



Fig. 8-1. "Great Bliznitza" parure, composed of a fringe necklace and a pair of pendants, 1864-76. Made by Alessandro Castellani. Gold. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 638-1884 (necklace), 632-1884 and 632A-1884 (pendants). Checklist no. 105.

“A PERFECT IMITATION OF THE ANCIENT WORK” — ANCIENT JEWELRY AND CASTELLANI ADAPTATIONS

ELIZABETH SIMPSON

With the opening of the Regolini-Galassi tomb in 1836 at Cerveteri (the ancient Caere), the Castellani firm took a decided turn toward the study of ancient gold jewelry. Fortunato Pio and Alessandro Castellani were invited by the papal authorities to inspect the stunningly ornate gold artifacts recovered from the tomb (fig. 8-2). Their firsthand acquaintance with the marvelous jewelry would be recalled again and again by Alessandro in his lectures and publications:

The discovery of the celebrated tomb known as that of Regolini Galassi, at Cervetri [*sic*], was an event of the highest importance in regard to our enterprise. On the Papal Government expressing a wish to become possessed of the objects in gold found in this tomb, my father and I were called upon to examine them with the utmost care. We had thus an opportunity of studying the particular character of Etruscan jewelry, and, holding thereby in our hands the thread which was to guide us through our researches, we set earnestly to work.¹

Other discoveries were influential as well, at the site of Cerveteri by the Marchese Campana, at Toscanella by Secondiano Campanari, and at Vulci (see map, fig. 8-3)—



Fig. 8-2. Pair of circlets from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, 7th century B.C. Gold. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican City, 20562 and 20563.

where in 1828 an Etruscan necropolis was uncovered on the estate of Lucien Bonaparte, the prince of Canino.² Much of the jewelry recovered was made available to the Castellani firm for study, facilitating their research into ancient goldworking techniques.³

Pivotal to the new Castellani initiative was the well-known antiquarian Michelangelo Caetani, duke of Sermoneta: “so well known as possessing the purest taste and the feelings of a true artist, he revived at Rome the art of the jeweler by taking as models the most perfect examples that antiquity could furnish.”⁴ Caetani encouraged the Castellani family to concentrate their production on ancient-style jewelry and provided them with appropriate designs and ideas.⁵



Fig. 8-3. Archaeological sites in Italy.
Map by Han Vu.

A second important figure was Giovanni Pietro Campana, family friend and director of the Sacro Monte di Pietà, whose famous collection of ancient jewelry was housed in his museum in Rome.⁶ The marchese di Campana had enriched his collection with finds from his own archaeological activities, as well as by purchases of the finest pieces unearthed by others.⁷ Unfortunately for Campana, his outsized passion for ancient jewelry led him to appropriate funds illegally to support his habit, and he was arrested and imprisoned in 1859. His collection was confiscated for sale, most of it bought by Napoleon III in 1860–61. The Castellani family worked to save the collection but to no avail. However, the firm did retain the Campana jewelry for a period prior to the sale—to repair, study, and make casts of the pieces.⁸

I had in my possession, for the space of six months, all the jewels of that precious collection; and this was for the purpose of repairing injuries received by them, from the neglect and want of care of those with whom they had been placed in the Sacro Monte di Pietà. . . . I availed myself of the opportunity to restudy the ancient Art of

jewelry in all its parts; to note the smallest difference in style, of time and of nation, and to see the use and the history of the ornaments thus produced, acquiring in this manner fresh knowledge, and improving that which I had treasured up, in the exercise of the art, for the space of nearly twenty years.⁹

“The ancient Art of jewelry”

Meanwhile, the Castellani family had begun to build its own impressive collection (see fig. 11-3), which afforded further opportunity to investigate the early techniques. It became increasingly clear that the ancient goldsmiths were superior to those of the nineteenth century.

It appears that the Greeks and Etruscans had, so to speak, acquired a complete knowledge of all those practical arts in their highest degree of perfection, by the aid of which the most ancient people of the East wrought the precious metals. Once initiated into the modes of treating the raw material, and of subjecting it to all the caprices

Fig. 8-4 "A Young Lady on the High Classical School of Ornament." From *Punch* 15 (16 July 1859): 30. Private collection. Checklist no. 152.



of their imagination, the artists of Etruria and of Greece had but to apply these processes to elegance and to the vast resources of the art, such as their own genius conceived.¹⁰

The ancient techniques so admired by the Castellani firm included repoussé, filigree, and "granulation," which they mastered to a high degree and then used for their own copies and adaptations. The ancient art of granulation, particularly the fine "powder" granulation of the Etruscans, was especially difficult to reproduce and eluded the grasp of the Castellani jewelers for decades (see chap. 7).

Notwithstanding the achievements of the machine age, the ancient goldwork was more refined than anything that could be manufactured in the nineteenth century:

Its very imperfections and omissions, purposely made, give to the workmanship that artistic character altogether wanting in the greater number of modern works, which, owing to a monotonous uniformity produced by punching and casting, have an appearance of triviality depriv-

ing them of all individual character—that charm which so constantly strikes us in the productions of the ancients.¹¹

In the view of Alessandro Castellani, these imperfections only made the ancient work more perfect. Modern jewelers' work was less artistic and more mechanical, with the various activities, such as casting, engraving, enameling, gem polishing, and the setting of stones, divided among various specialist workmen, the whole process overseen "by a dealer whose aim is to make a marketable article and dazzle vulgar eyes, not to produce a real work of art."¹²

This complaint was echoed by contemporary aesthetes such as William Burges, who railed against the bad jewelry of his day, made possible by "the great system of our age," the division of labor—poorly trained and uneducated designers, production jewelers working from stock designs of questionable taste, and tradesmen to display and sell the items. The revival of ancient jewelry styles and techniques was, in Burges's opinion, "a step in the right direction." And "even should the fashion go out, as all fashions do, still it will have introduced more deli-

cacy into the manipulation, and the succeeding style will hardly be so bad as the one of which we have just got rid.”¹³ But the fashion would be in for a very long time—and the fashion was “Italian archaeological jewelry.”¹⁴

“A perfect imitation of the ancient work”

Those who were lucky enough could wear real ancient jewelry, the princess of Canino for one, who presumably had her pick of the antiquities found on her husband’s estate at Vulci. She was known throughout Europe for her fabulous Etruscan “parure,” that was “the envy of society and excelled the chefs d’oeuvres of Paris or Vienna.”¹⁵ Such reports only increased the demand for the archaeological-style jewelry that was made and sold by the Castellani firm. So prestigious was the firm that people traveled long distances to see the Castellani shop in Rome. Nathaniel Hawthorne visited the shop at 88 Via Poli in 1858, and Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning in 1860.¹⁶ The pilgrimage was satirized in *Punch* in 1859 with a letter from a “Young Lady” (fig. 8-4) who was planning her visit to Rome:

. . . there is a great deal to see in Rome that everybody *must* see, but then you know, dear, we read about all those things when we were at school, and we can buy plenty of photographs of the Coliseum, the Forum, and the Temples, &c., to show our friends in England where we have been, so that we need not waste much time upon *them*. My great object in Rome is to go, the very first thing, to that dear, delightful, interesting shop, CASTELLANI’S, in the Via Poli, where . . . you have nothing to do but to lay down scudi enough, in order to be made perfectly classical in appearance and style.¹⁷

The “perfectly classical” look was achieved through perfectly classical jewelry, made in studious imitation of ancient prototypes, and so well researched and finely crafted that one was hard pressed to distinguish between the copies and the ancient works. Experts might be able to tell the difference, but in the popular imagination, Castellani jewelry was as good as the real thing.¹⁸ Individual pieces were associated with particular styles and periods, with ancient peoples from particular areas, and even with specific archaeological sites.

The new jewelry which has appeared in Rome is a perfect imitation of the ancient work in gold and precious stones, disposed and arranged

according to the different ages of ancient Art, so that from the style of each article, the period and people to which it belonged can be easily known, and we can at once name the ancient people who best cultivated the art of gold-work.¹⁹

In fact, none of the Castellani creations were exact replicas, although admirers were convinced that they could learn about ancient jewelry based on the productions of the firm.²⁰ To this end, one could also view the Castellani collection of ancient jewelry exhibited at the shop, although these pieces had been “repaired” in many instances by the shop’s jewelers. Many of these “repaired” pieces were eventually acquired by the British Museum (notably in 1872 and 1884). Or one might visit the museums of Italy, such as the Campana Museum, where more ancient jewelry was on display. However, these pieces too might be repaired and subsequently sold—1,146 pieces from the Campana collection went to France (1861) and subsequently entered the Louvre (1863).²¹ As a result, several major European collections of ancient jewelry now contain numerous pieces that were repaired or reworked, many by the Castellani firm.

These items figured prominently in the history of ancient jewelry formulated in the nineteenth century—the basis for much of our knowledge of the field today. Only recently have scientists and archaeologists begun to identify the nineteenth-century additions to ancient pieces, many of which passed through the Castellani shop. Further compounding the problem, reworked ancient pieces were copied and disseminated by Castellani and other firms specializing in archaeological jewelry. Finally, proveniences were assigned to pieces that were purchased on the art market, and these proveniences were disseminated along with the styles and types of jewelry “said to be from” particular sites.²² All these problems have their origins in the antiquarian approach to early archaeological excavation.

Antiquarian Archaeology

The eighteenth-century excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum were, to a great extent, plundering operations to find and remove antiquities for the Bourbon court.²³ There were some objections to this approach, most famously those of archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who complained that Rocque Joaquin de Alcubierre, the director of excavations, was nothing more than a “land surveyor” who was “as familiar with antiquities as the moon is with crabs.”²⁴ An exception to



Fig. 8-5. "Cumae" diadem, 1863-83. Made by Alessandro Castellani. Gold, pearls, glass beads, enamel. Marked "ACC." Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 640-1884. Checklist no. 197.

Alcubierre's haphazard and damaging methods was found in the work of his assistant Karl Weber, who advocated systematic techniques such as following the lines of streets and entering the buildings through doors, as well as cataloguing artifacts according to their find spots.²⁵ For the most part, however, no concept of archaeological methodology yet existed.

By the first half of the nineteenth century, the situation had improved somewhat, although the illusion of scientific excavation techniques often exceeded the reality. George Dennis, in *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (1848), proposed that the extensive "rifling" of Etruscan tombs had taken place in a much earlier period, perhaps toward the end of the Roman Empire or "by the barbarian hordes who overran Italy in the early part of our era." He claimed that in the Middle Ages there was an interest in buried treasure, but "it does not appear that any systematic researches were carried forward, as . . . in our own day."²⁶ Dennis's brief account of the recent "excavations" at Vulci, however, paints a more disturbing picture of current practices:

In the early part of 1828 some oxen were ploughing the land near the castle, when the ground suddenly gave way beneath them, and disclosed an Etruscan tomb with two broken vases. This led to further research, which was at first carried on unknown to the Prince of Canino, but at the close of the year he took the excavations into his own hands, and in the course of four months he brought to light more than two thousand objects of Etruscan antiquity, and all from a plot of ground of three or four acres. Other excavators soon came into the field; every

one who had land in the neighbourhood tilled it for this novel harvest, and all with abundant success; the Feoli, Candelori, Campanari, Fossati, —all enriched themselves and the Museums of Europe with treasures from this sepulchral mine. Since that time the Prince or his widow has annually excavated on this site, and never in vain.²⁷

The "research" carried out after the first tomb was discovered clearly involved digging up more of the site, and this seems to have gone on unsupervised for almost a year before the prince took over. Then, for his part, he speedily turned up two thousand items in a four-month period. Soon others joined in with the same gusto, with the result that all the "excavators" were "enriched," but the objects had lost their archaeological context forever, making the provenience of "Vulci" suspect for all the early finds "said to come from" the area. Many of these objects were sold to museums and collectors.

Campana was one of the top buyers. An avid collector, he was a member of the Accademia Ercolanese and numerous other antiquarian societies, well placed within the antiquities trade, and an "excavator" at Cerveteri and at Veii, where he "discovered" the famous painted "Campana Tomb" in 1842-43, which is now recognized as a fabrication.²⁸ This was unknown to Dennis in 1848, when he extolled Campana's virtues as a scientist.²⁹ Campana was also admired by his contemporaries for his concern over the archaeological context of the objects in his collection, although in fact most of these had no secure provenience. He attempted to assemble coherent groups of objects, but some of these groups were constructed from pieces that were not actually found



Fig. 8-6. Vicente Palmaroli y Gonzales. *Portrait of Lady Enid Layard*, 1870. Oil on canvas. The British Museum, London, WA 1980-12-14.1.

together.³⁰ He catalogued his antiquities for publication in the *Cataloghi Campana*, although he merely listed the objects with no indication of their find spots.³¹ It is in this atmosphere that the Castellani family operated.

Friends of Campana, the erudite Castellani were not only dealers but antiquarians as well. Scholars of antiquity, they read the works of Pliny and others in

their search for information on ancient technology.³² Alessandro lectured widely on the firm's research on ancient jewelry techniques to groups such as the Institute of France (1860) and the Archaeological Institute in London (1861).³³ Both Alessandro and Augusto published numerous books and articles on ancient history and the history of early jewelry.³⁴ There was even a "Castellani Tomb," discovered at Palestrina (Praeneste) in 1861; the tomb was not excavated by the Castellani, but Fortunato Pio acquired the finds.³⁵ The tomb was opened illegally, however, and the grave goods were subject to judicial inquiry.³⁶ The objects were eventually divided among the Capitoline Museums in Rome, Alessandro (who sold his items to the British Museum), and Augusto (who retained a small collection, now in the Villa Giulia).

Alessandro frequented excavations, purchasing antiquities at various sites, and he personally took part in excavations at Santa Maria di Capua (Capua) and hoped to excavate near Naples during his exile there (see chap. 10).³⁷ In order to finance the Naples excavations, he attempted to sell one of the firm's most valuable pieces, a reproduction of a gold diadem "found at Cumae" (fig. 8-5), as indicated in a letter of 1864 to Austen Henry Layard.³⁸ The reward for undertaking such a project, with any luck, would be many more antiquities to add to the Castellani collection.

A more scientific project was initiated by Alessandro in 1870—the excavation of the Tiber riverbed, a rescue effort before the dredging of the river.³⁹ The prospect of the outcome excited the public:

What mines of wealth may not be hidden there—wealth of material and of thought! A committee has been formed, at the head of which is Sigr. Castellani, which hopes to have the direction of this work. . . . When one thinks of

Fig. 8-7. Garment clasp from the Bernardini Tomb, Praeneste, 7th century B.C. Gold. Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, 61545.



what may be hidden in the bed of that river, . . . the most precious things thrown in hot haste from the bridges and walls, lest the invader might be enriched thereby; the images of the gods and the caskets of inestimable antique value; . . . the most torpid imagination must kindle with the thought of what a few years will add to the archaeological and artistic interest of the Eternal City.⁴⁰

But this was more than a treasure hunt. The finds were recorded, plans were drawn of architectural remains, and photographs and drawings were made of the Roman wall paintings recovered. In his report on the excavations, Alessandro expressed a new approach to archaeological methodology:

. . . the observations made on the progressive elevation of the ground were sufficient to establish in my mind the firm belief that, by a careful and systematic exploration of the bed of the Tiber, we should find, layer upon layer, as in turning over the leaves of a book, a connected series of historical and artistic documents of inestimable value.⁴¹

This interest in stratigraphy places Alessandro Castellani among the most advanced archaeologists of his day, along with Karl Weber at Herculaneum; A. H. Layard, excavator of the Assyrian capital of Nimrud; and Heinrich Schliemann, discoverer of the Bronze Age cities of Troy and Mycenae.⁴² In keeping with the times, however, even such progressive figures committed improprieties and appropriated antiquities: Schliemann packed up “Priam’s

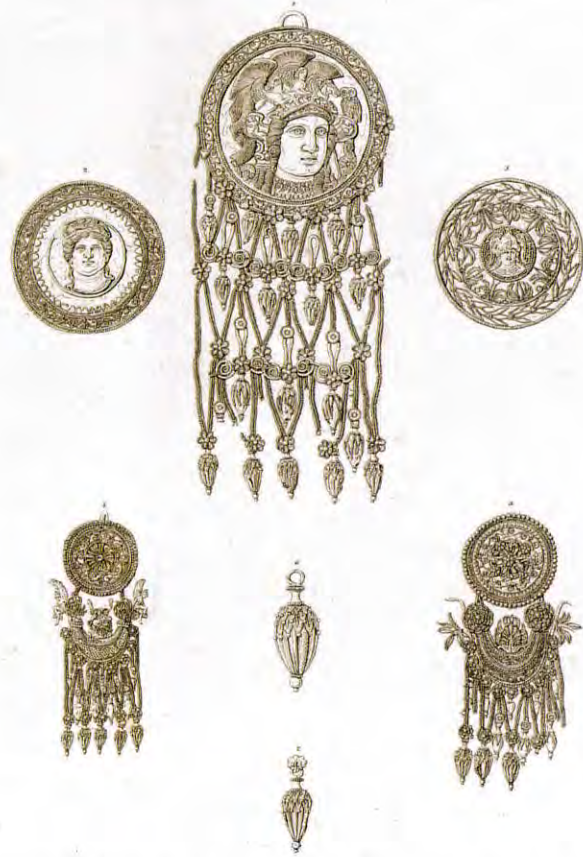


Fig. 8-8. Pendants and earrings from the Kul Oba mound. Engraving. From *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg: Académie impériale des sciences, 1854): pl. 19. Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Thomas J. Watson Library. Checklist no. 103.

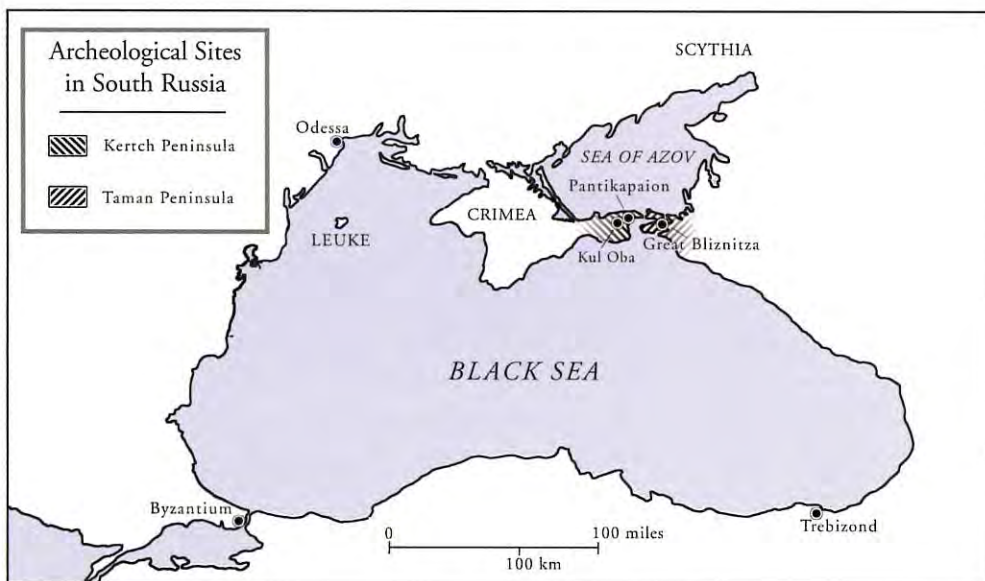


Fig. 8-9. Archaeological sites in South Russia. Map by Han Vu.



Fig. 8-10. Disk and boat-shaped earring from Kul Oba, ca. 350 B.C. Gold, enamel. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, KO 6.



Fig. 8-11. "Kul Oba" brooch. Made by Castellani. Gold. Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York, Museum purchase through gifts of various donors in memory of Annie Schermerhorn Kane and Susan Dwight Bliss, 1969-40-41. Checklist no. 104.

Treasure" and smuggled it out of Turkey in 1873, and Layard gave Assyrian sculptures to his cousin Lady Charlotte Guest for her country house in England.⁴³ In 1869, when Layard married his cousin's daughter, Enid Guest, he presented her with a parure of archaeological jewelry made up of authentic Mesopotamian cylinder and stamp seals, including a bracelet set with "Esarhaddon's signet" which Layard had found at Nimrud (fig. 8-6).⁴⁴

Ancient Jewelry and Castellani Adaptations

Any study of Castellani adaptations must take into account the world of the antiquarian archaeologist.⁴⁵ Puzzling practices and questions of intent are better understood within this context. A good way to begin such a study is with the excavated objects known to the Castellani. The term *excavated* is used here for objects that were systematically removed from known sites, in authorized ventures, and kept in their original groups; in the best

of cases, the objects were removed with care, and the circumstances of their excavation were recorded.⁴⁶

The most fabulous excavated Etruscan jewels came from three tombs dating to the seventh century B.C.—the Barberini tomb (1855) and the Bernardini tomb (1876; fig. 8-7), both discovered at Palestrina, and the Regolini-Galassi tomb (1836; see fig. 8-2) at Cerveteri, a seminal influence.⁴⁷ None of these finds was adequately recorded, although they had a relatively secure context and were clearly authentic.⁴⁸ They were thus of interest to the Castellani firm, but only, it seems, in terms of technical research; despite their significance, they were apparently not used as prototypes for Castellani productions. The information the Castellani gathered from these pieces was used for their archaeological jewelry (see chap. 7).

Another important group of excavated jewels did serve as models for Castellani adaptations, although this jewelry was available to the workshop only through pub-

lished engravings (fig. 8-8).⁴⁹ This was the spectacular Greek gold from the area of the “Cimmerian Bosphorus,” the strait leading from the Black Sea into the Sea of Azov in southern Russia (see map, fig. 8-9). The Black Sea region was colonized by the Greeks early in the first millennium B.C., and their influence was felt in the vicinity for centuries afterward. The jewelry in question was recovered in excavations carried out at the sites of Kul Oba and the Great Bliznitza, with the finds going to the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg.⁵⁰ Some of this jewelry was apparently made by Greeks for Scythian clients.⁵¹

The tomb at Kul Oba, discovered by accident in 1830 and subsequently excavated, contained the burial of a man (found in a wood sarcophagus), a woman (laid out on a nearby couch), and a second man, identified as a servant.⁵² The tomb’s occupants were buried with their jewelry, metal vessels, and weapons; horse bones were found in a pit in the floor. The gold jewelry, dating to ca. 400–350 B.C., included a torque with terminals of Scythian horsemen, a bracelet with a twisted hoop terminating in the foreparts of winged sphinxes, a diadem worked in repoussé with enamel rosettes, gold appliqué plaques, three ornate gold earrings (a pair and a single earring), and a pair of elaborate disk pendants. The diadem, earrings, and disk pendants were all found with the female burial.

The Kul Oba pendants (fig. 8-8, top) feature large disks depicting the head of the Athena Parthenos, the famous colossal chryselephantine statue made by Pheidias for the Parthenon in Athens. Each disk is bordered with a frieze of enameled ivy leaves, and from the disk hangs a network of loop-in-loop chains with tiny gold “amphora-shaped” pendants and rosettes. The pendants were found near the middle of the woman’s body, so they were presumably attached to her dress. The pair of earrings (fig. 8-8, bottom right; fig. 8-10) also features disks, decorated with filigree, granulation, and enamel, with three-dimensional flowers and rosettes. Suspended from each disk are two fancy rosettes, and hanging from the rosettes is a crescent-shaped pendant crowned with a floral acroterion at the center; rosettes run along the bottom of the crescent, and from these are suspended chains, more rosettes, bosses, and amphora- and seed-shaped pendants. The surface decoration is executed in filigree (plain, beaded, rope, and spiral-beaded wire), enamel, and granulation.

The Castellani firm made copies of the Kul Oba earrings, an example of which is now in the Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York (fig. 8-11). The enamel of the ancient pieces was not



Fig. 8-12. Pair of pendants showing a Nereid riding a hippocamp, from the “Tomb of the Priestess of Demeter” at Great Bliznitza, vault no. 1, ca. 330–300 B.C. Gold, enamel. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, BB 31.

apparent in the engravings and was omitted in the modern versions; the earrings were made as brooches so that they could be worn.⁵³ The modern works are essentially copies of the ancient ones, although they are easily distinguishable from their prototypes. Despite Alessandro Castellani’s appreciation for the irregularities and imperfections of ancient jewelry, when it came to the work of his own firm, he—or someone in the firm—decided to regularize all the forms, even out the applied decoration, and perfect the overall symmetry for this characteristically archaeological-style work.⁵⁴

The Great Bliznitza mound, excavated between 1864 and 1885, covered the burials of at least five people, all dating to about 330–300 B.C.⁵⁵ The most important, the “Tomb of the Priestess of Demeter,”⁵⁶ was essentially intact when it was opened in 1864. The woman was buried with a bronze mirror and other cosmetic items, an Attic red-figured pelike, small leather shoes, four sets of horse trappings, and a large selection of sumptuous gold jewelry. The group included a pair of bracelets with twisted hoops and leaping lion terminals, a headdress decorated with barbarians fighting griffins, several rings, and two strap necklaces made of delicate woven gold chains with hanging pendants, as well as a pair of disk pendants and a pair of earrings that resemble those from Kul Oba.

The large disks of the pendants (fig. 8-12) feature depictions of Thetis or one of her sisters riding a hip-



Fig. 8-13. Fringe necklace with amphora- and seed-shaped pendants, said to be from Melos, ca. 330–300 B.C. Gold, enamel. The British Museum, London, GR 1872.6-4.660. *Checklist no. 95.*



Fig. 8-14. "Melos" necklace. Made by Castellani. Gold, enamel. Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York, Museum purchase through gifts of various donors in memory of Annie Schermerhorn Kane and Susan Dwight Bliss, 1969-40-17. *Checklist. no. 96.*

Fig. 8-15. Fringe necklace with small seed-shaped pendants, said to be from Capua, half dating to the 4th–3rd century B.C., half consisting of 19th-century additions. Gold. The British Museum, London, GR 1872.6-4.651. Checklist no. 94.



pocamp and carrying the armor of Achilles—on one pendant she carries a breastplate and on the other a greave. Running around the scene is a lotus-frieze border in spiral-beaded wire, with rosettes and bosses disposed along the lower edge of the disk.⁵⁷ Hanging from the rosettes is a network of loop-in-loop chains with amphora- and seed-type pendants of various sizes, more rosettes, and tiny heart-shaped ivy leaves attached to the upper row of seed pendants. The larger of the two strap necklaces from the tomb was made to match the disk pendants, with rosettes and bosses running along the bottom of the strap and a festoon of loop-in-loop chains featuring an exquisite display of amphora and seed pendants. The strap is made from interwoven loop-in-loop chains; the terminals at the ends of the strap are lion heads with elaborate filigree collars.

Castellani copies of the Great Bliznitza necklace and pendants (see fig. 8-1) were shown at the 1876 and 1878 international exhibitions (see chap. 9) and were among Alessandro's effects sold in 1884 to the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum, London).⁵⁸ Like the Castellani copies of the earrings from Kul Oba, the Great Bliznitza copies are skillful replicas.

In this case, the correspondence seems even closer, particularly with respect to the pendant chains and beads (although here, too, the enamel is missing). In some ways, the Castellani versions of the south Russian Greek gold are among the best archaeological jewelry that the firm produced: beautifully executed copies of authentic, unrestored ancient jewelry without modern additions or revisions—as Augusto Castellani had claimed, “a perfect imitation of the ancient work.”

Excavated vs. Unexcavated

A second category of prototypes is *unexcavated* (that is, looted) jewelry, which has lost its original archaeological context and has only a dealer's provenance.⁵⁹ In some cases, the alleged context is surely correct, but there is almost never a way to verify its accuracy. The objects plundered from Vulci in the haphazard digging and “said to come from Vulci” are examples of such works, as are pieces looted from unknown sites. In keeping with the times, many of the ancient jewels that the Castellani firm bought and sold fall into this category. These objects are often problematic in terms of authenticity or the possibility of modern repair or reworking. One of the most



Fig. 8-16. Etruscan diadem with floral decoration, said to be from Cumae, 3rd century B.C. Gold, glass, bronze, enamel. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Bj 106, Campana Collection.

spectacular pieces in this second group is the Greek gold strap necklace “said to be from Melos” (fig. 8-13).⁶⁰ The necklace is now in the British Museum, purchased in 1872 from Alessandro Castellani.⁶¹

The “Melos” necklace (ca. 330–300 B.C.) is a variation on the necklace from the Great Bliznitza, with amphora- and seed-shaped pendants hanging from chains suspended from a gold strap. The terminals at the ends of the strap are decorated with filigree palmettes. Rosettes and ivy leaves run along the bottom of the strap; beads and chains hang from these; from the chains dangle bosses, rosettes, and the seed and amphora pendants. Blue

and green enamel enhances the decorative elements. A Castellani copy of this necklace in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum (fig. 8-14) is an almost exact replica of the original, although the chains that hold the pendants are longer.⁶² As with the copies of the Greek gold jewelry from south Russia, the modern work is more regular; the terminals, in particular, are an interesting nineteenth-century adaptation. But on the whole, the Castellani necklace is a wonderfully accurate piece of archaeological jewelry. The original “Melos” necklace was repaired, apparently under the direction of Alessandro Castellani, before it was sold to the British Museum.⁶³ Recent examination has shown that several missing elements were replaced and the terminals reattached.⁶⁴ In the nineteenth century, museums and collectors liked their objects restored and normally opted for repair, which had been standard practice for centuries.

A similar gold necklace was sold to the British Museum by Alessandro in 1872 along with the “Melos” necklace. This second necklace, “said to have come from Capua,” has been reexamined in detail, and although the necklace appears to be complete, the study showed that only half the necklace is actually ancient.⁶⁵ The other half—strap, chains, pendants and all—is a high-quality reconstruction (fig. 8-15). This was a surprise to the museum, which had assumed all along that it had bought an ancient necklace. Although any number of nineteenth-century goldsmiths could have restored the pieces, the fine workmanship and the identity of the seller suggest that it was the Castellani shop.⁶⁶ The possibility remains, however, that Alessandro acquired the necklace



Fig. 8-17. Hinged bracelets composed of Etruscan elements, 2nd half of the 6th century B.C., assembled in the 19th century. Gold. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Bj 989, Bj 988, Bj 987, Campana Collection. Checklist nos. 106 (top), 107 (middle).

in its restored form and then sold it to the British Museum. Why was only half the “Capua” necklace preserved? Either it was damaged when it was found or, more likely, the looters cut it and divided it between them, a common practice then as now.

The Case of the Campana Collection

As one travels farther along this path, one meets up again with Marchese Campana, whose collection was studied by the Castellani jewelers before it left for France. As was typical for the period, few of Campana’s antiquities had a documented provenience, excepting, of course, the ones he had dug up himself.⁶⁷ Campana had many of his objects restored, some heavily, by a group of restorers that included Pietro and Enrico Pennelli and Filippo Gnaccarini, as well as the Castellani jewelers; some of the objects he acquired had already been restored.⁶⁸ These objects were even further removed from their original contexts. In one case, Campana claimed that his statue of “Marius” was discovered in Otriculum, but in 1882 the head of the statue was shown to be modern, with a suspicious inscription on the base, and the statue is now considered a fake.⁶⁹ Such were the hazards of nineteenth-century collecting.



Fig. 8-18. Pair of Etruscan “a bauletto” earrings, second half of 6th century B.C. Gold. Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, 53582 and 53580.

One item that was apparently left in its original condition was the famous Campana gold diadem (fig. 8-16), the model for the Castellani diadem that Alessandro tried to sell to finance an excavation in Naples (see fig. 8-5).⁷⁰ Campana apparently thought that the diadem was from a tomb “near Palo in Etruria,” although Alessandro said it was “found at Cumae” near Naples.⁷¹

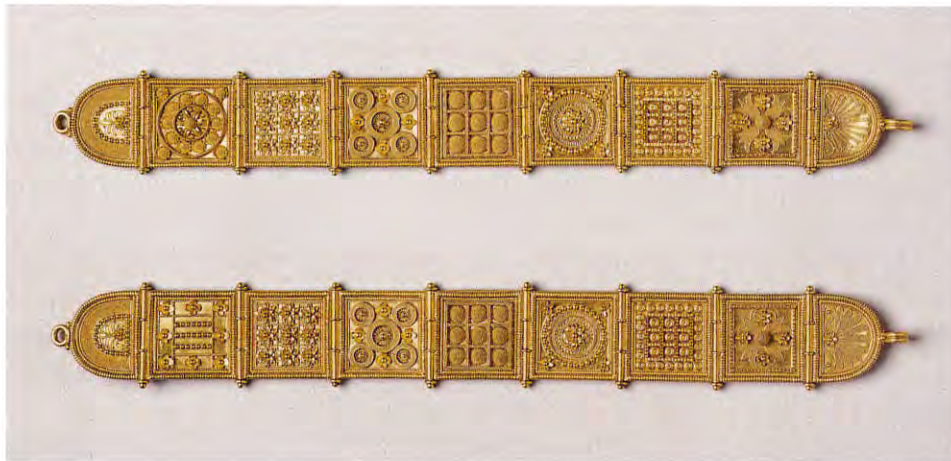


Fig. 8-19. Pair of “Campana” bracelets with granulation. Made by Alessandro Castellani. Gold. One is marked “ACC.” Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 634-1884 and 635-1884. Checklist no. 108 (1 of 2).



Fig. 8-20. “Campana” bracelet with granulation. Top: Made by Giacinto Melillo, gold, pearls, enamel. Bottom: Attributed to Giacinto Melillo, gold. New England private collection. Checklist nos. 109 (bottom), 110 (top).



Fig. 8-21. Scarab necklace, elements dating to the 6th–1st century B.C., 19th-century additions. Gold, carnelian. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Bj 521-544, Campana Collection. *Checklist no. 81*



Fig. 8-22. Scarab necklace, elements dating to the 6th–3rd century B.C., 19th-century additions. Gold, carnelian. The British Museum, London, GR 1872.6-4.649.

Far more problematic are the three gold hinged “Etruscan bracelets” (fig. 8-17), one “said to come from” Tarquinia, which are now recognized as pastiches.⁷² The individual panels of the “bracelets” are actually made from authentic Etruscan earrings of the “*a bauletto*” type (fig. 8-18), using the curved panels, somewhat flattened out, and hinged together with clasps at the ends.⁷³ Two of the “bracelets” are composed of nine panels, and the third of thirteen, which made it much too long for a bracelet. Just who accomplished these imaginative inventions is a matter of speculation, but the Castellani firm has often been suspected. However, it seems likely that the “bracelets” were already constructed before the Campana jewelry was examined by the Castellani firm in 1860. In particular, the modern additions to the “ancient” bracelets are cruder than one would expect of Castellani work.⁷⁴ It is possible that Campana had them made himself or even bought them already reconstructed as bracelets. Whatever the role of the Castellani, and whether or not they knew the truth about the Campana “bracelets,” they produced their own bracelets based on the Campana pieces (fig. 8-19).⁷⁵ They did not reproduce the originals exactly, but designed beautiful adaptations inspired by the “ancient”

models. The new bracelets consisted of seven square, flat panels, joined by large hinges, with semicircular plaques at the ends. Not only Castellani, but also Giacinto Melillo of Naples made such bracelets (fig. 8-20), and the Melillo design was copied by other jewelers. Thus an “ancient” bracelet type was invented and perpetuated through the archaeological-style bracelets that purported to reproduce it. In this case, an ancient form did not influence a modern one but vice versa.

An important group of “Etruscan” scarab necklaces poses a somewhat different problem. The group includes an “ancient” necklace from the Campana collection acquired by the Louvre, an “ancient” necklace sold to the British Museum by Alessandro Castellani in 1872, and a third scarab necklace (the “Potocki” necklace) in a private collection. In addition, the Castellani firm made adaptations of the scarab necklace type. The famous Campana scarab necklace in the Louvre (fig. 8-21) was made of twenty-three authentic Etruscan carnelian scarabs set in gold mounts and strung in alternation with twenty-four ancient Etruscan gold beads; the clasp features two gold dolphins.⁷⁶ A recent collaborative study based at the Berlin Museum has shown that only three

of the gold mounts are ancient, so the necklace was clearly made up from fragments.⁷⁷ Furthermore, there is no wear on the gold beads near the suspension loops of the scarabs, so if this is an accurate reconstruction of an ancient necklace recovered in fragmentary condition, it was never worn as such. It is probably not a reconstruction of an original ancient necklace, however, because of the varying dates and types of the ancient pieces used: the gold beads all date to the sixth century B.C.; the scarabs include fifteen in the Etruscan “*a globolo*” style (late fourth to third century B.C.), two in the Etruscan “free style” (second half of the fourth century B.C.), five Greco-Phoenician scarabs (about 500 B.C. or slightly later), and one Greek (fifth century B.C.); the clasp is South Italian (“Tarentine”) and dates to the second century B.C.⁷⁸

The three ancient mounts of the Campana necklace

are all on Greco-Phoenician scarabs and feature thick gold bands, decorated with spirals and bosses, which run around the base of the scarabs; prongs extend up from the top of the bands to secure the scarabs in the mounts. The nineteenth-century gold mounts are of the same type, with varying patterns decorating the bands. The newer mounts were presumably made for loose scarabs, a large number of which were found at Chiusi and Vulci. According to Dennis, at Vulci they came from tombs, but at Chiusi many scarabs were found in the earth of a certain slope beneath the city called “The Jeweler’s Field,” presumably turned up by the plough or washed to the surface by the rain.⁷⁹ It has been assumed that the Castellani firm restored this necklace and made the modern mounts.⁸⁰ However, the recent technical study has found the workmanship on the newer mounts to be comparatively crude, said to be due to the early date at



Fig. 8-23. “Campana” scarab necklace, before 1925, with scarabs dating to the 5th–4th century B.C. Made by Castellani. Gold, carnelian. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Given by the family of Ernest and Antoinette Jones, M.34-2001. Checklist no. 168.

which the necklace was put together (1859 or earlier).⁸¹ In fact, this cruder work may relate to the same phenomenon found on the Campana “bracelets” and suggests that the Castellani workshop was not involved in the fabrication of the Campana scarab necklace.

The scarab necklace in the British Museum (fig. 8-22) was also found to be a pastiche, with twenty-one authentic Etruscan scarabs in the “*a globolo*” style (fourth to third century B.C.), twenty-two ancient Etruscan gold beads (sixth to fifth century B.C.), and a clasp with ancient “Achelous” masks and nineteenth-century additions.⁸² This necklace was sold to the museum in 1872 by Alessandro Castellani and is said to have been owned first by Lucien Bonaparte.⁸³ None of the gold scarab mounts is ancient, however, so this was clearly never an ancient necklace. The type of mount is different from those on the Campana necklace, with beaded wire running around the base and four palmettes rising from the wire to secure the scarab; the palmettes are joined to one another in a delicate cage of twisted wire serving to hold the scarabs in place. This type of mount was derived from a third scarab necklace, the Potocki necklace, which was also examined for the Berlin Museum study.⁸⁴

Like the other two scarab necklaces, the Potocki necklace is a nineteenth-century pastiche, although the



Fig. 8-24. Tudor hat badge of the 16th century. From *Catalogue des objets d'art antiques, du moyen-âge et de la renaissance dépendant de la succession Alessandro Castellani* . . . (Paris: Imprimerie de l'Art, 1884): 108, cat. no. 813. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Onassis Library for Hellenic and Roman Art.



Fig. 8-25. Achelous pendant, ca. 5th century B.C. Gold. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Bj 498, Campana Collection.

design is somewhat different.⁸⁵ The necklace is made from eleven ancient Etruscan scarabs (“*a globolo*” style) alternating with bead groups, consisting of a spherical gold bead and beaded gold spacer to either side of a long, faceted cordierite bead; the clasp features ancient gold antelope heads. One of the scarab mounts is ancient, and this was clearly the prototype for the nineteenth-century mounts on the Potocki necklace, as well as those on the British Museum necklace.⁸⁶ The Berlin Museum study showed that the craftsmanship of the nineteenth-century additions to these two necklaces is superior to that of the Campana necklace.⁸⁷ This suggests the possibility that the Castellani firm was involved in the reconstruction of the British Museum and Potocki necklaces—but that the Campana necklace was made up before it reached the Castellani studio.⁸⁸

As with the Campana “bracelets,” the Campana scarab necklace served as a prototype for archaeological-style jewels made by the Castellani firm (fig. 8-23).⁸⁹ The Castellani scarab necklaces in the Villa Giulia (see fig. 9-61) and Victoria and Albert Museum both incorporate

Fig. 8-26. Necklace, ca. 5th century B.C., with Achelous pendant, 19th century. Gold. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Misc. 7306.



ancient scarabs in an otherwise totally modern necklace. The case of the scarab necklaces reveals the varying degrees of pastiche that were created and the way they were regarded by the firm—or at least by Alessandro Castellani, who apparently deemed it acceptable to pass off the British Museum necklace as ancient, since it was made up of ancient scarabs, beads, and clasps.⁹⁰ For the modern Castellani necklaces, the goldwork was all modern, but the scarabs were ancient—a nice bonus for anyone purchasing such a piece. Other types of scarab jewelry, including elaborate bracelets, were made by the Castellani firm, and variations on the scarab necklaces were made with gems, coins, or other kinds of pendants.⁹¹ These, in turn, were copied and adapted by Melillo and other archaeological jewelers.⁹² As with the Campana

“bracelets,” a type of “ancient” necklace that seems never to have existed was invented and promoted through a long series of nineteenth-century imitations.

The Question of Forgery

Any inquiry into the ethics of the Castellani must take into account the practices of the times in which they lived and worked. Leaving aside the reworking of the Campana “bracelets” and scarab necklace, which cannot be attributed to the Castellani studio, several other jewels must be considered. These include the items sold by Alessandro Castellani in 1872 to the British Museum: the “Melos” necklace, an ancient necklace that had been repaired; the “Capua” necklace, half an ancient necklace that had been completed; and the scarab necklace, made

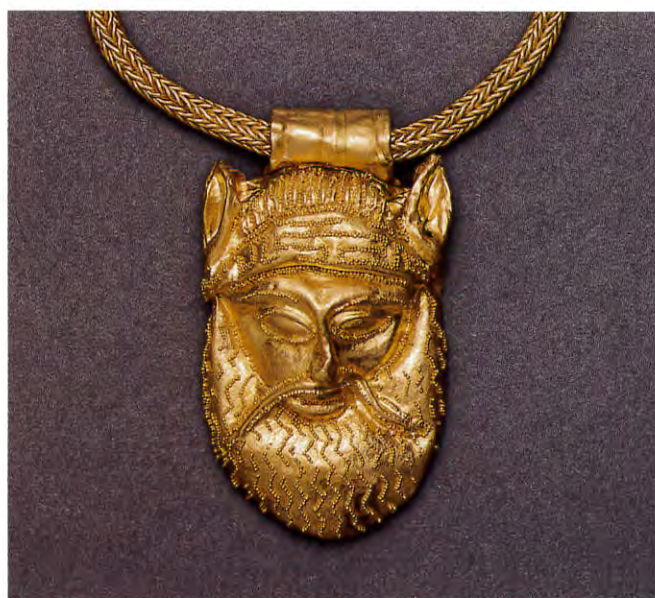


Fig. 8-27. Necklace, ca. 5th century B.C., with Achelous pendant, 19th century (?). Gold. The British Museum, London, GR 1884.6-14.16.



Fig. 8-28. “Campana” Achelous pendant (detail). Made by Castellani. Gold. Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, 85057. Checklist no. 180.

up primarily of ancient pieces. Such restorations were not exceptional in an age where the repair and reconstitution of antiquities were common and accepted. In fact, the practice had an ancient pedigree, going back most famously to Gaius Verres, the notorious Roman proconsul and plunderer of Sicily, who established a workshop where he combined pieces stripped from various gold vessels he had looted to make entirely new works of art.⁹³ The repair and reworking of antiquities continued, reaching a high point in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when an ancient statue of a sleeping hermaphrodite could acquire a plush mattress, and a fragmentary copy of Myron's *diskobolos* could be restored as a dying gladiator.⁹⁴ In this context, it seems quite plausible that Alessandro considered the items he sold to the British Museum to be "antiquities."

Somewhat different is a necklace acquired by the South Kensington Museum in the 1884 sale of Alessandro's effects after his death. The medallion of the pendant has now been identified as a sixteenth-century Tudor hat badge (fig. 8-24), adorned with Greek-style heads and a putto and strung on a Roman necklace.⁹⁵ This is most certainly a pastiche, but whether Alessandro recognized it as such is unknown, and in any case, he did not sell it himself as an antiquity.

A more convincing deception is the group of Achelous heads, which were based on an original Greek Achelous in the Campana collection, now in the Louvre (fig. 8-25).⁹⁶ The Berlin Museum acquired an Achelous pendant (fig. 8-26) as part of an "ancient" necklace in 1878, from the Castellani family collection and with the provenance, "from Praeneste-Palestrina."⁹⁷ The central Achelous head is strung with six palmette pendants on a necklace of gold cylindrical beads. Recent tests have revealed that the Berlin Achelous pendant is a nineteenth-century copy of the Campana Achelous, though not exact, and the rest of the necklace is ancient. The technical study suggests that the Berlin Achelous is consistent with the work of the Castellani workshop.⁹⁸

The British Museum also bought an Achelous pendant (fig. 8-27) on a gold chain, acquired in the 1884 sale of Alessandro's effects.⁹⁹ The British Museum pendant is technically similar to the Berlin Achelous, and may be a nineteenth-century copy (presumably a copy of the Berlin head rather than the Campana Achelous); the chain of the British Museum necklace is ancient. Although it is not certain that the Castellani workshop made the Berlin and British Museum Achelous pendants, it seems possible.¹⁰⁰ If so, the shop had produced outright forgeries, one of which was sold as an antiquity.¹⁰¹ The

Castellani firm made their own archaeological-style versions of the Campana Achelous (fig. 8-28), which are immediately recognizable as nineteenth-century work.¹⁰²

In one famous instance, Alessandro Castellani did sell an actual forgery. The purchaser was the British Museum (1873), and the object was an alleged Etruscan terracotta sarcophagus with a man and woman reclining on its lid (see fig. 10-11).¹⁰³ In fact, the sarcophagus was made by Pietro and Enrico Pennelli, broken up, and acquired by the museum in pieces. Castellani had himself bought the sarcophagus from Pietro Pennelli, who said he had excavated it at Cerveteri.¹⁰⁴ Some scholars have suggested that Alessandro knowingly sold the museum a forgery while others have believed him an innocent victim (see chap. 10).¹⁰⁵ Whether or not he intended to deceive the museum, it is clear that Alessandro was an active participant in the art trade, as was his colleague Giovanni Pietro Campana. The forgers of the "Etruscan" sarcophagus, the Pennelli brothers, were restorers who worked for Campana, and Enrico Pennelli had followed the Campana collection to Paris to look after the objects.¹⁰⁶

There were many forgers of antiquities active in Chiusi, Rome, and Naples, and it was inevitable that the antiquarian archaeologists would be taken in.¹⁰⁷ According to Augusto Castellani, the beginnings of Italian archaeological jewelry are tied to the beginnings of the forgery trade in ancient jewels. He mentions the goldsmith Sarno, who had a reputable business in Naples making exact reproductions of ancient jewelry in the early nineteenth century, and whose practice gradually ended:

The artists who had been members of [Sarno's studio] then set themselves to restore works of ancient Art, and even applied their talents to falsify them. In this last blamable industry they succeeded so wonderfully, that Naples became famous for imitations, so cleverly done by means of coloured earths, acids, and salts, as to render it difficult and almost impossible to know whether an article was really antique or not, except by persons who had long experience in the arts, and were well practised in archaeology.¹⁰⁸

Clearly, the Castellani family was aware of the proliferation of forgeries and did not want to be associated with them. Along with the forgery of objects came the forgery of provenience—less obvious but just as problematic. Proveniences could be invented for forgeries, and also for authentic antiquities.



Fig. 8-29. Scepter, said to be from the "Tomb of the Taranto Priestess," ca. 350–320 B.C. Gold, modern resin tube, green glass, enamel. The British Museum, London, GR 1872.6-4.842.



Fig. 8-30. Oval box-bezel ring, said to be from the "Tomb of the Taranto Priestess," ca. 350–340 B.C. Gold. The British Museum, London, GR 1872.6-4.146.

Forgery of Provenience

"Forged" or made-up proveniences plagued the antiquities market, with unexcavated objects "said to be from" Vulci, Chiusi, Palestrina, Cerveteri, Melos, Capua, Palo, Cumae, Tarquinia, and other sites.¹⁰⁹ An attached find spot enhanced the historical value of an artifact, making it more desirable, and correspondingly boosting its price in the marketplace. These dealers' proveniences have clung tenaciously to works that have never been proved to come from the alleged find spots.¹¹⁰ An interesting case involves three pieces of Greek gold, "said to be from" Taranto, acquired by the British Museum from Alessandro Castellani in 1872: a scepter (fig. 8-29), ring (fig. 8-30), and elaborate necklace (fig. 8-31), all dated about 350–320 B.C. In an 1871 report recommending the purchase, Charles Newton, keeper of the Greek and Roman department, listed the three objects as "found in a tomb at Tarentum. . . . This tomb was probably that of a priestess buried with the insignia of her sacerdotal office." The "insignia" was the gold scepter, the only such Greek scepter in existence.¹¹¹ This information clearly derived from Castellani, the dealer in this instance, and it has been associated with the objects ever since.

The scepter (fig. 8-29) is now 20¼ inches tall (51.4 cm), as restored by Castellani.¹¹² At its top is a Corinthian

capital, surmounted by a fruit of green glass set within a spray of acanthus leaves. The shaft of the scepter is adorned with gold wire netting, enlivened with dots of enamel.¹¹³ The base is a gold disk, featuring a rosette at the center, surrounded by rings of decorative wire.¹¹⁴ A screw had been affixed to the base, presumably by Castellani, to secure it to the shaft. Other than this, the object is apparently authentic. The ring (fig. 8-30) has an ornate box bezel and features the depiction of a woman, worked in relief, who is seated and holds an object that resembles a scepter.¹¹⁵

When the necklace was acquired (fig. 8-31), it was made up of fifteen rosettes, eight double lotus flowers, and eight spherical beads, as well as a clasp of two long beads and an additional rosette. Hanging from the rosettes were seven large female heads and eight amphora-type pendants; hanging from the lotuses were eight small heads. A rosette and seed pendant dangled from the central female head. Two of the large heads have bulls' horns and ears, leading to their identification as Io, priestess of Hera and daughter of Inachus, king of Argos.¹¹⁶ Recent study has determined that the necklace was restored in the nineteenth century, presumably by Castellani, and the items that did not belong to the original necklace have now been removed (fig. 8-32).¹¹⁷ The Castellani firm produced modern versions of this necklace, including one in the Villa Giulia (fig. 8-33). The Castellani necklace has head plaques rather than sculptural head pendants, small shells hang from the plaques, and the smaller heads of the original necklace are replaced by seeds. Not "a perfect imitation of the ancient work," the Castellani necklace is nonetheless a creative adaptation of the "Taranto" necklace and a fine piece of archaeological jewelry.

The information that Alessandro Castellani provided in 1872 on the three "Taranto" antiquities has featured in all subsequent studies of the objects. The three pieces, taken together, have given rise to a wonderful interpretation of the grouping:

The sceptre is, in fact, a symbol of authority, either royal or religious. Since any monarchy at Taranto seems to have ended around 473 B.C., if not before, it seems most probable that the sceptre belonged to a priestess, a symbol of the power of the deity whom she served. Now the presence in the same tomb of a ring with the depiction of a seated female holding a very similar sceptre suggests that the jewellery worn by this priestess may well have been chosen deliberately—hopefully not by Castellani. As a result, when we



Fig. 8-31. Necklace said to be from the "Tomb of the Taranto Priestess," ca. 350–330 B.C. Gold. Photographed prior to the removal of Alessandro Castellani's additions. The British Museum, London, GR 1872.6-4.667.

notice that two of the female heads on the necklace have horns and therefore represent Io, once the priestess of Hera, it is very tempting to wonder if the owner of this set of jewellery might have been a priestess of Hera at Taranto.¹¹⁸

However, "hopefully not by Castellani" is the only sustainable part of this theory. It is not certain that the three items were found together, and it cannot be proved that they came from a tomb at Taranto. Although recent scholars have noted this problem, the objects are still grouped together and associated with the "Taranto priestess."¹¹⁹ The forged provenience that has followed these pieces since their sale by Castellani will forever prevent us from knowing their real find spot(s), owner(s), and significance.

The Castellani Legacy and the Study of Ancient Jewelry

The jewelry from the "Tomb of the Taranto Priestess" and two other groups of unexcavated finds in the British Museum have been used as the basis for a learned treatise on a South Italian school of jewelry, bringing in objects from other collections, most of which are unexcavated.¹²⁰ Not only are stylistic traits defined for this group, but several workshops have been identified, and



Fig. 8-32. Necklace in fig. 8-30, after the removal of the Castellani additions. The British Museum, London, GR 1872.6-4.667.



Fig. 8-33. “Taranto” necklace. Made by Castellani. Gold. Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, 85045. Checklist no. 186.

the coins “found” with one of the hoards are brought in as evidence for dating. Unfortunately, unexcavated objects have limited usefulness for this type of study, and coins “associated” with such finds cannot be used for dating purposes. Nonetheless, it is important to try to understand the artifacts. This conundrum is the legacy of the antiquarian archaeologists, the Castellani preeminent among them, a legacy that has affected all subsequent study of ancient jewelry.

Fortunately, this problem has come to the fore and is now a part of scholarly discourse.¹²¹ Students are

learning to distinguish between excavated and unexcavated objects and to rely on the former in their study of the latter. Antiquities laws have been adopted to protect archaeological sites from looting and objects from illegal export.¹²² The issues of repair, reworking, and forgery of ancient jewelry—at first ignored and then approached with hesitation—are now the subject of lively inquiry, as can be attested by the technical studies cited in this article. And it is the Castellani family, ultimately, that can be thanked for this last development, with their loving examination of the techniques of ancient jewelry.

Acknowledgments: I wish to thank Stefanie Walker, Michelle Hargrave, Heather McCormick, Jack Ogden, Larissa Bonfante, and Oscar White Muscarella for their help with sources for this article.—E.S.

1. Alessandro Castellani, *Archaeological Journal* (1861): 367. The publication reports on his lecture to the Archaeological Institute, London. The event figures prominently in the writings of both Alessandro and Augusto Castellani.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 367.
3. Alessandro Castellani, "Antique Jewelry and Its Revival," *Penn Monthly* (October 1876): 765. For Vulci, see George Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (London: John Murray, 1848): 396ff.
4. Alessandro Castellani, *Archaeological Journal* (1861): 367.
5. Geoffrey Munn, *Castellani and Giuliano* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984): 25. Early jewelry produced by the firm was in the contemporary European taste, influenced by English, French, and Russian styles featuring diamonds and colored stones in openwork settings; see *ibid.*, p. 23. Caetani's design talents were likened to those of Cellini; *ibid.*, p. 46. See also chap. 2, by Stefanie Walker, and chap. 6, by Judy Rudoe, in this volume.
6. The Campana Museum had been famous since 1835, when Pope Gregory himself had visited the museum. Françoise Gaultier, "La collection Campana et la collection étrusque du Musée du Louvre," *Les Etrusques et l'Europe* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992): 351. See also chap. 2, by Stefanie Walker, in this volume.
7. Susanna Sarti, *Giovanni Pietro Campana (1808–1880): The Man and His Collection* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001), 19–24, 32. George Dennis laments that "the richest and rarest articles of gold and jewellery find ready purchasers in the Cavaliere Campana, and a few other kindred collectors of antique treasures," rather than remaining at the sites where they originated. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries* (1848): 433.
8. Munn, *Castellani* (1984): 87–88. Munn states that Alessandro Castellani helped negotiate the sale to the French, although this seems unlikely. See ASR, Famiglia Castellani 196/4, pp. 113–17. See also Hugh Tait, ed., *The Art of the Jeweller* (London: British Museum, 1984): 147.
9. Augusto Castellani, "A Discourse on Ancient Jewelry," *Art Journal* 8 (1869): 129.
10. Alessandro Castellani, *Archaeological Journal* (1861): 365.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 367.
12. Alessandro Castellani, "Antique Jewelry" (1876): 766.
13. William Burges, "Antique Jewellery and Its Revival," *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* (April 1863): 403–4.
14. "Thus my father introduced in Rome Italian jewelry, which, copied from ornaments of the rarest beauty among the ancients, and recently dug up, has acquired, after thirty years' labour, the special name of Italian archaeological jewelry." Augusto Castellani, "Discourse on Ancient Jewelry" (1869): 130; Alessandro Castellani, "Antique Jewelry" (1876): 765.
15. Mrs. Hamilton Gray, *Tour of the Sepulchres of Etruria* (London, 1843), 271; quoted in Munn, *Castellani* (1984): 14. The princess's sister-in-law, Caroline Murat, also wore ancient jewelry, said to be from Pompeii.
16. *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning VII, The Ring and the Book, Books I–IV*, ed. Stefan Hawlin and T. A. J. Burnett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998): 330–31.
17. "Young Lady on the High Classical School of Ornament," *Punch* 15 (16 July 1859): 30. Munn, *Castellani* (1984): 19–21.
18. A report on the 1862 London exhibition asserts that "every piece exhibited is an accurate copy of an *existing* authentic specimen of ancient work; that not only the ornamental style, but the processes which were formerly used, have been followed. . . ." (*Jewellers, Goldsmiths, Silversmiths, and Watchmakers' Monthly Magazine* I [1863]: 103).
19. Augusto Castellani, "Discourse on Ancient Jewelry" (1869): 129.
20. *Jewellers, Goldsmiths, Silversmiths, and Watchmakers' Monthly Magazine* I (1863): 103.
21. All the Campana jewelry was sold to France except for the "Livia Cameo," which went to Russia; see Sarti, *Campana* (2001): 74. The Campana jewelry was first exhibited in the Palais de l'Industrie (1862) and sent to the Louvre the following year. Gaultier, "Collection Campana" (1992): 354–58. It has been said that the Campana pieces were worked on by the Castellani jewelers, although without proof; see Sarti, *Campana* (2001): 32.
22. Some scholars have chosen to differentiate between the words *provenience* and *provenance*, using *provenience* to mean the actual find spot of an object and *provenance* to indicate the history of an object's ownership. This practice is followed in the present publication. *Dealer's provenance* is used here to signify the alleged find spot attributed to an object by a dealer.
23. Excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum were officially begun in 1748 and 1738 respectively.
24. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben von den herculanischen Entdeckungen* (Dresden, 1762); quoted in Christopher Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity: Karl Weber and the Excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 224.
25. For this remarkable story see Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity* (1995).
26. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries* (1848): lxxxv–lxxxvi.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 407–10. According to Dennis, the situation got worse after the Prince's death: "we come upon a gang of excavators, in the employ of the Princess of Canino. . . . At the mouth of the pit in which they were at work, sat the *capo*, or overseer—his gun by his side, as an *in terrorem* hint to his men to keep their hands from picking and stealing. We found them on the point of opening a tomb. The roof. . . . had fallen in, and the tomb was filled with earth, out of which the articles it contained had to be dug in detail. This is generally a process requiring great care and tenderness, little of which, however, was here used, for it was seen by the first objects brought to light that nothing of value was to be expected. . . . Coarse pottery of unfigured, and even of unvarnished ware, and a variety of small articles in black clay were its only produce; but our astonishment was only equalled by our indignation when we saw the labourers dash them to the ground as they drew them forth, and crush them beneath their feet as things 'cheaper than seaweed'. . . . It is lamentable that excavations should be carried on in such a spirit: with the sole view of gain, with no regard to the advancement of science. Such is too frequently the case."
28. Sarti, *Campana* (2001): 24–31, and for a list of excavations con-

ducted by Campana or on his properties, p. 19. For the Campana tomb see Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries* (1848): 45, 47–61; Sarti, *Campana* (2001): 21–23, after F. Delpino, *Cronache Veientane* (1985); Giovanni Colonna, “L’aventure romantique,” *Les Etrusques et l’Europe* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992): 335–36. Campana “discovered” tombs at both these sites, which he stocked with antiquities brought in from elsewhere. This was clearly a deliberate deception, but in keeping with the practice of furnishing empty tombs to cater to the sentiments of tourists. The painted tomb at Veii is described in detail by Dennis: “It is of very remarkable character, and its proprietor, the Cavaliere Campana, . . . with that reverence for antiquity and excellent taste for which he is renowned, has not only preserved it open for the gratification of the traveller, but has left it with its furniture untouched, almost in the exact condition in which it was discovered.”

29. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries* (1848): 410. In his critique of the excavations of the princess of Canino at Vulci, Dennis remarks: “Yet [excavations] are occasionally conducted, as by the Cavalier Campana of Rome, by men whose views are not bounded by money-bags, but who are actuated by a genuine love and zeal for science.”

30. Emil Braun, director of the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica (1840–56), believed that Campana had preserved the original context of his antiquities; see Sarti, *Campana* (2001): 73.

31. According to *ibid.*, pp. 61, 75, the catalogue was probably published in 1857 or 1858 and was written either by Campana himself or someone he commissioned.

32. Alessandro Castellani, “Antique Jewelry” (1876): 767; Augusto Castellani, “Discourse on Ancient Jewelry” (1869): 130.

33. Alessandro Castellani, “Antique Jewelry” (1876): 767.

34. For a list of Castellani publications, see the bibliography, in this volume.

35. Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, ed., *La collezione Augusto Castellani* (Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 2000): 129–33.

36. Excavations were subject to legislation that had been enacted to prevent unauthorized digging and dispersal of finds; see Sarti, *Campana* (2001): 19.

37. Dyfri Williams, “The Brygos Tomb Reassembled and 19th-century Commerce in Capuan Antiquities,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 96 (1992): 619. Judy Rudoe, “Alessandro Castellani’s Letters to Henry Layard,” *Jewelry Studies* 5 (1991): 112–13.

38. Rudoe, “Letters to Henry Layard” (1991): 112–23. It is not clear whether Alessandro was able to sell the diadem or carry out the planned Naples project. The diadem in the Victoria and Albert Museum, acquired in 1884 after Alessandro Castellani’s death, may be the diadem that he tried to sell.

39. “In 1870, when the necessity of taking serious steps for the protection of the capital of Italy from the continual peril of inundation began to be talked of, I published a number of letters in the papers, and secured the co-operation of several competent gentlemen in my endeavors to persuade the government to order regular excavations to be made in the bed of the river, before the mines and the dredging machines had had time to destroy the precious monuments heaped up within its borders as in a casket.” Alessandro Castellani, “The Antique Mural Paintings and Stuccos Discovered near the Farnesina,” *American Art Review* 1, no. 9 (1880): 390.

40. *Scribner’s Monthly* 3, no. 4 (1872): 498.

41. Alessandro Castellani, “Antique Mural Paintings” (1880): 390.

42. Weber excavated at Herculaneum between 1750 and 1764; see Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity* (1995). Layard worked at Nimrud between 1845 and 1851. Nimrud was initially thought to be the city of Nineveh. For a recent account of excavations in Assyria, see Mogens T. Larsen, *The Conquest of Assyria: Excavations in an Antique Land* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996). Schliemann worked at Troy in 1870–73, 1878–79, 1882, and at Mycenae in 1874, 1876. For an account of Schliemann’s excavations and a complete bibliography, see Katie Demakopoulou, ed., *Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns, Orchomenos—Heinrich Schliemann: The 100th Anniversary of His Death* (Athens: Ministry of Culture of Greece, 1990).

43. For a recent study of this important group of finds, see “Case Study: ‘The Treasure of Priam,’” in Elizabeth Simpson, ed., *The Spoils of War—World War II and Its Aftermath: The Loss, Reappearance, and Recovery of Cultural Property* (New York: Abrams, 1997), 191–213. Heinrich Schliemann’s wife Sophia can be seen wearing some of the items from “Priam’s Treasure” in a famous photograph; reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 193, fig. 84. For Layard’s gift of sculptures to his cousin, see John Malcolm Russell, *From Nineveh to New York* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997): 53–72.

44. Esarhaddon ruled Assyria in 680–669 B.C. Judy Rudoe, “The Layards, Cortelazzo and Castellani: New Information from the Diaries of Lady Layard,” *Jewellery Studies* 1 (1983–84): 59. The parure was made by Messrs. Phillips of 23, Cockspur Street. Layard and Alessandro toured the Etruscan tombs of Cerveteri together in 1859; in 1869 and again in 1880 Layard and his wife visited the Castellani shop in Rome. See *ibid.*, p. 76; Rudoe, “Letters to Henry Layard” (1991): 107.

45. “Adaptation” will serve here as an inclusive term for copies, adaptations, and pastiches; “copy” and “pastiche” will be reserved for more specific uses. Geoffrey Munn uses “pastiche” as his all-inclusive term.

46. See Sarti, *Campana* (2001): 19. Today, the term “excavated” is most accurately used for objects that have been legally and scientifically excavated and their contexts thoroughly documented.

47. C. Densmore Curtis, *The Barberini Tomb, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. 5 (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1925): 9–52; Densmore Curtis, *The Bernardini Tomb, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. 3 (1919): 9–90. The style of the jewelry from the Barberini and Bernardini tombs is Etruscan Orientalizing, although Palestrina (Praeneste) is in Latium, to the south of ancient Etruria proper. Alessandro Castellani was called in by the government to give his opinion of the finds from the Bernardini Tomb and arrange the pieces in cases for display. He was impressed with the “Assyrian-Egyptian-Phoenician” imports in the tomb, which he likened to the Cesnola objects in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; see *The Nation* 24:623 (June 7, 1877): 335. For the Regolini-Galassi tomb see Luigi Pareti, *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi* (Rome: Vatican, 1947).

48. Plans were drawn of the Regolini-Galassi tomb, but no record existed for the location of the Bernardini tomb (bones were said to have been found but not preserved), and the Barberini tomb was the most poorly documented of all: no accurate notes were taken, no inventory was made of the objects until long after they were found, and almost nothing was known about the tomb’s form or its occupants. “It is therefore by no means certain that all of the specimens now on exhibition came from the one seventh century tomb, and it is even possible that other objects which once were in the tomb have

- found their way into other collections." Densmore Curtis, *Barberini Tomb* (1925): 9–10.
49. *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1854): pl. 19. A second edition was published in 1892. This book was not in the Castellani library as of 1865, although the firm could easily have obtained access to the engravings through the Saint Petersburg goldsmith August Zwerner or other colleagues (see chap. 5, by Maurizio Donati, in this volume). Printed reproductions of gold artifacts from the "Cimmerian Bosphorus" were available as early as 1848; see A. Ashik, *Vosporskoye Tsarstvo*, vol. 2 (Odessa, 1848).
50. Dyfri Williams and Jack Ogden, *Greek Gold: Jewellery of the Classical World* (London: British Museum, 1994): 122–27, 136–51, 180–95. See also Munn, *Castellani* (1984): 115–16. Important finds made at other sites in the region, including Seven Brothers (excavated 1875–76), Nymphaion (1866, 1876), Pantikapaion (1840, 1845, 1854), Kekuvatsky (1839), Pavlovsky (1858), Taman (1855), and Chersonesos (1899), are discussed by Williams and Ogden.
51. The Greek historian Herodotus, who visited the region in the fifth century B.C., had much to say about the Scythians; see Herod. 4.1ff.
52. Cleared by P. Dubrux and excavated subsequently by A. E. Lutsenko in 1875. See Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold* (1994): 136.
53. Munn, *Castellani* (1984): 116.
54. Alessandro Castellani, *Archaeological Journal* (1861): 367.
55. Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold* (1994): 180.
56. "probably wrongly . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 184).
57. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
58. The Great Bliznitza pendants, like the Kul Oba earrings, were made up as brooches.
59. *Dealer's provenance* is used here to signify the alleged find spot attributed to an object by a dealer. (See n. 22, above.)
60. Interestingly enough, Lenormant, in his publication on the Campana collection, cites the "Melos" necklace as one of the objects that had *escaped* the plunder that he says had devastated Greece; see François Lenormant, "Collection Campana," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (1863): 155.
61. Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold* (1994): 68–69.
62. And see also the close variation in the Villa Giulia; illustrated in Moretti Sgubini, ed., *Collezione Augusto Castellani* (2000): 213, no. 186.
63. Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold* (1994): 69: "The necklace was repaired by Alessandro Castellani in the 1860s or 1870s." In fact, it is unlikely that such work was done by Alessandro himself, as he had lost his left hand in an accident when he was young.
64. Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold* (1994): 69: "His work can be identified on the basis of the techniques used and by the way in which his elements have discoloured."
65. The examination was made in connection with the 1994 *Greek Gold* exhibition; see *ibid.* The results of the examination of the "Capua" necklace are published in Nigel Meeks's fascinating article "A Greek Gold Necklace: A Case of Dual Identity," in Dyfri Williams, ed., *The Art of the Greek Goldsmith* (London: British Museum, 1998): 127–60.
66. Meeks's detailed comparison between the materials and methods used to make the two halves of the necklace has revealed important differences between ancient goldworking techniques and those of the nineteenth-century archaeological jewelers.
67. Unfortunately, it is difficult to ascertain just which ones these are; see Sarti, *Campana* (2001): 24, n. 212.
68. For an antefix reconstructed from a fragment of a face, which was completed and furnished with an elaborate helmet with crest, horns, and animal ears, and a base decorated with three lions heads, see *ibid.*, p. 29; and for Campana's penchant for buying fragments of Greek vases for the purpose of restoration, often fabricating whole vases from them (p. 122).
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30. Campana claimed that this statue was inherited from his grandfather who had acquired it from the Pope.
70. Lenormant describes the Campana diadem as the preeminent piece in the Campana collection; see Lenormant, "Collection Campana" (1863): 308. Regarding the Castellani diadems, three other Castellani copies were known to Munn: in the Villa Giulia, the National Museum of Ireland (Dublin), and a private collection; see Munn, *Castellani* (1984): 88; see also fig. 9-3. A fifth Castellani diadem has been located in another private collection; see Diana Scarisbrick, *Tiara* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000): 101.
71. Sarti, *Campana* (2001): 73; and Rudoe, "Letters to Henry Layard" (1991): 112–23.
72. Judy Rudoe, "The 'Archaeological Style' in 19th-century Jewellery," in Tait, ed., *Art of the Jeweller* (1984): 149–51.
73. This is also referred to as "a baule," characterized in English by Marshall as the "box" type. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*. (London: British Museum, 1911): 114.
74. Rudoe, "'Archaeological Style'" (1984): 150.
75. Munn thought that the Castellani must have recognized that these "bracelets" were nothing more than "tastefully assembled fragments," and he wondered why they would have used them as prototypes for their archaeological-style bracelets. He suggests that the Campana "bracelets" might have been known to be pastiches but admired nonetheless. Munn, *Castellani* (1984): 154.
76. For the forgery of ancient scarabs and the possibility that one of the scarabs in this necklace is a modern imitation, see W. J. Stillman, "Scarabaei ed Altri," *Atlantic Monthly* 18:108 (October 1866): 443. Count Tyskiewicz claimed that Alessandro Castellani "never succeeded in acquiring any real knowledge of gems; and, though thousands of them passed through his hands, he was up to the end always taken in. . . ."; Michael Tyskiewicz, *Memories of an Old Collector* (London: Green and Co., 1898): 19, 157–58. The forgery of scarabs was widespread in the nineteenth century, with fine renditions made in the East.
77. For the most comprehensive treatment of this group, see Gertrud Platz-Horster and Hans-Ulrich Tietz, "'Etruskische Skarabäenkolliers'—mit einem Exkurs über die Granulation bei den Etruskern," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 35 (1993): 7–45. For the Campana necklace, see *ibid.*, pp. 25–35. Another scarab necklace in the Louvre is made up of fourteen Etruscan scarabs without mounts, strung longitudinally, alternating with thirteen "Ostrogothic" rock-crystal beads (fifth century A.D.); this necklace was acquired in 1825 from the Edmond Durand collection; see *ibid.*, p. 36.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–29, 35. It is certainly possible that the items were gathered in antiquity, some time in the second century B.C. or later, and

assembled, but this appears unlikely. The “*a globolo*” style is named for the marks left by the rounded drill bit used to make the decoration.

79. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries* (1848): lxxii–lxxiv.

80. Ida Caruso, “Il gioiello ‘archaeologico’ Castellani: autenticità, rielaborazione, falsificazione,” in Edilberto Formigli, ed., *Prezioso in oro* (Siena: Nuova immagine, 1995): 82.

81. Platz-Horster and Tietz, “‘Etruskische Skarabäen-kolliers’” (1993): 33.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 18–24. See also Judith Swaddling, Andrew Oddy, and Nigel Meeks, “Etruscan and Other Early Gold Wire from Italy,” in *Classical Gold Jewellery and the Classical Tradition, Jewellery Studies* 5 (1991): 16–17. The goldwork is undergoing further scientific study by the museum.

83. Platz-Horster and Tietz, “‘Etruskische Skarabäen-kolliers’” (1993): 18; see also Swaddling, Oddy, and Meeks, “Etruscan and Other Early Gold Wire” (1991): 16, although some of the information they give has been superseded by the Platz-Horster and Tietz study.

84. Platz-Horster and Tietz, “‘Etruskische Skarabäen-kolliers’” (1993): 8–18. This necklace was examined before being auctioned and is now in a private collection. See *Antiquities*, sale, cat., Christie’s New York, 15 December 1992, lot 35.

85. Platz-Horster and Tietz, “‘Etruskische Skarabäen-kolliers’” (1993): fig. 1, p. 9.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–14.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

89. Interestingly enough, however, the scarab mounts on the Castellani scarab necklaces resemble the mounts from the Potocki and British Museum necklaces more closely than those from the Campana necklace.

90. This was probably also true for the Potocki necklace, although its provenance is unclear.

91. The Victoria and Albert necklace was purchased along with a scarab bracelet, and the necklace at Villa Giulia is part of a parure that included two bracelets, a pendant, and a ring; see Platz-Horster and Tietz, “‘Etruskische Skarabäen-kolliers’” (1993): 36. One scarab ring in the Castellani collection (now at Villa Giulia), “said to be from Cerveteri,” is actually a nineteenth-century production; see Caruso, “Gioiello ‘archaeologico’” (1995): 82–83; Caruso has called it a forgery.

92. Platz-Horster and Tietz, “‘Etruskische Skarabäen-kolliers’” (1993): 37–38.

93. Cicero, *Verr.* II, IV, 54, in J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome, c. 753 B.C.–A.D. 337: Sources and Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983): 73.

94. The hermaphrodite in the Louvre rests on a mattress attributed to Bernini; see Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981): 234–36. The diskobolos in the Capitoline Museums, Rome, was restored by Monnot, who did not know that the work was a fragmentary diskobolos; the first complete version of Myron’s diskobolos was excavated in 1781, long after Monnot’s death in 1733. See Seymour Howard, “Some Eighteenth-century Restorations of Myron’s Diskobolos,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25 (1962): 330–31. See also Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the*

Antique (1981): 199–202. The extent to which artworks should be repaired or restored is still a matter of ongoing debate.

95. Munn, *Castellani* (1984): 154; and see a letter from Shirley Bury in Arthur Gordon, “The Inscribed Fibula Praenestina: Problems of Authenticity,” *Classical Studies* 16 (1975): 70.

96. Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, “I tre Achelooi: falsificazioni ottocentesche di gioielleria antica,” in Edilberto Formigli, ed., *Preziosi in oro* (Siena: Nuova immagine, 1995): 76; Edilberto Formigli and Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, “Einige Fälschungen antiken Goldschmucks im 19. Jahrhundert,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 3 (1993): 325–26 and figs. 37–42. The head was originally thought to represent Bacchus; see Lenormant, “Collection Campana” (1863): 313. Achelous, a river god and son of Oceanus and Tethys, could appear in the guise of a bull, serpent, or bull-headed man.

97. Heilmeyer, “Tre Achelooi” (1995): 76–77.

98. Formigli and Heilmeyer, “Fälschungen antiken Goldschmucks” (1993): 321. In the recent Altes Museum catalogue, the pendant is attributed to the Castellani workshop; see Gertrud Platz-Horster, *Ancient Gold Jewellery* (Berlin, von Zabern, 2002): 33–35. But for an interesting option, see Tyskiewicz, *Memories* (1898): 160: “The workmen of the Casa Castellani used frequently to undertake work outside the atelier, and turned the skill which they had acquired there to good account in the service of swindlers.”

99. Heilmeyer, “Tre Achelooi” (1995): 77; Formigli and Heilmeyer, “Fälschungen antiken Goldschmucks” (1993): 330–31. The British Museum is conducting further research on the pendant.

100. But see Tyskiewicz, *Memories* (1898): 160.

101. Again, Alessandro did not personally sell the British Museum its Achelous necklace.

102. Moretti Sgubini, ed., *Collezione Augusto Castellani* (2000): 212–13, no. 185.

103. For a lively debate over the authenticity of the sarcophagus, see the letters of Isaac Taylor and C. T. Newton in successive issues of the *Academy* 15 (8, 15, 22 February and 1 March 1879). Dennis wrote in support of Newton and the authenticity of the sarcophagus on March 1.

104. Mark Jones, *Fake? The Art of Deception* (London: British Museum, 1990): 30–31. Although the inscription was condemned as a copy soon after the purchase, and the sarcophagus was suspected as well, the museum did not officially acknowledge the sarcophagus to be a forgery until 1935, when it was finally taken off exhibition; see *New York Times* (2 November 1935): 6.

105. Sarti, *Campana* (2001): 30. Williams, “Brygos Tomb Reassembled” (1992): 621.

106. Gaultier, “Collection Campana” (1992): 358.

107. Munn, *Castellani* (1984): 14, 132, 152–55; Sarti, *Campana* (2001): 29–30; Colonna, “Aventure romantique” (1992): 336; Burges, “Antique Jewellery” (1863): 404; Stillman, “Scarabaei” (1866): 443.

108. Augusto Castellani, “Discourse on Ancient Jewellery” (1869): 130. The same information was given by Alessandro Castellani. See also *ibid.*, pp. 134–35, on forged gemstones and scarabs.

109. Dennis explains the “mystery” surrounding the provenience of unexcavated antiquities in Italy: “There exists a class of unlicensed diggers in that land, who live by poaching on other men’s ground, carrying on their depredations generally by night, and, when they

make a bag, conveying it at once to Rome, where they find a sure market for their antique game. . . . Both seller and receiver are naturally reticent as to how, when, and whence the stolen property came into their possession (*Academy* 15 [1 March 1879]: 192–93).

110. This problem is not well known outside the field of archaeology. Munn, *Castellani* (1984), for instance, repeats such dealers' provenances as though they were fact throughout his text.

111. Charles Newton in Dyfri Williams, "Three Groups of Fourth Century South Italian Jewellery in the British Museum," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archaologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung* 95 (1988): 75. See also Andrew Oliver, "Aspects of Hellenistic Jewellery from Italy," in Williams, *Art of the Greek Goldsmith* (1998): 85–86, on two smaller objects ("sceptre-pins") with the same type of decoration.

112. Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold* (1994): 203. The three objects in this group were examined in preparation for the *Greek Gold* exhibition.

113. When acquired by the museum, the core of the shaft was gilded copper; this has been replaced by a tube of white resin. The shaft may now be somewhat shorter than it was originally (*ibid.*); also see Williams, "Three Groups" (1998): 76.

114. For the base, see *ibid.*, pl. 30:4.

115. Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold* (1994): 205.

116. Apollod. 2.1.3, et al. Io was loved by Zeus, who turned her into a heifer to protect her from his jealous wife Hera.

117. Remaining are fourteen rosettes, all eight double lotuses, six large heads, eight amphora-type pendants, and eight small heads. These are thought to have belonged to the original necklace, which was fragmentary before it was restored.

118. Williams, "Three Groups" (1998): 78.

119. "Tomb of the Taranto Priestess" heads the section in Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold* (1994): 202. At the same time it is noted that "since this group of jewellery was bought from Alessandro Castellani, a consummate jeweller and dealer, there must remain the possibility that he was responsible for grouping the pieces together" (*ibid.*).

120. The other two groups are the "Avola Hoard" (acquired 1923) and the "Santa Eufemia Treasure" (acquired 1896). Williams, "Three Groups" (1998): 78–87.

121. Adriana Calinescu, ed., *Ancient Jewelry and Archaeology* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996); but see also Elizabeth Simpson, review of *Ancient Jewelry and Archaeology* and *Ancient Gold Jewelry at the Dallas Museum of Art*, in *Journal of Design History* 12, no. 3 (1999): 293–97.

122. These include national laws and international treaties such as the "UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property" (1970) and the "UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects" (1955). See appendices in Simpson, *Spoils of War* (1997): 272–311.

CASTELLANI

AND ITALIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL JEWELRY



Susan Weber Soros and Stefanie Walker, Editors

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