supported by the Louvre’s published catalogues detailing the paintings in the collection and a brief biography of the artist. In the description of Perugino, they reference his talent in the support of Raphael; ‘l’honneur d’avoir eu un tel disciple suffirait à sa gloire, si d’ailleurs on ne distinguait dans ses ouvrages le germe des qualités qui ont caractérisé son illustre élève.’³⁴⁶ Such a description demonstrates the Louvre administrations’ interest in providing an art historical narrative for the new museum.

Artist	Years	Number of Paintings
Albani	1578-1660	14
Barocci	1528-1612	10
Carracci (Annibale)	1560-1609	11
Giulio Romano	1499-1546	9
Guercino	1591-1666	33
Guido Reni	1575-1642	18
Perugino	1446-1523	25
Raphael	1483-1520	17
Titian	1485-1576	10
Veronese	1528-1588	18
Grand Total		165

Table 5.3 – Count of confiscated paintings by artist

Of the 25 Peruginos that were confiscated from Italy, all but four originated from his patron city of Perugia where he had spent a great deal of his life completing commissions for the local churches and prominent families – which only serves to address the concern of the loss to this city of numerous works by one of their most

³⁴⁴ Vasari, *vol 4* (1913), 40.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 48. This is further supported by Cristina Galassi’s discussion on Perugino’s importance in providing a chronological and biographical display of the evolution of the Umbrian school of art. Galassi (2004).

³⁴⁶ *Notice des principaux tableaux recueillis en Italie par les commissaires du gouvernement français, seconde partie* (Paris: L’imprimerie des Sciences et Arts, 1797): 53.

famous artists. His painting for the Church of San Pietro, depicting the *Ascension of Christ* (1496-98, oil on panel, Musée Municipal des Beaux-Arts, Lyon), was the first work listed in the 1797 catalogue and had been given much credit by Vasari who stated ‘the whole of this picture is seen to be full of beautiful and careful work, insomuch that it is the best of those wrought in oil by the hand of Pietro which are in Perugia.’³⁴⁷ It is perhaps because of this praise that the polyptych was removed from the church in March 1797 to Paris and later divided with two parts being dispatched to the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon and the remaining panels to various regional museums. Unfortunately, many of Perugino’s paintings shared a similar fate in that they were relocated during the wars to regional museums; another example being the *Marriage of the Virgin* now located in the museum at Caen. Of the seven that were returned in 1815, all but one – *Virgin and Child with Saints John and Augustus* (1494, tempera on panel, St Augustus, Cremona) – were placed in a museum or gallery rather than their original location.

Although not a direct follower of Perugino, Giulio Romano is nevertheless connected with him via his connection as a pupil of Raphael. Spending his formative years under the direction of Raphael, Vasari believed ‘Raffaello da Urbino had not one who imitated more closely in manner, invention, design, and colouring, than did Giulio Romano.’³⁴⁸ It should come as no surprise then that Romano’s paintings – in adhering closely to the style of the Renaissance master – numbered amongst the most popular artists with a total of 9 confiscated. Furthermore, if we turn to Vasari’s description of the life of Giulio Romano, we are given some explanation for the inclusion of a painting by a seemingly unknown artist, Fermo Ghisoni (Fermo di Stefano, 1505-1575). In his account, Vasari takes the time to describe the many projects Romano had during his life but that when it came to painting, it was his drawings and cartoons that excelled. Thus, when he was commissioned for the chapel of in the Palace of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga he completed a cartoon depicting the scene of Saints Peter and Andrew leaving their nets at the calling of Christ which was never actually completed as a

³⁴⁷ *Notice des principaux tableaux* (1797), 45.

³⁴⁸ Vasari, *vol 6* (1913), 145.

painting by Romano. Described as ‘the most beautiful that Giulio had ever made,’³⁴⁹ the painting of the scene was instead completed by his pupil, Fermo Ghisoni; which is now, unfortunately, considered lost. This is further supported by the 1797 catalogue descriptions of Raphael paintings whereby both Romano and Ghisoni contributed to their completion, such as the *Assumption of the Virgin*. Taken from Mantua during the first campaign, the catalogue’s description reiterates the observations of Vasari, but on the topic of the artist explains that Ghisoni ‘est un des élèves les plus distingués qui soient sortis de la celebre école que Jules Romain avait formée a Mantoue.’³⁵⁰ Furthermore, the inclusion of both of these artists, particularly Giulio Romano, is consistent with the collection, or rather, confiscation policies of the French administration.

Turning to a contemporary of Raphael and Giulio Romano, we find ourselves on the Veneto with a far different school of art most commonly associated with the work of Tiziano Vecellio – Titian. Limited to the study of nature rather than antiquity that arose as a result of studying in Venice, Vasari nevertheless points out that Titian ‘soon showed that he was endowed by nature with all the gifts of intellect and judgement that are necessary for the art of painting.’³⁵¹ Furthermore, as a result of studying in the workshop of Giovanni Bellini and later the works of Giorgione, Titian quickly developed a style of painting that would come to epitomize the Venetian school of art during the sixteenth century. Evelyn Phillips attributes this style to Venice being the kingdom of feeling and emotion in comparison to the realistic and logically driven Florence; arguing that Venice’s artists would not reveal their true intellect until such a time that her artists were willing to express their feeling and emotion.³⁵² This change was marked by their recognition of the power of colour over design. In praising the early works of Titian, Vasari nevertheless claims that his works lack the focus on design that would come from a period of study in Rome – ‘if Tiziano had been in Rome at that

³⁴⁹ Vasari, *vol 6* (1913), 167.

³⁵⁰ *Notice des principaux tableaux* (1797), 35.

³⁵¹ Vasari, *vol 9* (1913), 159.

³⁵² Evelyn March Phillips, *The Venetian School of Painting* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1912), accessed 15 August 2015 <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/30098/30098-h/30098-h.htm#Page_3>

time, and [...] had studied design, he would have done things absolutely splendid, considering the beautiful mastery that he had in colouring, and that he deserved to be celebrated as the finest and greatest imitator of Nature in the matter of colour in our times, and with the foundation of the grand method of design he might have equalled the Urbinate and Buonarrotti.³⁵³ However, the Louvre's interest in and praise of this artist contradicts these observations. This is perhaps most evident in the Louvre catalogue's description of the artist, if not in the data from table 5.3. The catalogue praises his technique and work, stating; 'ses compositions sont grandes, son dessin est correct, son coloris, sur-tout, est inimitable.'³⁵⁴ The addition of this artist to the collection would have then been considered by the French to be of the utmost importance; providing their museum with a highly talented artist that came to symbolize the Venetian school of art.

It should then come as no surprise that the French would wish to acquire them for their museum as they would provide a valuable addition in the education of the Venetian school of art. First on the list is the *Martyrdom of Saint Peter Dominican* (1530, oil on canvas) which had been painted for an altarpiece in the church of San Giovanni and Paolo in Venice. While the original painting no longer exists after having been destroyed in a fire in the church in 1867, we are able to extract some idea as to the fame of the painting from the number of copies that were made – most notably by Lodovico Cigoli (1559-1613). In the city of Verona is an altarpiece of the *Assumption of the Virgin* (oil on canvas) painted in 1535 for the Cathedral, which had it been located in Venice it probably would have been overshadowed by the painting in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari of the same subject. Considered 'to be the best of the modern works in that city,'³⁵⁵ the painting was removed in May 1797 not long after the events of the Easter massacre. What is fortunate for the people of Verona, however, is that this painting was returned to its original location – which can also be said for all of Titian's returned works. Of the two that were not returned, only one – the *Crowning of Thorns* (1542, oil on canvas) – remained in the Louvre in Paris and it is to this work that I turn

³⁵³ Vasari, *Vol 9* (1913), 162.

³⁵⁴ *Notice des principaux tableaux* (1797), 83.

³⁵⁵ Vasari, *Vol 9* (1913), 169.

to a brief discussion of the selection of Titians that were removed to Paris. Much like the earlier *Assumption*, this painting also has a later version, painted in 1572-76 but which was not confiscated, and it is this fact which raises the issue of whether preference was made on paintings from a certain style or part of the artist's life.

The changes in Titian's artistic style has been the subject of research for many art historians who generally identify two separate styles or phases in his career. The first relates to the first half of his life, once he had become an established painter and builds upon the compositional style of Bellini and the painting technique of Giorgione. It generally refers to his career up until about the mid-1540s when he moved away from the stylistic influence of his teachers and refined, finished compositions, towards a more disconnected composition with looser brushwork.³⁵⁶ Marcia Hall argues that this style 'was the culmination of Titian's lifelong pursuit of an improvisational procedure that would free him to create with his brush and paint *alla prima* [... where] Titian's painterly brushwork appealed to the viewers' senses and emotions.'³⁵⁷ A prime example of this style, and one of the only confiscated, was the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (1557, oil on canvas, I Gesuiti, Venice) painted for the Church of the Jesuits in Venice. Looking at the completion dates of the confiscated paintings, we notice that unlike the painting of *Saint Lawrence*, they tended to originate from the mid-point of his career, spanning the decades of 1530-40. The Louvre administrators' description of the former provides valuable evidence to support its selection for removal; describing the painting as being 'justement célèbre par l'art avec lequel le Titien a su combiner et rendre le jeu et les effets des diverses lumires qu'il s'est-plu a y faire contraster.'³⁵⁸ The only other exception was the much later *Doge Antonio Grimani before Fate* (1575-6, oil on canvas, Palazzo Ducale, Venice), painted for the Doge Palace in Venice. The focus of confiscation on the paintings from the middle of Titian's career should not be taken lightly, for it does reveal some evidence as to the taste of the French

³⁵⁶ Fisher uses the example of the different versions of the Danae subject where, in the later version, the strokes no longer 'create a solid, uninterrupted fabric, for in many places they are set down with an open, disconnected touch.' Roy M. Fisher, *Titian's Assistants during the Later Years*, (New York: Garland, 1977): xviii.

³⁵⁷ Marcia Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011): 152-3.

³⁵⁸ *Notice des principaux tableaux* (1797), 85.

commissioners and Louvre directors at this time. Furthermore, while some of Titian's paintings may not have been in Italy – I refer primarily to the series of mythological works commissioned by Philip II of Spain – there were nevertheless many that would have been accessible to the commissioners both in churches and private collections. Finally, while medium limitations would have prevented the removal of works by other artists, Titian's preferred medium of painting was oil and therefore, unlike Raphael, the risk of removing frescoes would have been virtually non-existent.

From the same school and with a slightly higher number of confiscations at a total of 18, were the paintings of Paolo Veronese who would have been entering artistic circles in the latter part of Titian's life and during a time when the Venetian school had gained much ground in their preference for *colore*. Although not much is said about Veronese in Vasari's account of the lives of the artists, this was largely a result of timing – Vasari having published his biographies in the 1560s when Veronese would have been at the mid-point of his career. However, what little he does tell us presents the artist in a favourable light and shows that he believed Veronese to be one of the best painters in Venice at the time. This opinion seems to be reflected also in the writings of the Louvre; whereby Veronese is described as being 'nourri par l'étude des ouvrages du Titien, et excite par la concurrence du Tintoret, [...] il a dû le degré d'excellence auquel il est parvenu; ses principaux ouvrages se voient à Verone [...] et sur-tout à Venise, qu'on peut dire avoir été le theatre de sa gloire.'³⁵⁹ The mention of both Titian and Tintoretto support the observations in table 5.3 and the argument regarding the aim to creating an art historical collection, complete with strong representations from each school of art. Finally, the mention of Verona and Venise provides further evidence for the reasons behind the statistics in our discussion of cities in table 3.1.

Perhaps his most famous work, *the Marriage Feast at Cana* (1563, oil on canvas, Louvre), is praised by Vasari as 'a marvellous work for its grandeur, the number of figures, the variety of costumes, and the invention.'³⁶⁰ While Ilchman distinguishes Veronese from Titian in his 'classical temperament and glorious colouring [which]

³⁵⁹ *Notice des principaux tableaux* (1797), 42.

³⁶⁰ Vasari, *vol 7* (1913), 239.

made him appealing to more conservative tastes;’ his contemporaries – Tintoretto in particular – often created ‘turbulent and unconventional canvases’ and moved towards a more sombre palette and play of light and dark.³⁶¹ The differences in their style are also explained by Veronese’s education and origins from mainland Italy and his exposure to the central-Italian school through the teaching of Michele Sanmicheli (1484-1559); thus, his arrival and exposure to Venetian painting meant that he was able to combine both styles.³⁶²

Born the same year as Veronese, Federico Barocci, seventh in popularity with 10 paintings, spent the majority of his career in Urbino and Rome studying the works of Raphael and Correggio. Although Vasari has little to say about this artist except that he is ‘a youth of great promise;’³⁶³ the Louvre administrators were strong in their belief that his extremely rare works ‘manquaient absolument au Musée national,’³⁶⁴ his works factoring in amongst the most popular artists. In her discussion on the beginnings of Counter-Reformation art, Marcia Hall attributes Barocci’s success to his reformed style which moved away from the distorted figures of mannerism towards the depiction of emotion and movement through the application of colour. Applying his study of Correggio and Leonardo da Vinci, Barocci produced artworks through which the whole atmosphere was ‘created by the handling of colour, including brushstroke and even light.’³⁶⁵ This is further supported by Luigi Lanzi (1732-1810) who, in writing about the history of Italian painting, appointed him as one of the restorers of the Roman school.³⁶⁶ However, it is perhaps his creativity and invention with space that owes to his popularity in confiscation, as the French academy until this point had placed great preference on historical paintings which demonstrated a unique perspective and

³⁶¹ Frederick Ilchman, *Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese: Rivals in Renaissance Venice* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009): 115. See also Evelyn March Phillips, *The Venetian School of Painting* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1912), (accessed 15 August 2015) <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/30098/30098-h/30098-h.htm#Page_3>.

³⁶² *Ibid*, 114.

³⁶³ Vasari, *vol 8* (1913), 227.

³⁶⁴ *Notice des principaux tableaux* (1797), 3.

³⁶⁵ Hall (2011), 204.

³⁶⁶ Luigi Lanzi, *The History of Painting in Italy*, Book III, Thomas Roscoe, Tr. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1888): 437.

approach to the subject matter.³⁶⁷ An example of which is the *Deposition or the Descent from the Cross* (1569, oil on canvas, Cathedral of Saint Lawrence, Perugia) originally painted for an altarpiece in the Cathedral of Perugia. In order to fit within the allocated space, Barocci was required to play with the compositional layout of the subject in order to create a vertical painting, and as such uses light and colour to draw emphasis to the partially visible body of Christ. Furthermore, ‘his compositional and painterly techniques for activating his picture and infusing it with a gentle excitement [...] both in terms of motion and emotion’³⁶⁸ contribute to the completion of a painting which is generally regarded as one of his greatest masterpieces. An argument equally credited in the catalogue of 1797, claiming it was ‘un de ses plus capitaux, et l’un de ceux qui ont le plus contribué à lui faire sa reputation.’³⁶⁹

Moving away from the traditional schools of art that epitomized the majority of the sixteenth-century – mainly those of Florence and Venice – the Carracci family (composed of two brothers and a cousin) came to characterize what was the Bolognese school of art. Of primary concern are the works and style of Annibale Carracci (1560-1609) which rival those of Titian and Barocci in number of confiscations with a total of 11 paintings. Randall Davies in providing an overview of the influential artists of various countries points to a description of the school made by Agostino Carracci (1557-1602) in which he states that those who wish to achieve at painting must acquire the ‘the design of Rome, Venetian action and chiaroscuro, the dignified colouring of Lombardy, [...] the terrible manner of Michelangelo, Titian’s truth and nature, the sovereign purity of Correggio, and the perfect symmetry of Raphael.’³⁷⁰ However,

³⁶⁷ Lee (1999), 21. See also Jobert Barthelemy, ‘The “Travaux d’encouragement”: an aspect of official arts policy in France under Louis XVI’ *Oxford Art Journal* 10, no. 1 (1987): 3-14.

³⁶⁸ Hall (2011), 211. Equally supported by Giovanni Pietro Bellori in his text *Vite dei pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni tomo 1* (Pisa: Presso Niccolo Capurro, 1821): 176-177. Accessed 19 February 2016 <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_5Spz1yqZTEQC>

³⁶⁹ *Notice des principaux tableaux* (1797), 4.

³⁷⁰ Randall Davies, *Six Centuries of Painting*, (London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1914): 107, (accessed 17 August 2015) <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/29532/29532-h/29532-h.htm>>. This is further supported by Donald Posner who explains the origins of the Carracci style and their movement away from the Mannerist style based the accounts of Malvasia and Bellori; whereby the Carracci artists sought the Lombard and Venetian pictorial traditions and studied the works of Correggio, Titian and Veronese. He goes on to explain that Barocci also would have held some influence over Annibale in his revitalizing of the Correggesque style, and the Venetian influence most likely emerged from Agostino’s trip to Venice in 1582. See Posner (1971), 26-28, 71-73; Catherine Loisel, *Ludovico*,

Clare Robertson suggests that Annibale went beyond the simple imitation of the earlier masters and that through his understanding of their style and technique he was able to develop his own that would soon distinguish him among the greater artists.³⁷¹ Further praise is presented by Charles-Nicolas Cochin, secretary of the French Academy in the mid-18th century, in his text on ancient painters and their styles. Concerning, those most excellent of the Italian school, he praises the Carraccis for their expression; what he considers one of the added advantages in painting.³⁷²

The paintings selected for removal to Paris demonstrate an interest in Annibale's later works when his style had become very much his own. Unlike most other cases, the majority of those taken originated from a gallery or palace and I refer in particular to the religious painting of *the Virgin Appears to St. Luke and Catherine* (1592, oil on canvas, Louvre) which had originally been painted for the Cathedral of Reggio Emilia. In his description of his travels in Italy, Cochin describes the painting within the Cathedral of Reggio Emilia; 'un grand tableau au fond du chœur, d'Annibal Carracci [...] ce tableau est admirable pour la beauté du dessein [sic], le beau choix des attitudes, et la belle manière de draper, il est même d'une très-bonne couleur: c'est un morceau d'une grande beauté.'³⁷³ This painting, however, could not find comfort or support in the debates of Quatremère de Quincy on the importance of context, for it had long since been held with the Este family Ducal Gallery in Modena.³⁷⁴

Agostino, *Annibale Carracci*, (Paris: Reunion des Musées Nationaux, 2004); and *Notice des principaux tableaux* (1797), 15.

³⁷¹ Clare Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci* (Milan: Silvano Editoriale Spa, 2008): 34.

³⁷² Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Œuvres diverses de M. Cochin, secrétaire de l'Académie Royale de peinture et sculpture, ou, Recueil de quelques pièces concernant les arts*, (Paris: Chez Ch. Ant. Jombert père, rue Dauphine, à l'image Notre-Dame, 1771): 167-8, accessed 19 February 2016

<<https://archive.org/details/uvresdiversesdem02coch>>. Further support for the Carracci school by the French Academy is evident as early as 1719 by Abbe J.-B. Du Bos in *Reflexions sur la poesie et la peinture* – 'Le souverain qui ne saurait trouver une certaine quantité de jeunes gens qui puissent, à l'aide des moyens qu'il leur donne, devenir un jour des Raphaels et des Carraches [...]' – and by Antoine Coypel who stresses the importance of contact with the great masters in 1718; both of these sources are provided in Christian Michel, *L'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (1648-1793): la Naissance de l'Ecole Francaise* (Geneva : Librairie Droz, 2012): 157 and 290.

³⁷³ Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie* (1771), 71.

³⁷⁴ The Este family had a long history as collectors – the most well-known perhaps being Isabella d'Este –and as such when the Ducal family moved to Modena their collections expanded and were later moved to the Ducal palace to form a Gallery in the mid-seventeenth century.

<<http://www.galleriaestense.org/collezioni/>>

Studying under the Carracci family during the fifteenth-sixteenth century, Guido Reni appears to be equally revered by the French art community. Amongst M. l'Abbé de Richard's travel books is also an account of the various schools of painting in Italy. While referred to as *l'École Lombarde*, the school in fact encompasses mainly Bolognese artists including one *le Guide* who is described as having 'réussi dans tous les genres de la peinture.'³⁷⁵ Further to this is his argument that the Lombarde or Bolognese school of art encompassed all the qualities required of perfection in painting; 'à l'étude de l'antique [...] ainsi que les écoles Romaine et Florentine [...] elle a rassemblé ce que la science et les grâces de la peinture peuvent offrir de plus noble et de plus touchant.'³⁷⁶ It is within this classification that we also find listed Francesco Albani and Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, known as Guercino; the former joining the Carracci school while the latter was mainly self-taught, with his early works being influenced by the style of Ludovico Carracci.³⁷⁷ While Richard's accounts and descriptions differ from Vasari's *Lives*, his detailed writing on the various schools coupled with the numerous references he makes to specific paintings by these artists on his travels throughout Italy provide strong evidence for the popularity of these painters in mid-eighteenth century France. Entering the revolutionary period, the 1797 catalogue's description of Guido Reni continues this fashion; arguing that Guido Renie's works 'se distinguee par une grace, une noblesse, et une beauté d'exécution qui lui sont toutes particulières.'³⁷⁸ Furthermore, together with Cochin (1758) and Lalande's (1769) descriptions in their travel guides, the Louvre's catalogue, and the statistical evidence provided by the database of confiscated paintings, there leaves no doubt as to the artistic taste of early nineteenth-century France and Italy.

In support of the popularity of Guercino are the catalogues of sale of Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun dated 1791 which compare the Italian painter with his northern

³⁷⁵ M. l'Abbé Richard, *Description historique et critique de l'Italie, ou, Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état actuel de son gouvernement, des sciences, des arts, du commerce, de la population, et de l'histoire naturelle*, (Dijon: Chez François des Ventes, libraire de Monseigneur le prince de Condé, 1766): 1, accessed 19 February 2016 <<https://archive.org/details/descriptionhisto03rich>>

³⁷⁶ *Ibid*, xxx.

³⁷⁷ For Albani's early education with the Carracci school and Ludovico's influence on Guercino, see Posner (1971), 71-72.

³⁷⁸ *Notice des principaux tableaux* (1797), 31.

contemporary, Rembrandt. Writing only a few years before the first Italian campaign, Le Brun describes how both artists were equally popular and sought-after on the Parisian art market.³⁷⁹ This heightened popularity of the artist further explains the large number of paintings (12; 8 of which were by Guercino) that were removed from the city of Cento – this being the birthplace and home of the artist. The developing taste towards this artist, however, can be further supported by Cochin’s insistence that much can be learned from Guercino. In his second letter to a young artist Cochin writes,

J’ai remis, mon cher ami, [...] à m’entretenir avec vous d’un excellent maître, élève aussi de fameuse école des Carrache, c’est le *Guercino*. Vous admirerez le caractère et la fierté des idées et du faire de ce grand peintre, aussi bien que la hardiesse et la vigueur de son coloris. [...] Il y a beaucoup de choses à étudiés chez lui, moins en le copiant qu’en réfléchissant sur ses productions. [...] Ce sont des études qu’il est essentiel de conserver toujours. Nous passons le reste de notre vie éloignés de ces grands maîtres.³⁸⁰

The Academy’s secretary strongly supports the necessary study of Guercino for the young French artist; however, perhaps most interesting is the last sentence which hints at an excuse for the later French commissioners to use in justifying the high number of works collected by this artist.

5.1.3 – Time period

Having identified the most popular artists and their years of operation, we cannot help but realize that they were for the most part working during the sixteenth century and the High Renaissance – the exceptions being Guercino, Albani and even Guido Reni to some extent, who spanned the two centuries (16th and 17th century). These numbers present further indications of the centrality of the High Renaissance period in the early

³⁷⁹ Stephane Loire, *Le Guerchin en France*, (Paris : Editions de la Réunion des musée nationaux, 1990): 26.

³⁸⁰ Charles-Nicholas Cochin, *Lettres à un jeune peintre, pensionnaire à l’Académie royale de France à Rome* (Paris: Aux bureaux du ‘Journal des beaux-arts’, 1836): 19, accessed 19 February 2016 <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6535666m/f31.item>>.

part of the nineteenth-century – a topic that will be explored further in section three of this chapter. Furthermore, the suppression of religious institutions meant that various smaller cities and communities underwent a later phase of removals. By these I refer to cities such as Arezzo, Chiavari, Fiesole and even La Spezia who may have remained altogether unaffected had it not been for the suppression of convents and monasteries following the Emperor's conflict with the Pope. However, of more interest is the degree to which these later waves of confiscation incorporated artworks from earlier and even later centuries – that is, the early Renaissance and the Baroque period.

In tables 5.4-5.6 below the paintings have been divided up by campaign in order to present a breakdown of the centuries affected and addresses the question of to what extent the French commissioners were concerned with early and even pre-Renaissance, and Baroque paintings. The first table (5.4) presents the numbers from the first campaign (1796-1798) with focus being placed on the 87 paintings from the 16th century; whereas the century before and after the sixteenth become more popular during the second campaign (1799-1805), table 5.5, with 20 and 25 paintings, respectively. However, what is most surprising is the dramatic change in numbers during the final campaign (5.6) or, rather, the wave of confiscations between 1811 and 1813. In this last round, the French museum administration and its officers had extended their list of demands to include paintings from as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth century.³⁸¹ While the majority of the paintings still originate from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there is nevertheless an interest in acquiring earlier and later works, most likely as a result of Vivant Denon's interest in creating a more art historical collection in the Louvre which Galassi argues draws its inspiration from Luigi Lanzi's ideas for a museum and is based on the model of a biography.³⁸² Realising the immensity of the

³⁸¹ This is supported first by the number of confiscations outlined in the charts from the respective centuries, and secondly by Jean Chatelain's research on Denon and his motivations for travelling to Italy in 1811 (Chatelain, 1999): 182-3. Further evidence of the confiscations is provided in an archival document from Florence that lists the paintings to be removed at Denon's request in 1811-1812. *Elenco dei quadri prelevati da Firenze nel 1812*, in Paolini (2006), 76-78; and by Paul Wescher in describing the confiscations of this period and Denon's plans for the works in suppressed churches and convents – 'l'incarico di Denon consisteva dunque nell'ispezionare queste opere e nel decidere del loro destino [...] Denon era preoccupato di metterne in salvo le opere d'arte e pensava addirittura di farne staccare gli affreschi dalle pareti' – in Musiari (1988): 137.

³⁸² Galassi (2004), 71.

collection from this suppression, Denon puts forward a strategic plan to send several delegates to Italy to inventory these works. Once in Italy, he narrows his choices to ‘soixante maîtres entièrement inconnus en France [... et] indique qu’un tableau de chaque peintre et deux au plus quand j’ai vu que je ne privais pas les villes de la totalité des ouvrages de leurs artistes.’³⁸³

Century	Number of Paintings
15th Century	37
15-16th Century	16
16th Century	87
16-17th Century	37
17th Century	48
Grand Total	225

1st Campaign

Century	Number of Paintings
15th Century	10
15-16th Century	20
16th Century	35
16-17th Century	25
17th Century	12
Unknown	7
Grand Total	109

2nd Campaign

Century	Number of Paintings
13th Century	2
13-14th Century	1
14th Century	5
14th-15th Century	3
15th Century	28
15-16th Century	9
16th Century	13
16-17th Century	3
17th Century	5
Unknown	3
Grand Total	72

3rd Campaign

Tables 5.4-5.6 – Count of confiscated paintings by century in the first, second and third campaigns

5.1.4 – Location

These numbers, however, cannot be taken at face value for it is essential to understand the final and perhaps most important factor which relates to the availability of the

³⁸³ Chatelain (1999), 184.

artwork in question. This of course has been addressed at the regional level; however, I present it here (table 5.7) for the purpose of providing a well-rounded discussion on the final and overall study of the analysis of confiscated paintings. While the artist and by extension the time period would have been of primary concern, the issues of access and availability would have nevertheless been a necessary concern for the commissioners. As we have already seen, the number of Raphaels is considerably lower than the other artists and is partly because of the simple fact that many of his most well-known works were frescoed to the walls of the Vatican Palace – others existing in private collections. The large number of paintings originating from churches is of great concern, but of no surprise as these would have been some of the most accessible. The 63 paintings originating from a Gallery (green) refer to the cities of Turin and Modena, the latter of which has been touched upon in the earlier discussion of the works of Annibale Carracci and the history of patrons and connoisseurs in the Este family.

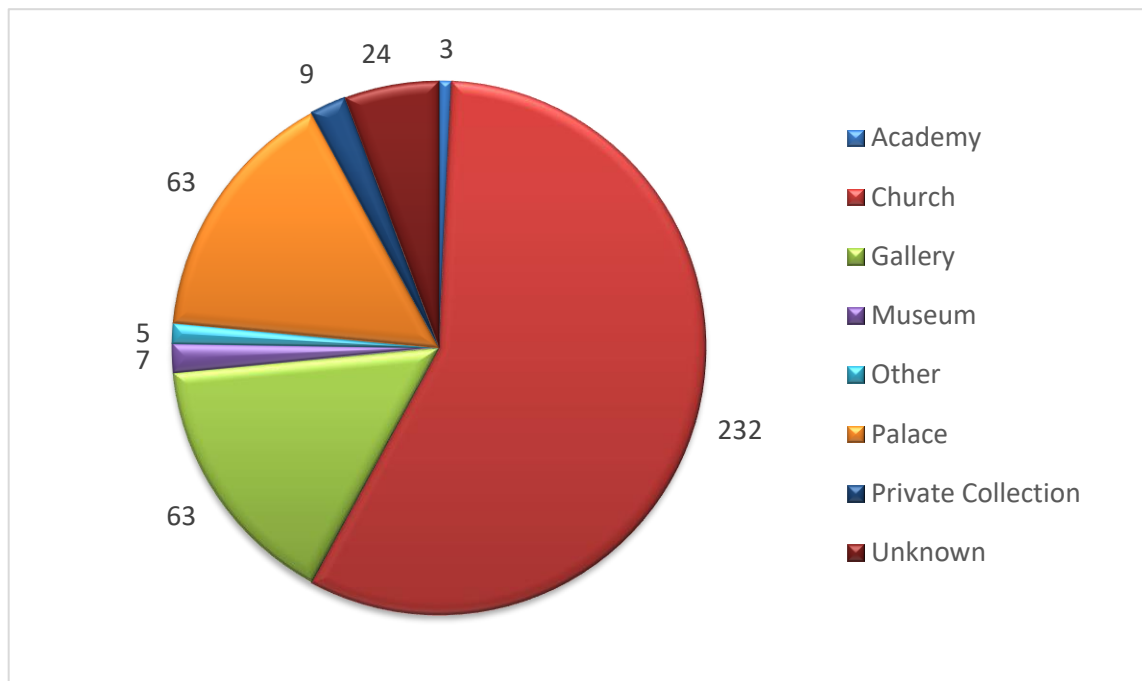


Table 5.7 – Number confiscated paintings by location type

There are several instances where galleries or museums existed in Italy prior to the French invasion; the examples in Rome having already been addressed in chapter one with the Pio-Clementino and the Capitoline. In a similar light, the Gallery in Modena had been established long before the arrival of the French; however, it existed in a slightly different capacity. As a result of the influence of the Este family, the collection continued to expand owing to the patronage and collection practices of the various Dukes of Modena. Originally housed within the Palazzo Ducale, the Estense Gallery was not opened to the public until 1854.³⁸⁴ Furthermore, unlike other states, the confiscations of the Duchy of Modena for the most part originated from the Gallery and therefore efforts were mainly focused on this collection. Thus, the situation in Modena related primarily to the private sector in comparison to the numerous paintings from other states which originated from churches (ie. the public). Similarly, the paintings from Turin also originated from a gallery, now the Pinacoteca Albertina in the Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti, which had been established, like in many other states, with its Academy for the purpose of providing examples for instruction.³⁸⁵

In contrast to Modena and Turin are the cases where galleries or museums had not yet been established and therefore the paintings had been removed from a more public location. In these instances, the influence of the Napoleonic confiscations becomes of greater interest, for in most cases the restoration period resulted in the establishment of a museum and the complete disregard for the importance of the original location. Further to these developments was an increasing interest in building upon the practices developed in Paris and in creating focused collections that reflected an art historical arrangement; in some cases, these practices began during the Napoleonic war and were a direct result of French involvement. As an example, Venice in 1806 began a discussion on the establishment of a *museo nazionale*; one which would

³⁸⁴ *The Estense Gallery*, Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturale e del turismo, (Modena: Intersezione).

³⁸⁵ L'Accademia dei Pittori, Scultori e Architetti of Turin was established in 1678 with its first constitution created nearly a century later in 1778 under the rule of Vittorio Amadeo III. Further history of the gallery and its evolution can be consulted in Franca Dalmaso, *L'Accademia Albertina di Torino* (Turin: Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino, 1982).

unite the fine arts in an educational capacity. The Committee of Public Instruction in Venice agreed:

Trova necessario di affidare la custodia delle Pitture, Statue e simili oggetti di Belle Arti, ad una persona, che ne distingua il merito, e che oltre l'opinione pubblica di talento [...]

Evita perciò il Magistrato a fars' il merito d'indicargli qual luogo esser potrebbe destinato a raccogliere li migliori quadri [...] e quelle altre Pitture, Statue, ed altro, che in seguito si trovasse conveniente di riunire per farlo diventare un Museo Nazionale degno di una Città, ove le Belle Arti hanno sempre fiorito e capace di servire di scuola alla gioventù studiosa. [...]

La istituzione di un cospicuo Museo di Belle Arti al quale si possa unire volendole un completo liceo generale per la pubblica educazione degli artisti, e per le Accademiche esercitazioni dei Professori.³⁸⁶

In much the same spirit, the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan developed as part of the Milanese Art Academy and was greatly expanded during the same period. As a result of the city's designation as capital, Milan's museum had a greater role to play in comparison to other regional cities and was 'obliged to assemble representative works of art from all the provinces conquered by Napoleon.'³⁸⁷

The Brera museum existed as an Art Academy up until the arrival of the French army, at which point the confiscations and concept of public instruction and education encouraged the transformation of the Academy into a museum. Further to this influence was the encouragement of the view of the museum as having a political function within society. A report, dated February 1815, on the organisation of the Academy of Fine Arts established by Empress Maria-Teresa of Austria in Milan states:

In mezzo però all'universale sommossa di tutto il pubblico sistema l'Accademia resto [sic] illesa e tranquilla. Erudito tanto il governo francese quanto il susseguente repubblicano dalla storia di tutti i secoli sulla necessità delle belle arti alla gloria delle nazioni e all'interesse del popolo fra le cui mani si dividono i prodotti delle opere rispettarono questo stabilimento come uno dei più utili agenti politici.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁶ No. 8, 10 March 1806, Istruzione Pubblica, Magistrato Civile in Venezia, Busta 41, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice, Italy. See also Gould (1965), 78-9.

³⁸⁷ Tardito (1986), 338.

³⁸⁸ Rapporto sulla primitiva organizzazione dell'Accademia delle Belle Arti fondata dall' Imperatrice Maria-Teresa d'Austria in Milano sull'attuale suo stato, e mezzi atti a farla vie più prosperare, Milano

From this external influence came a constitution that became increasingly focused on uniting artworks and developing an educational institution that would encourage the further development of the Lombard school of art. In a later section of the same document this intent is made explicit:

Il secondo oggetto della massima importanza erano gli studi della gioventù ai quali non bastava come s'è accennato disopra la sola voce dei Professori, ma si esigevano dei classici esemplari in ogni arte. [...] In secondo luogo una vasta collezione di quadri a cui davano occasione le frequenti soppressioni di chiese e corporazioni religiose che si fecero in quegli anni. A tutto ciò era necessario in parte di adattare ed in parte di accrescere il fabbricato dell'Accademia e di ottenere allo stesso tempo le pitture provenienti dalle soppressioni che erano di ragione demaniale. All'uno e all'altro si presto [sic] liberalmente il governo del cessato Regno d'Italia, ed anzi arricchì la galleria d'altri quadri acquistati per il prezzo di italiane £393,736.³⁸⁹

From this segment, it is evident that the Brera's administration worked to the advantage of the institution. Their active interest in attempting to acquire paintings removed from the suppressed churches, convents and monasteries of 1811 demonstrates a clear indication in the shift in opinion on the role of art within society. Furthermore, it suggests that the low success rate of Milan and Lombardy was a result of this city's understanding of the importance of the museum; the recognition of the role this cultural institution would come to have in the future, most evident in the role Appiani had in the development of Brera museum. Keeping in mind that several of the paintings removed from this region were also part of an exchange that had occurred between the Louvre and the Brera, the former capital took advantage of the occasion and its status to secure the establishment of their own public Gallery.

Although a much smaller city and state in comparison to Milan, the Duchy of Parma is an example of a situation whereby the Gallery was established following the wars. Established in the 1750s as an Art Academy under the first Bourbon Duke, the

6 febbraio 1815. Presidente della Reale Accademia Corroglioni, Atti di Governo, Studi Parte Moderne, Busta 335, Archivio di Stato di Milano, Milan, Italy.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

aim of the Academy ‘fu quello di ricostruire il prestigio culturale del Ducato, spiritualmente e materialmente, dopo che le collezioni farnesiane erano state portate a Napoli.’³⁹⁰ The rich art collection of the state consisted of many works by Correggio and the Carracci family, to name a few; however, what is most interesting are the various conservation campaigns that took place prior to and during the Napoleonic wars. On the one hand were the various waves of confiscations, those of 1803 having been a select list of paintings; while on the other was the commission of engravings of various frescoes by Correggio. In 1803, on the request of Denon, Moreau St.-Méry (*Administrateur General des Etats de Parme et de Plaisance*) was required to prepare a detailed analysis of the pictorial and physical description of the paintings requested by Paris. Following this list St.-Méry comments on the benefits of restoration in Paris:

Tous ces tableaux en général ont beaucoup souffert et noirci, et ils ont un grand besoin d’être restaurés; mais je ne doute pas que dans les mains des artistes célèbres auxquels le gouvernement en confiera le soin, ils se réacquièrent leur ancienne splendeur, sur laquelle on pourra avec pleine connaissance leur donner le degré d’admiration qu’ils méritent.³⁹¹

Unfortunately, the fact that St.-Méry was a French delegate assigned as General Administrator presents a certain level of bias; however, what cannot be overlooked were Parma’s efforts at preserving the artistic history of the city.

As early as 1779, efforts were made to preserve the pictorial legacy of Correggio with Duke Ferdinand’s authorisation for the engraving of various frescoes throughout the city. While the removal of frescoes would have threatened their physical condition, this commission nevertheless demonstrates an active interest in the importance of the visual history of the city and in the benefits of these engravings in both the sphere of collecting and education. The project’s committee understood Correggio to be one of the most celebrated artists, but recognised that his works were beginning to feel the effects of time. Dated 30 May 1779, the Prospectus for the project states;

³⁹⁰ Musiari (1986), 10.

³⁹¹ Liste des douze tableaux de Parme, choisis pour être envoyer au Museum centrale des Arts à Paris, 1803, fasc. 12, Moreau St.-Méry, Accademia di Belle Arti (1758-1806), Busta 28, Archivio di Stato di Parma, Parma, Italy.

La fameuse Coupole de la Cathédrale de Parma [...] a déjà souffert, et il n'y a point de temps à perdre pour en tirer par le moyen de la Gravure des traductions fidèles, où bientôt il n'en restera [...] qu'un souvenir à jamais durable, et le regret de les avoir perdus. [...] C'est donc un devoir pour nous tandis qu'il en est temps encore de mettre la postérité en état de jouir de ces chefs-d'œuvres, ou craignons d'exposer notre siècle aux reproches éternels des races futures. [...]

Le Sieur Ravenet Graveur [...] vient de former de graver tous les Ouvrages du Corrège qui sont dans Parme, et qui rendent cette ville une des plus célèbres de toutes l'Italie.³⁹²

Building on this history and the influence of the French administration, we are presented with a Duchy that emerged from the wars with a slightly replenished art collection and a practice for protecting cultural property. As a final example is the disappearance of a painting by Bartolomeo Schedoni (1578-1615) which is believed to have been located in a Carmelite convent and hidden by Parma upon the arrival of the French in 1796.³⁹³ In consequence, at the close of the Napoleonic wars Parma had a much more protective approach to their repatriation efforts and decision to rehome many of the state's confiscated paintings to the central location of the Parma Gallery.

Going back to table 5.7, we see that, on the other hand, the equal number of works originating from a Palace (orange), owes their high number to the richness of the collection held at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence and the history of the Medici family. Interestingly, due to the nature of the Florentine collection held in the Uffizi Gallery, the French were unable to remove any of its works to Paris and as such when the Hapsburg-Lorraine family was forced to surrender to the French in 1799 the artworks contained within their private palace were eagerly set upon by the Parisian commissioners. Disregarding the 24 paintings originating from an unknown location, the remaining locations differ only in their level of accessibility. The Academy (blue) and museum (purple) are for all intents and purposes public institutions, that is to say

³⁹² Prospectus, Parma 20 Mai 1779, fasc. 12, Moreau St.-Méry, Accademia di Belle Arti (1758-1806), Busta 28, Archivio di Stato di Parma, Parma, Italy.

³⁹³ 'Le peintre Callani doit le connaître et peut-être Muzzi aussi: comme on prétend que ce Tableau ait été caché après l'arrivée des Français, il faudrait quelque expédient pour le découvrir.' Undated note in folder 3, section 3 – Pitture ed altre cose notevoli a Parma, Moreau St.-Méry, Accademia di Belle Arti (1758-1806), Busta 28, Archivio di Stato di Parma, Parma, Italy.

that a greater variety of people would have had some level of access to them – the Academy having been designed for the education of artists and the museum (in this case the Brera and the Capitoline) as a public cultural institution.³⁹⁴ Those originating from private collections (dark blue), on the other hand, would have only been accessible to the family and guests of the family; in this case, the Braschi and Albani families.

5.1.5 – The returned works

Thus far we have addressed the list of works removed to Paris and the art historical reasons for these numbers and observations made in the analysis, but what is necessary now is an examination of the returned works in order to disseminate any trends between the before and after. Following which will be a brief discussion of those works that remained in France, for it is in the list of paintings left behind that one can often identify preferences in taste. Using a similar breakdown as above, I draw your attention first to the list of top ten returned artists (table 5.8) in order that we may discern any similarities from our earlier analyses. With the exception of Correggio, all the artists listed amongst the most popular in terms of confiscation were also the most sought after during the period of repatriation. However, unlike the previous list, Guercino, Guido Reni and Perugino now factored within the lowest success rate with 42.42%, 50% and 28%, respectively, while Raphael, Titian and Correggio experienced the highest rate of success at 94.12%, 80% and 100%, respectively.

³⁹⁴ I ask you to remember that the public in this case refers to the aristocracy and upper middle class, which at this point in time in Italy would have excluded a significant part of its population.

Artist	Number of Paintings Returned	Number of Paintings Taken	Success Rate (%)
Albani	7	14	50.00
Barocci	5	10	50.00
Annibale Carracci	6	11	54.55
Correggio	5	5	100.00
Giulio Romano	6	9	66.67
Guercino	14	33	42.42
Guido Reni	9	18	50.00
Perugino	7	25	28.00
Raphael	16	17	94.12
Titian	8	10	80.00
Veronese	8	18	44.44
Grand Total	91	170	53.53

Table 5.8 – Repatriation success rate by artist (top 10)

Turning to the count of works returned by century (table 5.9), we notice that much like the original numbers, the focus seems to be on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with little interest in the centuries prior to the fifteenth. Even the few early Renaissance paintings do not factor amongst those returned. However, when we turn to the success rate of each century rather than the number of paintings, a slightly different view is presented. Whereas the sixteenth-century paintings number amongst the highest number of returns with a success rate of 56.3%, their rate of success falls to third after the 14th–15th and 15th–16th century, both 66.67%. Finally, the fifteenth century which had experienced the second largest number of confiscations rates last in terms of its success rate (36%) with the later Baroque paintings fairing slightly better.

Century	# of Paintings	# of Paintings Taken	Success Rate (%)
14th-15th Century	2	3	66.67
15th Century	27	75	36.00
15-16th Century	30	45	66.67
16th Century	76	135	56.30
16-17th Century	30	65	46.15
17th Century	31	64	48.44
Unknown	3	10	30.00
Grand Total	199	397	50.13

Table 5.9 – Repatriation success rate by century

Considering the numbers based on artist, these observations are not unexpected; the two reflect each other in that the century would have consisted of works by their respective artists. Artists from the sixteenth-century generally fared better than others; therefore, the high success rate of this century is understandable.

These numbers, however, must not be taken singularly, but rather should be taken into consideration with the obstacles of repatriation previously outlined at the regional level. Two important factors deserve a more detailed discussion for they also contribute to our later discussion on the fate of the works in question upon their return to Italy as well as the social and cultural changes that were now occurring in Europe as a result of the establishment of the Louvre and the confiscation of paintings.

5.2 – The obstacles

The first factor concerns the location of the paintings in France in 1815 which, while it has been addressed in my earlier chapters, warrants a discussion here because of the amalgamation of the data. In addition, the list has been amended so that those which made their way to regional cities are indicated by ‘Museum’ followed by the name of the city, and those which have either disappeared or were destroyed at some point have all been marked as ‘Lost’ for the purpose of this analysis. Furthermore, this obstacle presents another aspect of the discussion in that not all the works located in regional museums and cities were never returned. Just as some of the paintings which remained were located in the Louvre and were not returned to Italy, not all paintings outside of Paris never returned to Italy. There are a couple of instances where paintings were returned to Italy at a later time – two originating from Brussels and one from Bordeaux.³⁹⁵ Finally, there were also occasions where the works were exchanged and by this I return your attention to the paintings removed from the Brera museum in Milan in exchange for their receipt of Flemish paintings. Thus, the list of paintings can be

³⁹⁵ These examples having been mentioned in chapter four in the discussion on Tuscany and in chapter three in relation to Venice. The two paintings in Brussels originating from Florence and Venice, and the one in Bordeaux from Florence.

divided into three scenarios; those that remained in France, those which were returned from a location outside of Paris and finally the few that were exchanged.³⁹⁶

Looking first at the paintings located outside of Paris which were returned, we have a couple of different scenarios. The situation concerning the *Baldaquin Madonna* (1507-8) has already been touched upon in chapter four's discussion; however, I would add that the circumstances concerning the return of this work are of a more individual nature in that rather than simply being repatriated at the request of a government, the painting was returned as part of a restitution claim. Evidence of the personal nature of this claim is presented in the detailed summary of protocols from Florentine External Affairs to the Grand-Duke in October 1815; whereby Cavalier Karcher is described as having approached the Minister of the Netherlands in regards to the painting – 'il Cavalier Karcher avanzo al Ministero dei Paesi Bassi un officio per ottenere la consegna di una tavola da Altare di Raffaello, che sotto il cessato Governo Militare Francese era stata trasportata a Bruxelles.'³⁹⁷ As Paolini explains, their decision in approaching the Dutch minister should come as no surprise considering their appeal to the British in securing the return of their own cultural property.³⁹⁸ Unfortunately, the repatriation claim was not to be as clean-cut as the delegates would have hoped; in response to Karcher's appeal Brussels stated that they would not be able to return the painting at the time because it was undergoing restoration. Paolini explains that what develops was a general reluctance on the part of the Dutch government to part with the painting beginning with the fact that Brussels had paid the French government for the painting and was funding its restoration following the deterioration it suffered on the trip from Florence to Paris in 1799; the Mayor of Brussels, Van der Linden, arguing that another such voyage could prove fatal to the painting.³⁹⁹ Ultimately, it was decided following the arguments put forward by Karcher that the French government, never having been

³⁹⁶ The first scenario – those paintings that remained in France – has already been addressed on the regional level. The second and third scenarios have been expanded in this section for reasons of their individuality and the complex situation that is specific to both.

³⁹⁷ No.7 Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di ottobre 1815, Segretaria e Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Busta 108, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

³⁹⁸ Paolini (2006), 55.

³⁹⁹ Ibid, 56.

its proprietor, had no basis for gifting and selling the painting and therefore, by right of property and ownership, the painting must be returned to Florence. Thus, on the 9 April 1816 the *Baldaquin Madonna* was packaged and shipped from Brussels to arrive in early July on its native soil. This scenario, far from demonstrating the importance of Raphael's painting to an Italian state, shows the intricate diplomatic relations that formed an integral part of the repatriation process.

In comparison, the *Penitent Mary Magdalene* (1533) by Titian had been placed in the Art Museum in Bordeaux in 1803 as indicated by Denon's letter dated 30 January 1803 to the Prefect of the French *Département de la Gironde* –

Je viens de remettre au citoyen Gérard Scellier, commissaire, une caisse de tableaux formant le premier envoi de ceux destinés par le gouvernement à la ville de Bordeaux. Ces tableaux sont;

Saint Bernard Tolomei recevant sa règle de la Vierge, Guercino

[...]

La Madeleine Pénitente, Titien

Le Couronnement d'épines, Michel-Ange de Caravage

La Vierge, St Augustin et Jérôme, Pérugin.⁴⁰⁰

As was the case for the Raphael, this painting was repatriated from the regional museum and forms part of the Titian collection removed from the Pitti Palace in 1799. However, this was the only Titian from Florence to have been relocated outside of Paris and therefore the mere fact that it was returned to Florence demonstrates the importance of the work and the artist to the Archduchy of Tuscany. Continuing from the earlier mention in chapter four regarding the Florentine delegates' instructions to focus their efforts that 'warranted' the return, are the communications Alessandri and Benvenuti had with Comte Pradel (*Directeur General du Ministère de Maison di Roi*) and Pradel with Karcher regarding the works located in regional museums. In a letter from Pradel to Karcher dated 18 October 1815, Pradel confirms that the request made by the two delegates would be achieved, writing; 'je vais donner les ordres nécessaires pour faire expédier sur Florence, des Musées de France où ils se trouvent, les tableaux

⁴⁰⁰ Denon (1999), 54-5.

reclamés.’⁴⁰¹ Confirmation of these eight paintings and of their return to Paris for shipment to Florence is evident in a document dated October 1815, *Nota delle opere che restano da recuperare*,⁴⁰² among which are Raphael’s *Baldaquin Madonna*, identified by its description, and Titian’s *Magdalene*.

A final example is Paolo Veronese’s painting *Jupiter Showering Gifts on Venice* (1554-56, oil on canvas, Palazzo Ducale, Venice), commissioned by the Doge of Venice for the Sala del Consiglio dei Dieci in the Doge Palace in Venice. Confiscated in September 1797, it was originally included within the collection at the Louvre, but was later sent to the museum in Brussels in 1811. What is interesting about this painting, however, is that unlike the previous two which were returned in 1815, Veronese’s painting remained in the museum in Brussels until 1920 when Belgium offered it back to Italy in exchange for a portrait of Lorenzo Fraimond by Roger van der Weyden, a native of Brussels, housed in the Accademia di Venezia.⁴⁰³ If there has not yet been cause to comment on the legacy of these confiscations, this example alone should demonstrate the tremendous power and emotion connected to these paintings.

Turning to the works left in France, the chart below (table 5.10) highlights the top ten locations for paintings which remained in France. The inclusion of Paris, with 83 paintings, indicates that the work in question remained in the Louvre and does not refer to the works that were relocated within Paris – these having been identified by their specific location. As we have just discussed, some of the paintings included in the count of works in the museums of Bordeaux and Brussels were returned at a later date; however, this still leaves a significant number remaining in France – particularly when we include the number of those remaining in Paris.

⁴⁰¹ Pradel to Karcher, Paris 18 October 1815, inserto 5, protocollo 15, *Esteri*, busta 1053, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy in Gabriele Paolini, *Simulacri spiranti, imagin vive: il recupero delle opere d’arte toscane nel 1815* (Florence: Edizioni polistampa, 2006): 140.

⁴⁰² ‘Nota delle opere che restano da recuperare’ (ottobre 1815), filza XXXX (1816), no. 48, Archivio della Soprintendenza al Polo Museale fiorentino, in Gabriele Paolini, *Simulacri spiranti, imagin vive: il recupero delle opere d’arte toscane nel 1815* (Florence: Edizioni polistampa, 2006): 141-142.

⁴⁰³ Annibale Alberti, ‘Pietro Edwards e le opere d’arte tolte da Napoleone a Venezia’ in *Nuova Antologia* vol. CCL (Nov-Dec., 1926): 338.

Location in France	Number of Paintings
Museum, Bordeaux	5
Museum, Brussels	6
Museum, Dijon	6
Museum, Grenoble	5
Museum, Lyon	8
Museum, Rouen	7
Museum, Toulouse	7
Palais de Compiègne, Compiègne	10
Paris	82
Paris, Notre-Dame	5
Grand Total	141

Table 5.10 – Count of works remaining in France

The decision to leave behind those works located in regional museums stems from both a political and artistic standpoint. It has already been established that the Allied Powers, in seeking repatriation, believed first in obtaining the return by peaceful means and as such would include the procurement of those works which were considered easily accessible so as to complete the mission in a timely manner and avoid further unrest. Evidence of the express decision to leave works behind is outlined in Poggi's detailed letter to Conte Magawly in Parma dated 17 October 1815. In detailing the lists of works to be returned within the convoy, Poggi also includes a list (identified in the archives as document C) with the names and artists of those artworks that were to remain in France. The responsibility for this decision is explained to be that of Francis II, Emperor of Austria;

E ciò è principalmente avvenuto per effetto della moderazione e generosità di S. M. l'Imperatore d'Austria. Egli ha comandato che non si metta mano nei quadri che il governo francese aveva regalate alle chiese, segnatamente di Parigi, o che aveva spedito nei musei di provincia o che si ritrovano possi nella casa del Re (doc. C); ha voluto si pigliassero unicamente i quadri che si ritrovavano nel museo parigino o ne' suoi magazzini.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ Correspondence with Giuseppe Poggi in Paris (Oct-Nov 1815) to Conte Magawly, dated 17 October 1815, no. 17, Presidente dell'Interno, Busta 192, Archivio di Stato di Parma, Parma, Italy.

It is reasonable to assume then that Modena in seeking support from Austria via Prince Metternich and Baron de Vincent would have also received similar instructions. Much in the same light, Paul Wescher explains the Papal States' decision not to seek the return of regional paintings stemmed largely from Antonio Canova's 'act of good faith'. Having encountered difficulty in negotiating with both Denon and Talleyrand in his effort to repatriate, 'l'amabile scultore rinunciò fin dall'inizio a 23 dei quadri vaticani che furono distribuiti fra castelli, chiese e musei di provinciale.'⁴⁰⁵

However, further to the point is the aspect of a timely and efficient process, which, based on the observations of Conte Marescalchi in Paris, were already a concern. In his letter to Munarini, Minister of External Affairs in Modena, he describes the difficulties in locating the paintings in question in that not all were exhibited in the Louvre's galleries, but in many cases, had been stored separately – not to mention the unknown number of paintings sent to the provinces. Marescalchi writes, 'da osservarsi altresì, che appunto per la grande quantità delle opere, che si erano tolte da tutte le parti, ed in tutti i Paesi, e mancando il locale per collocarli tutti, alcuni furono mandate nei Licei, e negli Istituti secondari de' Dipartimenti, onde bisogna trovarne la nota, e potrebbe ben darsi, che quelli che non sono a Parigi, fossero stati trasmessi [sic] a Bruxelles, ad Anversa, a Lione, Bordeaux, ecc.'⁴⁰⁶ The delegates would have each been sent to Paris with the list of works that were removed, but would have been left with the problem of locating and identifying the works.

Further to these two references is the issue of the rarity of a work – or rather the importance of the work in the eyes of the Italian commissioners and delegates seeking to repatriate. Briefly mentioned in chapter four, was the Tuscan directive from Cavalier Karcher regarding the focus of repatriation efforts – 'Son Altesse Impériale et Royale le Grand-Duc met les plus grands prix à pouvoir recouvrer les différents chefs-d'œuvre, et tout ce qui se trouve dans les Établissements et Dépôts publics de la ville [...] mais quand à la restitution des objets moins rares transportées dans les Provinces, s'il y en a,

⁴⁰⁵ Wescher (1988). 151. This is further supported by Cristina Galassi's research on Canova's work in Paris; Galassi (2004), 129.

⁴⁰⁶ Letter from Conte Marescalchi to Conte Munarini (20 October 1815), Affari Esteri, Atti non riservati (1814-1816), Busta 10, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Italy.

elle ne devra former un obstacle à l'issue favorable de vos démarches.⁴⁰⁷ The situation went so far as to praise the Florentine delegates for their selection and decision to leave certain works behind; a letter from the Minister of External Affairs to Karcher even writes:

Vous avez bien fait, ainsi que Messieurs les Députés à ne point insister pour le recouvrement des 29 Tableaux qui vont rester au Musée, vu que d'après l'avis de Messieurs Alessandri et Benvenuti ces objets ne sont pas d'un grand prix, et que leur abandon a pour but de préparer des facilités à la plus prompte restitution d'articles plus intéressants.⁴⁰⁸

Regardless of the size and power of the state, evidence suggests that the problem concerning those works located outside of Paris was one that all Italian states faced, but that in some cases the issue was more pressing. The smaller states of Parma and Modena were strongly encouraged by the Allied forces to focus on those artworks remaining in Paris; whereas slightly larger states such as Florence made their decisions based on the types of works that were located in the regional provinces, or as was the case with the Papal States as a gesture of goodwill. Each affected to slightly varying degrees, this obstacle was nevertheless a significant impediment in the efforts to return cultural patrimony.

Of the third scenario, those works that were exchanged, we have two different types. The first pertains to those works exchanged from the beginning – that is to say, rather than being confiscated, an equal exchange was secured – and those works which were exchanged during the repatriation process. Of the former are the five paintings from the Brera museum in Milan which were removed to Paris in November 1812, to be replaced by Flemish paintings. It is important to remember that at this time Milan had become the capital of the Kingdom of Italy and as such a lot of work had been done to the city to make it an appropriate capital with much work being done to the city

⁴⁰⁷ No. 29, Correspondence from Cavalier Karcher, September 1815, Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di settembre 1815, Segreteria e Ministero degli Esteri, Busta 107, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

⁴⁰⁸ No. 7, Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di ottobre 1815, Segreteria e Ministero degli Esteri, Busta 108, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

centre.⁴⁰⁹ Much like Paris, it too saw the construction of a triumphal arch to commemorate Bonaparte's victories; however, these changes also included the development of cultural institutions such as the Brera museum. In some ways, Milan was transformed into the Paris of the Kingdom of Italy.⁴¹⁰

In contrast, the *Marriage Feast at Cana* by Veronese was exchanged on the basis of conservation and preservation. Discussed to a greater extent in chapter three, the fate of this painting was decided in 1797 upon its first trip to Paris, and in its stead Venice was given Charles Le Brun's *Repas chez Simon le Pharisien* (1653, oil on canvas, Accademia, Venice) as a meagre substitute. Therefore, this confiscation's impact on Venice is two-fold; first, the peaceful and religious monks of San Giorgio are robbed of their artwork – the space previously occupied never again to be filled with the original, and secondly, the city of Venice. It could have been enough to see the return of the famous painting by one of their own to the Veneto; however, as this was too much of a risk they have instead adorned their Gallery with Le Brun's painting of a similar subject matter. The concern, however, with this painting makes for an interesting discussion on the impact of confiscations on both a city and its region, and the people within it; which, as we have already explored, has been the subject of several contemporary debates and artistic reconstructions.

The second factor concerns the actual success rate of the work in question. It is one thing for the painting to be repatriated back to Italy and quite another for it to be returned to its original city, let alone its original location. Of initial concern would have been the physical return of works to within the geographical borders of Italy and their 'home-states', which as we have seen changes dramatically from region to region and even more so by state. However, if we turn towards an examination of the original

⁴⁰⁹ Tardito (1986), 339. See also Giorgio Simoncini, 'Aspetti della politica napoleonica dei lavori pubblici in Italia' in *Villes et territoire pendant la période napoléonienne (France et Italie)*, Actes du colloque de Rome (3-5 mai 1984) (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1987): 1-21, accessed 6 July 2016 <http://www.persee.fr/doc/AsPDF/efr_0000-0000_1987_act_96_1_2911.pdf>

⁴¹⁰ The Napoleonic period saw the reconstruction of much of the city's centre with various architectural projects including the building the Academia Brera, the triumphal arch, the renovation of religious houses into barracks and various political and military buildings, with many of these sites and designs taking inspiration from the Roman Empire. See 'L'architettura dal 1796 alla caduta del regno italico' part IV in *Storia di Milano (1796-1814)* vol XIII (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1959): 477-522.

location type versus the return location type (table 5.11), an alarming observation is made.

Location Type	Number of Paintings
Academy	6
Church	6
Church	18
Church	18
Museum	97
Academy	2
Church	61
Gallery	24
Palace	4
Unknown	4
Museum	2
Other	2
Other	2
Palace	48
Church	1
Palace	47
Unknown	23
Church	17
Gallery	4
Palace	1
Unknown	1
Exchanged	5
Museum	5
Grand Total	199

Table 5.11 – Count of works in returned location type with a breakdown by original location type

The table above identifies the various returned location types – Academy, Church, Museum, Other, Palace and Unknown – while at the same time highlighting the source location of these works.⁴¹¹ For instance, of those paintings which were returned to an Academy six of them, or in this case all of them, originated from a church. Of greater concern, however, are those paintings which had originated from the Church and

⁴¹¹ Those marked as Unknown for their returned location is a result of the painting having been lost. While those marked ‘Other’ once again refers to a location that cannot be identified with one of the other options, such as the Ambrosian Library.

therefore a public space. As indicated above, only 18 paintings were returned to a church, all of which had originated from one. The majority of those which had at one time been located in a church were to be returned to a museum, totalling 61 – a discussion of this phenomenon and its repercussions will be reserved for the next chapter. However, an introductory look at this statistic demonstrates that the receiving museum was not limited to a couple, but resulted 11 different museums receiving just under half of the repatriated paintings.⁴¹²

Furthermore, the 18 paintings returned to a church were in fact returned to their exact original location, ie. the same church; the only exception was a work by Louis Brea (1443-1520). The original location of Brea's Altarpiece was the Church of San Giacomo in Savona which had been destroyed during the suppression of the churches in 1811. Rather than being placed in a museum, as one might assume, it was instead returned to Savona and placed in the city's Duomo. On a more detailed note and in an effort to provide some explanation for these specific returns, I would also point out that a significant number of these paintings were also by some of Italy's more renowned artists – in some cases, these artists being part of the city's cultural legacy. For instance, Andrea Mantegna who was born near Padua had three paintings returned to churches in Verona, and the same went for a work by Bellini, two by Titian and one by Tintoretto; while the church of San Giorgio in Verona saw the return of a Veronese altarpiece of its patron saint (table 5.12).

⁴¹² This breakdown is provided in Appendix E's sheet 'list of returned works,' by filtering returned location type by museum.

Artist	Original Location	City	Return Location	City
Andrea Mantegna	San Zeno	Verona	San Zeno	Verona
Andrea Mantegna	San Zeno	Verona	San Zeno	Verona
Andrea Mantegna	San Zeno	Verona	San Zeno	Verona
Bellini	San Zaccaria	Venice	San Zaccaria	Venice
Tintoretto	Madonna dell'Orto	Venice	Madonna dell'Orto	Venice
Titian	Chiesa dei Gesuiti	Venice	Chiesa dei Gesuiti	Venice
Titian	San Giovanni e Paolo	Venice	San Giovanni e Paolo	Venice
Veronese	San Giorgio	Verona	San Giorgio	Verona

Table 5.12 – List of original and returned locations for above mentioned artists.

Turning to the alarming number of churches and religious institutions; while some justification can be made for the general conservation and protection of the works, the fact remains that many of the churches that served as original locations had been destroyed or repurposed during the latter years of the wars. It is for these reasons that even the paintings by lesser known artists or in an early renaissance style found themselves placed within the confines of a cultural institution. In Parma, this is seen to be the case with two paintings by Pomponio Allegri (1521-1593) and Sisto Badalocchio (1581-1647) originally located in the Benedictine Church of San Alessandro and the Chiesa dei Carmelitani, respectively. This is also the case with two works from Todi and Perugia by Bernardino di Betto, called Pinturicchio, (1454-1513) and Vittore Pissano, known as Pisanello, (1395-1455). Unfortunately, the reality is that many of the works affected by the suppression of the religious houses were often those deemed ‘less-worthy’ of repatriation and, as we have seen, generally attributed to the early Renaissance style.

This obstacle can be taken one step further to examine the number of paintings by each artist were returned to each of the different locations. Table 5.13 below provides a breakdown by the top ten artists returned to each of the returned locations. While this information can be broken down further to include original location type, limited space means that I would ask you to refer to Appendix E’s ‘ret. – artist per location’ for the purpose of this discussion. Beginning with artists having only one

returned location, we find that all works by Annibale Carracci were placed within a museum; even though two of them originated from a church. On the other end, we have the 8 works of Veronese which were split across all location types, when their original location consisted of only the church and the palace.

Artist	Academy	Church	Museum	Palace	Unknown	Grand Total
Albani			5	2		7
Barocci		1	2	2		5
Annibale Carracci			6			6
Corregio			4	1		5
Giulio Romano		1		4	1	6
Guercino			9		5	14
Guido Reni			7	1	1	9
Perugino		1	5		1	7
Raphael			9	7		16
Titian		3		5		8
Veronese	2	1	2	2	1	8
Grand Total	2	7	49	24	9	91

Table 5.13 – Count of returned works by artist to each returned location (top 10 artists)

Turning to our three artists from table 5.3 with highest success rate (Corregio, Raphael, and Titian) we see that their numbers are the same in all but one way. Both Corregio and Raphael experienced returns to museums and palaces, but Titian’s works did not find themselves returned to a museum and instead the three paintings originating from a church were returned to a church. The return to original locations seems to have been most common with palaces; however, this trend is not wholly unsurprising when we realise that the palace refers primarily to that of the Pitti Palace in Florence, with only four of the paintings being from the Doge Palace and one from the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa, though having originated from a suppressed church in the city. Regardless of this breakdown, we are nevertheless presented with the fact that repatriation policy favoured the museum as the preferred return location; the high number of paintings for palace skewed by the fact that they originated primarily from the Pitti Palace in Florence.

Furthermore, the Papal States, the Duchy of Parma and Lombardy-Venetia all seem to have been affected by the establishment of museums and developing regional collections. Not surprisingly the majority of the paintings were by the above discussed more popular artists – Raphael ranking first, followed by Guercino, Veronese, Perugino, Guido Reni, Domenichino, the Carracci family, Andrea Sacchi and Badalocchio. However, further to the number of works themselves, is the simple fact that states were actively pursuing the establishment of a cultural institution. Beyond the inclusion of paintings by the aforementioned artists were a number of works by lesser known authors dating from before and after the High Renaissance. Table 6.1 below provides a breakdown by century of the works from the above listed three states which originated from a church and were placed within an academy, museum or gallery upon their return.

Century	Number of paintings
14th-15th Century	2
15th Century	8
15-16th Century	10
16th Century	24
16-17th Century	14
17th Century	9
Grand Total	67

Table 5.14 – Number of paintings by century from churches returned to a gallery.

This trend follows a similar pattern to the confiscated paintings by century (tables 5.4-5.6) with the sixteenth-century likewise experiencing a greater number of paintings placed in a museum.

5.3 – Conclusion

The combined experience of the Italian states discussed in this chapter provides further evidence of the observations made on the issues and trends encountered at the regional level. This necessary comparative analysis demonstrates the overwhelming extent of

the confiscations and its effect on the Italian populace, in particular through the situation concerning the paintings originating from churches. However, further to the social implication are the observations made about artistic taste both by artist and century. The combined list of both confiscated and repatriated paintings contribute to the research having already been done on the artistic taste of the period while at the same time providing the basis for further research into the obstacles that account for these numbers. Throughout the repatriation experience location has continued to be a reoccurring problem for all states; from locating the painting in France (both geographically and institutionally), to dealing with issues concerning the location (ie. the regional museums) and finally deciding on the final location of works once returned to Italy; the importance of this last point to be expanded in the concluding chapter. Further to this are the individual issues concerning exchanged works, whether they had been displaced during the Napoleonic wars or negotiated in 1815 – the Veronese having repercussions that extended far into the next two centuries. Perhaps most interesting, however, are the three paintings which underwent individual restitution claims – those in Florence in 1815 on behalf of the state and the Veronese from Brussels which seems to have been instigated by a joint interest and regaining their lost cultural property. These efforts demonstrate, if nothing else, on the one hand the extent of the efforts made by these states to return these artefacts as well as the importance of diplomatic relations and, thus, the political in securing the fate of cultural treasures.

Chapter 6 – Concluding remarks

Over the course of this thesis we have explored the political and social situation of the Italian States during and after the Napoleonic wars, we have conducted an analysis, both regional and national,⁴¹³ of the list of confiscated paintings, and finally we have examined the obstacles encountered by the individual states in their efforts to return their cultural patrimony and how these factors contributed to both confiscation and repatriation. Observations have suggested that regardless of the political situation of the state, the majority of the Italian states faced similar difficulties in repatriating their cultural patrimony. However, it is from this examination that we are able to explore the implications of this shared experience on the history of the museum in Italy and the changing role of art within society – not to mention some indications as to the artistic taste of the period. The efforts on the part of France to obtain artworks, as well as their clear determination to prevent the Italian States from reclaiming their stolen property, went beyond the simple protection of war trophies. The root of their defence lay in their belief that the location of artworks in Paris ensured both their conservation⁴¹⁴ and the existence of a cultural institution which united a collective history of Western Europe. In the end, the outcome of the confiscations and repatriation efforts of the Napoleonic wars meant that reorganised Europe entered a culturally different peacetime. The relocation of paintings to cultural institutions and the subsequent debate concerning the importance of original locations ultimately contributed to a change in the way art was viewed within society.

The legacy of this experience, while having both positive and negative connotations, should not, however, be overlooked. For the followers of Quatremère and those believing in the importance of historical context, or perhaps even the local

⁴¹³ In this instance, I use the term *national* to designate the Italian states as a whole and in order to distinguish from the regional. I refer here to the general discussion and analysis from section one of chapter five in which we explored the combined data of confiscated works. The use of *national* does not include the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, but incorporates those states that have been identified and selected for this paper.

⁴¹⁴ Another example of this belief evidenced in the 1797 catalogue description of Barocci's *Descent from the Cross* (1569, oil on canvas, Duomo, Perugia) which states; 'malheureusement il a beaucoup souffert dans un moderne nettoyage exécuté en Italie par des mains mal habiles.' *Notice des principaux tableaux* (1797), 4.

public, it can be argued that these events had a negative effect on the social and cultural layout of Italy. The paintings removed from the suppressed religious houses were in most cases never returned to their original location, but housed in the secular location of the museum; then, of course, are the works left behind in many of the regional cities of France, many of which have remained to this day. In contrast, it can be argued that these events had a positive impact on the cultural heritage of Italy by the simple fact that most states began to take an active interest in the protection and conservation of these artefacts, and in the education of future generations of young artists.

There was a shift in the perception of artworks within society that began during this period with the valuing of paintings based on their author, but also on their specific artistic style and subject matter. What began with Vasari as an account of the artistic achievements of society, developed into the acquisition and collection of cultural property for reasons of social statement; however, it seems to culminate here with the recognition of artworks for their individual characteristics and value, not for their devotional purposes, but for the educational role they can play in society. This is most evident in the emergence of the museum. In identifying and categorizing paintings, post-Napoleonic gallery and museum administrators set in motion new practices for collecting, and the protection of regional and national cultural property. The best evidence of this goes back to the statistics of the number of paintings that were relocated to museums rather than churches and other institutions from table 5.11 (97 out of the 199 paintings that were returned or exchanged). It also brings us back to the issue concerning the discussion taking place amongst many Italian delegates and Art Academy administrators; that of the importance of returning works to their original location. The debate that began with Quatremère de Quincy and was revisited by Antonio Canova becomes a key part of our present discussion when considering the length of time paintings were removed from their original location and the issue of conservation, specifically with religious paintings.

Starting from the first wave of confiscations in 1796, the maximum number of years that a painting would have been away from its intended location would have been at least nineteen years or even a century in the case of the aforementioned Veronese

sent to Brussels. Furthermore, they were, for the most part, all relegated to a public institution. The question then arises about whether a painting returned to its original location after such an absence could still hold the same value and recognition. For instance, an altarpiece in a remote city church would have held a devotional role to the local community, but once removed and placed in a secular setting it begins to hold a different role within the artistic community. However, when we add the fact that paintings had been categorised based on their author, it becomes increasingly evident that those works by more well-known or most-celebrated artists would have had a far more difficult time reintegrating into their original context. Quatremère spoke of Cicero's remarks on the objects the Romans removed from Greece and how their beauty was no longer the same, believing 'qu'elles y étaient dénuées de cette harmonie qui les faisait valoir.'⁴¹⁵ Therefore, it can be argued that regardless of their replacement in their 'home' location, the paintings had already lost that which bound them with their context and location the moment they were removed. Thus, the question of length of time could be said to have become irrelevant if the minute a work is removed from its intended location both the painting and its context become separated, and are thereafter recognised as two separate articles; further argument against the return to their original location.

A second factor working against the debate for the return to original locations pertained to the issue of conservation. Further to being a mere devotional or decorative piece, the returned paintings of 1815 now had a greater recognition in artistic and cultural circles, particularly in those cases where the artist was of an earlier or later period of the Renaissance. The art historical arrangement by school of the Louvre meant that gallery and museum administrators were beginning to consider the works dating from both pre-1500 and the early Baroque period in an attempt to mark the progression of the regional artistic schools. Thus, rather than focusing all efforts on the conservation of works by the more prized artists – by these I refer to our discussion in the first section (5.1.2) of chapter five – administrators looked to securing the protection of a wider range of paintings. In Rome, this issue came to light through Carlo Fea who

⁴¹⁵ Quatremère de Quincy (1796), 35.

put forward his series of arguments for the return of paintings to original locations. From an early stage, Fea argues his doubt on the part of the Pope to grant the return of works from the Papal States to their respective locations; the Papacy's administrators having realized 'poco riflessivo figurassero riuniti in una Galleria, anziché divisi, all'antico loro posto nelle Chiese per ragione di supposta miglior custodia e di più facile accesso per lo studio.'⁴¹⁶

If we are to eliminate the paintings affected by the suppression of churches and religious institutions discussed in chapter five, what then accounts for the great number of works that found their way into galleries and museums. As has already been made clear with Rome and the Papal States, part of the issue lay in the pretext of conservation. However, as we saw in section 5.2 of chapter five, what soon becomes evident is that there is an underlying interest in building a collection, of using the excuse of the gathered works in the convoy to create their own regional collection. What began as a French instigated interest in schools of art in historical artistic centres,⁴¹⁷ carried over into the Restoration period as a form of imitation of the Louvre in Paris.

Turning back towards the argument made by Fea, we are presented with a slightly different perspective. Fea suggests that the decision to keep works within the museum far from moving away from the principles of the French Revolution and Napoleonic France, actually encouraged the practice of their ideals and values. In argument twelve he noted:

Chi potrebbe fra la gente di buon senso religiosa, e politica, sentire, e vedere senza orrore, che questa è un'idea fatta nascere dalla rivoluzione francese di ogni principio di Religione, di morale; dalla violazione di ogni proprietà, in Roma, nella Sede della Religione stessa in un articolo, che tanto direttamente la interessa?⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁶ Promemoria per Sua Eminenza Reverendissima il Sig Cardinale Pacca Camerlengo di Santa Chiesa da Carlo Fea, Commissario delle Antichità, 16 febbraio 1816, Roma 1816 [...] in Milano per ottenere dal Governo Austriaco la restituzione dei libri, quadri, manoscritti che il governo napoleonico aveva portati [...] dello Stato Pontificio, fasc. 246, Camerale II, 6 – Antichità e Belle Arti, Busta 10, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome, Italy.

⁴¹⁷ Tardito (1986), 338.

⁴¹⁸ Promemoria per Sua Eminenza Reverendissima il Sig Cardinale Pacca Camerlengo di Santa Chiesa da Carlo Fea, Commissario delle Antichità, 16 febbraio 1816, Roma 1816 [...] in Milano per ottenere dal Governo Austriaco la restituzione dei libri, quadri, manoscritti che il governo napoleonico aveva

Rather than simply addressing the cultural implications, Fea expands on the impact of the experience on the political and religious level – appealing to the moral compass of the individual. However, this statement can also be applied to the wider issue of cultural property and the value it holds within a community.

The present study, in its detailed focus on art confiscations and the repatriation process, has shed light onto the complex political and diplomatic role of cultural patrimony in Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic Italy. It has also allowed us to explore the obstacles and repercussions of the Napoleonic experience in terms of its impact on the establishment of museums and the changing taste for art. What we witness throughout this period is the emergence of an awareness of a region's and later a nation's identity in relation to their artistic heritage. However, the necessary tight focus of the present analysis, has left much out. The examination could have expanded to include an analysis of other cultural artefacts in order to build on the comparative discussion set in place in this thesis. Further research on sculpture and manuscripts would provide an interesting basis for a larger project on the legacy of these confiscations on the social and cultural scene of Europe. Furthermore, a similar methodology could be applied to a wider geographical area as a means of looking at the emergence of museums in Western Europe and the artistic taste of this larger audience in terms of the history of collecting. Evidence for the value of this type of research can already be found when considering the legacy of this experience in Spain during the mid-twentieth century when Franco's government initiated efforts to repatriate certain confiscated paintings from the Napoleonic wars. Elena Cenalmor Bruquetas explaining that these efforts largely evolved from an interest in reacquiring works that would play an essential part in 'shaping the patriotic identity of the time.'⁴¹⁹

portati [...] dello Stato Pontificio, fasc. 246, Camerale II, 6 – Antichità e Belle Arti, Busta 10, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome, Italy.

⁴¹⁹ I refer specifically to the example of Murillo's *The Immaculate Conception of the Venerables Sacerdotes* (1660-65, oil on canvas, Prado Museum, Madrid). Bruquetas explains that this painting was exchanged for a portrait by Velazquez of *Dona Mariana of Austria* in December 1940. Elena Cenalmor Bruquetas, 'the Immaculate Conception of the Venerables Sacerdotes (cat. 7)' in *Murillo & Justino de Neve: the Art of Friendship*, Gabriele Finaldo, Ed. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2012): 117.

Considering the extent of this experience, both geographical and artistic, there is no doubt that further research would provide a valuable contribution to the discussion; particularly when inter-country comparisons can be made rather than relying solely on the analysis of works within individual countries. Using a similar quantitative analysis of historical and cultural event could shed light on larger trends that would not otherwise be evident. The analysis provided in this thesis can have wider applications on the examination of the correlations between the political and the cultural, and the history of confiscations and cultural repatriation, through the construction of a combined list of artworks from various countries. Further to historical and social approaches are the possibilities in terms of providing a detailed precedent for legal purposes in relation to property laws. The cultural laws that developed in many of these European countries during the nineteenth century, and already evidenced to some extent in Italy prior to the Napoleonic wars, are worth exploring in terms of the history of cultural property law.

It can, nevertheless, be agreed that the recognition of works by certain artists over others meant that the newly established galleries and museums of the Italian states were identifying with their cultural history and actively partaking in the protection and conservation of their region's artistic identity and cultural patrimony. Milan sought the construction of a Lombard collection, Venice worked towards creating an Academy for the education of future artists and later the digital reconstruction of one of their greatest masterpieces, Florence fought for the protection of their citizens' Uffizi collection, while the smaller states of Parma and Modena worked at recovering their stolen works from the prominent Ducal collections. Even Turin, as late as 1822 was advocating for the development of an artistic school, having recognised their unique position of a combined French and Italian history. Regardless of how they went about it or when the cultural institution was established, each state shares a common history in terms of their decision to recognise and protect their cultural heritage. As if taking inspiration from Leopardi's poem *Sopra il Monument di Dante* (1818) – 'Volgiti agli avi tuoi, guasto legnaggio; / Mira queste ruine / E le carte e le tele e i marmi e i templi; / Pensa qual

terra premi'⁴²⁰ – the Italian states gradually began to devote resources to the preservation of their artistic and cultural legacy.

⁴²⁰ Giacomo Leopardi, “Sopra il Monumento di Dante” in *Leopardi's Canti*, John Humphreys Whitfield, Tr., (Napoli: G. Scalabrini, 1962): 44/45.

Bibliography

Image Sources

Please note that all information pertaining to specific artworks including dates and location has been taken from the Web Gallery of Art unless otherwise indicated. Source references for maps have been noted with the map.

Galleria del cardinale Silvio Valenti Gonzaga, Giovanni Paolo Panini, 1749
https://thewadsworth.org/wp-content/gallery/euroart/giovanni-paolo-panini_1948.478_top25_web.jpg

Triumphal Entry of Work of Art Taken from Italy- July 27, 1798, Prieur and Berthault
<http://www.gutenberg-e.org/haw01/images/haw04p.html>

Archives

Archivio di Stato di Bologna

Archivio Napoleonico III – 155, Series I, Box 1: Atti del Senatorio Provvisorio, dal 18 giugno al 18 ottobre 1796. Bologna, Italy

Miscellanea di magistri e lettere dei deputati a Parigi (1796), Archivio Napoleonico III – 155, Series I, Box 26. Bologna, Italy.

Archivio di Stato di Firenze

Imperiale e Reale Corte, Busta 953 (mag. – ago. 1815): Protocolli d'affari risolti con le Facoltà del maggior Domo Maggiore Direttore di detta Segreteria. Florence, Italy.

Imperiale e Reale Corte. Busta 1492 (1799-1860). Florence, Italy.

Imperiale e Reale Corte. Busta 2172: Giornali e Diari di Corte (1791-1800). Florence, Italy

Imperiale e Reale Corte. Busta 3595 (1815): Conservatori dei Quadri. Florence, Italy.

Segretaria e Ministero degli Esteri: Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di settembre 1815. Busta 107. Florence, Italy.

Segretaria e Ministero degli Esteri: Protocollo degli Affari Esteri spediti da Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale nel mese di ottobre 1815. Busta 108. Florence, Italy.

Archivio di Stato di Milano

Atti di Governo, Studi Parte Moderne. Busta 335. Milan, Italy.

Fasc. 10, Atti di Governo, Studi parte moderna (Parma e Modena). Busta 328. Milan, Italy.

Archivio di Stato di Modena

Affari Esteri, Atti non riservati (1814-16). Busta 10. Ufficio del Ministero. Modena, Italy.

Archivio Napoleonico. Busta 5441/27. Rubrica 7a Musei. Modena, Italy

Archivio Napoleonico. Busta 5769/27. Rubrica III Potenze Estere. Modena, Italy

Fasc. 2, Archivio Napoleonico. Busta 6409/1. Modena, Italy.

Fasc. 3, Archivio Napoleonico. Busta 6409/1. Modena, Italy.

Archivio di Stato di Roma

Commissione francese negli anni 1815-17 per la liquidazione dei crediti verso la Francia. Busta 12, 37a. Rome, Italy.

Commissione provinciale delle Belle Arti in Venezia. Busta 1. Venice, Italy.

Camerali II. 6 Antichità e Belle Arti. Busta 7. Rome, Italy.

Fasc. 225, Roma, 1800-1815. Esportazione di oggetti d'arte o di antichità dopo l'anno 1789. Camerali II. 6 – Antichità e Belle Arti. Busta 9. Rome, Italy.

Fasc. 245 and 246. Camerali II. 6 – Antichità e Belle Arti. Busta 10. Rome, Italy.

Archivio di Stato di Parma

Carta Poggi. Busta 24-25. Parma, Italy

Fasc. 12, Moreau St-Méry. Accademia di Belle Arti. Busta 28 (1758-1806). Parma, Italy.

Presidente dell'Interno. Busta 192. Parma, Italy.

Segreteria di Gabinetto <relazione estere> poi dipartimenti degli affari esteri. Busta 15 (Poggi). Parma, Italy.

Archivio di Stato di Torino

Archivio Alfieri. Busta 29, 64. Turin, Italy.

Reggi Archivi, Categorie 5. Busta 9. Turin, Italy.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia

Magistrato Civile in Venezia. Busta 41. Regno d'Italia (1806-1814). Venice, Italy.

Municipalità provvisoria 1797-1798. Busta 21. Municipalità Provvisoria o Democrazia. Venice, Italy.

Libraries

British Library

London Courier (10 October 1815). London, England

London Courier (16 October 1815). London, England

Institut Nationale d'Histoire de l'Art

Le Moniteur Universel, Paris (Mardi, le 17 octobre 1815). Paris, France.

Secondary Sources

A Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Art. Babette Bohn and James M. Saslow, Eds. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.

‘A facsimile of the Wedding at Cana by Paolo Veronese’ *Factum Arte*. Accessed 21 June 2016. <<http://www.factum-arte.com/pag/38/A-facsimile-of-the-Wedding-at-Cana-by-Paolo-Veronese>>.

Abbott, John S. C. *The Empire of Austria; its Rise and Present Power*. New York: Mason Brothers, 1859.

Alberti, Annibale. ‘Pietro Edwards e le opere d’arte tolte da Napoleone a Venezia’. *Nuova Antologia* vol. CCL (Nov-Dec., 1926).

Ambroise, Guillaume. *History of the museum collections*. Accessed 29 May 2016. <<http://www.musba-bordeaux.fr/en/article/history-museum-collections>>

‘An Overview of 1750-1800 – Chronology’. In *A Global Chronology of Conflict: From the Ancient World to the Modern Middle East*, Vol. 3. Spencer C. Tucker, Ed. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO LLC, 2010.

‘Andrea Appiani’ *Art Directory*. Accessed 25th April 2017 <<http://www.art-directory.info/fine-art/andrea-appiani-1754/>>.

Aspesi, Natalia, ‘Le false Nozze di Cana belle come l’originale’ *La Repubblica.it* (14 September 2009). Accessed 24 June 2016. <<http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2007/09/14/le-false-nozze-di-cana-belle-come.html>>.

Assman, Jan and John Czaplicka. ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’. *New German Critique*, no. 65 (Spring-Summer 1995). 125-133. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/488538>>

Bailey, Colin. *Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Bandi, Editti e Provvisioni in circostanza della conquista fatta dalla Repubblica Francese della città di Bologna nell’anno 1796, Tome V-VI, per tutto il Mese di marzo 1797. Bologna, 1797.

Barbara, Sr. M. ‘Napoleon Bonaparte and the Restoration of Catholicism in France’. *The Catholic Historical Review* 12, no. 2 (July, 1926). 241-257. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25012302>>

- Barthelemy, Jobert. 'The "Travaux d'encouragement": an aspect of official arts policy in France under Louis XVI'. *Oxford Art Journal* 10, no. 1 (1987). 3-14.
- 'Benvenuti, Pietro' *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 8 (1966).
 <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-benvenuti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>
- Black, Jeremy. *Italy and the Grand Tour*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Bellori, Giovanni Pietro. *Vite dei pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni tomo I*. Pisa: Presso Niccolo Capurro, 1821. Accessed 19 February 2016.
 <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_5Spz1yqZTEQC>
- Belting, Hans. *The Invisible Masterpiece*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Berenson, Bernard. *The Central Italian painters of the Renaissance*. New York: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1909.
- Bertini, Giuseppe. 'I dipinti della Galleria del Duca di Parma e la loro dispersione'. In *La Galleria del Duca di Parma: Storia di una collezione*. Parma: Cassa di Risparmia, 1987.
- Bertrand, Gilles. *Le Grand Tour Revisit , pour une arch ologie du tourisme: le voyage des franais en Italie, milieu XVIIIe si cle*. Rome: Ecole Francaise de Rome, 2008.
- Bietoletti, Silvestra. *Neoclassicism and Romanticism: 1770-1840*. Angela Arnone, Tr. Florence: Giunti Editore, 2005.
- Blumer, Marie-Louise. 'Catalogue des peintures transport es d'Italie en France de 1796   1814'. *Bulletin de la Soci t  de l'Histoire de l'Art Franais* 46 (1936).
- Bonaparte, Napoleon. *M moires de Napol on, La Campagne d'Italie*. Thierry Lentz, Ed. Paris: Editions Tallandier, 2010.
- Boyer, Ferdinand. 'Les artistes italiens et napol on' *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 1, no. 3 (Jul-Sept., 1954).
- Broers, Michael. 'Cultural Imperialism in a European Context? Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Napoleonic Italy'. *Past and Present*, no. 170 (February 2001). 152-180. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3600797>>

- Broers, Michael. 'Revolt and Repression in Napoleonic Italy, 1796-1814'. In *War in an Age of Revolution, 1775-1815*. Roger Chickering and Stig Forster, Eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 197-218.
- Broers, Michael. 'Revolution as Vendetta: Patriotism in Piedmont, 1794-1821'. *The Historical Journal* 33, no. 3 (Sept., 1990). 573-597.
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2639731>>
- Bruquetas, Elena Cenalmor. 'The Immaculate Conception of the Venerables Sacerdotes (cat. 7)'. In *Murillo & Justino de Neve: The Art of Friendship*. Gabriele Finaldo, Ed. Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2012.
- 'Bulletin des Lois de la République française No. 166, (Paris: de L'Imprimerie de la République)'. In Angela Geatti. *Il trattato di Campoformido tra Napoleone Bonaparte e l'Austria, 17 ottobre 1797*. Arte Grafiche Fridane, 1997.
- Bury, J. P. T. *France, 1814-1940*. London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2003.
- Camurri, Daniela. *L'arte perduta: le requisizioni di opere d'arte a Bologna in eta napoleonica (1796-1815)*. Bologna: Minerva edizioni, 2003.
- Camurri, Daniela, 'Una citta senza difese'. In *Per Diritto di Conquista: Napoleone e la spoliazione dei Monti di pieta di Bologna e Ravenna*, Angela Varni, Ed. Bologna: Società editrice di Mulino, 1996.
- Cassidy, Brendan. *The Life & Letters of Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798). Artist & Dealer in Eighteenth-Century Rome*. London and Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012.
- Chandler, David G. *The Campaign of Napoleon: the Mind and Method of History's Greatest Solider*, Vol. 1. New York: Scribner, 2009.
- Château de Fontainebleau. Musée Napoléon 1^{er} : Napoléon et la famille impériale 1804-1815*. Colombe Samoyault-Verlet et Jean Pierre Samoyault, Eds. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1986.
- Chatelain, Jean. *Dominique-Vivant Denon et le Louvre de napoléon*. Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1999.
- Cochin, Charles-Nicholas. *Lettres à un jeune peintre, pensionnaire à l'Académie royale de France à Rome*. Paris: Aux bureaux du 'Journal des beaux-arts', 1836. Accessed 19 February 2016.
<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6535666m/f31.item>>.

- Cochin, Charles-Nicolas. *Œuvres diverses de M. Cochin, secrétaire de l'Académie Royale de peinture et sculpture, ou, Recueil de quelques pièces concernant les arts*. Paris: Chez Ch. Ant. Jombert père, rue Dauphine, a l'image Notre-Dame, 1771. Accessed 19 February 2016.
<<https://archive.org/details/uvresdiversesdem02coch>>.
- Cochin, Charles Nicholas. *Voyage d'Italie, ou Recueil de notes sur les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture, qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie*, Vol. I. Paris: Ch. Ant. Jombert, imprimeur-libraire du Roi, 1758. Accessed 19 February 2016.
<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k106464n/f92.item.r=Cochin+Voyage++d'Italie,+ou+Recueil>>
- Cocke, Richard. *Veronese*. London: Jupiter Books Publishers, 1980.
- 'Collections', accessed 24 April 2017 <<http://www.gallerie-estensi.beniculturali.it/en/galleria-estense/collections/>>
- Collins, Jeffrey. 'Museum Pio-Clementino, Vatican City: Ideology and Aesthetics in the Age of the Grand Tour.' In *The First Modern Museums of Art: the Birth of an Institution in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Europe*. (L.A., 2012): 113-143.
- Coffi, A. 'Fea, Carlo,'. In *Enciclopedia Italiana*. Accessed 19 May 2014.
<[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-fea_\(Enciclopedia_Italiana\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-fea_(Enciclopedia_Italiana)/)>.
- 'Collections.' Accessed 24 April 2017. <<http://www.gallerie-estensi.beniculturali.it/en/galleria-estense/collections/>>
- Conti, Paolo. 'Il Cenacolo Palladiano, Caravaggio e i busti del Pincio. Le riproduzioni hi-tech in giro per il mondo'. *Corriere della Sera* (20 December 2015). Accessed 24 June 2016. <<http://roma.corriere.it/cronaca/cards/cenacolo-palladiano-caravaggio-busti-pincio-riproduzioni-hi-tech-giro-il-mondo/opere-veronese-venezia.shtml>>.
- Cook, Chris and John Stevenson. *The Routledge Companion to Britain in the Nineteenth-Century, 1815-1914*. London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2005.
- Coppa, Frank J. *The Modern Papacy since 1789*. NY: Routledge, 2013.
- Correspondance du Cardinal Hercule Consalvi avec le Prince Clément de Metternich, 1815-1823*. C. van Duerm, Ed. Louvain, 1899.

- Corriere di Milano* (7 May 1797). In Eugene Müntz. *Les annexions d'art ou de bibliothèque et leur rôle dans les relations internationales, principalement pendant la révolution française*. Paris, E. Leroux, 1896. Accessed 15 May 2015.
<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k673659/f2.zoom.r=Eugene%20Muntz.la ngEN> >
- Crow, Thomas E. *Painters and Public Life in 18th Century Paris*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Dalmasso, Franca. *L'Accademia Albertina di Torino*. Torino: Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino, 1982.
- D'Anglas, Boissy. *Essai sur les fêtes nationales suivi de quelques idées sur les arts*. Paris, an II. In Andrew McClellan. *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- D'Azyr, Felix Vicq. *Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver, dans toute l'étendue de la République, tous les objets qui peuvent servir aux arts, aux sciences, et à l'enseignement, proposée par la Commission temporaire des Arts, et adopte par le Comité d'Instruction publique de la Convention nationale*. Paris: 1793-4, an II.
- Darrow, Elizabeth Jane. 'Pietro Edwards and the restoration of the public pictures of Venice, 1778-1819: necessity introduced these arts,' PhD Thesis, *University of Washington* (2000).
- Daugeron, Bertrand. *Collections naturalistes: entre science et empires (1763-1804)*. Paris: Publications Scientifique du Museum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2009.
- David, Jacques-Louis. *Convention Nationale, Rapport sur la suppression de la Commission du Museum*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1794. In *Pièces Diverses sur David, membre de la Convention pour le département de Paris, Peintre de l'Empereur*. Collection historique de M. Ch. Renard. Caen, 1854.
- David, Jacques-Louis. *Rapport sue la suppression de la commission du muséum*. Paris: 1793. In Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art Politics and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-century Paris*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- David, Jacques-Louis. *Second Rapport sur la nécessité de la suppression de la Commission du Museum, fait au nom des Comités d'Instruction publique et*

des finances, par David, député du département de Paris. Dans la séance du 27 Nivôse, l'an II de la République française. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1794. In *Pièces Diverses sur David, membre de la Convention pour le département de Paris, Peintre de l'Empereur.* Collection historique de M. Ch. Renard. Caen, 1854.

Davies, Randall. *Six Centuries of Painting.* London: T.C. & E. C. Jack, 1914.

Accessed 17 August 2015. <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/29532/29532-h/29532-h.htm>>.

De Brosses, Charles. *Le Président de Brosses en Italie.* R. Colomb, Ed. 2nd Edition. 2 vols. Paris: P. Didier et Cie, 1869. In Carole Paul. *The Borghese Collection and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008.

'Decree, Electoral Colleges, Milan, April 23, 1814'. *The London Times* (9 May 1814) Issue 9216, pg. 2.

<http://find.galegroup.com/dvnw/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=DVNW&userGroupName=rho_ttda&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=CS34486953&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

Décret de la Convention nationale, du 21e jour du premier mois de l'an second de la République française, une et indivisible n° 119 [Objets d'art et Musée] Visé par l'Inspecteur, Signé S. E. Monnel. A Chaalons, Chez Mercier, Imprimeur de Département, grande rue. (Paris: 1793).

Del Frate, Paolo Alvazzi. 'Fesch, Joseph'. *Dizionario biografico degli italiani – Treccani*, Vol. 47 (1997). Accessed 20 February 2016,

<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/joseph-fesch_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>.

Denon, Dominique-Vivant. 'Le directeur général du musée central des arts au préfet du département de la Gironde' (30 janvier 1803). In *Directeur des Musées sous le Consulat et l'Empire: Correspondance (1802-1815), Tome I et II.* Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1999.

De Seta, Cesare. 'Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century'. In *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth-Century.* Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, Eds. London: Tate Galleries Publishing, 1997.

Di Scala, Spencer. *Italy: From Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present*, 4th Edition. USA: Westview Press, 2009.

- Driaault, E. 'Napoléon 1er et l'Italie. Troisième Partie Napoleon Roi d'Italie (suite et fin)'. *Revue Historique* 89, 2 (1905). 272-307.
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40940655>>
- Duggan, Christopher. *The Force of Destiny: A History of Italy since 1796*. London: Penguin Group, 2007.
- Emison, Patricia. *The Shaping of Art History: meditations on a discipline*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University, 2008.
- Esdale, Charles. *The French Wars 1792-1815*. UK: Routledge, 2001.
- Fea, Carlo. *Promemoria per Sua Emminenza Reverendissima il Sig. Cardinale Pacca Camerlengo di Santa Chiesa da Carlo Fea, Commissario delle Antichità 16 febbraio 1816*. Fasc. 246, Roma: Narrative in Milano per ottenere dal governo austriaco la restituzione dei libri, quadri, manoscritti che il governo napoleonico aveva portati dello Stato Pontificio. Relazione del Commissario sulle antichità per la restituzione alla loro antica sede degli oggetti d'arte che torna della Francia, 1816. Camerale II. 6 – Antichità e Belle Arti. Busta 10. Archivio di Stato di Roma. Rome, Italy.
- Fêtes de la Liberté, et entré triomphale des objets de sciences et d'arts recueillis en Italie*. Programme. Paris: l'Imprimerie de la République, 1798 (Thermidor an VI).
- Findlen, Paula. "Uffizi Gallery, Florence: The Rebirth of a Museum in the Eighteenth-Century." In *The First Modern Museums of Art: the Birth of an Institution in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Europe*. (L.A., 2012).
- Fisher, Roy. *Titian's Assistants during the Later Years*. New York: Garland, 1977.
- Foscolo, Ugo. *Ultime Lettere di Jacopo Ortis*. Florence: Giunti Editore S.p.A., 1997.
- Frederickson, Burton. 'New Information on Raphael's *Madonna di Loreto*' *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 3 (1976): 5-45. Accessed 24th April 2017
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4166340>>.
- Gabrielle, Veronica. *Patrimoni Contesi: gli stati italiani e il recupero delle opere d'arte trafugate in Francia, storia e fonti (1814-1818)*. Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2009.
- Galassi, Cristina. *Il tesoro perduto: le requisizioni napoleoniche a Perugia e la fortuna della 'scuola' umbra in Francia tra 1797 e 1815*. Perugia: Volumnia, 2004.

- Geatti, Angela. *Il Trattato di Campoformido tra Napoleone Bonaparte e l'Austria, 17 ottobre 1797*. Arte Grafiche Friulane, 1997.
- Goodwin, Paige. 'Mapping the Limits of Repatriable Cultural Heritage: A Case Study of Stolen Flemish Art in French Museums' *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* (2011). Accessed 13 March 2011.
<<http://www.pennumbra.com/issues/article.php?aid=203>>
- Gould, Cecil. *Trophy of Conquest: The Musee Napoleon and the Creation of the Louvre*, London: Faber & Faber, 1965.
- Greenaway, Peter. *Nine Classic Paintings Revisited*. Accessed 21 June 2016.
<<http://www.changeperformingarts.com/shows/10paintings/10paintings.html>>
- Hales, Edward E. Y. *Napoleon and the Pope: The Story of Napoleon and Pius VII*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962.
- Hall, Marcia. *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Hartt, Frederick and David G. Wilkins. *History of Italian Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture*. 6th Edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007.
- Haskell, Francis. *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*. London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1976.
- Haskell, Francis. *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*. London: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Herpin, Clara Adele Luce. *Histoire d'une grande dame au XVIIIe: la comtesse Helene Potocka*. Paris: Calmann Levy, 1888.
- Hickson, Sally. *Women, Art and Architectural Patronage in Renaissance Mantua*. Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012.
- Hoeninger, Cathleen. *The Afterlife of Raphael's Paintings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Horne, Richard Henry. *The History of Napoleon*. Vol. 1. London: Robert Tyas & Paternoster Row, 1841.
- Iamurri, Laura. 'Art History in Italy: Connoisseurship, Academic Scholarship and the Protection of Cultural Heritage'. In *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*. M. Rampley, T. Lenain,

- H. Locher, A. Pinotti, C. Schoell-Glass and K. Zijlmans, Eds. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2012. 393-406.
- Ilchman, Frederick. *Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese: Rivals in Renaissance Venice*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009.
- Janson, Horst Woldemar and Anthony F. Janson. *History of Art: The Western Tradition*. 6th Edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, 2004.
- Johns, Christopher M. S. *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe*. Berkeley and LA: University of California Press, 1998.
- Jones, Colin. *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*. London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1990.
- Key Writers on Art: from Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century*. Chris Murray, Ed. London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2003.
- King, Bolton. *A History of Italian Unity: being a political history of Italy from 1814 to 1871*. London: Nisbet, 1899.
- La Collection du musée du Louvre*. Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2009.
- Lalande, Joseph Jérôme le Français. *Voyage d'un Français en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 et 1766*. Volume 8. Paris, 1769.
- Lanzi, Luigi. *The History of Painting in Italy*, Book III, Thomas Roscoe, Tr. London: George Bell and Sons, 1888.
- Le Gallais, A. *Histoire de la Savoie et du Piémont*. Tours: A. Mame, 1860.
- Lee, Simon. *David*. London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1999.
- Leopardi, Giacomo. 'Sopra il Monumento di Dante'. In *Leopardi's Canti*. John Humphreys Whitfield, Tr. Napoli: G. Scalabrini, 1962.
- Lessenich, Rolf. *Neoclassical Satire and the Romantic School, 1780-1830*. Gottingen: V&R unipress, 2012.
- 'Lettre de M. Roland, ministre de l'Intérieur à M. David, peintre, député à la Convention nationale, du 17 octobre 1792, l'an 1^{er} de la République française' *Le Moniteur Universel* (22 octobre 1792).

- Loire, Stephane. *Le Guerchin en France*. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1990.
- Loisel, Catherine. *Ludovico, Agostino, Annibale Carracci*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2004.
- The Madonna of Loreto by Raphael (1509)*, accessed 24th April 2017, <<http://www.domainedechantilly.com/en/accueil/chateau/the-art-galleries/selected-works/>>.
- Majanlahti, Anthony. *The Families Who Made Rome: A History and a Guide*. London: Pimlico, 2006.
- Manca, Joseph. *Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Renaissance*. London and New York: Parkstone International, 2006.
- Maras, Raymond Joseph. *Napoleon: Patron of the Arts and Sciences*. Berkeley: University of California, 1955.
- Maspero, Valeriana. *La corona ferrea. La storia del più antico e celebre simbolo del potere in Europa*. Monza: Editore Vittone, 2003.
- McClellan, Andrew. *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- McClellan, Andrew. 'Raphael's Foligno Madonna at the Louvre in 1800: Restoration and the Reaction at the Dawn of the Museum Age' *Art Journal* 54, 2 Conservation and Art History (Summer, 1995). 80-85. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/777466>>
- Michel, Christian. *L'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (1648-1793): la Naissance de l'Ecole Française*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2012.
- Miles, Margaret M. *Art as Plunder: The Ancient Origins of Debate about Cultural Property* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Miller, E. J. 'The Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy'. *The British Museum Quarterly* 31, ¾ (Spring 1967). 73-77. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4422964>>
- Monge, Berthollet, Moitte. 'Détails des précautions prises pour le voyage des objets d'Arts conquis en Italie par nos armées' *La Décade Philosophique* no. 29 (Paris: Au bureau de la Décade, 20 messidor an 5 [5 July 1797]).
- Monge, Gaspard. *Dall'Italia (1796-1798)*. Palermo: Sellerio, 1993.

- Müntz, Eugene. *Les annexions d'art ou de bibliothèque et leur rôle dans les relations internationales, principalement pendant la révolution française*. Paris, E. Leroux, 1896. Accessed 15 May 2015.
<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k673659/f2.zoom.r=Eugene%20Muntz.la ngEN>>
- Müntz, Eugene. 'Les invasions de 1814-1815 et spoliations de nos musées'. *Nouvelle Revue* CVII (1897). Accessed 15 May 2015.
<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k360152/f1.image>>
- Musiari, Antonio. *Neoclassicismo senza Modelli: l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma tra il periodo napoleonico e la Restaurazione (1796-1820)*. Parma: Tipolitografia Benedettina Editrice, 1986.
- Napoleonic Italy: Historical, Literary and Artistic Perspectives*. Eileen A Millar, Ed. Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2000.
- Nicassio, Susan Vandiver. *Imperial City: Rome under Napoleon*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Nichols, J. G. 'Introduction'. In *Opere: Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis, Odi, Sonetti, Dei Sepulchri, Le Grazie*. Gimma: Gius, Laterza et Figli, 1962.
- Norwich, John Julius. *Absolute Monarchs: A History of the Papacy*. Random House Trade Paperback, 2012.
- Notice des principaux tableaux recueillis en Italie par les commissaires du gouvernement français, seconde partie*. Paris: L'imprimerie des Sciences et Arts, 1797.
- Oppenheim, W. *A geographical and statistical account of the Cisalpine Republic, and maritime Austria*. London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1798.
- Pacca, Cardinal Bartolomeo. *Historical Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca, Prime Minister to Pius VII: Volume I*. Sir George Hand, Tr. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, Paternoster Row, 1850.
- Paltrinieri, Vincenzo. *I Moti contro Napoleone negli Stati di Parma e Piacenza, 1805-6*. N. Zanichelli, 1927.
- Paolini, Gabriele. *Simulacri spiranti, imagin vive: il recupero delle opere d'arte toscane nel 1815*. Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2006.
- Pasquinelli, Chiara. 'Giovanni Degli Alessandri: i primi anni del directorato agli Uffizi fra nuovi e vecchi ruoli'. *Annali di Storia di Firenze* VI (2011): 155-

170.

<http://www.storiadifirenze.org/pdf_ex_eprints/ASdF_2011_6_155-170.pdf>

- Patoun, William. *Advice on Travel in Italy*. 1766. In Carole Paul. *The Borghese Collection and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008.
- Paul, Carole. "Capitoline Museum, Rome: Civic Identity and Personal Cultivation." In *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Europe*. (L.A., 2012): 21-45.
- Paul, Carole. 'Introduction'. In *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th and Early 19th Century Europe*. LA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012.
- Paul, Carole. *The Borghese Collection and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008.
- Pesendorfer, Franz. *Ferdinand III e la Toscana in età napoleonica*. Firenze: Sansoni, 1986.
- 'Peter Greenaway: "Nine Classical Paintings Revisited" UC Berkeley Events (5 October 2010). Accessed 21 June 2016.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=plWSGEAuD_0>
- Philips, Evelyn March. *The Venetian School of Painting*. New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1912. Accessed 15 August 2015.
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/30098/30098-h/30098-h.htm#Page_3>.
- Pignatelli, Giuseppe. 'Caprara Montecuccoli, Giovanni Battista'. *Dizionario biografico degli italiani –Treccani*, Vol 19 (1976). Accessed 20 February 2016. <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/caprara-montecuccoli-giovanni-battista_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>.
- Pingaud, Albert. 'La Politique Italienne de Napoleon Ier'. *Revue Historique* 154, 1 (1797). 20-33.
- Pizzagalli, Daniela. *La Signora del Rinascimento: vita e splendori di Isabella d'Este alla corte di Mantova*. Milano: RCS Libri S.p.A., 2001.
- Plant, Margaret. *Venice: Fragile City, 1797-1997*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

- 'Politique: Italie: Milan, le 1^{er} janvier', *Le Moniteur Universel*, 25 January 1797, 101. Accessed 3 June 2013.
<<http://archive.org/stream/gazettenationale17971panc#page/500/mode/2up>>.
- Pomian, Krzysztof. *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*. Elizabeth Wiles Portier, Tr. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Posner, Donald. *Annibale Carracci: A study in the reform of Italian painting around 1590*. Vol. I. London: Phaidon Press, 1971.
- Poulot, Dominique. 'The Cosmopolitanism of masterpieces'. In *Letters to Miranda and Canova on the Abduction of Antiquities from Rome to Athens*. Chris Miller and David Gilks, Trs. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012.
- Povoledo, Elisabetta. 'A Painting Comes Home (or at least a Facsimile)'. *The New York Times* (29 September 2007). Accessed 21 June 2016.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/29/arts/design/29pain.html?_r=0>
- Quatremère de Quincy, Antoine. *Lettre sur le préjudice qu'occasionneraient aux arts et à la science, le déplacement des monuments de l'art et l'Italie, le démembrement de ses écoles, et la spoliation de ses collections, galeries, musées, etc.* Paris: Desenne, 1796.
- Quatremère de Quincy, Antoine. *Letters to Miranda and Canova on the Abduction of Antiquities from Rome and Athens*. Chris Miller and David Gilks, Trs. LA: Getty Research Insitute, 2012.
- Quynn, Dorothy MacKay. 'The Art Confiscations of the Napoleonic Wars'. *The American Historical Review* 50, 3 (April 1945). 437-460.
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1843116>>
- 'Raccolta di Documenti riguardanti le presenti emergenze tra la Repubblica Francese e la Corte di Roma', No. 41, *Bandi, Editti e Provvisioni in circostanza della conquista fatta dalla Repubblica Francese della città di Bologna nell'anno 1796, Tome V-VI, per tutto il Mese di marzo 1797. Palazzo Vaticano 27 giugno 1796*. Bologna, 1797.
- Rath, Reuben John. *The Fall of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy (1814)*. New York: Octagon Books, 1975.
- Rayapen, Lewis and Gordon Anderson. 'Napoleon and the Church'. *International Social Science Review* 66, no. 3 (Summer 1991). 117-127. Accessed 28 May 2016. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41882000>>.

- Reinerman, Alan. 'The Napoleonic Suppression of Italian Religious Orders and Sale of their Property: Studies since 1960'. *The Catholic Historical Review* 57, no. 2 (July, 1971). 290-297. Accessed 17 January 2016. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25018875>>
- 'Restitution and Repatriation of Cultural Heritage'. *The Collections Trust*. Accessed 21 June 2016. <<http://www.collectionstrust.org.uk/2015-11-03-15-25-31/cultural-property-advice/restitution-and-repatriation>>
- Ricci, Corrado. *Art in Northern Italy*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1911.
- Richard, M. l'Abbe. *Description historique et critique de l'Italie, ou, Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état actuel de son gouvernement, des sciences, des arts, du commerce, de la population, et de l'histoire naturelle*. Dijon: Chez François des Ventes, libraire de Monseigneur le prince de Condé, 1766. Accessed 19 February 2016. <<https://archive.org/details/descriptionhisto03rich>>
- Ridley, Ronald T., 'Fea, Carlo'. In *Dizionario biografico degli italiani –Treccani*, Vol 45 (1995). Accessed 28 June 2015. <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-fea_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>.
- Roberto, Sebastiano. *San Luigi dei Francesi: la fabbrica di una Chiesa nazionale nella Roma del '500*. Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2005.
- Roberts, L. M. 'The Negotiations Preceding the Peace of Luneville'. In *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, Vol. 15. 1901.
- Robertson, Clare. *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*. Milan: Silvano Editoriale Spa. 2008.
- Robinson, John Martin. *Cardinal Consalvi, 1757-1824*. London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1987.
- Rodger, A. B. *The War of the Second Coalition, 1798 to 1801*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
- Rosenberg, Martin. 'Raphael's Transfiguration and Napoleon's Cultural Politics' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19, 2 (Winter: 1985-6). 180-205. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2738641>>
- Rubin, Patricia. *Giorgio Vasari, art and history*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995.

- Salvalai, Raffaella. 'Napoleone e i furti d'arte. I dipinti del ducato di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla requisiti e non più ritrovati'. *Aurea Parma*, fasc. 1 (genn-apr., 1998): 74-83.
- Sandholtz, Wayne. *Prohibiting Plunder: How Norms Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Saunier, Charles. *Les Conquêtes Artistiques de la Révolution et de l'Empire: reprises et abandons des allées en 1815, leurs conséquences sur les musées d'Europe*. Paris: H. Laurens, 1902.
- Silvagni, Umberto. *Napoleone Bonaparte e i suoi tempi, parte I, Vol. II*. Rome: Forzani E C Tipografi del Senato, 1895.
- Simoncini, Giorgio. 'Aspetti della politica napoleonica dei lavori pubblici in Italia'. In *Villes et territoires pendant la période napoléonienne (France et Italie)*, Actes du colloque de Rome (3-5 mai 1984). Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1987. Accessed 6 July 2016. <http://www.persee.fr/doc/AsPDF/efr_0000-0000_1987_act_96_1_2911.pdf>
- Smith, Roberta. 'In Venice, Peter Greenaway Takes Veronese's Figures Out to Play' *The New York Times* (21 June 2009). Accessed 21 June 2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/22/arts/design/22greenaway.html?_r=0>
- Spary, E. C. *Utopia's Garden: French Natural History from Old Regime to Revolution*. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2000.
- Stendhal. *The Charterhouse of Parma*. Richard Howart, Tr. New York: The Modern Library, 2000.
- Storia di Milano (1796-1814)*, Vols XIII and XIV. Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1959.
- Tardito, Rosalba. 'The Creation of the "Grande Brera"' *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship* 5 (1986). 337-348.
- 'Terminology'. *Public Debate: Memory and Universality: New Challenges Facing Museums*. Museum International. Accessed 28 June 2016. <<http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/39308/12458323313Terminology.pdf/Terminology.pdf>>
- The Emergence of the Modern Museum: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Sources*. Jonah Siegel, Ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

- The Estense Gallery*, Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturale e del turismo.
Modena: Intersezione.
- 'The Miracle of Cana: The Wedding at Cana 'returns' to San Giorgio after 210 years'
Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Onlus. Accessed 21 June 2016.
<<http://old.cini.it/uploads/box/2a493868a94e80a8774dc93cb2206264.pdf>>
- The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession: An Historical and Critical Dictionary*. Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, Eds. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.
- The Triumph of Art for the Public 1785-1848: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics*. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, Ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Ticchi, Jean-Marc. 'Le Vicaire du Christ en France : Pie VII en Voyage pour le Couronnement de Napoleon Ier'. *Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 43 (2005): 139-155. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23564859>>
- Traite de Paix entre le Pape et la République Française signe à Tolentino le 19 février 1797*. Rome: Church of Popes, Pius VI.
- Tuetey, A. and J. Giuffrey. *La Commission du Museum et la Création du Musée du Louvre*. Paris, 1910. Accessed 24 May 2015.
<<https://archive.org/stream/lacommissiondumu00tuetuoft#page/22/mode/2up>>
- Un Palais Royal et Imperial*. Accessed 2 April 2017, <<http://palaisdecompiegne.fr/un-palais-trois-musees/un-palais-royal-et-imperial>>.
- Varni, Angelo. *Per diritto di conquista: Napoleone e la spoliazione dei monti di pieta di Bologna e Ravenna*. Società editrice Il Mulino, 1996
- Vasari, Giorgio. *The Lives of the Artists*. Julia Conaway Bondanella, Tr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Vasari, Giorgio. *Lives of the most eminent painters, sculptors and architects*, Vols. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9. London: Macmillan, 1912.
- Ventura, Leandro. 'Isabella d'Este Committenza e Collezionismo'. In *Isabella d'Este, la Primadonna del Rinascimento*. Daniele Bini, Ed. Mantova: Civiltà Mantovano, 2001.
- Veronese, Paolo, *Isabella Guerrieri Gonzaga Canossa*. Accessed 26 May 2016.
<http://www.wga.hu/html_m/v/veronese/12/01canoss.html>

- Vescovi, Paola. 'Cara Carla, aiutaci a fare tornare le Nozze di Cana' *Corriere del Veneto* (7 January 2010). Accessed 25 June 2016. <<http://corrieredelveneto.corriere.it/veneto/notizie/cronaca/2010/7-gennaio-2010/appello-carla-bruni-faccia-tornare-veneziana-nozze-cana-1602254631330.shtml>>.
- Vivant Denon, *l'Impossible Négociateur de 1814-1815*. Pecout, G, Galla, D, Denon, D-V. (Dec, 1999): 497-516.
- Webster, Sir Charles. *The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1963.
- Welch, Evelyn. *Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Wellesley, Arthur (Duke of Wellington) and John Gurwood. *The Dispatches of Field Marshall the Duke of Wellington during his various campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, the Low Countries and France, from 1799-1818*. London: J. Murray, 1837-9.
- Wescher, Paul. *I furti d'arte: Napoleone e la nascita del Louvre*. Flavio Cuniberto, Tr. Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore s.p.a., 1988.
- Wilson, Peter. 'Bolstering the Prestige of the Hapsbrgs: the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806'. *The International History Review* 28, no. 4 (December 2006). Accessed 11 December 2015. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40109811>>
- Winckelman. *Writings on Art*. David Irwin, Ed. London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1972.
- Woolf, Stuart. *A History of Italy 1700-1860, the social constraints of political change*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1979.
- Wylie, James A. *The History of the Papacy: the rise and progress of ecclesiastical supremacy*. US: Delmarva Publications, Inc., 2013.
- Wyn Oliver, Bette. *From Royal to National: the Louvre Museum and the Bibliotheque Nationale*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007.

Appendixes – Table of Contents

Hardcopy

- Appendix A Map of Italy 1796
- Appendix B Map of Italy 1810
- Appendix C Map of Italy 1815
- Appendix D List of returned works belonging to the Papal States from the *Archivio di Stato di Roma* (images)

Electronic

- Appendix E Master List of Works (electronic)
- Appendix F Database of Paintings from Papal States (electronic)
- Appendix G Database of Paintings from Foreign-ruled States (electronic)
- Appendix H Database of Paintings from Italian-ruled States (electronic)

Appendix A – Map of Italy 1796



By User:Shadowxfox; derivative work: User:Enok - File:Italia 1796-es.svg, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=20332521>

Appendix B – Map of Italy 1810



CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=1271961>

Appendix D - List of returned works belonging to the Papal States (Images)

Nota degli Oggetti di Belle Arti recuperati dal Museo Reale di Parigi ed appartenenti allo Stato Ecclesiastico. Fasc. 245, Rome, 1816, conto del Marchese Canova reduce della sua missioni in Parigi. Camerale II, 6 – Antichita e Belle Arti, Busta 10. Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome. Pages 1-3.

Nota degli Oggetti di Belle Arti recuperati dal Museo Reale di Parigi ed appartenenti allo Stato Ecclesiastico

<i>Luogo da cui sono stati recuperati</i>	<i>Descrizione degli Oggetti</i>	<i>Artista degli Oggetti</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	<i>Quantità</i>
<i>Roma</i>	<i>La Cappella di S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>2°</i>	<i>La Cappella di S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>3°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>4°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>5°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>6°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>7°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>8°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>9°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>10°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>11°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>12°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>13°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>14°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>15°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>16°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>17°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>18°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>19°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>20°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>21°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>22°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>23°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>24°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>25°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>26°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>27°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>28°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>29°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>30°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>31°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>32°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>33°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>34°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>35°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>36°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>37°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>38°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>39°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	
<i>40°</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Caracciolo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Luogo dove sono stati recuperati</i>	

Lista degli oggetti di stile del regno del Regno di Sicilia. - 1. -

Numero della Cassa	Descrizione degli oggetti	Nome degli Autori	Stile del regno	Luogo nel Regno proveniente	Quantità
	<i>Stile del Regno di Sicilia</i>				
1	1. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
2	2. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
3	3. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
4	4. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
5	5. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
6	6. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
7	7. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
8	8. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
9	9. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
10	10. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
11	11. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
12	12. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
13	13. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
14	14. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
15	15. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
16	16. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
17	17. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
18	18. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
19	19. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
20	20. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1

Lista degli oggetti di stile del regno del Regno di Sicilia. - 2. -

Numero della Cassa	Descrizione degli oggetti	Nome degli Autori	Stile del regno	Luogo nel Regno proveniente	Quantità
	<i>Stile del Regno di Sicilia</i>				
1	1. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
2	2. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
3	3. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
4	4. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
5	5. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
6	6. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
7	7. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
8	8. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
9	9. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
10	10. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
11	11. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
12	12. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
13	13. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
14	14. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
15	15. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
16	16. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
17	17. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
18	18. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
19	19. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1
20	20. Stipite di stile	Donna Maria	Stile di Sicilia	Palermo	1

