

ANTENOR QUADERNI

Direzione

Francesca Ghedini, Jacopo Bonetto, Maria Stella Busana, Monica Salvadori

Comitato scientifico

Paolo Carafa, Marie Brigitte Carre, Heimo Dolenz, Irene Favaretto, Christof Flügel, Andrea Raffaele Ghiotto, Giovanni Gorini, Stefania Mattioli Pesavento, Mauro Menichetti, Caterina Previato, Athanasios Rizakis, Daniela Scagliarini, Alain Schnapp, Gemma Sena Chiesa, Desiderio Vaquerizo Gil, Massimo Vidale, Paola Zanovello, Norbert Zimmermann

Redazione scientifica

Alessandra Didonè, Giulia Salvo, Clelia Sbrolli

Layout del testo: Grafiche Turato

Nella collana Antenor Quaderni sono pubblicate opere sottoposte a revisione valutativa con il procedimento in «doppio cieco» (double blind peer review process), nel rispetto dell'anonimato dell'autore e dei due revisori. I revisori sono professori di provata esperienza scientifica, italiani o stranieri, o ricercatori di istituti di ricerca notoriamente affidabili. Il revisore che accetti l'incarico di valutazione, formula il suo giudizio tramite applicazione di punteggio da 1 a 5 (sufficienza: 3 punti) in relazione ad ognuno dei seguenti profili: originalità o rilevanza della trattazione; sviluppo e coerenza interna delle argomentazioni; conoscenza degli studi pregressi sull'argomento; livello di leggibilità e correttezza formale (sintattico-stilistica). Il valutatore fornisce inoltre un giudizio complessivo sull'apparato illustrativo e indica se l'opera sia pubblicabile nella versione presentata senza modifiche, pubblicabile dopo le modifiche suggerite, se sia da riesaminare dopo un'attenta rielaborazione oppure da rigettare. Quindi, il valutatore fornisce un giudizio conclusivo con dettagliate indicazioni sulle eventuali modifiche da apportare. Nel caso di giudizio discordante fra i due revisori, la decisione finale sarà assunta dai direttori responsabili della Collana e dal comitato scientifico, salvo casi particolari in cui i direttori medesimi provvederanno a nominare un terzo revisore cui rimettere la valutazione dell'elaborato. Le valutazioni sono trasmesse, rispettando l'anonimato del revisore, all'autore dell'opera. L'elenco dei revisori e le schede di valutazione sono conservati presso la sede della Collana, a cura della redazione. Il termine per lo svolgimento dell'incarico di valutazione accettato è di venti giorni, salvo espressa proroga, decorsi i quali, previa sollecitazione e in assenza di osservazioni negative entro dieci giorni, il direttore della Collana e il comitato scientifico, qualora ritengano l'opera meritevole, considerano approvata la proposta. A discrezione del direttore responsabile e del comitato scientifico sono escluse dalla valutazione opere di indubbia meritevolezza o comunque di contenuto da ritenersi già adeguatamente valutato in sede accademica con esito positivo, per esempio scritti pubblicati su invito o di autori di prestigio, atti di particolari convegni, opere collettive di provenienza accademica.



UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
DI PADOVA

Università degli Studi di Padova

Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali: Archeologia, Storia dell'Arte, del Cinema e della Musica

Piazza Capitaniato, 7 – 35139 Padova

ISBN 978-88-6938-292-5

© Padova 2022, Padova University Press

Università degli Studi di Padova

via 8 febbraio 1848, 2 – 35122 Padova

tel. 049 8273748, fax 049 8273095

e-mail: ordini.padovauniversitypress@unipd.it

www.padovauniversitypress.it

Tutti i diritti sono riservati. È vietata in tutto o in parte la riproduzione dei testi e delle illustrazioni.

In copertina: *Lucio Vero*, gesso cavo, sec. XVI, collezione Mantova Benavides, MB151. Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte dell'Università di Padova (foto di Federico Milanese, Centro di Ateneo per i Musei - CAM)

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PADOVA
DIPARTIMENTO DEI BENI CULTURALI

ANTENOR QUADERNI 52

BEYOND FORGERY
COLLECTING, AUTHENTICATION AND
PROTECTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Edited by
Monica Salvadori, Elisa Bernard, Luca Zamparo, Monica Baggio

Volume realizzato con il contributo di



UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
DI PADOVA



PROGETTO
MEMO

Progetto sostenuto dalla
 **Fondazione**
Cassa di Risparmio di Padova e Rovigo
Nell'ambito del Bando

PROGETTI DI
eccellenza 2017

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MONICA SALVADORI, ELISA BERNARD, LUCA ZAMPARO, MONICA BAGGIO, <i>Introduction</i>	9
---	---

PART 1. CULTURAL HERITAGE AND FAKES: FUNCTIONS AND CHALLENGES

RESTORING, REPLACING, DECEIVING, EDUCATING

FRANÇOIS LISSARRAGUE †, <i>Restaurer, imiter, falsifier: pour une philologie de l'image</i>	27
ANNA ANGUISSOLA, <i>Funzione e materia. Note al concetto di “falsificazione” nel mondo romano</i>	41
MONICA SALVADORI, <i>L’originalità dell’inautentico: qualche riflessione sulle dinamiche tra originale e copia nella fotografia archeologica di Elio Ciol</i>	55
GILBERTO ARTIOLI, <i>Authentication and the Perception of Fakes. Forgeries of Natural Specimens</i>	67
THIERRY LENAIN, <i>The Cultural Status of Art Forgery</i>	79

SCIENCE DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL POLLUTION

MARC-ANTOINE KAESER, <i>Archaeology as the “Age of Fake”: Material Authenticity in Modern Times</i>	91
ELENI PIPÉLIA, <i>Objets contrefaits dotés d’une valeur supposée archéologique. Un sujet de recherche à la mode ou une menace réelle pour l’étude des cultures passées?</i>	105
GIULIANA CALCANI, <i>The Cultural Pollution of the Fake: The Case of the Pseudo-Ancient Bronze of an “Artisan” at the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>	117
MARTA NEZZO, <i>Collecting African Art: Authenticity as Cultural Interpretation and Objective Reality. Problems and Meanings of Modern Forgery</i>	125

PART 2. CULTURAL HERITAGE COLLECTING AND MUSEUMS

COLLECTING CULTURAL HERITAGE

ELENA PETTENÒ, ROBERTO TASINATO, <i>Elogio di un’amabile follia. Collezioni, collezionisti (?) e la tutela archeologica</i>	141
ANDREA BOBBIO, ELEONORA PORCARO, <i>The Psychology of Collecting: A Short Review</i>	155
MONICA BAGGIO, <i>Il Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d’Arte dell’Università di Padova: dall’oggetto, alla collezione, al museo</i>	171

MUSEUMS BETWEEN THE PHYSICAL AND THE VIRTUAL

ELISA PANERO, <i>The Museum Object, the Museum Display, and the Quest for Authenticity: The Case of Turin's Royal Museums – Antiquities Museum</i>	183
GINA SALAPATA, <i>Physical and Virtual Hands-on Learning through Reproductions of Classical Antiquities</i>	193
CRISTIANA BARANDONI, <i>Da Firenze all'Indiana. Analisi dei progetti di comunicazione digitale del Dipartimento di Antichità Classica delle Gallerie degli Uffizi, biennio 2014-2016</i>	201
BERNADETTE BIEDERMANN, <i>Museum Objects and Fake Authenticity. Representing Museum Objects in the Virtual Space</i>	217

PART 3. AUTHENTICATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE: ART HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC METHODS

THEORETICAL AGENDAS

DAVID A. SCOTT, <i>Authenticity and Art: Issues and Conflicts in Scientific Connoisseurship</i>	231
PAUL T. CRADDOCK, <i>Interactions between Science, Authenticity and the Illicit Antiquities Trade</i>	249
ELISA CHIARA PORTALE, <i>Old Controversies and New Data. Assessing Again the Polychrome Vases from Centuripe</i>	265
MARIA CERZOSO, ARMANDO TALIANO GRASSO, NATALIA ROVELLA, MAURO LA RUSSA, <i>Falsi archeologici in mostra al Museo dei Brettii e degli Enotri di Cosenza: per un approccio legale all'archeologia</i>	281

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

CRISTINA BOSCHETTI, <i>So Dirty, So Ancient, or the Beauty of Weathered Glass. Some Reflections on Forging Archaeological Glass</i>	295
ALESSANDRA COPPOLA, SERENA EVELINA PERUCH, <i>Fake Greek and South-Italian Vase Inscriptions in the "Marchetti Collection" (University of Padua)</i>	303
GIUSEPPE SALEMI, EMANUELA FARESin, LUCA ZAMPARO, <i>Structuring Light for De-structuring Fake Ceramic Artefacts: The Case study of a Kylix from the Marchetti Collection</i>	319
LUDOVICO REBAUDO, ALESSANDRA CANNATARO, <i>Expertise and Macro Photography as Non-invasive Methods to Detect Forgeries. A Pseudo-Attic Vase in a Private Collection in Gorizia</i>	329

PART 4. PROTECTING CULTURAL HERITAGE AGAINST FORGERY AND ILLICIT TRADE

LEGAL PERSPECTIVES ON FORGERY

PAOLO MORO, <i>Fake Truth. The Legal Issue of Archaeological Forgery</i>	343
LORENZO PELLA, <i>Il Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Culturale e l'azione di prevenzione e repressione dei falsi d'arte</i>	351
LUCA ZAMPARO, <i>Smascherare i falsi archeologici: l'opinione dell'esperto</i>	361
JULIA WEILER-ESSER, <i>Warranties in the German Art Market</i>	373

FROM LOOTING AND ILLICIT TRADE TO REPATRIATION

MICHELA DE BERNARDIN, <i>Guerra e saccheggio a Palmira. Alcuni risultati preliminari dell'indagine sul mercato dei ritratti funerari palmireni</i>	383
VINNIE NØRSKOV, <i>Collecting and Communicating Greek Painted Pottery in the Twenty-first Century</i>	401
FABRIZIO LEMME, <i>Gli strumenti di recupero dei beni culturali illecitamente esportati dall'Italia</i>	419
ELISA BERNARD, <i>The Repatriation of Archaeological Property and Its Dilemmas: Reflections on the Italian Case</i>	427

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF COLLECTING: A SHORT REVIEW

Andrea Bobbio, Eleonora Porcaro

ABSTRACT

Collecting has been recognised as a widespread activity since ancient times. In fact, most people know a friend, colleague, or acquaintance who owns a proper collection of some sort. The question is why do people invest money, time, and energy in such a curious and probably never-ending activity? In this chapter, we attempt to answer this query, or to at least shed some light on this topic from the point of view of the psychological literature, of which we offer a short review, and from which we believe it is possible to develop hypotheses for future multidisciplinary research and application.

KEYWORDS: applied psychology; collection; collectors; hoarding disorder; psychology of collecting.

AN INTRODUCTION TO COLLECTING

“I made many sacrifices for my collection of Greek, Roman and Egyptian antiquities, and, to be honest, I read more about archaeology than psychology”¹. The author of these words, Sigmund Freud, was the owner of a great collection of ancient art, including approximately 2000 objects (mostly sculptures). Usually, the founder of psychoanalysis positioned his new acquisitions on his dining table in order to admire them during meals, before placing them in the room where he used to meet with his patients². Freud’s behaviour is an example of how assiduously individuals can get involved in collecting.

Indeed, collecting seems to have played a constant role in human history³ and, thanks to the establishment of both the museography and museology disciplines particularly in the eighteenth century, to have constituted the basis for the creation and organization of both museums and galleries⁴. An example of the function of this practice in the ancient world is the Great Library of Alexandria, which contained roughly half a million papyrus scrolls, symbolising the power of the Ptolemaic dynasty⁵. In a similar way, collecting became a symbol of status in ancient Rome, demonstrating both one’s own wealth and cultural refinement⁶. Since that time, the economic value of collecting important artefacts has frequently accompanied political, religious, and social power. The House of Medici, for instance, a prominent

¹ DI GREGORIO 2014, p. 12.

² BELK 1995.

³ E.g., SALVO 2018; DIAZZI 2013; *Curiosità e l’ingegno* 2000; MOLFINO, MOTTOLA MOLFINO 1997. For some relevant international sources see, as an example, the ‘Journal of the History of Collections’ (<https://academic.oup.com/jhc>), and the ‘Center for the History of Collecting’ at the Frick Art Reference Library (<https://www.frick.org/research/center>).

⁴ E.g., DE BENEDICTIS 2015.

⁵ ERSKINE 1995.

⁶ MARIOTTI 2017.

Italian banking family whose economic and political influence lasted from about the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, has been collecting masterpieces for over two centuries and sponsoring many artists. Along with the inner pleasure and gratification of being surrounded by beauty, rarities and *mirabilia* (e.g., the *Wunderkammer*), which is invaluable, they also realised that such demonstration of affluence and elegance would immortalise their family name⁷.

These are just a few of the many cases in which owning a top or very sophisticated collection may become a symbol of status and economic power. However, the collections we typically run into in our everyday lives often have nothing to do with such status or power. People store and collect common items, such as postcards, dolls, dishes, souvenirs, and insects, driven by curiosity or psychological reasons, which have been investigated in the literature⁸. While the item alone could have a restricted meaning in itself, the whole perspective changes when it becomes part of a structured assortment, and the collectors see and understand that.

Because of the complexity of this behaviour, psychologists have analysed it from several perspectives and, to date, the research has not yet offered a complete picture of the main common or stable psychological characteristics inherent to both collectors and collecting. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with a short review of what we considered the relevant theoretical perspectives and findings concerning the psychology of collecting, attempting to shed some light on the motivations or needs that push individuals to get involved in this activity. We decided to deal with the general psychological processes which are thought to underlie collecting behaviour, regardless of the target of the collection. In doing so, we followed a rationale similar to that sometimes used by cognitive psychologists studying, for example, the process of “creativity”, irrespective of the outcome of creativity in itself⁹. Of course, we are aware that a collection of Canova’s sculptures implies something very different from a collection of Lego toys. However, we argue that the psychological processes behind all collections deserve attention, whether the target is Picasso’s paintings, autographed books, football game tickets related to a particular soccer team, all 25,000 species of orchids, or the funny miniatures sometimes included in Kinder Surprise eggs.

COLLECTING AND COLLECTORS

Before examining prominent individuals’ motives to start collecting something, it may be useful to propose a definition of what this activity is and what it consists of. According to Belk¹⁰, collecting is defined as “the process of actively, selectively, and passionately acquiring and possessing things removed from ordinary use and perceived as part of a set of non-identical objects or experiences”. This definition concisely includes the main aspects usually characterising all collectors and collections. First, collectors typically develop an active interest in their own collections and are truly involved in deriving information from the chosen category (e.g., stamps). Furthermore, collectors tend to be selective, looking for and accumulating items which are picked out according to a precise rationale and following an accurate investigation¹¹; this is, as it will be clarified hereafter, one of the main characteristics differentiating collectors from hoarders¹². Additionally, the “emotional” component is intrinsic to this activity¹³.

⁷ E.g., <http://www.italianrenaissanceresources.com/units/unit-8/> (last accessed 7 February 2019). In this sense, as OTTONE (2003, p. 31) wittily wrote while commenting Agnelli’s and Berlusconi’s art collections, “collections are a kind of obligation for those who have a lot of money”.

⁸ E.g., ALBERINI 1984.

⁹ E.g., LEGRENZI 2005.

¹⁰ BELK 1995, p. 67.

¹¹ MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004.

¹² NORDSLETTEN, MATAIX-COLS 2012.

¹³ E.g., SUBKOWSKI 2006.

Belk's definition also indicates that the objects are removed from their ordinary context, thus causing their instrumental function to be of secondary (or no) concern. The components of a set of objects are indeed treasured and even sacralised. This is because each of them embodies a symbol for the growth of the collection, and almost completely loses the value connected to their original functionality (e.g., a stamp's function is to indicate the payment of postage rates); consequently, a new context is created for them (e.g., stamps are positioned in binders and not attached to letters)¹⁴. The attribution of such a symbolic value is a key component in defining what a collection is: a series or set of items that does not have any intrinsic and intertwined meaning for the owner cannot be named as such. Therefore, "a collection is not a collection until someone thinks of it in those terms"¹⁵.

Moreover, the objects belonging to a collection are defined as "non-identical" because they belong to a category that, basically, is created and defined by the owner, and the differentiation between these categories might not be as obvious to other people. However, a category is usually circumscribed only when other individuals or companies (e.g., other collectors, auction houses, experts in the field, printed catalogues) recognise it. Interestingly, the definition of a category, subsequently, delimits what is rare¹⁶.

In this regard, Danet and Katriel formulated the "Principle of No-Two-Alike"¹⁷, according to which collectors have a tendency to search for items that are "the same but different". The objects are "the same" because they are perceived by the collector to belong to the same superordinate category, linguistic or cultural (e.g., stamps from Finland, Coca-Cola gadgets, coins from the Roman Empire). At the same time, each item is somehow discernible to the collector as different from all the others. In order to elucidate this concept better, the authors give an example of a Coca-Cola collector who chooses the category of bottles based on different shapes, different production regions, and different colours of glass.

Another very important characteristic of collecting is its longitudinal aspect, as collecting is a continuing behaviour over time that requires both engagement and patience¹⁸. Besides, motivation represents an additional key attribute of collecting because the individual has to put effort into constantly searching for the right object, meditating on its acquisition and future disposition¹⁹.

Finally, the value of the series is much higher than the sum of the value of each single object if removed from the collection; therefore, a collection can be labelled as such only if it is considered "more than the sum of its parts"²⁰. To conclude, Aristides defines a collection as "an obsession organized"²¹, as it requires an order, method, organisation, and, possibly, completion²².

TYPES OF COLLECTORS

In a recent documentary on Galleria Borghese in Rome²³, Antonio Paolucci, a renowned Italian art historian and expert, listed three fascinating characteristics that a true collector should possess – which were maximised by Cardinal Scipione Caffarelli-Borghese (1576-1633), the refined collector

¹⁴ MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004; BELK, WALLENDORF, SHERRY 1988.

¹⁵ *Interpreting Objects* 1994, p. 158.

¹⁶ ALSOP 1982.

¹⁷ DANET, KATRIEL 1994, p. 225.

¹⁸ BELK *et alii* 1991.

¹⁹ MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004; As an example, according to FORMANEK (1991, p. 275), collecting has "meanings (1) in relation to the self; (2) in relation to other people; (3) as preservation, restoration, history, and a sense of continuity; (4) as a financial investment; and (5) as an addiction".

²⁰ PEARCE. 1994, p. 159.

²¹ ARISTIDES 1988, p. 330.

²² *Interpreting Objects* 1994.

²³ PAOLUCCI 2017. Available at www.raiplay.it within the compendium entitled 'Museo Italia'. See also: <https://galleriaborghese.beniculturali.it/en/>.

who put together the terrific art collection housed in the former Villa Borghese Pinciana –, and which we believe to be useful for our purposes here. They are: 1) curiosity, that is, the collector wants to see, to know and to understand everything, particularly in his fields of interest; 2) quality, that is, the ability the collector has to immediately identify the best examples of excellence, especially in his fields of interest; and 3) artistic taste, shown by the way the items belonging to the collection are displayed, following a carefully planned disposition that, ultimately, reflects both the culture and personality of the collector.

Turning back to the psychological literature, Saari²⁴ identified and described four different types of collectors. The first category is made up of those who would pay any price to obtain the object they are interested in. They are defined as emotional or *passionate* collectors, and their activity is sometimes considered an obsession. Some collectors make use of this practice to define themselves, transferring the qualities of the owned objects to their individual qualities or personality traits (*expressive* collectors). Particular attention will be given to this facet later in this chapter. Those who consider collecting as an enjoyable *hobby* constitute a third possible category of collectors, whose commitment level is usually lower than that of the prototypical collector. Finally, a fourth group includes those people who perform this activity almost only for investment or financial purposes (*acquisitive* collectors). This latter type, which is less likely to have a long-time perspective, is the one for which the psychological investigation is conceivably least applicable.

An important question is how do collectors choose which objects to acquire or which category of artefacts to focus on? According to Danet and Katriel²⁵, collectors might aim at the completion of a series or a set. For example, collectors of stamps may want to collect all the exemplars from a certain year or historical period. Other collectors might have the goal to fill a definite space (e.g., collecting as many beer caps as necessary to fit the area within a specific frame). Finally, there is a group of collectors who only seek perfect objects, and strive for the aesthetical or physical excellence of the owned items (e.g., collecting only the beer caps that – even if used – perfectly maintain their shape, without being bent when opened).

THE PROCESS OF COLLECTING

McIntosh and Schmeichel²⁶ highlighted the general steps typically involved in the collecting process: goal formation, gathering information, planning and courtship, hunt, acquisition, post-acquisition, manipulation, exhibition, and cataloguing.

Every collection starts with the *formation of a goal*, which represents the decision to start collecting something. Different motives may lead to this moment, which may be spontaneously driven by passion (e.g., after the fascination perceived while staring at a certain object) or have a specific cause, cultural, historical, or otherwise, similar to those mentioned above. Sometimes, the collecting intention results from casualty – as many events in daily life do (e.g., originating from a gift or from an old insurance policy found within a book once belonging to a beloved grandfather).

Once the goal is set, the collectors start *gathering information* about the category chosen. This phase assures that collectors have the expertise to acquire the correct objects later on and possibly the best ones available in the market. Moreover, during this step, individuals not only gather information but also are granted the status of experts in some fields, which allows consistent self-realisation²⁷. Occasionally, the narrower the field is, the better the feedback will be in terms of perceived expertise and self-efficacy.

²⁴ SAARI 1997.

²⁵ DANET, KATRIEL 1994.

²⁶ MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004.

²⁷ BELK, WALLENDORF, SHERRY 1988; BELK *et alii* 1991.

The following step consists of the so-called *planning and courtship*. The item is carefully chosen among other objects since the collectors have all the required information. They plan where and when they will acquire it. This phase sees the development of a sort of attachment towards the object of desire, and sometimes the collector perceives it as something he already owns. In addition, the collectors start imagining all the benefits deriving from the purchase, and they may anticipate the feelings they will have by completing the collection. According to Belk²⁸, these anticipated thoughts and feelings lead the collectors to consider the item acquired like a talisman to be venerated. Furthermore, these individuals may also experience mind-consuming anxiety, worrying that they will somehow lose the opportunity to get their object of desire (e.g., the item being acquired by a competitor), which drives their greedy rush towards the acquisition²⁹. Belk emphasises the “fear” of the collectors who believe that if they are not able to acquire the object immediately, it will be gone forever³⁰, and auction houses and dealers presumably receive several indirect advantages from this at times unjustified perception of scarcity. The fear can become a huge burden and could even result in negative consequences for the person’s mental health, causing persistent unhappiness³¹. However, the greatest tension generated by the collecting process can be observed during the following phase, the *hunt*. According to Belk, competition is the basis of the hunt; that is, the rarer the object is, the more the person will crave for it. The reason underlying this emotion is that collectors will tend to transfer the qualitative dimension of the object to their own self through a sort of halo effect³². When this cognitive bias occurs, the individuals will unconsciously have a different perception of themselves, believing that other people will start thinking of them in a more positive way; indeed, as demonstrated by many studies, people generally tend to build their evaluations of themselves and of others based on their material possessions³³. In fact, when the object is finally acquired, the person’s self-esteem is consistently reinforced³⁴. The positive emotions conferred by the *acquisition* step, such as a sense of mastery, competence, and autonomy, may eventually introduce the individual to the addictive aspect of this activity³⁵.

The subsequent stage is *post-acquisition*, which may last for days. Collectors usually spend a lot of time analysing every detail of the object, enjoying the elation which derives from this meticulous examination until they move forward to the next phase³⁶, that is *manipulation, exhibition, and cataloguing*. This phase consists of positioning the object in the spot designated for it, next to the other items already acquired, according to a precise, previously elaborated pattern. According to Danet and Katriel, this step confers to the collector feelings of both control and ownership, which are referred to as “possession rituals”, an example of which is Freud’s behaviour mentioned at the beginning of this chapter³⁷.

After the last phase, a circular return either to the third stage, the planning and courtship, or to the first stage, goal formation, may occur. The latter may happen when the collector realises that the goal previously set is too easily reachable – the idea that the positive emotions conferred by this process will vanish quickly is highly unpleasant – or even too difficult. Alternatively, the person may try to overcome the negative thoughts connected to an overly broad goal by narrowing it down³⁸.

²⁸ BELK 1995.

²⁹ MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004.

³⁰ BELK 1995.

³¹ MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004.

³² BELK 1995; *id.* 1982; DANET, KATRIEL 1994.

³³ LEUTHESSER, KOHLI, HARICH 1995; BELK 1982.

³⁴ DECI, RYAN 1985.

³⁵ FORMANEK 1991.

³⁶ RIGBY, RIGBY 1944.

³⁷ DANET, KATRIEL 1994; MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004.

³⁸ MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF COLLECTING

Several psychological approaches can be used to dig into the reasons underlying collecting behaviour. In particular, our investigation will focus on what the literature offers concerning dynamic psychology, social psychology, clinical psychology, and economic psychology. The reader will first be provided with an overview of the so-called “dynamic” point of view, which arose from Freud’s theorisation and has been developed by several authors subsequently. The dynamic approach suggests an analysis of the reasons for collecting tracing back to the individuals’ early-life relationships. Then, an overview from the social psychology perspective will be presented, which explores people’s behaviour and personality as rooted in the social interactions domain, and in the socially shared meaning of actions. Furthermore, from the clinical psychology point of view, an attempt is made to establish what can be considered, for the collectors, as the fine line separating a healthy hobby from a pathologic obsession. To conclude, a different aspect of collecting will be explored through the economic psychology approach, which considers collectors as consumers and explores the relationships between collectors, brands, and sales techniques³⁹.

DYNAMIC PSYCHOLOGY – SEVERAL APPROACHES

Many authors referring to the psychodynamic tradition have observed a possible connection between collecting and how collectors have been raised during childhood⁴⁰. More specifically, Formanek, referring to the post-Freudian relational-model theories⁴¹, linked collecting to the experiences individuals had during their childhoods along with the relationships collectors had during the first years of life. This approach considers individuals’ psychic organisation and cognitive structure to be based on some models of interaction which are established through the environment they grow up in, with a particular focus on caretakers.

Muensterberger, giving a similar but more detailed explanation, associates the motives driving collecting to the feelings of insecurity individuals experienced when they were young. The author explains collecting as the need to seek for and to obtain confirmation from others in order to compensate for a previously perceived lack of social approval. This approach and interpretation represents a development of the Freudian one and suggests that collecting is the result of unresolved early-childhood frustrations or fantasies⁴².

A similar approach is that of Baekland, who, discussing art collecting, reports the opinion of several psychoanalysts who trace this passion back to the need to compensate for the love the collectors did not receive during childhood. The author confirms that collecting provides feelings of security to the people who practice it. Moreover, Wolf added that collecting is sometimes the consequence of people being accustomed to receiving material things instead of love; therefore, the acquisition and veneration of objects would have the function of assuring them that they can be loved⁴³.

³⁹ Given the focus of this chapter, we will not discuss related topics, such as the impact of online auctions, galleries and shopping websites – such as eBay, Invaluable, and LiveAuctioneers – on the collecting process and market or on the creation of competitive collectors’ communities.

⁴⁰ E.g., SUBKOWSKI 2006.

⁴¹ FORMANEK 1991. The relational-model theories were initially spread in the United States during the 1980s, affirming the fundamental role of the interpersonal relationships established during one person’s childhood, which inevitably affect and define the individual’s personality in adult life (DEYOUNG 2003).

⁴² MUENSTERBERGER 1994. Freud’s theory of psychosexual development considers three stages or phases, namely, the oral stage, the anal-sadistic, and the genital stage. The author subsequently added the phallic-oedipal stage and a latency stage (following the anal-sadistic stage). According to this theory, the child seeks for pleasure through the erogenous zones, driven by sexual energy, defined as instinctual libido. The way in which this drive is handled, whether the infant’s fantasies are allowed to be expressed or not, determines the internalized behavior, which defines the individual’s personality in adult life (e.g., QUINODOZ 2005).

⁴³ BAEKLAND 1981; WOLF 1980.

Remarkably, Baekland explains his experience with collectors with very similar descriptions regarding the sensations underlying the process of choosing a new object to add to the collection. He argues that the feelings accompanying the hunt and the acquisition are comparable to sexual desire. Therefore, the author believes that the collector's subconscious confuses collectibles (e.g., art objects) with sexual objects. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the fact that collectors enjoy touching and caressing the acquired objects, and spending a great deal of time staring at them from different perspectives.

As already mentioned, these authors' perspectives have been influenced by Freud, who recognised both the refusal to give and the desire to possess as a consequence of the sublimation of anal impulses, meaning those impulses that could not be freely expressed in childhood. These two traits characterise collectors' behaviour as they detain the owned objects (representing the faeces) and take care of them. Fenichel developed this idea further, by stating that anal conflicts include two components: the fear of loss and the joy derived from the erogenous pleasure of ownership. Therefore, collecting objects would represent the avoidance of the first condition and the satisfaction of the second one, which, in turn, would be accomplished by tidying the objects according to a pre-established order. In other words, the anal conflicts are sublimated when collectors assure themselves that they have everything under control⁴⁴.

According to Kohut, the founder of Self Psychology (an alternative psychoanalytical approach proposed in the 1970s), human behaviour does not necessarily have to be connected to individuals' sexual development. Indeed, Kohut does not believe that collecting is necessarily to be traced back to the anal stage. Rather, collecting represents the individuals' need to explore, establish relationships with other people, and obtain internal stability⁴⁵.

Wolf offers a diverse viewpoint, and suggests that children's close relationships with their primary caregiver imply the development of self-structures. These will then determine individuals' relationships with other objects – which, in Freudian psychoanalytic terms, means the target of a “drive”, indicating not only other people, but also any entity – during the individual's lifespan. More specifically, the primary relationships developed during infancy imply the creation of “self-objects”, which determine the individual's relationships with other people (e.g., friends, peers) and in some way influence them. In adult life, this pattern can also be shifted to more abstract objects, such as places, profession, religion, and activities. Therefore, collecting can be seen as an instrument to get closer to other people and to create relationships, or as a sort of relationship that is satisfying in and of itself, something that uniquely lies between the collector and the objects collected⁴⁶.

In sum, influenced by Freud, many authors have attempted to study the inner motives underlying collecting based on collectors' childhoods and early relationships. Social psychology offers a different approach, focusing on the individuals' needs in relationship with the socio-cultural context.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY – INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL NEEDS

Collecting, as it is true in the case of most human interests, is an activity pushed by two fundamental needs: those merely regarding the individual and those concerning the individual as a part of a broader social context. Social psychologists have been researching both aspects of collecting, pointing out that owning a rare object sought by others boosts individuals' self-esteem and leads to satisfaction and self-realisation⁴⁷. Moreover, collecting also provides people with the possibility to create a thick net of relationships with other collectors, all sharing the same interest and similar habits⁴⁸. Next, the reader will be given an overview of how collecting affects individuals at an inner and introspective level, followed by an investigation of social needs.

⁴⁴ BARKER 1996; FENICHEL 1945.

⁴⁵ KOHUT 1984.

⁴⁶ WOLF 1980.

⁴⁷ DANET, KATRIEL 1994.

⁴⁸ CHRIST 1965.

As mentioned above, collecting may increase individuals' self-esteem for several reasons. First, it delivers constant feedback on the person's performance, as gathering new objects means both succeeding and having practical and visual proof of that success⁴⁹. Another important feature of collecting is the provision of a goal through which individuals can perceive their life as meaningful⁵⁰. Collecting, therefore, is able to confer individuals with the satisfaction, self-realisation, and approbation human nature requires, which maybe lacking in people's everyday lives (e.g., at work)⁵¹. In addition, collecting also provides excitement that people need and often cannot find elsewhere. The role of positive emotions in the hunt and acquisition phases has already been described. These feelings are also triggered by the fact that collecting is a competitive activity; for this reason, when an individual is able to get a specific object other collectors can no longer obtain, it results in feelings of prestige, reputation, and competence, which all enhance self-esteem⁵².

A further aspect is related to the implicit cultural rules governing every collection, as it may serve as an affirmation of one's gender (e.g., a boy collecting car models and coins, while girls collect dolls and folding fans), interests, or artistic taste⁵³. Furthermore, through the owned objects, collectors can tell other people about their experiences, fantasies, or desires concerning their personality and their ideal self⁵⁴. Collecting, therefore, might be a way to show off to society the picture we want other people to have of us. McIntosh and Schmeichel pointed out that owning an object with a certain historical or cultural value (e.g., a sanguine Monet etching, a piece of South-Italian or Magna Graecia red-figure pottery from the fourth century BC) would considerably increase one person's self-esteem⁵⁵. This is because acquiring the object also means that the collector will be likely to incorporate it into the self, and sometimes the boundary between what one is and what one owns does not exist. From this perspective, completion of a collection represents the fulfilment of the entire person, who, in this way, would reach his own "ideal self"⁵⁶. The words of a collector who used to spend an hour a day alone with his collection testify to this point: "[...] my pictures are part of me, if I were to sell one I should feel I was repenting a choice I had made, changing my own tastes, or betraying myself"⁵⁷. It is clear that status, as well as the way people want to be perceived by others, plays a huge role in determining the benefits the individual may receive from collecting. This linking of individual and social needs satisfied through collecting can be well expressed borrowing the words of Schneider: "man is a maximizer not of goods, but of status. Utility in its purest form is social, not material"⁵⁸.

Social acceptance plays a major role in the life of most people, and it represents a fundamental need persons spend their time pursuing. Collecting may help people to accomplish this goal, as it provides them with the possibility to enter a new social group, which, in turn, allows them to feel accepted at a societal level. Moreover, being in touch with other people and having the same passion for collecting, somehow justifies the time collectors invest in this activity⁵⁹, in many cases at the expense of work, family, and free time⁶⁰. Many collectibles give birth to communities where passion is shared and knowledge about the object is free to grow. Occasionally, as will be explained afterwards, these clubs and communities are part of marketers' strategies, aiming at affiliating collectors and then at increasing brands' profits. An example of the importance of the social aspect of collecting is given

⁴⁹ MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004.

⁵⁰ SMITH, APTER 1977.

⁵¹ BELK *et alii* 1991.

⁵² STORR 1983; BELK 1995.

⁵³ CLIFFORD 1988; DANET, KATRIEL 1994.

⁵⁴ BELK 1988.

⁵⁵ MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004.

⁵⁶ BELK, WALLENDORF 1994.

⁵⁷ BAEKLAND 1981, p. 48.

⁵⁸ SCHNEIDER 1974, pp. 260-261.

⁵⁹ CHRIS 1965; MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004.

⁶⁰ NOVARA, PARDINI 2018.

by a Swedish man who collects beer cans, reporting his closest friends to be people from all over the world he would meet once a year during so-called *conventions*⁶¹.

The fulfilment of the needs described above can also give birth to an addiction, as in the case of smoking. When this happens, it is not easy to establish whether collecting should be defined as a normal activity or if it should be treated as a pathology.

CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY – HOBBY OR OBSESSION?

In the last paragraph, collecting was depicted as a socially accepted activity, even valued as a symbol of social importance (e.g., status, prosperity), very far from being considered a pathology, such as alcoholism or gambling. However, research suggests that collecting often results in obsession and addiction⁶². The reasons behind this undesirable but possible outcome are related to the positive emotions released in both the hunting phase, the acquisition of the object, and the contemplation phase. The euphoria collectors receive from these moments is what makes the acquisition of a new object somehow comparable to a dose of a drug for a drug addict⁶³. A demonstration of the addictive aspect of collecting is provided by the excerpt from a collector who felt “a real compulsion to collect, but just for the sake of doing so, without any real interest”⁶⁴. Additional evidence of the drug addict metaphor is procrastination in the acquisition of the object that would complete the collection. As stated before, it may happen that collectors redefine their goal in order to amplify their collection, an occurrence that can be explained by the fear of abstinence⁵⁹. This double-edged aspect of collecting leads individuals to collect objects as their major source of both satisfaction and dissatisfaction⁶⁵. Goldberg and Lewis dug into the problematic aspect of collecting, saying, “obsessed collectors [...] are driven. The acquiring of a certain oil painting or a rare jade carving becomes a matter of life and death. Their obsession overrules every other aspect of their lives, and they devote almost every waking minute to thinking and planning how to obtain the next object for their collection or how to display it. Objects ultimately become more important than people, and fanatic collectors progressively alienate themselves from friends and family, occasionally even becoming suspicious that others will take away their prized possessions”⁶⁶.

When the obsessive aspect of collecting takes over, clinical psychology can help in defining the distinction between hoarders and collectors, which can be both subtle and difficult to make. In particular, both collectors and hoarders perform a future-oriented activity. Collecting, however, requires advanced planning and anticipation in order to achieve the desired object, while hoarding is considered a future-oriented activity because the objects are gathered with the justification that they might, one day, be useful⁶⁷. Another feature distinguishing the two categories is the fact that collectors pay attention to quality when choosing their objects, whereas hoarders favour quantity⁶⁸. Moreover, collecting implies knowledge, interest, organisation, and precision while hoarding often results in a disorganised heap of objects that does not follow any classificatory principle⁶⁹. Also, collectors have a goal to reach while hoarders gather objects together without having a defined objective; more specifically, “the reasons for acquiring and saving goods are irrational or extreme, and the collecting behavior becomes maladaptive and even dangerous”⁷⁰.

⁶¹ BELK 1995.

⁶² TRAVIS 1987; *id.* 1988.

⁶³ BELK 1988.

⁶⁴ FORMANEK 1991, p. 283.

⁶⁵ BELK 1994; *id.* 1995.

⁶⁶ GOLDBERG, LEWIS 2000, p. 117; NOVARA, PARDINI 2018.

⁶⁷ DANET, KATRIEL 1994; FROST, GROSS 1993.

⁶⁸ DANET, KATRIEL 1994.

⁶⁹ PEARCE 1992; CLIFFORD 1988.

⁷⁰ GRISHAM, BARLOW 2005, p. 45.

From a clinical perspective, the traits and behaviours discussed might be a manifestation of so-called *hoarding disorder*, which was included in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)-III-R as a particular manifestation of obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) and was classified as a distinct diagnostic entity in the fifth version of the DSM, published in 2013⁷¹.

In 1996, Frost and Hartl defined three main aspects characterising hoarding as a pathology⁷². First, hoarders have the tendency to acquire a large number of objects that usually do not have any real value, and they refuse to get rid of them⁷³. Second, hoarding implies living spaces so cluttered that normal everyday life activities are impeded. Third, it also involves significant distress or impairment in psychological functioning.

Nordsletten and Mataix-Cols, the year before DSM-5 was published, wrote an article addressing the question of whether in our society, which is so consistently driven by consumerism, it is possible to distinguish between a “normal” relationship with objects and a “pathological” one. Since hoarding behaviour has been defined as “an excessive form of collecting”, the authors started an investigation on collectors to assess whether a difference could be identified between them and a conceivable category of “hoarders”. After conducting an analysis of the six provisional diagnostic criteria that define Hoarding Disorder according to the DSM-5 in order to see if they all applied to collectors (a summary is presented in *tab. 1*), they partially confirmed what Frost and Hartl had already supposed. Indeed, Nordsletten and Mataix-Cols found that two of the diagnostic criteria that are overall considered as valid⁷⁴, that is C and D, might be useful for distinguishing between hoarders and collectors⁷⁵. Particularly, the tendency to accumulate objects and the inability to get rid of them can be considered pathologic, as it hampers the normal usability of living spaces and affects both the hoarders’ life and the lives of those living with them. Another pathologic trait is a scarce ability to organise, plan, and decide anything concerning the objects hoarded. The authors concluded that proper collectors and typical hoarders represent two separate clusters.

Criterion	Content
A	Persistent difficulty discarding or parting with personal possessions, regardless of their actual value.
B	The difficulty is due to strong urges to save items and/or distress associated with discarding.
C	The symptoms result in the accumulation of a large number of possessions that fill up and clutter active living areas of the home or workplace to the extent that their intended use is no longer possible. If all living space is uncluttered, it is only because of the interventions of third parties (e.g., family members, cleaners, authorities).
D	The symptoms cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning (including maintaining a safe environment for self and others).
E	The hoarding symptoms are not due to a general medical condition (e.g., brain injury, cerebrovascular disease).
F	The hoarding symptoms are not restricted to the symptoms of another mental disorder (e.g., hoarding due to obsessions in Obsessive Compulsive Disorder, cognitive deficits in Dementia, restricted interests in Autism Spectrum Disorder, food storing in Prader–Willi Syndrome).

Tab. 1 – *Provisional diagnostic criteria for identifying Hoarding Disorder in DSM-5*⁷⁶.

⁷¹ NORDSLETTEN, MATAIX-COLS 2012, p. 167.

⁷² FROST, HARTL 1996.

⁷³ E.g., NORBERG *et alii* 2018.

⁷⁴ NORDSLETTEN, MATAIX-COLS 2012; MATAIX-COLS *et alii* 2013.

⁷⁵ FROST, HARTL 1996.

⁷⁶ Modified from: NORDSLETTEN, MATAIX-COLS 2012, p. 167. See also: AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION 2013; NOVARA, PARDINI 2018.

The information provided in this paragraph tried to clarify the risks that collecting may involve, indicating some behavioural and clinical differentiations between hoarding and collecting. In the next and last paragraph, we will focus on how marketers make use of the positive emotions collecting is able to generate as a way to assure collectors' loyalty towards a brand.

ECONOMIC PSYCHOLOGY – COLLECTORS AS CONSUMERS

The tendency to collect recycled, formerly functional objects, such as old telephones or Coca-Cola bottles, is a distinctive feature of contemporary collecting. It is possible to differentiate two main types of aesthetic objects: a) aesthetic objects by destination and b) items that become aesthetic objects by metamorphosis. Paintings and sculptures are aesthetic objects by destination since they are created to be objects of aesthetic contemplation; Coca-Cola bottles and old tools are not, and they are sometimes rescued from the rubbish heap and promoted to the status of “durables” with lasting value. This social and symbolic process, which makes it possible for any kind of object to be included in a collection, might be used by marketing strategists and appealing brands as a way to increase their revenues⁷⁷.

According to the art historian and critic Philippe Daverio, while traditional market economies rely upon the fact that supply is stimulated by demand, the opposite happens in the case of collecting, where the offer usually dictates the rules of the game⁷⁸. These words perfectly introduce the role of collecting in our economy-driven world. In fact, many brands make a profit from this passion, producing objects uniquely addressed to the portion of consumers consisting of collectors⁷⁹. In this regard, Danet and Katriel mention the “mass-produced ‘instant collectables’”, of which figurines are only one example⁸⁰. These instant collectables are often linked to the strategy of “short packing”, which leads consumers to buy more items than actually needed to complete the collection, as some of them are produced in a much lower number than others. Moreover, Danet and Katriel also commented on the national postal services, which every year distribute catalogues showing the stamps released and indicating which are the special and rare ones. Therefore, collectors who are provided with this information are pushed towards undertaking a collection by a goal definition phase, which becomes extremely easy and affordable. A similar phenomenon involves some popular magazines, which, being themselves numbered, are easy to catalogue and offer an already defined goal⁸¹. In this regard, the famous De Agostini publishing company has been leading the Italian magazine market, taking advantage of consumers' perception of the low price of every single periodical to ensure their loyalty towards the brand. In 2014, for example, De Agostini released a collection that allowed the construction of a drone, pieces of which came out with each of the 55 magazines that constituted the overall project. The first one was sold for € 7.99, while all the others had a higher price of € 15.99, with the only exception of four of them that were sold for € 25.99. Of course, a clear marketing strategy supported by the addicting nature of collecting lay behind these prices. Interestingly enough, the final cost of the collection turned out to be € 911.45, for a drone that, once completed, was presumably an already outdated model if compared to those offered in the market⁸² (and maybe at a lower price).

Besides short packing and numbering the items released on the market, brands make use of other strategies, such as the establishment of partnerships with other firms and the creation of clubs and communities. The brands that make use of these tactics – such as Coca-Cola, Walt Disney, McDonald's, Harley-Davidson, and Campbell's Soup – usually have commonalities. First, they are all relatively

⁷⁷ DANET, KATRIEL 1994; MALRAUX 1967; MAQUET 1986.

⁷⁸ ORIGO 2014.

⁷⁹ CAREY 2008.

⁸⁰ DANET, KATRIEL 1994, p. 226.

⁸¹ MCINTOSH, SCHMEICHEL 2004.

⁸² PEZZALI 2014.

old brands, ranging from 40 to over 100 years in production. Furthermore, each of them is the leader in its product category (e.g., Coca Cola is number one in soft drink production and sales). Finally, they are all in a mature product category, meaning that there is little opportunity for extensive natural growth. Since almost every consumer is aware of the existence of these brands and has already made the choice to be loyal to them or not, the only opportunity to make the brand grow further is to increase the purchase frequency among current users. This goal can be achieved by making use of collecting and releasing collectible objects⁸³, sometimes called “limited editions”. Coca-Cola has been very successful in implementing this scheme. The firm is not only the most known global brand but also the largest manufacturer of collectibles, which include chewing gum, pocket mirrors, pocket-knives, wallets, cuff links, thimbles, pins, clocks, ashtrays, pens, matchbooks, and even match safes. Moreover, the brand has licensing agreements with over 125 companies in the U.S.A. An example is the partnership with Mattel that resulted in the release of several Coca-Cola Barbie dolls exclusively targeted to collectors. About 10,000 dolls were sold for \$130 each, resulting in a revenue of more than \$104,000 for Coca-Cola, without any cost of production⁸⁴. Moreover, the Coca-Cola collectors club includes about 7500 members from 23 nations, who collect all kinds of objects. The strategy adopted by the brand is that of leading individuals to the acquisition of a first collectible object, whose purchase will then be followed by another and other, as exemplified by Pete, a collector for almost 25 years, who seems still uncertain about what really attracted him: “I bought a Coca-Cola pocketknife for \$3. I don’t know why. I didn’t carry a pocketknife. I’d never owned a pocketknife. And I didn’t even drink Coca-Cola. But something about that knife interested me and I bought it. Then I began to buy a bit more. By the fall of 1975, I had 20 or 30 different Coca-Cola things, but I didn’t consider myself a collector. Then I read about a group of collectors getting together and decided to go. It was the first Coca-Cola collection I had seen. I was like a kid in a candy store. It really got my adrenaline going and I was hooked”⁸⁵.

This phenomenon is called “brand ownership”, and it implies that collectors feel like they own the brand, even to the point of walking out of a restaurant that sells Pepsi instead of Coca-Cola⁸⁶.

But what does psychology have to do with all this? According to Muensterberger, there is an emotional need that drives collectors to buy and keep buying collectibles, and “[r]egardless of how often and how much one ingests, within a few hours the hunger returns and one must eat again”⁸⁷. Clubs and communities, as previously explained, satisfy the need for social relationships, which is intrinsic to every person. Moreover, collecting these kinds of objects offered by the beloved brands may also be enhanced by the nostalgia many people commonly have about the past, which is often linked to positive emotions, which are both pleasant to remember and to feel again⁸⁸.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to provide the readers with a short review of some recent psychological theories and studies on the collecting process. We illustrated the foundations of collecting, specifically those related to the needs it satisfies, which relate to status, social acceptance, appearance, satisfaction, positive emotions, or even compensation for something missing in the individual’s past or early life. Sometimes, these needs are inherent to the person; sometimes they are created by society or by marketers, skilled in both economics and psychology. That being said, many aspects of collecting could be further explored with both qualitative (e.g., based on interviews with collectors and

⁸³ SLATER 2001; AAKER 1991.

⁸⁴ ALLEN 1994; SLATER 2001.

⁸⁵ SLATER 2001.

⁸⁶ SLATER 2001.

⁸⁷ MUENSTERBERGER 1994, p. 16.

⁸⁸ SINGER 1990.

their relatives) and quantitative (e.g., hinged on surveys, personality tests or experimental studies) methods, and many are the disciplines that, along with cognitive, clinical, social and applied psychology, can contribute to a better knowledge of the multifaceted process that stands behind the intriguing collecting behaviour.

Andrea Bobbio
Eleonora Porcaro
University of Padua
andrea.bobbio@unipd.it

FUNDING

The research was supported by “Progetto MemO. La memoria degli oggetti. Un approccio multidisciplinare per lo studio, la digitalizzazione e la valorizzazione della ceramica greca e magno-greca in Veneto” [The MemO Project. The memory of objects. A multidisciplinary approach for the study, digitization and valorization of Greek and Magna Graecia ceramics in Veneto], Call for “Projects of Excellence 2017” of the Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Padova and Rovigo, <https://www.fondazioneclariparo.it/>. E-mail: progettomemo@unipd.it.

REFERENCES

- AAKER A.D. 1991, *Managing brand equity*, New York.
- ALBERINI M. 1984, *Collezionismo minore*, Milano.
- ALLEN F. 1994, *Secret formula*, New York.
- ALSOP J. 1982, *The rare art traditions*, New York.
- ARISTIDES N. 1988, *Calm and uncollected*, in *American Scholar*, 57, pp. 327-336.
- BAEKLAND F. 1981, *Psychological aspects of art collecting*, in *Psychiatry*, 44, pp. 45-59.
- BARKER S. 1996, *Excavations and Their Objects: Freud's Collection of Antiquity*, New York.
- BELK R.W. 1982, *Acquiring, possessing, and collecting: Fundamental processes in consumer behavior*, in *Marketing theory: Philosophy of science perspectives*, ed. by R.F. Bush, S.G. Hunt, Chicago, pp. 185-190.
- BELK R.W. 1994, *Collectors and collecting*, in *Interpreting Objects* 1994, pp. 317-326.
- BELK R.W. 1995, *Collecting in a consumer society*, New York.
- BELK R.W. et alii 1991, *Collecting in a consumer culture*, in *SV – Highways and Buyways: Naturalistic Research from the Consumer Behavior Odyssey*, ed. R.W. Belk, Provo (Utah), pp. 178-215.
- BELK R.W., WALLENDORF M. 1994, *Of Mice and Men: Gender Identity in Collecting*, in *Interpreting Objects* 1994, pp. 240-253.
- BELK R.W., WALLENDORF M., SHERRY J. 1988, *Collectors and collecting*, in *NA – Advances in Consumer Research*, ed. by M.J. Houston, Provo (Utah), pp. 548-553.
- CAREY C. 2008, *Modeling collecting behavior: The role of set completion*, in *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 29, pp. 336-347.
- CHRIST E.A. 1965, *The “retired” stamp collector: Economic and other functions of a systematized leisure activity*, in *Older people and their social world: The subculture of aging*, ed. by A.M. Rose, W.A. Peterson, Philadelphia, pp. 93-112.
- CLIFFORD J. 1988, *The predicament of Culture*, Cambridge (Mass.), pp. 216-229.
- (La) *Curiosità e l'ingegno* 2000 = *La curiosità e l'ingegno. Collezionismo scientifico e metodo sperimentale a Padova nel Settecento*, by U. Baldini et alii, Padova 2000.
- DANET B., KATRIEL T. 1994, *No two alike: Play and aesthetics in collecting*, in *Interpreting Objects* 1994, pp. 220-239.
- DE BENEDICTIS C. 2015, *Per la storia del collezionismo italiano. Fonti e documenti*, Milano.

- DECI E.L., RYAN R.M. 1985, *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*, New York.
- DEYOUNG 2003, *Relational Psychotherapy: A Primer*, London.
- DI GREGORIO L. 2014, *Freud collezionista di arte antica*, in *Rivista Aracne*, <https://aracne-rivista.it/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/freud-collezionista-di-arte-antica-di-luca-di-gregorio.pdf> (last accessed 25 July 2019).
- DIAZZI A. 2013, *La lista impensabile*, in *Enthymema*, 8, pp. 354-366.
- ERSKINE A. 1995, *Culture and power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum and Library of Alexandria*, in *GaR*, 42, pp. 38-48.
- FENICHEL O. 1945, *The psychoanalytic theory of neurosis*, New York.
- FORMANEK R. 1991, *Why they collect: Collectors reveal their motivations*, in *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 6, pp. 275-286.
- FROST R.O., GROSS R.C. 1993, *The hoarding of possessions*, in *Behavior Research and Therapy*, 31, pp. 367-381.
- FROST R.O., HARTL T.L. 1996, *A cognitive-behavioural model of compulsive hoarding*, in *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 34, pp. 367-381.
- GOLDBERG H., LEWIS R.T. 2000, *Money madness: The psychology of saving, spending, loving, and hating money*, Gretna (La.).
- GRISHAM J.R., BARLOW D.H. 2005, *Compulsive hoarding: Current research and theory*, in *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment*, 27, pp. 41-52.
- Interpreting Objects* 1994 = *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. by S.M. Pearce, London 1994.
- KOHUT H. 1984, *How does analysis cure?*, Chicago.
- LEGRENZI P. 2005, *Creatività e innovazione*, Bologna.
- LEUTHESSER L., KOHLI C.S., HARICH K R. 1995, *Brand equity: The halo effect measure*, in *European Journal of Marketing*, 29, pp. 57-66.
- MALRAUX A. 1967, *Museum without walls*, New York.
- MAQUET J. 1986, *The aesthetic experience: An anthropologist looks at the visual arts*, New Haven.
- MARIOTTI M. 2017, *Verre e Cicerone, due volti del collezionismo romano*, in *Zanichelli*, 25 September, <http://aulalettere.scuola.zanichelli.it/come-te-lo-spiego/verre-e-cicerone-due-volti-del-collezionismo-romano/> (last accessed 7 April 2018).
- MATAIX-COLS *et alii* 2013 = MATAIX-COLS D., BILLOTTI D., FERNANDEZ DE LA CRUZ L., NORDSLETTEN A.E. 2013, *The London field trial for hoarding disorder*, in *Psychological Medicine*, 43, pp. 837-847.
- MCINTOSH W.D., SCHMEICHEL B. 2004, *Collectors and collecting: A social psychological perspective*, in *Leisure Sciences*, 26, pp. 85-97.
- MOLFINO F., MOTTOLA MOLFINO A. 1997, *Il possesso della bellezza. Dialogo sui collezionisti d'arte*, Torino.
- MUENSTERBERGER W. 1994, *Collecting: An unruly passion*, Princeton.
- NORBERG *et alii* 2018 = NORBERG M.M., CRONE C., KWOK C., GRISHAM J.R. 2018, *Anxious attachment and excessive acquisition: The mediating roles of anthropomorphism and distress intolerance*, in *Journal of Behavioral Addictions*, 7, pp. 171-180.
- NORDSLETTEN A.E., MATAIX-COLS D. 2012, *Hoarding versus collecting: Where does pathology diverge from play?*, in *Clinical Psychology Review*, 32, pp. 165-176.
- NOVARA C., PARDINI S. 2018, *Il disturbo da accumulo e la sua valutazione. Definizione, diagnosi e indicazioni per i familiari*, Trento.
- ORIGO G. 2014, *Daverio, è il collezionismo l'intimo motore dell'umanità*, in *Cattolica News*, 12 December, <https://www.cattolicanews.it/news-dalle-sedi-daverio-e-il-collezionismo-l-intimo-motore-dell-umanita> (last accessed 9 July 2019).
- OTTONE P. 2003, *Gianni Agnelli visto da vicino*, Milano.
- PAOLUCCI A. 2017, *Museo Italia, Ep. 2, Villa Borghese*, <https://www.raiplay.it/programmi/museoitalia/> (last accessed 25 July 2019).
- PEARCE S.M. 1992, *Museum, objects and collections*, Leicester.
- PEZZALI R. 2014, *Drone fai da te in edicola: DeAgostini ci svuota il portafogli*, in *DDay.it*, 21 August, <https://www.dday.it/redazione/14074/drone-fai-da-te-in-edicola-deagostini-ci-svuota-il-portafogli> (last accessed 12 May 2018).

- QUINODOZ J.-M. 2005, *Leggere Freud. Scoperta cronologica dell'opera di Freud*, Roma.
- RIGBY D., RIGBY E. 1944, *Lock, stock and barrel: The story of collecting*, Philadelphia.
- SAARI L. 1997, *Those crazy collectors*, in *The Orange County Register*, 15 April, p. D1.
- SALVO G. 2018, *Pinacothecae. Testimonianze di collezionismo di quadri nel mondo antico*, Antenor Quaderni 43, Roma.
- SCHNEIDER H.D. 1974, *Economic development and economic change: The case of East African cattle*, in *Current Anthropology*, 15, pp. 259-276.
- SINGER J.A. 1990, *Affective responses to autobiographical memories and their relationship to long-term goals*, in *Journal of Personality*, 58, pp. 535-563.
- SLATER J.S. 2001, *Collecting brand loyalty: A comparative analysis of how Coca-Cola and Hallmark use collecting behavior to enhance brand loyalty*, in *Advances in Consumer Research*, 28, pp. 362-369, <https://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/8513/volumes/v28/NA-28> (last accessed 25 July 2019).
- SMITH K.C.P., APTER M.J. 1977, *Collecting antiques: A psychological interpretation*, in *The Antique Collector*, 48, pp. 64-66.
- STORR A. 1983, *The psychology of collecting*, in *Connoisseur*, 213, pp. 35-38.
- SUBKOWSKI P. 2006, *On the psychodynamics of collecting*, in *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 87, pp. 383-401.
- TRAVIS R. 1987, *Collectors and collecting: Self-reported obsessive compulsive behavior*, paper presented at the Popular Culture Association National Meeting, Montreal.
- TRAVIS R. 1988, *Why people collect: Motivational tendencies and the addictive factor*, paper presented at the Popular Culture Association National Meeting, Orleans.
- WOLF E.S. 1980, *On the developmental line of self-object relations*, *Advances in self psychology*, ed. by A. Goldberg, New York, pp. 117-130.

VOLUMI EDITI

1. *Iconografia 2001. Studi sull'immagine*, Atti del Convegno (Padova, 30 maggio – 1 giugno 2001), a cura di Isabella Colpo, Irene Favaretto, Francesca Ghedini, 2002
2. *Amplissimae atque ornatissimae domus* (*Aug., civ., II, 20, 26*). *L'edilizia residenziale nelle città della Tunisia romana*, a cura di Francesca Ghedini, Silvia Bullo, Paola Zanovello, 2003
3. *Le Immagini di Filostrato Minore. La prospettiva dello storico dell'arte*, a cura di Francesca Ghedini, Isabella Colpo, Marta Novello, con la collaborazione di Elisa Avezzi, 2004
4. Andrea Raffaele Ghiotto, *L'architettura romana nelle città della Sardegna*, 2004
5. *Iconografia 2005. Immagini e immaginari dall'antichità classica al mondo moderno*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere e Arti, 26-28 gennaio 2005), a cura di Isabella Colpo, Irene Favaretto, Francesca Ghedini, 2006
6. Paolo Bonini, *La casa nella Grecia romana. Forme e funzioni dello spazio privato fra I e VI secolo*, 2006
7. Federica Rinaldi, *Mosaici e pavimenti del Veneto. Province di Padova, Rovigo, Verona e Vicenza (I sec. a.C. - VI sec. d.C.)*, 2007
8. *Iconografia 2006. Gli eroi di Omero*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Taormina, Giuseppe Sinopoli Festival, 20-22 ottobre 2006), a cura di Isabella Colpo, Irene Favaretto, Francesca Ghedini, 2007
9. Maddalena Bassani, *Sacraria. Ambienti e piccoli edifici per il culto domestico in area vesuviana*, 2008
10. Veronica Provenzale, *Echi di propaganda imperiale in scene di coppia a Pompei. Enea e Didone, Marte e Venere, Perseo e Andromeda*, 2008
11. Elisa Lanza, *La ceramica "di Gnathia" al Museo Nazionale Jatta di Ruvo di Puglia. Ipotesi di ricontestualizzazione*, 2008
12. Marianna Bressan, *Il teatro in Attica e Peloponneso tra età greca ed età romana. Morfologie, politiche edilizie e contesti culturali*, 2009
13. Francesca Ghedini, *Il carro dei Musei Capitolini. Epos e mito nella società tardo antica*, 2009
14. *Intra illa moenia domus ac penates* (*Liv. 2, 40, 7*). *Il tessuto abitativo nelle città romane della Cisalpina*, Atti delle Giornate di Studio (Padova, 10-11 aprile 2008), a cura di Matteo Annibaletto, Francesca Ghedini, 2009
15. *Olio e pesce in epoca romana. Produzioni e commercio nelle regioni dell'alto Adriatico*, Atti del Convegno (Padova, 16 febbraio 2006), a cura di S. Pesavento Mattioli, M. B. Carre, 2009
16. *Gesto-immagine tra antico e moderno. Riflessioni sulla comunicazione non-verbale*, Giornata di Studio (Isernia, 18 aprile 2007), a cura di M. Baggio, M. Salvadori, 2009
17. Isabella Colpo, *Ruinae... et putres robore trunci. Paesaggi di rovine e rovine nel paesaggio nella pittura romana (I secolo a.C.-I secolo d.C.)*, 2010
18. *Standard nazionali di qualità per le professioni nei musei*, Atti del Convegno (Padova, 18 febbraio 2008), a cura di Isabella Colpo, Aurora Di Mauro, Francesca Ghedini, 2010
19. *Religionem significare* (*Cic., Verr., II, IV, 1, 2-4*). *Aspetti storico-religiosi, giuridici e materiali dei sacra privata nel mondo romano*, Atti dell'incontro di studio internazionale (Padova, 8-9 giugno 2009), a cura di M. Bassani, F. Ghedini, 2011
20. *Tra protostoria e storia. Studi in onore di Loredana Capuis*, Roma, 2011
21. *Aquae Patavinae. Il termalismo antico nel comprensorio euganeo e in Italia*, Atti del I Convegno Nazionale (Padova, 21-22 giugno 2010), a cura di Maddalena Bassani, Marianna Bressan, Francesca Ghedini, 2011
22. Michele Bueno, *Cultura musiva nella VII regio. Mosaici e pavimenti dell'Etruria centro-settentrionale*, 2011
23. *Atria longa patescunt: le forme dell'abitare nella Cisalpina romana*, a cura di Francesca Ghedini, Matteo Annibaletto, 2012
24. *L'edilizia privata antica di Aquileia*, Atti del Convegno (Padova 21-22 febbraio 2010), a cura di Jacopo Bonetto, Monica Salvadori, con la collaborazione di Caterina Previato, Alessandra Didonè, 2012
25. Giovanna Falezza, *Il paesaggio sacro della Macedonia romana*, 2012
26. *Aquae Patavinae. Montegrotto Terme e il termalismo in Italia. Aggiornamenti e nuove prospettive di valorizzazione*, Atti del II Convegno nazionale (Padova, 14-15 giugno 2011), a cura di M. Bassani, M. Bressan, F. Ghedini, 2012
27. *La lana nella Cisalpina romana. Economia e società. Studi in onore di Stefania Pesavento Mattioli*, Atti del Convegno (Padova-Verona, 18-20 maggio 2011), a cura di M.S. Busana, P. Basso, 2012
28. *Il gran poema delle passioni e delle meraviglie. Ovidio e il repertorio letterario e figurativo fra antico e riscoperta dell'antico*, Atti del Convegno (Padova, 15-17 settembre 2011), a cura di I. Colpo, F. Ghedini, 2012
29. *Aquae Salutiferae. Il termalismo tra antico e contemporaneo*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Montegrotto Terme, 6-8 settembre 2012), a cura di M. Bassani, M. Bressan, F. Ghedini, 2013
30. Cecilia Rossi, *Le necropoli urbane di Padova romana*, 2014
31. *Cura, preghiera e benessere. Le stazioni curative termominerali nell'Italia romana*, a cura di M. Annibaletto, M. Bassani, F. Ghedini, 2014

32. Caterina Previato, *Aquileia. Materiali, forme e sistemi costruttivi dall'età repubblicana alla tarda età imperiale*, 2015
33. Giulia Salvo, *Miti scolpiti, miti narrati. Riflessioni sulla produzione di sarcofagi romani tra arte e letteratura*, 2015
34. *TECT 1. Un progetto per la conoscenza della pittura parietale romana nell'Italia settentrionale*, a cura di M. Salvadori, D. Scagliarini, con A. Coralini, A. Didonè, R. Helg, A. Malgieri, G. Salvo, 2015
35. *TECT 2. La pittura frammentaria di età romana: metodi di catalogazione e studio dei reperti*, Atti della giornata di studio (Padova, 20 marzo 2014), a cura di M. Salvadori, A. Didonè, G. Salvo, 2015
36. Monica Salvadori, *Horti picti. Forma e significato del giardino dipinto nella pittura*, 2017
37. *I pavimenti romani di Aquileia. Contesti, tecniche, repertorio decorativo*, a cura di F. Ghedini, M. Bueno, M. Novello, F. Rinaldi, 2017
38. Giulia Simeoni, «*Forme mutate in nuovi corpi*». *Le metamorfosi di Ovidio illustrate nel Codice Panciatichi 63*, 2017
39. *Beyond limits. Studi in onore di Giovanni Leonardi*, a cura di M. Cupitò, M. Vidale, A. Angelini, 2017
40. Maddalena Bassani, *Sacra privata nell'Italia centrale. Archeologia, fonti letterarie e documenti epigrafici*, 2017
41. Denis Francisci, *Locus sepulturae. Il valore topografico delle evidenze funerarie in età romana. Teoria, metodi e casi di studio dal Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol*, 2017
42. Diana Dobрева, *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Dinamiche commerciali in Moesia Inferior e Thracia in epoca romana. I dati delle anfore*, 2017
43. Giulia Salvo, *Pinacothecae. Testimonianze di collezionismo di quadri nel mondo antico*, 2018
44. Arturo Zara, *La trachite euganea. Archeologia e storia di una risorsa lapidea del Veneto antico*, 2018
45. Cristiano Nicosia, *Geoarcheologia delle stratificazioni urbane post-classiche*, 2018
46. *Anthropology of forgery. A multidisciplinary approach to the study of archaeological fakes*, a cura di M. Baggio, E. Bernard, M. Salvadori, L. Zamparo, 2019
47. Giulia Cesarin, *Gold-band glass. From hellenistic to Roman luxury glass production*, 2019
48. Paolo Michelini, *L'organizzazione della produzione artigianale a Padova tra il IX e il I secolo a.C.*, 2020
49. Alessandra Didonè, *Pittura romana nella Regio X*, 2020
50. *L'area archeologica di via Neroniana a Montegrotto Terme. 1. Dallo scavo alla valorizzazione*, a cura di M. Bressan, F. Ghedini, P. Zanovello. *2. I materiali*, a cura di S. Mazzocchin, c.s.
51. Lanifica, *Il ruolo della donna nella produzione tessile attraverso le evidenze funerarie*, a cura di M.S. Busana, C. Rossi, D. Francisci, 2021