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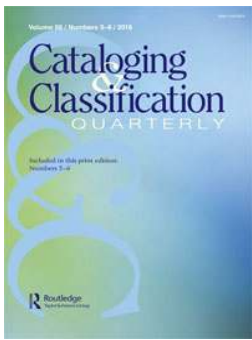
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'Terrible Panizzi': Patriotism and Realism of the 'Prince of Librarians'

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the figure of Antonio Panizzi, considered as an Italian patriot and English librarian. It highlights the constant attention he devoted to the Italian political events throughout his life: from his arrival in London (1823) as a political exile, to his informal ambassador in United Kingdom, a role that allowed him to lobby the political class and the press on behalf of the cause of Italian patriots forced in the prisons of Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The article describes the multifaceted library activity carried out by Panizzi at the British Library, of which he became Principal Librarian in 1856. Panizzi is considered to be the first Promethean Librarian of the 19th century, a great reformer with new ideas on library services, innovative methodologies, and working practices in librarianship. Panizzi rigorously carried out the activity of librarian at the British Library without ever forgetting the need for a free, unified, and democratic Italian state.

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«I want a poor student to have the same means of indulging his learned curiosity [...] as the richest man in the kingdom».

Antonio Panizzi

Foreword

Antonio Genesio Maria Panizzi (born in Brescello, Reggio Emilia, Northern Italy, on September 16, 1797 – died in London, on April 8, 1879) is a fascinating and extraordinary man of many talents and disparate interests. Not only is he one of the most celebrated librarians of all time, a great scholar of Italian literature and printing in Italy, but during his lifetime, he was also a deeply committed patriot devoted to the cause of the unification of his native Italy. His very considerable professional and political achievements were recognized not only in England, his adopted country, where he received a knighthood (1869) and other numerous honors, but also from

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his native Italy, where he was elected Senator (1868) in the Senate of the new Kingdom of Italy (created 1861).

Panizzi's innovative contribution in various fields of his versatile and diverse activities has been studied and examined in several published works. However, such research has by no means been exhaustive and much remains to be completed to examine Panizzi's contributions both in depth and in their various ramifications. The manuscript and printed primary sources for this further examination and research into Panizzi's legacy form an imposing and very rich "seam of information" that needs to be explored and "mined." A great proportion of these resources are found at The British Library as well as in other English, British, Italian, European, and American libraries. A census is needed and is, doubtless, long overdue.¹

Numerous biographical studies exist.² The year 1871 saw the publication of the autobiography *Passages in My Official Life*³ which is an extended and detailed account of his professional life and activity at the British Museum. It forms an important and eloquent testimony and record of his career, which was not circulated widely. Indeed, it was originally "printed for private circulation" and consequently is seldom quoted. Moreover, the Italian version of this work⁴ is found in very few Italian libraries and until recently was not even registered in a catalog.⁵

Panizzi is considered by some to be the "First Promethean Librarian of the nineteenth century,"⁶ a great reformer, a great organizer, and a great manager, responsible for a team of collaborators from whom he was able to elicit new ideas and innovative methodologies and working practices. He was an analyst and planner of numerous projects in library management, yet, there are many aspects of his enormous achievements and legacy that still remain to be explored and discovered. Of special interest are the areas of his contributions as a planner and organizer of library services, collection development, and management during his career at the Library of the British Museum, one of the largest and most important libraries at the time. He worked there tirelessly from 1831 to 1836, which, arguably, led to the foundation of the British National Library and the creation (in 1973) of the British Library we all know today. Some of the areas for which he was responsible range from his acquisitions policy, the rules and legislation for legal deposit, and his creation and day-to-day management of the very high-quality Library Catalogue, based on known and tried and tested scientific criteria, to the creation and opening up to the general public of a new, excellent reading room, his celebrated Round Reading Room, a masterpiece of Victorian engineering and design and a point of reference and standard for future libraries.

A definitive and seminal work, Carlo Dionisotti's "Un professore a Londra" ("A Professor in London"), closely details Panizzi's early career

as a University Professor of Italian literature and his career as a librarian, leading to his eventual promotion to the post of Principal Librarian and Director of the British Museum.⁷ Other works examine the historical period and context in which Panizzi lived concentrating on his activities as a liberal patriot and his relationship with the principal protagonists of the Italian Risorgimento,⁸ and with other European politicians and patriots, examining the constant and continuous close relationship he had throughout his life with fellow compatriots, especially with Italian political prisoners, who were imprisoned in his native Italy.⁹

Panizzi's career as a librarian and a library manager has been examined through several works. The centenary of his death was celebrated in two international conferences: a meeting in Reggio Emilia and Parma (December 5–7, 1979), planned by Luigi Balsamo;¹⁰ and the conference in Rome (April 21–22, 1980) organized by Enzo Esposito.¹¹ A few papers, delivered at these conferences and published in their respective Proceedings, examined Panizzi's role in cataloging and the production of his cataloging rules that were to form the foundation of his celebrated catalog.¹² Maurizio Festanti emphasizes the meaning that Luigi Balsamo, one of the most important Italian bibliographers, appoints to Panizzi's professional ethics. Balsamo "was less fascinated by Panizzi's genius as the inventor of the first rules of cataloging or by his celebrated Round Reading Room but rather by his concept of the role and function of a library, which led Panizzi to declare in 1836 to members of the Parliamentary Commission on the British Museum: 'I want a poor student to have the same means of indulging his learned curiosity, of following his rational pursuits, of consulting the same authorities, of fathoming the most intricate inquiry as the richest man in the kingdom, as far as books go, and I contend that the Government is bound to give him the most liberal and unlimited assistance in this respect.'"¹³

Michael Gorman asserted that Panizzi is "without a shadow of a doubt, the giant of descriptive cataloging in the English language of the nineteenth century."¹⁴ Paolo Traniello¹⁵ and Paul Gabriele Weston¹⁶ published an accurate analysis of Panizzi's research on European libraries, which Panizzi conducted using questionnaires and direct visits in person during his "Bibliographical tours" undertaken in the years 1835–1836, 1839, 1842, and 1845.

Panizzi received his first introduction and initiation into the world of books by the priest Gaetano Fantuzzi, a lecturer in Grammar and Rhetoric who ran the Public Library at Reggio Emilia with great passion. According to Roberto Marcuccio, Fantuzzi "was in Holy Orders and being a man of the cloth and a somewhat retiring figure who had a tendency to discharge his duties remaining very much out of the limelight, Fantuzzi was one of

the most eminent figures of intellectual life at Reggio in the delicate transitional years which saw the transfer of the era of the Ancien regime, the Napoleonic Period to The Restoration.”¹⁷ After completing his studies in jurisprudence and obtaining his degree at the University of Parma, his teachers and those who influenced him the most were Ambrogio Berchet and, above all, Angelo Pezzana. From them, he acquired and assimilated views and theories on the organization and management of libraries.¹⁸ Another great influence came from the librarian Pezzana, who conferred new and further prestige to the Royal Library of Parma, which later became the Palatina Library from 1865 onward. Pezzana was responsible for increasing the Library’s holdings very extensively and contributed as an erudite scholar, historian, lexicographer, bibliographer, and historiographer of the City of Parma, without involving himself in political events. For many years Panizzi remained in close contact with Pezzana through their correspondence, especially when Panizzi needed his advice on bibliographical matters.¹⁹

Biographical references: the exile and his new life in England

Panizzi attended secondary school at Reggio Emilia and enrolled in the Faculty of Jurisprudence at the University of Parma in 1814. He graduated in 1818. He opened a legal practice at Brescello, a little town in the Duchy of Modena, then under the control of Duke Francis IV, a Hapsburg “puppet” ruler, and was also employed in several posts by the Comune of Brescello. However, his political activity overrode his professional activity. In 1822, the authorities discovered his political and patriotic activities, and he was forced to flee the Duchy for Lugano and then for London and Liverpool, where he was employed as a teacher of Italian. He continued teaching at University College in London from 1828 to 1837. As early as 1831 he had his first contact with the British Museum, where he was initially employed as an Extra Assistant, appointed Keeper of Printed Books in 1837; he became Principal Librarian and Director in 1856 until 1866, date of his retirement.

Panizzi has been one of the greatest librarians of all time, a great innovator, especially in the field of library management, and an Italian patriot and revolutionary. He entered the world of secret societies at his native Brescello and led a dangerous “double life” organizing meetings and numerous clandestine activities. His biographer Edward Miller reveals, “Without some understanding of this older Italy and the violent stress to which it was being subjected during the childhood and youth of Antonio Panizzi, it is difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend fully the character and ways of thought of this remarkable man.”²⁰ It is almost certain that in

the early 1820s, Panizzi enrolled in the secret society of the Sublimi Maestri Perfetti, founded by his friend Claudio Linati, which had links with the Carbonari Movement that had as its principal aim the liberty, freedom, unity, and independence of the inhabitants of Italy and the ultimate overthrow, defeat, and expulsion of all foreign invaders from Italian soil. After a series of anti-semitic measures introduced by Francis IV, Duke of Modena and Reggio, he further decreed, in 1820, that adherence to any secret society constituted the crime of *lèse majesté* punishable by death.

The killing of the chief of the local police, Giulio Besini, was met with savage reprisals and led to the summary trials held at Rubiera at which 47 prisoners were condemned to death or were sentenced to imprisonment. Panizzi's name appeared on the list of those to be arrested, but he was forewarned of his imminent arrest and, on October 22, 1822, at night, he crossed the River Po and began an adventurous flight from Cremona to Switzerland.

In Lugano, Panizzi wrote and published in 1823 a blistering attack against Francis IV and his regime under the false imprint of Madrid by Roberto Torres.²¹ On being forced to leave Switzerland, he left for England the same year. He was later condemned to death and hanged "in effigy" by Francis IV. Panizzi then received a paradoxical and curious request for the reimbursement of legal expenses and for the cost of carrying out the "virtual execution." In a letter dated May 10, 1824, addressed to the Head of Finances at Reggio, Panizzi replied sarcastically, pretending that the reply was dictated from "the soul of the *olim* (former) Dottor Antonio Panizzi" and sent from "The other world of death beyond, from The Elysian Fields." Michele Lessona commented that Panizzi "replied with such a degree of subtle irony, coupled with an equal dose of scorn and contempt such as to prompt the collector of taxes not to repeat such a clumsy and brutal demand and request ever again."²²

Panizzi arrived in London in May 1823, tired, hungry, without knowing a word of English. His friend Giuseppe Pecchio described the city as characterized by a sky darkened by "an eternal cloud of smoke which envelops and penetrates everything."²³ He befriended the community of political exiles from Italy in London (a haven for political exiles from all over the world), formed a close friendship with the writer and patriot Santorre Santa Rosa, and frequented the company of Thomas Campbell and Ugo Foscolo, the Italian poet.²⁴

Within a space of a mere five years he began to learn English and had mastered it to such a high level that he was able to write, teach, and even hold public lectures in his adopted language. In the summer of 1823, he moved to Liverpool. With the assistance of William Roscoe, a patron and admirer of Italian culture, particularly of Italian literature, and the

assistance of other friends, William Shepherd and Francis Haywood, he began writing and delivering lectures in English on the literature of the Italian Renaissance at the Royal Institution in Liverpool. They helped him to secure a position of relative importance in the intellectual circles of the city with its large seaport overlooking the Irish Sea. After Panizzi had assisted Brougham in bringing about a successful prosecution in the famous Wakefield abduction trial, Henry Brougham, a lawyer and statesman and a firm supporter of Panizzi, invited him to apply for the Chair of Italian Language and Literature at the new University College, London of which he was one of the founding members. Despite being very attached to Liverpool, Panizzi accepted the post in 1828, requesting that together with other teaching staff at the University, “a uniform plan should be adopted for the study of all modern languages and literature. Here was already evident that rationalization, that desire to eliminate all unnecessary hindrances to efficiency, that was to be so notable a feature of his years at the British Museum.”²⁵ At University College he wrote “Extracts from the Italian Prose Writers for the Use of Students in the London University,” in which he included extracts from Manzoni’s “Promessi sposi” published only the previous year, and “Elementary Italian Grammar”,²⁶ which are followed by his research on the Italian Renaissance, which were preliminary studies for his editions of “Orlando Innamorato” by Matteo Maria Boiardo and “Orlando Furioso” by Ludovico Ariosto.²⁷ However, during this intense period of research, Panizzi’s personal financial situation became critical.

Panizzi’s post at the library of the British Museum

In 1831 his name was put forward for the post of *extra assistant librarian* at the British Museum Library and approved unanimously by the Trustees due to his scholarly publications, which had been very favorably received, and because of the very positive recommendations of Henry Brougham and Thomas Grenville. In 1832, less than ten years after he was forced to flee his native Italy, Panizzi had acquired British citizenship and concentrated his energies on his daily duties at the Library, while still continuing to teach at University College.

The Department of Printed Books that Antonio Panizzi joined, albeit initially in a modest capacity, had been founded in 1753, the same year of the foundation of the British Museum, opened in 1759. The library of the doctor Sir Hans Sloane was added to the original collections. Funding for the Library was sparse, the accommodation in Great Russell Street inadequate, the collections were underused, and the library staff consisted of elderly men. The service offered by the Library was consequently considered to be inadequate for the needs of the public, especially to those of the middle

classes, particularly to scholars. In 1823, the donation of part of King George IV's Library, referred to as the King's Library, influenced Parliament to take the decision to expand the accommodation on the site and in 1828 to increase the space in order to accommodate this Library. This was duly completed, together with a commensurate increase in staff for the library.

In 1827 Henry Baber replaced Joseph Planta as Principal Librarian. Henry Baber and Henry Ellis, both having been previously employed at the Bodleian Library, had established a good and constructive working relationship with Panizzi with the specific aim of creating favorable conditions in which to work together in order to transform gradually the Library of the British Museum into the largest library in the world. However, the start was not propitious. In 1836 the Select Committee registered that in 1831 the Library contained holdings of 240,000 books, fewer than the holdings of the *Bibliothèque Royale*, or of the libraries of Munich, Dresden, Copenhagen, Vienna, or Berlin.

The catalog

Panizzi was assigned the task of cataloging French revolutionary pamphlets that had been bound and not cataloged separately (a task which was completed by others only in the 1870s). It was precisely during this period that Panizzi was able to examine these pamphlets closely. Many of them had been written anonymously or by authors who had used pseudonyms, which presented serious problems of cataloging. Panizzi began to formulate special rules for anonymous books, which were incorporated into his "91 Cataloguing Rules." With the enormous increase in acquisitions that were ever more difficult to house and catalog, it was felt that a new kind of bibliographical control was needed via a catalog that would restore to users "the dense web of connections authors and publishers forged among works in print. Tracts answered other tracts, which might be reprintings of articles that had appeared in journals and newspapers, or excerpts from books; they could appear simultaneously in several forms, under several imprints. Such crucial information as the author's name, the publisher, and the date and place of publication might be incomplete, erroneous, or missing altogether. Panizzi developed a series of rules that reproduced these relations in the catalog, so that librarians—and crucially, readers—could trace and follow them. Unwittingly at first, he was helping to transform the library catalog from an inventory into an instrument of discovery."²⁸

Committed to the cataloging of contemporary books and of rare books in the King's Library and other collections, in 1832 Panizzi accepted the invitation of the Royal Society to oversee and to update the subject catalog

of the Society's Library and was thereby afforded the opportunity of pointing out errors and lacunae of all kinds. The catalog was in such a sorry state that he sought permission to begin a new catalog "ex novo." He was granted permission with the caveat that the Cataloguing Committee would examine his catalog in the closest detail. This resulted in a long and contentious process, which produced serious economic consequences right up to the final publication of the catalog in 1839. Throughout this process, Panizzi demonstrated the fiery side of his personality, particularly his determination to respect the agreed parameters and to ensure that his own rights were duly respected.

The principal activity at the Library of the British Museum at this time was the revision of catalogs, which reflected the urgency and the perceived need for the creation of modern catalogs that were standardized for description and access, as well as incorporating a syndetic apparatus for the subject catalog. Previously, the means and apparatus available to the general public for access to the collections had severe limitations and defects. Readers had to consult a well-used copy of the printed catalog produced between 1807 and 1810 by Ellis and Baber, for a total of only 30,000 entries. Further entries were added for new acquisitions, unfortunately making the catalog no longer useful. As Buttles noted "the original seven-volume catalog has been stuffed by librarians with scribbled additions and addenda; its interleavings had swollen it to 48 volumes."²⁹ There were other copies of incomplete catalogs of the King's Library and catalogs of special collections, such as maps and prints and drawings. Drafting new catalogs was a target that could not be delayed, but different outcomes were possible, as a classified catalog, a catalog of authors compiled alphabetically, or both. However, Panizzi disagreed with the classified catalog, because it would have taken a lengthy period for its completion. Panizzi was introducing changes to the significance of the catalog during a historic period of transition from a printed catalog—used by librarians, which also had an archival function—to a catalog with mobile and detachable entries, a catalog that had not yet become a new consolidated "paradigm of library management."

An intermediary product of this change and transition was still constituted by the "strip catalog." In a letter to the Earl of Ellesmere, who was the president of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Constitution and Government of the British Museum,³⁰ Panizzi provided substantial evidence on the methodology adopted and detailed the reasons for solutions, as follows.

"By an alphabetical catalogue it is understood that the titles be entered in it under some 'headings' alphabetically arranged. Now, insamuch as in a large library no one can know beforehand the juxtaposition of these headings, and it would be impossible

to arrange them in the requisite order, if they cannot be easily shifted, each title is therefore written on separate 'slips' of paper or 'cards', which are frequently changed from one place to another as required. It is self-evident, that if these 'slips' or 'cards' be not uniform, both in size or substance, their arrangement will cause mechanical difficulties which take time and trouble to overcome; and those on thicker material, as board, tear and wear off those on thin paper. Hence the titles of a catalogue on 'slips' cannot be amalgamated with those of one on cards, nor can a change be made in either system, however desirable it might have been to follow a different plan from the beginning, without altering the whole. The entire mass of 300,000 slips, for instance, of old titles in an increasing library must be transferred to cards were it deemed necessary to alter from 'slips' to 'cards' for books that are daily added to such a library. It would not answer to keep the old slips and adopt cards for the additions. A slip is less expensive, takes up less room, in thickness at least; and if it be broader or longer than a card it affords more room for 'full' titles and for 'accurate' information. It wears out sooner, is not so easily shifted, and is more easily destroyed or mislaid."

"Even at first, therefore, and when a new catalogue of a new collection is about to be commenced, it requires to be considered whether the catalogue is to be very extensive and carried on for years and years, and the same slips preserved and continued whether the titles are to be 'full and accurate' or otherwise, and whether there may be no difficulty in finding accommodation for keeping these titles in good order, and perfect safety. The space that these titles will occupy, in proportion with the material on which they are drawn up, is not an insignificant point in a vast collection. Titles which on 'slips' occupy 360 square feet, three inches deep, will require 1500 square feet, of the same depth, on moderately thick cards of the size of the slips."

"It is to be considered that it is not every part of a room that is available for the preservation of arranged titles on slips or cards. They must be preserved in some place fitted up for the purpose of keeping them in the order in which they are to remain, that they may be easily accessible either for use or for additions; but accessible only to those few persons who are responsible for the completeness of the catalogue as well as for its accuracy; it being manifest that if, through ignorance, carelessness, or love of mischief, a few bundles of loose titles be either disarranged or destroyed, the most ludicrous as well as the most serious mistakes may be the consequence, and the work of many years and of many persons may be thrown into irremediable confusion in a quarter of an hour by the first individual who has the inclination as well as the opportunity of so doing."³¹

"The transition to a card index catalogue would have been an 'epoch making event in the history of libraries and equally for the evolution of cataloguing theory [...]. The consequences of this innovation are very significant for cataloguing procedures in so far as mobile card indexes are fluid and permit an ideal level and rate of development and expansion of the sindetic structure of the catalogue and makes the updating in 'real time' much easier respecting the principle of the rigorous alphabetical ordering by author and by title."³²

In 1834 the Trustees of the British Museum Library called for the formation of a Sub-Committee to evaluate the state and condition of existing

catalogs and to project and plan the creation and preparation of a new, single, “union” type alphabetical, printed catalog for all the Library’s collections. Baber, the Keeper of Printed Books, was invited to draw up an initial report to which Panizzi contributed, which was submitted on April 26, 1834. Baber proposed Panizzi as the overseer of the entire project, but its scope had to be curtailed under pressure from the Trustees, who impractically aspired to the production of a classified catalog at the same time. Work began, and Panizzi was clearly the most meticulous and productive cataloger of the group, despite that, even at this period, he began to develop health problems.

Once again, the new catalog would be strictly alphabetical with entries arranged according to the author’s surname followed by a description of the edition. Anonymous works would be filed under a significant word on the title page, whereas pseudonymous works filed under the pseudonym used. These instructions, which were developed, augmented, and later increased, formed the basis of the “91 Cataloguing Rules” conceived and elaborated by Panizzi for the Department of Printed Books of the British Museum Library.

The Select Committee

The compilation and editing of the catalog had to be suspended because of the replies that had to be prepared for the enquiry of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the British Museum formed in 1835. This Committee was later to be of radical influence. The replies entailed responding to the accusations of John Millard, the mouthpiece of a group of readers who complained of the inefficiency of the running and management of the library, its decline, the low cultural level and competence of the library staff, and the restricted opening hours. During the sittings, it was clear that the new Committee intended to delve deeply into all aspects of the Department of Printed Books. Baber and Panizzi had been expecting for quite some time that comparisons would be requested between the Library and other libraries on the continent. They had anticipated this and decided on the strategy of a comparative analysis based on certain facts and data. Miller writes, “Panizzi, with the assistance of Baber, then drew up a questionnaire and circulated it, largely through his personal friends and acquaintances, to as many libraries as possible. Replies were, in due course, received from 36 institutions, but it was obvious that these would have to be supplemented by personal visits. Accordingly, in the winter of 1835, Panizzi went round the main libraries of Western Europe. Italy and the Austrian Empire were, of course, still forbidden and potentially dangerous territory and, in any case, the time at his disposal scarcely permitted

him to venture further.”³³ Panizzi returned early in February 1836, and the Trustees asked him to produce a report on the state and condition of the catalog. Panizzi formulated with efficacy the functions of the catalog and cataloging principles: it is “a truism which is, all too often, overlooked” that “the first and chief object of a catalogue ... is to give an easy access to the works which form part of the collection [...] the library of the British Museum does not possess such an alphabetical catalogue as the public have a right to expect in such an institution’. It was high time that such a catalogue should be composed, ‘without regard to cost or time’.”³⁴ He stressed his points with remarkable impetuosity, admitting the possibility of proceeding contemporaneously to the compilation of a subject index and of special catalogs integrated into the main catalog.

On June 1836, insisting on their request for a classified catalog, the Committee summoned Edward Edwards, a young man of working-class origins who had written in February a pamphlet in which he outlined suggestions for improving services in the library. Edwards demonstrated his knowledge of the British Museum Library for which he had laid out a program of reform and development favorably received by the Committee. The next deposition by Panizzi consisted of a systematic and detailed comparison between several libraries on the continent and the British Museum Library, in which he demonstrated the relative weakness of the latter regarding the completeness of its collections and level of funding. Panizzi criticized some of those institutions, for example, the library at Saint Petersburg and some French libraries, for having incorporated into their own collections books taken from Poland and Italy. Panizzi stated the differences in functions and targets between national libraries on the one hand and public libraries on the other hand. He agreed with Edwards on the necessity of having at least two public libraries in London, and underlined and stressed a very radical principle in that historical period, the “Victorian era,” namely that the right of access to information (included for the British Library) had to be guaranteed for every citizen in the land, regardless of social and economic differences and inequalities.

Panizzi quantified the amount of physical space and the level of investment required for new acquisitions in order to transform the library into a modern institution. Regarding the catalog, he stressed, as did Baber, the priority of producing an alphabetical catalog while pointing out that many difficulties and problems would surface, if it were decided to embark on this work together with the classified catalog. During meetings, members of the Committee were impressed by the strength even vehemence of Panizzi’s arguments, the richness of the numerous examples he cited, and by the pragmatism and the lucid rationality of his arguments, and also by the vision of the innovative and far-seeing man who intended to dedicate

his life to the creation and building of a great library. The Trustees were particularly impressed by his request that there should be better communication and an improved working relationship between them and library employees, because these two parties of *governance* had hitherto been marred by frequent friction. Miller notes, "Though the personal relations between Baber and himself could not be better, there was little or no opportunity for officers, such as he, to bring forward their views or to make constructive suggestions. All that was expected of the staff was 'blind obedience, passive obedience, and nothing else'".³⁵ Miller describes Panizzi's irascible character as "a man of his strong passions and decided views,"³⁶ and underlines the distinct trait that "Panizzi 'bitterly resented having to carry out orders and instructions he felt to be wrong.'"³⁷ The Committee completed its proceedings on July 14, 1836, producing a report with eighteen recommendations for the improved performance of the Library, which insisted on more frequent consultation between the Trustees and the Library staff and greater investment by Parliament. The eleventh recommendation was for the payment of adequate salaries to staff and a veto on all externally funded work or posts. As a result of this, Panizzi and most of the employees of the Library relinquished their external posts.

Keeper of Printed Books

Baber realized that his advanced age was incompatible with the rapid increase in his workload and therefore decided to resign from his post of Keeper of Printed Books at the Museum. He formally retired on June 24, 1837, and Panizzi was promoted to the post of Keeper of Printed Books a few days later on July 19th. During the two decades that followed, Panizzi introduced, with considerable determination, a series of reforms that transformed numerous organizational aspects of the Museum and produced improved services to readers. The Library soon became a center for research of international importance.

Panizzi's first priority was the transfer of the very rich holdings from the earlier library in old Montagu House to the new space provided in Robert Smirke's new building in the north side of the new Museum. Considerable resources were to be available for the making of the new catalog especially in its editing. He endeavored to resolve these goals of moving and building the catalog together with his staff, in order to achieve them within a relatively short period of time. The new reading room was opened on January 9, 1838 and the transfer of books to the new site began. Particular attention was paid to countersigning items with a new pressmark and shelfmark at the time of their collocation in their new location, the same number being

recorded in the Catalogue. The transfer and removal were completed in September 1843.

Some of Panizzi's innovations were to remain in force until the early part of the 20th century. Those innovations principally concerned different issues of library management and the control of internal transactions, management, and working practices, such as the introduction of printed slips that contained essential information about the books and advice to readers, the creation of rules for the restitution of books by readers (which had to be done in person) in exchange of a receipt, an indispensable measure to control the use and borrowing of reference works. The direct link between the shelf-mark and its recording in the catalog made the identification of volume numbers and part works more clearly evident to readers and made their task in compiling request slips so much easier as to motivate Matthew Battles to write:

“Like a call number on a modern library book, the gnomonic pressmark indicated precisely the place where the book was to be found among the shelves of the library stacks (or ‘presses’, as the bookshelves were commonly called). Unlike call numbers, however, pressmarks referred not to a scheme of knowledge, but to a location; they are not classifications, but only coordinates. Panizzi explained the formulation of pressmarks, and their meanings [...]: the pressmark ‘500 *a*’, for instance, ‘means that the work itself is in the press which is numbered 500, and on the shelf of that press which is distinguished by the letter *a*; if the mark be 500 *a* 2, the meaning is that the work occupies the second place on that shelf; and if marked 500 *a*/6 2, that it is the sixth article in the 2nd vol. on shelf *a* of press 500’. By providing such tutorials, Panizzi wanted to make the library transparent to readers – to replace the mysteries of its workings with a sophistication that would increase a reader’s independence. In previous practice, a reader would simply request a book by title, and the librarians would find its pressmark in their own copy of the catalog in order to fetch it. The book would seem to appear magically, as if sprung from the brow of Zeus. Now readers would be required to know the pressmark and to include it on the filled-out ticket they presented to librarians at the desk in order to request books [...] Panizzi was trying to produce not only a new kind of catalog but a new kind of reader as well – one more independent, more knowledgeable of library systems – and he wished to play no part in the revolution.”³⁸

Panizzi linked the catalog description of a work directly to its shelfmark (or pressmark) that indicates where it is located, using a simple system that is comprehensible and easily usable by readers. He also declared that it is extremely useful and beneficial for the user to have both analytical descriptions provided as well as descriptions linked to the location of a work, for example, the position of a publication, especially a single tract or pamphlet, contained in a miscellaneous volume of several tracts or pamphlets bound together by the library. Maria Teresa Biagetti points out that “The preparation of this catalogue in which Panizzi had anticipated the capillary indication and indexing of all works, even to those which did not appear to be

autonomous, and he had conceived a complex network of cross references, constitutes [...] a significant moment and turning point in Panizzi's cataloging activity and affords us the opportunity of grasping and defining the parameters of his cataloging theory and his descriptive techniques which he had elaborated over his lengthy career."³⁹ The purpose of the catalog was to provide the greatest clearness of information to enable readers autonomy in consulting, identifying, and locating a publication by shelf-marks and placing details. Seymour Lubetzky observes: "Although some of his colleagues and many of the users of the British Museum clung to the idea that the catalog was for the librarian not the reader, and objected vehemently to Panizzi's ideas, his rules were widely applauded by the library profession and inspired the development of cataloging codes in various countries."⁴⁰

The printing of the Catalogue

The Trustees appeared not to be very collaborative with Panizzi, rejecting his proposals for further acquisitions, and asking him to proceed with the production of a printed alphabetical catalog, which the Keeper contrasted in favor of a manuscript catalog. The controversy continued with some solutions for over a decade. With the assistance of Winter Jones and Thomas Watts, the compilation and editing of the catalog was proceeding at a steady rate, but the request for an initial printing and for the formulation of new cataloging rules became ever more pressing and urgent on behalf of the Trustees. So much so that "Each separate rule was the subject of long and anxious discussion ... to later hours in the evening, in fact until dark; and on one or two occasions we came in on Sunday and worked the greater portion of the day."⁴¹ Panizzi's cataloging rules, the compilation of which he was ably assisted by W. Jones, T. Watts, J.H. Parry, and E. Edwards, were presented to the Trustees with examples as to their application. These were accepted, and it was agreed that these, too, would also be published along with the Catalogue before the end of 1844. Panizzi attempted to postpone the delivery of the Catalogue being aware of the unacceptably high level of errors it contained, and how it was impossible to proceed with printing only part of the Catalogue without having completed the entire cataloging task and the revision of descriptions. He wanted it to be understood that "it is better to have a Good catalogue in manuscript" rather than "a bad one in print. A bad catalogue, like other bad books, ought not to be printed at all."⁴² The Principal Librarian, Henry Ellis also supported, in part, Panizzi's views presented to the Trustees in an attempt at mediation, but a successive exchange of correspondence clearly showed how far their views differed. In 1847, after numerous consultations and a

lengthy controversy, Panizzi succeeded in convincing the Sub-Committee of the importance of drawing up and compiling an accurate manuscript catalog that would incorporate and adhere to the new cataloging rules approved by the Trustees. It was agreed that the work should be produced as speedily as possible together with the production and printing of the catalogs of Special Collections and of Rare Books.⁴³

Legal deposit and the growth of the collections

Panizzi had two principal objectives in mind during the transformation of the Library of the British Museum into a modern institution for research:

1. the growth and consolidation of the collections with all means at his disposal with the intention of building up the most important library in the world, and
2. the rational and organizational use of space, so as to permit books to be delivered to readers as speedily as possible.

In order to increase the collections he pointed out the need for significant extra funding and the need for constant enforcement and regular application of the Copyright Act. For the acquisition of antiquarian and modern foreign books, he required the support of a network of active agents such as Adolph Asher⁴⁴ for Germany and, above all, Henry Stevens (of Vermont) for the United States of America.⁴⁵ Panizzi charged the Piedmontese Pietro Rolandi with the supply of Italian books. Indeed, between 1826 and 1863 Rolandi ran a bookshop in London specializing in books on Italian literature in Italian for Italian exiles and the general English public. Moreover, being a “frequent traveler to Italy” he was able “to acquire rare books and analyze manuscripts conserved in Italian archives, for example those in the Vatican Library where the registers of the pontificate of Boniface VIII were housed.”⁴⁶ “A very close professional relationship existed between the two men especially in the fields of bibliography, the commercial book trade and historical and literary studies [...] and one of their mutual friends was the Florentine Guglielmo Libri the mathematician and bibliophile.”⁴⁷

The problem of the space required for the anticipated increase in collections was dramatic. The new acquisitions, estimated at around 23,000 items per year in 1838, included new editions, rare titles from the antiquarian market, music, maps, newspapers, official publications, and serials on political movements.

Panizzi maintained that the deposit of current material in the English language would be guaranteed by the robust and rigorous application and

enforcement of the Copyright Act, and that funding should therefore be diverted, in the main, to the acquisition of ancient and antiquarian books. In 1846, he prepared a report for the Trustees in which he requested an increase in funding that was necessary to acquire, catalog, bind, and make available books as speedily as possible. The funding was assured but not to a sufficiently high level.

Panizzi at this time devoted his energies into assuring that the British Museum Library should acquire, through donation, the important library of the bibliophile Sir Thomas Grenville, whom Panizzi had befriended. Their close friendship had blossomed when Panizzi needed to consult, as a primary source, Grenville's fine collection of books, especially his splendid collection of Italian books, while he was undertaking research on Ariosto and Boiardo, authors who were dear to Panizzi. Grenville's magnificent library was a splendid resource, especially for the works of Ariosto and Boiardo, built up over many years by Grenville, which ran the serious risk of not been bequeathed to the Library because of Grenville's low opinion of the Museum Trustees. In November 1845 during a private discussion with Panizzi, Grenville confided to Panizzi—such was the high esteem in which he held the Keeper, who had become a close friend by now—that it was his intention to bequeath his collection of 20,000 volumes to the British Museum Library on the condition that the books should be kept and housed as a complete collection, and that a catalog of the collection be produced. One year later, in December 1846, after Grenville's death, Panizzi oversaw the transfer and the rehousing of the collection in its new location⁴⁸ that consisted of the most prestigious collection of rare antiquarian books donated to the Museum after the original collection of King George III. The 1840s, apart from being punctuated by the political uprisings in Italy in 1848, were a source of stress and difficulty, too, since the library staff had to be organized for the defense of the British Museum against a potential invasion and overthrow by members of the Chartist Movement. It was also a period of very considerable criticism, which received support in the press, about the running of the Library, the perceived delays in the delivery of books to readers, and the state of the catalog. One of the opponents was Nicholas Harris Nicolas. These accusations irritated Panizzi and spurred him into asking the Trustees to conduct an enquiry. He also wrote a pamphlet entitled, "On the Supply of Printed Books from the Library to the Reading Room of the British Museum" (1846). On June 17, 1847, the Trustees called for the establishment of a Royal Commission in order to improve the management and running of the institution, for which several readers were called upon to put their criticisms forward. The Royal Commission concluded that the policies for acquisitions, for the reallocation of new space, and for cataloging were "a

complete triumph,” according to Panizzi’s biographer Edward Miller, and furthermore Panizzi was vindicated in the British Press, especially in *The Times* and other daily newspapers.

This Commission was followed by a Select Committee on Public Libraries (1849–1850) instigated by William Ewart and Edward Edwards, which aspired to favor the *public libraries* movement with the intention of counterbalancing the over-indulgent opinion of the Royal Commission with regard to the direction of the British Museum Library. Panizzi again came out with his head held high. The Commission noted the inconsistency of the readers’ quibbles and distinguished between the role and function of a national library and the function of *educational libraries*, whose role was perceived to be more of a promotional one, which envisaged the encouragement of reading among the general public by means of lending of books through extended opening hours of public libraries, even during the evenings.

During this period, Panizzi addressed two important problems: the administration of the Copyright Act and the lack of space to house the collections. The Keeper had pointed out on several occasions how the Copyright Act could and would have served as the principal tool in order to guarantee the deposit of all contemporary printed material published (in the United Kingdom) in the English Language, but that this extremely useful tool had been neglected by politicians and had been proved, in Baber’s view, to be technically inefficient since in 1836. He maintained that only two fifths of the total printed output had been deposited and that the situation was even worse for works published in Ireland and Scotland. In 1850, Panizzi presented the Trustees with a very detailed report on the *Copyright Act* and on *International Copyright* in which he proposed an enforcement of the law on copyright deposit with sanctions to be applied to negligent publishers. A clear and strong message had to be sent to publishers as to what was expected of them in future. Panizzi was given greater powers to enforce the Act. He prepared a letter requesting the 50 most recalcitrant publishers to comply with the rules, and a further letter to 13 of these publishers, which led to prosecutions for 8 publishers. In 1852 he succeeded in receiving an extra 3,000 books on deposit with a constant and steady increase in these numbers over the next few years. His actions aroused criticisms and reactions by some publishers. Panizzi decided anyway to extend the application and enforcement of the Act to Scotland (Edinburgh and Glasgow) and Ireland (Dublin), Bangor, and Carnavon, which involved him in making on the spot visits to publishers to evaluate the local publishing scene in person, to ensure compliance with the Act, and thereby to achieve his goal of receiving a copy for the Museum Library of everything that was published in the United Kingdom.

The new Reading Room

The second major problem was the lack of space in which to accommodate the increasing number of books, library staff, and readers. Panizzi had proposed the construction of a new building to house the Department of Manuscripts, thereby freeing up valuable space for staff and readers and moreover, he proposed that a full architectural appraisal was required in order to evaluate the whole site and, in particular, the entrance hall and vestibule.

The proposal for a new Reading Room had been put forward in March 1837 by Thomas Watts and was taken up once more in 1850 by William Hosking, Professor of Architecture at London University in plans presented to the Royal Commission and later to the Trustees with successive contributions and ideas from the architect James Ferguson. As Edward Miller records:

“On the evening of April 18, 1852, Panizzi drew a rough pencil sketch of what he thought was needed on the back of the sheet scribbled down the dimensions. These were a square of 197 feet, a square within it of 170 feet. Within this second square, a circle of 100 feet diameter. Within this again, a circle of 40 feet diameter. Such was the genesis of the great Reading Room”⁴⁹

which provided comfortable seated accommodation for 500 readers. The day after Panizzi and Jones began preparing a report and plans for the project, which intended, moreover, a reduction in costs and in the time taken to complete the project, and an increase in the bookshelf space. They presented these to the Trustees. The Museum architect, Sydney Smirke, enthusiastically approved the plan. However, the government postponed a decision causing Panizzi to reiterate his pressure and appeals to the Trustees and to impress upon them the urgency of the situation in that the lack of space compromised and threatened the addition of any new books to the collections. Finally, on January 26, 1854, the Treasury approved the project and the release of funding to begin work. Among the manuscript documents preserved in the Biblioteca Municipale at Reggio Emilia one drawing of a plan outlines the two-stage phase of the central area of the Reading Room with a detailed working sketch and a list of detailed questions regarding the construction and furnishings of the Reading Room, which Panizzi had discussed with the architect, George Baker, on October 17, 1854.⁵⁰

The construction of the Round Reading Room with its high cupola that recalled and may even have been inspired by the Pantheon in Rome, was meticulously followed by Panizzi in the minutest detail, even down to the ergonomics of the readers' chairs. On May 2, 1857, the Reading Room was inaugurated and opened to the public with a formal champagne breakfast.

Early in 1856, Henry Ellis informed his colleagues that it was his intention to retire from his post of Principal Librarian, owing to his advanced years. On March 4th, after a period of some uncertainty and much

lobbying of alternative candidates and a certain degree of opposition in the Press, Panizzi was officially appointed Principal Librarian, a role which made him the superintendent of all Museum Departments, in effect, he was appointed the Director of the entire British Museum.

The 91 cataloging rules

Panizzi became the author of a revolution in the methodology employed in cataloging description with his “91 Rules for the Compilation of the Catalogue” for the British Museum Library published in 1841 as introduction to the first volume of the “Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum.” The British Museum’s code represents the point of departure and the model for all subsequent cataloging rules, even though its historical role must be judged without any trace of exaggeration or of mythification. The greatest contribution the code has made and the influence it has had in the field of cataloging is to be seen in Europe and from the latter half of the 19th century in the United States. Panizzi concentrated principally on the descriptive catalog. He was the first to unite the works of a single author under a unique form of his (or her) name and he made provision for the possibility of multiple ways to access cataloging registers, bearing in mind the option and possibility of alternative research patterns. He introduced (or consolidated) the concept of *literary unity* (however, with some limitations), and he laid down the precise order of the descriptive elements that are required for a basic catalog entry (author, title, editor, place of publication, etc.), using a system of arranging data, which was to be widely used with great success. Panizzi provided a precise transcription of the data on the title page. The innovative nature of his rules lies in the passage from an empirical (or almost empirical) criterion to a conscious approach, which at the same time is critical and serves the function and aims of the catalog and of its organizational structure, bringing the whole to a point of maturation—a tradition which had been experimented with over previous centuries. In fact, the British Museum cataloging rules arise and are born out of the necessity to codify the cataloging experience and practice of that institution, and are the result of many years of experience and the incorporation of several previous codes over many years, compiled by several librarians and by Panizzi himself.

The “91 Rules” assume as base of cataloging a perfect copy of an edition, from which have been gathered all useful data for its description and its heading. Rule II reads: “Titles to be arranged alphabetically, according to the English alphabet only [. . .], under the surname of the author, whenever it appears printed in the title, or in any other part of the book.” If the title page or frontispiece attributes the work to an author which the cataloger

believes not to be the correct author, the work must be indexed and appear under the name which appears in the title-page, specifying the author's real name in square brackets. Rule XLIII states "Works falsely attributed in their title to a particular person, to be treated as pseudonymous"; that is to say—it recalls Rule XLI—they will appear "under the author's feigned name; and his real name, if discovered, to be inserted in brackets, immediately after the feigned name, preceded by the letters i.e. [id est]." On the same interpretative line Rule XXXIX states: "whenever the name of the author of an anonymous publication is known to, or conjectured by, the librarian, the same be inserted at the end of the title, between brackets." The solution indicates a notable departure from previous cataloging practice, since it introduces elements of intellectual responsibility between the author and the work. However, the philosophy of the "91 Rules" is based on the characteristics of the work or edition being analyzed without posing the question of identifying the *opus* of the author, an objective that was to be developed by Charles A. Cutter and his followers.

Panizzi's rules have their roots in the earliest and first cataloging experiments at the British Museum Library. Rule LI reads: "The works of translators to be entered under the name of the original author. The same rule to be observed with respect to the works of commentators, if the same be accompanied with the text complete." Panizzi appears to choose the criterion of the intellectual responsibility for the work, rather than the formal presentation of the work or edition. Indeed, he appears to be introducing the concept of *complete works* (or *oeuvre*) in Rule LII when he affirms: "Translations to be entered immediately after the original."

The alternation between cataloging through formal aspects and cataloging through intellectual responsibility are to be seen throughout the whole corpus of the "91 Rules". Rule III states: "if more than one name occurs in the title, by which it may appear that the work is the production of more than one person, the first to be taken as the leading name." Thus, Rule XLIV affirms that "works of several writers, collectively published, to be entered according to the following rules [and the separate pieces of the various authors included in the collection to be separately entered in the order in which they occur; excepting merely collections of letters, charters, short extracts from larger works, and similar compilations]." The rule is important because it introduces the concept of *analytical indexing*. That is, the catalog not only describes the publication but also all the works contained.

Rule XLV reads: "In any series of printed works, which embraces the collected productions of various writers upon particular subjects, such as *Ugolini Thesaurus Antiq. Sacrarum*, *Gronovii Thesaurus Antiq. Graecarum*, to be entered under the name of the editor," whereas "works of several

authors published together, but not under a collective title, to be catalogued under the name of the first author, notwithstanding an editor's name may appear on the work."

Rule XLVI prescribes that "if the editor's name does not appear, the whole collection to be entered under the collective title, in the same manner as anonymous work." Rule XXXIII asserts: "when the author's name does not appear on the title or any other part of the work, the following rules to be observed. Anonymous publications relating to any act, or to the life of a person whose name occurs on the title of a work, to be catalogued under the name of such person. The same rule to be followed with respect to anonymous publications addressed (not merely dedicated) to any individual whose name occurs on the title." Rule XL introduces the principle according to which some anonymous works, such as commentaries, be grouped under an entry which would be instrumental in making them traceable: "works without the author's name, and purporting to comment or remark on a work of which the title is set forth in that of such publications, to be catalogued under the same heading as the work remarked or commented upon."

These are, in effect, *ad hoc* solutions to what had already been established in Rule II, repeated in the premise to Rule XXXIII. That is to say, the necessity of adherence of formal elements present in the original source of information: the title page. The listing of a complex series of details and instructions in order to select the most appropriate and significant word for the ordering of the entries (Rules XXXIV and XXXV) may be similarly interpreted as a consequence of Rule II. Rule XXXIV also specifies that if the author's name does not appear on the title page or frontispiece nor the name of the person upon whom the study is about "then that of any assembly, corporate body, society, board, party, sect, or denomination appearing on the title to be preferred [...]; and if no such name appears then that of any country, province, city, town or place so appearing, to be adopted as the heading"; the following Rule XXXV completes the "casuistry" affirming that "if no name of any assembly or country, to be preferred as above, appear on the title, the name of the editor (if there be any) to be used as a heading; or, if no editor's name appear, that of the translator, if there be one. Reporters to be considered as editors." Rules IX, XLVII–XLIX are concerned with works published by a public body: "Any act," is dealt with in Rule IX, "resolution, or other document purporting to be agreed upon, authorized, or issued by assemblies, boards, or corporate bodies (with the exception of academies, universities, learned societies, and religious orders, respecting which special rules are to be followed) to be entered in distinct alphabetical series, under the name of the country or place from which they derive their denomination, or, for want of such

denomination, under the name of the place whence their acts are issued.” “General collections of laws” are dealt with in Rule XLVII: “edicts, ordinances, or other public acts of a similar description, to be entered under the name of the state or nation in which or by whom they were sanctioned, signed, or promulgated.” “Collections extending only to one reign or period of supreme government by one person, as well as detached laws and documents separately enacted and issued, to be catalogued under the name of the person in whose name and by whose authority they are enacted or sanctioned; such names to be entered alphabetically under the principal entry of the state or nation, after the general collections. When more than one name occurs, the first to be preferred.”

In rules concerning public bodies or institutions, the alternating variant between a formal heading and headings based on the concept of *intellectual responsibility* reappears. However, Rule XLVII establishes the principle that bodies can be considered to be authors of works published in the function of their institutional prerogatives.

Rule IX opts for a totally different criterion—not always clear—motivated by the need to unite under a geographic name (a city or nation) publications that would otherwise be dispersed throughout the entire sequence of the catalog. This, too, is another *ad hoc* solution evaluated in two opposing ways and methods. James A. Tait maintains that these are the most interesting and innovative aspects of the *Rules* because Panizzi acknowledges and imparts intellectual responsibility to bodies as authors of institutional publications.⁵¹ Intellectual responsibility is attributed by Panizzi as the sole formal expression possible for identifying the body or institution with the territory that it administers or governs. According to Tait, Panizzi is well aware of the difficulties that ascribing responsibility to corporate entities entails, difficulties principally in finding a suitable heading.

Rule LXXX introduces a formal heading (rejected in later cataloging codes) constituted by the term *Academies* for “all acts, memoirs, transactions, journals, minutes, etc. of academies, institutes, associations, universities, or societies learned, scientific, or literary, by whatever name known or designated, as well as works by various hands, forming part of a series of volumes edited by any such society.”

Rule LXXIX deals with the indexing of the Bible and its variant parts according to a detailed format for which a unique uniform heading was conceived under the heading *Bible*.

From Panizzi onward the basic problem to be addressed is whether cataloging by author is based on formal elements of the edition at hand or rather is based on the concept of *authorship*. The “great tradition” of cataloging evoked by Gorman has its very roots in this.⁵²

“Terrible Panizzi!”

Panizzi introduced and perfected his cataloging rules to innovate the organization and the services of the Library. He achieved and introduced numerous other innovations and revolutionary practices regarding the standardization of procedures and the interaction between the staff and the library's public and readership, in its marketing, in the care and defense of the library's image, the transparency of information given to the press and the general public, and, moreover, he proposed different roles and functions, even “missions” for libraries, each according to the specific nature of their collections and the public they serve. Panizzi can be considered at the forefront of the modern career of librarianship and library management, and one of the first to conceive of the tools and concepts of modern library management methods and methodologies in our own time. He can also be considered an obstinate supporter of the analytical process and approach, according to which all plans for the transformation of services to the public have to be justified by the gathering of data and by the correct interpretation of this data. Alfredo Serrai writes, “in Panizzi one finds a fertile meeting between the philological-bibliographical preparation of the man of letters and the distinct tendency of a library management pragmatism with Emilian roots but with a clear Anglo-Saxon stamp and mark.”⁵³

Edward Miller underlines that in tandem and in parallel to his unshakable and tireless energy that he devoted as an organizer and a reformer in the library and the elaborator of a modern concept and vision of library management, Panizzi, at the same time, also devoted much of his time to social and political activities “many of a semi-clandestine nature.”⁵⁴ He was particularly noted for his active role in bringing about the unification of his native Italy by seeking to influence the foreign policies of successive British Governments to bear on the Italian Peninsula and to keep the “Italian Question” firmly on the British political agenda, and in so doing often found himself in opposition to Giuseppe Mazzini, Count Camillo Benso di Cavour (although he was Cavour's ‘unofficial ambassador’ in London), and Massimo d’Azeglio. Panizzi was also successful in keeping the “Italian Question” very much alive in the minds of the generous British public through his articles on Post Office Espionage, etc., which led to the publication of pro-Italian liberal and anti-Bomba cartoons in *Punch* and the illustrations of Nisida, etc., in *The Illustrated London News*. William Spaggiari interprets Panizzi's political activism in a rather individual manner: “Panizzi always kept his distance from groups and current trends; so often those initiatives which were more often than not the product of his vigorous pragmatism, planned or put into place with the unassailable objective of attacking reactionary rulers and of activating independent uprisings were later interpreted by some as operations based only with

a superficial consideration of events and facts without any of the necessary diplomatic mediation, and, in some cases, even proved to be counter-productive. Regarding Panizzi's hyperactivity which invariably made him ignore the calls for prudence which came from Italian quarters [...] it was confirmed and highlighted by Emanuele D'Azeglio the representative of the Government of Turin in London."⁵⁵ Mazzini, too, severely criticized Panizzi for his presumed "political opportunism" attacking him, moreover, for his high level of retribution and for his propensity for "becoming English in his views, in his manners in everything."⁵⁶ Panizzi tried on several occasions to seek permission to visit the area of Modena where he was born and he endeavored to involve the British Government into lending its support to the Risorgimento Movement in Italy but he was only deluded and embittered by the conservative and antiliberal stances and positions of the government he had served as librarian.

Panizzi denounced the atrocious conditions of the prisons of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies together with a political analysis, which included criticism of the repressive practices and the overall corrupt legal system there. Together with the Liberal William Ewart Gladstone,⁵⁷ formerly Prime Minister of the United Kingdom on no fewer than four occasions, Panizzi tried to create favorable conditions for an English diplomatic intervention without success. In the winter of 1850–1851, Gladstone visited the Vicaria and Nisida prisons in Naples. On his return, with Panizzi's assistance, Gladstone wrote the letter, *On the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government*⁵⁸ and later a few pamphlets with which he was able to inform public opinion. He asked some politicians to allow Panizzi to visit Naples. Since all diplomatic attempts had failed, on September 25, 1851, Panizzi left England, via Genoa, for Naples. At Genoa he was presented with several letters in which he was informed of the death of his sister, his sole surviving relative after the death of his father, six years earlier. Deeply shocked at the news, he decided to proceed to Rome, where he met his friend Giuseppe Levi-Minzi, and traveled on to Naples where he met up with Lord and Lady Holland and the English delegation. George Fagan arranged meetings with relatives of some of the political prisoners and accompanied Panizzi to an audience with Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies, nicknamed "King Bomba" on account of his savage orders to lay siege to and bomb the city of Messina from January to September 1848. Panizzi, who seven years previously had referred to the king as "the imbecile and cruel Bourbon who still sits on the throne of Naples,"⁵⁹ and stressed upon him the privations and sufferings of his political prisoners during a lengthy tirade at the end of which the king, who clearly had no intention of ameliorating the conditions of his prisoners, brought the meeting to an abrupt, halt and dismissed him referring to him as "terribile Panizzi!"

Over the following days, before leaving Italy, Panizzi inspected the Neapolitan prisons. In 1855, having raised a public subscription of £100,000, he purchased *The Isle of Thanet*, a small paddle-steamer, and endeavored to organize with Fagan and Agostino Bertani an attempt to liberate Luigi Settembrini and five other political prisoners from the prison of Santo Stefano in the Gulf of Gaeta. Possibly Giuseppe Garibaldi himself was due to sail on that ship between Genoa and the prison, but the attempt was in vain. *The Isle of Thanet*, en route for Genoa, sank during a violent storm off the coast of Yarmouth with the loss of all the crew. A subsequent attempt to free the prisoners was planned with the assistance of Giuseppe Garibaldi but was no longer feasible in view of the breaking off of diplomatic relations between England and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.⁶⁰

During the post Italian Unification period, Panizzi wrote two letters in the form of a lecture on the inadequacies on the politics for Southern Italy in the new Kingdom of Italy, which were widely circulated abroad and were very much appreciated by Massimo D’Azeglio. However, the letters were viewed with caution, suspicion, and disdain. D’Azeglio by this time had been politically sidelined and exiled as William Spaggiari observes “to Lake Maggiore where he began writing his memoirs, he was a survivor ... [and] Panizzi too, far from his native Italy which had changed considerably from what he would have liked Italy to have been, was soon to follow suit.”⁶¹

Panizzi’s resumption of his literary studies

From 1850 and particularly from 1858–1870, Panizzi formed a deep friendship, documented in a lengthy and full correspondence, with the French writer and historian Prosper Mérimée, who, in December 1857, became a member and then the President of a Commission “pour l’organisation de la Bibliothèque Impériale,” later to become the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF).⁶² In his correspondence he does not concern himself with literary matters but rather principles and practices of library management so as to seek the best practices to adopt: acquisitions procedures, cataloging, pressmarking and placing of books, binding, the design of reading rooms, and the security and accomodation of library staff. For a month between April and May 1858 and during other visits in following years, Mérimée stayed in London as Panizzi’s guest during which time he had to “torture him personally,” “annoy and irritate him” as he pre-announced in January, bombarding him “with a string of questions as long as Jacob’s Ladder.”⁶³ Mérimée was to find in Panizzi a firm friend and a professional who was prepared to furnish him with clear, detailed, and exhaustive replies to all his questions. The following year, a French civil servant visited the British Museum Library to examine the Reading Room and to develop

a similar plan for the construction of the Parisian library that was in the process of being built.

In 1858 Panizzi returned to his literary studies with the first four editions of “Dante’s ‘The Divine Comedy’ Literally Reprinted” and with his essay “Chi era Francesco da Bologna?” that was reprinted in 1873. On September 1858, Panizzi was afforded an ample if not a vast panoramic view of Italian libraries “on the occasion of a study tour which brought him to numerous libraries in Lombardy, in Venice and above all in Tuscany.”⁶⁴

In 1865, he sought permission to retire, owing to the deterioration of his health. His request was granted the following year. Also in 1865, Massimo D’Azeglio intended to offer him a role in organizing culture in Italy: “I would be very pleased if Panizzi were to come to Italy. He is a man who has a great deal of experience in numerous projects over a period of many years, living among men of politics and politicians and he would have the authority and gravitas to put a few minds on the right road. If I were Minister I would offer him a post and I’ll ensure that I’ll speak about it to the one who is.” In a sarcastic and pitiless fashion he declared, “but when it comes to libraries, God only knows what crusade he will lead against each head of each of these libraries now.”⁶⁵

In 1868, the “Great Pan”⁶⁶ was appointed Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, and. In 1869, he received another accolade and was knighted by Queen Victoria and was known as Sir Anthony Panizzi henceforth.⁶⁷ In the same year after the premature death of George Fagan, the Secretary to the British Legation, who had accompanied him to Naples, Panizzi adopted Fagan’s children and was particularly devoted to Louis Fagan and found him employment at the British Museum. Louis remained at Panizzi’s side, becoming his first biographer and the executor of his will.

Panizzi died in London on April 8, 1879. His bust by Carlo Marochetti, Queen Victoria’s favorite sculptor, which was paid for by members of Library staff, was placed in a niche above the entrance to the Reading Room. Two further busts were raised by the artist Ettore Ferrari in Italy, one in his native town Brescello and the second one in the Pincio Gardens of Rome among the 228 sculptures of famous Italian personalities worldwide. A plaque in his honor was placed at the University of Parma recording the incisive activity of a determined man of culture and a patriot who had been a prelude to a United and Independent Italy. This plaque reads (in English translation): “In this University Antonio Panizzi 1797–1879 began his legal studies. An exile to London he was the Librarian and reformer of The British Museum, an unofficial Ambassador and a Senator of that free, liberal and united Italy for which he struggled and fought for throughout his life.”⁶⁸

Panizzi was first and foremost a patriot, teaching and lecturing on Italian literature. The activity of a librarian afforded him a livelihood. From 1885

onward, the British Library has dedicated a series of prestigious lectures on libraries and library management in his honor, the celebrated *Panizzi Lectures*.

Great Pan should be remembered in Italy in the 21st century, not only for his library work, but also because he placed the liberation of his native Italy at the center of his life, acting wisely as an informal intermediary between patriots and the English Government in the attempt to resolve the “Italian Question.”⁶⁹ He was a true and trusted friend to his country of birth. Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour, wrote his own tribute that is quoted on Panizzi’s monument at Brescello (in English translation): “If Italians were aware of what an enormous debt is owed by the fatherland to Panizzi no other citizen would be held higher in their esteem.”⁷⁰ Giosue Carducci honored him: “He imparted great honor to Italian emigration, when tyranny dispersed some of our greatest talents to foreign fields, and it was Antonio Panizzi who brought great honor to Italy and was an excellent example to England; portrayed as he was as one who displayed all the greatest traits and qualities of the truly Italian mind, nature and genius when this is characterized by all that is good, profound, brilliantly sharp and quick-witted, hard-working, tenacious and scornful of all that is frivolous and vain.”⁷¹

Notes

1. See Giuseppe Anceschi, “Nota bibliografica degli scritti di e su Antonio Panizzi,” in *Studi su Antonio Panizzi*, di Enzo Bottasso, Carlo Dionisotti, Maurizio Festanti, Edward Miller, a cura di Maurizio Festanti (Reggio Emilia: Biblioteca municipale A. Panizzi, 1981), 515–35; William Spaggiari, “Nota bibliografica,” in *Antonio Panizzi (1797–1879): mostra documentaria*, Reggio Emilia, Teatro municipale, 5–30 dicembre 1979, a cura di Maurizio Festanti, presentazione di Luigi Balsamo (Reggio Emilia: Comune di Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca municipale A. Panizzi, 1980), 87–99; William Spaggiari, “Bibliografia,” in *Antonio Panizzi, “Il monopolio del patriottismo: lettere sulla questione meridionale (1863)”*, a cura di William Spaggiari (Milano: LED, 2012), 31–36.
2. A general biography is Edward Miller, *Prince of Librarians. The Life and Times of Antonio Panizzi of the British Museum* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1967). Other edition: London: Andre Deutsch, 1967. Reprinted: London: The British Library, 1988. See also Robert Cowtan, *A Biographical Sketch of Sir Anthony Panizzi, K.C.B., LL. D. [...] Late Principal Librarian, British Museum* (London: Asher, 1873), also available online at <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015028123613>; Louis Fagan, *The Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi K.C.B., Late Principal Librarian of the British Museum, Senator of Italy* (London, Remington & Co., 1880), 2 vol. available online at <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/2235514.html>; Galliano Cagnolati, *Antonio Panizzi 1797–1879*, presentazione di Marzio Dall’Acqua (Mantova: Editoriale Sometti, 2003).
3. Antonio Panizzi, *Passages in My Official Life* (London: C.F. Hodgson & Son, 1871). Printed for private circulation.
4. Translated into Italian by Giovanni Bezzi (Milan: Treves, 1875). On Giovanni Bezzi d’Aubrey (1796–1879) see the lengthy entry by Elena Pierotti, “Giovanni Brezzi,

- d'Aubrey, il patriota dimenticato,” http://www.storico.org/risorgimento_italiano/giovanni_bezzi.html (“a Piedmontese learned scholar transferred to London [...], discoverer of Dante’s portrait at the Bargello Museum in Florence”).
5. There are two copies in Florence, one is held at the Library of the Risorgimento Archives, the other is held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence; the latter has been described in SBN on April 24, 2017; thanks are due to Giovanni Bergamin for his assistance in locating this work.
 6. Matthew Battles, *Library: An Unquiet History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003).
 7. Carlo Dionisotti, *Un professore a Londra. Studi su Antonio Panizzi*, a cura di Giuseppe Anceschi (Novara: Interlinea, 2002).
 8. Constance Brooks, *Antonio Panizzi: Scholar and Patriot* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931); Giulio Caprin, *L'esule fortunato Antonio Panizzi* (Firenze: Vallecchi, 1945).
 9. Denis V. Reidy, “Panizzi, Gladstone, Garibaldi and the Neapolitan Prisoners,” *Electronic British Library Journal* (2005): 1–5. Available online: <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2005articles/pdf/article6.pdf>.
 10. “I fondi librari antichi delle biblioteche: problemi e tecniche di valorizzazione,” a cura di Luigi Balsamo e Maurizio Festanti (Firenze: Olschki, 1981). Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi tenuto a Reggio Emilia e Parma dal 5 al 7 dicembre 1979, and “Studi su Antonio Panizzi,” di Enzo Bottasso, Carlo Dionisotti, Maurizio Festanti, Edward Miller, a cura di Maurizio Festanti (Reggio Emilia: Biblioteca municipale A. Panizzi, 1981).
 11. “Atti del Convegno di studi su Antonio Panizzi, Roma, 21–22 aprile 1980,” a cura di Enzo Esposito (Galatina (Lecce): Editrice Salentina, 1982).
 12. Among these, see Maria Teresa Biagetti, “Teoria e prassi della catalogazione nominale. I contributi di Panizzi, Jewett e Cutter” (Roma: Bulzoni, 2001).
 13. Maurizio Festanti, “Luigi Balsamo: un maestro,” *Quaderni estensi*, no. 5 (2013): 99–109, http://www.quaderniestensi.beniculturali.it/QE5/QE5_balsamo_festanti.pdf.
 14. Michael Gorman, “Seymour Lubetzky uomo di principi. Discorso tenuto al Seymour Lubetzky 100th Birthday Symposium, 18 aprile 1998, University of California, Los Angeles,” traduzione di Agnese Galeffi, *Biblioteche oggi*, luglio-agosto (2000): 7; disponibile online: <http://www.bibliotecheoggi.it/2000/20000600601.pdf>.
 15. Paolo Traniello, “I returns da Napoli all’inchiesta britannica sulle biblioteche pubbliche del 1849–1850,” in “Percorsi e luoghi della conoscenza: dialogando con Giovanni Solimine su biblioteche, lettura e società,” a cura di Giovanni Di Domenico, Giovanni Paoloni e Alberto Petrucciani (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 2016), 55–67. Traniello records the replies received from Naples to the questionnaire sent out by the Foreign Office in 1849 in an attempt to map a reconstruction of the British inquest on public libraries, which was to be criticised by Panizzi with some errors on his part, in 1850. Moreover, Paolo Traniello’s contribution is very interesting; see his “Il conflitto tra Edward Edwards e Antonio Panizzi al Select Committee on Public Libraries 1849 e 1850. Due diverse idee di biblioteca pubblica,” in Paolo Traniello, *Contributi per una storia delle biblioteche in età contemporanea* (Pistoia: Settegiorni, 2016), 95–116.
 16. Paul Gabriele Weston, “‘I look with impatience for your return’. Antonio Panizzi a zozzo per le biblioteche europee,” in *Percorsi e luoghi della conoscenza*, cit., 31–53.
 17. Roberto Marcuccio’s review of Gaetano Fantuzzi, *Catalogo ragionato dei libri di me Gaetano Fantuzzi*, transcribed and edited by Federico Olmi (Bologna, Pàtron, 2004), in *Biblioteche oggi* (Marzo 2005): 104.
 18. When Panizzi related to the Select Committee in 1836 that “the little State of Parma” alone had spent more than 4,000 pounds on acquiring a single collection of books,

- this information was supplied to him, according to Edward Miller, by his old friend Angelo Pezzana.
19. Antonio Boselli, "Angelo Pezzana e Antonio Panizzi, maestro e discepolo," *Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi*, 33 (1920).
 20. Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., 9–10.
 21. Antonio Panizzi, "Dei processi e delle sentenze contra gli imputati di lesa-maesta e di aderenza alle sette proscritte negli stati di Modena notizie scritte da Antonio Panizzi e pubblicate da ***". Madrid, per Roberto Torres reggente la stamperia dell'Universal; e si trova in tutti i paesi liberi, 1823.
 22. Michele Lessona, *Volere è potere*, 8th (Firenze: Barbera, 1873), 270.
 23. Giuseppe Pecchio, *Osservazioni semiserie di un esule in Inghilterra*, con introduzione di Giuseppe Prezzolini. (Lanciano (Chieti): Carabba, 1913), 35 (translation of SG and MG).
 24. The relationship between Panizzi and Foscolo was strained and at times difficult particularly over the publication of the "Lettera apologetica," which had originally been intended as a preface to Foscolo's edition of Dante's "Commedia," which Foscolo had intended to give to his publisher, William Pickering, in 1824, but which never came to fruition. This was a bone of contention and a source of considerable criticism on the part of Panizzi and others, for example, Enrico Mayer. The letter was published by Mazzini at Lugano only in 1844 in "Scritti politici inediti"; see Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., 63, etc. and Francesco Viglione, "Ugo Foscolo in Inghilterra (saggi)," *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Filosofia e Filologia* 22 (1910): 247, etc.
 25. Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., 70.
 26. Antonio Panizzi, *An Elementary Italian Grammar for the Use of Students in the London University* (London: John Taylor, 1828); Antonio Panizzi, *Extracts from the Italian Prose Writers for the Use of Students in the London University* (London: John Taylor, 1828). Two years later Panizzi published for the same publisher "Stories from Italian Writers with a Litteral Interlinear Traduction"; see Carlo Dionisotti, "Un professore a Londra," cit., 109–112.
 27. The comparative edition of Orlando Innamorato di Bojardo. Orlando furioso di Ariosto, With an Essay on the Romantic Narrative Poetry of the Italians. Memoirs and Notes was published between 1830 and 1834 in 9 volumes.
 28. Battles, *Library: An Unquiet History*, cit., 130.
 29. Battles, *Library: An Unquiet History*, cit., 129.
 30. Francis Leveson-Gower, first Earl of Ellesmere.
 31. "Antonio Panizzi, Mr. Panizzi to the Right Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere. - British Museum, January 29, 1848". Reproduced in *Foundations of Cataloging. A Sourcebook*, edited by Michael Carpenter and Elaine Svenonius (Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 1985), 15–47.
 32. Alberto Rizzo, "Aristide Staderini e il catalogo a schede mobile. Profilo di un pioniere," *Biblioteche oggi* (April 2001): 30, <http://www.bibliotecheoggi.it/2001/20010303001.pdf>. In Italy the new card indexes were introduced in 1882 when the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele II at Rome assigned their supply to Aristide Staderini, the inventor of the two models, both in drawers and in volumes.
 33. Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., 115–116.
 34. *Ibid.*, p. 115–116. Quoted from the Commission appointed to inquire into the Constitution and Government of the British Museum, Report of February 23, 1836, Appendix p. 130.

35. Ibid., p. 120; Miller's reference is to *Minutes*, paragraph 4886, Select Committee to inquire into the condition, management and affairs of the British Museum 1836.
36. Ibid., 121.
37. Ibid., 120–121.
38. Battles, *Library: An Unquiet History*, cit., 132–133.
39. Maria Teresa Biagetti, *Teoria e prassi della catalogazione nominale. I contributi di Panizzi, Jewett e Cutter* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2001), 14.
40. Seymour Lubetzky, "Development of Cataloging Rules," *Library Trends. Current Trends in Cataloging and Classification* 2, no. 2 (fall 1953): 180.
41. Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., 141. Panizzi's quotation from the Commission appointed to inquire into the Constitution and Government of the British Museum, *Minutes*, para. 7311 and so on. See *Report of the Commissioners on the Constitution and Government of the British Museum, with minutes of evidence and index, 1850* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1970). Facsimile reprint of 1st ed. London: H.M.S.O., 1850.
42. Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., 144. Antonio Panizzi to Henry. Ellis, October 2, 1846. [Commission appointed to inquire into the Constitution and Government of the British Museum, "Appendix," 290-291].
43. Nancy Brault, "The Great Debate on Panizzi's Rules in 1847–1849: The Issues Discussed" (Ph.D. diss., The School of Library Service & The University Library, University of California, Los Angeles, 1972). Dissertation held by the Graduate School of Library and Information Science, UCLA.
44. David Paisey, "Adolphus Asher (1800–1853): Berlin Bookseller, Anglophile, and friend to Panizzi," *The British Library Journal* 23, no. 2 (autumn 1997): 131–153.
45. Wyman W. Parker, "Henry Stevens: The Making of a Bookseller," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 48, no. 2 (second quarter, 1954): 149–169.
46. William Spaggiari, "Panizzi e Rolandi, librarian e bookseller," in William Spaggiari, *Geografie letterarie: da Dante a Tabucchi* (Milano: LED, 2015), 234. The author examines the extant correspondence of nine letters between Rolandi and Panizzi.
47. Ibid., For further information on Rolandi, see Mario Nagari, *Pietro Rolandi da Quarona Valsesia (1801–1863): libraio ed editore in 20, Berner's Street a Londra* (Novara: Tip. La moderna, 1959).
48. For further information on the Grenville Library and how Panizzi was successful in acquiring it for the British Museum Library, see Denis V. Reidy, "Panizzi, Grenville and the Grenville Library" in *The British Library Journal*, vol. 23, no. 2 (1997), p. 115–130. The collection was preserved intact. Frederic Madden attempted to transfer the manuscripts to the Department of which he was Keeper incurring Panizzi's displeasure and wrath. To see how the problem was resolved see Michael Borrie, "Panizzi and Madden," *The British Library Journal*, vol. 5, no. 1 (spring 1979), p. 18–36. Available online: <http://www.bl.uk/ebj/1979articles/pdf/article2.pdf>.
49. Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., 209. For an account of Sydney Smirke and his dealings with Panizzi and the Round Reading Room, see Denis Reidy's article in *The Oxford Dictionary of Biography*, and Philippe Rowland Harris, *The Reading Room* (London: The British Library Board, 1979).
50. See Denis V. Reidy, "Some Hitherto Unpublished Panizziana from Italy," *The British Library Journal* 5, no. 1 (spring 1979): 37–46. Available online: <http://www.bl.uk/ebj/1979articles/pdf/article3.pdf>. Louis Fagan bequeathed part of Panizzi's papers and correspondence to the Department of Manuscripts at the British (Museum) Library but decided to donate the manuscript of his biography of Panizzi together with other

- papers to the Biblioteca Municipale at Reggio Emilia: documents relating to the Reading Room, the original plan drawn up by Panizzi and Ellis in 1851 for a proposed extension and increase in space which was rejected on the grounds of cost; two sections of the plan for the British Museum Library according to the style of the celebrated architect Joseph Paxton which was ironically described as “Panizzi’s ‘bird-cage’” by the *Quarterly Review*, on December 1852. See also C.J. Wright, “Consort and Cupola: Prince Albert, Panizzi and the Reading Room of the British Museum,” *The British Library Journal* 23, no. 2 (autumn 1997): 176–193. Available online: <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/1997articles/pdf/article16.pdf>.
51. James A. Tait, *Authors and Titles; an Analytical Study of the Author Concept in Codes of Cataloguing Rules in the English Language, from that of the British Museum in 1841, to the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1970).
 52. See Michael Gorman, cit., 6, and also available at: <http://www.bibliotecheoggi.it/2000/20000600601.pdf>.
 53. Alfredo Serrai, “Storia delle biblioteche. Parte II,” *Bibliothecae.it* 3, no. 2 (2014):178.
 54. Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., 226.
 55. William Spaggiari, “La questione meridionale: da Napoli al British Museum,” in William Spaggiari, *Geografie letterarie: da Dante a Tabucchi* (Milano: LED, 2015), 293–316.
 56. Letter from Giuseppe Mazzini to his mother Maria Drago dated July 31 and August 2, 1839, in Giuseppe Mazzini *Scritti editi ed inediti* (Imola: Galeati, 1914), vol. XVIII, 140–141 and 166.
 57. On the close friendship that existed and endured between Gladstone and Panizzi, which is documented from 1842 onwards, see M.R.D. Foot, “Gladstone and Panizzi,” *The British Library Journal* 5, no. 1 (spring 1979): 48–56. Available online: <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/1979articles/pdf/article4.pdf>.
 58. William Ewart Gladstone, *A Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government* (London: J. Murray, 1851).
 59. “Arnaldo da Brescia. Tragedia di Gio. Battista Niccolini,” *The North British Review*, II (August 1844): 459.
 60. Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., 252–257; Reidy, “Panizzi, Gladstone, Garibaldi and the Neapolitan Prisoners,” cit., 1–5. Available online: <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2005articles/pdf/article6.pdf>.
 61. Spaggiari, “Antonio Panizzi,” cit., 26.
 62. Audrey C. Brodhurst, “A Side-Light on Panizzi in the Letters of Prosper Mérimée,” *The British Library Journal* 5, no. 1 (spring 1979): 57–75. Available online: <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/1979articles/pdf/article5.pdf>. Only Mérimée’s letters to Panizzi are extant, as those from Panizzi were lost in a fire at Mérimée’s house during the uprisings and struggles for control of the Paris Comune in 1871.
 63. Letter from Mérimée to Panizzi dated January 1858 cited by Audrey C. Brodhurst, “A Side-Light on Panizzi in the Letters of Prosper Mérimée” *The British Library Journal* 5, no. 1 (spring 1979): 67. Available online: <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/1979articles/pdf/article5.pdf>.
 64. William Spaggiari, “Panizzi e Rolandi,” cit., p. 235. Spaggiari quotes Pietro Rolandi’s letter to Carlo Milanese dated 20 September 1858 in Mario De Gregorio’s “Alcune «lettere senesi» di Antonio Panizzi,” *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, a. LXXXIX (1982): 388: “On Saturday morning I met Signor Panizzi in a carriage together with his friend Sir James Hudson and today they will be in Turin.”
 65. Massimo d’Azeglio, *Lettere inedite di Massimo d’Azeglio al marchese Emanuele d’Azeglio*, documentate a cura di Nicomede Bianchi (Torino: Roux e Favale, 1883), 380.

66. “‘Big Pan’ was the name or more correctly the nick-name which satirical magazines gave to Panizzi on account of his large stature and corporation” (William Spaggiari, “Introduzione” in Antonio Panizzi, *Il monopolio del patriottismo*, cit., 18).
67. Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Civil Division.
68. “In questa Università si formò agli studi giuridici Antonio Panizzi 1797–1879. Esule a Londra, fu bibliotecario e riformatore del British Museum, ambasciatore non ufficiale e senatore di quell’Italia libera e unita per la quale cospirò e lottò tutta la vita.”
69. Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., 258.
70. “Se gli italiani conoscessero quali benemerenze ha il Panizzi verso la Patria, nessun cittadino sarebbe tenuto più alto nell’estimazione loro.”
71. Giosue Carducci, *Opere*. Vol. XI (Ceneri e faville. Serie III ed ultima. 1877–1901) (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1902), 306.