

SILVIA ARMANDO

## UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD (1881–1954) AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISLAMIC ART STUDIES IN ITALY

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Ugo Monneret de Villard was born in Milan in 1881 (fig. 1). His bibliography comprises more than 270 works, including about twenty books and many long essays, on a wide variety of subjects relating to art, architecture, archaeology, and history, focused mainly on the medieval “Orient” and its relations with the “West.”<sup>1</sup> This great breadth is all the more astonishing when one considers the number of recent commentaries that mention Monneret’s writings as a crucial point of reference on this or that topic.<sup>2</sup> Notably, his studies on Islamic art, such as the posthumous *Introduzione allo studio dell’archeologia islamica*,<sup>3</sup> are acknowledged as fundamental pillars for further consideration of the subject.<sup>4</sup> His book on the painted ceilings of the Cappella Palatina,<sup>5</sup> now more than sixty years old, remains essential for its multidisciplinary approach to the monument. In addition to this magnum opus, published a few years before Monneret’s death and today possibly his best-known work, in 1938 he dedicated another short but outstanding monograph to an Islamic artifact preserved in Italy—*La cassetta incrostata della Cappella Palatina di Palermo*. Apart from these last two texts, written more than two decades apart, only a few other short pieces by him deal with various Islamic art objects in Italy.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, throughout his career, Monneret de Villard was tireless in his efforts to record and promote the subject of Islamic art in Italy.

Furthermore, one should not forget the catalogue “Opere di arte islamica in Italia,” to which Monneret devoted himself systematically in 1954,<sup>7</sup> during the last



Fig. 1. Ugo Monneret de Villard in 1898. Fam. Gavazzi Archive. From Andrea Augenti, “Per una storia dell’archeologia medievale italiana: Ugo Monneret de Villard,” *Archeologia Medievale* 28 (2001): 8.

months of his life. Although his friend Giorgio Levi Della Vida called it the most important of the scholar’s unpublished works,<sup>8</sup> it never appeared in print and today remains almost completely unknown, preserved among the thousands of documents and notes that comprise Monneret’s archives.<sup>9</sup>

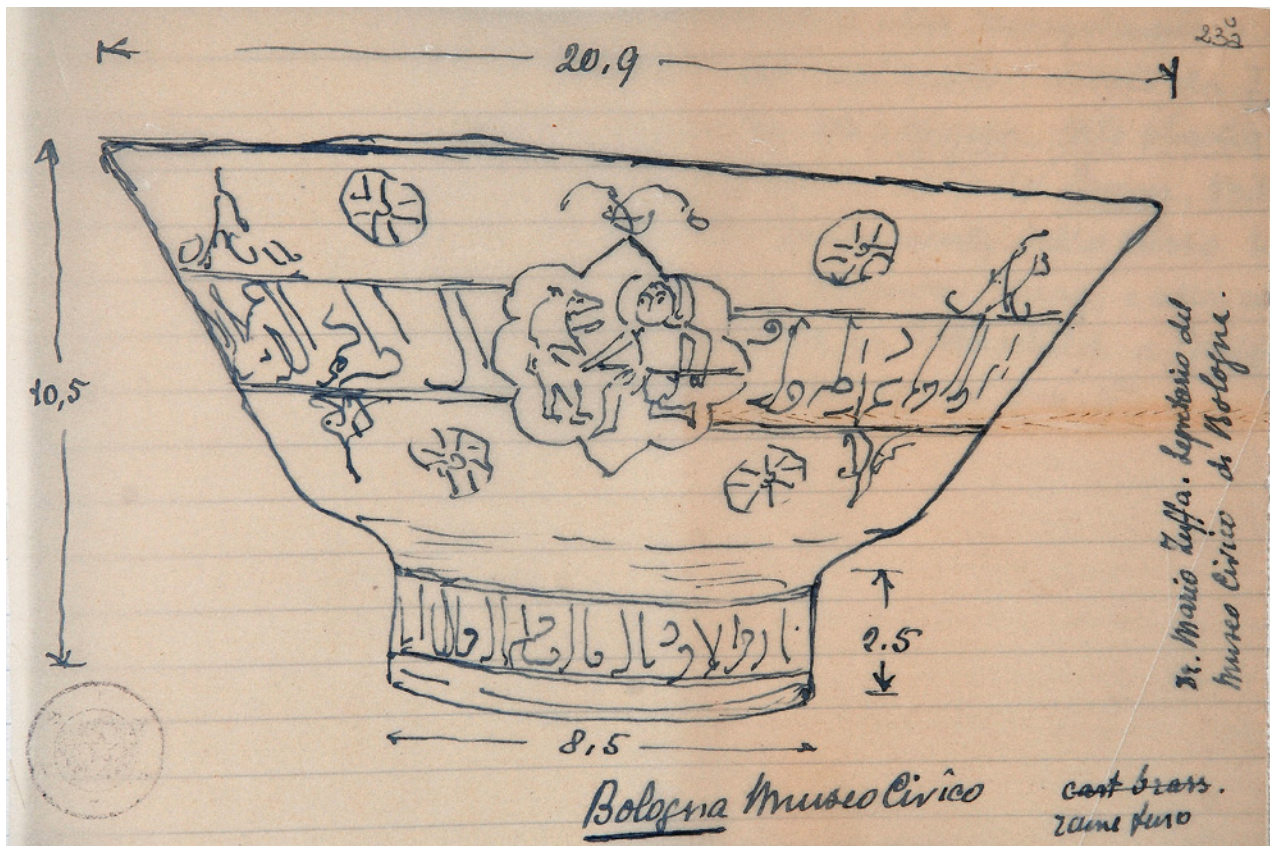


Fig. 2. An Islamic bowl (thirteenth century) from the Museo Civico of Bologna, sketched by Ugo Monneret de Villard. Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte (BiASA), Fondo Monneret, scatola 6, cartella 31, c. 23a. (Photo: courtesy of BiASA)

The catalogue “Opere di arte islamica in Italia” contains files detailing approximately four hundred objects preserved in Italy, the result of data gathered since Monneret began his studies in Oriental archaeology, as he emphasized in the manuscript’s foreword:

Esso è nato dalle schede che io facevo per mio uso di ogni monumento di arte islamica che, all’inizio dei miei studi di archeologia orientale, ritrovavo in un museo, in un tesoro di chiesa, in una raccolta qualsiasi....Per molti oggetti la scheda conteneva una abbastanza ampia descrizione, alla quale aggiungevo i necessari richiami bibliografici; per altre l’elaborazione era molto più elementare; per molte altre infine si riduceva ad un semplice cenno dell’oggetto che avevo visto. Materiale dunque tutto di lavoro, che continuai a raccogliere sino allo scoppio della seconda guerra mondiale.<sup>10</sup>

Monneret systematically registered each “Islamic” artifact he encountered in a museum, church treasury, or other collection, sometimes completing the record with bibliographical references, sometimes just noting it down more briefly (fig. 2). The notes were therefore conceived as a working tool, collected over many years. This painstaking method reflects Monneret’s typical way of working, as is evident in all the materials preserved in Monneret’s archives.

An interest in Islamic art was quite an eccentric choice for an Italian scholar in the first half of the twentieth century. Again in the catalogue’s foreword, Monneret points out how art historians in Italy studied classical and Renaissance art almost exclusively, notwithstanding the long history of exchanges with the Middle East and the tradition of collecting Islamic and

“Oriental” artifacts during the Middle Ages and even later by important art patrons. Paradoxically, since the end of the nineteenth century, it had been mostly foreign scholars who were interested in the study of Islamic monuments and objects preserved in Italy.<sup>11</sup>

How and when did Monneret become drawn to the subject of Islamic art in Italy? Those who first briefly described the catalogue asserted that it would be difficult to detail all the steps involved in the making of “Opere di arte islamica in Italia,” or to establish when the idea for this work was first conceived.<sup>12</sup>

It is possible to trace a coherent trajectory through the scholar’s career and bibliographical output in order to discern how he responded to the historical and cultural contexts of the time.<sup>13</sup> Beneath the multiplicity of issues treated in Monneret’s large number of apparently unrelated writings, one can extrapolate his gradual encounter with the “Oriente,” which progressively focused on the medieval Islamic world.

#### THE HUMANIST-ENGINEER AND THE “ORIENTE”

Monneret graduated from the Politecnico in Milan as a chemical industrial engineer in 1904.<sup>14</sup> He was trained among engineers and architects belonging to the Milanese high-bourgeoisie, who were guided by a belief in productivity and scientific progress current at the time that was nonetheless destined to weaken with the impending crisis of positivism. Despite having chosen a technical education, his fondness for art and history dates from the same period. He was notably a student of the neomedievalist architect Camillo Boito, who was most likely responsible for Monneret’s enthusiasm for the Middle Ages.<sup>15</sup> The young engineer was at first concerned with aesthetics and contemporary architecture. His interests ranged from individual monuments to town planning, and he soon became concerned with issues related to the coexistence of modern structures with ancient monuments. Monneret became increasingly aware of the importance of topography, local history, and archaeology as fundamental research tools,<sup>16</sup> while his systematic working method reflected his training as an engineer. Fascinated by the theories that had only recently been put forth by Josef Strzygowski about the Eastern origin of early medieval architecture, Mon-

neret compared the Church of San Lorenzo in Milan with the monuments of Eastern Christianity, and started to theorize that this and other Lombard monuments found their archetypes in the “Orient.”<sup>17</sup> Strzygowski’s writings—especially the famous *Orient oder Rom*<sup>18</sup>—were regarded as a positive and significant model, in contrast to Giovan Battista Rivoira and Gustavo Giovannoni’s nationalistic idea of an exclusively Roman origin for Italian medieval architecture.<sup>19</sup>

Traveling to Dalmatia and Greece, Monneret deepened his historical knowledge of ancient and Byzantine art.<sup>20</sup> It is not known exactly when Monneret became involved in Oriental archaeology,<sup>21</sup> but his interests turned eastward early on, as is demonstrated by his publications. Monneret was also part of a circle associated with the Biblioteca Ambrosiana,<sup>22</sup> whose prestigious tradition of Arabic studies may have stimulated the young man’s curiosity. In a long letter addressed to his friend Alessandro Casati<sup>23</sup> in 1906, he wrote:

...E l’Egitto? E le Piramidi? (che domande a Borghese!) E le principesse sepolte? Grazie delle fotografie che mi prometti: te ne sarei tanto e tanto riconoscente perché qui è terribilmente difficile procurarsi fotografie di cose egiziane. E queste tanto e tanto mi interessano.<sup>24</sup>

It was thus an early and genuine interest, which did not altogether exclude the exotic allure of the “Oriente.”

His interest in medieval architecture, combined with a special aptitude for collecting and interpreting data and archaeological materials, led Monneret de Villard to establish, in 1913, the first course on medieval archaeology in Italy.<sup>25</sup> He spent several years teaching at the Politecnico and improving his archaeological method through local field studies,<sup>26</sup> but the call of the Orient did not subside.

#### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSIONS IN AFRICA AND THE “DISCOVERY” OF ISLAMIC ART

Monneret de Villard’s work in Africa is quite well documented.<sup>27</sup> In 1921, he was invited by the Ufficio delle Missioni Scientifiche in Levante (a special section of the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs) to undertake an archaeological mission for the study of Christian medieval monuments in Egypt, “so that Italian science would be represented in the fervent rebirth of archaeological





Fig. 3. Ugo Monneret de Villard (seated) with a group of workers at Deir Anba Sim'an (in Aswan), ca. 1924. Istituto Nazionale di Storia dell'Arte (INASA), Fondo Ugo Monneret de Villard, inv. no. 65489. (Photo: courtesy of INASA)

studies developing in the Nile Valley, after the interruption caused by the World War."<sup>28</sup> Monneret was well aware that the studies he and his colleagues were put in charge of were often closely correlated with colonial politics and cultural propaganda. He even proposed detailed and well-structured programs that aimed to improve the image of Italian missions in the international context.<sup>29</sup> This engagement with the Italian government was renewed year after year, despite the constant lack of funding. He also collaborated with the *Comité pour la conservation de l'art arabe*<sup>30</sup> and the *Service des antiquités*.<sup>31</sup> Still concerned with the "Oriental" origin of European medieval architecture, Monneret worked on Coptic monuments such as the White and Red Monasteries in Sohag (Deir el-Abiad and Deir el-Ahmar) and the Monastery of St. Simeon (Deir Anba Sim'an), near Aswan (fig. 3). His assignments became more and more

frequent, so much so that in 1924 he was forced to abandon his post as a teacher of medieval archaeology at the Politecnico.<sup>32</sup>

On the other hand, the missions to Egypt—a country that played a major role in the collective imagination of colonial Europe<sup>33</sup>—represented a great opportunity for growth: spending months in Cairo every year meant living immersed "in the fervent rebirth of archaeological studies developing in the Nile Valley,"<sup>34</sup> at the heart of international exchanges with scholars and Orientalists from all over the (Western) world. In a short time, Monneret became highly regarded by such specialists, his work recognized by local and foreign institutions.<sup>35</sup>

While Monneret had dedicated his first missions to Coptic monuments, once in Egypt the encounter with Islamic art and architecture was unavoidable and striking:

L'estensione delle ricerche è di una necessità evidente: arte copta e arte araba, vivendo e sviluppandosi fianco a fianco nello stesso paese, non potevano rimanere e non sono rimaste punto estranee l'una all'altra; i reciproci scambi sono stati quotidiani e profondi. La conoscenza di una delle arti presuppone e richiede la conoscenza dell'altra.<sup>36</sup>

Monneret could not help but be attracted by medieval Islamic artistic production, which he considered to be firmly linked to contemporaneous Christian production. Continual mutual exchanges throughout the centuries made it impossible to study them separately. This conception, which strictly connected art and history, was also reflected in his rigorous practical approach:

Bisogna ricordare che l'Oriente è paese dalle molte vite e dalle molte storie, e che in ogni località si sovrappongono strati di diverse civiltà; che l'archeologo deve scavarli tutti e studiarli con eguale amore e con eguale scienza....<sup>37</sup>

Archaeological investigation could not overlook any sources or evidence, and excavations should examine every layer with equal attention. Monneret's comprehensive approach was once more asserted.

Thus, during his missions in Egypt, Monneret discovered Islamic architecture and became more experienced with archaeological surveys and excavations; he also acquired a good familiarity with the Arabic language, as well as with the almost unknown Islamic artifacts exhibited in newly established museums.<sup>38</sup> He thus achieved a particular awareness of Islamic artistic production, knowledge that was further enriched by his archaeological missions in Nubia, Iran, and eastern Africa.<sup>39</sup>

The extraordinary wealth of knowledge that he acquired became a precious treasure from which Monneret would benefit for years to come once he returned to Italy. Just as his scientific training influenced his research methodology and his archeological approach, in the field he learned to give material considerations and physical objects a special attention that would become a fundamental aspect of his further studies. On the other hand, his broad knowledge of the history and culture of the "Oriente" would be the basis of the many essays and works that Monneret completed in his later years.

*MONUMENTI DELL'ARTE MUSULMANA IN ITALIA:*  
 UMBERTO ZANOTTI BIANCO AND  
 THE PROMOTION OF ISLAMIC ART IN ITALY

Monneret was the only Italian specialist in Islamic art of his day. In 1938, almost contemporaneously with his last mission to Ethiopia, he published the small book (mentioned above) on the beautiful encrusted casket preserved in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo.<sup>40</sup> This was printed under the patronage of Umberto Zanotti Bianco. When examining Zanotti Bianco's archives in Rome, I uncovered a number of letters written by Monneret and other related documents,<sup>41</sup> which revealed that the interest in Islamic art in Italy was shared by a group of distinguished intellectuals who articulated this sensibility through the twin goals of promoting the discipline at an academic level and encouraging the study of connections between the Italian heritage and Islamic artistic production.

Umberto Zanotti Bianco was born in Crete in 1889 to a family of Italian diplomats; he grew up near Turin, the rich capital of the recently formed Italian Reign. His family belonged to aristocratic circles. In 1909, he travelled to Sicily to bring aid in the aftermath of a dreadful earthquake that had struck southern Italy. The young man decided to devote himself entirely to ameliorating the shocking conditions he discovered there.<sup>42</sup> In 1910, he was one of the founders of the Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia (ANIMI). Zanotti Bianco's philanthropic awareness of the Mezzogiorno (i.e., southern Italy) gradually extended to other concerns for the region: thanks to the archaeologist Paolo Orsi—who was particularly interested in prehistoric and Byzantine Calabria and Sicily<sup>43</sup>—Zanotti Bianco paid special attention to the exceptionally rich, but almost completely neglected and thus seriously endangered, cultural heritage of the Mezzogiorno (fig. 4).<sup>44</sup> Historic and artistic treasures began to be protected through archaeological inquiries and the restoration of monuments. These activities also had a practical dimension: Zanotti Bianco was well aware of the importance of drawing attention to such treasures in order to help the future development of southern Italy.

In 1920, Orsi and Zanotti founded the Società Magna Grecia, to which a special section named the Sezione

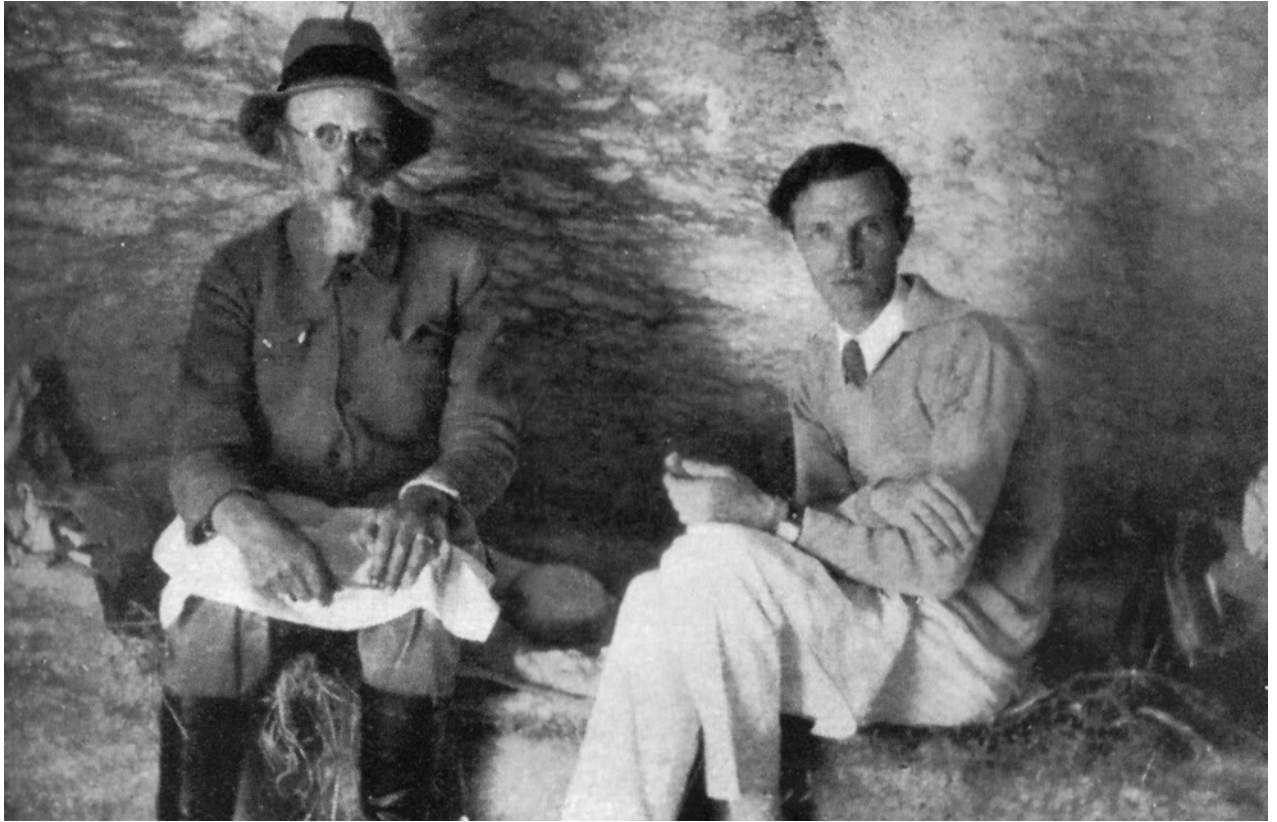


Fig. 4. Paolo Orsi (left) and Umberto Zanotti Bianco at Sant'Angelo Muxaro (in Agrigento) during archaeological excavations. (Photo: courtesy of the Fondazione Guarino Amella)

Bizantina Medievale was added in 1932.<sup>45</sup> During the Fascist era, Zanotti Bianco's initiatives came to be seen as a political challenge to the lack of attention that the government gave the "Questione del Mezzogiorno." His efforts to deal with the crisis of southern Italy were seen as open opposition to the government, and were less tolerated day by day. In 1934, the Società Magna Grecia was dissolved by imperial decree. Zanotti Bianco was branded as anti-Fascist and extensively monitored and persecuted by the police; in 1941, he was even arrested.<sup>46</sup> Evidently, Zanotti Bianco's cultural interests were perceived as embodying an alternative to the studies proposed by scholars and academics representing the *scienza ufficiale*—the "official knowledge"—which too often forced the approach to different disciplines with propagandistic purposes. In the field of history and archaeology, scholars who supported the Fascists highlighted the Roman origins of Italy in order to strengthen

Mussolini's authority and lend legitimacy to his imperial ambitions. The studies promoted by Zanotti and Orsi, on the other hand, emphasized how Italian history was the result of the passage and blending of different civilizations throughout the centuries and thus threatened the myth of an eternal and fixed *Romanitas*.<sup>47</sup> The history of southern Italy included traces of such contacts with the Islamic world, but in the first decades of the twentieth century official scholars and academics in Italy had neglected this aspect of the country's past.

With Italian scholars so focused on *Romanitas*, it is not surprising that the necessity of promoting Islamic art in Italy was articulated in 1934 by a German, Friedrich Sarre; it is even less of a coincidence that his article "L'arte mussulmana nel Sud d'Italia e in Sicilia"<sup>48</sup> was published in the *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e per la Lucania*, the magazine Zanotti and Orsi edited for the ANIMI.<sup>49</sup> Sarre highlighted the Islamic legacy inherent



to the artistic heritage not only of Sicily, but also of Calabria and Apulia, stressing the importance of a better knowledge of these almost unknown treasures. To make this goal concrete, Sarre also stated that the study of Islamic art had to be included in the Italian academic system. His paper was accompanied by an extended note signed by Paolo Orsi, who emphasized the need to expand archaeological research in southern Italy and to create a chair of Islamic art, possibly in Rome.<sup>50</sup>

As this issue was especially dear to Zanotti Bianco, he wanted to make important Orientalists aware of his concern. In particular, he sent a copy of Sarre's article to Giorgio Levi Della Vida,<sup>51</sup> who replied on March 10, 1934.<sup>52</sup> The scholar expressed his full approval of the proposal to create a university chair, but stated that he was not in a position to support it:

Quanto ad appoggiare la proposta, Lei sa bene che non sono in condizione di appoggiare che che sia...Certo è cosa triste che da noi gli studi di arte islamica siano così poco coltivati, e una cattedra apposita (che giustamente l'Orsi vorrebbe istituita a Roma) sarebbe utilissima.<sup>53</sup>

In 1931, Levi Della Vida had in fact refused to pronounce the Fascist oath, which had been imposed on all academics, and had therefore lost his post, together with his leverage in the academic environment.<sup>54</sup>

On March 7, 1934, a short article by the Arabist Giuseppe Gabrieli<sup>55</sup> appeared in the pages of the daily *Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno*: "Per la istituzione di una cattedra di storia dell'arte islamica in Italia" included a short review of Sarre's paper. Although he focused on Apulia in discussing the question of southern Italy's interactions with the Islamic world, Gabrieli joined the ranks of those demanding the creation of a professorship of Islamic art, underlining the crucial role it would play in the study and gathering of data on this topic.<sup>56</sup> A copy of the article survives in a file with other press clippings carefully gathered by Zanotti Bianco,<sup>57</sup> which may suggest that there was direct contact between the two intellectuals. Did Zanotti Bianco send Sarre's article to Gabrieli? He may have even commissioned Gabrieli to write the piece in the *Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno*. While such questions may never be answered, it is clear that many eminent scholars were involved in this attempt to promote the study of Islamic art in Italy.

Zanotti Bianco had indeed sent Sarre's article to Monneret de Villard,<sup>58</sup> who found it in his house in Milan on his return from an archaeological mission in Nubia.<sup>59</sup> The article inspired Monneret: in a letter dated July 2, 1934, he enthusiastically declared that he had been concerned with the matter of Islamic art in Italy for some years, but that unfortunately he had had to put this work aside, due to his busy archaeological activity abroad:<sup>60</sup>

Ho riguardato il mio materiale: v'è molto, ma molto più v'è da fare, moltissimo anzi. Ma riguardando le mie vecchie note e rileggendo l'articolo del Sarre e la nota dell'Orsi, mi è venuta un'idea che ora le propongo. Ella mi dirà francamente che ne pensa.<sup>61</sup>

Regarding the question of creating a chair of Islamic art, Monneret plainly stated his total mistrust of Italian institutions:

Pensare che il Governo faccia qualcosa è vano: al più prenderà un imbecille presuntuoso e facilone che avrà scribacchiato qualche articolo di compilazione e te lo "schiafferà" in una cattedra universitaria. Meglio niente: se si può fare qualcosa, ciò non può [sic] venire che da privati.<sup>62</sup>

In his opinion, the initiative would have to come from private citizens, and Monneret formulated his own plan to help realize Sarre's proposals: Monneret's ambitious but well planned project reflected his distinctive systematic and methodological approach. The first step would be to compile a card index with all known data on the subject. Another fundamental task would be to commission photographs of all the relevant objects and monuments. The work should start with what was easiest to access: museums, monuments, and possibly archaeological excavations. Many topics could come out of this first phase of the project: the focus would be on the groups of monuments ("le cassette d'avorio dipinte, gli olifanti, le stoffe...Poi ad esempio pubblicare integralmente e in ogni dettaglio il soffitto della Cappella Palatina, repertorio meraviglioso di tutti i motivi decorativi musulmani dell'Italia meridionale"<sup>63</sup>) that had similar problems, above all that of determining their provenance.<sup>64</sup> Gradually, the results would be published in brief but rich monographs. Monneret planned to conduct wide-ranging research, rather than focusing on individual objects, as one could infer at first glance from his 1938 publication on the *cassetta incrostata*. The ultimate goal was the formation of a "corpus dei monu-

menti musulmani.”<sup>65</sup> On the practical side, three things were needed: a coordinating figure (clearly Monneret himself), some local collaborators who could provide data, rare texts, and photographs, and, most fundamentally, the monies to sustain the project.

The proposition was formulated thusly, but Monneret openly requested financial support:

Per parte mia l'idea mi sorride e ci metterei tutta la buona volontà e tutto il lavoro di cui sono capace e quel poco che ne so: ma intendiamoci bene, soldi non ne ho da mettere. Questi bisogna trovarli: non ha Lei sottomano qualche mecenate che ci dia 4 o 5 mila lire all'anno? Se l'idea le va ne potremo riparlare: se no getti la lettera e scusi se le ho fatto perdere del tempo.<sup>66</sup>

Zanotti did not throw the letter away, and so began their association.

The twenty-three subsequent letters and postcards written by Monneret to Zanotti Bianco, dated between 1934 and 1938,<sup>67</sup> reveal the different phases of the gradually developing project. In fact, until 1936 Monneret was mainly involved in archaeological missions;<sup>68</sup> even so, he started collecting data on the painted ivories, a topic he intended to deal with in the first book of the planned series.<sup>69</sup> The second volume would cover the painted ceilings of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo. It is surprising to discover that the idea of publishing this outstanding repertoire of paintings, already mentioned in the first letter to Zanotti Bianco, was conceived so early. The papers reveal that Monneret would have liked to have worked on it with Marguerite Van Berchem (who was a close friend of Zanotti Bianco),<sup>70</sup> an opportunity that was evidently never explored further, since there are no other mentions of this proposal.

In the meantime, Zanotti Bianco, acting on his own, contacted Giuseppe Agnello and Carlo Carucci to collect data on Sicilian ceramics and the Salerno ivories, respectively.<sup>71</sup> Zanotti clearly wanted to involve numerous specialists in his project, and he kept Marguerite Van Berchem informed, possibly even sending her Sarre's article.<sup>72</sup> She talked with Alfred Dessus-Lamare:<sup>73</sup>

J'ai lui ai parlé des monuments arabes de l'Italie méridionale et de la nécessité de s'en occuper. Cela l'a beaucoup intéressé...Je lui ai proposé que nous lui fassions parvenir quelques photos des monuments ou objets arabes de l'Italie méridionale...Il a été enchanté par cette idée...Je crois

que vous avez beaucoup plus d'espoir de pouvoir arriver à quelque chose avec lui qu'avec Sarre, qui est malade et trop âgé ...<sup>74</sup>

The involvement of foreign scholars was necessitated by the dearth of Italian specialists, but it also demonstrated the openmindedness of the Italian protagonists who initiated this endeavor, as well as their lack of an overweening nationalistic pride.

However, Monneret de Villard remained the main academic collaborator. Once the mission to Nubia was completed at the beginning of 1936, he was then able to delve into the many questions that had arisen as he collected such a large quantity of data.<sup>75</sup> Although his travels continued,<sup>76</sup> he finally seemed able to give the study of Islamic art in Italy the attention it deserved. He wrote from Milan:

Ho quindi deciso di riprendere i miei studi sull'arte musulmana nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia e di mettermi a capo fitto in questo mare magnum. Dal Cairo ho portato molto materiale di confronto che sarà utilissimo, ma prima di ogni cosa si tratta per me di raccogliere il materiale in Italia. La cosa la interessa ancora come la interessava un paio d'anni or sono? Nel quale caso è disposto ad aiutarmi? L'aiuto consisterebbe per ora nel procurarmi delle fotografie, informazioni, articoli sperduti in riviste introvabili a Milano e simile.<sup>77</sup>

Monneret compiled a detailed list of the photographs and copies of plates that he had asked Zanotti to provide, mainly of ivory objects preserved in Italy and the painted ceilings of the Cappella Palatina.<sup>78</sup> He clearly planned to work primarily on books and pictures, which is understandable, given the complex nature of his project: “Ella non può immaginare la massa di materiale musulmano d'Italia sparso nei musei di tutto il mondo: il che rende lo studio piuttosto difficile.”<sup>79</sup> This time, Zanotti Bianco helped by writing to the National Museum of Palermo. From the director, Paolino Mingazzini, he received photos of the *cassetta incrostata* and the ceilings.<sup>80</sup> Although the latter were not of the best quality,<sup>81</sup> Monneret was satisfied and eager to study them: “Con questo ricco materiale potrò far molto avanzare il mio studio sulla parte araba del soffitto della Cappella Palatina.”<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, it is likely that he soon realized that this heterogeneous material would not produce a coherent and comprehensive work in his accustomed style.



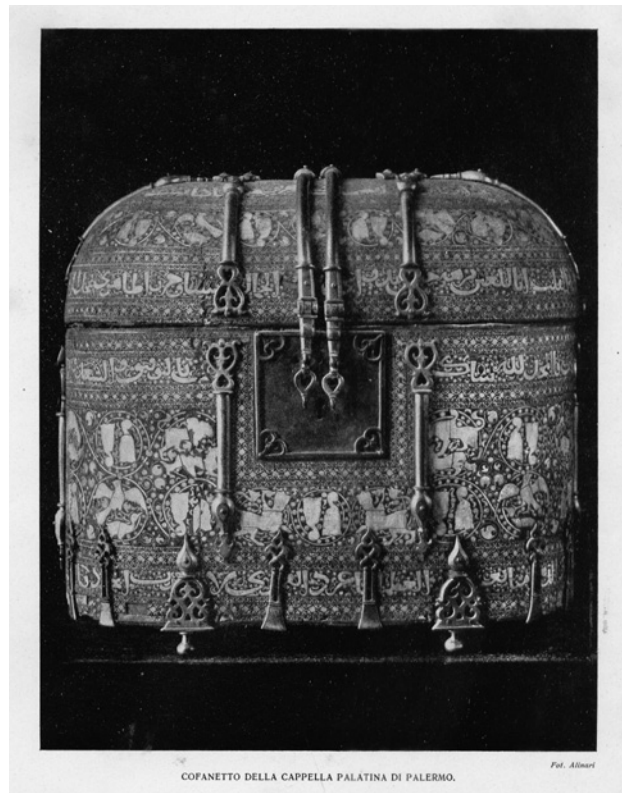


Fig. 5. Title page and plate 1 of *Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia. I. La cassetta incrostata della Cappella Palatina di Palermo*, published with the support of Umberto Zanotti Bianco (Rome, 1938).

In May 1937 the first book was ready:

Egregio amico, avrei terminato il primo fascicolo della serie di studi sui monumenti musulmani d'Italia, di cui abbiamo avuto altra volta occasione di trattare.... Tratta del cofanetto intarsiato della Cappella Palatina di Palermo.<sup>83</sup>

It did not include the ceilings or the painted ivory caskets, though Monneret promised that a second and a third volume dealing with painted and sculpted ivories would follow.<sup>84</sup> The documents that followed concerned practical aspects, such as the choice of paper, format, copyrights, correction of drafts, and distribution.<sup>85</sup>

In February 1938, *La cassetta incrostata della Cappella Palatina di Palermo* was published (fig. 5).<sup>86</sup> It was supposed to be the first book in a new series entitled *Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*, included in the broader *Collezione Meridionale*, directed by Zanotti Bianco.<sup>87</sup>

We cannot be certain as to why the project ceased, but it is likely that Zanotti Bianco's delicate political situation<sup>88</sup> and the lack of funds on the eve of World War II were among the main causes.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, the catalogues by Perry Blythe Cott and José Ferrandis dedicated to the painted ivories (and published in the same years) probably discouraged Monneret from continuing his own work on the same topic.<sup>90</sup> Even the study of the Cappella Palatina ceilings was temporarily sidelined.

By 1937 Monneret had moved from Milan to Rome.<sup>91</sup> During the war his mobility was certainly limited; it was probably in these years that he worked on the *Introduzione allo studio dell'archeologia islamica*.<sup>92</sup> The correspondence with Monneret preserved in Zanotti Bianco's archives ceases at the end of 1938, and it is not by chance that the next letter dates to 1954, when Monneret dedicated himself to arranging the notes collected through-

Via S. Agnese 18.  
Milano.  
17. VII. 34

Carissimo Ugo Zanotti Bianco

Ricevo la tua lettera del 15 al momento nel quale sto anch'io preparandomi a partire. L'avevamo: gli scari di Nu-  
bia quest'anno mi hanno affaticato molto e ho dovuto dispen-  
dermi un mese di vacanza (l'agosto); in settembre sarò in In-  
ghilterra per continuare i miei studi, e non sarò di ritorno  
in Italia se non ai primi di ottobre - Abbiamo tempo l'uno  
e l'altro di pensare al problema: la sola cosa preoccupante è la  
parte finanziaria - per il resto è questione di buona volontà, e  
questa (visto che non facevamo parte del mondo scientifico uff-  
ciale) non ci mancherà - Se si riesce a trovare i fondi, si può con-  
siderare che tutto mancherà molto facilmente -

Sono felice delle tue belle scoperte: io non ho trovato moltissimo que-  
st'anno: solo una decina di chiese, un po' di affreschi e un tempio  
romano in buono stato qualche centinaio di Km. più a sud del  
punto ov. secondo la sezione ufficiale. Sarebbero arrivati i Ro-  
mani - Scherzi!

Sarà a Roma certamente in ottobre e spero vederla. Saluti Schiff  
e l'incanto e a te. Cordialmente tuo

Ugo Monneret de Villard

Diap  
b  
Tulano

Fig. 6. One of the letters written by Ugo Monneret de Villard to Umberto Zanotti Bianco. ANIMI, Archivio Storico, A.III.03. UA29, folder Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia. (Photo: courtesy of ANIMI)

out his life in order to publish the catalogue he referred to as “Opere di arte islamica in Italia.”<sup>93</sup>

The documents uncovered in Zanotti Bianco’s archives thus provide many answers to questions concerning the long genesis of this work, revealing how it was first conceived and articulated, how it was modified due to practical contingencies, and which *monumenti* first awoke Monneret’s curiosity. The collection of letters also confirms the scholar’s systematic method: his meticulous collection of data and materials, which originated from a positivist background, reveals Monneret’s conviction—perhaps illusory?—that he was building an indispensable and infallible instrument for the further advancement of knowledge in this area. It also emerges that Monneret consistently used photographic images as an essential working tool.

Moreover, the close cooperation and friendship that bound Monneret and Zanotti, as well as Monneret’s criticisms of the *scienza ufficiale*, as revealed in letters (fig. 6), allow us to examine from a different perspective the scholar’s collaboration with Italian institutions during the Fascist era, particularly during the period Monneret spent in Africa on archaeological missions.<sup>94</sup>

Above all, the correspondence discloses a cultural milieu that has remained, until now, almost totally overlooked. Umberto Zanotti Bianco’s involvement as a “coordinator” reveals a civic engagement behind his cultural activism. This was not a solitary, exclusively erudite initiative but rather the brainchild of a group of outstanding intellectuals and scholars with varied interests and sensibilities, who shared a common goal, namely, promoting the study of Islamic art in Italy.

#### FAILURE AND SUCCESS AFTER THE FALL OF FASCISM: THE UNREALIZED UNIVERSITY CHAIR, THE MASTERPIECE, AND THE UNFINISHED CATALOGUE

In the mid-1930s, the debate regarding the possible establishment of a chair of Islamic art remained confined to an exchange among members of a restricted élite. This attempt was renewed at an academic level about ten years later, just after the fall of Mussolini. In September and October 1944, Monneret led a course on “Archeologia cristiana” at the Università La Sapienza in

Rome.<sup>95</sup> On November 20, 1944, the Board of Lettere e Filosofia discussed the proposal, advanced by the Scuola Orientale<sup>96</sup> and supported by the teachers of Storia dell’Arte,<sup>97</sup> to found a chair of “Storia dell’arte dell’Oriente medioevale,” which would be assigned to Ugo Monneret de Villard.<sup>98</sup> Monneret was supported mainly by Michelangelo Guidi<sup>99</sup> and Pietro Toesca.<sup>100</sup> Guidi stressed the “meriti altissimi del Monneret,” as well as his “rara preparazione scientifica,” “imponente attività di scavi,” “fama assai diffusa fuori d’Italia,” and “nobile e coraggioso passato politico,”<sup>101</sup> while also emphasizing the

...necessità di salvare per quanto è possibile le importanti posizioni già tenute dalla cultura italiana in Egitto e in tutto il vicino Oriente: si tratta di mantenere intatta una nobile e proficua tradizione. A questo fine nessuno forse potrebbe collaborare in modo efficace come il Monneret [sic].<sup>102</sup>

At such a moment of rupture with Italy’s dramatic past, Monneret represented an uncontroversial opportunity for continuity, thanks also to his international scholarly reputation. Moreover, the name of the chair fitted perfectly with Monneret’s multifaceted conception of “Oriental art,” which in his view encompassed both Islamic and Christian art and the cross-cultural exchanges between the two.

Nevertheless, some colleagues expressed an unfavorable opinion: after the many abuses of authority that had occurred during the Fascist era, it was no longer acceptable to create new academic posts without a proper competition.<sup>103</sup> The Board finally approved the creation of a new chair of “Storia dell’arte dell’Oriente medioevale,” which would be officially advertised and not necessarily assigned to Monneret de Villard. But the chair was never established.<sup>104</sup> The first chair of Islamic art and archaeology would be instituted only in 1968, at the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples, where it would be assigned to Umberto Scerrato; only in 1975 was this chair shared with Rome.<sup>105</sup>

In the last ten years of his life, Monneret dedicated himself to the study of different subjects consistently related to the Middle Ages and the “Orient”: he published works aimed at a general public, as well as learned essays on both specialized and broad topics.<sup>106</sup> This variety reflects once more Monneret’s complex conception of the “Orient,” and some notes in Monneret’s



correspondence, preserved at BiASA (Rome),<sup>107</sup> confirm how aware he was of its multifaceted but unitary perspective on the East. One letter, written by Monneret to Giuseppe Tucci,<sup>108</sup> is particularly significant. Tucci had assigned the scholar two chapters in the collaborative work *Le civiltà dell'Oriente*,<sup>109</sup> one on "Oriente cristiano," the other on "Arte islamica." Monneret refused this conceptual partition, preferring instead to write one single chapter that would include "l'arte del vicino Oriente dal III secolo al periodo dei grandi imperi turchi."<sup>110</sup> He thus asserted his conception of the unity of artistic development in that geographic region and eventually wrote a chapter entitled "Arte cristiana e musulmana del Vicino Oriente."<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, Monneret remained a man of his time in that he did not consider the later periods, because—as he stated—"dopo è finita l'arte orientale."<sup>112</sup>

In 1950, Monneret finally published his renowned work *Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, no less than sixteen years after the genesis of this idea. With its remarkable collection of 250 photographs, it was not the kind of book that could be financed by Italian institutions in the post-war period. The funds and resources required to realize such a huge photographic campaign came instead from the United States. Monneret's correspondence includes clues as to what was happening behind the scenes of this great undertaking.<sup>113</sup> The main player from the United States was Richard Ettinghausen,<sup>114</sup> who, in a letter dated July 24, 1946, stated, "I was most interested in what you wrote me about the possibility of photographing the paintings on the ceilings of the Cappella Palatina."<sup>115</sup> In his 1942 essay "Painting in the Fatimid Period: A Reconstruction,"<sup>116</sup> the scholar had reported on the scarcity of photographs of the painted ceilings,<sup>117</sup> so he was excited by Monneret's proposal. With the help of Charles Rufus Morey,<sup>118</sup> the cultural attaché at the American Embassy in Rome, Ettinghausen managed to gather funds for the mission.<sup>119</sup> Two major U.S. scholars, one of Islamic art, the other concerned with Christian art and medieval iconography, were thus actively supporting the project.

The photographs were taken by the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale between July 1947 and May 1948,<sup>120</sup> that is, just before the restoration undertaken by the Istituto centrale del restauro.<sup>121</sup> It is likely that Monneret's

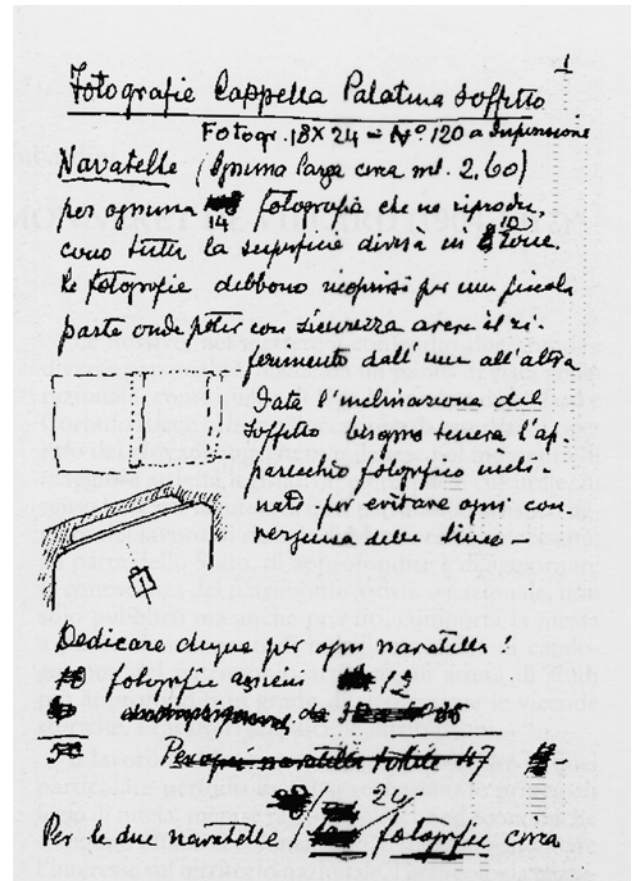


Fig. 7. Monneret de Villard's personal instructions for the photographers of the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale. BiASA, Fondo Monneret. From Francesca Zannoni, "Il carteggio e l'archivio di studio di Ugo Monneret de Villard nella Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte di Roma," in *L'eredità di Monneret de Villard a Milano: Atti del convegno (Milano, 27–29 novembre 2002)*, ed. Maria Grazia Sandri (Florence, 2004), 21.

frail health prevented him from leaving Rome,<sup>122</sup> so he provided the photographers with very meticulous instructions (fig. 7).<sup>123</sup> The outcome was an astonishing ensemble of scientific photographs.<sup>124</sup>

The endeavor to collect such comprehensive visual material was a first and indispensable step in an exhaustive research project, which took all the historical data, primary sources, and preceding literature into consideration. Ettinghausen's article clearly played a key role, and his "Fatimid Thesis," about the probable origin of the painters of the Cappella Palatina ceilings, was al-

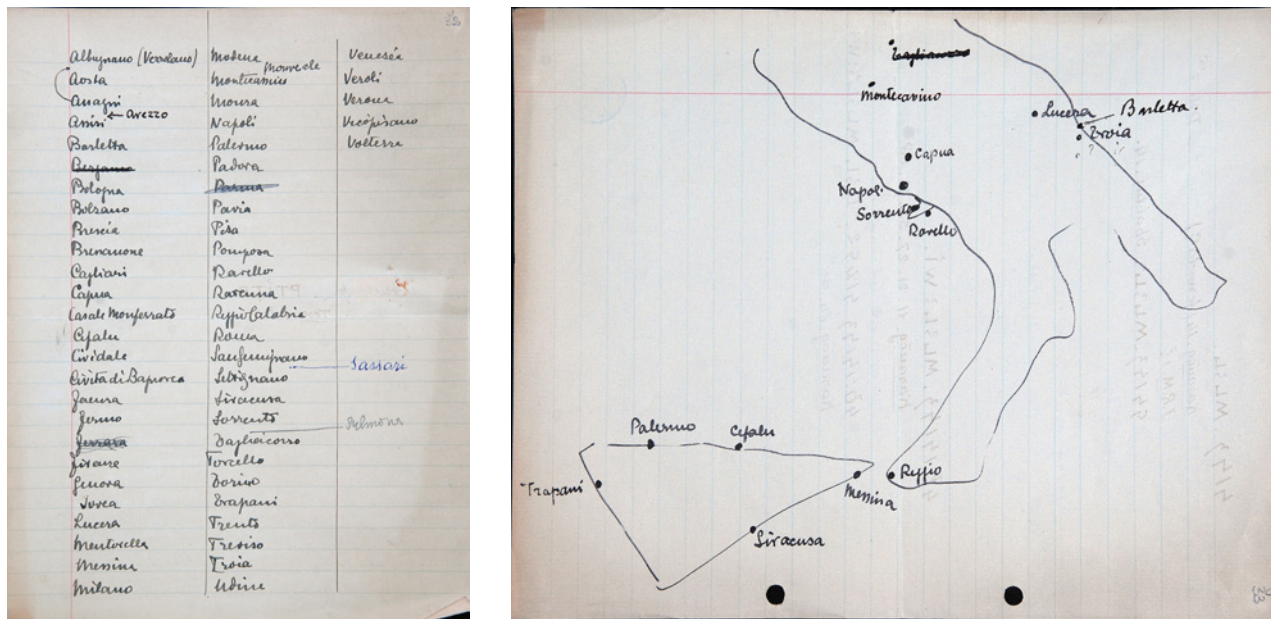


Fig. 8. Monneret's handwritten list of the main locations in Italy containing Islamic artifacts, along with a sketch of a map of southern Italy. BiASA, Fondo Monneret, scatola 6, cartella 34, c. 32, 33. (Photo: courtesy of BiASA)

most fully repeated.<sup>125</sup> Monneret's manifold approach did not disregard the technical aspects of the ceiling's construction,<sup>126</sup> stylistic considerations, or a thorough iconographic study, thus encompassing in a single work many of the issues that would be covered in further depth in future studies. This multi-disciplinarity *ante litteram* is not only the consequence of Monneret's mentality, but perhaps also represents an attempt to free art historical study from the heavy legacy of Benedetto Croce's *Estetica*, in which the artwork was mainly considered as the outcome of an instantaneous intuitive action: during and after the Fascist era, many intellectuals had considered this philosopher their essential point of reference,<sup>127</sup> and art historians had adopted a purely visual and formal approach, which tended to exclude all aspects and contexts beyond the work of art itself. Monneret's *Le pitture musulmane* therefore represented a successful attempt to update the methodology, possibly also as a result of his contact with an international academic environment.<sup>128</sup> The book received widespread recognition, especially in the United States,<sup>129</sup> and in 1950 Monneret was awarded the prestigious Premio nazionale generale dell'Accademia dei Lincei,<sup>130</sup> which probably represented the first important acknowledge-

ment of his scholarship in Italy after so many years of hard work.

On January 1, 1954, Monneret signed a three-year contract with the Fondazione Caetani of the Accademia dei Lincei and the Istituto Nazionale di Storia dell'Arte<sup>131</sup>—the time had come to organize all the precious materials and notes concerning Islamic artifacts in Italy that he had collected over more than two decades (fig. 8), in order to prepare the catalogue (or “raccolta di note personali”<sup>132</sup>) “Opere di arte islamica in Italia.” A manuscript that included a “Prefazione” and about 400 files was completed;<sup>133</sup> but there remained in Monneret's archives an extraordinary number of notes, photographs, and typewritten and handwritten forms, scattered in different boxes but generally grouped according to topographic criteria.<sup>134</sup>

Monneret de Villard died on November 4, 1954, before he had a chance to organize these materials. The Islamic art historian David Storm Rice was entrusted to carry on with this task,<sup>135</sup> and many of his notes are in fact preserved in the same folders, if not in the same files.<sup>136</sup> But the extent of the material was so overwhelming that when Rice died in 1962 he had not yet accomplished his goal.<sup>137</sup> Umberto Scerrato finally took



Fig. 9. Ugo Monneret de Villard, passport photo, ca. 1950. (Photo: courtesy of Accademia dei Lincei)

advantage of that wealth of material, which became the starting point for his important contribution to the 1979 volume *Gli Arabi in Italia*, entitled “Arte islamica in Italia,” though he never acknowledged Monneret de Villard’s fundamental contribution to it.<sup>138</sup> It was Giovanni Curatola who celebrated Monneret’s name and work, on the occasion of the 1993–94 exhibition *L’eredità dell’Islam*, held in Venice, which was conceived in continuity with the path opened by Monneret himself (fig. 9).<sup>139</sup>

#### MONNERET DE VILLARD AND THE STUDY OF ISLAMIC ART IN ITALY

Monneret’s other important essays on Islamic art were published posthumously,<sup>140</sup> and he would never know how well his research was received. Nonetheless, the quality and reach of his work remain an unsurpassed legacy for scholars of Islamic art today.

Monneret’s journey ended far from where he started: the young engineer from Milan had gradually discovered the archaeology of the Middle Ages and the “Orient”; his fascination soon turned into a scholarly interest that brought him to Cairo, and into direct contact with the international community of Orientalists, as well as the Italian institutions that sponsored cultural propaganda. The archaeological missions he undertook in Africa allowed him to develop and establish a rigorous method of investigation that he applied almost obsessively, both to the structuring of projects and to the approach he used in analyzing individual artifacts and monuments. There the Italian archaeologist discovered Islamic artistic production; his important inquiries into medieval Islam were notable for their reliability, even in the eyes of foreign scholars. This combination of experiences enabled him to look at the unexplored Islamic monuments and artifacts of Italy from a new and enriched point of view.

Monneret’s scholarly background is a lens through which we can examine the historiography of Islamic art in Italy in the first half of the twentieth century, while the documents uncovered in Zanotti Bianco’s archives reveal Monneret’s interests and methodology. It also appears that an awareness of the Islamic artistic heritage of southern Italy arose in the 1930s among an intellectual élite that was removed from the *scienza ufficiale*. The idea of instituting a chair of Islamic art to give value and space of action to the discipline was generated in the same milieu. The different attempts to establish an academic post were, however, inhibited by a general indifference toward an artistic phenomenon that was less evident than others in Italian territory, and which was considered irrelevant to the enhancement of national identity. The study of the *Monumenti dell’arte musulmana in Italia* began as a private initiative, far from the usual academic circles. If Zanotti Bianco was the ethical and civic core of this initiative, Monneret de Villard was the main scientific fulcrum. For him, the idea of cataloguing represented an indispensable first step toward real understanding. The approach to individual objects should not be read as merely revealing an antiquarian taste: the collection of all known data—including the pictures—was converted into a working tool to generate further conclusions. The work *La cas-*



*setta incrostata della Cappella Palatina di Palermo* is a good example of this approach, where the focused study of the object became a pretext for considering a wide range of comparative examples, thus providing an exhaustive study on a more general topic, the encrustation technique. At the same time, the book was supposed to be just one component of a larger work. Likewise, the catalogue files of the “Opere di arte islamica” were conceived as single “bricks” of a bigger structure that had not yet been built: the history of Islamic art in Italy.

This was clear to Giorgio Levi Della Vida:

Sono più di 400 oggetti ... la descrizione dei quali fatta in maniera unitaria e sistematica rivelerà una ricchezza insospettata dai più di oggetti di arte islamica in Italia e gioverà in misura notevole al progresso dello studio di una disciplina purtroppo interamente trascurata tra noi, coll'eccezione, splendida sì ma unica, di Monneret de Villard.<sup>141</sup>

The catalogue was just the beginning of an ambitious, almost titanic, effort, which had excellent but only partial outcomes. It deserves to be published even today, in light of both its enduring scholarly importance and the historical value it has acquired over the decades.

Monneret de Villard may thus be considered the father of Islamic art history in Italy: he was concerned with the Islamic artistic heritage in Italian territory, but he also became a wide-ranging specialist of the discipline, although he focused on the Middle Ages, overlooking periods today rightly considered part of the field. Through his approach, he viewed the development of “Oriental” art as a complex phenomenon, also in constant dialogue with “Western” art.” It was almost as if he were anticipating the current issue of defining the borders of Islamic art as an academic discipline. This idea was echoed in the title he would have liked for his course at La Sapienza, “Storia dell’arte dell’Oriente medioevale,” and clearly articulated when Giuseppe Tucci asked him to write about the “Arte del vicino Oriente.” Perhaps Monneret himself would have considered the label “master of Islamic art” reductive. Once more, it was his friend Levi Della Vida who best described Monneret’s conception of art:

...Una concezione organica dell’unità dello svolgimento dell’arte nell’Oriente, del suo costante rapporto collo svolgimento dell’arte dell’Occidente, della stretta interdipendenza tra storia dell’arte e storia generale. A metter in chiaro questa unità...Monneret de Villard ha contribuito quanto assai pochi dei suoi contemporanei.<sup>142</sup>

pendenza tra storia dell’arte e storia generale. A metter in chiaro questa unità...Monneret de Villard ha contribuito quanto assai pochi dei suoi contemporanei.<sup>142</sup>

*Dipartimento Studi Internazionali, Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere, Università di Urbino “Carlo Bo”*

## APPENDIX

### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD (1881–1954)

#### *Preliminary note*

The following bibliography is based mainly on the “Bibliografia delle opere di Ugo Monneret de Villard (1871–1954),” compiled by M. A. Piemontese (*Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 58 [1984, but printed in 1987]: 1–12). The abbreviations have generally been maintained, as well as the commentaries to the texts, which Piemontese took in part from Giorgio Levi della Vida, “Ugo Monneret de Villard. Bibliografia degli scritti,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 30 (1955): 172–88. Piemontese’s list has now been integrated with new entries: some of them come from my own research, while many others were gathered from the studies of Alessandro Piccinelli, “Alle origini del Novecento: Arte, architettura e città nell’opera di Monneret de Villard (1903–1921)” (MA thesis, Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia, 1985–86), and Elisabetta Susani, “Gli ‘scritti rifiutati.’ Indagando sui retroscena della formazione al collegio degli ingegneri e architetti di Milano e della *damnatio memoriae* di certi ‘*delicta iuventutis*’ di Ugo Monneret de Villard,” in *L’eredità di Monneret de Villard a Milano: Atti del convegno (Milano, 27–29 novembre 2002)*, ed. Maria Grazia Sandri (Florence, 2004), 45–61.

The updated bibliography includes 272 entries, a considerable number of which are monographs and books. The wealth and variety of topics are truly remarkable, reflecting Monneret’s wide range of interests. It is nonetheless possible to trace their development throughout the decades.

*A fil rouge* is particularly evident when browsing the scholar’s bibliography, namely, his gradual opening to the “Orient.” As seen in his correspondence with

Alessandro Casati (see above, p. 37), in which the region is first regarded as an exotic land of “buried princesses,” a common thread manifests itself in occasional references to “Oriental” medieval architecture in some early articles dealing with apparently disparate subjects (for example, see nos. 53, 55, 64, and 78); it then emerges gradually as Monneret’s main interest, the many diverse aspects of which are to be studied using a multidisciplinary methodology and a more scientific approach.

This itinerary started with a precocious but quite generic interest in art and architecture: Monneret’s early writings were dedicated to modern and contemporary painting, and to contemporary architecture (see most of the titles in nos. 1–63). Broad topics, such as Benedetto Croce’s *Estetica* (nos. 14, 18, 40, 64, 69, and 114), the theory and history of architecture (nos. 53, 55, and 70), and town planning (nos. 46–49, 52, and 71) also intrigued the young engineer. Well aware of the importance of reconciling urban expansion with the preservation of monumental historical heritage, Monneret soon dedicated himself to topographic, archaeological, and historical studies. Western medieval architecture—especially Lombard—and its relationship with the “East” (from the Byzantine territories to Egypt, Persia, and India) captivated him as early as 1908, and remained the main focus of his interest from 1914 to 1924, when he taught a course entitled “Archeologia medievale” at the Politecnico in Milan (see most of the titles in nos. 72–128).

In the early 1920s, he began to travel abroad more frequently, and it was at this time that his writings dedicated exclusively to Oriental art and architecture first appeared (beginning with no. 129). Research missions afforded him the opportunity to investigate Eastern Christian art and improve his methodology; it also allowed him to discover Islamic art and architecture.

He regularly published works related to the research and archaeological surveys he conducted, as well as to excavations he led in Egypt (nos. 136–70, most titles), Nubia (nos. 171–85, 191), Eastern Africa (nos. 180, 186, 189, 190, and 196), and even Iran (nos. 183, 187, and 192–94). Monneret’s last archaeological missions abroad date to the late 1930s. The last fifteen years of his life were spent mostly in Rome, where he dedicated himself not only to the completion and publication of research he had carried out in previous decades (nos. 198–207, 210–16), but also to the systematic study of Islamic art in Italy (only a few such articles and papers were published: nos. 203, 208, and 225). He also wrote erudite essays dealing with the relationship between East and West during the Middle Ages (nos. 221, 222, 227, 230, 231, 240, 252, and 253), along with encyclopedia entries, most notably for the *Enciclopedia cattolica* (nos. 234, 235, 237, 238, 244, 245, 247–51, 254, 255, and 266), while also completing some other fundamental works that remain essential references for scholars today (nos. 241, 271, and 272).

### *Abbreviations*

<i>ACIA</i>	Atti del Collegio degli Ingegneri ed Architetti di Milano, Milan.
<i>Aegyptus</i>	Aegyptus. Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e Papirologia, Milan.
<i>ASL</i>	Archivio Storico Lombardo, Giornale della Società Storica Lombarda, Milan.
<i>Emporium</i>	Emporium. Rivista mensile illustrata d’arte, letteratura, scienze e varietà, Bergamo.
<i>It. Mon.</i>	L’Italia Monumentale. Collezione di Monografie sotto il patronato del Touring Club Italiano e della “Dante Alighieri.”
<i>Il Politecnico</i>	Il Politecnico, Giornale dell’Ingegnere Architetto Civile ed Industriale, Milan.
<i>Il Rinnovamento</i>	Il Rinnovamento, Rivista critica di idee e fatti, Milan.

<i>LP</i>	La Perseveranza, Giornale del Mattino, Milan.
<i>MT</i>	Il Monitore Tecnico. Giornale d'Ingegneria, Architettura, Meccanica, Elettrotecnica, Ferrovie, Agronomia, Catasto ed Arti Industriali, Milan.
<i>OCP</i>	Orientalia Christiana Periodica, Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Rome.
<i>OM</i>	Oriente Moderno, Istituto per l'Oriente, Rome.
<i>Orientalia</i>	Orientalia, Commentarii Periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici, nova series, Rome.
<i>RANL</i>	Atti della (Reale until s. VI) Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti, cl. di scienze morali, Rome.
<i>RIL</i>	Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Rendiconti, Milan.
<i>RINSA</i>	Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e scienze affini, Milan.
<i>RSE</i>	Rassegna di Studi Etiopici, Rome.

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- (56) "Anglada," *Vita d'arte. Rivista mensile illustrata d'arte antica e moderna* 2 (1908): 81–97.
- (57) "Note d'edilizia," *MT* 12 (April 30, 1908): 233–34.
- (58) "Congresso ed Esposizione d'Architettura a Vienna," *MT* 16 (June 10, 1908): 305–7 (pt. 1).
- (59) "Congresso ed Esposizione d'Architettura a Vienna," *MT* 17 (June 20, 1908): 328–30 (pt. 2).
- (60) "Congresso ed Esposizione d'Architettura a Vienna," *MT* 19 (July 10, 1908): 370–73 (pt. 3).
- (61) "Congresso ed Esposizione d'Architettura a Vienna," *MT* 21 (July 30, 1908): 406–8 (pt. 4).
- (62) "Congresso ed Esposizione d'Architettura a Vienna," *MT* 22 (August 10, 1908): 426–28 (pt. 5).

- (63) *Esposizione d'Architettura a Vienna* (Lodi, 1908). Excerpts from *MT* 16, 17, 19, 21, and 22 (1908). [A different publication from those in nos. 58–62, though with the same title. Summary: Introduction; the Austrian School; German architecture; Boberg and the Swedish School; English and American architecture; Russia; Hungary; Belgium and France; Italy.]
- (64) “La forma architettonica e la materia,” *MT* 22 (August 10, 1908): 433–35. [With reference to the architecture of Asia Minor, Achaemenid Persia, and Buddhist India.]
- (65) “Il palazzo della Camera dei Deputati,” *MT* 25 (December 20, 1908): 686–87.
- (66) *Opere di architettura moderna: Con note di Ugo Monneret de Villard* (Milan, 1909). [Introduction and photo gravures of architectural works in Italy, Austria, France and Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, the United States, Hungary, Sweden, and Finland.]
- (67) “Le case giapponesi e il terremoto,” *La lettura: Rivista mensile del Corriere della Sera* 2 (February 1, 1909): 102–5.
- (68) “Note d'Architettura messinese,” *Vita d'arte: Rivista mensile illustrata d'arte antica e moderna* 3 (1909): 71–80.
- (69) “La libertà nell'architettura,” *MT* 15 (May 20, 1909): 268–70.
- (70) “Gli ordini monastici e l'architettura,” *Il Rinnovamento* 3 (1909): 369–77.
- (71) “Intorno al nuovo piano regolatore,” *LP* (May 30, 1910).
- (72) *Il battistero e le chiese romaniche di Firenze. Sessantaquattro illustrazioni*, It. Mon. 3 (Milan, 1910). [Text in Italian and French; legends in Italian, French, English, and German.]
- (73) *Le chiese di Roma I. Sessantaquattro illustrazioni*, It. Mon. 4 (Milan, 1910), in Italian, French, and English.
- (74) *Le chiese di Roma II. Sessantaquattro illustrazioni*, It. Mon. 8 (Milan, 1910), in Italian, French, and English.
- (75) “L'architettura romanica in Dalmazia,” *Rassegna d'Arte* 10 (1910): 77–82, 90–94, 107–114, 128–30. [Summary: 1. The last monuments of Ravenna and the national monuments of Croatia; 2. Lombard decoration in Dalmatia before the year 1000; 3. Eleventh-century central dome monuments; 4. Dalmato-Lombard architecture between the twelfth and fourteenth century: Influences from Apulia.]
- (76) *L'architettura romanica in Dalmazia. A cura della “Rassegna d'Arte”* (Milan, 1910).
- (77) “La chiesa di S. Lorenzo in Milano. Studio del tracciato planimetrico,” *MT* 16 (1910): 388–90.
- (78) “Intorno a S. Lorenzo di Milano. Note sull'origine del tipo planimetrico,” *MT* 16 (1910): 591–93, 631–34, 651–54 [Includes comparisons with Egyptian monuments: Sohag, Deir el-Ahmar and Deir el-Abyad, Madaba, etc.]
- (79) “La chiesa di S. Lorenzo in Milano,” *MT* 20 (July 20, 1910): 28–30.
- (80) “Il palazzo di Costantino e di Giustiniano,” *MT* 17 (September 30, 1910): 530–31.
- (81) “Note artistiche—Una nuova Accademia,” *LP* (October 31, 1910).
- (82) “Grattanuole e grattacapi,” *LP* (November 9, 1910) (attributed to Monneret de Villard by Piccinelli, “Alle origini del Novecento”).
- (83) “Intorno alla chiesa di S. Lorenzo,” *LP* (November 10, 1910).
- (84) “Ancora del S. Lorenzo,” *LP* (December 2, 1910).
- (85) “La colonna torta (Note sull'origine di un motivo architettonico),” *Il Politecnico* 58 (1910): 749–56 (pt. 1).
- (86) “La colonna torta (Note sull'origine di un motivo architettonico),” *Il Politecnico* 59 (1911): 22–28 (pt. 2). [Deals especially with late Roman, Syrian, Coptic, and early Christian monuments and column sarcophagi.]
- (87) “La chiesa di S. Lorenzo in Milano,” *Il Politecnico* 59 (1911): 332–45, 398–409.
- (88) “Antichi disegni riguardanti il S. Lorenzo di Milano,” *Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della P. Istruzione* 5 (1911): 271–82.
- (89) “Il Battistero di Riva S. Vitale,” *MT* 17 (1911): 34–35. [Includes a comparison with Qal‘at Sem‘an (Monastery of St. Simeon).]
- (90) “Edifici del Piemonte,” *MT* 17 (1911): 112–14 [Churches of Settimo Vittone and S. Ponzio Canavese, Chieri Baptistery; comparisons with the Octagon of Gregory of Nyssa and with building VIII of Binbir Kilise.]
- (91) *Aosta: Sessantaquattro illustrazioni*, It. Mon. 19 (Milan, 1911), Italian and French.
- (92) *I monumenti dei Lago di Como. Sessantaquattro illustrazioni*, It. Mon. 27 (Milan, 1912).

- (93) *Iscrizioni cristiane della Provincia di Como anteriori al secolo XI* (Como: Premiata Tipografia-Editrice Ostineffi di Bertolini Nani e C., 1912) = *Rivista Archeologica della Provincia e antica Diocesi di Como* 65–66 (1912). [Corrections added in appendix of following essay (no. 94).]
- (94) “Note di epigrafia comasca,” *Periodico della Società Storica della Provincia e Antica Diocesi di Como* 20 (1912): 179–98. [Summary: Notes on sepulchral epigraphs of Peredo and Amalrico, bishops of Como. New inscriptions from Como, in the churches of S. Andrea, S. Carpofofo, and S. Giovanni. Corrections to the previous essay.]
- (95) “Valentinus Ostiarius,” *Revue Charlemagne* 11 (1912): 127. [Sepulchral epigraph from the Como Museum.]
- (96) “Inedita Byzantina,” *MT* 18 (August 10, 1912): 431–34. [Architectural structures of the following churches: H. Soter, Galaxidi; Skripu, Boeotia; H. Teodora, H. Sotero, Assomaton, Kapnikarca, H. Nicolao, Panaghia Monastirini, Athens; H. Giovanni in Koroni, H. Moni in Arcia, Argolis; H. Giasone and Sasopiter, Corfu; Catolikon of Gastouni, Elis; H. Strategos in Boularivi, Laconia; H. Soter and Haufissa, Salona; H. Giovanni, Patmos; and H. Demetrio, S. Demetrio of Rethymnon.]
- (97) Review of “A. Kingsley Porter, *Santa Maria Maggiore di Lomello*,” *Arte e Storia* (1911); “A. Kingsley Porter, *L’Abbazia di Sannazzaro Sesia*,” *Arte e Storia* (1911); “A. Kingsley Porter, *The Construction of Lombard and Gothic Vaults*, New Haven 1911,” *ASL* 31 (1912): 144–48.
- (98) “Necrologio per F. De Dartein,” *ASL* 39 (1912): 197.
- (99) “Le iscrizioni sepolcrali di Ecclesio e Savinio (sec. V) rinvenute nella chiesa di S. Vincenzo di Galliano,” *ASL* 40 (1913): 471–73.
- (100) “Studi sull’arte di costruire le città. Spalato,” *MT* 19 (1913): 428–30. [Includes comparisons with Ukhaydir, Mshatta, Palmyra, and Antioch, and references to Umayyad and Sassanid architecture.]
- (101) “La biblioteca del Regio Istituto Tecnico Superiore,” written in cooperation with Guido Petrocchi and Giuseppe Adamoli, in *Le Biblioteche milanesi*, ed. Giovanni Bognetti (Milan, 1914), 1–105, 203–6.
- (102) *L’isola Comacina. Ricerche storiche ed archeologiche* (Como, 1914) = *Rivista Archeologica della Provincia e antica Diocesi di Como*, fasc. 70–71 (1914).
- (103) “Note di Archeologia lombarda,” *ASL* 41 (1914): 5–70. [Summary: Chap. 1. Diocletian’s mausoleum in Split and its influence on Lombard architecture; Chap. 2. The origin of the planimetric form of San Lorenzo in Milan (includes comparisons with architectural structures of: the Deir Seta Baptistery, Qal’at Sem’an, the Octagon of Gregory of Nyssa, Binbir Kilise, the Baptistery of St. George of Ezra, Bosra Cathedral, St. Sophia of Adrianople, Rusafa churches—Sergiopolis, St. Gregory of Echmiadzin, the Suwasa Octagons—Isaura-Hierapolis-Derbe, the Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites near Antioch, the eurhythmic plan of the Mosque of Omar.)]
- (104) “The Vatican Gardens”; “The Chapel of Nicholas V”; “The Pauline Chapel”; and “The Hall of the Geographical Charts,” in *The Vatican: Its History, Its Treasures*, ed. Ernesto Begni (New York, 1914): 37–48; 51–60; 101–5; and 425–29.
- (105) “L’influsso lombardo sull’architettura romanica in Catalogna,” *ACIA* 47 (October 25, 1914): 385–405.
- (106) *Catalogo delle iscrizioni cristiane anteriori al secolo XI* (Milan, 1915) (“Il Castello Sforzesco di Milano. Le sue raccolte storiche e artistiche.”) [Contains forty-eight entries concerning inscriptions from Milan (the ancient cemetery of Porta Vercelliana, the Cathedral neighborhood, and various sites), Lombardy, and unknown sites; bibliography and indices.]
- (107) “Delle Mura e del Palazzo Imperiale di Milano romana,” *ACIA* 48 (1915): 299–310. [Includes comparisons with monuments from es-Suhba, Mshatta, Henschir-Tamesmida, Diyarbakir, al-Lajjun, and Odruh.]
- (108) “L’architettura romana degli ultimi secoli dell’Impero,” *ACIA* 48 (1915): 349–70; 397–420.
- (109) “I dati storici relativi ai mosaici pavimentali cristiani di Lombardia,” *ASL* 43 (1916): 341–92.
- (110) “La ‘legenda’ di S. Eligio in Lombardia,” *ASL* 43 (1916): 628–32.



- (111) Review of "C. Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française depuis les temps mérovingiens jusqu'à la Renaissance*, T. III, Le Costume," *ASL* 43 (1916): 872.
- (112) "Di Goffredo da Busseno e del Liber Notitiae Sanctorum," in *Liber Notitiae Sanctorum Mediolani. Manoscritto della Biblioteca Capitolare di Milano*, ed. Marco Magistretti and Ugo Monneret de Villard (Milan, 1917).
- (113) "L'antica basilica di S. Tecla in Milano," *ASL* 44 (1917): 1–24.
- (114) "Del metodo nello studio dell'architettura medioevale," *ACIA* 51 (July 1917–December 1918): 22–62.
- (115) *Gerusalemme e i luoghi Santi* (Milan, 1918).
- (116) *Le vetrate del Duomo di Milano. Ricerche storiche*, 3 vols. (vol. 1 [Milan, 1918]; vols. 2 and 3 [Milan, 1920]). [Vol. 1: text; vol. 2: pls. 1–100; vol. 3: pls. 101–90.]
- (117) "Contributi alla storia delle biblioteche milanesi," *ASL* 45 (1918): 296–301.
- (118) Review of "E. A. Stuckelberg, *Cicerone in Tessin. Ein Führer für Geschichts-Kunst und Altertumsfreunde*," *ASL* 45 (1918): 562–63.
- (119) "Il più antico documento relativo all'ospizio del S. Gottardo," *ASL* 45 (1918): 578–79.
- (120) "Ancora sull'ospizio del Gottardo," *ASL* 46 (1919): 321.
- (121) "L'organizzazione industriale nell'Italia Longobarda durante l'Alto Medioevo," *ASL* 46 (1919): 1–83.
- (122) "Documenti milanesi riguardanti Rolandino de Romanzi," *Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna* (1919): 139–143. (Biblioteca de "L'Archiginnasio," ser. I, V.)
- (123) "La monetazione nell'Italia Barbarica," *RINSA* 32 (1919): 22–38, 73–112, 125–38 (pt. 1).
- (124) "La monetazione nell'Italia Barbarica," *RINSA* 33 (1920): 169–232 (pt. 2).
- (125) "La monetazione nell'Italia Barbarica," *RINSA* 34 (1921): 191–218 (pt. 3). [Summary: 1919: Coins of Lombard Italy until the end of the Carolingian Empire; the mancus coin and the circulation of Arab and Byzantine gold in Barbarian Europe; gold coinage in the German Empire; 1920: monetary legislation. I. Monetary law; 1921: Types and issues of coins under the Lombards and Charlemagne.]
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- (127) "Un diploma di Ludovico il Pio e le Chiuse longobarde," *ASL* 48 (1921): 167–70.
- (128) "Chiese medioevali delle pievi di Blenio e della Levantina," *Bollettino Storico della Svizzera Italiana* 36, 4 (1921): 83–89.
- (129) "Il Museo degli Evgaf a Costantinopoli," *Rassegna d'Arte Antica e Moderna* 8 (1921): 123–27.
- (130) "Sull'origine della doppia cupola persiana," *Architettura e Arti Decorative* 1 (1921): 315–24. [Includes comparisons with Indian and Chinese monuments.]
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- (132) "Un monumento romano di tipo egizio nel Museo Archeologico di Milano," *Aegyptus* 2 (1921): 281–84.
- (133) "Il Faro d'Alessandria secondo un testo e disegni arabi inediti da Codici Milanesi Ambrosiani," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* 18 (1921): 13–35. [Drawings, especially from Ms. A 113.]
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- (135) "Oggetti egizi in una tomba germanica," *Aegyptus* 3 (1922): 315–20.
- (136) A. Patricolo, *La chiesa di Santa Barbara al Vecchio Cairo: Illustrata da A. Patricolo e da U. Monneret de Villard* (Florence, 1922), in Italian and English.
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- (169) "Christian Art in Egypt," in Karl Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sûdân: Handbook for Travellers*, 8th rev. ed. (Leipzig, 1929), 187–91.
- (170) *La necropoli musulmana di Aswan* (Cairo, 1930). (Publications du Musée Arabe du Caire.) [Avant-propos by Gaston Wiet, 7–8.]
- (171) "La missione per lo studio dei monumenti cristiani della Nubia e i suoi lavori del 1930–31," *Aegyptus* 11 (1931): 514–15. [The article is not signed, but Monneret registered it as no. 65 in his own personal bibliography (manuscript).]

- (172) "Rapporto preliminare dei lavori della missione per lo studio dei monumenti cristiani della Nubia 1930–1931," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 31 (1931): 7–18.
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- (174) "Note nubiane. 1. Articola (Plin. N.H., vi, 184); 2. La Chiesa Melkita di Nubia," *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 305–16.
- (175) "Un santuario di Min-Pan in Nubia," *Aegyptus* 13 (1933): 42–44.
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- (188) *Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia, I. La cassetta incrostata della Cappella Palatina di Palermo* (Rome, 1938).
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- (201) Review of "A. Adriani, *Le goblet d'argent des Amours vendangeurs du Musée d'Alexandrie*, Alexandrie 1939," *Orientalia* 9 (1940): 197–98.
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- (205) *La Nubia Romana* (Rome, 1941).
- (206) "Gli studi sull'archeologia cristiana d'Egitto, 1920–1940," *OCP* 7 (1941): 274–92. [Includes 288 entries.]
- (207) "La chiesa monolitica di Yakkā Mikā'ēl," *RSE* 1 (1941): 226–33.
- (208) "Un codice arabo-spagnolo con miniature," *La Bibliofilia* 43 (1941): 209–23. [Illustration of Ms. Vat. Ar. 368.]
- (209) "Un avorio dell'Asia centrale scoperto nei pressi di Roma," *Asiatica* 8 (1942): 3–10.
- (210) "Il culto del Sole a Meroe," *RSE* 11 (1942): 107–42. [Includes references to Persian Achaemenid monuments.]
- (211) "Di una possibile origine delle danze liturgiche nella chiesa abissina," *OM* 22 (1942): 389–91.
- (212) "La coronazione della Vergine in Abissinia," *La Bibliofilia* 44 (1942): 167–75. [With emphasis on the miniatures of *Taamra Mairyam's* manuscript, completed in 1571, from Biblioteca Giovardiana in Veroli.]
- (213) "Problemi sulla storia religiosa dell'Abissinia," *Rassegna Sociale dell'Africa Italiana* 5 (1942): 583–91.
- (214) "Perché la chiesa abissina dipendeva dal patriarcato d'Alessandria," *OM* 23 (1943): 308–11.
- (215) "La Majestas Domini in Abissinia," *RSE* 3 (1943): 36–45 [Especially focused on the illustration of Ms. Or. 148, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.]
- (216) "I minareti di Mogadiscio," *RSE* 3 (1943): 127–30. [Includes references to Persian monuments.]
- (217) Review of "K. Erdmann, *Das Orientalische Feuerheiligtum*, Leipzig 1941," *Orientalia* 12 (1943): 166–67.
- (218) Review of "C. J. Lamm, *Oriental Glass of Medieval Date Found in Sweden and the Early History of Lustre-Painting*, Stockholm 1941," *Orientalia* 12 (1943): 271–73.
- (219) Review of "P. M. D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane edite e commentate*, vol. I. *Storia dell'introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, Roma 1942," *OM* 23 (1943): 87–88.
- (220) Review of "E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst*, Berlin-Leipzig 1942," *OM* 23 (1943): 88.
- (221) "Lo studio dell'Islam in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo," *Studi e Testi* 110 (Vatican City, 1944): iv–86. [Anastatic reprint, 1972.]
- (222) "La vita, le opere e i viaggi di frate Ricoldo da Montecroce O. P.," *OCP* 10 (1944): 227–74.
- (223) Review of "H. J. Lenzen, *Die Entwicklung der Zikkurat von ihren Anfängen bis zur Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur*, Leipzig 1942," *Orientalia* 13 (1944): 270–71.
- (224) "Miniatura veneto-cretese in un codice etiopico," *La Bibliofilia* 47 (1945): 1–13. [Illustration of Ms. Eth. 81 (Ancien fonds 74, formerly Saint-Germain 510), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.]
- (225) "Le chapiteau arabe de la Cathédrale de Pise," *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1946* (1946): 17–23.
- (226) "La tessitura palermitana sotto i Normanni e i suoi rapporti con l'arte bizantina," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, Studi e Testi 123 (Vatican City, 1946): III, 464–89. [Summary: I. Historical documents; II. Graphic documents.]

- (227) "Antiochia e Milano nel VI secolo," *OCF* 12 (1946): 374–80 [Importation of cultural elements and Oriental architectural forms, attesting to "stretti rapporti fra Antiochia e la valle del Po nei primi secoli dopo la pace della Chiesa" (tight relationships between Antioch and the Po Valley in the first centuries after the Peace of the Church [i.e., after the 313 Milan Edict]).]
- (228) Review of "R. Devresse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'Église jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1945," *OM* 26 (1946): 62–63.
- (229) "Mosè, vescovo di Adulis," *OCF* 13 (1947): 613–23 (= *Miscellanea Guillaume de Jerphanion*). [Deals especially with cultural exchanges and the relationship with Christianity between the Red Sea and Indian regions, stretching to Ceylon and Socotra.]
- (230) "La Madonna di S. Maria Maggiore e l'illustrazione dei miracoli di Maria in Abissinia," *Annali Lateranensi* 11 (1947): 9–90. [With related documentation concerning Ms. Et. Vat. 91, Vatican Library; Mss. Éth. 61 and 144, D'Abbadie 83, 114, 222, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.]
- (231) *Il Libro della Peregrinazione nelle parti d'Oriente di Frate Ricoldo da Montecroce* (Rome, 1948). (Dissertationes Historicae, fasc. XIII.) [Summary: his life; sources; medieval itineraries in Asia Minor; the journey to Tabriz; the Tatars and Buddhism; the Kurds; Baghdad; the Sabaeans; history and knowledge of the Koran; virtues of the Saracens.]
- (232) "Le monete dei Kushāna e l'impero romano," *Orientalia* 17 (1948): 205–45.
- (233) "Aksum e i quattro re del mondo," *Annali Lateranensi* 12 (1948): 125–80. [Historical and cultural aspects of the four parts of the world, in particular: the spread of Manichaeism in Egypt and, from the center of Hirah, among the Arabs of the Syrian-Palestinian desert; the river Σίλις and the Kushana Kingdom; Buddhism in Central Asia, India, China, and related artistic cultures.]
- (234) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–1954), s.v. "Abu Hennis" [Coptic village].
- (235) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. "Akhmim" [Middle Egypt].
- (236) "Codici magrebini decorati della Biblioteca Vaticana," *Istituto Universitario Orientale. Annali*, n.s., 3 (1949): 83–91 (= *Scritti in onore di Francesco Beguinot*). [Concerns Mss. Vat. Ar. 205, 210–14, 368.]
- (237) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. "Baqawāt" [Necropolis of Hibis, Egypt].
- (238) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. "Bāwit" [Middle Egypt].
- (239) "Il culto di S. Taisía nella diocesi di Milano," *Studi Medievali*, n.s., 16 (1943–50): 269–72.
- (240) *Liber Peregrinationis di Jacopo da Verona a cura di U. M. de V.* (Rome, 1949). (Il Nuovo Ramusio I).
- (241) *Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Rome, 1950).
- (242) "Una chiesa di tipo georgiano nella necropoli tebana," *The Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute* 2 (1950): 495–500 = *Coptic Studies in Honour of Walter Ewing Crum*.
- (243) "Sulla festa del battesimo in Abissinia," *RANL* 8, 5 (1950): 513–25.
- (244) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. "Egitto, Arte cristiana."
- (245) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. "Etiopia. Antichità cristiane."
- (246) "La fiera di Batnae e la traslazione di S. Tommaso a Edessa," *RANL* 8, 6 (1951): 77–104.
- (247) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. "India. Antichità cristiane."
- (248) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. "Isauria" [Province of Antioch's patriarchate].
- (249) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. "Mesopotamia. Antichità cristiane."
- (250) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. "Mileto. Archeologia cristiana."
- (251) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. "Nubia."
- (252) *Le Leggende Orientali sui Magi Evangelici*, Studi e Testi 163 (Vatican City, 1952). [Anastatic reprint, 1973]. [Summary: I. The primitive Syriac texts; II. The Magi and the Messiah's gift; III. The prophecies and the geographical environment of the legends; IV. The Magi from Central Asia and the king of Tarsa; V. John of Hildesheim and the European summary of the Oriental legends. Addenda.]

- (253) “Sul palazzo di Theodorico a Galeata,” in *RANL* 8, 7 (1952): 26–32. [Outlines, in particular, “che le rovine del palazzotto da caccia fattosi costruire da Teodorico a Galeata, che è un paesetto sulla via tra Forlì e Arezzo, ripetono identica la pianta caratteristica dei palazzotti della regione iranica, dove i Goti erano giunti nelle loro conquiste orientali” (that the ruins of the hunting palace built by Teodoricus in Galeata—a small village between Arezzo and Forlì—have a plan that is identical to those palaces of the Iranian area where the Goths arrived with their Oriental conquests): R. Bianchi Bandinelli.]
- (254) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. “Oriente cristiano. L’Arte cristiana.”
- (255) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. “Osroene.”
- (256) Review of “O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar with a Geographical Account of the Middle Nile Region* (Gloucester, 1951),” in *OM* 32 (1952): 57–58.
- (257) “Il tāg di Imru’l-Qais,” *RANL* 8, 8 (1953): 224–29.
- (258) “The Temple of the Imperial Cult at Luxor,” *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 95 (1953): 85–105.
- (259) “Il trono dei leoni,” *Annali Lateranensi* 17 (1953): 321–52. [Possible origins of the Kushana art throne and connections with Egyptian, Iranian, and Jewish traditions; also about Atargatis’ cult.]
- (260) “Il frammento di Hannover e la tessitura palermitana di stile bizantino,” *Rivista dell’Istituto Nazionale d’Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte*, n.s., 2 (1953): 162–70. [Also about Iranian connections.]
- (261) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. “Siria. Arte cristiana.”
- (262) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. “Sohàg” [Egyptian site].
- (263) *L’arte iranica* (Verona, 1954). [Historic and artistic summary, from prehistory to the Safavids.]
- (264) *The Large Church in the Second Court of the Great Temple*, in *Post-Ramessid Remains (The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, vol. 5), ed. Uvo Hölscher, ed. and trans. E. B. Hauser (Chicago, 1954). [Report written in 1934, trans. Catherine Shaw Phillips.]
- (265) “Islam und Abendland. Geistige Einflüsse auf das europäische Mittelalter,” in *Handbuch der Weltgeschichte*, ed. Alexander von Randa, 2 vols. (Olten and Freiburg im Breisgau, 1954–56), 1:143–47. [Summary: the impact of Arab philosophy; astronomy and astrology; and natural science.]
- (266) *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Rome, 1948–54), s.v. “Yemen. Antichità cristiane.”
- (267) “Le filigrane delle carte milanesi dalle più antiche alla fine del XV secolo,” *ASL* 81–82 (1954–55): 24–54.
- (268) “Tessuti e ricami mesopotamici ai tempi degli Abbàsidi e dei Selgūqidi,” *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie, cl. di scienze morali* 8, 7 (1955): 183–234.
- (269) “Iscrizioni della Regione di Meroe,” *Kush, Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service* 7 (1959): 93–114. [Phototype print of the original manuscript by the author and editor’s note.]
- (270) “Testi Meroitici della Nubia Settentrionale,” *Kush* 8 (1960): 88–122. [Phototype print of the original manuscript by the author. Editorial summary: Meroitic texts from Northern Nubia, 123–24.]
- (271) “Arte cristiana e musulmana del Vicino Oriente,” in *Le Civiltà dell’Oriente*, ed. Giuseppe Tucci, 4 vols. (Rome, 1962): 4:451–62 [Summary: Christian architecture in the Byzantine Orient and Mesopotamia; painting in Egypt. Islamic art from the Umayyad to the Mongol-Tartar period; under the Fatimids and Mamluks in Egypt and Syria. Turkish-Ottoman and Persian-Safavid art. Photographic illustrations from p. 563. Bibliography, ed. Umberto Scerrato, 554–62.]
- (272) *Introduzione allo studio dell’archeologia islamica. Le origini e il periodo omayyade* (Venice and Rome, 1966). [Foreword by G. Levi della Vida, 13–20; introduction (pp. xxi–xxiii) and bibliographic notes (pp. xxv–xxviii) by Oleg Grabar.]



## NOTES

*Author's note:* The present article is in part the result of research I conducted for my MA thesis, "L'Oriente è paese dalle molte vite e dalle molte storie...": Ugo Monneret de Villard e gli studi di arte islamica in Italia" (Università degli Studi della Tuscia, 2005–6), under the supervision of Prof. Maria Andaloro. I continued this research in Paris at the Institut national d'histoire de l'art (INHA), thanks to a fellowship from the Fondazione per l'Arte della Compagnia di San Paolo (Nov. 2007–Oct. 2008). In 2013, I was awarded the *Prix Marc de Montalembert* (Fondation Marc de Montalembert) for a study dedicated to Monneret de Villard, based mainly on his correspondence with other scholars and intellectuals, and on other archival materials. This work is currently in preparation and I would be particularly appreciative of any information or references that readers might offer.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Maria Andaloro, Maria Vittoria Fontana, and Mariam Rosser-Owen for their assistance and encouragement during the preparation of this paper. I would also like to thank Gülru Necipoğlu, the anonymous *Muqarnas* reader, and William Tronzo for their invaluable advice.

1. Until now, the most comprehensive bibliography of Monneret's work, containing 197 titles, was that published by Angelo Michele Piemontese, "Bibliografia delle opere di Ugo Monneret de Villard (1871–1954)," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 58 (1984, but printed 1987): 1–12. An updated list, containing 272 titles, is found in the appendix to the present article.
2. See, for example, the postscript by Eugenio Galdieri in Oleg Grabar, *The Great Mosque of Isfahan* (New York, 1990), 76; G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996), 9; *The Cambridge History of Africa*, ed. J. D. Fage and Roland Olivier, 8 vols. (Cambridge and New York, 1975–86), vol. 2, *From c. 500 B.C. to A.D. 1050*, ed. J. D. Fage, 559; Gawdat Gabra and Hany N. Takla, eds., *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*, 2 vols. (Cairo and New York, 2008), vol. 1, *Akhmim and Sohag*, 226.
3. Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Introduzione allo studio dell'archeologia islamica. Le origini e il periodo omayyade* (Venice, 1966).
4. See Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, 1973). In the first chapter, Monneret's name and books are repeatedly mentioned as fundamental references.
5. Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Rome, 1950).
6. Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Una iscrizione marwanide su stoffa del secolo XI nella Basilica di S. Ambrogio a Milano," *Oriente Moderno* 20 (1940): 504–6; Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Un codice arabo-spagnolo con miniature," *La Bibliofilia* 43 (1941): 209–23; Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Le chapiteau arabe de la Cathédrale de Pise," *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances* (1946): 17–23; Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Codici magrebini decorati della Biblioteca Vaticana," in *Scritti in onore di Francesco Béguinot*, Annali (Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli), n.s., 3 (Naples, 1949), 83–91.
7. With Giorgio Levi Della Vida's encouragement, Monneret undertook the important task of reorganizing the material collected throughout his career; the project, which was never completed, was supposed to have been financially supported by the Fondazione Caetani (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei) and the Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte (henceforth INASA) in Rome: see above pp. 47–48, and Maria Adelaide Lala Comneno, "Monneret islamista: Il catalogo Opere di arte islamica in Italia," in *L'eredità di Monneret de Villard a Milano: Atti del convegno (Milano, 27–29 novembre 2002)*, ed. Maria Grazia Sandri (Florence, 2004), 63.
8. Giorgio Levi Della Vida, "Premessa," in Monneret de Villard, *Introduzione allo studio dell'archeologia islamica*, pp. XII–XIV.
9. Monneret's working archives were donated in 1966 to INASA in Rome: the Fondo Monneret is preserved in the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte (BiASA) in Rome, once the library of the Istituto. See also Francesca Zannoni, "Il carteggio e l'archivio di studio di Ugo Monneret de Villard nella Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte di Roma," in Sandri, *L'eredità di Monneret*, 15–21. This valuable collection, which deserves a thorough study, includes some correspondence (dating between 1937 and 1954) and a large number of working materials; the numerous cards and folders, strictly divided by subject and containing bibliographical references, reveal Monneret's systematic approach. The unpublished manuscript "Opere di arte islamica in Italia" is preserved in the Fondo Monneret, together with many related documents and notes (BiASA, Fondo Monneret: scatola 6, cartella 31). The BiASA also holds Monneret's personal library (given to INASA in 1955). A valuable collection of approximately 6,000 photographs is preserved at INASA, while more than 1,600 negatives are preserved in the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale (ICCD, Rome).
10. "It came from the files I made up, for my own use, for every Islamic art monument that, at the beginning of my Oriental archaeology studies, I found in a museum, in a church's treasure, or in whichever collection....The files for many of the objects contained fairly broad descriptions, to which I would add the necessary bibliographical references; for others the elaboration was a lot simpler. Finally, for many others [the files contained] merely a mention of the object I had seen. This was, therefore, all working material, which I kept collecting until World War II": see Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Prefazione," in "Opere d'arte islamica in Italia" (unpublished), 9, in BiASA, Fondo Monneret: scatola 6, cartella 31.
11. Monneret also complained about the absence of a museum and of a chair of Islamic art in Italy, and he listed a series of Oriental items mentioned in ancient inventories, thereby tracing a short history of Italian taste and of collectors of Oriental artifacts, such as the Medici and Este families. *Ibid.*

12. Lala Comneno, "Monneret islamista," 63–64: "La travagliata storia di questo Catalogo non può essere ricostruita nel dettaglio...Non è possibile ricostruire quando sia nata in Monneret la prima idea del lavoro" (The turbulent history of this Catalogue cannot be reconstructed in detail...It is not possible to say when this idea first came to Monneret's mind).
13. Monneret de Villard's academic development can be divided into three main phases, somewhat corresponding to his various interests and activities: an early formative period, from his graduation in 1904 to the early 1920s, spent in Milan; a second phase, which included numerous archaeological missions in Africa (about 1921–37); and a third, less dynamic, but strongly reflective and productive moment, spent in Rome from 1937 until his death in 1954. These three phases were proposed by Andrea Augenti in his seminal essay "Per una storia dell'archeologia medievale italiana: Ugo Monneret de Villard," *Archeologia Medievale* 28 (2001): 7–24.
14. Maria Grazia Sandri, "Monneret de Villard nell'archivio del Politecnico di Milano," in Sandri, *L'eredità di Monneret*, 9; Augenti, "Per una storia," 7.
15. Monneret attended courses characterized by a humanistic openness that would probably be inconceivable today in a school for engineers. For Camillo Boito and Monneret de Villard, see Alessandro Piccinelli, "Alle origini del Novecento: Arte, architettura e città nell'opera di Monneret de Villard (1903–1921)" (MA thesis, Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia [IUAV], 1985–86). I am grateful to Mr. Piccinelli for giving me a copy of this interesting work. See also Guido Zucconi, *L'invenzione del passato. Camillo Boito e l'architettura neomedievale, 1885–1890* (Venice 1997), and Augenti, "Per una storia."
16. The key steps in this complex trajectory can be deduced by cross-referencing Monneret's early writings with the many articles in Sandri, *L'eredità di Monneret*. Another important text concerning Monneret's scholarly formation is Piccinelli, "Alle origini del Novecento." See also Silvia Armando, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960–), s.v. "Monneret de Villard, Ugo."
17. See as examples: Ugo Monneret de Villard, "La chiesa di S. Lorenzo in Milano. Studio del tracciato planimetrico," *Monitore Tecnico* 16 (1910): 388–90; Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Intorno a S. Lorenzo di Milano. Note sull'origine del tipo planimetrico," *Monitore Tecnico* 16 (1910): 591–93, 631–34, 651–54; Ugo Monneret de Villard, "La chiesa di S. Lorenzo in Milano," *Monitore Tecnico* 20 (1910): 28–30. References to Eastern architecture are frequent in Monneret's early writings (see commentaries on his writings in Piemontese, "Bibliografia delle opere," also noted in the appendix to the present article).
18. Josef Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spätantiken und Frühchristlichen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1901). Monneret was fascinated by the scholar's early writings, which did not include the pseudo-Nazi ideas expressed in his later works. On the relation between Monneret de Villard and Josef Strzygowski, and the influence of the latter on Monneret's work, see Silvia Armando, "Ugo Monneret de Villard et la découverte de l'Orient entre Croce et Strzygowski," in *Le Caire dessiné et photographié au XIXe siècle*, ed. Mercedes Volait (Paris, 2012).
19. Giovanni Teresio Rivoira, *Le origini dell'architettura lombarda e delle sue principali derivazioni nei paesi d'oltr'Alpe*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1901–7); Gustavo Giovannoni, "Recenti studi sulle origini dell'architettura lombarda," *Nuova Antologia* 37 (July 1902): 773. For an analysis providing a framework for the issue, see Annabel Jane Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge, 1995), 4–11.
20. Monneret was in Dalmatia in July 1909, and spent two months in Greece in 1912: see Nora Lombardini, "Carteggio Corrado Ricci-Ugo Monneret de Villard (1904–1917)," in Sandri, *L'eredità di Monneret*, 26, 27, and n. 28. Some details about his travel to Greece can be found in an unpublished letter he wrote from Corfu to Adolfo Venturi, discovered in Venturi's correspondence: see Armando, "Ugo Monneret de Villard et la découverte de l'Orient," 385n33.
21. Only a brief anonymous biographical entry mentions some courses on Oriental archaeology that Monneret would have attended in Germany and Great Britain: *Chi è? Dizionario biografico degli italiani d'oggi* (Rome, 1948), s.v. "Monneret de Villard, Ugo"; if we could fully rely on this text, it would be easier to explain Monneret's interests and training. His first documented travels to the Middle East (mainly Egypt, but also Istanbul and Jerusalem) date from the early 1920s. Monneret mentions his trips to the "Orient" beginning in 1908, likely (and interestingly!) referring to his visits to Byzantine lands such as Greece and Dalmatia. See Ugo Monneret de Villard, "La missione archeologica italiana in Egitto, 1921–28," *Oriente Moderno* 8 (1928): 268.
22. During my research in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, I discovered letters and notes sent by Monneret to Achille Ratti (the future Pope Pio XI), as well as to Tommaso Gallarati Scotti and Alessandro Casati, two young members of the Milanese aristocracy; the correspondence with Casati (54 documents dated between 1912 and 1948, Biblioteca Ambrosiana: Casati 42, busta 16) is particularly interesting. The Biblioteca also owns two fragments of parchment given by Monneret in 1937 (file: Y 225 sup.). Another letter in the Fondo Casati, written by Antonio Meli Lupi di Soragna, concerns the trip he made to Greece with Monneret: see Lombardini, "Carteggio Corrado Ricci," 27n28. A possible connection between Monneret and the Arabist Eugenio Griffini, who worked at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, is proposed in Sandri, "Monneret de Villard nell'archivio del Politecnico," 12n27. Griffini was appointed as curator of the Palatine Library in Cairo. See also Bruna Soravia, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, s.v. "Griffini, Eugenio."
23. Piero Craveri, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, s.v. "Casati, Alessandro."
24. "And what about Egypt? And the Pyramids? (What bourgeois questions!) And the buried princesses? Thanks for the

- photographs you promised me: I would be ever so obliged, because here it is terribly hard to get hold of photographs of Egyptian things. And these are so very interesting to me.”: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Casati 42, busta 16, letter no. 2, written in Milan, February 14, 1906.
25. Monneret attained his Libera Docenza (university teaching qualification) to teach a course on architectural history he entitled “Archeologia medievale”: see Augenti, “Per una storia,” 9, and Sandri, “Monneret de Villard nell’archivio del Politecnico” 12.
  26. See, among others, Ugo Monneret de Villard, *L’isola Comacina. Ricerche storiche ed archeologiche* (Como, 1914); Ugo Monneret de Villard, “Note di Archeologia lombarda,” *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 16 (1914): 5–70; Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Le vetrate del Duomo di Milano*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1918–20); Ugo Monneret de Villard, “Note sul memoratorio dei maestri commacini,” *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 47 (1920): 1–16.
  27. The main reference is Marta Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum. Le missioni archeologiche nella politica mediterranea dell’Italia 1898/1943* (Rome, 1990). The book is based on documents from the Ministero degli Affari Esteri dated between the end of nineteenth century and World War II. Monneret’s name appears repeatedly: see Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum*, index; see also Augenti, “Per una storia,” and the many writings by Monneret himself.
  28. “... affinché la scienza italiana fosse rappresentata nella intensa rinascita degli studi archeologici che si delineava nella Valle del Nilo, dopo l’interruzione causata dal conflitto mondiale”: Monneret de Villard, “La missione archeologica in Egitto,” 268.
  29. In 1921, Monneret wrote to Roberto Paribeni (head of the Ufficio delle Missioni Scientifiche in Levante) and to the Khedive, proposing a structured study of Coptic art in order to change the general direction of archaeological studies in Egypt: see Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum*, 252–53. In 1925, he drew up the “Programma per una missione storico-archeologica italiana in Oriente,” which included many expressions of cultural propaganda: Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum*, 256–57.
  30. For five years beginning in 1922 Monneret was in charge of completing the study and publication of Coptic monuments. Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum*, 254.
  31. In 1924, Monneret became the director of restoration for Deir Anba Sim’an. *Ibid.*, 255.
  32. See Augenti, “Per una storia,” appendix, p. 22.
  33. As vividly depicted by Donald M. Reid, “Westerners stepping ashore variously imagined themselves entering the world of the pharaohs, the Bible, the Greeks and Romans, and the Quran and the *Arabian Nights*.” Donald Malcom Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley, 2002), 2.
  34. See above n. 28.
  35. Beside the cooperation of the Comité de conservation des monuments de l’art arabe, in 1926 the Service des antiquités appointed him director of archaeological excavations of Christian monuments in Egypt: Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum*, 261–63. It is also worthwhile to mention the words of Gaston Wiet, who defined the Italian archaeologist as “l’archéologue le plus compétent, le plus documenté sur l’Égypte du moyen âge”: Gaston Wiet, “Préface,” in Ugo Monneret de Villard, *La necropoli musulmana di Aswan* (Cairo, 1930). At that time Wiet was director of the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art: Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum*, 250n17, and André Raymond, “Bibliographie de l’œuvre scientifique de M. Gaston Wiet,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 59 (1960): p. IX.
  36. “The broadening of my research is an obvious necessity: Coptic and Islamic art, living and developing side by side in the same country, could not and did not remain unrelated to each other; the mutual exchanges were daily and deep. The knowledge of one art implies and requires the knowledge of the other.”: Monneret de Villard, “La missione archeologica,” 276.
  37. “We must remember that the Orient is a place of many lives and stories, and that in every area layers of different civilizations overlap; the archaeologist must excavate them all and study them with equal love and equal science”: Monneret de Villard, “La missione archeologica,” 270. See also Augenti, “Per una storia,” 10–15, highlighting how Monneret was possibly a pioneer of the stratigraphic method.
  38. Notably, Monneret often visited the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo: many folders in Monneret’s photographic archives (INASA, Rome) contain photographs of artifacts preserved in the museums. Also, many of the encrusted panels mentioned or illustrated in his book *Monumenti dell’arte musulmana in Italia. I, La cassetta incrostata della Cappella Palatina di Palermo* (Rome, 1938), were preserved in the same museum, while others were in the Egyptian Museum. See, respectively, *ibid.* pls. VIII–XI, and pls. XII, XIII, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXXV.
  39. Monneret’s mission to Nubia for the study of medieval (Christian and Islamic) monuments took place between 1928 and 1936. He also travelled to Iran many times and contributed to Arthur U. Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, 6 vols. (London and New York, 1938–39): see Ugo Monneret de Villard, “The Iranian Temple of Taxila,” and “The Relations of Manichean Art to Iranian Art,” in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art*, 1:445–48, fig. 1, and 5:1820–28, respectively; Ugo Monneret de Villard, “La preparazione del Survey of Persian Architecture,” *Atti del XIX Congresso degli Orientalisti Roma, 23–29 Settembre 1935* (Rome, 1938), 644–45. When Italian troops took Addis Ababa in 1936, the scholar was assigned to a double mission in Axum: a topographic study of the area and the sadly famous transport of the Axum obelisk (destined for Rome) to Massaua: see Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Aksum. Ricerche di topografia generale* (Rome, 1938), and also Zannoni, “Il carteggio e l’archivio di studio di Ugo Monneret de Villard,” 17–18.
  40. Monneret de Villard, *La cassetta incrostata della Cappella Palatina*. For an updated study on this technique, see Mariam Rosser-Owen, “Incrusted with Ivory: Observations on a



- Casket in the Victoria and Albert Museum,” in *Siculo-Arabic Ivories and Islamic Painting 1100–1300: Proceedings of the International Conference, Berlin 6–8 July 2007*, ed. David Knipp (Munich, 2011). I am very grateful to Mariam Rosser-Owen for allowing me to preview the paper. I dedicated a study to this object on the occasion of the second seminar, “Tracciati di studio in corso d’opera,” organized by doctoral students at the Università degli Studi della Tuscia and held in Viterbo, May 19, 2010: see Silvia Armando, “La cassetta incrostata della Cappella Palatina di Palermo. Memoria e materia,” in *La ricerca giovane in cammino per l’arte*, ed. Chiara Bordino and Rosalba Dinoia (Rome, 2012), 88–103.
41. To be more precise, the items examined belong to the ANIMI (Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d’Italia, see p. 39 above). They are the Archivio Storico ANIMI and the Fondo Archivistico Umberto Zanotti Bianco, both preserved in the Biblioteca Giustino Fortunato, Rome: see [www.animi.it](http://www.animi.it), where general indices of the documents can be found. See also Valeriana Carinci and Antonio Jannazzo, “Sul riordinamento dell’Archivio Zanotti Bianco (Palazzo Taverna, Roma),” *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 49 (1989): 229–34, and Aida Giosi, *Inventario del Fondo Umberto Zanotti Bianco (1902–1963)* (Rome, 2009). Many other papers regarding Zanotti Bianco’s private and public life (including letters written by Monneret) have different classifications, which will be specified below. Concerning the letters, it is worthwhile to observe that in all cases we are confronted with passive correspondence, that is to say, we can only deduce information from what Zanotti Bianco received, not from what he wrote. I wish to thank Dr. Cinzia Cassani Craveri and the staff of the library Giustino Fortunato for their kind cooperation.
  42. For a short bibliographic profile, visit [www.animi.it](http://www.animi.it); see also Giulio Ielardi, ed., *Umberto Zanotti Bianco, 1889–1963* (Rome, 1980), and Sergio Zoppi, *Umberto Zanotti-Bianco, Patriota, educatore, meridionalista. Il suo progetto e il nostro tempo* (Soveria Mannelli, 2009).
  43. On Paolo Orsi, see Umberto Zanotti Bianco, “Paolo Orsi e la società Magna Grecia,” in “Paolo Orsi,” special issue, *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 5, 3–4 (1935): 317–52; Marcello Barbanera, *L’archeologia degli Italiani* (Roma, 1998), 80–84. See also Paolo Enrico Arias, “Zanotti Bianco e Paolo Orsi,” *La Nuova Antologia* 125, 2174 (1990): 396–400. After Orsi’s death in 1935, Zanotti Bianco collaborated with the archaeologist Paola Zancani Montuoro.
  44. As regards Islamic archaeology, Zanotti Bianco carried on some archeological excavations in the vicinity of Lucera.
  45. Cf. Maurizio Paoletti, “Umberto Zanotti-Bianco e la Società Magna Grecia,” *Bollettino della Domus Mazziniana* 38 (1992): 5–30; Maurizio Paoletti, “Paolo Orsi (1859–1935): La ‘dura disciplina’ e il ‘lavoro tenace’ di un grande archeologo del Novecento,” in *Magna Graecia. Archeologia di un sapere*, ed. Salvatore Settis and Maria Cecilia Parra (Milan, 2005), 192–97; Claudio Sabbione and Roberto Spadea, “La società Magna Grecia e la ricerca archeologica,” in *Umberto Zanotti-Bianco, meridionalista militante*, ed. Pasquale Amato (Venice, 1981), 115–35. See also Nathalie de Haan, “Umberto Zanotti Bianco and the Archaeology of Magna Graecia during the Fascist Era,” *Fragmenta* 2 (2008): 233–49, and Nathalie de Haan, “The ‘Società Magna Grecia’ in Fascist Italy,” *Anabases* 9 (2009): 113–25; <http://anabases.revues.org/367>.
  46. See [www.animi.it](http://www.animi.it); Paoletti, “Umberto Zanotti Bianco e la Società Magna Grecia,” 9 and 14. The author reports the opinion of Achille Starace, secretary of the Partito Nazionale Fascista: “... il nome stesso dell’Associazione Nazionale per gli interessi del Mezzogiorno suonava come affermazione di critica e di sfiducia” (...even the name, National Association for the Interests of Southern Italy, sounded in itself as a claim of criticism and mistrust). After the fall of the Fascists, the value of Zanotti’s activities was also recognized at an institutional level. He was among the founders of Italia Nostra, and the Italian Red Cross.
  47. About the “culto della Romanità” during the period of Fascist rule, see Barbanera, *L’archeologia degli Italiani*, 144–46. See also Massimo Bernabò, *Ossessioni bizantine e cultura artistica in Italia: Tra D’Annunzio, fascismo e dopoguerra* (Naples, 2003), 92–99, notably for the political opposition between National (Roman) art and Oriental art. In order not to make the proposed cultural framework misleading, I must note that it is not my intention to depict a rigid opposition between “serious,” independent scholars and scholars influenced by the Fascist regime. Rather, they all comprised an intellectual community in which people were often connected by scientific as well as personal relationships. For instance, consider that Paolo Orsi was a senator of the Reign and that his political ideas were more moderate than Zanotti’s. This did not prevent a cultural collaboration between the two. Moreover, the 1920 list of the members of the Società Magna Grecia includes names such as Riccardo Gualino, Lionello Venturi e Giorgio Levi Della Vida, Roberto Almagià, Ugo Ojetti, and Gustavo Giovannoni, people who represented very different cultural and political convictions. What is undeniable is the fact that some subjects—Islamic art among them—were overlooked by the *scienza ufficiale* because they did not fit well with its propagandistic goals.
  48. Friedrich Sarre, “L’arte mussulmana nel Sud d’Italia e in Sicilia,” *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 3 (1933): 441–50.
  49. The magazine was founded in 1931: see Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, “L’archeologo,” in Ielardi, *Umberto Zanotti Bianco (1889–1963)*, 120.
  50. Sarre, “L’arte mussulmana,” 447–48.
  51. Bruna Soravia, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, s.v. “Levi Della Vida, Giorgio.”
  52. The letter is preserved in the folder *Monneret de Villard, Monumenti dell’arte musulmana in Italia* (ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29).
  53. “As for supporting your proposal, you know well [that] I am not in a position to support it whatever it is...It cer-

tainly is very sad that over here the study of Islamic art is so little cultivated, and a dedicated chair (which Orsi would like created in Rome, and rightly so) would be very useful": *ibid.* In the letter Levi Della Vida also insisted on the importance of assigning a possible chair of Islamic art to a broad specialist: "Occorrerebbe tuttavia che chi fosse chiamato a ricoprirla avesse conoscenza dell'arte islamica *in generale*, per essere in grado di dare ai suoi allievi quella cultura preliminare che è indispensabile introduzione a ogni specializzazione ulteriore. Occorre sempre diffidare delle specializzazioni premature! Senonché, ripeto, si tratta di iniziative che non mi riguardano. *Videant consules*" (Nevertheless the person designated to occupy this chair should have a broad knowledge of Islamic art *in general*, in order to be able to transmit to his pupils that preliminary cultural background that is an essential introduction to any further specialization. We must disregard early specializations! Anyway, I repeat, these are initiatives that do not concern me. *Videant consules* [Let the consuls see to it (that the state suffers no damage)]). Levi Della Vida apparently referred to someone in particular, possibly a scholar suggested by Zanotti, but being discreet—unfortunately for us!—neglected to mention the individual by name in his answer, where a contrasting opinion was expressed. Since the letter is preserved in the file *Monneret de Villard, Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia* (see n. 52 above), one could infer that the possible candidate suggested by Zanotti Bianco was Monneret de Villard himself. Levi Della Vida's negative judgment would, in this case, be particularly interesting, especially considering the longlasting friendship and mutual respect that would bind him and Monneret in subsequent years.

54. Regarding his refusal to swear the oath, see Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Fantasmî ritrovati* (Venice, 1966). See also the new edition: Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Fantasmî ritrovati*, ed. Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo and Fulvio Tessitore (Naples, 2004), 167–71; and Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, "Un ricordo," in Levi Della Vida, *Fantasmî ritrovati*, 194–207. See also Helmut Goetz, *Il giuramento rifiutato. I docenti universitari e il regime fascista* (Milan, 2000), 50–61, and Giorgio Boatti, *Preferirei di no. Le storie dei dodici professori che si opposero a Mussolini* (Turin, 2001), 89–273. In his obituary for Monneret, the American scholar Arthur Upham Pope declared that Monneret refused to take the Fascist oath, but this statement cannot be considered reliable: see Arthur U. Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (Oxford, 1967–), vol. 14, *New Studies 1938–1960*, p. O/xi.
55. Giuseppe Gabrieli, "Per la istituzione di una cattedra di storia dell'arte islamica in Italia," *La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno*, March 7, 1934. On Giuseppe Gabrieli, see Bruna Soravia, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, s.v. "Gabrieli, Giuseppe," with other bibliographic references. See also <http://www.lincci-celebrazioni.it/igabrieli.html>
56. "...è tutta una ricerca e un inventariamento da fare, nelle piccole e grandi collezioni private, registrando, illust-

rando, questi oggetti e manufatti d'arte musulmana ancor reperibili nei palazzi, nelle chiese, nei conventi..." (broad research [should be carried out] and inventories [should be compiled] [working] in small and big private collections, recording, illustrating those objects and artifacts of Islamic art still traceable in palaces, churches, monasteries...): Gabrieli, "Per la istituzione di una cattedra."

57. ANIMI, Fondo Zanotti Bianco, *Ritagli di giornale ordinati da U. Zanotti Bianco (1934–39)*, A.5.17 (1934–39).
58. We do not know where or when Monneret and Zanotti first met. However, they had both been involved in the movement known as Italian Catholic Modernism. A possible connection may have been their mutual friend Tommaso Gallarati Scotti, a fervent follower of "Modernismo," who had worked with Monneret on a project to publish the mystical poets: see the correspondence between Monneret de Villard and the writer and intellectual Giuseppe Prezzolini, in Alfonso Botti, "Giuseppe Prezzolini e il dibattito modernista (II)," in *Fonti e Documenti*, 11–12 (1982–83), 79–127. Zanotti and Gallarati Scotti, a prominent member of the ANIMI, first met in Sicily, after the 1908 earthquake. It is worth remarking that Gallarati Scotti did not share Zanotti's concern for the archaeological heritage of the region, as can be gleaned in a letter he wrote to Zanotti in 1913: "...io di denaro per i vecchi cocci non ne cerco e ti prego di non dirmene più parola perché io sono esasperato di vedere che mentre mi preoccupo delle finanze dell'Associazione, tu non ti curi che dell'archeologia" (... I am not looking for money for old pottery, and please do not speak about it anymore because I have had more than enough of worrying about the Association's finances, while you do not care about anything else but potsherds): Paoletti, "Umberto Zanotti Bianco e la Società Magna Grecia," 16n32.
59. This is the first letter in the folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia* (ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29); it is dated July 2, 1934.
60. Monneret wrote: "Debbo dirle che già anni or sono avevo cominciato a raccogliere materiale per uno studio dell'arte musulmana in Italia—note, schede ecc...Poi tutto fu messo da parte, causa il troppo lavoro dei miei scavi in oriente" (I must tell you that years ago I had already started collecting materials for a study of Islamic art in Italy—notes, files, etc....Then I had to put everything aside, because of the amount of work my excavations in the Orient required). *Ibid.*
61. "I looked at my materials again: there is a lot, and I mean a lot, an awful lot more to do. But looking at my old notes and reading Sarre's article and Orsi's note again, I had an idea that I am going to propose to you. Please let me know frankly what you think about it." *Ibid.*
62. "To believe that the Government will do anything is vain: the best they can do is to take some presumptuous, happy-go-lucky idiot who might have scribbled some compilation article and stick him [on] a University chair. Better to do nothing: if anything can be done, it will have to come from private citizens." *Ibid.*

63. "...the painted ivory boxes, the oliphants, the textiles... Then, for example, to publish in full and in every detail the Cappella Palatina's ceiling, a marvelous repertoire of all the Islamic decorative motifs in southern Italy." Ibid.
64. "Sono veramente roba siculo-Italia meridionale? E non piuttosto della Siria, Egitto o Mesopotamia? Vede che la cosa non è lieve" (Is this really stuff from Sicily or southern Italy? And not rather from Syria, Egypt, or Mesopotamia? You will agree that is not to be taken lightly). Ibid. This concern is here expressed quite generically, but we know in particular that the scholar would later attribute the painted ivory caskets to the Mesopotamic area. Monneret de Villard, *Le pitture musulmane*, 29–30; Monneret de Villard, "Arte cristiana e musulmana del Vicino Oriente," 508. See also Silvia Armando, "Avori arabo-siculi: cassette, pissidi, olifanti. Un taccuino inedito di Ugo Monneret de Villard," in *Studi in onore di Maria Andalaro* [tentative title, forthcoming].
65. ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*, letter dated July 2, 1934. The idea of gathering all the data in a corpus reflects Monneret's positivist approach; this was due to his personal background, but it was also typical of his time. In a related field of interest, one could recall the work by Max Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum* (Paris, 1894), as the output of a similarly positivist approach. Nevertheless, while Van Berchem worked with a big team of researchers charged with collecting inscriptions from all over the Eastern world, Monneret de Villard carried out this enormous compiling endeavor almost entirely on his own.
66. "For my part I like the idea and I would put all the good will and hard work I am capable of and the little I know about it into it: but let's be clear, I have no money to give. We must find money: you wouldn't have some benefactor at hand, who could give us four or five thousand liras a year? If you like the idea, we can discuss this further; if not, throw away this letter and I'm sorry for wasting your time": ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*, letter dated July 2, 1934.
67. With the only exception a letter dated 1954; see n. 93 below.
68. The last mission dates to 1938, but after 1936 Monneret had only occasional assignments (see above n. 39).
69. He had located about fifty painted ivory caskets throughout Europe (letter dated March 28, 1935, folder *Monneret de Villard, Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia* [ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29]). See also n. 64 above.
70. Letter dated March 28, 1935, folder *Monneret de Villard, Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia* (ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29). By 1932 Marguerite Van Berchem had already published her studies on the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and of the Great Mosque of Damascus in Creswell's *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1932–40). The discovered letters written by Marguerite Van Berchem to Zanotti Bianco, which are scattered throughout the archives, testify to a close friendship between the two. They shared not only a concern for artistic heritage but also their engagement with the International Red Cross. For a short biographic note on Marguerite Van Berchem, see the website of the Fondation Max Van Berchem: <http://www.maxvanberchem.org/fr/marguerite.cfm>.
71. Letter from Agnello (an architectural historian from Syracuse), and postcard from Carucci (director of the Archivio Storico Salernitano), from Naples, both dated March 27, 1935 (ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*).
72. This letter (dated September 10, 1934) is also in ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*.
73. "Conservateur du Musée d'art musulman d'Alger, un très bon orientaliste." Ibid.
74. "I spoke to him about the Islamic monuments in southern Italy and about the necessity of studying them. He was very interested...I proposed that we send him a few photos of the Islamic monuments and objects of southern Italy... He was charmed by the idea. I believe that you have a much better chance to get somewhere with him rather than with Sarre, who is sick and aged." Ibid.
75. In a letter dated February 6, 1936, he announced: "Sono ritornato ieri in Italia dai miei lavori archeologici a Meroe. Ormai credo che con la Nubia non avrò più nulla a che fare se non elaborare il materiale raccolto e pubblicarlo: lavoro da tavolino" (I came back to Italy yesterday from my archaeological work in Meroe. I do not think I will have any more to do with Nubia, except to elaborate on the materials I collected and publish them (office work): ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*).
76. After his return from Nubia, Monneret planned a trip to London; in April he would have gone to Egypt, then to Iran for a couple of months (ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*, letter dated April 15, 1936). Between January and March 1937 he was in Axum (Augusti, "Per una storia," 7); the following year he went again to Ethiopia (Addis Ababa, Gondar, and Axum), between March and April (see ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*, letter from Addis Ababa dated March 10, 1938).
77. "So I decided to take up again my studies of Islamic art in southern Italy and Sicily and to rush headlong into this mare magnum. I brought back a lot of comparative materials from Cairo, which will be very useful, but first of all I must collect the materials in Italy. Are you still interested in the matter as much as you were a couple of years ago? In that case would you be willing to help me? The help I need right now is to find photographs, information, and articles



- buried in magazines unobtainable in Milan and things like that." See the letter from Milan dated February 6, 1936, ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*.
78. Letter dated February 25, 1936, ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*. Besides many painted ivories, Monneret also requested some photographic details of the "cofanetto intarsiato in avorio." The letter also informs us that the plan had slightly changed in the meantime: the proposal of two distinct short books, dedicated, respectively, to the painted ivories and to the Cappella Palatina ceilings, had been replaced with the idea of a single work dedicated to Islamic painting.
79. "You cannot imagine the large number of Islamic materials from Italy scattered across museums all over the world: this makes it quite difficult to study them." Letter dated March 10, 1936, from Milan (ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*).
80. Two typescripts dated May 29 and June 5, 1936, as well as a receipt for £34.5, for the purchase of photographic reproductions of the Cappella Palatina ceilings (ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*).
81. "...non sono un gran che" wrote Mingazzini (ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*). It is likely that some of these photos appeared in Monneret de Villard, *Le pitture musulmane*; see n. 124 below.
82. "With this abundance of materials, I will be able to progress in my study of the Arabic part of the Cappella Palatina's ceiling.": letter dated September 26, 1936 (ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*).
83. "My dearest friend, I have completed the first issue of the series of studies on the Islamic monuments of Italy, of which we had an opportunity to speak before....It is about the encrusted casket at the Cappella Palatina in Palermo." Letter dated May 14, 1937 (ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*).
84. "Io sarei dell'opinione di pubblicare la serie Monumenti musulmani d'Italia in fascicoli, ognuno trattante un solo argomento. Questo sulla cassetta della Cappella Palatina di Palermo sarebbe il primo. Ho già raccolto moltissimo materiale per il II (gli avori dipinti) e per il III (gli avori scolpiti) ma in Italia mi mancano troppi libri e debbo attendere l'occasione di andare a passare un paio di mesi all'estero per terminarli. Ad ogni modo ogni fascicolo tratterebbe di un argomento ben delimitato, perciò credo debba stare a se [sic]. Salvo poi magari a rilegare i fascicoli in un volume. Anche dal punto di vista vendita un fascicolo a prezzi limitati si vende più facilmente che non un grosso volume di alto prezzo" (I would be inclined to publish the series Islamic Monuments of Italy as individual issues, each dealing with a single topic. This one, on the casket at the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, would be the first. I have already collected a lot of material for the second (on painted ivories) and third (on sculpted ivories), but in Italy I am missing too many books and I have to wait for a chance to spend a couple of months abroad to complete them. In any case, each issue would deal with a very specific topic, so I believe they should be kept separate. Except, perhaps in the future, they might be bound into a single collection. Also from a commercial point of view, a single issue at a lower price is easier to sell than a large, high-priced collection). Ibid.
85. In regard to such matters, many important names emerge from the documents—some of them wishing to buy the book, others to be informed about the publication—among them Bernard Berenson, Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, Ernst Herzfeld, Ernst Kühnel, Arthur Kingsley Porter, and François Béguinot. Marguerite Van Berchem had also expressed interest in the forthcoming book: "J'ai été fort intéressée par l'annonce d'une série de publications sur le monuments Musulmans d'Italie. Bravo. Voilà qui vient combler une lacune que je déplorais depuis longtemps. Je vous félicite d'avoir mis ce projet à exécution. Je souscrirai bien volontiers au volume de Monneret de Villard. Réservez m'en donc un exemplaire" (I have been really interested in the announcement of a series of publications on the Islamic monuments of Italy. Bravo. It finally fills a void I have been lamenting for a long time. Congratulations on initiating this project. I will happily subscribe to Monneret de Villard's series. Please put aside a copy for me.). ANIMI, Fondo Archivistico Zanotti Bianco A.1.3. UA13 (1935), *Corrispondenza in ordine cronologico*, letter from Paris, dated July 7 (no year marked).
86. Four typewritten copies announce the publication: ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*, letter dated February 23, 1938.
87. For a comprehensive list of the publications of the Collezione Meridionale, see Umberto Zanotti Bianco, *L'Associazione Nazionale per gli interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia nei suoi primi cinquant'anni di vita* (Rome, 1960), 325–27.
88. Please remember that Zanotti Bianco was persecuted and arrested: see p. 40 above.
89. Still, in the 1950s, Monneret stressed how these problems prevented him from easily accomplishing his studies: "La guerra, dapprima rendendo impossibile [sic] i viaggi, e poi la sconfitta, la catastrofe economica, la svalutazione della moneta distruggendo completamente le mie risorse finanziarie mi resero impossibile ogni continuazione del lavoro" (War, which made travel impossible, and then defeat, the economic catastrophe, and the devaluation of the currency, which destroyed completely my financial resources, made it impossible for me to continue my work.): see Monneret de Villard, "Prefazione," in "Opere d'arte islamica in Italia" (unpublished), 9, in BiASA, Fondo Monneret: scatola 6, cartella 31.
90. Perry Blithe Cott, *Siculo-Arabic Ivories* (Princeton, N.J., 1939); José Ferrandis, *Marfiles árabes de Occidente*, 2 vols.

- (Madrid, 1935–40). Regarding Monneret's writings on the so-called Siculo-Arabic ivories, see above n. 64.
91. We know precisely when the change was made, thanks to a letter dated September 30, 1937 (ANIMI, Archivio Storico ANIMI, A.III.03.UA29, folder *Monneret de Villard. Monumenti dell'arte musulmana in Italia*): Monneret moved to his new house in Via Catalana at the beginning of October 1937.
  92. See Levi Della Vida reporting Oleg Grabar's deduction: "Premessa di Giorgio Levi Della Vida," in Monneret de Villard, *Introduzione allo studio dell'archeologia islamica*, p. XIII. After 1938, Monneret published other scattered papers concerning Islamic artifacts preserved in Italy (see above n. 6).
  93. Monneret wrote requesting information about some Islamic ceramics found by Zanotti Bianco and Paola Zancani Montuoro during archaeological excavations at Foce del Sele, as well as about some *bacini* walled in the churches of Calabria. Letter dated March 17, 1954 (ANIMI, Fondo Archivistico Zanotti Bianco, Sezione B, Serie 5-53, *Società Magna Grecia (corrispondenza 1954)*). The tone of the message suggests that no falling-off had occurred between Zanotti and Monneret in the time they had not been exchanging letters, and that the two scholars always maintained a friendly relationship.
  94. The scholar's disdain for public institutions is frequently expressed in letters sent to Zanotti. See also n. 62 above. Monneret's involvement in missions financially promoted by the Italian government, as well as in formulating and disseminating cultural propaganda (see n. 29 above), could raise "Saïdian" questions concerning the scholar's cooperation with the *scienza ufficiale* and his possible connection with the Fascist government. Regarding this last aspect, it is true that Monneret worked for Italian institutions in the Fascist era; nonetheless, there is no damning evidence against him, only some absolving declarations of anti-Fascism, all dated 1945 onward: Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, *Dal diario di un borghese e altri scritti* (Rome, 1976), 470n16; Zannoni, "Il carteggio e l'archivio di studio di Ugo Monneret de Villard," 18. In regards to this question, see also Augenti, "Per una storia," 20, 21, and 20–21nn81–83. It is, in any case, worthwhile to recall Marcello Barbanera's admonition not to measure an archaeologist's scholarly value in relation to his adherence to Fascism or any other political ideology: Barbanera, *L'archeologia degli italiani*, 85. See also Armando, "Ugo Monneret de Villard et la découverte de l'Oriente," 379–80.
  95. The documents preserved in the Archivio Storico della Sapienza (*fascicolo del docente 1717*) inform us that Monneret held a *corso accelerato* of only two months (letter of assignment, October 5, 1944): "Insegnamento Archeologia Cristiana per i corsi accelerati nei mesi di settembre e ottobre dell'a.a. 1943–44"; other documents written in December 1944 (Archivio Storico della Sapienza, *fascicolo del docente 1717*) attest to the payment rendered after the courses were concluded; this leads us to infer that information about an annual course reported by Levi Della Vida and often repeated by other scholars is imprecise: see Giorgio Levi Della Vida, "Ugo Monneret de Villard (1881–1954), Bibliografia," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 30 (1955): 177.
  96. Even if the Scuola Orientale had not given any official space to disciplines connected to art history before 1944, it was nevertheless founded, in 1903, by teachers concerned with Eastern studies, such as Angelo De Gubernatis, Ignazio Guidi, Baldassarre Labanca, Ludovico Nocentini, and Celestino Schiaparelli; this group was formally part of the Facoltà di Lettere, but administratively independent. See Raniero Gnoli, "La scuola orientale romana," in *Le grandi Scuole della facoltà* (Rome, 1996), 383.
  97. The first chair in art history had been established in Rome by Adolfo Venturi in 1890.
  98. Records of the gathering of the Consiglio di Facoltà, November 20, 1944 (Archivio Storico della Sapienza, *fascicolo del docente 1717*).
  99. Bruna Soravia, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, s.v. "Guidi, Michelangelo," with other bibliographic references.
  100. Emilio Lavagnini and Elena Toesca, "Pietro Toesca," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale di San Luca. Note commemorative di accademici defunti*, n.s., 6 (1962); Monica Aldi, "Pietro Toesca tra cultura tardopositivista e simbolismo. Dagli interessi letterari alla storia dell'arte," *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Classe di lettere e filosofia* 2, 1 (1997): 145–91.
  101. From the records of the gathering of the Consiglio di Facoltà, November 20, 1944 (Archivio Storico della Sapienza, *fascicolo del docente 1717*): "Monneret's great merits ... scientific expertise...impressive excavating activity...huge popularity outside Italy... noble and brave political past." The latter statement could suggest once more that, despite Monneret's collaboration with Fascist government institutions, he was not involved from an ideological point of view.
  102. "Necessity to preserve as much as possible the important position of Italian culture in Egypt and all the Near Orient: it is a matter of keeping intact a noble and fruitful tradition. To this end perhaps nobody could help as effectively as Monneret." *Ibid.*
  103. This was the opinion of Oliverio, supported by De Sanctis, Carabellese, and Cardinali (Archivio Storico della Sapienza, *fascicolo del docente 1717*). The episode is also mentioned in Levi Della Vida, "Ugo Monneret de Villard, Bibliografia," 177.
  104. It is worth highlighting a document preserved in the Archivio Storico della Sapienza, *fascicolo del docente 1717*, and dated November 21 (one day after the board gathering), in which the Ministry of National Education asked for clarification: "Si prega la S.V. di far conoscere a questo ministero se codesta Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia abbia mai formulata una proposta per la nomina del Prof. U. Monneret de Villard a ordinario di Storia dell'arte Muslmana e Copta presso codesta R. Univeristà" (Pray inform this Ministry whether the Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia has ever proposed that Prof. U. Monneret de Villard be nominated

- as full professor of Islamic and Coptic art history at this University). The interpretation of the document is intriguing but remains uncertain, since in the two documents the course is given different names: *Storia dell'arte dell'Oriente medioevale* and *Storia dell'arte musulmana e copta*
105. The teaching post was held by Umberto Scerrato, both in Rome and Naples. For this piece of information I am grateful to Maria Vittoria Fontana, currently professor of Islamic art and archaeology at La Sapienza University, Rome.
  106. See in Monneret's bibliography, published in the appendix, the many entries written for the *Enciclopedia cattolica*, 12 vols. (Vatican City, 1948–54); see also his small but rich book *L'arte iranica* (Verona, 1954). As an example of a paper dedicated to a specific topic, see Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Le monete dei Kushāna e l'Impero romano," *Orientalia* 17 (1948): 205–45. Monneret's studies concerning contacts between the Christian West and the Islamic world merit special attention: see especially Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'Islam in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo* (Vatican City, 1944); Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Il Libro della Peregrinazione nelle parti d'Oriente di Frate Ricoldo da Montecroce* (Rome, 1948); Jacopo da Verona, *Liber Peregrinationis*, ed. Ugo Monneret de Villard (Rome, 1950).
  107. For general information about the correspondence, see above n. 9.
  108. See Giuseppe Tucci: *Commemorazione tenuta dal Presidente dell'Istituto Gherardo Gnoli il 7 maggio 1984 a Palazzo Brancaccio* (Rome, 1984); Raniero Gnoli, *Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci* (Rome, 1985); Beniamino Melascchi, ed., *Giuseppe Tucci nel centenario della nascita: Roma, 7–8 giugno 1994* (Rome, 1995).
  109. Giuseppe Tucci, ed., *Le civiltà dell'Oriente*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1962). For the letter written by Tucci, see Rome, BiASA, *Fondo Monneret*, Ms. I.6., letter dated January 23, 1950.
  110. "...the art of the Near Orient since the third century until the great Turkish empires," Rome, BiASA, *Fondo Monneret*, Ms. I.6. The letter is undated, but it can be assigned to 1950, thanks to the presence of other related documents. See also Zannoni, "Il carteggio e l'archivio di studio di Ugo Monneret de Villard," 21.
  111. Monneret de Villard, "Arte cristiana e musulmana del Vicino Oriente," 451–62.
  112. "...later on, Oriental art was finished"; similar considerations can also be found in the printed text. *Ibid.*
  113. See above n. 9; see also Zannoni, "Il carteggio e l'archivio di studio di Ugo Monneret de Villard," 19–20, regarding the photographic campaign. Documents relating to the publication of Monneret De Villard's *Le pitture musulmane* are preserved in Rome, BiASA, *Fondo Monneret*, Ms. I.4. The earliest letter is dated July 24, 1946; the last document was written in September 1950.
  114. See Robert Hillenbrand, "Richard Ettinghausen," in *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950*, ed. Stephen Vernoit (London and New York, 2000), 171–81; Eleanor Sims, *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), s.v. "Ettinghausen, Richard." Ettinghausen was of German origin but emigrated to the United States in the mid 1930s.
  115. It would be extremely worthwhile to check whether letters by Monneret are preserved in Richard Ettinghausen's correspondence.
  116. Richard Ettinghausen, "Painting in the Fatimid Period: A Reconstruction," *Ars Islamica* 9 (1942): 112–24.
  117. Ettinghausen, "Painting in the Fatimid Period," 117. The main visual references for the ceilings were, in fact, Andrea Terzi's chromolithographies in Andrea Terzi, *La cappella di S. Pietro nella Reggia di Palermo dipinta e cromolitografata da Ana. Terzi ed illustrata dai Professori M. Amari, Cavallari, L. Boglino ed I. Carini* (Palermo, 1889), and the drawings in Pavlovski's publications: Alexey Pavlovski, *Zhivopis Palatinskoi kapelly v Palermo po snimkan pensionerov Imperatorskoi Akademii Khudozhestv A.N. Pomerantseva i F.J. Chagina* (St. Petersburg, 1890); Alexey Pavlovski, "Décoration des plafonds de la Chapelle Palatine," *Bizantinische Zeitschrift* 2 (1893): 361–412.
  118. Many letters in the folder (Rome, BiASA, *Fondo Monneret*, Ms. I.4) are signed by Morey, who acted as an intermediary; concerning Morey, see W. Lee Rensselaer, "Charles Rufus Morey, 1877–1955," *The Art Bulletin* 37, 4 (December 1955): pp. iii–vii, and Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, "Charles Rufus Morey," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Appendice, necrologi di soci defunti nel decennio dicembre 1945–1955* 1 (1956); Erwin Panofsky, "Charles Rufus Morey," *American Philosophical Society Year Book* (1955): 482–91.
  119. The funds were provided by Dumbarton Oaks, the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University, and Princeton University, which also made available negatives and chemical products (Morey's letters to Monneret, Rome, BiASA, *Fondo Monneret*, Ms. I.4: August 30, 1946; October 18, 1946; March 25, 1948). These and other American institutions (together with the Warburg Institute and the British Museum) were promised a complete set of the photos as compensation for the costs of the photographing campaign. The list of the buyers is in Monneret de Villard, *Le pitture musulmane*, 9.
  120. This can be inferred from the BiASA archives: there are, in fact, no documents for this period, which is followed by a series of letters related to the publication of the book.
  121. Restoration work was conducted between May 1948 and 1953. I wish to thank my friend and colleague Francesca Manuela Anzelmo for providing me with this information, also included in Francesca Manuela Anzelmo, "I soffitti islamici della Cappella Palatina di Palermo e le coperture lignee dipinte della Sicilia Normanna. Struttura decorazione vicende conservative" (MA thesis, Università degli Studi della Toscana, 2003–4), 74–81; see as well Francesca Manuela Anzelmo, "Un illustre inedito. L'ICR e la prima campagna di restauri dei soffitti della Cappella Palatina di Palermo (1948–1953)," in *Studi in onore di Maria Andaloro* (tentative title, forthcoming). A detailed study of the restoration work done on the ceilings is found in Francesca Manuela Anzelmo, "I soffitti della Cappella Palatina di Palermo e l'orizzonte mediterraneo" (PhD diss., Università degli Studi della Toscana, 2013).



122. Monneret's delicate health is mentioned by the scholar himself in many letters and writings, as well as by friends, such as Levi Della Vida, "Ugo Monneret de Villard, Bibliografia," 179. We learn from the correspondence related to the Cappella Palatina ceilings that between November 1946 and February 1947 he moved from his house in Via Catalana in Rome to Via dei Monti Parioli 64, where the nursing home Villa San Francesco is located.
123. Document dated July 4, 1947: *Istruzioni del prof. Monneret per il Gabinetto Fotografico da tener presente nella esecuzione delle fotografie della Cappella Palatina*; there are also Monneret's sketches and notes: Zannoni, "Il carteggio e l'archivio di studio di Ugo Monneret de Villard," 21.
124. Beside those taken in the late 1940s, some of the photos published in the book date back to the 1930s: "Indice sommario delle figure," in Monneret De Villard, *Le pitture musulmane*, 75. Monneret specified that some details came from "negative eseguite dalla Soprintendenza dei Monumenti di Palermo" (p. 76). We have seen that in 1936 Zanotti Bianco provided Monneret with some photos of the painted ceilings (see above n. 81), likely matching the "12 fotografie 13 x 18 che feci fare io anni fa" mentioned in a list of the images to be published in the 1950 book (note preserved in BiASA, Fondo Monneret, Ms. Monneret I.4.).
125. Monneret also hypothesized a possible origin in northern Syria. Ettinghausen later proposed a possible Tunisian provenance: see Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York, 1962), 50. The hypothesis of a Fatimid origin for the painters of the ceilings remains one of the most credible today: see, in particular, Ernst J. Grube, "La pittura islamica nella Sicilia normanna," in *La pittura in Italia, L'Altomedioevo*, ed. Carlo Bertelli (Milan, 1994), 416–31; Ernst J. Grube and Jeremy Johns, *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina* (Genoa and New York, 2005); Jeremy Johns, "Le pitture del soffitto della Cappella Palatina" and "Iscrizioni arabe nella Cappella Palatina," in *La Cappella Palatina a Palermo = The Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, ed. Beat Brenk, 4 vols. (Modena, 2010), vol. 1 [tome I], Atlante I, figs. 158–194, 369–384; vol. 1 [tome II], Atlante II, figs. 473–1220; vol. 2 [tome III], Saggi, 353–386, 387–407; vol. 2 [tome IV], Schede, 429–456, 487–510, 540–665; Lev Kapitakin, "The Twelfth-Century Paintings of the Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina, Palermo" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2011).
126. The issue of the construction of the ceilings reveals the limits of a study realized from afar: Monneret in fact referred to the necessity of dismantling part of the roof in order to understand the assembly technique. The extrados of the ceiling is actually visible through a cavity wall: see Vladimir Zorić, "Sulle tecniche costruttive islamiche," in *Scritti in onore di Giovanni D'Erme*, ed. Michele Bernardini and Natalia L. Tornesello, 2 vols. (Naples, 2005): 2:1281–1349. For a detailed study of the structure of the central ceiling, see Fabrizio Agnello, "Rilievo e rappresentazione del soffitto della navata centrale della Cappella Palatina," in Brenk, *La Cappella Palatina a Palermo*, vol. 2 [tome III], pp. 295–352; and Fabrizio Agnello, "The Painted Ceiling of the Nave of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo: An Essay on Its Geometric and Constructive Features," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 407–48.
127. The young Monneret was himself influenced by Croce to a certain extent: see Santino Langè, "La teoria artistica di Ugo Monneret de Villard: Un testamento previo," and Amedeo Bellini, "La critica d'arte di Monneret de Villard al primo apparire del crocianesimo; Un nuovo restauro architettonico?" in Sandri, *L'eredità di Monneret*, 33–36, and 37–43, respectively. See also the slightly different opinion in Augenti, "Per una storia," 21. For a general framework explaining the connections between Croce and Monneret de Villard, see Armando, "Ugo Monneret de Villard et la découverte de l'Oriente."
128. It is perhaps not a coincidence that in 1950 Charles Rufus Morey stressed Croce's influence on the history of art in Italy, underlying the "tendency to minimize the importance of content, environment and historical evolution." Charles Rufus Morey, "Art and the History of Art in Italy," *College Art Journal* 10, 3 (1951): 219–22.
129. See, among others, Maurice S. Dimand, "Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo by Ugo Monneret de Villard," *Artibus Asiae* 14, 3 (1951): 263–66; B.W. Robinson, "Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo by Ugo Monneret de Villard," *The Burlington Magazine* 93, 584 (1951): 361; Alfons Maria Schneider, "Le Pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo by Ugo Monneret de Villard," *Oriens* 4, 1 (August 15, 1951): 162–64.
130. See Levi Della Vida, "Ugo Monneret de Villard, Bibliografia," 177: "...nel 1950 gli fu conferito, senza che egli vi concorresse, il Premio nazionale generale dell'Accademia dei Lincei, l'elezione a socio nazionale dell'accademia stessa gli offrì un compenso (soltanto morale peraltro) della trascuranza passata e confortò gli ultimi anni della sua vita" (... in 1950 he was awarded, without competition, the Accademia dei Lincei General National Prize, and being made a national member of the same academy gave him compensation [if only moral] for having been disregarded in the past and comforted him in the last years of his life).
131. Lala Comneno, "Monneret islamista," 63.
132. A collection of personal notes: Monneret de Villard, "Prefazione," in "Opere d'arte islamica in Italia" (unpublished), 1: BiASA, Fondo Monneret: scatola 6, cartella 31.
133. Monneret de Villard, "Prefazione," in "Opere d'arte islamica in Italia" (unpublished), 1: BiASA, Fondo Monneret: scatola 6, cartella 31. It is worthwhile to note here that some files are preserved in other folders. In particular, there is a typewritten version of the catalogue, divided into different folders (BiASA, Fondo Monneret: scatola 6, and scatola 9), while some handwritten files are scattered in different folders.
134. Following what is called the "temporary classification" by Zannoni, "Il carteggio e l'archivio di studio di Ugo Monneret de Villard," I can affirm that the most important

- cache of materials is preserved in BiASA, Fondo Monneret: scatola 6, scatola 7, and scatola 9. It is evident that the actual order does not always match that presumably given by Monneret.
135. In BiASA, Fondo Monneret, scatola 6, cartella 34, c.7, a letter from the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione testifies to the assignment of the work to D. S. Rice. We learn from a letter that Monneret and Rice met for the first time between 1950 and 1951: see BiASA, Fondo Monneret, scatola 1, cartella 5, 1951: "J'étais très heureux de faire votre connaissance et j'espère que nous nous venons à voir [?] très prochainement" (I was delighted to meet you and hope you will come to see me very soon).
136. This material (also containing correspondence with museums) is particularly scattered and to understand Rice's approach would require a wide-ranging analysis.
137. He mainly published metal objects: see Giovanni Curatola, *L'eredità dell'Islam* (Cinisello Balsamo, 1993), 37, and Anna Contadini, "Ugo Monneret de Villard: A Master of the Italian Orientalist School," in Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art*, 160. On Rice, see J.B. Segal, "Obituary: David Storm Rice," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 25, 1–3 (1962): 666–671 and the obituary by Ralph H. Pinder-Wilson, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 95 (1963): 121–23.
138. Umberto Scerrato, "Arte islamica in Italia," in *Gli Arabi in Italia: Cultura, contatti e tradizioni*, ed. Francesco Gabrieli and Umberto Scerrato (Milan, 1979), 275–71. Scerrato notably exploited the material to compile the commentaries accompanying the photographic repertoire. I owe this information to Maria Vittoria Fontana. See also Contadini, "Ugo Monneret de Villard," 160.
139. Curatola, *L'eredità dell'Islam*, 37.
140. Monneret de Villard, *L'arte iranica*, which actually deals with Persian art from prehistoric times until the Safavids, but is remarkable for the study of the Iranian origin of many architectural elements in Islamic art; Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Tessuti e ricami mesopotamici ai tempi degli Abbàssidi e dei Selğūqidi," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie, cl. di scienze morali* 8, 7 (1955): 183–234; Monneret de Villard, "Arte cristiana e musulmana del Vicino Oriente," 451–62; Monneret de Villard, *Introduzione allo studio dell'archeologia islamica*. See also Levi Della Vida, "Ugo Monneret de Villard, Bibliografia," 178–79.
141. "The unitary and systematic description of more than 400 objects will reveal a richness, unsuspected by most, of Islamic art objects in Italy and will hugely help the progression of studies within a discipline we have sadly been disregarding, with the exception—wonderful indeed, but isolated—of Monneret de Villard.": Levi Della Vida, "Ugo Monneret de Villard, Bibliografia," 179.
142. "An organic conception of the unitary development of Oriental art, of its steady relation with artistic developments in the West, of the strong interconnection between the history of art and general history. Monneret contributed, as few of his contemporaries have, to highlighting this unity.": Giorgio Levi Della Vida, "Ugo Monneret de Villard (16 gennaio 1881–4 novembre 1954)," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Appendice, necrologi di soci defunti nel decennio dicembre 1945–1955* 2 (1957): 100.