



THE CANINO CONNECTIONS

The history and restoration of ancient Greek vases from the excavations of Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino (1775-1840)

edited by
Ruurd Binnert Halbertsma

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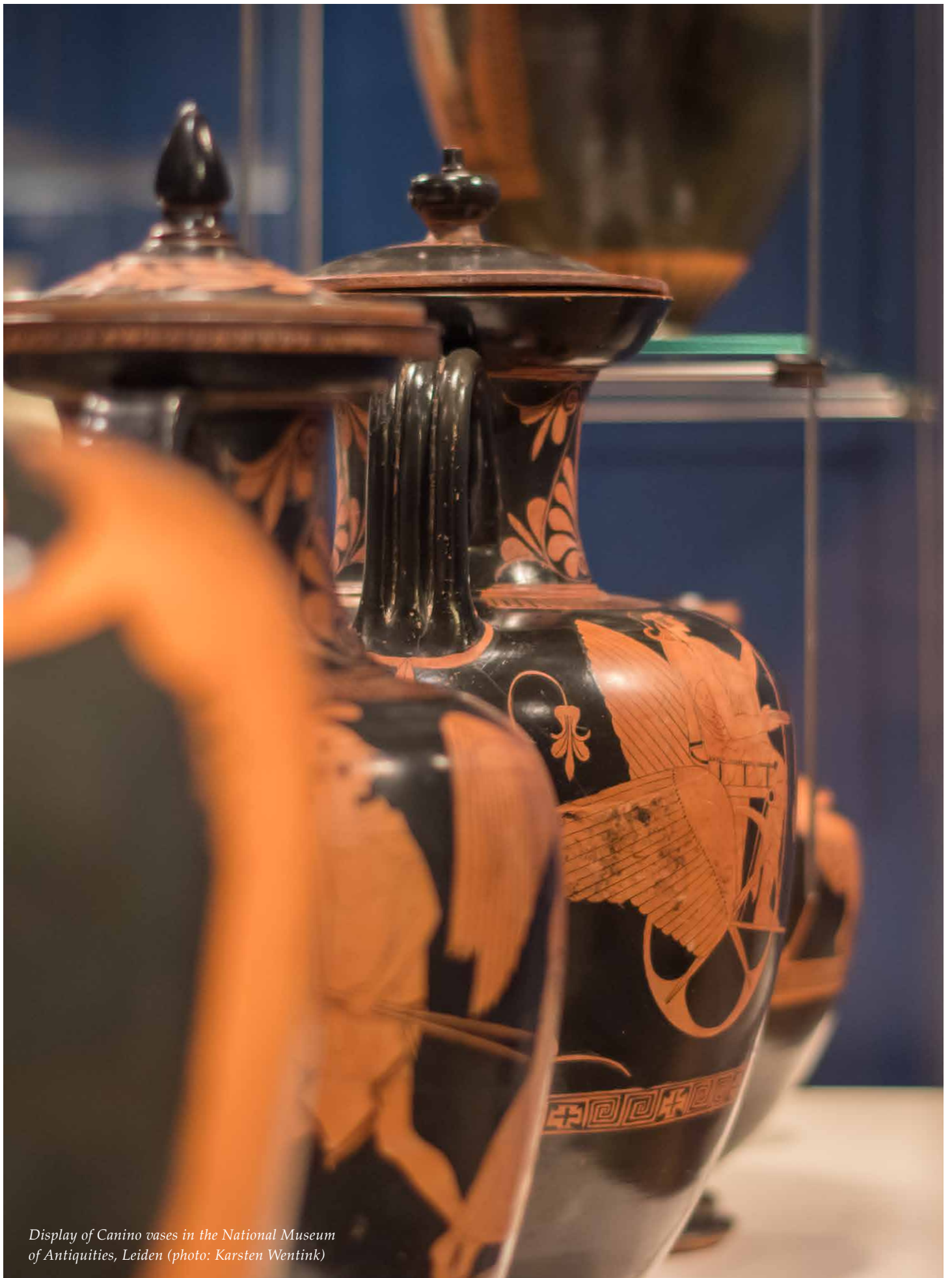
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Display of Canino vases in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (photo: Karsten Wentink)

Foreword

Museums have an important role in the world of today, and this role can be defined and strengthened by investigating our past and the roots of our collections. During the last years a large part of our collection of Greek vases was restored for the refurbished Greek galleries, which opened in December 2015. This project offered the possibility to delve deeper in the history of our vase collection. The most important part of this collection once belonged to a historical person, a younger brother of the French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1839 this Lucien Bonaparte and his wife visited the Netherlands. Apart from social visits to friends and acquaintances the main aim of the *Prince and Princess of Canino* was to sell a part of their private collection of Greek vases. During the years 1828-29 they had excavated more than 2000 vases on their estate Canino, near the city of Viterbo. These vases had been found in the Etruscan tombs of the ancient city of Vulci. Already during the excavations numerous scholars and travellers visited Lucien Bonaparte and his family, and wrote enthusiast letters about the quality of the vases.

Bonaparte exhibited his collection for the first time in 1829 in Rome, where they were seen by the Dutch Colonel Jean-Emile Humbert, who travelled through Italy to acquire collections for the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. At that moment the vases were not yet for sale, but in the thirties sale exhibitions and auctions throughout Europe took place, which were advertised by publishing descriptions and catalogues. And so the Canino vases ended up in various private collections and museums.

During their stay in the Netherlands the Bonapartes offered 106 vases on sale. Six of them were acquired by their old acquaintance Willem Baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt from The Hague. An agent of King Ludwig of Bavaria bought another four vases, before the director of the National Museum of Antiquities entered the scene. With the financial support of the Dutch King the museum was able to buy the remaining 96 vases, which are still present in the museum today.

In January 2015 the National Museum of Antiquities organised a symposium in Leiden, which was dedicated to Lucien Bonaparte and his collection of vases. We tried to bring together curators and conservators from the museums, which nowadays have parts of the enormous Canino collection. Under the title 'The Canino Connections' specialists from museums and independent scholars discussed the historical person Lucien Bonaparte, the history of trade and acquisition and the various modes of 19th century ceramic restorations. The most recent research was presented and excursions were made to the museums, archives and depots where *memorabilia* of Bonaparte are kept. The result of this fruitful conference now lies in front of you.

Wim Weijland
Director National Museum of Antiquities

Lucien Bonaparte and the Politics of Collecting

Pieter ter Keurs

Introduction

In 1839, when Lucien Bonaparte (fig. 1) and his wife offered Greek (in his view Etruscan) vases to the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era – and the fall of Napoleon in 1815 – already belonged to the past. However, the memories of the events during the period 1789-1815 were still fresh. Part of these events was a major shift in collecting practices and heritage politics around 1800. A shift that can be summarized with: from person to state. Before going into detail about this important development, I would like to make some introductory remarks about the first decades of the 19th century, a period that was full of anxiety about the new political order in Europe and that was clearly marked by a deeply felt fear, particularly among the elite, for new revolutions or revolts to come. Attention for the socio-political circumstances of the 1830s may help us, also theoretically, to understand Lucien Bonaparte's activities and his position in the European context of the period.

First some remarks about the end of the Napoleonic period. The story is well-known. After Napoleon's fall in 1814 he was banished to the island of Elba, but soon returned to France to start his Hundred Days' reign, to be finally and definitely defeated at Waterloo, south of Brussels. In this part of the newly formed Dutch Kingdom, in which the Southern and the Northern Netherlands were united, many people must have lived in fear during those days in June 1815, when Napoleon marched towards Brussels trying to defeat the English, Prussian, Dutch, Belgian and German troops separately. He failed, foremost because he miscalculated the stratagem of the stubborn Prussian commander Gebhard Freiherr von Blücher, who marched, not as Napoleon expected, towards his homeland, but towards the Duke of Wellington and his combined forces, south of Brussels. I will not describe the Battle of Waterloo in detail, but apart from a definite defeat for Napoleon the battle had other, less known, consequences. I would like to mention four of them:

The Dutch could claim a heroic role for the Crown Prince Willem, who was wounded during the battle. This fact enforced the position of the House of Orange to claim the throne. And they held the throne successfully until today. All this became part of a partly mythical history of the new Kingdom north of France, a Kingdom that had, to a large extent, to invent itself. And one way of inventing a Kingdom, or any new state, is to found 'National' Museums.

Furthermore, Belgian troops had played a very important role in the battle, particularly at Quatre Bras, although they were not highly valued by the allied commanders and



Figure 1. Portrait of Lucien Bonaparte (1775-1840) by François-Xavier Fabre, ca 1800, Rome, Museo Napoleonico.

soldiers. In 1830, when Belgium fought for independence from the northern Netherlands, some veterans from Waterloo played key-roles in the struggle.¹ The new Kingdom fell apart and due to the economic crisis the budgets for the new National Museums were severely cut. In fact, there were no state funds to pay the 6910 guilders for the vases Lucien Bonaparte offered. Willem I paid for them from his own money.

The English, Dutch, Belgian and German forces were so exhausted after the Battle of Waterloo that it was decided that the Prussian army would follow Napoleon's troops to Paris. The English would follow later. In fact, the English troops arrived in Paris just in time to prevent the Prussians from destroying monuments and plundering the Louvre.² Wellington sent English troops to stand guard at the Louvre, to protect the collections from danger. This was a deliberate action, resulting in a conscious continuation

1 A good analysis of the role of Belgium-Dutch troops at Quatre Bras and Waterloo can be found in Op de Beeck 2013.

2 Op de Beeck, 2013, 358-359. See also Zamoyski 2007, particularly chapters 30 and 31.

of a heritage politic that was, in fact, the direct result of republican policies and actions soon after the French Revolution.

And finally, the definite defeat of Napoleon led to an more marginal position of Lucien Bonaparte, who had sided with his brother again after his return from Elba. Below, I will come back to this point.

Nationalism and fear

The return of the House of Orange as rulers of the Netherlands, after the French occupation, was by no means self-evident. Although they could claim a glorious history as protectors of the Dutch interests against Spain in the 17th century, the Netherlands had never been a Kingdom or a centralized state. Members of the House of Orange had been *Stadhouder* for some generations and had therefore occupied crucial positions in the Republic, but they certainly did not have absolute power. In addition, the last two *Stadhouders*, Willem IV and Willem V, had not been particularly popular. In line with 18th century enlightened thought a significant group of republicans became influential at the end of the French occupation. This was of course also part of the heritage of the French Revolution.

When the Crown Prince was wounded at Waterloo the new Kingdom was still in the process of fighting for recognition and support. The nation state was still young and the way it was to be governed was still negotiated.

Similar processes occurred in other European states in the first decades of the 19th century. Established Empires such as Austria, Russia and Prussia did their best to guard the status quo of the *Ancien Regime*. By means of strict police control the political elite protected its own position and intended to prevent another revolution. Adam Zamoyski has written a clarifying analysis of the, often unjustified, fear for terror and the means used by the elite to control the situation (although very often there was no real threat).³ The enormous success of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, performed for the first time in 1824 in Vienna, is partly explained by the frustration among the people of Vienna for the conservatism (as opposed to the ideals of the French Revolution) of the Austrian governmental system and the overall presence of the Secret Services. Schiller's words *Alle Menschen werden Brüder* in Beethoven's Ninth evoked strong emotional reactions.⁴ In the end all three powers (Austria, Prussia and Russia) could hold the dam for another hundred years. All three finally became republics in the beginning of the 20th century during or after the debacle of the Great War.

In many other countries the situation was more complex. England had already a parliamentary system during the Napoleonic Wars, although a rigid class system blocked genuine democratic reforms. In France the political system was in constant turmoil. In 1831 and in 1848 there were violent uprisings and among the people there were strong feelings of insecurity.⁵ The search for a stable way of governing the state lasted for about seventy years after Napoleon's downfall, regularly disturbed by new revolutions and revolts. The ultimate change came in 1870-71 when Emperor Napoleon III was captured by the Prussian army and the revolt of the *Commune* devastated Paris. Only then France finally became a Republic.

In other areas of Europe the national frontiers as they were established during the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) were often not taken for granted. Conflicts arose and the ideals of the French Revolution could not completely be suppressed. Greece claimed independence and national unity, as did Italy. Hungary wanted to loosen itself from Austria and in Poland a revolt against Russia was brutally suppressed, which gave the Polish composer Frédéric Chopin, who lived in Paris, the status of the ultimate Romantic musician.⁶ In the Netherlands the new Kingdom was confronted with the revolt of Belgium and its subsequent independence, which led to a worsening of the economic crisis that was by now internationally felt.⁷

Europe was not a stable place to live when Lucien Bonaparte wanted to sell his 'Greek' vases to the international community. In 1839, when a part of Lucien's collection arrived in Rotterdam, the Dutch government was clearly not willing to spend money on purchasing antiquities. The glorious years of the new Kingdom (roughly from 1818 to 1830) already belonged to the past.

Collecting practices and the position of the collector

The shift in collecting practices from the personal realm to the state, in the beginning of the 19th century, will become more clear by discussing some examples.

Sir William Hamilton (1731-1803) is a well-known 18th century collector, not only of antiquities but also of specimens of natural history. Apart from ancient history, he was fascinated by volcanoes.⁸ Hamilton was the fourth son of Lord Archibald Hamilton, who had been governor of Jamaica, and was, so to speak, born in good circum-

3 Zamoyski 2014.

4 Sachs 2010.

5 Feelings of uncertainty and insecurity were often expressed in personal documents such as diaries and letters. See, for instance d'Osmond 1921.

6 Zamoyski 2010.

7 See, among others, Hobsbawm 1962. More recent: Bayly 2004.

8 Susan Sontag's novel *The Volcano Lover* (1992) is a beautiful testimony of Hamilton's love and desire for antiquities and objects of natural history.

stances. However, the fact that he was the fourth son actually meant that he had to find his own fortune in life and could not rely on a large inheritance.⁹

Hamilton tried military service (at the age of sixteen), but soon decided that the army was not to his liking. After some time he was appointed British Ambassador to the Kingdom of Naples, an ideal position for someone interested in antiquities. Recent discoveries like the buried cities of Pompei and Herculaneum stimulated an enormous interest in the classical world and promoted a lively trade in antiquities. Celebrities, such as Goethe, visited Hamilton's house in Naples to admire his collection and, of course, to admire his second wife Emma Hart and her performances of the *Attitudes*.¹⁰

Although Hamilton started as private collector (even as ambassador he collected for himself, not for the state) parts of his collection were later sold to the British Museum (other parts were lost in a shipwreck). He collected with the desire to own things, to enjoy things and to show them to people who visited him and his wife in their house overlooking the Bay of Naples. Hamilton's collection was part of the image he and his wife wanted to create. An image of civilization and love for beauty. His position gave him the chance to collect and to fulfill his desires. In addition, owning a collection of antiquities naturally added to his prestige, presenting him as a man of importance.

Maya Jasanoff, in her book *Edge of Empire*,¹¹ gives a lively account of collecting in British India in the second half of the 18th century, about the same time that Hamilton collected in Naples and surroundings. She discusses a wide variety of people, who were usually closely linked to the British East India Company, not with the state. Early colonialism was foremost a matter of private companies, but not of nation states. In that period, the collectors were initially people with a marginal status in society, very often not English or French, but coming from the Savoy or other smaller, less important political entities. Often they were not descendants of noble families. Most of them had a humble, modest background. They had no traditional status to assure themselves of access to the elite and to power. Jasanoff discusses the biographies of people such as Antoine Polier (1741-1795) and Claude Martin (1735-1800). In the East Indies these people had the chance of a lifetime to distinguish themselves, not only economically, but also in terms of prestige. Success in business gave them the opportunity to distinguish themselves with collections. Collecting meant a rise in social status, and

a possibility to leave their humble origins behind them. Tradition and history were not part of their lifestyle. To the old elite they were nothing, but by linking themselves to collections of important, valuable or rare objects they hoped to get the recognition they aspired to. And to achieve this, they collected for themselves, not for the state.

In the meantime important things happened in France. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, Alexandre Lenoir (1761-1839) received the assignment, from the authorities of Paris, to collect pieces that were threatened to be destroyed by revolutionary violence. He took statues and all kinds of architectural elements from churches and monasteries to what began as a storage, but later became the *Musée des Monumens*. It may be considered a miracle that the revolutionary authorities considered this to be important at the time (everything might just as well have been destroyed and lost) but Lenoir succeeded miraculously to manoeuvre through the political jungle of Paris. He regularly rewrote his catalogue to please the rapidly changing group of powerful politicians¹² and led his museum until after the Napoleonic era. It should be noted that Lenoir's *Musée des Monumens français* was located opposite the Louvre, on the other side of the Seine: symbolically a powerful place.

With some justification we can say that Lenoir's work is one of the first examples of state (or city) sponsored heritage politics. Although there may have been personal reasons for collecting (Lenoir as well was a marginal figure, a failed artist) it was very clear from the beginning that he collected for the Republic, for the newly founded state. The fact that it was decided not to place the collection in the Louvre, which still had the connotation of being a Royal Palace, is significant.

Collecting practices and the state

Around 1800 we can observe a certain tension between collecting for personal gratification or for the state. This becomes very clear when in 1801-02 the French army had to leave Egypt, at the expense of ceding their collections of antiquities to the British. General Menou had negotiated this with the British Commander General Hely-Hutchinson. The French scholars who had joined Napoleon in his conquest of Egypt in 1798, were furious.¹³ The idea was that the collections could not be confiscated by the British, since these were considered as personal properties of the scholars who collected the objects. A young engineer, Édouard de Villiers, wrote: 'We were disgusted by this ..., our collections and our manuscripts were private property,

9 For information about Hamilton's life and his collections, see Jenkins/Sloan 1996.

10 There are several books about Emma Hamilton-Hart, e.g. Fraser 1987.

11 Jasanoff 2006.

12 Cecilia Hurley, personal communication (2015).

13 Jasanoff 2006, 216-226.

and nobody other than us had the right to dispose of it.¹⁴ The scholar, biologist Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1772-1844) also claimed that the collections were theirs and that they had 'won' them 'fair and square, with the sweat of their brows, in spite of the Arabs, in spite of the perpendicular sun, in spite of the biting sand, in spite of our soldiers themselves, who often laughed at this unpromising ardour.' He continued saying: 'It was theirs, all this – or, indeed, it was France's and the world's; but lost to the world and to France if it was taken away from them, because only they had the key.'¹⁵ Saint-Hilaire tried to convince General Hely-Hutchinson saying: 'Rather than let this iniquitous, vandalous spoliation take place, we will destroy our property: we will throw it into the Libyan sands, or throw it into the sea...'¹⁶

Needless to say that both generals did not change their minds. The troops were free to go, but not the objects. Finally, the French did take fifty crates with Egyptian objects to the Louvre, but the bulk of the collection (including the Rosetta stone) went to London. For the glory of the British Empire. This oscillating sentiment of collections being private property or state property would remain important for some decades to come in the early 19th century.

In the so-called 'Golden Age' of collecting Egyptian antiquities famous collectors such as Salt, Belzoni and Drovetti were good examples. All three started off as marginal figures and slowly worked their way to more status and prestige: Salt from a middle-class artist to British Consul-General in Egypt, Belzoni from working in a circus to an acclaimed collector for England, and Drovetti from a young Piedmontese in the French army to Consul-General for France. All three were looking for opportunities to gain prestige, but they lacked traditional means to obtain status, such as hereditary titles, and all three were creating an identity by means of collecting. It is as if someone's person is changing, is growing by connecting one-self with objects of value. Here as well, the object and the subject merge.¹⁷ Particularly in the case of fanatic collectors, one can clearly observe how the intimate relationship between object and subject creates persons, prestige and status. In the 19th century this happened also more and more to states and their relationships with objects, collections and museums. States identified themselves partly by means of the grandeur of their collections and museums.

In the context of 19th century colonialism many examples of the above-mentioned phenomenon can be given. Let us look in more detail at a collector of the mid-19th century in the Dutch East Indies, Baron von Rosenberg. Carl Benjamin Hermann, Baron von Rosenberg was born in 1817 in Darmstadt (Germany). He was a descendant of an old aristocratic line, but he and his family did not have the financial means for independence. He had to work for his money. His background more or less demanded a military career, but he could not afford to buy himself an officer's title. After some years of military service in his home country (in the Hessian army), he joined the Dutch colonial army in the rank of Corporal. He arrived in the East Indies in May 1840. By now the Dutch Government had taken over the rule of the Indies from the Dutch East Indian Company. As in the case of British India, where the private property of the East India Company had been transferred to the state, the Dutch Indies were now state-controlled. Collecting was now also state-controlled.

As a soldier, Von Rosenberg was clearly part of the colonial administration, also during his first collecting activities. In his memoirs he described his expeditions to the interior of Sumatra, in the beginning of the 1840s.¹⁸ He was always part of military patrols and had therefore few contacts with the local population. Naturally the people left the villages when they saw a military patrol approaching. Von Rosenberg collected objects in empty villages without any possibility of asking for ethnographic information about the pieces he obtained.

Later, Von Rosenberg left the army and became scientific researcher and collector for the colonial administration. Now there were more opportunities for documenting the objects he collected. He made the first catalogue for the Museum of the Batavian Society, which is now the National Museum of Indonesia. Everything Von Rosenberg collected went to museums in the East Indies or in Europe (particularly in the Netherlands). He clearly did not collect for himself. Of course he received a salary from the government, making any other claims for ownership a lost case. He got his personal reward in status and prestige in both the scholarly world as well as in the world of colonial officers. It seems, judging from his writings, that he was satisfied with this.

Lucien Bonaparte revisited

How does Lucien Bonaparte fit in all this? We can see some general features in his biography that he shares with the persons I mentioned above. Whether we see Lucien Bonaparte as an archaeologist, a romantic, or a sympa-

14 Jasanoff 2006, 217.

15 Jasanoff 2006, 217-218.

16 Jasanoff 2006, 218.

17 In anthropology, archaeology and psychology there is ample literature on this subject, *e.g.* Hodder 2012. Particularly in collecting the phenomenon of merging objects and subjects is evident.

18 Rosenberg 1878.

thetic husband and father of his family, we cannot avoid the fact that he was a shrewd politician as well, who did not fear to act if necessary. He was a revolutionary in Corsica, he was instrumental in the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, particularly in St. Cloud, he did falsify election results and although he broke with his powerful brother he did return to him during the Hundred Days' reign. When the Allied Forces demanded Napoleon's resignation in 1815, it was again Lucien who advised his brother to stay in power with a new military *coup d'état*.¹⁹ Even Napoleon now saw that this was no longer an option.

We cannot avoid the idea that Lucien Bonaparte considered himself a marginal person, during his whole life, just like the other collectors I mentioned. He was the younger brother in the Bonaparte family and had to work hard to get some sort of recognition, he helped his brother into power, but got arguments with him instead of more support. He was financially curtailed by his brother, ran away and was welcomed in 1804 in Italy and later by the English, but again joined his brother for a second chance in 1815. There is a case to be made for the conclusion that nothing was finalized in his life. At least, he was never sure of what his status actually was. In his diary he wrote about: '... les fatigues, les perils et la ruine à mon titre de frère de l'empereur Napoléon, au système politique duquel j'étais devenu tout à fait étranger.'²⁰

Finding 'Etruscan' antiquities close to Canino must have been a godsend gift to Lucien, not only economically. Here again was a chance to distinguish himself, to develop another part of his personality and to find recognition in a specific scholarly and cultural world. He played host to various prominent scholars and showed them around his excavations. Objects, in this case antiquities, are ideal partners in such a process. Recent studies of subject-object relationships show the clear entanglement of persons and things. They cannot be seen as isolated entities, they always function together in a kind of fusion. Collectors are very conscious of this, and it helps them to position themselves in society. Lucien Bonaparte was probably no exception.

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19 See Op de Beeck 2013, 351.

20 '... the tiredness, the dangers and the ruin of my status as brother of Emperor Napoleon, about the political system to which I became a stranger.' Cited by Simonetta 2010, 124.

Lucien Bonaparte, the Archaeologist-Prince

Alessandra Costantini

Introduction

The first half of the 19th century witnessed the boom of the ‘Romantic Archeology’, mainly in Etruria because of the findings in the necropolises around Vulci, where four excavation sites co- existed: two at Camposcala led by the families Campanari and Candelori, one at Campomorto led by the Feoli family and one at the Cuccumella led by the Bonapartes. The Bonaparte excavation’s area was very wide and besides the Cuccumella it included the estates of Badia, Ponte Sodo, Cavalupo and Polledrara. This territory is crossed by the river Fiora.

The large quantity of finds in that area, notably the black and red figure Attic vases, fed the antique market for at least a generation. As a result, a vast number of new collectors and antique dealers emerged on the scene, often with the sole aim of purchasing and selling as many finds as possible. The Papal States tried to reduce the number of exported archaeological items through a decree issued by Cardinal Pacca in 1820. The reports of the ‘Fine Arts Committee’ (*Commissione Consultiva di Belle Arti*) show their urgent desire to keep under control these newly excavated finds, to discipline both collectors and dealers, and to put a constraint on private collections.

On the other hand archival documents have also revealed a small nucleus of genuine erudites and scholars, among whom we can certainly include the Prince of Canino, whose interests were mainly scientific and historical. But these noble principles were subsequently taken over by his financial necessities.

The sequence of events involving Bonaparte’s collections (both of paintings and antiquities) was determined by some of Lucien’s personal choices. His biography reveals an eclectic and original character: he became minister, ambassador, politician, a learned man, a poet, an astronomer, art collector and an archaeologist. He was a restless intellectual, often temperamental in his passions, which as long as they lasted were unstoppable.

When Lucien was ambassador in Madrid, taking advantage both of his position and of substantial funds, he started to show a passion for fine arts, acquiring paintings and sculptures. Motivated by a true love for the arts, he believed that all forms of art should be favoured, not only those convenient for politics, but also those ‘that make life more beautiful and strengthen ties among people.’¹ In a very short span of time he formed a collection of paintings by Italian Old Masters revealing a cultural back-

1 Simonetta/Arikha 2011, 115.



Figure 1. The Castello di Musignano (photograph A. Costantini).

ground and refinement in thoughts, which are certainly not representative of the common ‘tomb raider’, an image often associated with Lucien in the eyes of some critics. It was in fact genuine love for art that distinguished this refined connoisseur from the many greedy contemporary collectors.²

Bonaparte in Canino

A fast turn of events occurred when the twenty-eight years old senator went back to Paris from Madrid and married in great secrecy the charming Alexandrine de Bleschamp. Napoleon became furious and demanded Lucien to divorce immediately, showing a violent aversion towards Alexandrine. The First Consul declared that he would never recognise as a sister-in-law a woman, who entered the family without his consent. Once he had proclaimed himself Emperor on 18 May 1804, Napoleon got the Senate to pass an order by which Lucien and his children were excluded from any inheritance rights. The situation had become untenable and the couple moved to Italy. They took residence in the 17th century Palazzo Lancellotti in Via dei Coronari in Rome, as guests of Lucien’s uncle,

Cardinal Fesch. The Bonapartes later bought Palazzo Nuñez in Via Bocca di Leone as their Roman residence, and the Villa Rufinella near Frascati. From there Lucien led excavations that contributed to the identification of the theatre and the forum of ancient Tusculum and added numerous pieces of ancient marbles to his already prestigious collection of classical sculptures.³

In 1808 Lucien bought from the Apostolic Chamber the feudal territory of Canino, in the centre of the Maremma region. It included eight thousand hectares of farming land, the Palazzo Farnese at Canino, the Castello della Badia and the Castello di Musignano (fig. 1), where the family took residence. Canino became Lucien’s second home and adopted *patria*. On and off, he remained there with his numerous family (his wife Alexandrine and thirteen children) until his death in 1840.

However, soon after their arrival, political circumstances forced the family into exile until 1814. Napoleon deleted Lucien’s name from the list of Senators, humiliating his brother and depriving him of the substantial salary of eighty thousand francs. The following years became increasingly difficult for Lucien’s finances and, chased by creditors and banks, he was forced to sell Villa Rufinella

2 Haskell, in Natoli 1995, 1; Gregori, in Natoli 1995, 263-313; Bartoli, in Caracciolo 2010, 241-253.

3 Natoli, in Natoli 1995, 377-408; Liverani, in Natoli 1995, 49-79.



Figure 2. The Cuccumella tumulus (photograph A. Costantini).

and, shortly after, to give Palazzo Nuñez to his brother Jérôme.⁴

Notwithstanding his financial troubles the Prince remained distracted by political and cultural interests and would never have been able to solve his problems without his wife Alexandrine. During their exile in England she had the chance to make contact with the most prominent collectors of antiquities of the time and quickly realised the great interest foreign scholars and dealers had in Italian antiquities.

Perfectly aware of the lucrative possibilities to be gained Alexandrine sent a formal application to the 'Cardinal Camerlengo' of the Holy See for a licence to excavate at Vulci. In October 1828 Alexandrine opened a fruitful digging season in the Badia estate and then moved on to the mound of the Cuccumella, where the finds turned out to be spectacular (figs. 2-3).

At that time Lucien was at Senigallia, where he was involved in the compilation of a large catalogue of celestial bodies, including more than twenty thousand stars. He

went back to Musignano to aid his consort and personally took the lead at the Cuccumella excavations.

In an important letter dated December 30th 1828, written by Lucien to Vincenzo Campanari (who was digging on the other side of the river Fiora), the Prince wrote after the first excavation campaign at the Cuccumella (October 1828):

*'Our excavations are open underneath and inside the Cuccumella mound; the various digging tests carried out around our land at three to five miles distance from each other have resulted equally fruitful and it seems that the entire plain from the Fiora mountains is full with Etruscan tombs; but it is especially in the tombs of the Cuccumella plain that we have found precious objects; in this site we do not find black vases nor common ones; all objects are precious, nonetheless partly broken; it seems that that plain was reserved for privileged burials.'*⁵

With the scientific rigour that he applied to all his researches, Lucien organised the site in one hundred digging units, dividing the necropolises in 'family

⁴ Luciano Bonaparte's biographical accounts are based on the following publications: Pietromarchi 1981; Gorgone 2008; Costantini, in Della Fina 2004, 17-26; Caracciolo 2010; Simonetta/Arikha 2011; Marroni 2012; Marroni 2014.

⁵ Published in the quarterly magazine of the *Associazione Culturale Luciano Bonaparte*. Canino 2008 in a monographic edition in four languages in 2014.



Figure 3. The Cuccumella tumulus (photograph A. Costantini).

districts' according to the epigraphic evidence. In order to keep a close eye on the digs, he had three tents put up and arranged all the finds that were delivered hourly, still covered in earth. After having identified and classified the fragments, Lucien would send them to the castle at Musignano, where he put up a proper restoration workshop. Once restored, the vases and other objects would then be numbered progressively and catalogued.⁶

The restorations enjoyed the admiration of the *Commissione Consultiva di Belle Arti* (Fine Arts Committee), particularly the repair techniques for missing parts. These were integrated 'with a paste obtained from fragments of insignificant vases which would become as hard as the original.'⁷ In this manner the repair would remain perfectly visible, allowing a distinction between the original parts and the integrated ones. Lucien himself recommended the use of nitric acid (that is *acqua forte*, the acid used in etching) in order to discover the modern restorations without damaging the antique paint work.⁸

As one can gather from the documents, the restorers of the time were not exactly professional figures. Sometimes

the fragments would be put together by antique dealers, like Depoletti in Rome, or draughtsmen or even the collectors themselves. Amongst the dealers-restorers who worked for the Prussian government we even find the name of Domenico Campanari, who was given an official diploma as 'Berlin Royal Museum's Restorer'. In exchange for this title he promised regular reports about the excavations at Vulci.⁹

Eduard Gerhard and the finds from Vulci

The publication of proper archaeological catalogues confirms Lucien's genuine passion for antiquity: in the catalogues *Muséum étrusque de Lucien Bonaparte prince de Canino, fouilles de 1828 à 1829, vases peints avec inscriptions* and the *Catalogo di scelte antichità etrusche trovate negli scavi del Principe di Canino* each vase has a detailed description with shape, measurements, the represented scene, the site and date of discovery, with particular attention to vases which have inscriptions.

The graphic documentation of the findings was commissioned by Bonaparte to the artist Luigi Maria Valadier (son of the architect Giuseppe), who was to create an atlas

6 Buranelli, in Natoli 1995, 81-11; Bubenheimer-Erhart, in Caracciolo 2010, 293-29.

7 Bonamici 1980, 12.

8 Costantini, in Natoli 1995, 223.

9 Costantini 2008, 213-214.



Figure 4. Estate of Lucien Bonaparte in Canino (photograph A. Costantini).

with coloured lithographs of the most important vases. The lithographs show the breaks and the gaps in the vases, thus conveying Lucien's 'modern' approach towards a 'non integrative' restoration of ceramic fragments.¹⁰

Thanks to documents found in various archives in Rome (ASR – Camerlengato, DAI archives), Berlin (DAI archives) and Orvieto (*Museo Faina*) it is possible to follow the movements of a sizable number of Attic vases excavated by the Bonapartes between 1829 and 1840 (the year of Lucien's death), from their original collection all the way to their final destination in current collections or museums.

Particularly important to this avail has been the correspondence between Bonaparte and Eduard Gerhard, the first secretary of the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* founded in Rome in 1829, and (on his return to Berlin) curator of the Royal Museum of Prussia. Gerhard visited the excavations in Vulci regularly and was frequently invited by Lucien to look at his vase collection. The German scholar explicitly praised 'the wise and magnificent care taken by the prince and his wife' of the the digging sites.¹¹

The first three excavation campaigns went on until 1831 and brought to light many bronze and gold objects, plus an enormous quantity of Attic figured vases. The Prince set up a museum in five rooms of his castle at Musignano and opened it to both scholars and the public.

The finds were exhibited according to 19th Century criteria, which displayed them according to material rather than according to the tombs in which they had been found. But in one case the Prince decided to show the entire content of the 'Tomb of the votive tripod', with the intention to give more attention to the burial context. This was a very advanced vision for the time and much in line with current museological ideas.¹²

Bonaparte's museum did not include the gold finds, which were in possession of Alexandrine, who used to wear them at gala receptions and banquets. The greater part of this gold is found today in the *Staatliche Antikensammlungen* in Munich, as a result of direct dealings between Alexandrine and King Ludwig of Bayern, a friend and excellent client of the Princess.

Thanks to Lucien's cooperation, Gerhard was able to instruct the Institute's draughtsmen to reproduce many of the Attic vases and fragments kept at the castle

10 Fox, in Della Fina 2004, 107-120.

11 Costantini, in Natoli 1995, 219-237; Costantini, in Wrede 1997, 79-86; Costantini 1998.

12 Buranelli, in Natoli 1995, 95-98; Conti, in Marroni 2014, 96-103.

in Musignano and subsequently sold or transferred elsewhere. From the documents that have been examined it is possible to establish that Gerhard had seen Bonaparte's entire collection before it was sold and dispersed, including the Attic vases that entered the collection in Leiden.¹³

Gerhard's reproductions on paper turned out to be of crucial importance for tracing the movements of many of the vases from one collection to another up to their current location. The Bonaparte vases are identified with the monogram *PdC* (Principe di Canino) or with the more informal *vaso di Luciano*.¹⁴

The Prince also provided Gerhard with some of Valadier's lithographs. Later Lucien thought it better to limit the number of reproductions available as he thought it might put off potential buyers, as is revealed from this letter:

*I received your letter, Monsieur le Professeur: I beg you to believe that it would give me great pleasure to see you make use of the Etruscan antiquities in my Museum, both here and in Canino. I send you the prints and I would be enchanted if you took others from the Museum, if only one did not have to worry about the buyers' preconceptions; I would be most satisfied also if you illustrated some of our prints in the Bollettino Archeologico as this will be an added sign of the gratitude I owe you for all you have done at the excavations at Canino.'*¹⁵

After a thorough study of the ceramics at Canino, Gerhard concluded that they were the product of Greek art, not Etruscan, and published his findings in the well-known *Rapporto sui vasi volcenti*.¹⁶ The Prince, who was openly an admirer of Italy and had a profound sense of gratitude towards the people that had welcomed him, criticized in his books the so-called 'grecomania', stating that whoever thought the vases at Canino were painted by the Greeks must have been affected by an 'erudite childishness'.¹⁷

This dispute about the origin of the Attic vases is at the core of a manuscript by Bonaparte with the title *Citations archéologiques*, discovered in the Museo Faina in Orvieto. These are notes on antique authors and texts transcribed by the Prince with the aim to promote the theory according to which the Etruscans were to be identified with the Pelasgians, who had brought civilization to Italy, Greece and the Greek islands.¹⁸ This is a very twisted

and ideological aspect of our archaeologist prince who tended to ignore against all evidence the belonging of his vases to Greek culture.

The excavations at the Cuccumella came to a halt in 1837 and subsequently Lucien was forced to put at auction many vases from his collection in order to deal with his financial struggles.

The Prince and Princess had made close connections with the most prominent antiques dealers of the time, both in Italy and abroad. In Rome the main buyers were Depoletti and Basseggio. In England it was James Millingen who bought various pieces for his private collection and, at the same time, became the main agent for Bonaparte's negotiations with the British Museum.

A second manuscript by Lucien in the Museum at Orvieto gives interesting insight into Bonaparte's financial situation and the income from the sales between May 1839 and April 1840 (the year of Lucien's death). Between May and October 1839 Lucien and Alexandrine embarked on a long trip to sell the finds excavated at Canino. It turned out to be a profitable enterprise. In Munich they sold the main part of their Etruscan golden jewellery to the King of Bavaria for 11.000 florins (4340 roman piastres) and in the Netherlands Lucien concluded a substantial deal with the Baron van Westreenen and the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities through the agency of Mr. Gibson in Rotterdam.¹⁹

In a letter to Gerhard, Lucien described the vases acquired by the museum in Leiden as follows: 'We will see second-rate vases there. These were part of Madame's private collection and were not included in my reserves.'²⁰

Gerhard enquired about the vases in a letter to Conrad Leemans, director of the Leiden museum, who replied on 3 December 1839:

*'Sir and Honourable Colleague, the collection of painted vases purchased from the Museum of the Prince of Canino has not been deposited in London, but has directly been sent to Rotterdam, according to information conveyed by the Prince's agent in this city. It seems to me that they are remainders, or part of what has been left of his collection, as other pieces have been sold elsewhere. I do not have in my possession the volume in which the Prince's monuments are described (Musée étrusque du Prince de Canino Viterbo 1829, 4o) so I have not had the chance to compare these descriptions with the vases; but it seems to me that this volume will contain the catalogue.'*²¹ At least some of the numbers are a perfect match to those I

13 Costantini, in Natoli 1995, 231-232.

14 Costantini, in Natoli 1995, 226: *balsamario Luciano*.

15 Costantini 1998, 236.

16 Gerhard 1831.

17 Costantini, in Natoli 1995, 228.

18 Della Fina 2004.

19 Hausmann, in Della Fina 2004, 27-105.

20 Costantini 1998, 246.

21 The vases in Leiden should have been described in the fourth volume. So far no existing volume has been found; possibly they were never published.



Figure 5. Honorary statue of Lucien Bonaparte in Canino (photograph A. Costantini).



Figure 6. Church of SS. Giovanni e Andrea in the town of Canino with the tombs of Lucien and Alexandrine Bonaparte, and the cenotaph of his first wife Christine Boyer (photograph A. Costantini).

have seen quoted, for example, in the work of Mr Kramer: I will attach a copy of the catalogue or inventory written according to the Prince's wishes, which I have received during the negotiations. Numbers 527 (Hector's death), 606 (The Crowned King), 44 (The metal forgers) and 232 (Perseus) were purchased by His Majesty the King of Bavaria before I was able to inspect the collections and, since they were wrapped, I could not see them. Numbers 430 (Deianira), 283 (The victorious ship), one without number (The stork), 1495 (The two Ibises) another without number (Two Baccanti) and a cup without number (Eight clothed figures) are momentarily found in the collection of Baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt at The Hague. The other ninety six are an addition to the treasures of the Royal Museum at Leiden. [...] But it could be, Sir, that the vases I am describing to you as remarkable, you might consider instead ordinary. We are still very poor in this class of monuments; it is therefore justifiable that the value of those we have acquired seems higher to our eyes. When I visited Paris in 1829 and London in 1830, 1836 and 1837 I almost entirely occupied myself with Egyptian monuments. And the sale of Mr Reuven's books has deprived me of some necessary texts to start the study of painted vases. Further my many commitments for the administration and the running of the Museum do not allow me to dedicate much of the time left after my Egyptian studies to other branches of archaeology...'²²

In the same year 1839 Lucien offered hundred vases ('a centuria of Etruscan or Greek vases') which were kept at his deceased uncle's palace, to Gerhard for the Museum in Berlin and, simultaneously, invited him to come to Musignano to view the contents of an 'Egyptian grotto' which were exhibited in a cabinet. The hundred vases eventually found their way to the British Museum in 1843 through the agency of Millingen, as did the funerary apparatus of the 'Tomb of Isis' discovered at the Polledrara in 1839. Bonaparte described the find as follows:

'...I am writing to you to inform you that my centuria of Etruscan or Greek vases kept in the premises of the deceased Cardinal Fesh is back in my possession in Tuscany. It is my intention to sell it and before spreading the word I suggest you offer it to His Majesty of Prussia for your Museum, which I hear is already rich with masterpieces... A few months ago we have discovered an all Egyptian grotto, containing a statue of Isis surrounded by two votive chariots, five shields, various terracotta idols decorated in gold, ostrich eggs covered with hieroglyphics and, inside a bronze basin, a skull and a beautiful gold band; all these objects are locked in a cabinet...' (July 1839).²³

The five shields found in Isis' Tomb are missing today and this confirms that the tomb's apparatus had been interfered with before reaching the British Museum. This is also implied in a letter by Emil Braun to Gerhard in which it is stated that 'The tomb is a den of robbers.'²⁴

The death of Bonaparte

The letter cited above is probably one of the last ones the two exchanged before Lucien's death the following year. Up to then, it was the Prince himself who provided the news from the excavations at Canino because, as we have seen above, he enjoyed sharing his discoveries rather than keeping them for himself. The accurate descriptions of the vases, their exhibition in Rome's important palaces, the opening of the Museum at Musignano to the public and the opportunity given to draughtsmen to reproduce many of the

²² Costantini 1998, 236-245.

²³ Costantini 1996.

²⁴ Costantini 1996, 381.

objects contributed to illustrate the richness of the finds in Vulci. This openness changed with the death of Bonaparte in 1840.

After Lucien's death his widow immediately involved herself in the collection's sale to dealers and private collectors, making also use of agents.

The Princess was reprimanded by the Committee many times as they 'didn't like at all the way the Princess was acknowledging the finds'.²⁵ The above mentioned Basseggio helped Alexandrine to hide the finds as soon as they came to light. The material that was not reported to the Committee was wrapped and sent abroad. It is obvious that Basseggio was well accustomed to this practice as he became furious with Gerhard for 'three capitals that ended up in Government hands because of him. If he had let him deal with it, he would have easily exported them'.²⁶ The goods were normally exported through the port of Leghorn, from where they were sent to France or England. Later the Princess personally took parts of the collection abroad, first to Holland and then to Frankfurt. Gerhard noted that he was 'very annoyed because the Princess no longer allowed notes or drawings to be made'.²⁷

The ceramics which emerged from the Bonaparte excavations have confirmed that the products of important painters and workshops from Athens have been exported to Vulci. It has been possible to establish a clear majority of black-figured amphorae (50% circa), followed by red-figured kylikes, and a large presence of hydriai in both categories. All other shapes are present in a lesser number. As it has rightly been pointed out, at Vulci one can find a large number of very high quality works by the first, or the first two generations of red-figure painters, which are much rarer in Athens.²⁸ This can also be seen in the vase collection, which entered the Leiden museum, among which there are works by the Berlin- and Kleophrades-painters, certainly not 'second-rate vases' as Bonaparte described them.

A number of events took place in 2014 in Canino to mark the bicentenary of the Principato di Canino, created in 1814 by Pope Pius VII for Napoleon's 'rebel brother'. Conferences, book presentations, an exhibition entitled 'Canino, an open air museum of Lucien Bonaparte' (fig. 4) and a celebration in the presence of Lucien's descendants, helped to reveal to a wider public the importance of Lucien's cultural role in this area, whose history, archaeology and monuments are now better known (fig. 5).²⁹ As we have seen above the village of Canino remained always close to Lucien's heart and it was there that the Prince wished to be buried: his and Alexandrine's remains rest in the town's *Collegiale* (fig. 6).

25 Costantini 1998, 220, note 45.

26 Costantini 1998, 220, note 46.

27 Costantini, in Wrede 1997, 84-85.

28 Reusser, in Della Fina 2004, 147-156.

29 Marroni 2014.

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Staying at Musignano: August Kestner and the excavations of the Principe di Canino

Anne Viola Siebert

At Vulci

The ancient city of Vulci was not discovered as a place for archaeological research until the second quarter of the 19th century. Among others, Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, was one who started to concentrate his archaeological interest on Vulci by taking part in extensive archaeological excavations of the necropolis of the Etruscan city. Under his guidance and organization up to 100 excavation workers were employed. Every hour, they picked up the objects coming to light.¹ For further treatment the objects were brought to a thatched hut specifically erected nearby the so-called Cucumella.²

Many curious and interested visitors were quickly attracted by the work in the necropolis.³ Also the German archaeologist Eduard Gerhard (1795-1867) followed the work on the site intensively. Gerhard's detailed reports, the so-called *rapporto volcente* emphasized the importance of the new material – the vases and their images – for the history of ancient painting.⁴

Gerhard, General Secretary of the just founded (April 21, 1829) *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* in Rome, was responsible for the compilation and reporting of recent archaeological information. Therefore, he received very early information from the abundant excavations at Vulci.

As early as May 1829, Gerhard reported on the importance of the location and findings on the site of the Principe di Canino in the supplement of the *Preußischer Staatsanzeiger* (Prussian state's newspaper). August Kestner (1777-1853; fig. 1), Representative of the United Kingdom and the Kingdom of Hanover at the Holy See in Rome and co-found-

1 Lucien Bonaparte was not the only one who participated in the archaeological excavations of the Etruscan city. Numerous other excavators, partly as owners or tenants of specific sites, took part in the 'exploration' of this district. Bonaparte owned the largest part of the land in this area, as well as the larger part of the necropolis-district. In order to identify each excavation field see the still valid plan: Dennis 1848, 396.

2 A summary overview: de Angelis 1990; Costantini 1998; Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 24-46.

3 E.g. in May 1829: Richard 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos: see The Private Diary of Richard, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos III (1864) 164-167.

4 Gerhard 1831. For the study of the vases from the excavations of Bonaparte the drawings that Gerhard made of many vessels from Vulci are very important (today they are in the so-called Gerhard'scher Apparat), see also Costantini 1998. Gerhard himself acquired some vases from the Canino collection for the collection of Classical Antiquities in Berlin in 1841 (Auction Frankfurt), see also Kästner 2014, 105.



Figure 1. August Kestner, self-portrait, Rome 1840. Museum August Kestner Hannover.

er of the 'Istituto',⁵ also received information of Vulci because he was kept up with the latest news by Gerhard. Kestner was one of the first who had been attracted by the overwhelming results of the findings at Vulci.

As a lawyer Kestner was not even trained in classical studies and archaeology, but he had a distinct interest

5 During his stay in Rome from 1818 until his death in 1853 Kestner gathered a large collection of Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquities. A further important focus of his collecting activities was in the fields of ancient numismatics and medieval art and painting. This very extensive collection of great quality is the ground stock of the Kestner-Museum. It was opened as the first Hanoverian Municipal Museum as a gift to the city of Hanover by Kestner's nephew, Hermann Kestner (1810-1890), in November 1889. In addition to his passion for collecting antiquities, August Kestner was also interested in archaeological research. Hence, he was a close witness of this early period of great archaeological activities in Rome and Italy at the beginning of the 19th century. Inspired by various classical scholars and archaeologists, whom he met in Rome, he developed a profound knowledge of ancient art and culture. This passion finally led to the scholarly circle of the *Römische Hyperboräer* (the Roman Hyperboreans) together with Otto Magnus von Stackelberg, Eduard Gerhard and Theodor Panofka. This circle developed those ideas which eventually led to the founding of the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* in 1828, which later became the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* (DAI). At first, Kestner served as Deputy Secretary, General Secretary and later on as Vice President. A detailed biography is to be found in Jorns 1964.

in archaeological and art-historical issues. Being very knowledgeable, Kestner had already shown a deep interest in the Etruscan culture in the preceding years. During this early period, the focus of Kestner's interest were the excavations in Tarquinia. His own research in Tarquinia, together with Otto Magnus von Stackelberg (1786-1837) and the architect Joseph Thürmer (1789-1833), resulted in the discoveries of chamber tombs in 1827.⁶

Kestner's trip to Etruria in 1829

Kestner, in short, belonged to the first visitors who were attracted by the results in Vulci and Gerhard's reports. Two years after his discoveries of the tombs near Tarquinia Kestner, together with Gerhard and the Prussian minister Karl Josias von Bunsen (1791-1860), travelled again to Etruria in June 1829, in order to see the results of the recent excavations at Vulci and to inspect the collection of antiquities of the Prince of Canino. Gerhard processed the information of this trip immediately, in particular the results of Vulci in his report for the 'Bullettino', written already on June 15, 1829.⁷

But also other places were part of the itinerary, as is shown from Kestner's diary entries from 5 to 7 June, 1829: 'Musignano: a visit to the museum – Vulci: excavations, tomb of Cucumella – Toscanella (Tuscania) – Castel d'Asso: a visit to the Etruscan tombs.'

In a letter dated 4 July 1829 to his sister Charlotte Kestner (1788-1877), Kestner commented on his journey to Vulci and the things that had happened:

'In early June I did a small archaeological tour of 4 days to no less a person than Lucien Bonaparte. He lives near Canino, one of the cities of the papal state. This place lies north from here near the sea. From this place Bonaparte derived the name Prince of Canino. His residence is actually called Mussignano and is an hour away from Canino. It is a lovely area. It is located in ancient Etruria. Like many others Bonaparte had done excavations and discovered a vast number of never-dug grave monuments or grave chambers. Those chambers are usually a body or two in length, carved in stone in the ground. Within a year he found over 2000 painted vases, some of great beauty. And there are other interesting vessels and antiquities. We were very kindly received, showed around in his excavations and hosted by him; he wanted us to stay for several days. We found him in a house built of twigs in the midst of his tombs and 80 excavation workers, who were picking up the things that are found every hour. Then we spent the evening with him and his large family in Mussignano, where

6 See for a summary of Kestner's activities in Etruria: Siebert 2010.

7 Gerhard 1829b, 49-52.

Figure 2. Excerpt from the diary of Kestner dated June 5, 1829 (Stadtarchiv Hannover, NL Kestner II B 7, No. 31).

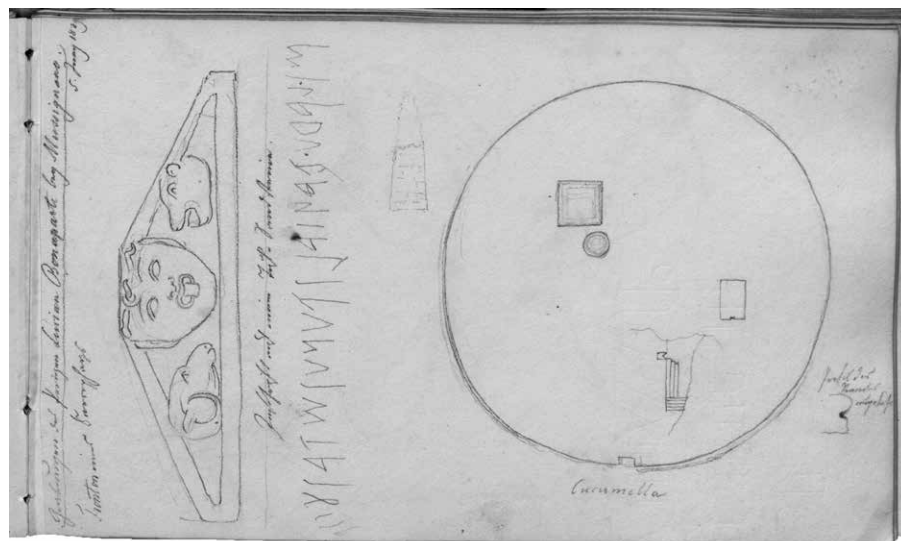


Figure 3. Excerpt from the diary of Kestner dated June 5, 1829 (Stadtarchiv Hannover, NL Kestner II B 7, No. 31).

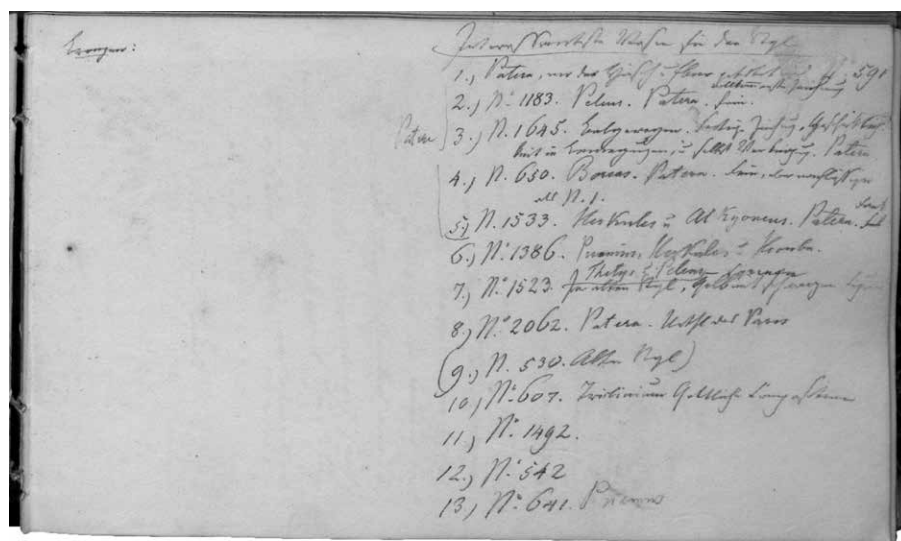
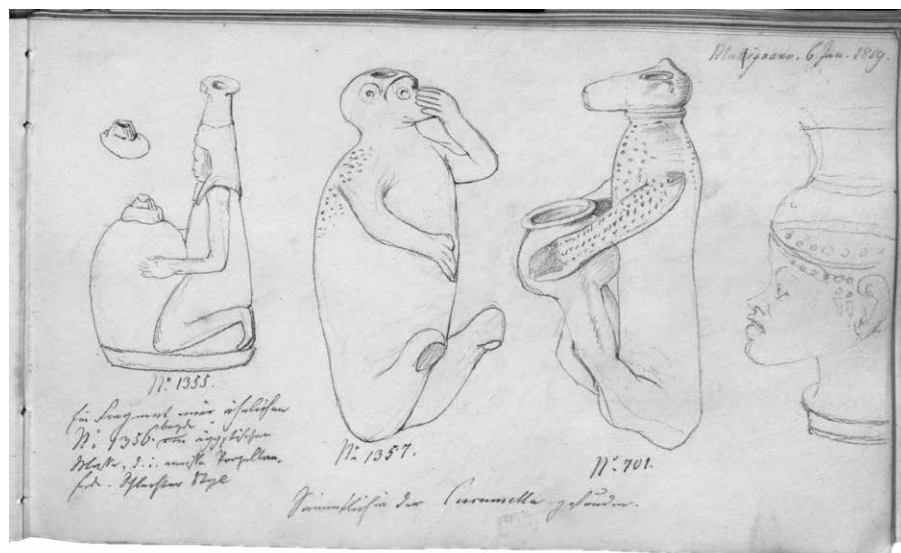


Figure 4. Excerpt from the diary of Kestner dated June 5, 1829 (Stadtarchiv Hannover, NL Kestner II B 7, No. 31).



*we admired his very good collection, and we exchanged a lot of ideas with him. The following morning, after he had provided a decent night's lodging for us in Canino, we returned to Mussignano and remained until noon, being filled with some new ideas about antiquities and history. In the environment, and on our way back we were able to look upon the most beautiful landscapes and ancient monuments of different ages; [...] One hour from Mussignano in the vicinity of the old abbey is an Etruscan bridge, which is still used; after the abbey it is called Ponte dell'Abbadia. The small river is called Fiora. The bridge led to the town of Volci, a large Etruscan city, its whole size can still be seen, even though the whole area is covered with lush wheat fields. The valley is still called Piano di Voce, in which the name Volci is clearly hidden. [...].'*⁸

Kestner wrote immediately a report to his friend Stackelberg, who was now living in London. In a letter of 16 June 1829 he wrote:

'Apart from some splendid Etruscan bronzes, we saw many golden objects at Canino of that subordinate style, which I would rather define as 'Non-Style' [...]; we also saw many gold plates, which are believed to have covered the floor of an Etruscan king's tomb. We saw remarkable tombs and burial places of various kinds, and not less than two thousand painted vases, and also many black ones, which he found a year ago [meaning bucchero vases, AVS]. The <painted>vases are characterized by diversity of depictions and the large number of inscriptions, which are all Greek, apart from a few small Etruscan ones on small unimportant vessels. And we found several Etruscan inscriptions carved in stone [...]. In those Canino excavations the Etruscan objects seem to be quite distinct from the Greek ones, and not mixed with each other, and partly impossibly rough. Architectural elements are again reminiscent of Egypt. Apparently several centuries are resting there near to, next to and mixed with each other, and hustling them together brings about a certain confusion, because the history is so dark. Although those vases deserve much attention, you will agree with me that only a few of them are well, or even very well, drawn and only a small number are of the finest Greek style; perhaps only one patera could be considered such – and even this one is not

*free of mannerism, although it is divinely drawn: on the one side a boar is depicted, and on the other a speckled hind, killed by hunters [...].'*⁹

Kestner's diary entries

The Leiden conference 'The Canino Connections' in 2015 provided an opportunity to recall a research project which had already been introduced in 2012. These previously outlined ideas will now be presented in a more elaborate form.¹⁰ The current study focuses on one of Kestner's diaries and sketchbooks, which today is located with other written documents in Kestner's bequest in the Municipal Archive in Hanover.¹¹

Not only did Kestner give detailed reports to his sister Charlotte or to his friend Stackelberg about his visit to the Prince, but he also commented on the objects found in Vulci in his diary and sketchbook. In this context Kestner especially mentioned the so-called Cucumella tumulus dating from the 6th century BC. Moreover, he described some details of the plan, the entrance portal and he highlighted some Etruscan inscriptions (fig. 2) as well as figurative vases.

In addition to these notes on the Cucumella several written messages, which obviously refer to the 'excavation museum' in Musignano, are interesting. However, some of the entries could not be interpreted for quite a long time.¹² From the objects displayed in the former monastery 16 vessels, about which he made some brief notes, excited Kestner's special interest (fig. 3). These have numbers that appear at first to have no comprehensible numerical order.

Transcription¹³

Interessanteste Vasen für den Styl

1. Patera, wo der Hirsch u. Eber getötet wird durch; vollkommensten Jüngling, 591
2. N^o 1183. Peleus. Patera. fein.
3. N^o 1645. [Holzwagen]. [...] Jüngling. Geschicklichkeit in [...], u. selbst [Verbiegung]. Patera.

8 Charlotte Kestner answered this letter on August 2, 1829 as follows: '[...] And I thank you for mentioning your trip to Mussignano. Has the art ennobled Lucien?' Both text passages quoted from Kestner-Köchlin 1913, 172-3, 174.

9 Cited by Jorns 1964, 202-3.

10 The idea for a small research project had already been announced by my colleague, Friederike Bubenheimer-Erhart, and me within a poster presentation at the annual meeting of the German Association of Archaeologists in 2012.

11 Municipal Archive Hanover, bequest of Kestner, Sign. II B 7 no. 31.

12 I thank Friederike Bubenheimer-Erhart for the reference to the publications of Bonaparte.

13 Transcription characters: [text] = accesible text; [...] = unreadable. Transcription remains untranslated.

Kestner	Canino	Oggetti	Catalogo di Scelte	Muséum Étrusque	2nd auction Paris	Reserve Étrusque	Vendita all'asta del 1843	Museum	Beazley-Archive
1829		1829	1829	1829	1837	1838	1843		
9	530	X	X	X		X		München, Antikensammlung, SH 596 (ex J 125)	?
12	542	X		X		X		München, Antikensammlung, SH 2412 (ex VI 1919, ex J 386)	213476
1	591		X	X		X		Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 2538	217214
10	607	X						No result	
13	641	X						Uncertain assignment	
4	650							No result	
No nr.	701							No result	
2	1183	X	X	X	X			München, Antikensammlung, SH 2648 (ex J 369)	205230
No nr.	1355							No result	
No nr.	1357							No result	
6	1386	X	X	X		X		München, Antikensammlung, NI 8730 (ex J 378)	200160
11	1492	X		X			X	London, British Museum, E 442	202927
7	1523	X				X		München, Antikensammlung, SH 1415 (ex J 380)	4652
5	1533	X	X	X		X		München, Antikensammlung, SH 2590 (ex J 401)	200135
3	1645		X	X		X	X	Paris, Cabinet des Medailles, 523	203242
8	2062		X	X	X			Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 2291	204685

Table 1: List of known publications and catalogues, certain identifications.

Kestner	Canino	Fabric	Technique	Shape Name	Provenance	Inscription Type	Inscription	Artist Name	Decoration Description	Result/Beazley
9	530	A ^a	Bf ^b	Hydria	Vulci ^c				Meleagros	?
12	542	A	Rf ^d	Stamnos	Vulci				Bull	213476
1	591	A	Rf	Cup	Vulci	Named	Themis, Ai[g]eus, [M]elea[gr]os, Peleus[s]			217214
10	607		Rf		Vulci					
13	641	A	Rf		Vulci				Boreas and Oreithyia	
4	650			Cup	Vulci				Boreas	
2	1183	A	Rf	Cup	Vulci			Hieron Potter	Thetis	205230
6	1386	A	Rf	Amphora	Vulci		Euthymides			200160
11	1492	A	Rf	Stamnos	Vulci				Prokrustes	202927
7	1523	A	Bf		Vulci					4652
5	1533	A	Rf	Amphora	Vulci			Phintias	Herakles and Alkyoneus	200135
3	1645	A	Rf	Cup	Vulci		Antimachos			203242
8	2062	A	Rf	Cup	Vulci	Epoiesen ^e		Hieron Potter		204685

Table 2: Search parameters used in the Beazley database.

notes:

a: Athenian; b: Black-figure; c: Italy, Etruria, Vulci; d: Red-figure; e: Internal Reference.



Figure 5. Attic red-figure cup, Kodrus Painter, 450-400 BC, Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2538 (photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, Johannes Laurentius).

4. N^o. 650. Boreas. Patera. Fein, aber nachlässiger als N^o. 1
5. N^o. 1533. Herkules u. Alkyoneus. Patera. [...] [...]
6. N^o. 1386. Priamos, Herkules u. Hekuba.
7. N^o. 1523. In altem Styl, Thetys u. Peleus [...], gelb mit schwarzen Figuren
8. N^o. 2062. Patera. [Urteil] des Paris
9. N^o. 530. Alter Styl
10. N^o. 607. Triclinium [...] Göttliche [...] [...]
11. N^o. 1492.
12. N^o. 542
13. N^o. 641. Priamos

The numbers 701, 1355 and 1357 are subtitled *Sämmtlich in der Cucumella gefunden* ('All found in the Cucumella'). This page shows sketches of figural vessels (fig. 4) of which only the number 1355 is provided with a note:

*Ein Fragment einer italischen
No. 1356. [...] von ägyptischem
Muster, d. i. [...] graugelbem
[...]. Schlechter Styl.*

That Kestner's cited numbers can be resolved using the publications of Bonaparte was for a long time far from clear. In some cases the catalogues enable us to identify some of the objects mentioned in the diary. Ten of the 16 objects Kestner described as 'Most interesting vases as for style' (*Interessanteste Vasen für den Styl*): these are Attic red-figure vases, which can be directly identified and allocated to their current museum's locations (tab. 1).

In order to identify and allocate the objects two steps had to be taken: firstly, the transcription of Kestner's diary entries and secondly the comparison of some of the numbers mentioned by Kestner in relation to the *Catalogo*

di Scelte Antichità Etrusche trovate negli Scavi del Principe di Canino 1828-29 and the *Muséum Étrusque de Lucien Bonaparte Principe de Canino*.¹⁴

But the notes are rather rudimentary and handwritten. Yet, they can be verified by the description of the vase paintings and even more by detailed information about the inscriptions on the vases (e.g. the painter's names). The third tool for identifying the objects is the online pottery database of the Beazley Archive with its various search options.

The basis for the descriptions in the *Catalogo di Scelte* and *Muséum Étrusque* is a list of 2097 objects and vessels. This list, created during the first excavation campaign, gave the serial numbers and finds from Vulci for the first time: *Oggetti del Sig.r Principe di Canino, N. 890, Scelta di Monumenti scavati dal Sig.r Principe di Canino, al piano della Badia*.¹⁵ Initially Bonaparte sent 200 of the objects (and later more than 2000) to Rome to be exhibited in the Palazzo Gabrielli in August 1829. After Gerhard had seen this exhibition he reported on it in the *Bullettino*.¹⁶

14 Bonaparte 1829a; Bonaparte 1829b. These two publications were produced in order to facilitate the sale of the finds, see Messerschmidt 1930, 8.

15 Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camerlengato, parte II, titolo IV, busta 191 (still cited as *Oggetti*). Cited by Buranelli 1995, 143. See also Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 27.

16 See Buranelli 1995, 88 note 35. See also Gerhard 1829a, 81: *Furono ultimamente trasportati in Roma i vasi dipinti dissotterati nel corso dell' ultimo anno dalle terre etrusche, ora proprietà del signor principe di Canino, e conservati sino ad ora nella tenuta d' esso sig. principe a Musignano. Quest' abbondante e squisita collezione, riunita con quella di egual provenienza antecedentemente depositata in Roma presso il cav. Valentini console di Prussia, forma oggi una sola magnifica raccolta. La quale collocata in sei stanze dell' appartamento nobile del palazzo de' principi Gabrielli fa bella mostra agli ammirari italiani e stranieri che si recano ad osservarla.* See also Nørskov 2009, 68 note 36.

Cited by Buranelli in 1995, the above mentioned list of objects is published in the *Catalogo di Scelte* and the *Muséum Étrusque*. It also contains the descriptions of the objects. They are used to identify the vessels mentioned by Kestner.¹⁷

Objects seen by Kestner

The following numbers listed by Kestner are related to the publications of Bonaparte mentioned above (tab. 1):

Seven of the objects are mentioned in both publications, two are found exclusively in the *Muséum Étrusque*, while four objects are indeed provided with a 'Canino number', but are not listed in any of the catalogues. The latter is probably due to the fact that some numbers indicate undecorated vessels which were not intended to appear in the catalogues. Only black and red figure vessels are included in the *Catalogo di Scelte* as well as in the *Muséum Étrusque*.

Identification of the objects

Table 2 shows the search parameters used in the Beazley database. Listed are the vessels that can be identified by Kestner's descriptions, the *Catalogo di Scelte* and the *Muséum Étrusque* as black or red figure vessels.

Next we will examine in detail three exemplary objects (Kestner's numbers 1, 5 and 6) and their presumable identification. The other ten objects of black- and red-figure pottery are shortly listed in tables.

Table 3: Kestner-No. 1 (Canino-No. 591).

notes:

a: Bonaparte 1829b, 81-5.;

b: Gerhard 1831, 155 note 432, 159 note 489 and 176 note 680. Furtwängler/Reichhold 1932, 110-3, pl. 140;

c: Gerhard 1846, 4 note 7.

Buranelli 1995, 132.

Kestner's description		1.) Patera, wo der Hirsch u. Eber getötet wird durch; vollkommensten Jüngling, 591
Catalogo di Scelte	Headline	/
Catalogo di Scelte	Chapter	/
Muséum Étrusque	Headline	L'Oracle de Delphes ^a
Shape/Technique		Cup, red-figure
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	/
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	/
Locality		Cucumella, Fam. Fepia , February 1829
Museum		Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 2538 ^b
Beazley-Archive		217214
Oggetti (Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom 1829)		/
2nd Auction Paris 1837		/
Réserve Étrusque 1838		No. 13 ^c
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

Kestner's no. 1 refers to Canino's vase no. 591. Kestner's very brief description of the depiction (fig. 3) can be found in the *Muséum Étrusque* under the headline *L'Oracle de Delphes*. This title refers to the picture on the bottom of the cup. The detailed description in the *Muséum Étrusque* also makes reference to the illustrations on the outside rim of the cup which show hunters pursuing a deer and a boar: *A l'extérieur, d'un côté quatre chasseurs poursuivent un cerf, et de l'autre quatre autres chasseurs poursuivent un sanglier*.¹⁸ Kestner only shortly mentions the Calydonian boar hunting and Peleus' hunting of the

17 For the numbers of the catalogue *Reserve Étrusque 1838* see Jahn 1854. See also the advertisement in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 6, 1839, 623-4.

18 Bonaparte 1829b, 82.

hind. The identification of these two mythical hunts is facilitated by the names the vase painter has added to the protagonists: ΠΕΛΕΥΣ and ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ.

Kestner was fascinated by the hunting scene. In the above cited letter to Stackelberg he mentions a patera (meaning a kylix) which he considered ‘of the finest Greek style’¹⁹ and praised it as ‘divinely drawn.’²⁰ This kylix showing ‘on the one side a boar, and on the other a speckled hind, killed by hunters’²¹ with an oracle scene on the tondo, can almost certainly be identified with the cup of the Kodros painter (450-400 BC) now kept in the Antikensammlung Berlin (fig. 5).²²

Short description

On the outside of the bowl two hunts are shown, which are of mythological origin as is shown by the inscriptions on the exterior: on one side of the cup two members of the hunt are shown: Peleus, whose name appears in the inscription of the cup, and Theseus.

The inside tondo shows the oracle of Themis. In a temple hall, indicated by a Doric column and the entablature, a veiled woman sits on a high tripod. In her right hand she holds a laurel branch and in her left hand a bowl. Above her head is the inscription ΘΕΜΙΣ. From the right side a bearded man approaches her: Aegeus (ΑΙΓΕΥΣ), the mythical king of Athens and father of Theseus is identified by the inscription.

Kestner's description		5.) N° 1533. Herkules u. Alkyoneus. Patera. [...] [...]
Catalogo di Scelte	Headline	Il Gigante Alcioneo
Catalogo di Scelte	Chapter	No. II, Seconda Centuria, Oggetti con Iscrizioni, No. 74
Muséum Étrusque	Headline	Le géant Alcyonée ^a
Shape/technique		Cup, red-figure
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	Phintias Egraphsen, Deiniades Epoiesen (Taf. XXXIV)
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	Herakles, Apollon, Alkyoneus, Hermes
Locality		Cucumella, Fam. Fepia, April 1829
Museum		München, Antikensammlung, SH 2590 (ex J 401) ^b
Beazley-Archive		200135
Oggetti (Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom 1829)		<i>Prima Classe</i> No. 1533 Coppa del diametro di oncie due, scritta, e dipinta a figure gialle. Nell'interno si scorge un Fauno piegato sopra un ginocchio, ed avente nella destra il Corno patorio. Nella parte esterna il gigante Alcioneo dorme nudo sopra un guanciale, stendendo il sinistro braccio sulla coscia, e ripiegando il dritto sulla fronte. Ercole portante la Clava, e coperto della pelle del Leone, è già per uccidere il Gigante, mentre dietro lui Mercurio gl'indica colla destra il capo della vittima, e colla sinistra tiene il Caduceo. ^c
2nd Auction Paris 1837		/
Réserve Étrusque 1838		No. 12 ^d
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

Table 4: Kestner-No. 5 (Canino-No. 1533).

notes:

a: Bonaparte 1829b, 137;

b: Gerhard 1831, 150 note 371, 166 note 617, 170 note 652 and 180 note 728. Jahn 1854, 133-4, no. 401;

c: Cited by Buranelli 1995, 144;

d: Buranelli 1995, 132.

19 Kestner's letter to Stackelberg, 16 June, 1829: *dem feinsten griechischen Stile* (Jorns 1964, 203).

20 Kestner's letter to Stackelberg, 16 June, 1829: *göttlich gezeichnet* (Jorns 1964, 203).

21 Kestner's letter to Stackelberg, 16 June, 1829: *auf der einen Seite [...] einen Eber, auf der andern eine gefleckte Hirschkuh, von Jägern erlegt* (Jorns 1964, 203).

22 Gerhard 1831, 50 and 155 note 432. In detail see Gerhard 1846. Further literature in: Beazley-Archive 217214.



Figure 6. Attic red-figure cup, painted by Phintias and signed by Deiniades, 550-500 BC, Munich, Antikensammlung SH 2590 (ex J 401) (photo: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München, Renate Kühling).

Kestner no. 5 can be identified with Canino no. 1533. Here Kestner only gives the very short description *Herkules u. Alkyoneus. Patera* (fig. 3). This demonstrates that Kestner's notes are extremely succinct. As we have seen earlier Kestner uses the word *patera* to indicate the drinking bowl we refer to as *kylix*.

Comparison with the two Canino publications shows that in the *Catalogo di Scelte* the cup is indicated as *Il Gigante Alcioneo* and in the *Muséum Étrusque* as *Le géant Alcyonée*. When entering the mythological figures and the names of potter and painter (Deiniades and Phintias) in the Beazley Archive, adding as findspot Vulci, these criteria score a fairly reliable hit: an Attic red figure cup by the Phintias painter in the Antikensammlung in Munich (fig. 6).²³

23 Detailed description and classification of the cup: Furtwängler/Reichhold 1904, 168-172. Detailed literature: Beazley Archive 200135.

Short description

Side A shows the naked and bearded Alkyoneus (inscription left to right). He is asleep leaning on a cushion on the ground; his right hand is placed over his head and his left hand is extended. Next to him there is the inscription *Phintias Egraphsen* (left to right). Herakles (inscription left to right), with the club and wrapped into a lion skin, approaches him from the left. Hermes (inscription left to right), wearing a hat, short chiton, boots and kerykeion, comes to the giant from the right. Behind this scene is the inscription *Deiniades Epoiesen*.

Side B depicts the tripod dispute between Herakles (inscription left to right) and Apollo (inscription right to left). The tondo of the cup shows a naked running satyr with a drinking horn.

Kestner's description		6.) N° 1386. Priamos, Herkules u. Hekuba
Catalogo di Scelte	Headline	Le armi di Paride ^a : Nel primo quadro Paride stà in mezzo a Priamo ed Ecuba; [...]
Catalogo di Scelte	Chapter	No. II, Seconda Centuria, Oggetti con Iscrizioni, No. 56
Muséum Étrusque	Headline	Les armes de Pâris ^b
Shape/Technique		Amphora, red-figure
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	Euthymides Egraphsen (Taf. XXX)
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	Hekabe, Priamos (Taf. XXX)
Locality		Cucumella, Fam. Fepia, March 1829
Museum		München, Antikensammlung, NI 8730 (ex J 378) ^c
Beazley-Archive		200160
Oggetti/Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom		<u>Prima Classe</u> No. 1386 Diota alta tre palmi con figure gialle. Da una parte, Priamo ed Ecuba appresentano a Paride le armi. Questo stà in mezzo, armato già in parte, ed è rivolto in atto di ascoltare il discorso di Priamo. Lo Scudo è presso di Lui con una testa di Fauno nel Campo, ed Ecuba tiene nella sinistra la lancia del figlio, e colla destra gli presenta l'Elmo. Nell'altro si osservano quattro uomini nudi, e coronati di fiori, uno de' quali ha nelle mani la Diota. ^d
2nd auction Paris 1837		/
Réserve Étrusque 1838		No. 33 ^e
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

As the last example shows, Kestner's no. 6 can be identified with Canino no. 1386 (fig. 3). Only brief comments by Kestner are written in this entry. With *Priamus, Herkules u. Hekuba* Kestner attempts to identify the persons on the vase; information on the vascular shape is missing completely. However, the indication of the shape is provided in the text of the catalogue of the *Muséum Étrusque*.²⁴ Here the vase is mentioned as a *grand vase à deux anses*, i.e. an amphora.

The detailed information given by the inscriptions *Hekabe Hektor Priamos Teles Eledemos Komarchos* and the painter's name *Euthymides Hopolio*, makes an accurate database query possible. This leads to a relatively safe hit: an amphora of Euthymides in Munich's Antikensammlung (fig. 7).²⁵

Table 5: Kestner-No. 6 (Canino-No. 1386).

notes:

a: Bonaparte 1829a, 113;

b: Bonaparte 1829b, 121-3.

Panofka 1829, 137, 142;

c: Gerhard 1831, 130 note 147, 153 note 400, 178 note 698 and 185 note 751. Jahn 1854, 123-4 no. 378;

d: Cited by Buranelli 1995, 143;

e: Buranelli 1995, 130.)

²⁴ Bonaparte 1829b, 121.

²⁵ Detailed literature: Beazley-Archive 200160.



Figure 7. Attic red-figure amphora, Euthymides, 550-500 BC, Munich, Antikensammlung NI 8730 (ex J 378) (photo: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München, Renate Kühling).

Short description

This amphora shows on side A Hector's farewell to his parents. Hector, who is identified by the inscription, puts on a breastplate. His mother Hecuba (inscription right to left) stands on his right side and places the helmet on his head, while holding a spear in her left hand. Priam, resting on a staff with his left hand as an indication of his advanced age, faces Hecuba and waves to his son. In this section we read the painter's signature *Euthymides Egraphsen*.

Side B of the amphora shows three naked revellers crowned with vine leaves. The revellers on the left and on the right are dancing merrily. The man in the centre raises a stick. The added inscription *Komarchos* possibly refers to him as the leader of the *Komos*, the drunken procession after the symposium. Particularly interesting is the inscription 'As never Euphronios [could do]' (HOS OYΔEΠOTE EYΦPONIOΣ), which can be considered a mocking remark by Euthymides to his colleague and competitor Euphronios.²⁶

Short notes

Kestner's description		N° 1183. Peleus. Patera. fein.
Catalogo di Scelte	headline	Il Ratto di Teti ^a Nel fondo Ercole seduto sopra un masso all'ombra di un' albero presenta il diota a Minerva che lo riempie.[...]
Catalogo di Scelte	chapter	No. II, Seconda Centuria, Oggetti con Iscrizioni
Muséum Étrusque	headline	Le rapt de Thetis ^b
Shape / Technique		Tazza (cup), figure gialle (red-figure)
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	Hieron Epoiesen
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	/
Locality		Cucumella, Fam. Fepia, March/April 1829
Museum		München, Antikensammlung, J 369 ^c
Beazley-Archive		205230
Oggetti/Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom		<u>Vasi di Seconda Classe</u> . No. 1183 Tazza scritta, avente il diametro di venti oncie, e dipinta a figure gialle. Nell'interno Ercole stà sopra una roccia, assiso all'ombra d'un'albero, e ha nelle mani una diota, che Minerva riempie. La Clava dell'Eroe, è deposta sul suolo, e l'elmo di Pallade è posato sopra un altro masso. Due quadri abbellano l'esterno. In uno Peleo rapisce Teti inutilmente difesa da un Leone. Quattro donne ammantate, due delle quali aventi nelle mani un delfino, sono colorite in vari atteggiamenti di spavento. Un Sacerdote è dipinto nell'altra parte, che si stringe al seno una giovinetta. Quattro figure muliebri restano indietro spettatrici della scena. ^d
2nd Auction Paris 1837		No. 134 ^e
Réserve Étrusque 1838		No. 16
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

Table 6: Kestner-No. 2 (Canino-No. 1183).

notes:

a: Bonaparte 1829a, 105; **b:** Bonaparte 1829b, 83; **c:** Gerhard 1831, 154 note *409. Jahn 1854, 115-6 no. 369; Buranelli 1995, 123; **d:** Cited by Buranelli 1995, 155; **e:** Buranelli 1995, 129.

²⁶ Gerhard 1847, 82.

Kestner's description		3.) N° 1645. [Holzwagen?][...] Jüngling. Geschicklichkeit in [...], u. selbst [Verbiegung]. Patera.
Catalogo di Scelte	headline	La Lotta Sanguinosa ^a Coppa a figure gialle. [...] Nel fondo due atleti nudi lottano; [...] un maestro di ginnastica con la verga in mano osserva.
Catalogo di Scelte	chapter	No. II, Seconda Centuria, Oggetti con Iscrizioni, No. 84
Muséum Étrusque	headline	La lutte ensanglantée ^b
Shape/technique		Patera (cup); Coppa a figure gialle (red-figure)
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	/
Muséum Étrusque	Eigenname	Antimachos Asopokles Evagoras Jasuas Kleon Timon Chares Epichares Chlisophos Eratosthenes Antias Rachos Thormos Kephisophon Ambrosion Dorotheos Batrachos Olumpiodoros Phrineis Klibulon Elonos
Locality		Cucumella, Fam. Fepia, April 1829
Museum		Paris, Cabinet des Medailles, 523 ^c
Beazley Archive		203242
Oggetti/Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom		/
2nd Auction Paris 1837		/
Réserve Étrusque 1838		No. 27 ^d
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

Table 7: Kestner-No. 3 (Canino-No. 1645).

notes:

a: Bonaparte 1829a, 142; **b:** Bonaparte 1829b, 151; **c:** Gerhard 1831, 155 note 431. 167 note *626. 187 note 778; **d:** Buranelli 1995, 132.

Kestner's description		4.) N° 650. Boreas. Patera. Fein, aber nachlässiger als N° 1.
Catalogo di Scelte	Headline	/
Catalogo di Scelte	Chapter	/
Muséum Étrusque	Headline	/
Shape/technique		Patera (cup)
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	/
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	/
Locality		/
Date of recovery		/
Museum		No result
Beazley Archive		/
Oggetti/Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom		/
2nd Auction Paris 1837		/
Réserve Étrusque 1838		/
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

Table 8: Kestner-No. 4 (Canino-No. 650).

Kestner's description		7.) N° 1523. Thetys u. Peleus. In altem Styl, gelb mit schwarzen Figuren.
Catalogo di Scelte	Headline	/
Catalogo di Scelte	Chapter	/
Muséum Étrusque	Headline	/
Shape/technique		Diota (two-handled vessel: amphora, black-figure)
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	/
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	/
Locality		/
Museum		München, Antikensammlung, J 380 (?)
Beazley Archive		4652
Oggetti/Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom		<u>Prima Classe</u> No. 1523. Diota con coperchio alta un palmo e tre quarti, con manichi alquanto rotti. Nel collo fiori bianchi. Figure in tre colori con fondo giallo. Il Vaso è diviso in tre fascie. La prima fascia è dipinta di Leoni e Caproni. Nella seconda fascia in un Quadro si scorge una Donna con pantera, e Leone sulle spalle, la quale sta fra due uccelli con volti virili e femminini. Nell'altro Quadro vi è un Citeredo con Cerva, fra due uccelli come nell'altra parte; e sopra ogni ala dei volatili vi è un occhio. Sotto un manico evvi una Donna, con modio o calato; sotto l'altro Mercurio. Nell'ultima fascia sono dipinti Caproni e Pantere. È questo Vaso di stile antico, e sotto graffito. ^a
2nd Auction Paris 1837		/
Réserve Étrusque 1838		No. 6 ^b
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

Table 9: Kestner-No. 7 (Canino-No. 1523).

notes:

a: Cited by Buranelli 1995, 145; b: Buranelli 1995, 130.

Kestner's description		8.) N° 2062. Patera. Urteil des Paris.
Catalogo di Scelte	Headline	/
Catalogo di Scelte	Chapter	/
Muséum Étrusque	headline	No. 2062 is mentioned only in the chapter <i>Table des noms propres et des noms d'Auteurs</i> . ^a
Shape/technique		Patera (cup), red-figure
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	Hieron Epoiesen
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	Rodamas Alechsandros Aphrodite Helene Timadra Ikarios Elopis Tutareos Hera Athenaia
Locality		/
Museum		Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2291
Beazley Archive		204685
Oggetti/Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom		/
2nd Auction Paris 1837		No. 129 ^b
Réserve Étrusque 1838		/
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

Table 10: Kestner-No. 8 (Canino-No. 2062).

notes:

a: Bonaparte 1829b, 20; b: Buranelli 1995, 129; Nørskov 2009, 69 note 51, 71 fig. 5, 72 tab. 6. Purchase price 6.600 Francs.

Kestner's description		9.) N° Alter Styl.)
Catalogo di Scelte	Headline	Atalanta
Catalogo di Scelte	Chapter	No. II, Seconda Centuria, Oggetti con Iscrizioni, No. 3
Muséum Étrusque	Headline	Typhon foudroyé ^a
Shape/technique		Vaso grande a tre manichi, black-figure : Hydria (?), Kalpis (?)
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	/
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	/
Locality		Cucumella, Fam. Fepia, January 1829
Museum		München, Antikensammlung, J 125 ^b
Beazley Archive		/
Oggetti/Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom		<u>Prima Classe</u> No. 530. Vaso a tre manichi alto tre palmi, dipinto a figure nere e bianche, e pavonazze, è distinto in tre fasce. Nella prima fascia è rappresentato un grifone, un Cigno, quattro Tigri, ed due Cervi. Nella seconda fascia, vi si scorgono due Quadri. Nel primo Meleagro presenta ad Atalanta la testa del Cinghiale, Meleagro è seguito da Peleo armato, e da due uomini; una donna e tre uomini sono dietro ad Atalanta. Due Coppie di Leoni finiscono i due lati. Nell'altro Quadro il gigante Tifone è fulminato dal figlio di Saturno. Undici Cavalieri montati da loro Cavalieri empiono la terza fascia. ^c
2nd auction Paris 1837		/
Réserve Étrusque 1838		No. 60 ^d
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

Table 11: Kestner-No. 9 (Canino-No. 530).

notes:

a: Bonaparte 1829b, 53; b: Gerhard 1831, 123 note 48, 154 note 418, 168 note 629, 174 note 671g-n and 183 note 740. Gerhard 1847, 157-9 pl. CCXXXVII. Jahn 1854, 38-9 no. 125; c: Cited by Buranelli 1995, 143; d: Buranelli 1995, 132.

Kestner's description		10.) N° 607. Triclinium [...] Göttliche [...] [...]
Catalogo di Scelte	Headline	/
Catalogo di Scelte	Chapter	/
Muséum Étrusque	Headline	/
Shape/technique		Diota con suo coperchio, che termina in frutto di Pino; colorita di bianco e giallo in fondo nero (red-figure amphora)
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	/
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	/
Locality		Before June 1829
Museum		No result
Beazley Archive		/
Oggetti/Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom		<u>Prima Classe</u> No. 607. Diota con suo coperchio, che termina in frutto di Pino, ornata di belli Menandri, colorita di bianco e giallo in fondo nero. Vi si osservano da una parte quattro Sirene, quattro Cervi, una Cerva, ed una Cicogna; non che un Tripode, un giovenetto con Nasiterna, tre figure semigiacenti, un Uomo, e forse due donne, aventi sul Capo una Tenia e corona. L'Uomo ha due coppe in mano; una delle donne, o giovane, ha una coppa, e una Cetera; Innanzi ad un letto sone due mense, e una Donna tibicine. Dall'altro lato si ravvisano tre Giovani ammatati, e una donna velata. Uno ha il pedo, l'altro il nappo, ed è questa Diota ornata di fiori nei manichi. ^a
2nd Auction Paris 1837		/
Réserve Étrusque 1838		/
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

Table 12: Kestner-No. 10 (Canino-No. 607).

notes:

a: Cited by Buranelli 1995, 143.

Kestner's description		11. N° 1492
Catalogo di Scelte	Headline	/
Catalogo di Scelte	Chapter	/
Muséum Étrusque	Headline	La mort de Procruste ^a
Shape/technique		Stamnos; figure gialle in fondo nero (red-figure)
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	/
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	/
Locality		Cucumella, Fam. Fepia, March 1829
Museum		London, British Museum, E 442 ^b
Beazley Archive		202927
Oggetti/Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom		<u>Prima Classe</u> No. 1492. Diota un poco corrosa con coperchio, ed alta un palmo e mezzo. Figure gialle in fondo nero. In un Quadro è un Eroe nudo, che doma il Toro, e una Donna. Nell'altra parte un'Uomo abbattuto è presso una donna, ed un'altro uomo con scure. ^c
2nd Auction Paris 1837		/
Réserve Étrusque 1838		/
Vendita all'asta del 1843		No. 43(?) ^d

Table 13: Kestner-No. 11 (Canino-No. 1492).

notes:

a: Bonaparte 1829b, 134; **b:** Gerhard 1831, 152 note 383; **c:** Cited by Buranelli 1995, 145; **d:** Buranelli 1995, 135. In the British Museum since 1843, acquired from the collection of Alexandrine Bonaparte: inventory no. 1843, 1103.58: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=399187&partId=1&searchText=e442&page=1 (20.12.2015).

Kestner's description		12.) N° 542
Catalogo di Scelte	Headline	/
Catalogo di Scelte	Chapter	/
Muséum Étrusque	Headline	Le genie d'Italie ^a
Shape/technique		Diota alta due palmi (red-figure stamnos)
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	/
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	/
Locality		Cavalupo, Fam. Larthia, January 1829
Museum		München, Antikensammlung, SH 2412 (ex VI 1919, ex J 386) ^b
Beazley Archive		213476
Oggetti/Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom		<u>Prima Classe</u> No. 542. Diota alta due palmi, dipinta con fini colori di giallo e bianco sopra una bella vernice nera, scritta. Rappresenta da una parte una Vittoria, o Telete, che con un vaso a tre manichi versa dell'acqua in una tazza, dove beve un Toro ornato di bianchi bende. Evvi un tripode, e altra Donna con bianca benda nelle mani. Dall'altro lato si scorge un uomo ammantato stante con lungo bastone fra due Donne egualmente ammantate. ^c
2nd Auction Paris 1837		/
Réserve Étrusque 1838		No. 34
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

Table 14: Kestner-No. 12 (Canino-No. 542).

notes:

a: Bonaparte 1829b, 64-5; **b:** Gerhard 1831, 40-1, 144 note 275. Jahn 1854, 128-9 no. 386. See also Ambrosch 1830, 143. Drawing of Luigi Maria Valadier in Museo della Fondazione Claudio Faina, Orvieto: Della Fina 2005, 90 fig. 2; **c:** Buranelli 1995, 144.

Kestner's description		13.) N° 641. Priamos
Catalogo di Scelte	headline	/
Catalogo di Scelte	chapter	/
Muséum Étrusque	headline	/
Shape/technique		Amphora; figure gialle (red-figure)
Muséum Étrusque	Painters inscription	/
Muséum Étrusque	Proper name	/
Locality		/, before June 1829
Museum		No clear results. The following objects are possible: London, British Museum, E 512 Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 2165 München, Antikensammlung, J 376 ^a Città del Vaticano, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, 16553
Beazley Archive		No clear results: 206369 206421 206422 206886
Oggetti/Palazzo Gabrielli, Rom		<u>Terza Classe</u> No. 641 Altro Vaso dipinto a figure gialle, e che in un lato presenta Borea, ed Orizia. ^b
2nd Auction Paris 1837		/
Réserve Étrusque 1838		No. 33
Vendita all'asta del 1843		/

Table 15: Kestner-No. 13
(Canino-No. 641).

notes:

a: The amphora mentioned by Nørskov 2009, 70 note 50, fig. 4 seems to be the object quoted by Kestner. See also Welcker 1851, 144 note 1;

b: Cited by Buranelli 1995, 163.

Conclusion

Kestner's strong archaeological interest and achievements were by far outstanding. He owed his expertise in terms of Attic vase painting to Gerhard. During his visit to Musignano, Kestner therefore was able to appreciate and examine a couple of significant examples of Greek pottery, which he documented in his diary.

This article is based on previous research, which focused on the Kestner Archive and a planned edition project. We hope to have shown on the basis of the three examples that it is possible by carefully examining each note, catalogue entry and other related documents to identify with a great amount of certainty archaeological artefacts, which 'existed' previously only in writing. On the basis of these methods even personal notes, which originally were not intended for scientific purposes, can provide us with important information. Kestner never thought of publishing his diaries. Nevertheless, his notes give an interesting insight into the beginnings of archaeological research at Vulci. All these scraps of information may be seen as little stones, adding up to the 'Kestner Mosaic.'

The insights gained from this research may help historians and archaeological curators to trace the history of ancient vases during their odyssey between the moment of excavation and their arrival in a museum's collection. Of course, archaeological curators often know where their objects originate from. But nonetheless, Kestner's notes will probably provide more information and give a deeper insight about provenance, history and acquisition of certain objects.²⁷

27 A final word of thanks to Katharina von Dewitz for assisting me with the translation of German into English.

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Canino vases in the State Hermitage Museum: the history of purchasing¹

Anna Petrakova

The distribution of the collection of Lucien Bonaparte is a long story, not yet fully investigated... a work that is still fruitful.²

Introduction

Even though Canino vases in last decades started to be the subject for special publications, the role of Russia in their dispersal (and the dispersal of the Bonaparte collection) has not yet been studied in a proper way: *e.g.* Von Bothmer wrote about Bonaparte-vases in the museums of Paris, London, Berlin, München, Leiden³, but did not mention the St. Petersburg vases and Buranelli in 1995 associated only two of Lucien's vases with St. Petersburg.⁴ And yet we have discovered in the Hermitage more than a hundred of them, i.e. not less than in Berlin or Leiden.

In Russia classical antiquities started to be objects of collecting in the 18th century: first sculptures were bought during the reign of Czar Peter I; later Catherine II showed a true passion for gems, but among the watercolours in her collections we can find also depictions of ancient ruins and even of some painted vases.⁵ As early as in 1781-82 during their Grand Tour the future Russian Emperor Paul I and his wife Maria Fyodorovna, welcomed in Naples by King Ferdinand IV and Sir William Hamilton, brought to Russia a collection of about 40 vases and placed them in their residence in Pavlovsk (near St. Petersburg).⁶ Recent studies allow us to identify some of them with the vases of Felice Mastrilli (1694-1755?).⁷ Thus, already in 1782 vases from excavations around Naples – the main source of them in the 18th century – appeared in Russia.

1 I would like to express my gratitude to Ruurd Halbertsma personally for the invitation and to all those, who helped to organize the marvelous 2015 conference. Its subject stimulated me to initiate a study, which appeared to be much more fruitful than I guessed before.

2 Nørskov 2009, 75.

3 Bothmer 1987, 192-193.

4 Buranelli 1995, 123-124.

5 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, 53-54, fig. 37.

6 Bukina/Petrakova, 2012.

7 Petrakova 2015; Petrakova 2017.

The first vases in the Imperial Hermitage arrived in 1816. They were modest items found in Greece and presented to Alexander I as a kind of a diplomatic gift.⁸ From 1829 onwards, vases from excavations in South Russia started to be sent to the Hermitage.⁹ The first big collection of vases (about 1000 items) was purchased in 1834 by Nicholas I from Giuseppe Antonio Pizzati.¹⁰ In 1852 about 300 vases were purchased by Nicholas I from the collection of Countess Alexandra Laval¹¹. And finally in 1861, already during the reign of Alexander II, 565 vases were bought from the Campana collection.¹² These acquisitions form the core of the Hermitage collection of ancient vases.

An interesting fact is, that during the discussion concerning the purchase of the Laval collection, one of the Hermitage experts, Florian Gille wrote: '[these] vases could be evaluated highly 25-30 years ago... but their price lowered after the prominent discoveries in Apulia and especially ancient Etruria (Vulci and other places). The Princess of Canino sold to Ludovic of Bavaria beautiful and very big vases for a price 10 times less than these costed 25 years ago.'¹³ This means that the activities of the Bonaparte couple and others (Campanari, Feoli, Candelori) caused a revaluation of vases worldwide, including the antiquity market inside Russia.

For the Canino-search for all the mentioned Hermitage vases we can exclude the items excavated in Greece and South Russia, as well as the Laval vases, since Alexandra Laval purchased them from General Nikolay Khitrovo, who in his turn had collected them before 1812, i.e. 16 years earlier than the start of the Canino excavations. But all the other Hermitage vase collections, having been formed after the beginning of the Canino excavations in 1828, are now in the process of checking.

Sources

Two kinds of sources were useful for this study: documents with an indication of the provenance of the Hermitage vases from the Canino excavations¹⁴ and the vases themselves (we can compare them with the descriptions in the Canino catalogues and the 'Rapporto intorno i vasi volcenti'¹⁵ etc.). At the present moment we have discovered that Canino vases have found their way to the Hermitage being either part of a bigger collection or as



Figure 1. Tondo of Canino cup GR 6046 (B. 2009), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

separate items. An example of the latter case is the cup inv. GR 6046 (B.2009) (fig. 1), recognized in the catalogue of Lucien's vases of 1828-29 in French: *Dans l'intérieur, un jeune homme drapé tient un lièvre par les oreilles; un lévrier est à ses pieds. Inscription N. 1425 [Epidromos kalos]. L'extérieur est sans peinture.*¹⁶ The same cup is described in the catalogue in Italian¹⁷: *Rovescio senza pittura. – Nel fondo una figura panneggiata con un levriere a suoi piedi tiene con la mano dritta un lepre sospeso per le orecchie. Manca un pezzo nel campo*¹⁸ – this description is more precise, as well as the drawing of the inscription – 'Epidromas kalos', as the name appears on the cup. This cup is included in the 'Rapporto volcente'¹⁹, but is not among the drawings of Gerhard in contrast to another cup with a similar subject and inscription²⁰; nor is it included in later sale-catalogues.

The Hermitage purchased this cup for 5 roubles and 75 kopeks from a Russian numismatist Alexey Markov (1858-1920)²¹ in 1888, when Markov became an assistant of the curator of the Numismatic Department of the museum. We have no data concerning any possible collection of vases owned by Markov, but it is written in the museum inventory (after the information about

8 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, 55, fig. 39.

9 Maria Fyodorovna got them even earlier, in 1818, see: Bukina/Petrakova 2015; Petrakova 2017.

10 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, 65-82.

11 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, 83-101.

12 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, 105-154.

13 Petrakova 2014, 62-63, ill. 4.

14 E.g. Gargiulo 1833(?); Gerhard 1840 etc.

15 Gerhard 1831.

16 Bonaparte 1829a, 125, nr. 1425.

17 On the connection of these two catalogues with exhibitions of vases see: Buranelli 1995, 88-89.

18 Bonaparte 1829b, II, 117 nr. 60.

19 Identified as 'Rapporto volcente, 220, MCCCCXXV (Buranelli 1995, 124), 'San Pietroburgo' without inventory number.

20 Gerhard 1858, 49, Taf. CCLXXVI, 5.

21 He graduated from the École des Langues Orientales in Paris, studied archaeology at St. Petersburg University and was the author of several books on ancient oriental coins, published in French.



Figure 2. Side A of Canino amphora GR 8056 (B. 2351), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Markov): 'General Ellis im Moskau, vente'. We are now studying the question concerning General Ellis and the possibility of tracing the cup's way back to the Canino catalogue. Almost 60 years passed from the excavation of the kylix in March 1829 to the time of purchasing it by the Hermitage. This does not look like too long a period, as we have discovered a cup, which was underway more than 120 years, changing five owners or more.²²

At least one of the Canino vases came to the Hermitage in 1901 from the widow of Alexander Abaza (1821-1895), a nobleman involved in different government services, a member of the State Council and even Minister of Finances of the Russian Empire in 1880; six years after his death his widow sold his collection of 24 vases to the Hermitage,²³ among them an amphora (inv. GR 8056 (B.2351), fig. 2). A story about this collection states that Abaza won some of the vases with card games, playing with Alexander Guriev, who inherited the collec-

tion of his brother Count Nikolay Guryev²⁴, the Russian ambassador in Rome from 1832 to 1837, precisely in the years of intensive Canino excavations and sales.

The amphora can be identified with nr. 1709 of the 'Muséum Étrusque ...' (not included into the 'Catalogo di scelte...'): *Grand vase complete à deux anses, fig. jaunes. Haut. 2 palm. 1/2; circ. 4 palm. grandeur des fig. 1 palm. 2 onces. Cucumella, fam. Arusania, avril 1829. Dans le premier tableau Hercule couvert de la peau de lion et armé [sic!] de l'arc et du carquois est sur le point de décocher la flèche. Inscription N. 1709 [HERAKLES]. De l'autre côté une hydre à double queue et à sept têtes se replie autour d'un arbre.*²⁵ Shape, sizes, technique, decoration and the inscription fit, but not the graffito which the Hermitage amphora has on the foot. Either they just forgot to publish it (some of such cases were even noticed and corrected right in the catalogue) or the graffito was made later to increase the value of the vase²⁶ – the question demands further study. One more Guryev-Abaza vase is a pelike (inv. GR 8057 (B.2352)) – with the depiction of a man, a youth and a boy, talking while observing a swallow.²⁷ Gerhard attested it as excavated in Vulci in 1833 and he noted that in 1835 it was already in the hands of Guriev, who got it via the Roman restorer and dealer Francesco Depoletti (1779-1854): in January of 1834 it was still in his workshop.²⁸ The whole process of excavating, restoring and selling took about a year. A similar story could have happened with the amphora GR 8056.

In the Hermitage there are also Canino vases, which were acquired after the October Revolution of 1917, almost 100 years after the excavations in Vulci started. For example in 1924 some vases were transferred from the Stieglitz Art School in St. Petersburg. This collection had been formed in the second half of the 19th century by purchases on the market of antiquities (both in Europe and in Russia) and by gifts from collectors, like Heinrich Schliemann. The cup GR 9215 (B.3385) (fig. 3) transferred from this museum and allegedly presented to the Stieglitz art school in 1886, can be recognized in the 'Muséum Étrusque...'²⁹: *Coupe complète à fig. jaunes; diam. 18 onces; grandeur des fig. 8 onces. Cavalupo, fam.*

24 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, fig. 44.

25 Bonaparte 1829a, 157, Nr 1709.

26 Cf. for example thoughts concerning an 'epoiesen'-signature on the underside of a hydria's foot: 'When (...) inscriptions were of intense interest to scholars. As a trained artist, antiquarian and conservator of vases, Francesco Depoletti (...) himself could have manufactured the signature.' Neils 2002, 241, pl. 64a.

27 See Petrakova/Kalinina 2016.

28 *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica per l'anno 1834*, 12. *Archaeologisches Intelligenzblatt*, 14 (1833), 105-106. On Depoletti see: Neils 2002; Bernard 2008; Milanese 2014, 109-114.

29 'San Pietroburgo' without inventory number. The item is not in the 'Catalogo di scelte antiche' and the 'Rapporto volcente' (Buranelli 1995, 123).

22 See: Petrakova 2015, 125-131, ill. 17-20.

23 Petrakova/Kalinina 2016.



Figure 3. Outside decoration of Canino cup GR 9215 (B. 3385), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

*Ranuta, février 1829. Dans l'intérieur un adolescent nu est à cheval sur une outre. Inscription N.1116 [KA..OS..HO...AIS]. A l'extérieur dix fig. nues tiennent en main des amphores et des cornupotiorio. Inscription autour du pied N.116 [sic!]bis [ΠΑΝΦΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΟΕΣΕΝ].*³⁰

The process of matching

The described examples demonstrate the approach and carefulness in the process of identifying the Hermitage vases with the Canino ones: not only the description should match perfectly, but also the historical background should not be contradictory. For example the stamnos GR 3618 (B.1148; St.1428)³¹ fits nr. 769 in the 'Muséum Étrusque ...', but it came to the Hermitage from the Khitrovo-Laval collection which was in Petersburg already in 1811. The kylix B.5 (St.183) with the provenance from Canino fits nr. 60 in the Canino sale catalogue of 1845³², but it came to the Hermitage with the Pizzati collection³³, which was in St. Petersburg already in 1833. Thus, we do not make identifications in these cases and the mentioned numbers in the Canino catalogues should be identified with vases in other collections.³⁴

Not only the Canino catalogues, but also the publications by Gerhard provide valuable data, like the study on Panathenaic amphorae, where one of the descriptions matches the Hermitage inv. GR 10330 (B.4262) (fig. 4a): *Il vaso 1341 del principe di Canino, alto più di due palmi, presenta sullo scudo di Minerva l'insegna di uno scorpione, e sul rovescio la corsa a piedi di quattro uomini.*³⁵

30 Bonaparte 1829a, 103, nr. 1116.

31 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, fig. 74. Here and further 'St.' is the number of the vase in Stephani 1869.

32 Bonnafons Delavialle 1845, nr. 60.

33 Gargiulo 1833(?), I.62.

34 Stamnos in München, Antikensammlungen 2415 (K382) and cup in Paris, Musée du Louvre E 665. See Buranelli 1995, 140.

35 Gerhard 1830, 223, nr. 12. The number is missing in both the printed catalogues as in the archive documents, published by Buranelli 1995, 143-218.



Figure 4a. Side A of Canino amphora GR 10330 (B. 4262), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

In the museum inventory the following additional information is to be found: 'From the collection of A.G. Chertkov.' Chertkov's collection was purchased in 1888, but on an old glass negative on which the vase is depicted one reads: 'From the collection of the Russian nobleman Mordvinov'. After the October Revolution of 1917 the properties of noblemen were nationalized. We hope to clarify this question in the future. From the information it is clear that the amphora was in Russia already in the last quarter of the 19th century. Like the cups from Markov and from the Stieglitz collection it is an example of a Canino vase, which came to the Hermitage many decades later, having been all this time in Russian collections or on the Russian market of antiquities. The amphora was de-restored in the 20th century, but on old photos we see additions on the lip and foot (fig. 4b), as well as an added inscription which copied standard panathenaic inscriptions, from Gerhard's publications or other sources.³⁶

36 See e.g. Nørskov 2009, 70: 'And if the inscription was readable, then 500 francs should be added' which means that with inscriptions vases were valued higher.



Figure 4b. Canino amphora GR 10330 (B. 4262), photograph of the vase before de-restoration, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Canino vases in the Pizzati collection: the Gargiulo catalogue

The mentioned examples show us that Canino vases, being excavated in 1820s or 30s, often reached the Hermitage many decades later. But the largest collection of Canino vases came to Russia as early as 1833, being part of the collection of Doctor of Medicine Cavalier Giuseppe Antonio Pizzati (mid 1770s -mid 1840s(?)).³⁷ By his contemporaries Pizzati was seen as a prominent connoisseur of antiquities, especially of painted vases, and an owner of several vase-collections.³⁸ He became a member of the Archaeological Institute in Rome. Before Pizzati got permission to move the collection to Russia, it was checked by the Royal Commission of Antiquities in Naples: some of the Pizzati vases in the Hermitage still have seals with the State Emblem of the Neapolitan kingdom.³⁹ The collection contained 1413 objects (vases, bronzes, terracotta figurines, clay and alabaster vessels). The reasons for

37 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, 65-82.

38 Bukina 2015b.

39 Milanese 2014, 65, tav. III; Bukina 2015a, 185, ill. 4.



Figure 5. Side A of Canino amphora GR 4423 (B. 1496), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Pizzati to offer his collection to the Russian Emperor are clear. For years he had had good connections with some influential Russians. In the end of the 1820s and the beginnings of the 1830s he travelled through Italy together with Princess Sofia Wolkonskaya (1786-1869)⁴⁰, wife of the Minister of the Russian Imperial court. Later, in the 1830s, he was the personal doctor of the Russian ambassador in Rome Count Nikolay Guryev, whom we encountered earlier. In the summer of 1833 Pizzati came to St. Petersburg and found accomodation in the house of Sofia Wolkonskaya. As mentioned before, Sofia's husband

⁴⁰ Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, fig. 49.

was a Minister of the Imperial Court. She was also a relative of Alexey Olenin (1763-1843)⁴¹, the President of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts and the Head of the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg. These connections helped Pizzati in his business and the collection was purchased by the Russian Emperor in 1834 to be displayed in the Academy of Fine Arts. In 1851 the collection was transferred to the New Imperial Museum (The Hermitage), which was opened to the public in February of 1852. The Pizzati vases together with the Laval vases were displayed in a hall, which was especially designed for such an exhibition: the 'Hall of the Painted Vases'.⁴² With the collection came a handwritten catalogue, which is now in the Hermitage Archive.⁴³ The author of the catalogue was Raffaele Gargiulo (1785-after 1870), one of the best-known connoisseurs and restorers of ancient vases in Naples during the first half of the 19th century.⁴⁴ The catalogue provides us not only with descriptions of vases and their condition (including evaluation of the restoration work)⁴⁵, but also with attempts of dating and ideas concerning the centres of vase production in accordance with the treatise, which Gargiulo published in Naples in 1831.⁴⁶ Gargiulo carefully indicates the provenance of the vases: centres in Campania, Basilicata, Apulia, Calabria and Sicilia, but there are also vases from Etruscan centres in northern Lazio – Canino and Corneto (Tarquinia). The catalogue describes some 1000 vases and among them 98⁴⁷ (about 10 % of the collection) have as provenance Canino or even more precisely the collection of Lucien Bonaparte personally⁴⁸, e.g. the Hermitage amphora inv. GR 4423 (B.1496, St.87) (fig. 5), which is described as: *Collezione del Sig. Principe di Canino, alle quali figure vi è scritto il loro proprio nome.*⁴⁹ Almost all of them are vases, which we now know to be of Attic origin.⁵⁰

Among them there are many cups, amphorae and hydriae, but there are also kyathoi, lekythoi and oinochoai. Gargiulo definitely was more used to the Italiote red-figure vases, which were prominent among the finds in the

territory of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. So, writing about the Canino vases he expressed often excitement and astonishment, because the Athenian red- and especially the black-figure vases seemed to him unusual and rare. He praised the Athenian cups and kyathoi⁵¹, as well as the only Laconian kylix: *Tazza ... graziosa per lo stile, per la forma e per gli ornati.*⁵² He also paid attention to the inscriptions⁵³ if present, but only a few of the 98 vases bear inscriptions. A cup, now known as a band-cup (or little-master cup) is described as *Molto particolare per la picciolezza delle figure e grazioso suo disegno*⁵⁴, and another kylix as a *Rarissimo vaso e questo per la sua grandezza e soggetto che esprime, non che pel numero delle figure.*⁵⁵ About amphorae or hydriae he writes even more, for example *Vaso molto interessante pel soggetto, per l'iscrizione, per la grandezza e per essere intiero*⁵⁶ or *Questo e un vaso assai interessante pe'soggetti, pel bello stile e pel numero delle figure.*⁵⁷ The vases are mostly black-figured, but the rare examples of red-figure he praised for the interesting subjects and the beautiful style, for example *Urna a tre manichi ... Vaso interessante pel soggetto e pel bello stile*⁵⁸ or *Questo bellissimo vaso interessante per la forma, pel disegno, per la composizione, argilla e vernice.*⁵⁹ In contrary to the Athenian vases, Gargiulo criticized two red-figured Etruscan amphorae. He wrote that even though they were found in Canino, they were produced in a secondary centre and obviously in the 'time of decadence': *Quasi simile (al 47) variando solo ne' manichi ... Anche questo vaso è stato rinvenuto in Canino, ma ad altra fabbrica esso appartiene, e propriamente alla fabbrica di Abella nel tempo della decadenza.*⁶⁰ Some of these vases were published already in the 1830s-40s with pictures, like the Hermitage hydria inv. GR 2031 (B.201; St.1538), which both Gerhard⁶¹ and Gargiulo⁶² praised for the rare subject. Other vases we can recognize by their descriptions.⁶³ All the Pizzati vases were published in 'Die Vasen-Sammlung der Kaiserlichen Ermitage'⁶⁴, in which

41 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, fig. 45.

42 Bukina 2015b.

43 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, 76-82, fig. 55; Bukina 2015a.

44 Milanese 2014, 201-256.

45 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, 259-263; see also Anastasia Bukina's article, *this volume*.

46 Gargiulo 1831.

47 See: Gargiulo 1833(?); Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, 160-246.

48 Even though Giroux (Giroux 2002, 129) wrote that not all vases derived from the Canino collection were found in Vulci, we have no doubts concerning our Canino vases and their main provenance being the Bonaparte collection.

49 Gargiulo 1833(?), I. 138. We suppose the name was written on a label, which is now apparently lost.

50 Cf. Nørskov 2009, 73-74 concerning the percentage of Attic vases in excavations of the 18th century around Naples and in the Canino excavations.

51 Gargiulo 1833(?), I. 141, 142, 143 (St.218, St.292, St. 297) etc.

52 Gargiulo 1833(?), I. 62 – mentioned above Hermitage B.5 (St.183).

53 E.g. Gargiulo 1833(?), I.141 – St. 218.

54 Gargiulo 1833(?), 411 – St.323.

55 Gargiulo 1833(?), I. 60 – St.46. See also Anastasia Bukina's article, *this volume*, fig. 5 a-b.

56 Gargiulo 1833(?), 431- St.165.

57 Gargiulo 1833(?), 423 – St.85.

58 Gargiulo 1833(?), I. 225 – St.1588.

59 Gargiulo 1833(?), I. 53 – St.1714.

60 Gargiulo 1833(?), I. 48 – St.811.

61 Gerhard 1840, 178, Taf. L-LI.1-2 ('Gezeichnet im Jahre 1832 bei dem Kunsthändler Rosi in Rom'). See also Costantini 1998.

62 Gargiulo 1833(?), I. 55: *Anche questo vaso è uno dei belli che si conoscono in questo genere pel soggetto, disegno.*

63 The work is still in process, especially with the documents published in Buranelli 1995.

64 Stephani 1869.

the author Ludolf Stephani mentioned that during the rearrangement after the acquisition of the Campana collection the vases from the Pizzati and the Campana collections were mixed. The result was that the provenances in his catalogue are sometimes wrong.⁶⁵ These mistakes have been repeated in all the following publications. Our recent studies allowed us to recognize some of the vases as belonging to the Pizzati collection, which were previously ascribed to the Campana collection. Twenty one of these vases have been excavated in Canino not later than 1832, because the Pizzati collection arrived in St. Petersburg in 1833, for example the amphora GR 4426 (B.1499, St.9)⁶⁶ or the amphora GR 4422 (B.1495, St.131)⁶⁷, both described by Gargiulo in his catalogue of the Pizzati collection and published by Gerhard with pictures in 1840. There is also a krater inv. GR 106 (B.2522) in the Hermitage, which does not appear in the Pizzati and Stephani catalogues⁶⁸, but is attested by Gerhard as 'volcente'. Later it was in possession of Pizzati, and at the moment of publication in 1840 it was already in St. Petersburg.⁶⁹

Thus we can state, that the Canino vases came to the Hermitage through different dealers and collectors, sometimes owned by different persons on the way. At the moment we have no idea about the *precise* number of the Canino vases in the Hermitage (we are still in the process of publishing preliminary results of our studies), but we are sure that there are definitely more than 100 vases, which can be identified with the ones excavated in Canino in the period between 1828 and 1832. This figure will rise if we add the vases from the excavations of Lucien Bonaparte and his wife⁷⁰ from the earliest period of excavations during the years 1828-1829.

65 Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013.

66 Gargiulo 1833(?), I. 221 (Canino); Gerhard 1840, 59, Taf. XV ('Vormals bei dem Kunsthändler Depoletti zu Rom'); Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, pl. 11. See also Anastasia Bukina's article, this volume, fig. 4.

67 Gargiulo 1833(?), I. 421 (Canino); Gerhard 1847, 90, 176, Taf. CXCI ('Im romischen Kunsthandel gezeichnet'); Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013, 141, 175.

68 Stephani knew Gerhard's publications, he indicated that St. 9 is Gerhard 1840, Taf. XV and St. 1538 is Gerhard 1840, Taf. L-LI. 1-2, but he did not indicate anything concerning Gerhard 1840, LXV. 2. There is no description in Stephani 1869 which would match the vase, thus the krater was purchased by the museum later than 1869.

69 Gerhard 1840, LXV. 2: 'Auch diese gefällige Zeichnung eines vermuthlich nach Russland gegangenen Gefässes haben wir schon früher erwähnt, ohne sie weiterer Erklärung bedürftig zu finden' (Gerhard 1840, 184). 'St. Petersburg (...). Durch Herrn Pizzati neuerdings mit Vasen bereichert' (Gerhard 1840, 225).

70 We have found also vases from other diggers in Canino, like Nr. 16. *Un vaso della Società Candelori ha dipinto sullo scudo di Minerva un serpente, e sul rovescio un gruppo di lottatori assistiti da due agonoteti* (Gerhard 1830, 220), which could be identified with the Hermitage St.76 (Gargiulo 1833(?), I. 222).

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Greek vases in The Hague and Leiden: the sale of Canino vases in 1839

Ruurd Halbertsma and Jos van Heel

W.H.J. Baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt and his vases

In the beginning of the 19th century only a small amount of Greek vases were present in Dutch private collections. A well known example is the Campanian 'Vase of the Stadholder' by the Ixion painter, which had been the property of Boerhaave's son in law, Count Friedrich de Thoms (1696-1746).¹ De Thoms lived in Italy in the years 1737-1740 and during that time he collected a fair amount of antiquities. Also other early travellers collected antiquities: nine vases of small dimensions were unearthed in 1792 in Agrigento (Sicily) during a staged excavation in the presence of the collector and bibliophile Johan Meerman (1753-1815). He bought the vases and brought them with him to the Netherlands. His widow gave this collection to the grandnephew of her husband, the bibliophile Willem Hendrik Jacob Baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt (1783-1848, fig. 1).²

Van Westreenen already owned a heavily damaged specimen from the collection of Johann Heinrich Schütte (1694-1774) from Cleves in Germany, which he had acquired in 1804 from W.G. Schütte (Johann's brother), and a small Apulian jug, which he had bought at the auction of Andreas Bonn in Amsterdam.³ In 1826 Van Westreenen purchased several objects from J.B. Delescluze from Bruges, a shipowner with trade connections in the eastern Mediterranean region. In this collection there were nine pieces of Greek ceramics.⁴ In 1830 the former Dutch ambassador in Constantinople, Hugo van

1 Bastet 1985, 74-75 and Pl. XI. Halbertsma 2012, 3-8 and Pl. 1. The vase was in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam from 1815 till 1844, and was then transferred to the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (inv. AMM 1).

2 Now in the Museum Meermanno Westreenianum (MMW) in The Hague, inv. 527/771 (Galestin 1977, nr. 74); inv. 610/823 (Galestin 1977, nr. 24); inv. 611/824 (Galestin 1977, nr. 20); inv. 612/825 (Galestin 1977, nr. 22); inv. 613/835 (Galestin 1977, nr. 25); inv. 617/829 (Galestin 1977, nr. 21); inv. 618/828 (Galestin 1977, nr. 23); inv. 671/905 (Galestin 1977, nr. 8).

3 MMW, inv. 633/848 (Galestin 1977, nr. 37); inv. 646/861 (Galestin 1977, nr. 44).

4 MMW, inv. 639/854 (Galestin 1977, nr. 28); inv. 625/840 (Galestin 1977, nr. 26); inv. 666/902 (Galestin 1977, nr. 1); inv. 655/867 (Galestin 1977, nr. 58); inv. 681/881 (Galestin 1977, nr. 32); four other vases have not been identified yet.



Figure 1. Portrait of W.H.J. Baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt. Oil painting by J.R. Post Brants, circa 1838. Museum Meermanno Westreenianum, inv. 25/9.

Zuylen van Nijvelt, donated him two vases, which had been found on the Greek island of Santorini (Thera).⁵

That was the situation in 1834, when Van Westreenen undertook his second trip to Italy. A year earlier he had travelled around northern Italy, but this time he went as far as Naples and Paestum. From 16 to 29 October 1834 he stayed in Florence. From there he went on an excursion to the *Villa Monterecci*, seven kilometres to the north of Florence, to meet the Count of St. Leu. This person was none other than Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, who had been King of Holland from 1806 until 1810, during which period Van Westreenen had evidently made his acquaintance. This is not surprising, since in 1807 Van Westreenen had been appointed as Deputy National Archivist of the Kingdom and Historiographer of the Order of the Union, a chivalric order established by Louis Bonaparte, and he had held a variety of other honorary functions at court. Van Westreenen described the meeting in his travel journal:

*'My other excursions to places outside the city included a visit to the Villa Monterecci, belonging to the Count of St Leu, former King of Holland [...]. In the design of the orangery there, I recognised the Dutch style.'*⁶

5 MMW, inv. 669/900 (Galestin 1977, nr. 3); inv. 667/899 (Galestin 1977, nr. 4).

6 MMW, FA 071/169v. FA [= Family Archives].

Louis Bonaparte made Van Westreenen a gift of a signed copy of his *Poésies du Comte de St. Leu* (Florence 1831). Van Westreenen's journal entry continued:

*'Furnished with a letter of introduction from the Count, I also made my way to the rather frugal country estate of the Prince of Canino (Lucien Bonaparte). The Princess received me, her consort being away from home, and kindly allowed me to examine accurately what had chiefly enticed me to this place, namely, the virtually unrivalled collection of Etruscan vases, dishes and so forth, of all sizes, which were found at Canino and in the surrounding area (beneath which land there was once, it is believed, an ancient pottery factory town). These [vases] are particularly important on account of the Etruscan inscriptions that accompany the images on a number of these pieces. The Princess made me a gift of a copy of the description of this museum, whereupon I took my leave.'*⁷

This copy of the *Museum Étrusque* (1829), bearing the princess's dedication, is in the collection of the Museum Meermannno Westreenianum in The Hague⁸, along with the volume of poetry by Louis Bonaparte.⁹ When Van Westreenen returned to the Netherlands, he took a number of antiquities with him, among which one Greek painted vase.¹⁰

A few years later, in September 1836, Van Westreenen visited Dresden, where the assistant librarian of the Royal Library, Friedrich Gustav Klemm (1802-1867), drew his attention to the collection of antiquities built up by the archaeologist Karl August Böttiger (1760-1835), who had died the year before. Van Westreenen decided to purchase this collection, with its Egyptian, Greek, Roman and German antiquities, for 306 guilders and 90 cents.¹¹ The only source we have of this collection is a brief list that Klemm published in 1836. The list reveals that the pottery in this collection included '9 painted vases, flasks and culices {sic}'.¹² During the same trip, Van Westreenen went to Berlin, where he purchased from a certain Mendelsohn a 'small antique Etruscan vase, 2 ditto bowls, and one modern vase made in the Etruscan style' for 27 guilders and 26 cents.¹³

Until that time, Van Westreenen had kept up the registration of his antiquities with meticulous care.¹⁴ At the sight of the large Böttiger collection, however, with which the Baron had suddenly acquired approximately 300 antiquities at one go, he must have lost heart. He stopped registering new items. This means that acquisitions that entered the collection after this date are more difficult – in some cases impossible – to identify.

The Prince and Princess of Canino in The Netherlands

In 1839 the Dutch newspapers reported that Lucien Bonaparte and his wife had arrived in Frankfurt on 8 July on his way to the Netherlands. On 13 July they were in Rotterdam for already several days, staying at the *New-Bath-Hôtel*. On 22 July they arrived in The Hague, where they had taken rooms at the *Hôtel Bellevue*. The purpose of the journey by the Prince and Princess of Canino was to sell off parts of their collection. In the *Journal de la Haye* of 7 August 1839, we read:

'Notice to lovers of the fine arts

*Paintings, marbles, Etruscan vases, books, etc. belonging to Her Excellency Madame the Princess of Canino, now in Rotterdam, are not destined to be put up for public sale, as previously reported by certain ill-informed persons. This collection of art objects will be deposited at the Rotterdam bonded warehouse, but only until the end of August. There one may view them and make offers to purchase some or all of them, such offers to be addressed to Mr George Gibson, a banker in Rotterdam, at whose home the Catalogue of these precious objects is to be found. Art lovers should be advised that after the month of August, this collection will no longer be in Holland.'*¹⁵

Van Westreenen must have been quick to act on this information, because he received the Prince and Princess of Canino at the Royal Library in The Hague on 31 July. The meeting resulted later in the acquisition of five vases from their collection. Under the heading of 20 October 1839, Van Westreenen noted down in his acquisition

7 MMW, FA 071/169vs.

8 MMW, 111 G 037.

9 MMW, 135 D 008.

10 MMW, inv. 656/868 (Galestin 1977, nr. 57).

11 MMW, Acquisition register 31-1-1837 (FA 156/025v).

12 G. Kl[emm], *K.A. Böttiger's archäologischer Nachlass* (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Biogr.erud.D.1548, 74m).

13 MMW, Acquisition register 31-1-1837 (FA 156/025v).

14 MMW, FA 137/111-167.

15 It was remarked at the time that the Prince of Canino, by placing the collection in a bonded warehouse and selling it there privately, avoided having to pay import duties. These were payable by the buyer instead: 'It is striking that reports about these collections in Holland refer to them as belonging to the Princess, while it is abundantly clear that the items to be sold do not differ from those described at other times, or on other occasions, as deriving from the collections of the Prince.' Letter by Conrad Leemans (director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden) to Eduard Gerhard, 3-12-1839, in: Costantini 1998, 237.



Figure 2. Detail of Attic hydria from the Canino collection with a representation of la nef victorieuse. Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, The Hague, inv. 619/836.

register: 'Acquired from Mr Gibson, from the collection of the Princess of Canino, two large and two small Etruscan vases, and one ditto dish, 309 guilders'¹⁶, as well as a French translation of Torquato, dating from 1808, for 7 guilders.

The five vases acquired by Van Westreenen can be identified with the aid of Van Westreenen's accounts and a full list of the vases offered for sale in Rotterdam, which is preserved at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.¹⁷ It is clear from this list that Van Westreenen acquired also a sixth vase as a gift from the Prince. Since Van Westreenen used to list in the acquisition register only objects he had paid for this last vase is not mentioned in his accounts. Combining the facts from the archives in The Hague and Leiden, we are able to establish in detail which vases were acquired by the Baron:

- Grand vase, figures noires. Déjanira délivrée par Hercule. La danse grotesque, inscriptions.¹⁸
- Grand vase, figures noires. La nef victorieuse, inscriptions (fig 2).¹⁹
- Petit vase, figures noires. Lucumon entre deux guerriers.²⁰
- Petit vase, figures noires. Les deux Ibis. Guerriers, faunes et Bacchantes.²¹
- Coupe, figures jaunes. Huit figures drapées.²²
- The gift consisted of a Gnathia oinochoe with a depiction of a swan ('une cicogne') in white paint.²³

16 MMW, Acquisition register, 2-10-1839 (FA 157/006r, f 309, -).

17 Leiden, Archives NMA, 3.1/10. The full text of the catalogue is given at the end of this article.

18 MMW, inv. 608/821 (Galestin 1977, nr. 9).

19 MMW, inv. 619/836 (Galestin 1977, nr. 11).

20 MMW, inv. 614/831 (Galestin 1977, nr. 12).

21 MMW, inv. 615/832 (Galestin 1977, nr. 13).

22 MMW, inv. 629/843 (Galestin 1977, nr. 33).

23 MMW, inv. 651/865 (Galestin 1977, nr. 53). In the sale catalogue Leemans added 'Westr.', which makes the attribution secure.

Later acquisitions

At the beginning of September 1839, the Bonapartes decided to depart for Paris, leaving Gibson to finalise the sale. At the Prince's request Van Westreenen sent a servant to Rotterdam to receive the written catalogue of their books and to make notes of the prices, for which Gibson paid him 50 guilders. When he was about to leave for Paris, the Prince wrote to Van Westreenen again, asking him to send back the handwritten priced catalogue. Almost certainly these remarks refer to the catalogue of the books belonging to the Princess of Canino, which appeared in Rotterdam in 1839.²⁴ Like the earlier exhibition of the vases, the books were placed on view at Gibson's for inspection by future buyers. On 20 January 1840, an auction was held in Rotterdam, at the premises of the bookseller S. van Reyn Snoeck, where, according to the title of the catalogue, various items from the collection of the Princess of Canino would be sold: 'books, Etruscan vases and antiquities found in Herculaneum and Pompeii'. In some copies of this catalogue, the phrase 'found in Herculaneum and Pompeii' had been cancelled with ink. Of the 34 'Etruscan pieces', Van Westreenen purchased numbers 18 and 22 for 64 guilders and 50 cents: a 'Bacchus assis entre deux panthères. Un faune et une nymphe' and 'Un quadrigue en course, un prêtre assis et un faune debout'.²⁵ In one copy of the catalogue he noted down his maximum purchasing sums for all these vases. We can assume that this was the copy he sent to Gibson, who would be bidding on his behalf. Later Van Westreenen made a note of the two items he had acquired. The remnant of the Princess's book collection was put up for sale on 27 September that same year 1840 at an auction house in Rotterdam.

A last vase from the Canino collection was acquired by the Baron in January 1846, a Chalcidian black figure amphora with a depiction of the battle between Heracles and the Amazons and the inspection by warriors of a sheep's liver. Van Westreenen bought this vase from Patrick Gibson, son of the broker George Gibson, who had acquired the piece from the Princess of Canino as a gift for his good services to the family.²⁶ So, in total nine vases from the Canino collection found their way to the collection of Baron van Westreenen in The Hague.

Greek vases in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden

The Dutch National Museum of Antiquities was founded in 1818 as the 'Archeological Cabinet' of Leiden University by King Willem I, as part of his cultural policy to give the new kingdom the grandeur that was already present in the surrounding countries.²⁷ The first director of the museum, Professor Caspar Reuvers (1793-1835), envisaged a truly classical museum with the art of Greece and Rome at its core, and the material culture of other ancient cultures, which were known by or influenced by the Greeks and Romans, as illustration of the richness of the ancient world. Reuvers started an ambitious program to collect ancient art from Greece, Italy, North-Africa, Egypt, Persia, India and even Indonesia. As the Romans had also been in contact with Germanic and Celtic tribes in Europe, the material culture of ancient Europe also became part of the new museum, including European prehistory and Nordic artefacts. Archaeological expeditions were organised in Greece, Tunisia and Italy, and Reuvers started the first scientific excavations in the Netherlands, unearthing the Roman settlement of *Forum Hadriani*, near The Hague. After twelve years of pioneer work Reuvers evaluated the collection in Leiden. He was very content with the Punic, Etruscan and especially the Egyptian collections, but this richness contrasted considerably with the collection of classical sculptures and Greek vases.²⁸ This last category was 'not totally lacking' in Leiden, but could not compete with the collections elsewhere.

The first Greek vases to arrive in the museum came from Athens. The Flemish explorer Bernard Rottiers had bought them in 1819 and offered them to the museum, together with his splendid collection of Greek sculptures.²⁹ This vase collection consisted of some black-glazed oinochoai and lekythoi, in white ground and black- and red-figure techniques. Reuvers remarked that for institutions like the British Museum or the Louvre this vase collection would be of 'little or no value', but for Leiden, which had nothing in the field of Greek ceramics, the collection was 'highly important'.³⁰

A second collection of Greek pottery came a year later, through the activities Jean Rottiers, the son of the Flemish explorer. Jean had been present during the *Epanastasis* in Greece in 1821. He helped Greek refugees to flee the city of Athens and supported them financially by buying some of their antiquities, which they offered for sale. Of importance to Reuvers were three black-figure plates (*pinakes*),

24 Catalogue in the MMW, inv. 137 K 019 (a second copy is also there: inv. 140 G 011: 02).

25 MMW, Acquisition register, 21-2-1840 (FA 157/008ar): MMW inv. 623/838 (Galestin 1977, nr. 15) and MMW inv. 624/837 (Galestin 1977, nr. 16).

26 MMW, inv. 616/830 (Galestin 1977, nr. 10). MMW, Acquisition register (FA 157/042r, 5-1-1846, f 50, -). See also Van Westreenen to Gibson, about 6-12-1845, MMW, FA 092/067 and Van Westreenen to L.J.F. Janssen [1847], MMW, FA 113/135.

27 See for the early history of the National Museum of Antiquities (NMA): Halbertsma 2003. For its collections of vases see Halbertsma 2014.

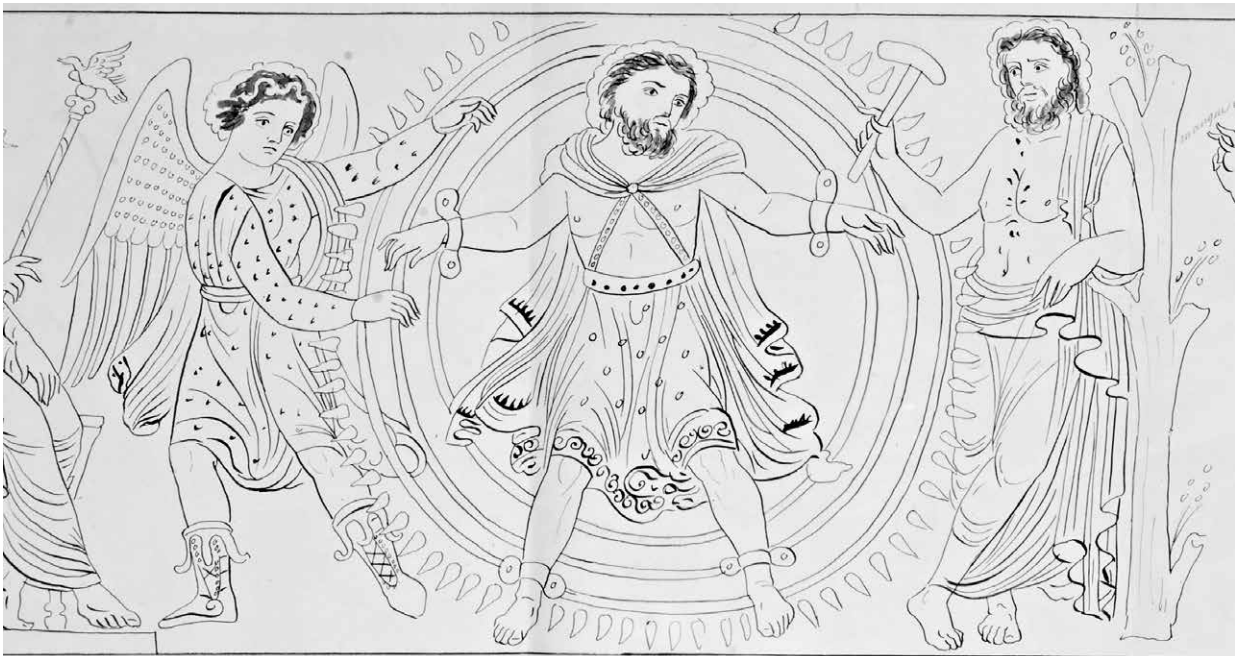
28 Halbertsma 2003, 107-108.

29 Bastet 1987, 1-17; Halbertsma 2003, 49-70.

30 Halbertsma 2003, 51.



Figures 3 a-b. Drawing from the Pacileo catalogue: Campanian amphora by the Ixion Painter, now in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.



which he described as ‘very rare objects of antiquity’ and an Attic red-figure pelike with a representation of a flute player in the presence of a judge and a flying Nikè ‘of a very good style’.³¹ The collection comprised also more lekythoi, which were important ‘because of their provenance, in view of the debate about the location of their manufacture’.³²

Between the years 1824 and 1826 Bernard Rottiers was in charge of an archaeological expedition to Greece, where he bought antiquities, conducted excavations and drew plans and maps of ancient monuments. Among other objects he acquired two large geometric pedestal-craters, which were to become the name pieces of the ‘Rottiers Painter’ in Nicholas Coldstream’s study on geometric pottery.³³

A more substantial collection of Greek vases was offered to the museum by the Naples based dealer Raffaele Gargiulo, who worked together in a firm with Onofrio Pacileo and Giuseppe de Crescenzo.³⁴ The Dutch Colonel Jean-Emile Humbert, who was the archaeological agent for the museum in Tunisia and Italy, started negotiations with this firm in 1828.³⁵ The collection comprised more than 1500 pieces and consisted of Corinthian, Attic black- and red-figure and South-Italian vases, and curiosities such as cork models, casts and books. The catalogue was written by Raffaele Gargiulo, who combined his post as restorer of ceramics and bronzes in the *Museo Reale Borbonico* with his activities as an antiques dealer.

The chronological system used by Gargiulo is interesting, because it is nearly correct in its relative chronology.³⁶ The catalogue was sent to Leiden, together with 243 drawings of the most important vases and a report by Humbert about the legal, semi-legal and illegal ways

of exporting Greek vases from Naples.³⁷ Unfortunately due to the time consuming lines of communication, this report and annexes reached the Netherlands very late. In the meantime the revolution in the Southern Netherlands in 1830, and the subsequent hostilities between the Netherlands and the new Belgian state, were exhausting the Dutch treasury, with the result that the finances for acquiring the Gargiulo collection were lacking. Part of the collection was bought by the *Museo Borbonico* in Naples and other pieces were sold to different European buyers. It is possible to identify vases from the Gargiulo firm in St. Petersburg, Berlin and London, apart from the ones which have remained in Naples.

The Canino vases

A first inspection of the Canino collection had already been made in 1829 by the aboved mentioned Jean-Emile Humbert, when he travelled to Naples through Rome. On the 18th of November 1829 he arrived in Rome, where he consulted Eduard Gerhard, the well-known secretary of the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, the predecessor of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in Rome. Gerhard stood in close contact with Lucien and Alexandrine Bonaparte, and had visited their estates and excavations on various occasions. The vases, around 1500 in total, were displayed in the Palazzo Gabrielli-Borromeo, in the Via del Seminario between the Pantheon and the Via del Corso, the housing of the Collegio Romano. Humbert tried to find out the price for the collection, but heard that the vases were not for sale, because it was still

31 Halbertsma 2003, 54-55.

32 Bastet 1987, 51-78.

33 Coldstream 1968, 182.

34 See for their activities Milanese 2014, 205-238.

35 Halbertsma 2003, 107-111. Milanese 2014, 238-247.

36 He divided the *Vasi Italo-Greci* into six chronological classes. The first class comprised Corinthian pottery, the ‘Lavoro Greco remotissimo’. This class was followed by the ‘Vasi dipinti con figure nere graffite sul campo giallastro’, Attic black-figure pottery. The next style changed in ‘dipingere il campo nero, rilasciando le figure del color dell’argilla cotta’, Attic red-figure technique. Late Attic pottery and South-Italian styles were described as ‘L’arte del disegno incominciava a deteriorare’. The fifth style, South-Italian pottery, comprised decadence: ‘poco di cambiamento... decadimento del disegno.’ The sixth category comprised imitations of the earlier original styles, but executed in bad designs: ‘Di cattivo stile nel dipinto, imitando anche le tre prime originali epoche.’ When looking at the illustrations it becomes clear that here Etrusco-corinthian, Etruscan black-figure and Etruscan red-figure are meant. These styles were dated as follows: ‘[The decadence] was caused by the yoke of submission and the continuous persecutions suffered by the Greeks, who lacked welfare and artists under Roman rule.’ Archives NMA, 3.2/10-11.

37 Giving licenses for exporting Greek vases was entrusted to a committee. For special vases no licenses were given, with the exception of special persons with a high rank or influence. The Pacileo firm had this permission of export. Diplomats could ask the Naples’ Ministry of Foreign affairs for free export of objects. This permission was given, when the crates were said to contain ‘oggetti d’uso’. The Duc de Blacas and General Von Koller had used this semi-legal way of transport for the export of their vase-collections. Small, unimportant vases could be exported without any problem.

Restorations were done in two different ways. The modern way of working was the ‘restauration visible’. Missing parts were not filled up at all, or filled up with clay with only an indication of the possible contours of the drawing. The older ‘restauration cachée’ was very difficult to detect with the naked eye. Restored parts of the vases were varnished over and repainted. Only washing with strong alcohol could detect such restorations.

Copies also came in two categories: official copies of Greek vases, made with permission of the Government by the firm Giustiniani, and illegally made forgeries. In general the quality of the forgeries wasn’t very high. Humbert remarked: ‘L’oeuil un peu exercé ne peut s’y tromper, surtout lorsque le vase à contrefaire est d’une grande dimension’. See also Milanese 2014, 201-247.

unclear if the Vatican authorities would agree to give an export license. Humbert wrote about the collection to the Dutch ministry:

*'Cette magnifique collection se composant de plus de 1500 vases a été transportée à Rome, et se voit dans le palais des princes Gabrielli, où elle occupe six salles ouvertes aux regards des curieux. En examinant ce riche ensemble avec une scrupuleuse attention, je me suis convaincu malgré toutes les raisons alléguées par le Prince de Canino pour prouver que tous ces vases sont d'origine, et de fabrique Etrusque, que les plus beaux d'entre eux appartiennent évidemment sous ce double rapport à la Grande Grece, et peut-être quelques uns à la Grece proprement dite.'*³⁸

As mentioned before, the outbreak of the revolution in Belgium in 1830 meant the end of various scientific expeditions, including the archaeological travels of Colonel Humbert. Dealings with the Pacileo firm came to an end and the 'golden decade of collecting' was over. In addition to that, the study of archaeology in Leiden was severely hampered by the premature death of professor Reuvers in 1835. He was succeeded by his former student Dr. Conrad Leemans, who had received an archaeological education under the guidance of Reuvers, but was primarily interested in Egyptology (fig. 4).

He was not promoted to the rank of professor, with the result that the promising academic study of archaeology in Leiden came to an end with the death of Reuvers.³⁹ Initially Leemans was appointed as 'first curator' in the museum, with Dr. L.J.F. Janssen, a specialist in Dutch archaeology, as 'second curator'. After a hectic period, during which the archaeological museum moved to new premises, Leemans was appointed director in 1839. He started his new career with the acquisition of 96 vases from the collection of Lucien and Alexandrine Bonaparte.

As said above, in 1839 the Bonapartes stayed for some period in Rotterdam and The Hague, while their reserve collection of 105 vases had been shipped to Rotterdam, where they were exhibited in the bonded warehouse ('entrepot') of George Gibson. Apart from Van Westreenen, also King Ludwig I of Bavaria acquired four vases from this collection.⁴⁰ On the 21 of Augustus 1839 Conrad Leemans wrote to the Ministry of the Interior that he had read in the newspapers about the Canino collection in Rotterdam. He argued that the collection was very important for the museum in Leiden, which could not boast to have vases of this quality among its antiquities. On the 30th of Augustus Leemans got permission to inspect the collection in Rotterdam and to inquire about the price. Through his contacts with the ministry Baron van Westreenen was informed about Leemans' plans, and began to play an active role in the proceedings. He wrote to Leemans that he had spoken to the King about the acquisition:

*'I had the privilege to have had a conversation with His Royal Highness, which had the result that negotiations can start about the Etruscan vases of the Prince of Canino, mentioned in the letters of yesterday.'*⁴¹

The baron asked if he could be of any help in the negotiations and (without waiting for an answer) gave information about the price of the collection. The asking price for the whole collection had been 10.000 guilders. Van Westreenen himself had bought five vases, and the King of Bavaria had acquired four pieces: together these had costed around



Figure 4. Photograph of Dr. Conrad Leemans (1809-1893), Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.

38 Humbert to D.J. van Ewijk, 15-12-1829, Archives NMA, 17.1.2/5. Cf. *Utrechtsche Courant*, 25-11-1829: 'Rome den 8. December. Ons gouvernement heeft het plan om de verzameling van Etrurische oudheden van den prins van Canino, die in het paleis van Gabrieli geplaatst is, en uit 2000 voorwerpen bestaat, te kopen.'

39 This situation lasted till 1896, when A.E.J. Holwerda (1845-1922) was appointed Professor of Archaeology and Ancient History at Leiden University. In 1903 he became director of the Leiden museum as well.

40 See the Appendix for a description of these vases.

41 Van Westreenen to Leemans, 31-8-1839, Archives NMA, Unofficial Letters, 17.4/1.

3000 guilders, so the rest ‘could be bought for 7000 guilders, or even less.’ More detailed information led to a price of 6910 guilders for the 96 vases left in Rotterdam.⁴² Van Westreenen was convinced that he could lower the price to 6000 guilders. He claimed that there were two price lists: one with the maximum prices (the prices paid by himself and King Ludwig I), and one with the minimum prices. And if a buyer had the intention to buy many articles, the prices ‘could be modified’. When Leemans got permission from the government to offer 6910 guilders he was warned for the last time by Van Westreenen. The baron advised him to start with a bid of 6000 guilders and to inform Gibson (or even the Princess herself), that there was evidence available about lower prices, ‘the attached note could be of much value’. But Leemans made no use of this inside information, and offered the full asking price. On the 5th of September the collection was sold. The baron was disappointed with the procedure, but congratulated Leemans heartily, and considered himself responsible for the good outcome:

*‘Although, my dear gentleman and friend, I am convinced that we could have bought the vases for 6000 guilders (as you could have gathered from my letter to the Princess of Canino), I am still very happy that I have reached my goal, i.e. to obtain this beautiful collection for our fatherland! And if one has succeeded in such a task, one should not whimper about a sum of a few hundred guilders. I thank you heartily for all your concerns and diligence in this matter, and also for your swift communication towards me, and especially for all the flattery in your letter.’*⁴³

The money for the acquisition was furnished by King Willem I privately, but this information was not to be divulged. The King decreed that the collection should be placed in the museum in Leiden, which by acquiring this collection had entered the ranks of museums with first class vase collections, if not in size, then certainly in quality.

Publications of the vases in Leiden

The first description of the Leiden collection was published in 1840 in the *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode*, the ‘General Magazine for Art and Literature’.⁴⁴ Leemans gave an account of the vases and informed the readers about the importance of this acquisition. In order to show the level of knowledge about Greek vases around 1840 some quotes will be given from this article. Leemans started with a summary of recent literature about Greek vases, which he recommended for further reading. He mentioned especially Gerhard’s *Rapporto intorno i Vasi Volcenti*, Bunsen’s *Vases Peints*, the *Antike Bildwerke beschrieben von Gerhard, IIe Abteilung*, and Kramer’s *Über den Styl und die Herkunft der bemalten Griechischen Thongefässe*. He then continued with the collection of Lucien Bonaparte, ‘... to whose diligent archaeological research and excavations the learned world owes so many treasures of antiquity.’ First the shapes of the vases were described:

‘The number of vases in this collection is 96 pieces, of which 68 really can be called vases. Among the rest are 12 bowls with double ears and high feet, seven smaller bottle-shaped vases and nine bowls. Amongst the real vases we find a variety of forms and decoration, with very good examples of all periods. Some of them, nearly two and a half feet high, belong to the biggest variety, 32 pieces in total. The 36 other pieces are of average height.’

42 This brings us to an average price of 72 guilders per vase. This is only slightly less than the prices of the Pacileo collection. For their 1500 vases the asking price was 120.000 guilders, which makes the average of 80 guilders per vase.

43 Van Westreenen to Leemans, 6-9-1839, Archives NMA, Unofficial Letters, 17.4/1.

44 Leemans, C., 1840: Grieksche en Etrurische beschilderde vazen uit de verzameling van den Prins van Canino, *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode*, 211-231.

Leemans then stressed the importance of the inscriptions and graffiti, and of the decoration:

'These objects are already important because of their shapes, sizes, differences in style, techniques and the excellent state of preservation. But their value is increased by the decoration, which is splendid, and by the inscriptions and marks. We count more than thirty with depictions of gods and goddesses, and many others which refer to the Bacchic mysteries. Especially interesting are three Panathenaic amphoras. Among the decorations which are inspired by mythological stories we can mention several battles between Centaurs and Lapiths, between the ancient heroes and the Amazons, the death of Caeneus, Sisyphus in the underworld, the flight of Aeneas, Triptolemus who learns agriculture from Ceres, Theseus and the Minotaur, Hercules with the tripod of Apollo, Iolaus, Europe seized by the bull and others. Other scenes depict battle scenes, warriors preparing themselves, and others derived from daily life. On others we see animals and decoration of various nature. On some thirty vases we read inscriptions, more or less long, private names and graffiti, scratched on the bottom.'

Four years later Leemans chose one kylix from the collection to publish at the occasion of the 10 year's jubilee of the *Society of Musical Arts* in Leiden.⁴⁵ In this publication he described the educational system of Greek youths, whose body and mind were trained by lessons in literature, music and gymnastics. He then paid attention to musical theories in antiquity, theories about harmony, various instruments and ended by focusing on the kylix in question:

'According to shape and use our vase belongs to the class of mixing bowls, and served both for the preparation of drinks and for the drinking itself. It is very likely that the name of kylix, meaning a bowl with foot and ears, has been assigned justly to this shape. The decorations and ornaments are reserved in the reddish clay and the rest of the surface is covered with black shining paint. This assigns this vase to the third, or perfect, style. The epithet 'perfect' is justified by the excellent drawing of the figures. The decoration inside and outside assigns the vase to the class of gymnastic or palaestrian prizes. Probably they were given to a youngster, whose diligence and efforts in music deserved some encouragement. It has been observed by Gerhard and Roulez that often exercises

⁴⁵ Leemans, C., 1844: *De zangles : eene Grieksche beschielderde drinkschaal van het Nederlandsch Museum van Oudheden, bij gelegenheid van het tienjarig bestaan der Maatschappij voor Toonkunst te Leyden*, Leiden.

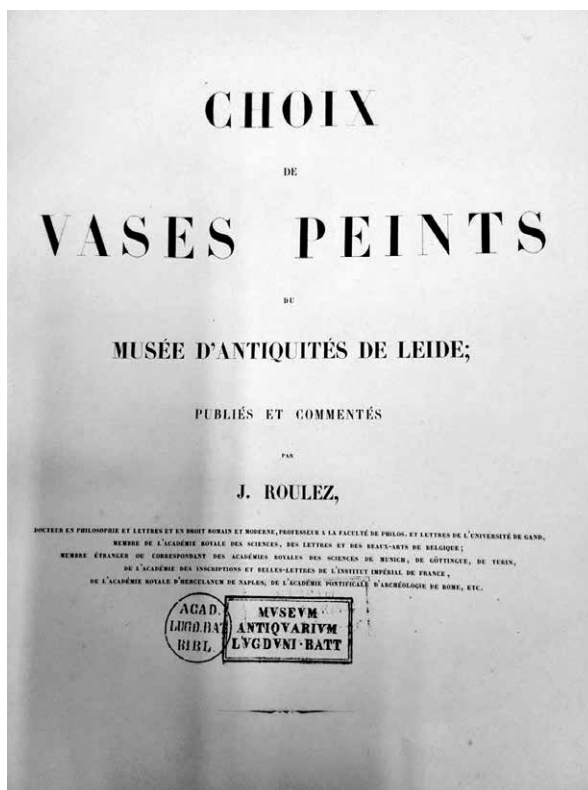


Figure 5 a. Title page from Roulez, J., 1854: *Choix de vases peints du Musée d'Antiquités de Leide*, Gent.

and performances in schools are depicted on this kind of vessels. The teacher is sitting with a bend back against the backrest of his chair, which has an elegant form which was common in Greece. During the second half of the last century, but especially during the beginning of our century this form has been adopted by us.'

This publication marked the end of Leemans' concerns with Greek vases. He turned his attention to the Egyptian monuments, which had been bought for the museum by Colonel Humbert in 1828, but other scholars did pay attention to the vase collection in Leiden. In 1849 a catalogue of the classical objects in the Leiden museum was published, compiled by the curator Leonard Janssen.⁴⁶ The vases are dealt with in Part II of this catalogue, but the descriptions are very brief and the catalogue is not illustrated. In 1854 Jean Roulez published his '*Choix de vases peints du Musée d'Antiquités de Leide*'⁴⁷, with illustrations using the technique of lithography (figs. 5 a-b).

⁴⁶ Janssen, L.J.F., 1849: *De Grieksche, Romeinsche en Etrurische monumenten van het Museum van Oudheden te Leyden*, Leiden.

⁴⁷ Roulez, J., 1854: *Choix de vases peints du Musée d'Antiquités de Leide*, Gent.



Figure 5 b. Illustration from Roulez, J., 1854: red-figure kalpis, 460-450 BC (Oinanthos Painter). National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (inv. nr. PC 73).

In 1930 Miss Johanna Brants revised and extended an earlier, not illustrated catalogue by the curator J.H. Holwerda⁴⁸, this time with good illustrations.⁴⁹ Unfortunately this publication was abandoned after the second instalment. Apart from these catalogues a few illustrated guides for the general public have appeared. We had to wait till 1971 for the best publication so far: in that year the first Leiden volume of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* appeared, written by Mrs. M.F. Jongkees-Vos. In total she published four volumes, in which all Attic vases from the Canino collection are to be found with descriptions, photographs and drawings.⁵⁰ With the online version, created by the Beazley Archive in Oxford, all the Leiden vases are now available on the Internet.

Catalogue of the Rotterdam sale of Canino vases in 1839

The original handwritten catalogue of the 1839 sale in Rotterdam is kept in the archives of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (fig. 6).⁵¹ Not only vases were offered during this event: on sale there were also nine paintings, two marble statues, 106 'Etruscan' vases, 1882 books (191 with engravings), eight astronomical instruments and two bronze candelabums. The section dealing with the vases is transcribed here.

48 Holwerda, J.H., 1905: *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: afdeling Griekenland en Italië*, Leiden.

49 Brants, J.P.J., 1930: *Beschrijving van de klassieke verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, Den Haag.

50 *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, The Netherlands. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, 1-4 (1971-1991).

51 Leiden, Archives NMA, 3.1/10.

116. La lettre A. dans la colonne des inscriptions signifie Marque double joint du Vase.

Vases Cruques de la Princesse de Canino.

Numéros.	Forme.	Couleur.	Sujets.	Inscriptions.
527.	Boudin.	jaune noir.	La mort d'Hector. — Les amazones.	— (sans prospect.)
525.	2.	2.	Minerve. Les deux cavaliers.	PC 7. inscription.
1891.	3.	2.	La fuite d'Enée. Bacchus & symphes.	PC 50. id.
526.	4.	2.	Minerve. Les deux pugilateurs.	PC 6. id.
525.	5.	2.	Le guerrier blessé en combat par son Compagnon.	PC 51. (sans prospect.)
1926.	6.	2.	Minerve. Les quatre athlètes.	PC 8. inscription.
527.	7.	2.	Bacchus & deux Bacchantes. Cinq figures.	PC 85. id.
527.	8.	2.	Minerve. Mélé.	PC 74.
600.	9.	2.	Sisyphos roulant son rocher. Iris & son cortège.	PC 76.
1723.	10.	2.	Le Faune Cytharède. Le Sierre.	PC 60.
1958.	11.	2.	Les deux guerriers.	PC 87.
500.	12.	2.	La libation de Minerve & d'Hercule. 1 Bacchant.	PC 5.
411.	13.	2.	Sisyphos roulant son rocher. La fuite d'Enée.	PC 49. A.
1947.	14.	2.	Le Paléon de Délos. Idem.	PC 3. A.
1962.	15.	2.	La mort de Cécrops. Apollon & deux Déesses.	PC 40. A.
610.	16.	2.	Iris ailée & Hypolite. Deux chasseurs en Cortège.	PC 78.
1947.	17.	2.	Le cheval vain de guerre. Combat de deux cavaliers.	PC 32. M.
1940.	18.	2.	Déjanire blessée par Hercule. La Dent grecque. — (sans prospect.)	
1960.	19.	2.	Le guerrier cretque. Combat de deux guerriers.	PC 53. Idem.
5302.	20.	2.	La dent des égyptiens. Combat d'un amazone.	PC 36.
1954.	21.	2.	L'oiseau du faucon. un aigle.	PC 18. A.
1052.	22.	2.	Les Centaures & les Satyres.	PC 82.
1953.	23.	2.	La chef victorieux.	W 3. inscription.
1953.	24.	2.	Le Triomphe d'Hélène.	
1959.	25.	2.	États salevés. Cavaliers ennemis.	PC 33. (sans prospect.)
1921.	26.	2.	Les cinq Divinités. Surtout de cinq guerriers.	PC 2. A.

Figure 6. Title page of Bonaparte's sale catalogue, Rotterdam 1839. Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.

The descriptions of the painted scenes on the vases is rudimentary and makes a clear identification in some cases difficult (e.g. '1978, Coupe, figures jaunes, Huit figures drapées'), especially because measurements are missing. When a more detailed description is given, it is noteworthy that the more common and well-known gods and mythological scenes were easily identified by the compiler of the catalogue (e.g. '1891, La fuite d'Enée'⁵²; '526, Minerve. Les deux pugilateurs'⁵³; '1946, Minerve. Les quatre athlètes'⁵⁴; '411, Sysiphe roulant son rocher'⁵⁵). Less known iconography posed problems for the author: a winged goddess was easily, but wrongly identified with Iris, and the huntsman in her neighbourhood with the famous hunter Hippolytus ('610, Iris ailée & Hypolite').

52 Leiden, inv. PC 50, CVA 1, 32, 1-2; 50, 5; 51, 10.

53 Obviously a Panathenaic amphora, Leiden, inv. PC 6, CVA 1, 48; 49.

54 Panathenaic amphora, Leiden, inv. PC 8, CVA 1, 44; 45.

55 Leiden, inv. PC 49, CVA 1, 33, 1-2; 50, 7; 51, 11.

In reality she is the goddess Eos, in pursuit of Cephalus.⁵⁶ A mourning figure is identified as '16, Le guerrier pensif, peut-être Polynice'. In reality it is Achilles, mourning about the death of Patroclus and receiving new armour from his mother Thetis.⁵⁷ Scenes from daily life are often given a religious connotation, as with '57, Les six purifiés'. These are six sportsmen taking a shower and dressing after their exercises.⁵⁸ The representation of a quiet, bearded Dionysus is often identified as a priest ('prêtre'), for example nr. '1420, Prêtre assis entre deux bacchantes'.⁵⁹

In the first column of the catalogue the Canino inventory numbers are given, which in a few cases are derived from the *Museum Étrusque* ('Numéros'). The second column describes the vase shape ('Forme'). The third column mentions the technique ('Couleurs'). The fourth column gives the description ('Sujets'). The last column is reserved for inscriptions ('Inscriptions'). These are sometimes exemplified as 'noms propres', 'kalos' or 'nom d'auteur'. When a letter 'M' is given in this column there is an Etruscan graffito on the foot of the vase ('Marque'). In the footnotes of this Appendix there are references to the modern inventory numbers and recent publications.⁶⁰

56 Leiden, inv. PC 78, CVA 3, 130, 1-4; 131, 3-4; 132, 4-7.

57 Leiden, inv. PC 88, CVA 3, 133, 1-4; 134, 1-2.

58 Leiden, inv. PC 63, CVA 1, 13; 14, 1-3; 15; 16, 3.

59 Leiden, inv. PC 18, CVA 2, 92, 1-3.

60 References to CVA 1-4 = Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, The Netherlands, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Fascicules 1-4.

OBJETS DÉPOSÉS CHEZ LE Mr. G. GIBSON À ROTTERDAM POUR LE COMPTE DE MADAME LA PRINCESSE DE CANINO

VASES ETRUSQUES DE MADAME LA PRINCESSE DE CANINO

<u>Numéros</u>	<u>Forme</u>	<u>Couleurs</u>	<u>Sujets</u>	<u>Inscriptions</u>
527 ⁶¹	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>La mort d'Hector. Les Amazones.</i>	Noms propres
545 ⁶²	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Minerve. Les deux cavaliers.</i>	Inscription
1891 ⁶³	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>La fuite d'Enée. Bacchus & Nymphes.</i>	Inscription
526 ⁶⁴	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Minerve. Les deux pugilateurs.</i>	Inscription
335 ⁶⁵	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Le guerrier blessé emporté par ses Compagnons.</i>	Noms propres
1946 ⁶⁶	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Minerve. Les quatre athlètes.</i>	Inscription
No nr. ⁶⁷	Grand vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>Bacchus & deux Bacchantes. Cinq figures.</i>	
637 ⁶⁸	Grand vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>Minerve. Hébé.</i>	
640 ⁶⁹	Grand vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>Triptolème sur son char ailé. Iris et un pontife.</i>	
1723 ⁷⁰	Grand vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>Le Faune cytharède. Le lièvre.</i>	
1938 ⁷¹	Grand vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>Les deux guerriers.</i>	
1008 ⁷²	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>La libation de Minerve & Hercule. Bacchus.</i>	
411 ⁷³	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Sisyphes roulant son rocher. La fuite d'Enée.</i>	M
347 ⁷⁴	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Le palmier de Délos.</i>	M
362 ⁷⁵	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>La mort de Cénée. Apollon et deux déesses.</i>	M
610 ⁷⁶	Grand vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>Iris ailée & Hypolite. Deux chasseurs et un pontife.</i>	
1947 ⁷⁷	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Le cheval vu de face. Combat de deux cavaliers.</i>	M
430	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Déjanire délivrée par Hercule. La danse grotesque.</i>	Inscriptions
360 ⁷⁸	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Le groupe érotique. Combat de deux guerriers.</i>	Inscriptions
3305 ⁷⁹	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>La danse des Syrènes. Combat d'une amazon.</i>	
1954 ⁸⁰	Grand vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>L'épée tirée du fourreau. Un augure.</i>	Kalos
1084 ⁸¹	Grand vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>Les Centaures & les Lapythes.</i>	
283 ⁸²	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>La nef victorieuse.</i>	Inscriptions
332 ⁸³	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Le triomphe d'Iolaüs.</i>	Noms propres
1199 ⁸⁴	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Thétis enlevée. Cavaliers. Animaux.</i>	

61 Sold to the King of Bavaria. Now in Munich, inv. BM 1899.7-21.3 (courtesy of Dr. J. Gebauer for this information).

62 Leiden, inv. PC 7, CVA 1, 46; 47.

63 Leiden, inv. PC 50, CVA 1, 32, 1-2; 50, 5; 51, 10.

64 Leiden, inv. PC 6, CVA 1, 48; 49.

65 Leiden, inv. PC 51, CVA 1, 28, 1-2; 51, 6.

66 Leiden, inv. PC 8, CVA 1, 44; 45.

67 Leiden, inv. PC 85 (?), CVA 1, 50, 2 (lid); CVA 3, 116; 117; 118, 1-3; 119, 1-3 (vase).

68 Leiden, inv. PC 74, CVA 3, 123, 1-2; 124, 1-2; 125, 1-4.

69 Leiden, inv. PC 76, CVA 1, 50, 3 (lid); CVA 3, 129, 1-4; 131, 1-2; 132, 1-3 (vase).

70 Leiden, inv. PC 80, CVA 3, 120, 1-2; 122, 1-2.

71 Leiden, inv. PC 87, CVA 3, 121, 1-2; 122, 3-4.

72 Leiden, inv. PC 5, CVA 1, 31, 1-2; 50, 8; 51, 9.

73 Leiden, inv. PC 49, CVA 1, 33, 1-2; 50, 7; 51, 11.

74 Leiden, inv. PC 3, CVA 1, 30, 1-2; 51, 8.

75 Leiden, inv. PC 40, CVA 1, 27, 1-2; 50, 1; 51, 4-5.

76 Leiden, inv. PC 78, CVA 3, 130, 1-4; 131, 3-4; 132, 4-7.

77 Leiden, inv. PC 52, CVA 1, 29, 1-2; 51, 7.

78 Leiden, inv. PC 53, CVA 1, 3, 1-4.

79 Leiden, inv. PC 36, CVA 1, 2, 1-4.

80 Leiden, inv. PC 86, CVA 3, 125, 5-6; 126, 1-3.

81 Leiden, inv. PC 83, CVA 3, 139, 1-3; 140, 1-2.

82 MMW, inv. 619/836; Galestin 1977, nr. 11.

83 Leiden, inv. PC 33, CVA 1, 10; 12, 3; 16, 7.

84 Leiden, inv. PC 48, CVA 1, 8; 12, 1; 16, 5.

<u>Numéros</u>	<u>Forme</u>	<u>Couleurs</u>	<u>Sujets</u>	<u>Inscriptions</u>
1817 ⁸⁵	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Les cinq divinités. Lutte de cinq guerriers.</i>	M
57 ⁸⁶	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Les six purifiés. Quadrigue. La biche poursuivie.</i>	Noms propres, kalos
397 ⁸⁷	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Les princes chaoniens {sic}. Combat d'Amazones.</i>	Inscriptions
302 ⁸⁸	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Les initiés de Cybèle. Danse grotesque.</i>	Noms propres
606 ⁸⁹	Grand vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>Le roi couronné. Trois adolescents.</i>	
1819	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>La syène. Lutte de trois guerriers. Quadrigue.</i>	M
16 ⁹⁰	Grand vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>Le guerrier pensif, peut-être Polynice. Prêtre et femme.</i>	
356 ⁹¹	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Hercule et les Amazones. Bacchus & nymphes.</i>	M
2305 ⁹²	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Minos. Thésée et le Minotaure. Animaux.</i>	Inscriptions et noms propres
767 ⁹³	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Les cinq divinités. Quadrigue et guerriers.</i>	M
2058 ⁹⁴	Grand vase,	fig. noires	<i>Bacchus assis. Bacchante et faunes.</i>	
1575 ⁹⁵	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>La petite Minerve. Faune & bacchante.</i>	M
1574 ⁹⁶	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Bacchus et faunes dansans. {sic}</i>	M
763 ⁹⁷	Petit vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>Le trépoid disputé.</i>	
208 ⁹⁸	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Thésée dompte un lion.</i>	
44 ⁹⁹	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Les deux premiers fondeurs de métaux.</i>	Inscriptions, noms propres et kalos
232 ¹⁰⁰	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Persée tuant Phorcus.</i>	Nom d'auteur
421 ¹⁰¹	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Un prêtre de Bacchus entre deux couples érotiques.</i>	
301 ¹⁰²	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Hercule musagète & Minerve.</i>	
324 ¹⁰³	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Quadrigue de guerre et deux faunes.</i>	
1572 ¹⁰⁴	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Les deux Amazones.</i>	
668 ¹⁰⁵	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Le repos de Bacchus entre des bacchantes.</i>	
676 ¹⁰⁶	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Apollon & deux nymphes.</i>	
423 ¹⁰⁷	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Les trois jeunes danseuses.</i>	
314 ¹⁰⁸	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Le coursier en G...sse. {sic}</i>	
272 ¹⁰⁹	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Deux Syrènes.</i>	M
No nr. ¹¹⁰	Petit vase,	fig. blanches	<i>Une cicogne.</i>	

- 85 Leiden, inv. PC 2, CVA 1, 7; 11, 3; 16, 4.
86 Leiden, inv. PC 63, CVA 1, 13; 14, 1-3; 15; 16, 3.
87 Leiden, inv. PC 44, CVA 1, 5; 11, 1; 16, 1.
88 Leiden, inv. nr. PC 28, not in the CVA.
89 Sold to the King of Bavaria. Not identified.
90 Leiden, inv. PC 88, CVA 3, 133, 1-4; 134, 1-2.
91 Leiden, inv. PC 43, CVA 1, 18, 1-2; 51, 1.
92 Leiden, inv. PC 47, CVA 1, 4, 1-4.
93 Leiden, inv. PC 1, CVA 1, 9; 12, 2; 16, 6.
94 Leiden, inv. PC 11, CVA 1, 26, 1-2; 50, 6; 51, 2-3.
95 Leiden, inv. PC 9, CVA 1, 15, 1-2.
96 Leiden, inv. PC 12, CVA 1, 25, 3-4.
97 Leiden, inv. PC 84, CVA 4, 185, 5-8; 186; 187.
98 Leiden, inv. PC 45, CVA 3, 108, 1-4; 109, 1.
99 Sold to the King of Bavaria. Not identified.
100 Sold to the King of Bavaria. Not identified.
101 Leiden, inv. PC 22, CVA 2, 77, 2-4; 79, 1-2.
102 Leiden, inv. PC 41, CVA 2, 72, 5-6; 73, 1-2.
103 Leiden, inv. PC 56, CVA 2, 73, 3-6.
104 Leiden, inv. PC 38, CVA 2, 78, 2, 4.
105 Leiden, inv. PC 17, CVA 2, 75, 3-4; 76, 4-7.
106 Leiden, inv. PC 4, CVA 2, 75, 1-2; 76, 1-3.
107 Leiden, inv. PC 24, CVA 2, 77, 1, 3; 79, 4.
108 Leiden, inv. PC 62, CVA 2, 78, 1, 3; 79, 3.
109 Leiden, inv. PC 30, CVA 2, 72, 1-4.
110 MMW, inv. 651/865, Galestin 1977, nr. 53.

<u>Numéros</u>	<u>Forme</u>	<u>Couleurs</u>	<u>Sujets</u>	<u>Inscriptions</u>
434 ¹¹¹	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Un faune soulevant une bacchante.</i>	
435 ¹¹²	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Une bacchante.</i>	
334 ¹¹³	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Le centaure vaincu.</i>	
1951 ¹¹⁴	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Un piéton qui s'arme. Un cavalier près de son cheval.</i>	
1639 ¹¹⁵	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Deux danseuses avec des crotales.</i>	M
1775 ¹¹⁶	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>La jeune femme défendue par Minerve contre... Guerrier. {sic}</i>	
406 ¹¹⁷	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Un prêtre entre trois danseuses.</i>	
420 ¹¹⁸	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Les deux nymphes relevant leur robes.</i>	
450 ¹¹⁹	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Bacchus, faunes et bacchantes.</i>	
1365 ¹²⁰	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Guerriers et matrones.</i>	
341 ¹²¹	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Un cavalier et trois piétons.</i>	
240 ¹²²	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Les deux génies gorgoniques à quatre ailes.</i>	M
1678 ¹²³	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Le taureau sacré. Bacchante et faune.</i>	M
1719 ¹²⁴	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Lucumon entre deux guerriers. Bacchus et faunes.</i>	
2008 ¹²⁵	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Deux matrones.</i>	M
1495 ¹²⁶	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Les deux Ibis. Guerriers, faunes et bacchantes.</i>	M
1721 ¹²⁷	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Bacchus et faune. Guerriers, faunes et bacchantes.</i>	M
422 ¹²⁸	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Prêtre, faunes et nymphes.</i>	
422b ¹²⁹	Petit vase,	fig. jaunes	<i>Deux figures drapées.</i>	
323 ¹³⁰	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Europe sur son taureau.</i>	
1420 ¹³¹	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Prêtre assis entre deux bacchantes.</i>	
1298 ¹³²	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Thésée tue le minotaure.</i>	
1849 ¹³³	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>La double flute.</i>	
1345 ¹³⁴	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>L'autel ardent & l'oracle.</i>	
No nr. ¹³⁵	Petit vase,	fig. noires	<i>Deux bacchantes.</i>	
319 ¹³⁶	Coupe,	fig. jaunes	<i>Huit figures drapées.</i>	M
1518 ¹³⁷	Coupe,	fig. jaunes	<i>La colombe. Hermès. Trois femmes drapées.</i>	Kalos M
648 ¹³⁸	Coupe,	fig. jaunes	<i>La leçon de chant. Six adolescents.</i>	

111 Leiden, inv. PC 26, CVA 2, 74, 2, 4.

112 Leiden, inv. PC 25, CVA 2, 74, 1, 3.

113 Leiden, inv. PC 39, CVA 2, 79, 5-6; 80, 1-2; 81, 4.

114 Leiden, inv. PC 60, CVA 1, 35, 1-2; 51, 14.

115 Leiden, inv. PC 65, CVA 1, 37, 1-4.

116 Leiden, inv. PC 54, CVA 2, 82, 1-3.

117 Leiden, inv. PC 15, CVA 1, 40, 3-4; 51, 15.

118 Leiden, inv. PC 16, CVA 1, 41, 1-4.

119 Leiden, inv. PC 20, CVA 1, 39, 1-4.

120 Leiden, inv. PC 55, CVA 1, 38, 1-2.

121 Leiden, inv. PC 59, CVA 1, 40, 1-2.

122 Leiden, inv. PC 29, CVA 1, 34, 1-2.

123 Leiden, inv. PC 35, CVA 1, 36, 1-4.

124 MMW, inv. 615/832, Galestin 1977, nr. 13.

125 Leiden, inv. PC 67, CVA 1, 38, 3-4.

126 MMW, inv. 615/832, Galestin 1977, nr. 13.

127 Leiden, inv. PC 13, CVA 1, 34, 3-4; 51, 12.

128 Leiden, inv. PC 19, CVA 1, 42, 1-4.

129 Leiden, inv. PC 90, CVA 3, 137, 1-2.

130 Leiden, inv. PC 34, CVA 2, 81, 1-2.

131 Leiden, inv. PC 18, CVA 2, 92, 1-3.

132 Leiden, inv. PC 46, CVA 2, 91, 1-3.

133 Leiden, inv. PC 68, CVA 2, 91, 6-8.

134 Leiden, inv. PC 32, CVA 2, 105, 1-6.

135 Not identified.

136 Leiden, inv. PC 93 (probably), CVA 4, 166; 175, 4, 8; 178, 4; 180, 4.

137 Leiden, inv. PC 77, CVA 4, 169; 176, 3, 7; 179, 1; 181, 3; 182, 5.

138 Leiden, inv. PC 91, CVA 4, 168; 174, 3-8; 176, 2, 6; 178, 6; 181, 2.

<u>Numéros</u>	<u>Forme</u>	<u>Couleurs</u>	<u>Sujets</u>	<u>Inscriptions</u>
1014 ¹³⁹	Coupe,	fig. jaunes	<i>Minerve. Augures & guerriers.</i>	Kalos M inscription
1262 ¹⁴⁰	Coupe,	fig. jaunes	<i>Amphitrite. Faunes & bacchantes.</i>	
1266 ¹⁴¹	Coupe,	fig. jaunes	<i>Le chasseur. Cinq figures drapées.</i>	inscription
651 ¹⁴²	Coupe,	fig. noires	<i>Le faune agenouillé. Les dauphins.</i>	
2202 ¹⁴³	Coupe,	fig. noires	<i>Deux prêtres assis & une tête de Gorgone.</i>	
1978 ¹⁴⁴	Coupe,	fig. jaunes	<i>Huit figures drapées.</i>	
No nr. ¹⁴⁵	Coupe,	fig. jaunes	<i>Huit figures drapées.</i>	
1989 ¹⁴⁶	Coupe,	fig. jaunes	<i>La borne du cirque. Faunes & bacchantes.</i>	
428 ¹⁴⁷	Coupe,	fig. noires	<i>Le triomphe des deux cavaliers.</i>	
422 ¹⁴⁸	Coupe,	fig. noires	<i>Deux chevaux de course.</i>	
357 ¹⁴⁹	Curiosité,	fig. noires	<i>Le groupe érotique, petit plat d'offrande.</i>	
370 ¹⁵⁰	Curiosité,	fig. noires	<i>Fuite de deux Amazones, petit vase.</i>	
2042 ¹⁵¹	Curiosité,	fig. noires	<i>Une figure debout, petit vase.</i>	
1284 ¹⁵²	Curiosité,	fig. noires	<i>Une figure assise, petit vase.</i>	
70 ¹⁵³	Curiosité,	fig. noires	{sic}	
358 ¹⁵⁴	Curiosité,	fig. noires	<i>Une Syrène: petit plat d'offrande.</i>	
696 ¹⁵⁵	Curiosité,	fig. noires	<i>Deux faunes accroupis.</i>	

1591; 10; 1285; 1286; 38; 695; 754; 751; 748: *Neuf petites tasses avec des sujets divers.*¹⁵⁶

Résumé

Grands vases	36
Petits vases	41
Coupes	13
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Tasses	9
Vases Étrusques	106 ¹⁵⁷

139 Leiden, inv. PC 75, CVA 4, 164; 175, 2, 6; 178, 2; 180, 2; 182, 4.

140 Leiden, inv. PC 82, CVA 4, 170; 174, 9-11; 176, 4, 8; 179, 2; 181, 4; 182, 6.

141 Leiden, inv. PC 92 (probably), CVA 4, 171; 177, 1-5; 179, 3; 182, 1.

142 Leiden, inv. PC 14, CVA 2, 62, 4-6; 63, 2.

143 Leiden, inv. PC 10, CVA 2, 62, 1-3; 63, 1.

144 Leiden, inv. PC 94, CVA 4, 165; 175, 3, 7; 178, 3; 180, 3.

145 MMW, inv. 629/843, Galestin 1977, nr. 33.

146 Leiden, inv. PC 89, CVA 4, 167; 176, 1, 5; 178, 5; 181, 1.

147 Leiden, inv. PC 57, CVA 2, 57, 1-2; 58, 1-2.

148 Leiden, inv. PC 61, CVA 2, 59, 1, 3, 4.

149 Leiden, inv. PC 64, CVA 2, 71, 8, 10.

150 Leiden, inv. PC 37, CVA 2, 91, 4-5.

151 Leiden, inv. PC 58 (?), CVA 2, 85, 6-9.

152 Leiden, inv. PC 66 (?), unpublished.

153 Leiden, inv. PC 72, unpublished.

154 Leiden, inv. PC 31, CVA 2, 71, 7, 9.

155 Leiden, inv. PC 27, CVA 2, 67, 1-3.

156 Leiden, inv. PC 23, CVA 2, 66, 5-6; PC 42, CVA 2, 66, 1-4; 71, 2; PC 69, CVA 3, 109, 2, 4; PC 70, CVA 3, 109, 3; PC 71, CVA 3, 109, 5-7; PC 79, CVA 4, 183, 1-4; PC 81, CVA 4, 183, 5-8; PC 95, CVA 4, 184, 1-2; PC 96, CVA 4, 184, 3-4.

157 Added in pencil: 'sold to "B" 4, sold to "W" 5: 97 vases remain'. "B" stands for Bavaria, "W" for Van Westreenen.

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The Canino Auctions – the unidentified vases

Vinnie Nørskov¹

Introduction

The role of auctions in the distribution of the finds recovered from the excavations in Vulci by Lucien Bonaparte and his wife Alexandrine between 1837 and 1845 is important in the development of the market for antiquities. Their auctions set new standards and challenged the traditional procedures and the interaction of collectors and buyers, archaeologists and art historians. At the same time it was one of the first occasions that auctions were used so extensively to sell excavation material. It never became a common means to profit financially from excavations, but there are other auctions during the nineteenth century selling material from excavations. However, the approach of Lucien and Alexandrine Bonaparte was extraordinary and in some aspects a unique instance in the history of selling and collecting ancient art.

The auctions of Lucien Bonaparte were held in Paris between 1834-1849. This is just around the time when the auction market for antiquities was evolving rapidly and with it the auction catalogue came into being as a new medium. A catalogue was not a necessity for the auction.² But the printing of a catalogue had two advantages. In the first place, it could be a presentation of the collection and the collector. Thereby, if the collector had passed away, the catalogue became a memorial or monument to the deceased person. Secondly, a catalogue could be distributed, and the event of the sale and knowledge of the lots could be publicized throughout a much larger geographical area. No doubt this was an important aspect of the antiquities sales that had an international clientele. In the catalogues there are lists of the distributors, showing how the auction market in Paris developed internationally. The market for classical antiquities was fairly specialised and it demanded specialists for the production of the catalogues.

In research the auction catalogues have primarily been used to provide vases in museum collections with a history, as they are important sources for provenance studies. This has also been the driving force behind the research done on the catalogues of Lucien Bonaparte's collections, by Nicolas Plaoutine, André Merlin, Francesco Buranelli and others.³ In the case of the collections of Lucien Bonaparte, the research has not only

1 I would like to thank Ruurd Halbertsma for arranging the seminar *The Canino Connections* and inviting me to talk about my research, thus stimulating my interest and renewed investigations into the affairs of Lucien Bonaparte and his wife.

2 Whitley 2005; Baker 2007.

3 Plaoutine 1937; Plaoutine 1940; Merlin 1946; Buranelli 1995; Giroux 2002.

	Black-figure vases	Red-figure vases	Other objects	Total lots (objects)	Not sold at the auction (reappear- ing)	Unidentified (not appearing after this catalogue)
1834	38	10	69	83 (117)		105
1837	115	81	2	198	(27)	37 + 22
1838*	48	65	7	120		8 + (12) + 3 bronzes
1840	100	35	12	148		123
1843	161	118	13	292	132 (95)	101 + (31)
1845	56	68	4	128	(115)	6 + (54)
1848	51	61	4	116	(79)	3 + (51)
1849	30	57	2	81		51

Table 1. This table is based on the list of Buranelli and further research into the catalogues and attempts to identify vases in present museum collections through the use of Beazley Archive and correspondance with museum curators.

focused on the history of the collecting, but as the material sold was said to be the results of the excavations by Lucien and his wife, the research also enabled the recontextualising of the vases archaeologically, if only within the broader find spot Vulci. However, as Humbert Giroux has shown in an update of the identifications by Nicolas Plaoutine, this has to be done with caution. It might not always be correct to conclude that a vase deriving from the Canino collection has necessarily been found in Vulci.⁴

But how many of the vases published in auction catalogues and sold in Paris have in fact been identified in current museum collections? In this paper, I discuss the auctions between 1834 and 1849 with a special focus on the identification of vases. The starting point is Plaoutine's work published by Buranelli, but also available online through the digitalisation of Plaoutine's notebooks by the *Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art* (INHA) in Paris.⁵

The auctions

The auctions took place between 1834 and 1849 (table 1). The table presents an overview of the number of vases in the sales, divided into black-figure and red-figure. There are two phases to be recognised. The first is the 1830s up to the death of Lucien Bonaparte on June 30th in 1840. This also includes the auction in 1840 that took place in January.

The second phase constitutes the auctions from 1843 to 1849. These auctions are closely connected as those after 1843 mainly included a large number of objects not sold in 1843.

Paris 1834

The first auction took place in Paris in March 1834.⁶ It was conducted by Bonnefonds de Lavielle and the expert Charles Paillet and included also a number of paintings and curiosities, as stated in the preface of the catalogue 'for those not passionate about a lacrymatory vase'. The catalogue was only distributed in Paris. In all 83 lots antiquities were offered, lots 1-48 as *Désignation des Vases Grecs provenant de fouilles de Canino*, and lots 49-83 as *supplément*, thus implying less interesting objects and here there are several lots

⁴ Giroux 2002, 129.

⁵ Buranelli 1995, 128-141. There is a mistake in the list as the sales catalogue from 1840 is not mentioned, but in fact it is the one beginning on page 132 p. 33, n. 1. This is also mentioned in Giroux 2002, 128. Plaoutine's notebooks are available here: <http://agorha.inha.fr/inhaprod/jsp/index.jsp> (downloaded 30.5.2016).

⁶ Auction 1834. This catalogue is not included in Buranelli's lists, but discussed by Giroux 2002, 128. Here Giroux also demonstrates that some of Canino's vases had already been sold off in 1833 at an auction with no indication of the provenance (though they were presumably from the Fossati collection): four vases were acquired by the Louvre on this occasion and the museum has registered them as deriving from Canino's excavations in Vulci.

consisting of more than one object. The descriptions are generally rather short, becoming even shorter in the supplementary part. The vases are defined as either large or small, complete or not, with an indication of the number of handles, technique of decoration (black- or red-figure) and the subject of the images. Plaoutine recognised six that had been published in Bonaparte's *Muséum Étrusque*, three were sold again in 1837 at a sale of the cabinet of Fierard and six others were more or less securely recognised in the collections of Durand and Pourtales.⁷ The vases that have been identified are not the most expensive ones, but rather those with identifiable subjects. But others remain puzzling in their descriptions: e.g. Lot 26, a large black-figure vase with two handles decorated with 'Le triomphateur étrusque'.

Paris 1837

The second auction took place in Paris in 1837 and is normally described as a very successful sale.⁸ The French/Belgian archaeologist Jean-Joseph-Antoine-Marie de Witte (1808-1889) was asked to write the catalogue in cooperation with Charles Lenormant (1802-1859).⁹ The sale included 198 lots, with 115 black-figure vases (including 11 on white ground), 81 red-figure vases, one bilingual amphora and a lekythos decorated in the Six-technique. There is a quite remarkable difference between the catalogue from this auction and the previous one. Whereas the catalogue and the auction of 1834 resemble just about any auction of curiosities, the 1837 one is a highly specialised auction aimed at an international clientele of collectors and museums: the catalogue entries are detailed with precise descriptions of shape, aided by a reference to a drawing of the most common shapes at the back of the catalogue, measurements, including references to earlier publications and comparisons in older literature. This publication resembles a museum catalogue more than an auction catalogue. The choice of the author for the catalogue was not accidental. De Witte had the year before written the large catalogue for the sale of the Durand collection auctioned in Paris in February 1836 including more than 2000 painted vases.¹⁰ The event was a great success with buyers from all over Europe coming to secure some of Durand's vases for different private and public collections. This was no doubt due to two factors: the collector was well known among vase specialists as very knowledgeable in the field due to his first collection which had been acquired by the Musée du Louvre in

1825. And the catalogue was excellent, detailed, scholarly and distributed widely. Lucien Bonaparte's 1837 sale has to be evaluated against the background of the Durand sale: the choice of De Witte as writer of the catalogue was of paramount importance. The catalogue was distributed in Paris, Rome, London, Vienna, Berlin, Brussels and Antwerp, thus not in as many places as the Durand catalogue, which could also be obtained in Naples, Amsterdam and Frankfurt, but still an impressive number of cities outside of France.¹¹

Of the 198 lots offered at the auction, 133 were identified in Buranelli's list based on Plaoutine's work. To this can be added a number of later identifications, some known but not registered by Buranelli.¹² But also a closer look at some of these unidentified vases during this research has offered a number of possible new identifications. One example is lot no. 182, a red-figure cup with decoration in the interior: 'Un tibicine près d'un autel allumé, porte un paquet sur ses épaules: ΗΟΡΙΑΙΣΚΑΛΟΣ, le garçon est beau'. This resembles a cup in Yale University Art Gallery acquired in 1913 through Rebecca Stoddard, who funded the purchase of a very large collection of vases assembled by the art dealer Paul Arndt.¹³ Also a red-figure cup in Berlin might be identified with lot 153, a cup with images of women and youths including a domestic scene with a woman sitting frontally on a throne with weaving utensils.¹⁴

Thus 140 vases might be identified in museum collections. Another 22 are recognised in later collections, mainly in auction catalogues but their present whereabouts are unknown.

11 Auction 1837, II.

12 Adding to Buranelli's identifications, with references to the database in the Beazley Archive in Oxford (abbreviated BA) Lot 51: Indianapolis Museum 31.299 (red-figure stamnos, BA202326 with Canino collection as provenance); Lot 99: British Museum D14, 1837, 0609.51 (white-ground oinochoe, BA216554), provenance in the online database of the museum: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?people=130653&peoA=130653-3-17 (downloaded 22.5.16); Lot 154: Munich J338 (red-figure hydria, BA216044), provenance mentioned in CVA Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 5, 25, pls. 229, 4-5; 230, 2-4; Lot 171: British Museum E164 (red-figure hydria, BA4180), from the Blacas collection but identified as originally from the Canino collection in the CVA London British Museum 5, pl. 71, 2; 74, 1.

13 Yale University Art Gallery, inv.no. 1913.164. BA 204002. I am grateful to Susan Matheson who has confirmed that the cup was not recognized by either Beazley or Von Bothmer earlier as being the cup in the 1837 sale.

14 Berlin 31426 (red-figure cup), BA209808. The cup was acquired by the museum at an auction in Berlin in 1933 with 33 vases from the estate of the Hohenzollern family. I have unfortunately not been able to get any information from the Berlin Museum about further archival documents.

7 See Plaoutine notebook III, 61-67: <http://agorha.inha.fr/inhaprod/servlet/LoginServlet>

8 Auction 1837: Von Bothmer 1987; Jenkins 1992; Nørskov 2006.

9 On J.J.A.M. de Witte, see Marchal 1907, on Charles Lenormant see Jaubert 2014.

10 De Witte 1836; Jenkins 1992; Detrez 2014.

In 2007 Dominique Briquel published an article about the identification of two amphoras from Lucien Bonaparte's excavations.¹⁵ They had been offered for sale at the Paris auction house Hôtel Drouot on the 16th of November 2005. They had been acquired by the owner at a sale in 1952 of a private collection dating back to before World War I. Nowhere in the catalogues or documentation was there any reference to Bonaparte. However, both had Etruscan graffiti incised in the base and Briquel has identified the two vases with two from Bonaparte's collections based on descriptions in the 1952 catalogue. There are some discrepancies in the descriptions, for instance the 1952 catalogue identifies one of the figures as Silenus, and in the 1837 catalogue he is called Bacchus (Dionysus). The French word for goat used denotes a he-goat in the 1952 catalogue while the word used in the 1837 catalogue denotes a she-goat. This illustrates the difficulties in identifying vases with descriptions as the only tool. The second vase was not offered for sale in the auction catalogues but was identified through a description in the list of the *Commissione Consultiva* of a number of vases for which Lucien Bonaparte obtained permission to transport them to Florence, no. 1551. It is included in a list of vases with obscene motifs in a special appendix. But in fact, the vase is also mentioned in *Muséum Étrusque* where Lucien Bonaparte called it *Les deux bacchantes soulevées*.¹⁶ Briquel suggests that the vase is not to be found in the sales catalogues because of the erotic motif, and I shall discuss this in the conclusion of the paper.

Consequently, this leaves a maximum of 37 vases unidentified and only known through this catalogue. All have rather short descriptions and few recognisable or unique elements. Of the vases 15 have Dionysiac motifs, some of the others also more generic subjects, *e.g.* with athletes.

The 1837 sale was a very special one. It attracted buyers from all over Europe and the expectations were high, both among the sellers and the buyers: the seller had put minimum prices on a large number of vases, the buyers were eager to acquire some of the delicate ones for their collections. But for many the prices proved to be too high. In annotated catalogues it is possible to trace at least 26 vases that were not sold.¹⁷

Reserve Étrusque

The following year, a catalogue with the title *Reserve Étrusque* (implying that this was the rest of the Etruscan vases in the collection) was published offering the collection as a batch. 27 vases from the 1837 sale were part of

the group, which contained also a number of new vases. This is not an auction catalogue. Dietrich von Bothmer defined the group as "*the best Canino vases*".¹⁸ The collection was exhibited in London and offered as a single lot at the price of £4000, but also this time they failed to find a buyer.¹⁹ Only after the collection was exhibited in Frankfurt in 1841, 51 of the objects were bought by Wilhelm Thiersch for King Ludwig I of Bavaria.²⁰ Presumably 22 were bought by Edouard Gerhard for the collection in Berlin.²¹ Furtwängler mentions 17 of these in the catalogue from 1895, but four of these cannot be identified in the *Reserve Étrusque* catalogue.²² The catalogue comprises 120 vases and 73 should thus have been sold to Berlin and Munich in 1841. Of these, 27 are known from the 1837 catalogue and they do not reappear: only one of these cannot be identified today though it is known through drawings by Gerhard.²³ About 48 vases reappeared in the later auction catalogues in 1843 and 1845 and of these 17 were acquired by the Musée du Louvre and another 16 ended up in other collections. Six vases are not known from the catalogue. These vessels do not add up to the total of 120 objects in the catalogue, so this catalogue and the sale in Frankfurt in 1841 should be studied further. What is clear, is that the number of unidentified vases is very small in this catalogue.

Paris 1840

The last auction before Lucien Bonaparte's death took place in January 1840. This is traditionally described as an auction with unsatisfactory results, presumably because many of the 148 vases were poorly restored, with careless treatment and poor conservation. But this is a very different event compared to the 1837 auction. As in 1834 it was in the hands of Bonnefonds Delavialle and Charles Paillet and the first 163 lots included paintings, marble sculptures, astronomical instruments and miniatures. In the preface they emphasised that this was the second time that they have been entrusted with the sale of the estate of Lucien Bonaparte, and the group of Etruscan vases was praised as the most important part of the sale, because they comprised important pieces regarding subjects,

15 Briquel, D., 2007: Réapparition de deux vases provenant des fouilles de Lucien Bonaparte à Vulci, *CRAI*, 151 (3), 1415-1433.

16 Bonaparte 1829, 162, no. 1769.

17 For the reactions of the buyers to this procedure, see Nørskov 2006 and 2009.

18 Von Bothmer 1987, 193.

19 Plaoutine 1937, 34.

20 Buranelli 1995, 104. Kästner mentions 400 vases sold at auction in Frankfurt by Alexandrine: Kästner 2014, 105.

21 Furtwängler 1895, XX-XI. It is not possible to recognize 22 vases today in Berlin in the catalogue (only 14).

22 These are a red-figure cup with dancing satyrs and maenads, F2532 (BA216995), a red-figure cup with Heracles and a Busiris enthroned (?), F2534 (BA210242), a black-figure amphora with two males dressed as cocks F1830 (BA2698) and a red-figure cup with a komos scene and wool-working F2289 (BA205141).

23 *Reserve Étrusque* 1838, 17 no. 2. Costantini 1998: Berlin GA XVI/76,2.



Figure 1. Red-figure cup attributed to the Elpinikos Painter with a reclining youth playing kottabos in the tondo, Manchester Art Gallery 1885.21Aa24. Copyright: © Manchester Art Gallery.

shapes and conservation.²⁴ The archaeological collection consisted of 152 lots: the first was a limestone funerary relief, then 147 lots with vases, and lastly six lots of bronzes. The catalogue was not distributed outside of Paris and the prices and purchasers in annotated catalogues point to a Parisian group of buyers: collectors like Pourtales-Gorgier, Raoul Rochette and Panckouke, but mostly dealers like Charles Louise Rollin, Delamarche and Signol.²⁵ The descriptions in the catalogue are somewhat brief and consequently a large number of objects have not been identified: only 23 vases are registered by Buranelli to be in museums today, based on the work of Plaoutine.²⁶ To this can be added a red-figure cup with a *kalos* inscription in Manchester (fig. 1).²⁷

A red-figured amphora with Artemis and Niobe appears in the Beazley Archive, registered as in a private collection in Paris.²⁸ The unidentified vessels are vases with images of groups of gods, Athena fighting giants, Dionysus reclining, the Labours of Heracles and warriors fighting; subjects that are so common as to make a secure identification unlikely. But there are also two Panathenaic amphoras with Athena between two columns with cocks and the inscription and four running male figures on the other side. About the first, the catalogue says '*Ce vase, dont le sujet se trouve aujourd'hui assez fréquemment répété, a été repeint et restauré dans toutes ses parties.*'²⁹ Likewise an amphora with Heracles carrying the Erymanthian Boar to Eurystheus hiding in a pithos on one side and Athena between two columns on the other is not identified.³⁰

The difficulty of establishing secure identifications through motifs can be illustrated by a black-figure two-handled vase with an image of Heracles fighting Geryon with

24 Auction 1840: III.

25 Plaoutine has noted prices and a number of buyers in notebook I, 58-59.

26 Buranelli 1995, 132-143 (see also note 4 in this paper).

27 Manchester Art Gallery 1885.21Aa24 (BA200999).

28 Auction 1840, lot 11, registered to have been bought by De la Borde for 51 francs in the annotated catalogue seen by Plaoutine (Plaoutine notebook I, A32). This vase was published by Lenormant and De Witte as coming from Canino's collection and 'presently in the collection of the Comte de la Borde', Lenormant/De Witte 1857, vol. 2, p. 294-300, pl. 90-91. BA 206990.

29 Auction 1840, 37, lot 21. About the following it says simply, '*Ce vase est également refait en entier.*'

30 Auction 1840, 44, lot 58.

three heads and Eurytion at the feet of the hero on one side, and on the other side Dionysus between four of his followers, lot 61.³¹ The vase was bought at the auction by Signol, a comparatively unknown art dealer.³² There are more possible identifications. Firstly Louvre F55, which has the same height, 43 cm, and corresponding motifs.³³ It was acquired by the museum in 1848 with no information about its provenance. It could be the vase bought by Signol that ended up in a French collection and was acquired eight years later by the Louvre by which time the provenance had been forgotten. Another vase with the same motifs is found in the private collection of Professor Mikro Ros in Zürich, but this vase has an inscription in front of Heracles, a fact that would most probably have been mentioned in the sales catalogue.³⁴ The somewhat brief description in the sales catalogue makes a secure identification impossible if based only on comparative descriptions.

Thus the first phase consists of two auctions that can be defined as typical art auctions with both art and antiquities and a briefly elaborated catalogue with many vases not identified, one auction with a high quality catalogue aimed at a specialised audience of collectors and museums with a very high percentage of identified vases. And lastly, the *Reserve Étrusque* catalogue that constitutes a special genre, as this did not function as a traditional auction catalogue yet was composed exactly the same way.

Later auctions

The second phase in the 1840's includes four auctions that are, as mentioned, closely connected and interrelated, as many of the objects which were not sold in the 1843 auction were offered in the following ones. The work of Plaoutine has been essential in linking the auctions together. The auction in 1843 was by far the largest with 292 vases offered for sale. Of these in total 134 vases were not sold, a third of the whole sale. A report from the auction recounts that the event went really bad. The

objects were broken in many pieces and in general the taste for Etruscan pottery had declined.³⁵

The sale in 1845 included 128 vases and 95 of these reappear from the 1843 sale. The last 25 numbers are red-figure cup fragments. The sale in 1848 consisted of 116 vases; of these only one was new. The last sale in 1849 included 82 objects and only two had not been offered the year before (table 1). The catalogues were written by different authors and Bonnefonds Delavialle was *commissaire priseur* in at least 1843 and 1845.³⁶

The 1843 catalogue is the most important of the last group as the following ones only include very few new objects. The catalogue was written by L.J.J. Dubois, one of the most productive writers of antiquities sales catalogues between 1820 and 1845.³⁷ But he is not in the same league as J.J.A.M. de Witte. His catalogues are generally composed of short descriptions and sometimes, but not always, he includes references to earlier publications.

The introduction to the catalogue states that the vases derive from the excavations in 1828 and 1829, that most of the vases are mentioned in the catalogue of the Prince of Canino, that some have been drawn by Micali and that a few are published in the *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*. But these references do not occur in the text – only a few indicate the original number of the vase referring to *Muséum Étrusque*.

We have a number of catalogues with notifications from this sale and this provides us with some interesting information about the progress of the auction.³⁸ The first 30 vases were sold and the names of the buyers are listed with the prices. From then onwards there are lots with no information, and from lot number 61 onwards, a price

31 Auction 1840, 44, lot 61.

32 In an unpublished dissertation Isabelle Decise has analysed the Paris antiquities auctions between 1802-1848 and she lists the most important buyers during this period, Signol being at the top of this group, though there is no further information about him, Decise 2011, 69-72.

33 Auction 1840, 44, lot 61. For Louvre F55, see CVA Paris, Louvre 3, pl. 15, 6-9, pl. 18, 4. Portier 1901, BA301038.

34 BA301039. Blösch 1943, 42-45, 161-163. The vase was bought in Paris in 1936 and said to have been in an English collection. It is 41.6 cm high, thus slightly smaller than the measurement given in the auction catalogue. A graffito under the base would perhaps also have been mentioned.

35 *Le cabinet de l'amateur et de l'antiquaire, revue des tableaux et des estampes anciennes, des objets d'art et de curiosité, première période, II. Paris: au bureau du journal*, 1843: 197-198. The account was probably written by Eugène Piot, the collector who founded the journal in 1842.

36 The identification of the authors of the 1845 and 1849 catalogues is uncertain: Buranelli and Giroux mention Jean de Witte for the 1845 catalogue and nobody for the one in 1849: Buranelli 1995, 105; Giroux 2002, 127. The catalogue is not listed in the publication list of J. de Witte, see Marchal 1907, and we know from a letter from Brøndsted who was present at the auction in 1837 that De Witte had expressed no wish to prepare any other catalogues for Lucien Bonaparte because of his high reserve prices, see Nørskov 2009. Briquel mentions Roussel for the 1845 catalogue and Manheim for the 1849 catalogue: Briquel 2000, 1421, note 5.

37 A forthcoming article on Dubois as a writer of sales catalogues is under preparation by the author.

38 The one used here is a digital copy from the library of the University of California available through google books: https://books.google.dk/books?id=G_U_AAAAIAAJ&hl=da&pg=PP1#v=onepage&q&f=false (downloaded 30.5.2016) This copy indicates the same buyers and prices as noted by Plaoutine in his notebooks.

Sale 1843 Lot	Sale 1845 Lot	Sale 1848 Lot	Sale 1849 Lot	Museum	Technique	Shape	Description in the catalogue	Price * reserve price	Remarks in the catalogue
64					Black-figure	Amphore	Hercule , debout , étouffe le lion. Les témoins de cet exploit sont Minerve, Mercure et le fidèle Iolas, dépositaire de l'arc et de la massue du héros. R. Bacchus, debout, la tête tournée, et tenant une branche de lierre , est placé au milieu de deux Satyres et de deux Ménades qui sautent. Haut, 43 cent.	61	Casper
65	5	4	2	Louvre F238	Black-figure	Amphore	Le même sujet. Minerve, la lance en arrêt , couvre le héros de son égide. Iolas, debout près d'un arbre , porte la massue. R. Thésée tuant le Minotaure. Deux jeunes Athéniennes, placées sur les côtés du groupe , attendent l'issue du combat. Haut, 40 cent.		
66				Cabinet des Medailles 206	Black-figure	Amphore	Le même combat en présence de trois personnages qui n'offrent aucun attribut. R. Un homme barbu et <i>ithyphallique</i> , en regard d'un éphèbe dont il touche le menton. Ce groupe est placé au centre de quatre autres homes également debout. Haut, 34 cent.	60* 65	Fabina
67					Black-figure	Amphore	Le même sujet. Mercure et Minerve, présents à ce combat, applaudissent au courage du héros. Près des figures on lit ΛΥΘΙ ΚΑΛΟΣ(<i>Lytis? est beau</i>). R. Le même sujet, traité avec quelques différences. Sur le bouclier de Minerve est peint le <i>triskèle</i> . Haut, 44 cent.	112	Garroba
68				Compiègne 980	Black-figure	Amphore	Le même sujet. Minerve fait un geste d'admiration; Iolas tient l'épée et la massue. Sur le fond est suspendu le carquois d'Hercule. R. Minerve combattant deux Pallantides , dont l'un est déjà renversé à terre. Haut, 43 cent.	60	Signal
69	42			Rouen 24	Red-figure	A trois anses	Le même sujet. En arrière d'Hercule est suspendue une petite draperie. Audessus du groupe on lit: ΚΑΛΟΣ (<i>beau</i>). Haut, 35 cent.		
70				Rouen 20	Black-figure	Amphore	La même scène, à laquelle assistent Minerve et Iolas. R. Deux personnages montés sur un quadriges; à la gauche, un vieillard marche appuyé sur un bâton. Sous le col du vase, deux lutteurs, les bras élevés et prêts à se saisir, sont placés au centre de quatre spectateurs de leur combat. R. Scène du même genre que la précédente. Haut, 43 cent.	150*	
71	6	5		Louvre F215	Black-figure	Amphore	Le même sujet. Le fond est décoré d'un palmier sur lequel sont implantées des tiges de lierre. A la gauche du champ, un aigle perché au sommet d'un roc regarde le combat. R. Un homme barbu monte sur un quadriges ; vers lui s'avance un <i>hoplite</i> suivi d'un vieillard armé d'une lance; près des chevaux est un chien, et en avant de l'attelage se voit un autre guerrier, dont le bouclier porte pour devise une sphère entre deux cercles.	150*	

Table 2. Table of lots with Heracles fighting the Nemean Lion vases in the 1843 sale.

is often marked directly at the number of the lot: for example at lot 61 150 francs, which is quite a high price for this auction. These are reserve prices. The attendant has at this point found it interesting to note a price (probably the price mentioned at the start by the auctioneer) which turned out to be the minimum price. The vases are grouped in the catalogue according to shapes and motifs: the first are large, closed vases – amphorae, hydriai and stamnoi and a few lekythoi (lot 1-162), and then cups, in all 123 (lot 163-285). Within these two groups they are organized according to subjects. The unidentified vases are widely distributed throughout the entire catalogue. One example is formed by the lots 64-92, all black-figure vases with images of Heracles. The first eight show Heracles fighting the Nemean Lion (table 2). Of these, six have been identified. The two unidentified are lots 64 and 67. There are no specific traits that could distinguish lot 64, which makes identification difficult, but lot 67 has the remains of an inscription, *Lysos kalos*. But even with this no search in the Beazley Archive gave any possible identification.

Lot 103, on the other hand, could be recognised through a search in the Beazley Archive. The description in the catalogue:

103 – Amphore. Peint.n. – Minerve, debout, couverte de l'égide et armée d'une lance, et placée debout devant un jeune homme enveloppé d'une draperie, assis sur une roche et appuyé sur un baton noueux. Minerve, tourne la tête vers une autre déesse vêtue de long, et appuyée sur un sceptre surmonté d'une fleur.

R. Mercure, tenant son caducée, marche entre deux déesses vêtues de long, tenant des sceptres, et se dirigeant à la suite de celles figurées sur l'autre partie du vase.

Haut. 40 cent.

A search in the Beazley Archive on the Judgment of Paris led to Louvre F251.³⁹ In the auction catalogue, Rollin is stated as the buyer. And in the Louvre online database (not in the CVA) it states that it was bought in 1848 from the Rollin collection. This should point to an identification but since this is not registered by Plaoutine or Giroux, the information about the connection to the Canino sale must have vanished, even if there were only five years between the acquisition by Rollin and the purchase by the Louvre.

The number of unidentified vases increases when we come to the cups. Some of Buranelli's identifications only

state the city, as for instance 'lot 234 in Oxford'. This is a red-figure cup with a male figure standing in front of a seated woman in the interior, and on the outside Dionysus standing with a kantharos surrounded by maenads and satyrs. The cup is today in the Ashmolean Museum, and came from the Beazley collection in 1966.⁴⁰ Beazley used the sales catalogues in his work and, specifically, vases with inscriptions are often included in the Beazley Archive, even if their present whereabouts are unknown, as for instance lot 197 in this catalogue, a black-figure cup with the inscription *Hipponikos kalos*.⁴¹

In conclusion, it becomes clear that the list of vases in the auction catalogues identified in present museum collections are – not surprisingly – those with unique elements, firstly vases with inscriptions such as potter signatures or a *kalos* inscription, or secondly vases with motifs that are rare or have details that make them stand out from among the more generic motifs. The quality of the catalogue is of paramount importance for the identification. The vases of more generic character identified in present museums have entered collections with the knowledge of their provenance, as is the case in the Louvre, the Antikensammlung in Munich, the British Museum and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. This information, however, has often been lost if the vases have been sold to private collectors whose collections are offered for sale later, because references to earlier sales catalogues are not given. It is only thanks to the pioneering work of Plaoutine that we are able to recognise so many of the vases in the sales of the nineteenth century today.

It should also be stressed that the vases put up for auction do not seem to have been limited to a certain kind, or excluding a certain kind of images. Briquel's suggestion that erotic subjects would perhaps not be sold at auction is not confirmed when looking at the material available. For instance, in the 1843 catalogue there are a number of erotic vases. One example is a cup today in the Louvre showing a male courting a seated woman.⁴² It was bought at the auction by the collector De Janzé. His collection was sold at auction in 1866, and on this occasion the Louvre bought the vase for 62 francs. This is a rather innocent image but there are also much more explicit ones, like a cup bought by the museum in Berlin (fig. 2).⁴³ Even if it is very fragmented, the scenes are quite explicit in their depiction of sexual activity, and belong to a group of vases offered in the *Reserve Étrusque* under the title "Les groupes Érotiques". It was offered again at the 1843 sale and we do not know what happened with

39 Louvre F251, BA30324. The Louvre online database Atlas: http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=12203&langue=fr.

40 Oxford 1966.695, BA211535.

41 BA3017016. Unfortunately, the Beazley Archive does not give precise references to the older publications.

42 Louvre G143.

43 Berlin 3251. Reserve Étrusque 1838, lot 26.



Figure 2. Red-figure cup attributed to the Thalia Painter with erotic scenes in the tondo and on the outside of the cup, Staatliche Museen Berlin 3251. Copyright: bpk/ Antikensammlung, SMB/ Johannes Laurentius.

the vase after that sale, as it is not marked with a price as sold. But it reappeared in the museum in Berlin, which acquired it in the early 1890s from the Borghese Collection. Furtwängler mentioned that the vase must have suffered some damage after the publication in the 1838 catalogue, because there are more inscriptions mentioned there than can be traced on the fragmented version in the museum. It was restored and repainted when in the Borghese collection. What really happened with the vases that were broken when put on sale in 1843 is still an open question.

The sales catalogues

Auction 1834: *Catalogue d'antiquités provenant des fouilles de M. Lucien Bonaparte, Prince de Canino, Tableaux, objets de curiosité et de riche ameublement*, vente 17.-19. mars, Paris.

Auction 1837: J. de Witte, *Description d'une collection de vases peints et bronzes antiques provenant des fouilles de l'Etrurie*, vente 8. Mai et jours suivants, Paris.

Auction 1840: *Catalogue de tableaux anciens et modernes des trois écoles...vases étrusques et antiquités provenant des fouilles de Canino*, propriété de M. Lucien Bonaparte, Paris.

- Auction 1843: J.J. Dubois, *Notice d'une collection de vases antiques en terre peinte provenant des fouilles en Etrurie par feu M. le Prince de Canino*, vente 4 avril et jours suivants, Paris.
- Auction 1845: *Notice d'une collection de vases peints tirés des fouilles faites en Étrurie par feu le prince de Canino*, vente 22 avril et jours suivants, Paris.
- Auction 1848: C. Barthelémy, *Notice d'une collection de vases et de coupes antiques en terre peinte provenant du feu Prince de Canino* (Lucien Bonaparte), vente Paris.
- Auction 1849: *Catalogue d'une collection tableaux Et d'une belle réunion de vases grecs et coupes antiques peints, dits étrusques, provenant de feu M. le Prince de Canino*, vente 22 décembre, Paris.
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The appreciation of black- and red-figure vases and other pottery wares according to the Canino documents

Friederike Bubenheimer-Erhart

The Canino excavations, source of the finest Attic vases and a variety of other pottery wares

In March 1808 Lucien Bonaparte acquired from the Apostolic Chamber the estate of Canino, which became his principality and main residence from 1814 on. The property comprised the Farnese Palace in the heart of Canino, the homestead of Musignano, a medieval building complex that had once housed an abbey half-way between Canino and Montalto di Castro on the mouth of the river Fiora, the castle at the Ponte della Badia further up the river on its left bank, as well as an area of 8.000 hectares of land including forests, farmland, meadows and pastures. The latter were widely covered with shrubs, as can be learnt from the cadastral land register drawn by the papal authorities at the time. It was an uninhabited and wild Mediterranean landscape indeed. Huge parts of the Bonaparte premises laid over the necropolises of ancient Vulci, the long since forgotten and hitherto unknown Etruscan city. Their estates actually spanned over the left bank of the Fiora, all along the river covering the necropolises which lay opposite of the ancient city plateau and some other burying places on the right river bank. In the spring of 1828 a farmer with his oxen, working on the Bonaparte estates, accidentally broke into the ground and an Etruscan chamber tomb came to light. The tomb yielded spectacular finds, among them the red-figure cup of the potter Sosias which shows on the interior side Achilles dressing the wounds of Patroclus (fig. 1)¹, one of the most magnificent examples of late Archaic Greek vase painting.

The sporadic finds triggered a series of archaeological excavations, undertaken by several excavators, which actually led to the discovery of ancient Vulci. Alexandrine Bonaparte, who was on the spot at the time, started regular excavations in the autumn of the same year. She was joined in the enterprise by her husband upon his return and together, with the aid of their farm workers, the couple opened a great number of tomb

1 Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. F 2278; Beazley 1963, 21,1; Beazley 1989, 154.



Figure 1. Attic red-figure cup of the Sosias-Painter showing Achilles and Patroclus, accidentally found at Vulci in 1828. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung, Inv. F 2278.

chambers.² When the finds were recovered, the tombs were filled with earth again. The undertaking was a very fruitful one: In the years 1828 to 1830 alone, several thousand pieces of pottery were unearthed, next to bronze weapons, vessels and utensils, gold ornaments, tomb stones with inscriptions and pieces of large-scale stone sculpture. The main focus however was on pottery, above all the black- and red-figure vases, many (like the Sosias cup) of Attic descent and of the finest artistic quality. Among them there was the black-figure cup of Exekias with Dionysos at a banquet, sailing the wine-red sea (fig. 2) found in the spring of 1829³, to name but one striking example.

Black- and red-figure vases were the most fashionable wares at the time, popular with collectors and connoisseurs since the eighteenth century. Of course, they dominated excavation reports, news bulletins, correspondences and publications, and built the ground for the overwhelming fame of the Canino excavations.⁴ Lucien Bonaparte, nurturing his great scholarly ambitions, described and documented them in a catalogue with meticulous attention to details.⁵ This catalogue first appeared in 1829, when the excavations were still going on; it served likewise as an academic publication and a marketing tool. Revised and enlarged editions followed immediately thereafter, now with explicit reference to painted vases bearing inscriptions⁶, which were the finds of primary importance, as it seems. But soon the literary production ceased and volumes already planned did not materialize any more. Many black- and red-figure vases, namely those without inscriptions, but also most of the other pottery wares, and all of the other materials remained unpublished.

In the first years the excavations concentrated on an area near the Ponte Rotto, around the Cuccumella tumulus, the only visible landmark nearby. In later years their focus

2 For the excavations of the couple see Buranelli in: Natoli 1995, 81-218 and Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 15-76.

3 München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, inv. 8729; Beazley 1956, 146, nr. 21.

4 Buranelli in: Natoli 1995, 81-218 and Bubenheimer-Erhart in: Caracciolo 2010, 292-299.

5 Bonaparte 1829.

6 Bonaparte 1829 (1830); ²(1833).



Figure 2. Attic black-figure cup signed by Exekias showing Dionysos as a banqueter sailing through the wine-red sea. From Vulci, found in the 1829 excavations of Lucien and Alexandrine Bonaparte. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Inv. 8729.

shifted towards the Doganella and Cavalupo subdistricts as well as to the Polledrara, where they were carried on until the spring of 1840. But from 1834 onwards Alexandrine Bonaparte took over, because her husband devoted much of his time to writing his memoirs and other things; he and his secretary, the erudite Padre Maurizio Malvestiti da Brescia, only sporadically intervened when special finds came to light. The registration and documentation of the finds was much reduced and became limited to what was absolutely necessary in terms of the existing laws. The legislation was based upon the edict of Cardinal Pacca dating back to the year 1820.⁷ Every fortnight the results had to be reported to the local authorities at Viterbo. The finds were only summarily listed; no descriptions of vases, not even of the painted and inscribed ones, were given in these documents. The death of Lucien Bonaparte in June 1840 brought the activities to a halt. It was only two years later that his widow turned back to her archaeological enterprise again, then with the support of her son-in-law, the Count Vincenzo Valentini. Between 1842 and 1852, before the estates were finally sold to the Prince Torlonia, the focus lay on areas in the southern parts of the ancient burying grounds. The excavation methods turned rude and the documentation was neglected. Even the author-

ities complained about missing or insufficient reports. Alexandrine delegated the fieldwork to an overseer and was not present at the excavations as often as she used to be in earlier years. It was in those times, more precisely between 1842 and 1847, that George Dennis visited Vulci and Musignano and complained much about the careless handling adopted by the labourers when digging up objects which were deemed of no monetary value.⁸ But what was of monetary value and what was not? Dennis mentioned expressly 'coarse pottery of unfigured, unvarnished ware, and a variety of small vases in black clay', obviously referring to the local impasto and bucchero wares. The labourers were even told by the overseer 'to crush them beneath their feet as things cheaper than seaweed'. In vain Dennis pleaded to save them from destruction. Also, the papal authorities did not show the same serious interest in archaeology as before. In fact, Vincenzo Valentini could easily counter any such allegations in 1846 in a letter to the authorities.⁹

Apart from the publications of the Prince of Canino and the official reports on the excavations of the princely couple there is plenty of other documentation concerning their finds. The Bonapartes corresponded with scholars like Eduard Gerhard and Giovanni Battista Vermiglioli, with agents and art dealers like James Millingen, Charles Paillet and George Gibson and members of the papal administration. There are publications of scholars who visited Canino, for example the articles published regularly in the *Annali* and the *Bulletino* of the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* at Rome, the reports of the members of the Vatican commission, who visited Canino at regular intervals, and diary entries or travel books of private visitors like the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, August Kestner, Wilhelm Abeken, Elizabeth Caroline Hamilton Grey and George Dennis.¹⁰ The evidence at hand makes it clear that right from the beginning, tomb chambers of different periods from the Orientalising period of the seventh century BC through Archaic and Classical times down to the Hellenistic era were unearthed. Accordingly a great variety of pottery wares derived from these excavations: there were coarse impasto wares of all sorts, the finer white painted red impasto pottery manufactured at Vulci (fig. 3), painted pottery in Euboean or, more frequently, italo-geometric style, Corinthian or Etrusco-corinthian wares in great numbers, bucchero pottery of the late seventh to the early fifth centuries BC, Ionian cups and hydriae and their local imitations (fig. 4), black- and red-figure vases, among

7 Emiliani 1996, 100ff., nr. 14.

8 Dennis 1844, especially 153ff.; Dennis 1848, 409ff.

9 Rome, Archivio di Stato, Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici, Industria, Agricoltura, Commercio e Belle Arti, Busta 418, Fasc. 5 c.

10 Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 46-61.



Figure 3. Impasto amphora of white-on-red-ware. From Vulci, found in the 1839 excavations of Lucien and Alexandrine Bonaparte. London, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Inv. GR 1850.2-27.49.



Figure 4. Eponymous hydria of Polledrara ware. From Vulci, found in the 1839 excavations of Lucien and Alexandrine Bonaparte. London, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Inv. GR 1850.2-27.50-51.



Figure 5. Egyptian faience flask with hieroglyphic New Year's inscription. From Vulci, found in the 1839 excavations of Lucien and Alexandrine Bonaparte. London, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Inv. GR 1850.2-57.58.

them the pseudo red-figure vases of Vulcian workshops, black glazed pottery and other wares.

Numerous imports from Greek regions, *e.g.* Euboea, Athens, Corinth, but also from East Greece, Laconia and Boeotia, stood alongside their Etruscan counterparts. Further there were the occasional imports from Italy outside Etruria, as for instance from Sardinia or Campania, as well as the most exotic blue or green glazed faience vessels imported from Egypt (fig. 5). From the early years on a great variety of pottery wares were present at the site. According to the documents all of them were recovered from the earth, cleaned, restored when broken, brought to the reserves at Musignano and shown to the visitors.

In the early years, as long as Lucien Bonaparte was actively involved, the finds were also registered. It is not quite clear, however, whether all objects, including the full spectrum of pottery wares, were registered, or if registration numbers were given only to vases with figured decoration. Since Lucien announced further publications which were supposed to contain other pottery wares, bronze utensils, gold ornaments and scarabs, it is not unlikely that registration numbers were given to all objects irrespective of their material or making. Despite the clear preference for the overwhelmingly large numbers of black- and red-figure vases, especially the Athenian ones¹¹, the spectrum of pottery wares which were actually recovered (and more or less carefully documented) was a much broader one. This is also reflected in other publications presenting vessels of all sorts from the Canino excavations side by side.¹² It is worth noting that Lucien Bonaparte was said to be a particularly diligent excavator as opposed to almost all others who were then active in the field, an opinion expressed by George Dennis as well.¹³

11 De Angelis 1990; Reusser 2002, I, 49ff. and Reusser in: Della Fina (ed.) 2004, 147ff.

12 See Canina 1846-1852, I, Pl. CXI.

13 Gerhard 1831, 88; Dennis 184.

Black- and red-figure vases in the scholarly and public discourse at the time

Black- and red-figure vases figured prominently in the scholarly and public discourse of the time. Several visitors to Canino wrote reports of their visits. One of them was the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, who in May of 1829 spent two days at Canino.¹⁴ In his diary he noted that the most interesting finds were vases, and particularly those bearing Greek or Etruscan inscriptions or images of Greek mythology. He also remarked that he had the most stimulating conversation with the princely couple about their finds. Black- and red-figure vases attracted most of the attention, because they were particularly rich in narrative scenes and inscriptions and therefore allowed a glimpse on persons, ideas, or habits of the past. For the same reason tomb markers with inscriptions mentioning the names of Etruscan families, or pottery like the Corinthian and Etrusco-corinthian wares painted with animals and monsters or the Egyptian faience vessels, decorated with incised or plastically rendered animals or gods, sometimes even with hieroglyphic inscriptions, were more interesting than other wares, as they fostered further speculations. The more details there were displayed, the more attention an object attracted. The academic interest followed the same principle. The black- and red-figure vases had been a much debated subject already in the eighteenth century. Their images and inscriptions provided clues for determining their origin and cultural belonging, which Johann Joachim Winckelmann in 1764 or Luigi Lanzi in 1806 had already suggested to be from Greece rather than Italy.¹⁵ Thus black- and red-figure vases could much better than other objects help to define ancient civilizations, which were otherwise known mainly through the written sources. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when immense quantities of black- and red-figure vases came to light from the excavations at Vulci (more than from any site in Greece), the debate flared up again, nourished to a great extent by the finds of the Prince and Princess of Canino. Contrary to the common opinion Lucien Bonaparte argued for an Etruscan origin of his finds and put himself into a controversy with Eduard Gerhard, who argued in favour of the Greek origin.¹⁶ In his most important article, the *Rapporto volcente* of 1831, Gerhard presented the first history of Greek vase-painting.¹⁷ Even though he argued convincingly, the matter would definitely be settled with the publication of Gustav Kramer of 1837¹⁸, and it is worth noting that this was done only on the basis of the inscriptions. Because of the

informative character of figured decoration, which was mainly his focus, Gerhard had intensively studied the black- and red-figure vases, namely those from Canino¹⁹, and preferred certain other classes of objects like mirrors or urns with relief decoration for study purposes as well. For the same reason, he proposed that Ippolito Rosellini, an Egyptologist and successor of Jean-François Champollion in Italy, should investigate Egyptian vase-painting in order to explore the Egyptian civilization just like he himself had done with Greek material culture.²⁰ Gerhard, of course, was blissfully ignorant of the real character of the archaeological heritage of Egypt, where no such tradition as the figured vase-painting of the Greeks with narrative scenes and inscriptions had ever existed. It is worth noting that Padre Maurizio dedicated studies to the hieroglyphic inscriptions of some of the Egyptian faience vessels found in the excavations at Vulci. A sketch of one of the Egyptian New Year's flasks from the Isis-Tomb found in 1839 is still preserved among his manuscripts.²¹ In the second quarter of the nineteenth century the debate focused not only on the origin or cultural belonging of the black- and red-figure vases, but also on the myths and stories represented. The predilection for black- and red-figure vases characterizes the work of Lucien Bonaparte as well. For his published catalogues he chose mainly black- and red-figure vases with rich decoration and inscriptions, but rarely a vessel of other pottery wares or another category of object. At the same time the black- and red-figure vases, particularly the Attic examples, said to be of 'the fine style', were the most popular with collectors and potential buyers. The purpose of Lucien Bonaparte's catalogue and subsequent publications, as already mentioned, was two-fold: to serve scholarly interests and facilitate sales. Academic and commercial interests went hand in hand.

Quest for authenticity and historical information rather than pure appreciation of art

Another aspect seems important. It is the quest for authenticity and historical information, an idea which Lucien Bonaparte fancied and shared with many of his contemporaries. He closely looked at the objects and tried to describe them with an eye for every aspect of their appearance. He even went so far as to document cracks in the surface of vases.²² Lucien Bonaparte was well known

14 Buckingham and Chandos 1862, III 164ff.

15 Winckelmann 1764 and Lanzi 1806.

16 Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 52-53.

17 Gerhard 1831.

18 Kramer 1837.

19 Costantini 1998.

20 Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 51.

21 Brescia, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Carteggio Fra Maurizio Malvestiti da Brescia. See also <http://padremauriziodabrescia.it> [16.07.2016] – The vase is kept in the British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Inv. GR 1850.2-27.58; Bubenheimer-Erhart 2012, 146-147 no. 60, pl. 37, 2.

22 Bonaparte 1829; Bonaparte 1829 (1830); ²(1833).

among collectors and connoisseurs of ancient art for a specific conservation method that he and Padre Maurizio had developed. They used water to clean the vases and ground sherds with some sort of glue to restore the broken ones. The substance, although recognizable as a restoration, corresponded well with the original material of the vase and gave it a particularly harmonious overall appearance. Lucien Bonaparte and Padre Maurizio had tested various recipes for the restoration of pottery. One recipe 'Per restaurare i Vasi Etruschi [!]' is preserved in a manuscript of the secretary: It suggests to use 'tre once di gomma lacca, e nove di spirito di 21 o 22 gradi per i colori giallo, paonazzo e bianco, quattro once di gomma lacca e otto di spirito per il color nero.'²³ Similar to their efforts concerning cleaning and restoration techniques, the Duc de Luynes burned clay samples in the manufacture at Sèvres in order to understand how the ancient potters had made their admirable vases. He also analyzed ancient metals. The exploration of ancient materials and working techniques was shared by others, who were, each in his own way, pioneers in the emerging discipline of archaeology.

Lucien Bonaparte also collected significant sherds from the find spots. The importance of certain pottery fragments was also recognized by Alexandrine, as she explained in a private letter to her friend, the Count of Chaumont-Quitry.²⁴ Similarly the Duc de Luynes included fragments of vases in his collections. This is another new aspect in the attitude towards the rapidly growing archaeological heritage in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Sherds, but also less spectacular pottery wares like the coarse wares and undecorated, less richly or purely ornamentally decorated pottery wares were subject to attention. That they did not figure in the Prince of Canino's publications was due to the fact that they were deemed of no primary importance, but were still relevant as testimonies of the past. Subsequent publications of the Prince of Canino, although initially planned, never saw the light, because Lucien Bonaparte at some point in the 1830ies paid attention to other things than antiquities.

Of Alexandrine we know that she showed interest in simple burials as well, since both rich and poor burials yielded historical information, as she wrote to the Count of Chaumont-Quitry.²⁵ She was far from being a tomb robber. She lusted for exquisite works of art, but also had a vivid interest in the cultural historical questions, which the finds (even objects of poorer quality) posed. Differ-

ently from her husband she did not look at her finds with a scholarly attitude. She would, for example, never have argued with Gerhard about the provenance of the vases. She wrote about erotic scenes displayed on vases, speculated about the function and meaning of working tools or simply admired the fine Etruscan gold jewellery she had found; she even liked putting them on, when going out.²⁶

Before he turned away from archaeology, Lucien Bonaparte arranged for a museum of his finds from Vulci on the ground-floor of his farmstead at Musignano, complete with a brief description.²⁷ Five rooms were reserved for the display of 1500 objects, which were arranged in the following way. The first room housed stone slabs with Etruscan inscriptions, which Lucien Bonaparte correctly identified as boundary stones of tomb precincts inscribed with the names of individual Etruscan families. In the second room 400 pieces of bucchero pottery could be seen, next to an entire tomb-group of the Orientalising period and 20 large storage jars of coarse earthenware. The bucchero vessels were intact and represented a rich and elegant choice of shapes. Some of the impasto storage jars bore inscriptions. Assembling the contents of a tomb and arranging the objects according to their original position was an absolutely new idea in a museum's concept and was realised here for the very first time. The third room at Musignano was reserved for 400 pieces of painted pottery from various periods of antiquity and so-called curiosities, among which head vases and other plastic vessels as well as Egyptian faience vases and figurines. In the fourth room Etruscan bronze vessels, utensils and weapons were displayed in the conventional way, in which objects were assembled according to materials. The fifth room was reserved for painted pottery of the finest styles, in other words black- and red-figure vases, most probably Athenian products, which were considered by their owner as the *Raffaelli degli antichi*. Lucien Bonaparte also remarked that artists and archaeologists would find excellent material to study in this last room of his museum, referring to the aesthetic value of these vases and their role as examples even for modern artists. The museum at Musignano was opened in December of 1832; the brochure with the description of the collection was published in 1833. It is worth noting that Lucien Bonaparte dedicated more lines of his brief description to bucchero, coarse wares and painted pottery of other styles than to the vases of the so-called finest styles, which had already been treated most prominently in his catalogue of 1829. The museum at Musignano was the first museum at an archaeological site and one that provided materials for artists and archaeologists alike.

23 Brescia, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Carteggio Fra Maurizio Malvestiti da Brescia. See also <http://padremauriziodabrescia.it> [16.07.2016].

24 Fleuriot de Langle 1939, 250ff.

25 Fleuriot de Langle 1939, 250ff.

26 Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 34.

27 Bonaparte 1833.

The example of an entire Etruscan tomb-group, the *Tomba del Tripode Votivo*, presented as such at Musignano, was soon copied and further developed. First by the Campanari brothers, the organizers of the famous Etruscan exhibition at the Pall Mall in 1837.²⁸ On their initiative exhibition rooms resembling tomb chambers were created. The Campanari brothers acquired true to scale copies of the paintings of the *Tomba delle Bighe* at Tarquinia and had the exhibition rooms decorated with them. The rooms were furnished with typical tomb equipment and could be visited in torchlight. Only one room was reserved for single objects, which were organized in the traditional way according to material groups. These objects included bucchero and coarse pottery wares and were offered for sale. The curators of the Etruscan museum in the Vatican chose to present an entire Etruscan tomb-group as well, when in 1837 they put the finds from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Cerveteri on display in their galleries.²⁹ Lucien Bonaparte took up the principle again, when he presented as an ensemble the finds of yet another Orientalising tomb group, the Isis-Tomb, which had been found in February of 1839.³⁰ From 1839 on the Campanari family displayed sarcophagi and other tomb furniture in their gardens in an artificial vault resembling a tomb chamber as well as on the greens, thus integrating a natural surrounding into their exhibition concept.³¹

The attitude towards archaeological finds developed, tastes and predilections changed. In the course of the 1830ies pottery wares like bucchero and impasto became more fashionable. The objects exhibited at the Pall Mall in 1837 were sold to English clients. In 1839 the British Museum acquired a lot of bucchero and impasto vases from the Campanari brothers (fig. 6), some of them perhaps from the excavations of the Prince and Princess of Canino³²; it was the first sale of this kind to one of the leading museums, an act that certainly not passed unnoticed by private collectors and may have been repeated by some.³³ The Campanari brothers concentrated their activities on the London market and actually specialized in the trade of bucchero and impasto, which had by then become very popular wares. In other European countries the demand was still high for vases with figured decoration and only slowly turned towards other pottery wares. Alexandrine's sales in France for example proved to become more difficult with regard to the usual black- and red-figure vases, as her agent Charles Paillet wrote to her

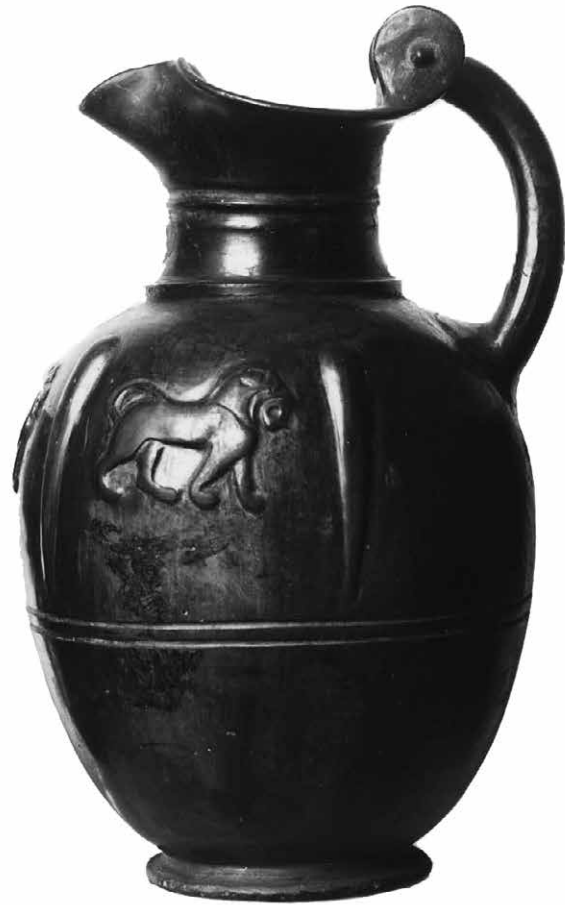


Figure 6. Etruscan bucchero oinochoe. From Vulci (purchased from Campanari in 1839, sale lot 91). London, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Inv. GR 1839,1025.11.

in 1840. He even suggested to take back the remaining black- and red-figure vases from Paris, as he considered it impossible to sell them anymore.³⁴ Also in Italy a change took place. Tomb-groups of the Orientalising period, although already known for several years, started to attract more attention. This was especially the case when the Regolini-Galassi Tomb was discovered at Cerveteri in 1836, and when it was presented to the public in the Vatican museums in 1837.³⁵ Probably it is no coincidence that this happened at the same time when the long lasting debate about the provenance of black- and red-figure vases was finally over. Scholars turned away from these ceramics and concentrated on other subjects. Emil Braun, then the leading figure of the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* in Rome, embarked on the study of the Orientalising

28 Colonna 1978; Colonna in Pallottino (ed.) 1993, 322-339; Colonna in Mandolesi/Naso (ed.) 1999, 37-62.

29 Moroni 1847; Pareti 1847.

30 Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 89-94.

31 Colonna 1978; Colonna in: Pallottino (ed.) 1993, 322-339.

32 Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 95-97.

33 Perkins 2007.

34 Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 97.

35 Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 77-88 (excavation); 89-94 (exhibition); Bubenheimer-Erhart 2012 (objects).

period.³⁶ He immediately wrote about the Regolini-Galassi Tomb³⁷ and even bought the finds from the Isis-Tomb as soon as they were offered for sale.³⁸ In his guide book to the museums of Rome, he later described at length the contents of the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, explaining their special appeal and confessing with regard to the earlier subjects of scholarly attention: 'Darf man es doch selbst Archäologen vom Fach nicht verargen, wenn sie vor einem wissenschaftlichen Publicum das aufrichtige Geständnis ablegen, dass für sie das ewige Einerlei der Vasenbilder etwas Ermüdendes hat.'³⁹ Around the middle of the nineteenth century pottery wares other than black- and red-figure vases had definitely entered the scene. It is just a sad fact that in the absence of detailed decoration and inscriptions, which make an individual piece clearly recognizable, they can hardly ever be identified in the brief passages of the documents. People like Lucien Bonaparte, who was at the forefront of the rapid development in archaeology at the time, appreciated black- and red-figure vases as objects of art, but also (and even more so) as bearers of historical information. The discussion about their origin, their cultural belonging and their role as objects of trade has paved the way for further cultural historical questions, which, of course, applied to the other pottery wares as well.

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36 Bubenheimer, in: Kuhlmann – Schneider (ed.) 2012, s. v. Braun, Emil.

37 Braun 1836.

38 Braun 1844; see also Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 102-122.

39 Braun 1854, 779-780.

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***Without adding any line of drawing* – The restoration of the Canino vases: principles, reality and actors**

Marie-Amélie Bernard

Introduction

The history of the restoration of the Canino vases is highly dichotomized. On the one hand, Lucien Bonaparte published his conceptions on the restoration of Greek vases: he advocated a method focusing on reassembling and gap-filling without any pictorial integration. On the other hand, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find a Canino vase restored following the principles set out by the prince of Canino himself. Furthermore, some buyers and scholars complained about the state of conservation of the vases, saying that they were crudely overpainted. This dichotomy is troubling and, as we cannot find examples of the restorations recommended by the prince of Canino, we could think that his proclamations were ineffective. But, couldn't this also be perceived as a simple way to solve a complex problem? Another manner to approach this puzzle is to study the written and illustrated sources and to survey a number of vases; by confronting these observations we could acquire a more solid point of view, which also allows for posing an additional question: who restored the vases?

Publications

Lucien Bonaparte was clear about his principles and points of view on restoration: he cautioned against the illusionist restoration, which was successfully elaborated in Naples in the beginning of the 19th century.¹ He read Millingen², and like him, he thought that the illusionism practiced in the Neapolitan workshops was a *perfection dangereuse* which could cause a lot of misunderstandings.³ In the *Muséum étrusque de Lucien Bonaparte, prince de Canino*, published in 1829, he clearly characterizes the state of conservation of each vase, with terms such as 'intact', 'complete', 'incomplete'⁴ and he explains:

1 Bourgeois 2004; Bourgeois *et al.* 2004; Bourgeois/Balcar 2007; Chazalon 2010.

2 Hausmann 2004.

3 On Millingen and the *perfection dangereuse*, see Milanese 2010.

4 Bonaparte 1829, 4.

*'Once the origin of the monuments [i.e. vases, M-AB] is established, we must also ensure that the paintings are not in whole or in part restored; otherwise, it would be possible that scholars offer opinions about a painting allegedly three thousand year old, but made, together with its inscriptions, by the paintbrush of a restorer in Rome, Naples or Florence. Writing about Etruscan vases, to engrave them, to reproduce them by drawings too often not exact or made without checking the origin of the vase and its state of restoration would be henceforth an abuse of the public's confidence; and for archaeology to deserve the name of science, it must distrust all that is not proved. [...] But how is it possible to distinguish restorations made with such skill? [...] Many restorers are so skillful that it is not possible to distinguish at first glance antique paintings from modern restorations; the most acute eye can be deceived, and even instruction often facilitates error.'*⁵

Lucien Bonaparte clearly disapproved of the illusionist restoration and he explained which method was more suitable:

*'This precious vase has been found in pieces, within a space of time of several days; fortunately, the figures and inscriptions are whole, with the exception of some chips on an athlete's body; all the pieces have been assembled, so that we can count them all; and this half-restoration without adding any line of drawing seems to us the only method one should employ when dealing with these monuments of antiquity.'*⁶

He used the expression *demi-restauration*, a translation from the Italian *mezzo restauro*. The concept of *mezzo restauro*, developed in Naples and recently studied by Andrea Milanese is very different than the one here explained: it allowed to complete the drawing, but in a visible way.⁷ The prince of Canino used the same words with another significance. In his conception, it is not allowed to complete the drawing at all: the restoration must only be done by reassembling the sherds, gap-filling and without any pictorial integration. And in his point of view, the non-illusionist restoration does not prevent the appreciation of the vase's aesthetic qualities.⁸

This method is attested in an account by the General Consultative Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts,

written after a visit made by the Commission at the end of May 1829 on the Canino excavations:

*'So we entered the warehouse where the Prince of Canino daily stores the objects he has found; they are cleaned, and, if they are broken, they are assembled in both the cheapest and the most archaeological way; indeed, the broken vases are assembled without any addition, filling or new varnish, but only by connecting the pieces with glue. If some loss remains, it is filled with a paste made of broken pieces of insignificant vases, which becomes as hard as the original. While the vases in Naples are probably corrupted by restorations and those in the Vatican Library certainly are, this method does exclude any idea of deception.'*⁹

According to this testimony, some of the Canino vases were really restored in a visible way.

But other sources give us the idea of cups or amphorae badly glued and repainted. In 1841, Friedrich Thiersch, agent of king Ludwig I of Bavaria, bought some Canino vases for the king. On the 4th of December 1841, Leo von Klenze, advisor to the king in matters of classical art, wrote to Johann Martin von Wagner, another agent, the following:

*'These vases are of course very beautiful and memorable, and many are one of a kind, but they are almost all assembled in an incredibly miserable way, with oil paint, shoe cream, and covered with God knows which drawings: it is impossible to exhibit them in this state.'*¹⁰

Another example are the remarks about Canino vases made by Adolf Furtwängler and confirmed by Nicolas Plaoutine:

*'Furtwängler in the Catalogue of the vases in Berlin gives a very good description of Canino vases' mending. [...] The rims of the cracks are not joined closely together, and a wide strip of paint covers the cracks, and hides sometimes areas that have been scraped or filled-in, removing the excess of glue or plaster, and sometimes this strip also hides letters of the inscriptions.'*¹¹

This type of intervention has nothing to do with the ones recommended by the Prince of Canino. So, are the restorations advocated by Lucien Bonaparte just a myth?

5 Bonaparte 1829, 25-26 (translation by the author).

6 Bonaparte 1829, 34. Unfortunately, this vase in Munich (Attic red-figure hydria, Munich, Antikensammlung 2420. Beazley Archive 200172) has not kept this ancient restoration.

7 Milanese 2010.

8 Bonaparte 1829, 75; Bernard 2013, 212-213.

9 Quoted by Bonamici 1980, p. 11 (translation by the author).

10 Letter from Leo von Klenze to Johann Martin von Wagner, 4th December 1841, quoted by Wünsche 1985, p.111 (translation by the author).

11 Plaoutine 1937, 27-28.



Figure 1. Attic red-figure cup,
general view, © M.-A. Bernard,
Musée du Louvre/DAGER, G6.



Figure 2. Attic red-figure cup,
abraded fragment, © M.-A.
Bernard, Musée du Louvre/
DAGER, G6.



Figure 3. Attic red-figure amphora, face B, detail of the restoration : overpainting to cover the cracks, © M.-A. Bernard, Musée du Louvre/DAGER, G 429.

On the contrary: according to engravings and drawings, they did really exist. Among the engravings after Luigi Maria Valadier, published in *Vases étrusques de Lucien Bonaparte, prince de Canino*¹², are representations of vases in a fragmentary state.¹³ On some drawings ordered by E. Gerhard to obtain a reproduction of the archaeological finds from Etruria¹⁴, the incidental lack of drawing allows to think that there was in fact a gap.¹⁵

12 Bonaparte 1830.

13 Attic red-figure cup, Berlin F2264. Beazley Archive 200457.

14 On these drawings called *Gerhard'scher Apparat*, see Kästner 1993; Costantini 1998; Kästner 2002.

15 On some other drawings from the *Gerhard'scher Apparat*, the areas of the restoration are outlined and indicated by the word *mancante* meaning 'missing'; on this drawing there is no outline, no indication of restoration, and this is the reason why I think that the vase was just reassembled and that the losses did not receive any pictorial integration. Cf. Bernard 2015.



Figure 4. Attic red-figure amphora, face B, detail of the restoration : overpainting, © M.-A. Bernard, Musée du Louvre/DAGER, G 429.

Furthermore, some engravings published by Gerhard in *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder* lead us to the same conclusion¹⁶: in this book, when the missing parts in the figures are repainted, the modern area is demarcated by a thin dotted line, but some engravings of Canino vases also show some empty areas, with just a line to suggest the missing parts of the drawing. This is another sign that the losses were probably not repainted.¹⁷

Examination of some vases

According to these sources, the restoration method recommended by Lucien was actually used. Is it possible to find some vases restored in such a 'cheap and archaeological way'? Sometimes Lucien Bonaparte provided more precise information about the restoration of some particular vases:

*'These two cups are very finely-worked, and we had them reassembled by the skillful Roman restorer Mr. Depoletti; with a perfect skill he filled the voids without changing the drawing in any way, so that we can count the fragments of each cup, and see the modern filling at first glance, without any confusion with the antique parts.'*¹⁸

One of these vases is now in the Louvre¹⁹ but it has not such a restoration (figs. 1-2): although it has been partly derestored, we can see that voids were repainted,

16 Gerhard, 1840-1858, pl. CXCIC.

17 Bernard 2016, fig. 4.

18 Bonaparte 1829, 75.

19 Attic red-figure cup, Musée du Louvre, G 6. *ARV*² 72.21 and 1584.3.



Figure 5. Attic black-figure dinos, detail of the neck, © M.-A. Bernard, Munich, Antikensammlung 1734.

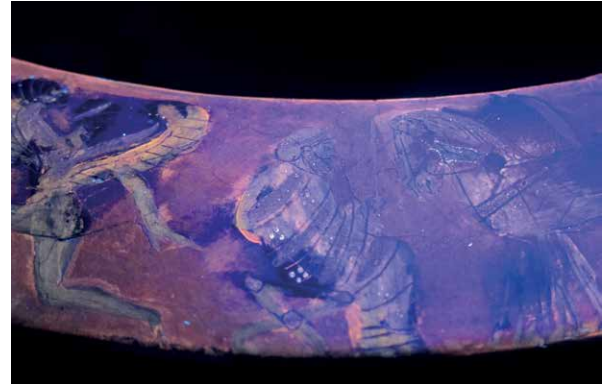


Figure 6. Attic black-figure dinos, detail of the neck under UV light. The orange and yellow area indicate the presence of overpaintings, © M.-A. Bernard, Munich, Antikensammlung 1734.

overpainted in black colour or partly erased; the glueing of the vase is not particularly precise, with gaps between the fragments and glue and plaster inside.

In addition some areas along the cracks have been scraped and sanded down. This is typical of the illusionist restorations: the restorer filed the fragments to have a smooth surface, and then hid the joint with painting. So the de-restoration of the vase has not destroyed an 'archaeological' restoration, but only an illusionist one. The other cup is in the British Museum²⁰: it was made by Euphronios and Epiktetos at the end of the sixth century BC and was also found in Vulci (Doganella) in October 1828. In his description of this cup in the sale catalogue of 1837, Charles Lenormant mentioned 'a modern restoration', which has now disappeared.²¹ However, the cup is in a much better condition: it has also been de-restored, but even in the black varnish, there is absolutely no abrasion of the surface. This makes us suppose that it has been glued originally in a non-illusionist way. A third example is an Attic red-figured amphora by the Barclay Painter found in Vulci (Cavalupo) in the so-called 'Ania tomb', now in the Louvre²² (figs. 3-4). The vase is badly reassembled: there are important gaps between the fragments; at least one of the handles is modern, and the cracks are crudely overpainted. Even if we know that the color of the painting has changed over time, it is obvious that this restoration was not really careful.

My last example will be an Attic black-figure dinos now in Munich: Eduard Gerhard published it and specified that it had been discovered by the prince of Canino. It is in a more homogeneous condition than the two vases in the Louvre and under UV light we can see that it has kept the ancient restorations: it is very restored

and overpainted (figs. 5-6). Of course, this is absolutely not an 'archaeological' restoration as the ones advocated by Lucien Bonaparte.²³

This variety of states of conservation can be surprising; but when we consider the history of the Canino vases, it is actually normal. This history is in fact very intricate and muddled, with a lot of auctions, sales, exhibitions and travels. Some vases were exhibited many times in different cities of Europe.²⁴ The dissemination of the vases, through sales, auctions, donations, and legacies is extremely complex. Furthermore, some vases were sold to dealers and this added a further layer of complexity to their story. For example, the vases just examined have different and not simple histories: the cup in the Louvre was discovered in 1828, sold at auction in 1845, and sold to the Louvre in 1847. The one in the British Museum was also discovered in 1828, and purchased by the museum at the auction of 1837. The amphora of the Louvre, discovered in 1829, was offered many times at auctions in 1843, 1845, 1848, 1849 and finally bought by the Louvre in 1850. And the dinos was first the property of Lucien Bonaparte, then of Francesco Depoletti.²⁵ Later it was bought by the Candelori brothers and finally sold to king Ludwig I of Bavaria.²⁶ Thus, the vases went through many hands in a period spanning more than twenty years. Is it probable that they have been restored only once, and by a single restorer? This is the reason why the identification of the restorers is so important.

23 On another interesting case, see also Bourgeois *et al.* 2001.

24 On this subject, see Bubenheimer-Erhardt 2010, Buranelli 1995, Costantini 1998, Giroux 2002, Nørskov 2006, Nørskov 2009 and Plautine 1937. The remark is based on the research I did with Martine Denoyelle and Négine Mathieux at the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris for the program *Répertoire des ventes d'antiques en France au XIXe siècle*.

25 *Gerhard'scher Apparat* Berlin, XI, 89.

26 Jahn 1854, nr. 781.

20 Attic red-figure cup, British Museum E41. ARV² 58.51 and 1622.

21 De Witte 1837, 67-68.

22 Attic red-figure amphora, Musée du Louvre G 429. ARV² 1068.18.

Who restored the vases ?

The first candidate for the restoration of the vases is the Bonaparte family itself. In his memoirs Pierre Bonaparte, one of the sons of Lucien and Alexandrine, wrote indeed:

*'We found our parents cleaning some beautiful Etruscan vases and cups; since three thousand years, they had been covered by the dust of the centuries, and had their nice paint veiled by a thick layer of fur which vanished due to the contact of brushes soaked in aqua fortis or sulfuric acid. [...] Father Maurice made sure that the bath of aqua fortis would not exceed the quantity needed to remove the fur without damaging the painting.'*²⁷

But Pierre Bonaparte just mentioned cleaning, and he did not say that his parents glued pieces together themselves.

Another candidate for the restoration is Fortunato Antonio Malvestiti (1778-1865), the so-called *Padre Maurizio*, a Franciscan priest and a friend of Lucien and Alexandrine.²⁸ For many years he lived with them, teaching their children and assisting Lucien in his works on astronomy and archaeology. He was really interested in the discoveries in Vulci; he wrote some unpublished texts about the vases, and was probably involved in the organization of the excavations and the publications. In his archive, there is this formula saying: 'To restore the Etruscan vases, three ounces of shellac, and nine of spirit at 21 or 22 degrees, for the yellow, purple and white colors. Four ounces of shellac, and eight of spirit for the black color.'²⁹ Did he restore himself ? At least, he was really interested in the process.³⁰

Another possibility is the restoration by craftsmen employed at Musignano. Dennis, in his book *The Cities and cemeteries of Etruria* mentions twice a restorer employed by the princess of Canino. He speaks of 'A skilful artificer in the employ of the Princess'³¹ and 'An artist in the pay of the Princess'.³² Unfortunately, he says nothing more.

We know more about the collaboration between the Bonapartes and the Roman restorers. We know the names of quite a few restorers of Greek vases in Rome in the 1830's and 1840's: Francesco Capranesi, Francesco DeDominicis, Francesco Depoletti, Gioacchino and Stanislao Morelli, Carlo Ruspi³³, Domenico Campanari

and Giuseppe Montanari, who even signed his restorations.³⁴ Some of them were also dealers, as Capranesi³⁵ and Depoletti. DeDominicis and the Morelli brothers are not yet really known and studied, and I have not been able to find any connections between them and Lucien Bonaparte, neither between Capranesi and Lucien Bonaparte. Due to his tracings of the Tarquinia paintings, Carlo Ruspi is well-known today³⁶; but his work as a restorer is a much more obscure chapter than his work on drawings and paintings. I have not found any proof of a connection between Ruspi and Lucien Bonaparte. Domenico Campanari was a dealer, but also employed as an official restorer by the museum of Berlin³⁷, and Lucien Bonaparte sold to him (or to one of his brothers) some fragmentary vases that he probably restored.³⁸

Francesco Depoletti worked many times for Lucien Bonaparte, who mentions his name frequently in the *Muséum étrusque*.³⁹ Depoletti was born in Rome in 1779, and died in this city in 1854.⁴⁰ In Naples he learnt how to restore Greek vases. His master was probably Aniello Sbani, the restorer of the Jatta collection in Ruvo. In Rome, Depoletti lived near Piazza di Spagna, which was the main area of the antique dealers, a place frequented by all sorts of people interested in antiquity: dealers, archaeologists, scholars and collectors. He knew many members of the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, worked for the *Museo Gregoriano Etrusco* and a lot of European collectors. Depoletti had two sons: one of them, Alessandro, was also a draftsman. He made lots of drawings of the vases that were restored or sold by his father. A lot of vases belonging to Lucien Bonaparte were drawn in Depoletti's workshop.⁴¹ Some of them bear the inscription *Disegno presso Depoletti* meaning 'Drawing made at Depoletti's'. Why were the vases in the workshop? To be drawn? It would have been much easier to draw at Bonaparte's home, than to transport the vases to Rome. To be sold? It is possible, but some of the vases drawn by Alessandro appear at public auctions, which means that Depoletti had not sold them. It is highly possible that all the vases drawn by Alessandro have been restored by Francesco Depoletti. As the drawings often, but not always, show the restoration method of assembling, we can suppose that Depoletti restored in this way not only the cups in the Louvre and in the British Museum, but also many other vases. However,

27 Cited by Picard-Cajan 2007, 41 (translation by the author).

28 Zanardini 2014.

29 Della Fina 2015, 7.

30 F. Bubenheimer-Erhart told me that she saw some documents confirming that *Padre Maurizio* and Lucien Bonaparte made some experiments to find the best way of restoring.

31 Dennis 1907, vol. I, 411.

32 Dennis 1907, vol. I, 432.

33 About Ruspi, Capranesi and Depoletti see Sannibale 2007.

34 Kästner 2002, 137, fig. 8. Montanari restored some vases for E. Gerhard.

35 Brusini 1999.

36 Buranelli 1987.

37 Kästner 2002, 135-136.

38 Hausmann 2004, 34-35. See also Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 96.

39 Bonaparte 1829, 75.

40 Bernard 2008; Bernard 2013.

41 Costantini 1998.

this is only a hypothesis and we cannot imagine that Depoletti restored all the Canino vases...

Furthermore, even if Depoletti restored a lot for Lucien Bonaparte, a question remains about Giuseppe Baseggio. The life of Baseggio is not well known; Alexandrine wrote in a letter that Baseggio was a Jew⁴²; he was certainly living in the ghetto, which explains that his name never appears in the census of the Piazza di Spagna's area, where he kept his shop. For many years, Baseggio worked with Lucien and later with Alexandrine; he bought a lot of Canino vases in the 1840's, even in a totally illegal way, and a lot of vases were also drawn at his shop.⁴³ The questions remain the same: were the vases restored or sold there? Most probably both. Baseggio had a restoration workshop⁴⁴, but it seems that he himself restored only bronzes, not ceramics⁴⁵; he employed for this kind of work a man called Apolloni. In a letter to Eduard Gerhard the archaeologist Emil Braun wrote: 'It is difficult to lay hands on Apolloni. Baseggio employs him for restorations.'⁴⁶ This Apolloni could have been the engraver Quintilio Maria Apolloni, who was born in or around 1810 and died in 1862⁴⁷, or the draftsman G. Apolloni.⁴⁸ Another man who drew also a lot for Baseggio is often referred to as a certain Bellog, but I suggest to read it Belloy: he could be the draftsman Attico Belloy.⁴⁹ I do not know if he was a restorer or not, but his name may be kept in the list of candidates.

Finally, another important issue must be kept in mind: the numerous restorations made after the sales and the auctions, without any link with Lucien Bonaparte and his restoration methods. I just want to mention one example, concerning one of the vases bought by Friedrich Thiersch in Frankfurt in 1841. They were part of the so-called *Réserve Etrusque*: these vases were almost all exquisite and the Bonapartes exhibited them in London in 1838 in order to sell them as a whole. But this project failed, and the vases were exhibited again in Frankfurt in 1841; a part of them was bought by the king of Bavaria. But when they arrived in Munich, von Klenze remarked that they were in an unacceptable state of restoration. In a letter he wrote:

*No restorer in Munich. All must be dismantled, reassembled; the hideous colour, every character and drawing of the defacing restoration must be removed, and all must be reassembled and remade with taste and knowledge of the subject and style. Only in Rome can the solution be found.'*⁵⁰

I don't know precisely the history of the second restoration of these vases, but we know that some of them were restored by our Roman restorer Francesco Depoletti!⁵¹

It is not yet possible to present concrete conclusions about the restorers of the Canino vases. We have certainty about some of them, but not about them all. That is why it seems important to keep in mind these questions: when, where, by whom and at what purpose was the vase restored?

Concerning the first question, only archival documents can help to reconstruct the history. But for the last one, we must keep in mind that in the first half of the nineteenth century, we can distinguish several types of restorations, adapted to the will or to the supposed desires of the clients. We may note that in the beginning of the excavations, Lucien Bonaparte hoped to sell the vases to the Vatican. Even before the visit to Canino in May 1829, the Commission had already seen numerous vases exposed in Rome, which were only glued. After this visit, which took place in January 1829, the members of the Commission decided that the restoration had to be done in a visible way, if the vases were to be bought. Lucien Bonaparte was probably aware of this decision, which could only strengthen him in his convictions on restoration practices. When the Vatican refused to buy the vases, Lucien and Alexandrine sold them, not always legally, to many collectors and merchants who had other points of view, and who appreciated the vases in a less archaeological way: their focus was on esthetics and hence were willing to pay the market value. The difficult articulation between scientific consciousness, economic restraint and market taste explains that in the case of some vases, the voids have been filled in without any care. And when the vases entered in some prestigious collections such as the one in Munich, they were often re-restored, losing any trace of the interventions chosen by Lucien.

As the methodological disparity of the Canino excavations can only be explained by taking into account their chronology⁵², it is impossible to understand the variety of the restorations without identifying their authors, their dates and their contexts.

42 Fleuriot de Langle 1939, 256.

43 Costantini 1998.

44 Fastenrath Vinattieri 2004, 31.

45 Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010, 56-57, and oral communication in Leiden, 27th January 2015.

46 Letter from Emil Braun to Eduard Gerhard, Rome, 26th March 1838. Rome DAINST. Quoted in Costantini 1998, 255 (translation by the author).

47 *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 4, s.v. Apollonj.

48 G. Apolloni drew some vases published in F.-X. de Maximis, *Musei etrusci quod Gregorius XVI Pont. Max. in aedibus Vaticanis constituit...*, Rome, 1842.

49 Gerhard 1843-1897, vol. I, 62, nr. 73. Some of Belloy's drawings were engraved and published in the *Descrizione del Campidoglio*, by Pietro Righetti, published between 1833 and 1837.

50 Letter from Leo von Klenze to Johann Martin von Wagner, 4th December 1841, quoted by Wünsche 1985, 111 (translation by the author).

51 Depoletti restored some vases for the king in the 1830's (see Costantini 1998, 252) and probably also later (see Braun 1854).

52 Bubenheimer-Erhart 2010.

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The Canino Collection: historical restorations on Greek vases in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden

Renske Dooijes and Marianna Düring

Introduction

In 1839 the then director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, Conrad Leemans,¹ acquired an important collection of Greek pottery from the Prince of Canino at a sale in Rotterdam.² After the acquisition of the vases Leemans immediately started making arrangements to transport the collection to the museum.³ Within two weeks the public was able to admire the vases in the museum, as was announced in the *Leydsche Courant* of September the 18th of that year.⁴

In this article we will look at the biography of this collection of ninety-six vases from the moment they arrived in the museum, specifically with regard to their condition and restoration history. This research was part of a large-scale restoration and research project, which focused on the Canino Collection, on the occasion of the renewed Greek Galleries that opened in December 2015.⁵ During this project, the condition of the entire Canino collection was assessed and several objects were restored. This extensive project gave us the opportunity to record important information about historical restoration materials and techniques and to study sources related to the conservation history of these objects. Without this, important information about the history of conservation would be lost during restoration.⁶

The focus of this article will be on those aspects that directly affected the condition of the Canino collection. This includes the transport of objects, the way objects were

1 Conrad Leemans was director from 1835 to 1891.

2 Halbertsma 2003, 149-152; Halbertsma/Van Heel (this volume), Greek vases in The Hague and Leiden: the sale of Canino vases in 1839.

3 In the financial records of the museum receipts are kept for various expenses Leemans made concerning the Canino vases. For instance, an invoice for Fl. 7,95 was kept for the transport of the wooden crates by cargo boat to Leiden (Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden: Financial reports 1839-1859: 1839, 2, inv. 18.1/2)

4 Advertisement *Leydsche Courant*, 18-09-1839: *Delpher* (www.delpher.nl), <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010922038:mpeg21:a0011>.

5 The restoration project was sponsored by the Bank Giro Lottery.

6 Dooijes 2007, 103-112; Dooijes/Düring 2016, 97-111.

exhibited, the types of showcases that were in use, and climatic conditions in the museum building. In addition, archival research has been done concerning old damage reports, condition descriptions or restoration reports. How was the Canino collection handled over time, what ethical and aesthetic decisions prevailed when objects were restored, and to what extent have historical restorations been preserved? Furthermore, technical analyses of historical restoration materials from the time of the Prince of Canino will be discussed.⁷ We will conclude with a description and account of our recent restorations.⁸

Condition and repairs over time: the earliest records

We know that many vases from the Canino collection were already restored in the early 19th century, on the estate of Canino himself in Italy. Contemporary critics of Lucien Bonaparte complained about the crude way in which objects were handled and restored.⁹ They claim that he ordered to throw away undecorated parts of pottery, or to use these sherds to fill gaps in other, incomplete vases. When the king of Bavaria bought part of the Canino collection at an auction in Frankfurt, he had the vases restored again because he thought Bonaparte's restorations were so unsightly that it was impossible to exhibit them in that state.¹⁰ It seems that the vases auctioned in Rotterdam were in a better condition. If the repairs were below the standards of the time, Leemans would have probably used different words to describe the collection (see below).

In his famous publication *Muséum Étrusque* of 1829 Lucien Bonaparte himself discusses the condition of objects that were excavated on his property. In the preface of his book, he explains how he will describe the condition of the vases.¹¹ Bonaparte divided his pieces in three categories. He calls them 'intact' when they just needed cleaning, for which he used the strong acid *aqua forte* (nitric acid). 'Complete' vases were found in fragments but could be re-assembled, whereas from 'incomplete' objects some pieces were missing. Vases that were only superficially damaged did not gain a specific description. Most interestingly, he mentions that many objects were repaired in antiquity, showing remnants of metal staples.¹²

Two cups were found to be of very high quality and were sent to Rome to be restored by the well-known

restorer M. Depoletti.¹³ Bonaparte was full of praise about the way Depoletti restored vases. In particular, the way he completed missing parts without affecting the decoration, thus showing which parts of the vase were original and which parts were newly added. However, as we will see below, this innovative principle was not followed for all objects.

For us today, identifying between restorations by Bonaparte's restorers (Depoletti, or other contemporary specialists) remains problematic.¹⁴ However, the restorations made in this era are very distinctive and can be easily distinguished from later 20th century restorations. Below we will report on our analysis of the materials and techniques for restoration at the time of Lucien Bonaparte.

Arrival in Leiden: traces of auction and transport

When we look at the vases today, we can still see traces that are related to the sale in Rotterdam in 1839 and the subsequent transport to the museum. Inside many Canino vases we find residues of organic materials (straw, hay and wood shavings) that were used as packing material during transport. On many vases a number was written in ink, often on the rim or base of the object. In most cases these are Bonaparte's catalogue numbers and the museum's inventory numbers: *PC* for Prince of Canino followed by a serial number (fig. 1).

In many cases we find the word *caja*, or just a *c* preceding a number (fig. 1). Most probably, these *caja* numbers were crate numbers or lot numbers, originating from the sale in Rotterdam.

Unfortunately, in the handwritten sales catalogue of 1839 these numbers do not appear.¹⁵ However, on Canino vases from the collection in the Museum Meermanno in The Hague¹⁶ we find similar *caja* numbers, which proves that they were added before the arrival of the vases in the two museum collections. In Museum Meermanno in two cases an additional label with the identical *caja* number was kept with the object.¹⁷ One of the labels was a reused piece of paper with a Dutch fragment of text printed on the backside. This shows that the number must have been

7 See also Dooijes/Düring 2016, 97-111.

8 Restoration reports are accessible and can be requested via the conservation department of the National Museum of Antiquities.

9 Nørskov 2002, 91.

10 Bernard (this volume), 'Without adding any line of drawing' – the restoration of the Canino vases: principles, reality and actors.

11 Bonaparte 1829, 4.

12 For example Bonaparte 1829, 78, nr. 570.

13 Bonaparte 1829, 74-75, nr. 560. For more information on his restoration techniques see Bernard (in this volume) and Bernard 2008, 79-84.

14 For more information about these 19th century restorers see Bernard 2008, Bourgeois/Matz 2010.

15 Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, inv. 3.1/10: *Collection de la Princesse de Canino, 1839*.

16 From the collection of Baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt, who acquired vases from Lucien Bonaparte, with whom he was befriended: see Halbertsma 2013, 23-48; Halbertsma/Van Heel (this volume).

17 Personal observation of the authors.



Figure 1. Base of amphora inv. nr. PC 84 with a variety of numbers. National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.

relevant at the time of the sale. At Museum Meermanno these numbers refer to the numbers in the printed catalogue for the second auction in Rotterdam in 1840.¹⁸

Archival records mentioning the condition of the vases upon their arrival in the museum are rare. Leemans himself was in any case very content with the purchase. He remarked that the objects constituted an important acquisition for the museum, because of their 'exquisite state of preservation.'¹⁹ With this remark he seems to refer to the art-historical and iconographical value of the collection rather than to the actual condition of the objects or to the quality of any restorations. Either he did not see the earlier Canino restorations or he deemed them simply irrelevant. Although we have seen that most vases were restored already in Italy, these restorations were mostly ignored in the earliest museum descriptions of the vases that were made over the years.

The first condition reports in the museum archives

The earliest document from the archives that refers to the condition of objects from the Canino collection dates from 1872.²⁰ It includes several lists containing information on 'False or suspected objects from the museum collection', 'Objects not found in 1872', and 'Notes about the condition of objects.' It is not known who made these lists, but it

18 Galestin 1977, 66, 68 and Catalogue Canino 1840, 36.

19 Leemans 1840, 230.

20 Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, inv. 6.4.4/9.

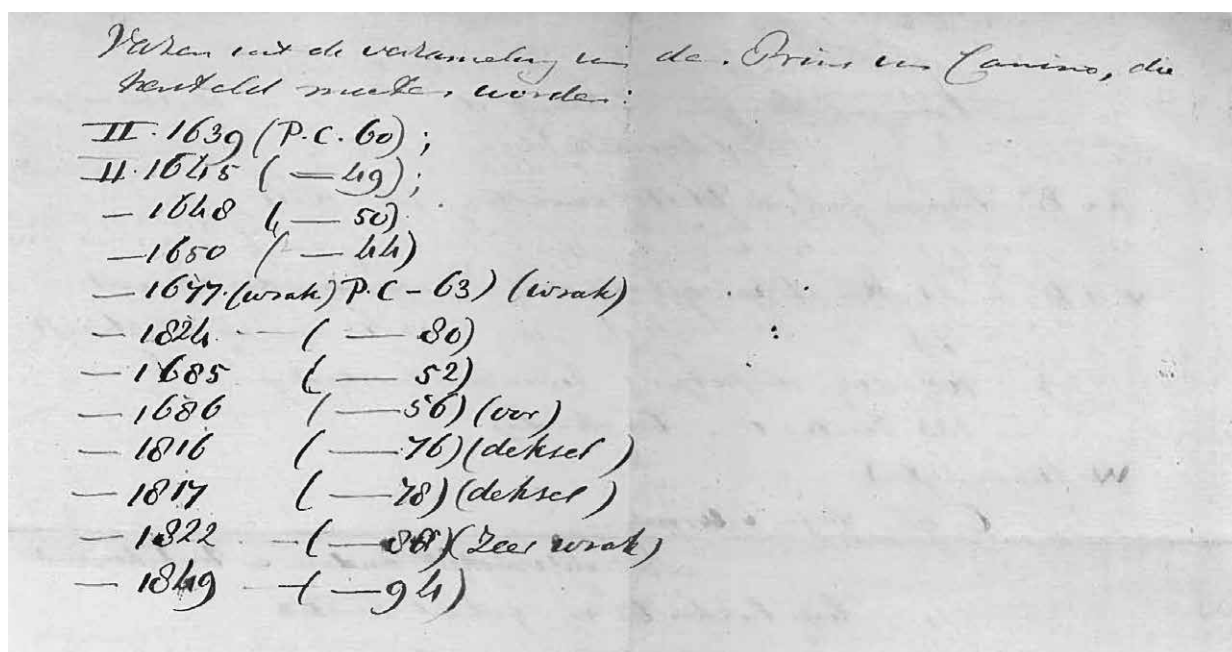


Figure 2. List from 1872 with notes about Canino objects to be restored, inv. 6.4.4/9. National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.



Figure 3. The Antimenos vase (inv. nr. PC 63) with 19th century restorations, earliest known photo from glass negative, prior to 1945 (left) and most recent photo from 2015 (right). National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.

Inventory number (in the same order as the original list)	Notes	Current condition/known conservation history
PC 60	no comment	Recent restoration, no report available
PC 49	no comment	Recent restoration, no report available
PC 50	no comment	Recent restoration, no report available
PC 44	no comment	Old restoration, good condition
PC 63	<i>wrak</i> (meaning weak or in poor condition)	Still in the original Canino condition
PC 80	no comment	Restored by R. Dooijes in 1998
PC 52	no comment	Still in Canino condition but with further, more recent restorations (probably dating to the late 19th century)
PC 56	<i>oor</i> (handle)	Old restoration, unstable (probably dating to the late 19th century)
PC 76	<i>deksel</i> (lid)	Lid was probably repaired in the late 19th century, vase still in Canino condition, recent restoration of vase in 2014-15 (by M. Düring)
PC 78	<i>deksel</i> (lid)	Lid was probably repaired in the late 19th century, recent restoration by M. Top (2014-15)
PC 88	<i>zeer wrak</i> (very weak or in very poor condition)	Old restoration, probably from the late 19th century, still in good condition
PC 94	no comment	Object was still in Canino condition but with extra restorations that can be dated to ca. 1905. Recent restoration in 2014-15 (by M. Düring)

Table 1. English translation of the 1872 list with notes about 'objects to be restored' and their subsequent conservation history.

most probably was Dr. Willem Pleyte, who was curator of the Department of Classical and Dutch Antiquities at the time.

Of great importance for our research is the complementary list with notes about twelve Canino vases that 'had to be restored' (fig. 2, and see table 1 below).

We assume that these objects already were in a bad condition upon their arrival from the sale in Rotterdam, or that they had become damaged by 1872. As far as we can see, some of these objects were indeed restored. We do not know many details about these interventions, because conservation reports were not in use during this period.²¹ However, they can be recognized because in some aspects they are clearly different from the earlier Canino restorations that will be described in detail below. For instance, the physical properties of the adhesives are different, and the repairs were carelessly executed. One object, the famous *Antimenes vase*²² was not treated at all and still has recognizable Canino restorations (fig. 3). An open crack, still present at this moment, may explain why the object figured on the restoration list. Two further objects were

only restored during the 1990s of the last century. Others were first treated more recently in 2014-15.²³

Archival records from the period 1860-1881 show that several carpentry companies regularly performed restoration work on objects.²⁴ Possibly, these firms repaired some of the objects from the 1872 list. Typically for this period, the museum did not employ a specialist restorer, but hired artisans, who were specialized in other handicrafts.²⁵ We also know that Mr. Tiemen Hooiberg, employed by the museum as a lithographer, performed several restorations in this period.²⁶

The twentieth century

For the rest of the 19th century the archive remains silent. Although there are indications of occasional repairs of objects in the annual reports, specific inventory numbers were often not mentioned. Although the first cameras came into use already around 1890, the first glass negatives on which Canino vases are depicted date to the

21 However, there is one exception. As will be discussed below, the restorations that were done to kylix inv. nr. PC 94 can be dated after 1905 through analyses of paint samples.

22 Hydria, inv. nr. PC 63.

23 We know from conservation reports that inv. nrs. PC 60 and PC 80 were treated during the 1990's. Inv. nrs. PC 52, PC 76 and PC 94 were restored in 2014-15.

24 Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, inv. 18.1/3: financial records 1860-1874: 1874; financial records 1875-1881: 1876, 1878, 1880, 1881.

25 Thornton 1998, 5.

26 Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, inv. 18.1/3: financial records 1860-1874.



Fig. 4. Compilation with depictions of amphora PC 85, from 1854 until present (all in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden). A: Litho from Roulez (1854); b: Drawing on inventory card (between 1945-1960); c: Photo from 1963 (from Vos 1983, page 18); d: Photo from 1983 (from Vos 1983, plate 116).

1920's.²⁷ These images give us some information about the condition of these objects at the time. Unfortunately, they are not very clear, but they show no notable changes in the original Canino condition of the vases, except that the restorations had already started to deteriorate at that time

A new system of inventory cards, in use between circa 1945 and 1960, gives detailed descriptions of the vases from the Canino collection. Although here again the emphasis is on the iconographical descriptions of the vases, sometimes the condition of the objects is described. In some cases old restorations are mentioned, such as the white gesso layer covering the joins at the inside of the neck amphora inv. nr. PC 74. In many cases hand-drawn, coloured illustrations are added, with indications of visible damage or repairs (fig. 4b).

Unfortunately, actual information about restorations carried out at the time was normally not recorded. The inventory card for amphora inv. nr. PC 85 is an interesting exception. We are able to follow the conservation history for this vase in some detail. The vase was first published and described in the 1854 publication of vases from the museum by Joseph Roulez (pl. 4a).²⁸ On the inventory card a reference to this book is included, but with the emphatic warning that the coloured drawings

from this book did not display the actual state of the vase, because the many restorations had not been indicated. Interestingly, Roulez himself had doubts about some of the figures that are depicted on the vase and suggested that they were added by a restorer. He comments that Leemans had studied the vase in detail and had reassured him that the restorations were an exact reproduction of the original paintings on the object.²⁹ The vase has been restored for publication in the Leiden series of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (CVA) of 1983. We cannot therefore study the restorations *in situ*, but photos of the vase before restoration are included on which we do see these old repairs³⁰ (fig. 4c), that most likely date to the time of Canino.³¹ In the preface of this CVA, the author Mrs. M.F. Vos mentions the 'admirable work' that was done when the vase was restored. Photos of the newly restored vase are also included, and clearly show the proceedings. Interestingly, we see a remarkable difference in the approach between the two restorations (fig. 4 c and d). Whereas the 19th century restorer left open the badly damaged parts of the black glaze, these were completely overpainted during

27 Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, inv. 16.5/2.

28 Roulez 1854, 53-57 and pl. XIII.

29 Roulez 1854, 53.

30 De Vos 1983, 17-19, plate 116.

31 Unfortunately, we cannot be completely sure that these restorations were from the time of Canino, because a conservation report of the subsequent treatment in the early 1980's is not available.

the more recent restoration, that must have been done just before 1983.³²

We are lucky that in the period between 1967 to 1986 various restoration reports were kept. For our study it is important to know that these are the first extensive accounts about restorations to the collection of the Prince of Canino. According to the reports, inv. nrs. PC 7 and PC 28 were restored in 1978.³³ At that time, both vases were still in the original Canino condition, with recognizable repairs from that time. Typically for this period all historical restorations were removed. Restorers at that time clearly focused on aesthetics and on the stability of the objects. They did not pay much attention to the reversibility of their restorations or to the aging properties of the materials used. This was not unusual at the time, but it may present a problem for future restorations. The materials from this period may prove to be much more difficult to remove than the earlier ones.

The above mentioned Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum is another important source for the Canino collection in this period. In four volumes, published between 1972 and 1991, the author of the series records a short condition report for each object.³⁴ The author gives attention to visible restorations, mentioning for example when a vase 'is broken and repaired' and when 'missing fragments have been replaced in plaster'.³⁵ However incomplete, these descriptions give a reasonable accurate idea of the condition of objects at that specific moment of time. We can compare the current condition of objects with the excellent photos included in the CVA, representing their state at the time. Studying the CVA, we can conclude that both inv. nrs. PC 20 and PC 50 were restored after 1983.

Conservation reports from the period 1986 to 1994 do not contain any information on the Canino collection (although we know through research of the CVA that some vases were treated in this period). However, from 1994 onwards nine Canino vases have been restored.³⁶ These restorations were carried out for the purpose of the new Greek galleries that were opened in 2001. The historic Canino restorations, still present at the time on most of these vases, were removed during conservation. By this time, however, restorers had come to acknowledge the importance of historical repairs, although many important publications on the topic start to appear only

from a somewhat later date.³⁷ Thus, detailed descriptions and photos were made, and samples of old restoration materials were kept. The analyses of these materials were partially published earlier³⁸ and will be discussed more extensively below.

In addition to this information, we can make use of various lists that were kept from the years before the reopening of the Greek galleries in 2001. Notes were made of Canino vases that were to be treated with priority.³⁹ Four objects from this list did receive conservation treatment in the late 1990's.⁴⁰ Three vases were restored during the recent project in 2014-15.⁴¹ No information is available about the remaining vases, but since they are in a stable condition now, without any Canino repairs, they were probably restored sometime during the last decades of the 20th century.

Former exhibitions and their effect on the condition of the Canino collection

During the recent conservation project of 2014-15, salt efflorescence was found on several Canino vases.⁴² Well-known causes for soluble salts are materials often used to build display cases, such as oak, plywood and MDF. Acid vapours evaporating from the wood may well have caused these salts to be formed in the pottery.⁴³ Another well-known cause of salt problems is the use of chemicals, especially acids, for cleaning ceramic objects.⁴⁴ We have seen above that Canino himself used the harmful *aqua forte* to clean pottery. Soluble salts are especially harmful when salt-infected objects are kept in an environment with alternating humidity, because under these circumstances they will alternately dissolve and crystallize, which will cause them to grow.

Archival research of financial records can give information about former exhibitions of the Canino vases and their placement in the museum at the time. Since 1840 the Greek galleries have been refurbished seven times, with the most recent permanent exhibition opening in

32 By restorer Mr. J. Sloos.

33 By restorer Mr. J. Sloos.

34 De Vos 1972; De Vos 1978; De Vos 1983; De Vos 1991.

35 Remarks about inv. nrs. PC 80 and PC 87; CVA Leiden Fasc. 3, 20-21.

36 The following vases were restored: inv. nrs. PC 2; PC 32; PC 33; PC 36; PC 42; PC 47; PC 66; PC 80 and PC 87. These restorations were done by the author, R. Dooijes. We know that during this period inv. nr. PC 8 was restored by Mr. J. Sloos (personal communication R. Dooijes).

37 Thornton 1998; Bentz/Kästner 2007; Dooijes 2007; Bernard 2008; Bourgeois/Matz 2010.

38 Dooijes/Megens 2010, 232; Dooijes/Düring 2016 (in press).

39 Inv. nrs. PC 2; PC 3a; PC 5; PC 30; PC 36; PC 39; PC 47; PC 53; PC 76; PC 84 and PC 90 were to be treated with priority.

40 Three vases were restored by author R. Dooijes (inv. nrs. PC 2; PC 36; PC 47), one by Mrs. T. Novosselova (inv. nr. PC 53, personal communication R. Dooijes).

41 The following vases were restored in 2014-15: inv. nrs. PC 1; PC 5; PC 7; PC 11; PC 25; PC 26; PC 37; PC 48; PC 51; PC 52; PC 57; PC 58; PC 73; PC 76; PC 77; PC 82; PC 83; PC 84; PC 91; PC 93 and PC 94.

42 Dooijes/Düring 2016, 98-99.

43 Thickett/Lee 2004, 3-6.

44 Buys/Oakley 1993, 23-24, 75, 84.



Figure 5. Canino vases on display in 1925. National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.

December 1915.⁴⁵ The annual report of 1841 describes the first exhibition of Canino vases.⁴⁶ Director Leemans wrote that the vases were displayed in a large cabinet in the middle of a room, accessible from all sides. Invoices from the carpenter show that the wood used for cabinets and display cases was mostly pinewood.⁴⁷

In 1840 the museum had moved to a new housing at Breestraat 18, where climate conditions were far from ideal, especially concerning the high humidity with water frequently seeping through the roof.⁴⁸ The conditions improved gradually through the years, with the purchase of the first furnaces in 1877, but moisture remained a problem. Objects were displayed much more accessible to the public than is usual today. In 1905, for example, some Canino vases were displayed on turntables that could be rotated by the public in order to see the objects from all sides.⁴⁹

After the move in 1920 to the current museum building the environmental conditions in the museum improved greatly through the installation of central heating. The renewed Greek galleries opened in 1923. On photographs from that time a group of Canino vases can

be easily recognised (fig. 5).⁵⁰ They are exhibited on a table with a glass surface, with a simple cord around it, but very accessible and open to the public. Display cases were often renovated and re-used and invoices show that pinewood was still the most ordered type of wood to make them.

From the 1950's we see that oak was used more often for display cases, while later (from about the 1970's) modern materials like MDF were used predominantly. These materials contain more acids than the cheaper pinewood that was normally used in the nineteenth century. Since the last decennia materials for display cases are being carefully selected to prevent this problem and exhibition spaces are climate controlled. In conclusion, we cannot be sure what specifically caused the salt efflorescence on the Canino vases, but we can point out various possible origins.⁵¹

The 2014-15 project: re-conservation of the Canino vases

Twenty-two objects from the Canino collection, all with restorations that were either unstable or particularly unsightly, were selected for conservation treatment. Because of their historical value, nineteenth century repairs were documented accurately. Detailed photo-

⁴⁵ The permanent exhibitions were changed in 1839 and 1904 (Breestraat) and in 1923; 1954; 1972; 2001 and 2015 (Rapenburg).

⁴⁶ Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, inv. 4.1/3: Annual reports 1838-1866: 1841.

⁴⁷ Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, inv. 18.1/2: Financial records 1839-1859: 1840.

⁴⁸ See Dooijes/Düring 2016 (in press).

⁴⁹ Archives National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, Annual reports Holwerda: 1905 inv. 4.1/4c; Financial records 1904-1905: 1905, XI. Inv. 18.1/12.

⁵⁰ The objects on the table are, from left to right: PC 91, PC 57, PC 74, I 1905/1.27, PC 41, PC 49, PC 73 and PC 2.

⁵¹ Prof. Dr. Gerhard Eggert (Staatliche Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Stuttgart) provided us with analyses of the crystals. They were identified as $\text{Ca}_2(\text{HCOO})(\text{CH}_3\text{-COO})(\text{NO}_3)_2 \cdot 2 \text{H}_2\text{O}$. At this moment, the salts are being further analysed to find out more about their origin. For his current research on similar salts, see: Eggert (et al.) 2016, 135-145.

Overview of the conservation history of Canino vases in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, from 1839 to present			
Date of conservation	Number of vases	Registration numbers PC	Comments
Period 1839-1950			
Unrestored	34	3, 4, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 35, 38, 40, 43, 45, 49, 54, 55, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 81, 86, 97	Complete, but the objects may have chips, surface damage, or very small restorations.
Objects on restoration list in 1872	10	44, 49, 50, 52, 56, 60, 76 lid, 78 lid, 88, 94	Mostly secondary damage. The secondary restorations are often rough or were not carried out at all.
19th century restorations, probably Canino	23	6, 9, 10, 13, 20, 22, 27, 29, 30, 31, 34, 41, 44, 46, 56, 63, 68, 88, 89, 90, 92, 95, 96	The restorations have degraded over time. They have a lot in common and appear very similar. On several objects a secondary restoration may be present.
Undated secondary conservation			
Canino restorations with undated secondary restorations (1839-2000)	9	6, 20, 22, 29, 31, 34, 44, 56, 88	The restoration differs (in part) from the majority of Canino restorations.
1950-2013			
Recent (1950-2000) restoration undated	6	16, 39, 50, 60, 74, 79	The materials are clearly modern, but the treatment is not documented. 19th century restorations were removed before treatment.
Restored between 1968 and 1983 (documented)	2	7, 28	Two detailed restoration reports are archived. 19th century restorations were removed before treatment.
Restored between 1983 and 1995 (undocumented)	2	85, 75	No documentation available, but date is reconstructed from CVA photographs. 19th century restorations were removed before treatment.
Restored between 1995 and 2004 (undocumented)	2	8, 53	No documentation available. Conservator R. Dooijes remembers their conservation by a colleague. 19th century restorations were removed before treatment.
Restored between 1995 and 2004 By R. Dooijes (documented)	9	2, 32, 33, 36, 42, 47, 66, 80, 87	Restoration reports are available. 19th century restorations were removed before treatment.
Conservation project 2014/15			
Restored in 2014/2015 dismantled	8	37, 5, 52, 77, 84, 91, 93, 94	The 19th century restorations were unstable and were completely removed. Samples were kept.
Restored in 2014/2015 touched up	11	1, 11, 48, 51, 57, 58, 73, 76, 78, 82, 83	The objects were stable. Overfilling and – painting was removed. The 19th century restorations are still present and distinguishable underneath the recent treatment
Other conservation treatment	4	7, 25, 26, 58	No earlier restoration present. For example a small filling was added, or the object was desalinated.

Table 2. Overview of the conservation history of Canino vases in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, from 1839 to present.

graphs were taken of the condition before restoration, the restoration process and for a number of objects X-ray- and UV photographs were made. Samples of removed restoration materials were kept for further analysis.

Not all selected objects were dismantled and restored from scratch. Complete dismantling is hazardous for the object, because of the risk of additional damage to the sherds through the removal of old restoration materials. Furthermore, we considered it important to keep some of

the old restorations as reference and for future research. Therefore, for some objects old restorations were touched up, superfluous fillings were removed and inpainting was improved.⁵² Of course, this was only possible where the condition of the object was stable enough to allow it.

Table 2 shows a resume of the information that we have discussed above. It gives the present condition of the vases from the Canino collection, and summarizes the conservation history for each individual piece.

⁵² This was done for the following objects: inv. nrs. PC 1; PC 11; PC 48; PC 51; PC 57; PC 73; PC 76; PC 82 and PC 83.

Investigating the Canino restorations

Most interestingly, our condition assessment showed that about one third of the objects still appeared to have original Canino restorations from the beginning of the 19th century. By closely examining these old restorations, we found some common features on the Canino vases. They give information about materials and techniques that were used on the Bonaparte estate in Italy, and about standards for restorations that prevailed at the time. Interestingly, the Canino restorations are very distinctive and show strong similarities with regard to their overall appearance and the techniques and materials that were used for the repairs.⁵³

Adhesives

The restorers on the Canino estate generally used animal glue to join the sherds. Objects were quite skillfully mended and after more than 150 years the adhesive is often still quite stable. The adhesive was easily recognisable as an animal glue because of its physical properties, like solubility in water, smell and appearance. We could sometimes distinguish between two types of animal glue on one object.⁵⁴ The glue used by the Canino restorers would swell, and become white and opaque when solved in water while the other glue remained brown or became transparent. This second restoration, probably later in date than the original Canino restorations, was often rougher in appearance with more spilled glue among the joins. It would be interesting to find out more about the different types of glue in the future, but it was not possible to do further analysis in the framework of this research.

Filling and fitting

When there was a problem fitting the sherds together, they were sometimes adjusted by cutting away some material. Misalignments between joins were disguised by applying a filling material over the poorly joined sherds. For more stability, a metal pin was sometimes inserted between two sherds, and a hole was drilled for this purpose. Remnants of ancient repairs such as rivet holes were concealed.⁵⁵ Sometimes, parts from other vases were used to complete missing elements.⁵⁶ These fragments were well chosen: the shape and colour of the alien sherds matches very well with the restored objects.

In collaboration with the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (RCE) in Amsterdam, samples of old restoration materials were analysed. A characteristic conservation technique, found on the inside of most closed

forms, was the application of a plaster layer over the break lines. CG-MS analysis showed that this consisted of a mixture of plaster of Paris (calcium sulphate dihydrate) and animal glue. We assume this was done to give extra support to the joins (fig. 6).⁵⁷

In one case, this mixture had been coloured with ochre pigments.⁵⁸ Larger gaps were filled with plaster of Paris. In some cases the plaster was mixed with other components, like sawdust, pigments, or animal glue.⁵⁹ Interestingly, on one vase we found a filling material that appeared to consist of plaster of Paris mixed with ground potsherds. This was later confirmed through analyses with an energy dispersive X-ray spectrometer (EDX) coupled to a Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) at the RCE. In correspondence from the time of Canino, this conservation technique is actually mentioned.⁶⁰

Retouching

After 150 years, the 19th century restorations have naturally deteriorated and paints used for retouching have darkened (fig. 3). There is often overfilling and overpainting of the original surface. Samples of paint were analysed at the RCE using X-ray fluorescence (XRF) for pigment analysis and GC-MS for determining the binder medium. The results were somewhat surprising. The painting medium that was used by the Canino restorers turned out to be oil, and not shellac as we had assumed before.⁶¹ Furthermore the results showed that various materials were used as a binder, such as drying oil, pine resin, starch, essential oil and drying oil with modern components. On many vases we found traces of beeswax, probably applied to give the object a glossy finish.

On kylix PC 94, at least two different oil paints were detected: a traditional oil based paint and an oil paint with additional modern components to improve the properties.⁶² Interesting is the presence of the drying oil with modern components in combination with the use of a pigment called 'Red 3' (Toluidine Red). This pigment has been in use from 1905 onwards.⁶³ Although the appearance of this repair did not differ from other Canino restorations, this shows us that the object must have been restored again during the 20th century. Interestingly, this kylix is indeed part of a list from 1872, mentioning objects that had to be repaired (see above). Apparently in this case the restoration was postponed more than 30 years.

53 Dooijes 2007, 108.

54 This was found on the following objects: inv. nrs. PC 5, PC 51 and PC 52.

55 Dooijes/Düring 2016, 102-105.

56 Inv. nrs. PC 1, PC 42 and PC 94: Dooijes/Düring 2016, 102-105.

57 Dooijes 2007, 106.

58 We have seen this with inv. nr. PC 5

59 Dooijes/Megens 2010, 232.

60 Bernard (this volume).

61 Dooijes 2007, 108.

62 Often part of commercially produced products from about 1950 onwards (personal communication Mr. Henk van Keulen, RCE).

63 De Keijzer 1999, 369-374.



Figure 6. Amphora inv. nr. PC 84 during restoration. The plaster lining on the inside is clearly visible. National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.

On many objects, especially the red paint medium proved to be much more difficult to dissolve than the black paint. We can't explain this conclusively, but one possible reason is that due to its less absorbing characteristics, the oil in the red paint has been able to crosslink and has become less soluble because of that.⁶⁴

Preliminary results of SEM analyses of pigments show that the components of similar colours differ between objects. This could mean that they were mixed especially for each separate object, to match better with the surrounding surface colour.

Conclusion

With this paper we highlight the potential of a biographical approach in the study of museum objects. By exploring different aspects of the vases by a combination of archival research and study of material-technical aspects of historical restoration materials, we may begin to understand changing meaning and value of the objects over time. As well, we see how the approach of these restorations evolved. It is remarkable that we can recognize a common thread concerning the value that is given to the 'authenticity' of the vases. We also observe the different ways in which restorers put this ideal in practice. Furthermore, gaining more insight and knowledge of conservation materials and techniques from the past enables us to make better founded decisions for conservation treatments today.

⁶⁴ Personal communication Mr. Henk van Keulen, RCE.

The biographies of a large number of vases from the Canino collection in the National Museum of Antiquities allows us to draw some interesting conclusions. Firstly, it is interesting to see that, after the original Canino repairs, a large part of the collection was not restored again until late in the 20th century. As figure 2 shows, quite a few vases were still in this condition at the start of the recent restoration project of 2014-15, almost 175 years after their arrival in the museum. Apparently, the condition of the vases was not found to be very alarming, and the discoloured appearance of the old repairs was not so disturbing that restoration was considered necessary. However, there is another, perhaps more obvious reason. Through time (and even now) we see a persistent emphasis on the art historical and iconographic value of the collection. We saw this already before, when director Leemans praised the quality of the Canino pieces, but said nothing about rather obvious restorations. What mattered most for him was that the vases were 'complete' and had their 'original appearance', whether this was accomplished by an artificial layer of paint or not.

Also over the decades thereafter, descriptions mostly ignored the early 19th century restorations. As an exception we have the list from 1872, but we can safely assume that the objects mentioned here, had become damaged, which gave reason for their treatment. During these treatments, already existing restorations remained intact, and repairs were only done locally. We should also keep in mind that in the earliest days of the museum no specialist restorers were available to handle complex restorations.

Unfortunately, almost no documentation is available about the early restorations that were carried out in the museum and it would take long before this practice became customary. When they do appear, we read that the focus between the 1960s and the 1990s was on the removal of old and ugly restorations, and on the restoration of the vases to their 'original appearance', by repainting missing parts of the decoration. This approach demonstrates a strong continuity with the practices in the Canino period. However, one difference with restorations of that time is that the original surface of the object was generally left alone, whereas in the 19th century the surface was regularly overpainted. We have seen an interesting exception to this rule with the previously discussed amphora inv. nr. PC 85 (pl. 4).

Our aim today is to be more cautious and not to repaint missing decoration if we cannot determine the original appearance. Although we try to match the colour of the retouches as well as we can to the surrounding surface, we do not aim to make restorations invisible. Predominantly, reversible materials are being used and details of the restoration process are kept with the files of the object.

Of more importance for our study, however, is the fact that until relatively recent years old restorations were not considered to be of historical interest. They were just removed and not recorded in any way. Rendering a vase to its original state was more important than keeping the history of the restoration. Now that there is more attention to this aspect of the vases, we see how unfortunate this is. The analyses of materials from the 19th century Canino restorations, carried out in the context of the 2014-15 restoration project, have already given interesting information. Unfortunately, it was not possible to do analyses on a larger scale, but since we still have a promising number of samples, more research can be done in the future. Combining these studies with archival research we can still add to the biography of the Canino collection and to the history of the restoration profession.

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Restorations on the Canino vases of the State Hermitage Museum

Anastasia Bukina

Introduction

More than one hundred of the Canino vases came to Russia in the years between 1830 and 1850 and became part of the Imperial Hermitage collection via different owners and dealers.¹ Ninety eight of them were acquired from the collection of Dr. Giuseppe Antonio Pizzati.² This collection was purchased by Czar Nicolas the 1st for the Gallery of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg in 1834; in 1851 it was transferred to the Hermitage, where most of the Pizzati vases can now be found.³ A half dozen more Canino vases, recently identified as having belonged to other collections, entered the Hermitage Museum in the second half of the 19th and the first third of the 20th centuries.⁴

Many of the Canino vases had been restored before they arrived at the museum. Pieces possessed by Pizzati seem to have been bought in Rome no later than early 1833.⁵ In that year probably all of them were transported to Naples, where Pizzati obtained an export license for the whole collection.⁶ Pizzati's collection arrived in Russia in the summer of 1833. So we can presume that Canino vases from this collection underwent restoration between the years 1828 and 1832 (or early 1833).

Tracing restorations

We can record and study the early restorations of the Canino vases in the Hermitage museum in different ways. Often the old restorations are visible. If it is impossible to trace them by sight specialized support is possible from the scientific experts at the

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- 1 See in this volume: Petrakova, A.: Canino vases in the State Hermitage Museum: the history of purchasing.
 - 2 See Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013.
 - 3 Some of Pizzati's vases have been transferred to other institutions, or sold during next 150 years. See Bukina/ Petrakova/Phillips 2013.
 - 4 See also Petrakova/Kalinina 2016.
 - 5 Cf. *Bulletino dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica per l'anno 1835* (1835), 195: 'Il museo di Pietroburgo fu arricchito della raccolta di vasi dipinti già formata dal sig. dott. Pizzati in Napoli ed in Roma.'
 - 6 Milanese 2014, 150-152, 155-157 with further references.

Department for Scientific and Technical Examination and the Hermitage conservators.⁷ Moreover, the archive of glass negatives shows the vases in their condition of the early 20th century, which allows us to trace old and not preserved restorations. The archives also contain written documents, which are preserved in the Department of Manuscripts. Among them there is a catalogue of the Pizzati collection⁸ written by the famous art dealer and restorer of the period Raffaele Gargiulo.⁹ In Naples Gargiulo had a look at all the Pizzati vases, and in his catalogue he commented on the restorations. His opinion is often helpful to better understand the above mentioned data, which relate to the methods and scopes of the restorers who dealt with the vases under consideration.

In addition to Gargiulo's comments we should mention the results of modern derestorations performed in the Hermitage workshops between ca. 1960-2000. Sometimes derestored Canino vases betray their *pasticcio* nature. For example one Attic drinking cup¹⁰ was assembled from sherds of three different black-figure eye-cups, one red-figure cup and a lot of new terracotta fills. Red-figure fragments and fills were covered with plaster and painted. An old photo of this piece shows a carefully restored cup, as complete in appearance as possible. Among the means used by the restorer there are hidden joints, covering repaints of black-glazed parts and carefully hidden borders of repainted areas over figured parts of vase. In the catalogue of the Pizzati collection Gargiulo says this cup 'has been restored'.¹¹ It is clear that he meant the *restauro completo*, the illusionist restoration of painted vases that reached the highest perfection in Naples of the early 19th century.¹²

Techniques

Most of the restored Canino vases in the Hermitage collection demonstrate variations of the same technique. Some of them have been assembled from sherds, thin pottery slivers and modern ceramic fills inserted into a solid plaster layer. Reconstructions of this kind are normally covered with a thin plaster coating and repainted. Some other vases

preserve their complete ceramic body, but the damaged areas of the surface are *completely* restored; the decoration can even include new figures. The black-figure Tyrrhenian amphora with a modern figure of a running Gorgo¹³ is an example. The Gorgo is the work of the restorer, and this is evident from the style of the drawing and the visible luminescence under UV-light. Tests of binder and pigments from the repaints on this amphora are indicative; these are typical for the vast majority of vases with 19th century restorations that have been examined in the Hermitage laboratory. We can trace resin-based (most likely shellac) and lead-based paints, like white lead and minium (red lead). Normally we have also ochre, vermillion as well as bone black.¹⁴

Complete restoration of black-figure vases often resulted in new incisions and added colours over the whole vase surface. A number of small black-figure pieces from the Pizzati collection (like kyathoi, mastoi etc.) show large covering repaints. These pieces are retouched with applied red and white, and re-incised both over the repainted areas and the original parts. Sometimes retouching looks like improvement because of the abundance of additional lines and coloured details. The fact of restoration of these vases is sporadically recorded by Gargiulo in the catalogue with an indifferent 'restored'.

Ludi Chazalon has recently studied Gargiulo's personal attitude towards the restoration of black-figure vases.¹⁵ She noted that the restorers of Gargiulo's atelier intervened in the black-figure pieces much more than they would admit. Also it seems that the just mentioned modest pieces had been so drastically improved because they looked too poor for Gargiulo, who principally dealt with the ornate South Italian vases.

Gargiulo and his assistant Domenico Fortunato sometimes tried to embellish the black-figure vases according to the red-figure models. Gargiulo was the colorist, says Chazalon¹⁶; so his taste for restorations of the black-figure pieces required new colours (red, white and even yellow) and more elegant incisions, and we can see both these tricks on the Canino vases from the Pizzati collection. However in the case of Pizzati's small black-figure cups the same kind of restoration is possibly performed by a different restorer (or restorers), who seems to be less skilled or less talented in drawing than Gargiulo and Fortunato were. So it emerges that we are dealing with a typical Italian attitude to embellish black-figure vases and

7 I would like to express my gratitude to Kamilla Kalinina, Ksenia Chugunova, Sergey Khavrin and Irina Grigorieva of the Hermitage's Department for Scientific and Technical Examination, and to Anna Pozdnyak, Natalia Borisova, Olga Shuvalova, Kristina Lavinskaya and Tatyana Shlykova of the Hermitage's Laboratory for Scientific Restoration of Applied Art Objects.

8 Gargiulo, 1833 (?).

9 See for more information about him: Milanese 2007a and Milanese 2007b.

10 *CVA Hermitage* 3, pls. 45 – 47 (present state after de-restoration; erratum: not Campana, but Pizzati. See Bukina/ Petrakova/ Phillips 2013.

11 Gargiulo, 1833 (?), 406 : 'Ristaurato'.

12 Milanese 2010, 19.

13 Beazley 1956, 105, no. 3; Gorbunova 1983, cat. 7; Carpenter/ Mannack/Mendonça 1989, 28, no. 105.3; erratum: not Campana, but Pizzati, see Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013.

14 See: Bukina/Chugunova 2013; cf. Gargiulo, 1833 (?), I. 49: 'Sarebbe assai interessante; ma e molto danneggiato dal tempo, e corroso'.

15 Chazalon 2010.

16 Chazalon 2010, 35ff.



Figure 1. Detail of the restored Athenian black-figure amphora, the State Hermitage Museum, inv. B164. Photo in the archive of the Department of the Classical world. © The State Hermitage Museum.

with less skilled subcontractors, who were involved in the restoration of the numerous pieces intended to be sold as a part of the collection finally acquired by the Russian Czar. We have no data to establish who these restorers were, but it is possible that the idea of embellishing the new and strange archaic black-figure vases could be simply in the air with the Italian vase-restorers of the period.

This peculiarity of the early perception of Athenian black-figure could also explain the reason why female figures were provided with more elegant neo-classical faces and hands.¹⁷ On a Canino amphora from the Pizzati collection¹⁸ (fig. 1) both the beautiful faces and the hands are part of the massive repaint on the plaster ground that covers about one half of the body on one side of the vase.

The quality of re-painting and the common appearance of the vase are fine, and the piece seems to be a good example of the 'complete restoration'. The restoration of the amphora is not commented on in the catalogue by Gargiulo, however more remarkable are several cases of the carefully restored vases¹⁹ attested by him as *intiero*, which should mean 'intact' or 'complete'. Indeed normally *intiero* is related to the really intact vases, among which there are several Canino pieces.²⁰ It looks like that for Gargiulo completely restored vases acquired, so to speak, the artistic and commercial properties of the undamaged ones. Or (even more possible) he intended to persuade the future client to believe that.

17 Chazalon 2010, 34-35.

18 Gargiulo 1833 (?), I. 843; Gorbunova 1983, cat. 88.

19 Cf. restored Canino vases described as 'intiero': Gargiulo 1833 (?), 419 (= Beazley, 1956, 295, no. 2; Gorbunova 1983, cat. 57; Carpenter/Mannack/Mendonça 1989, 77, no. 295.2); Gargiulo 1833 (?), I. 52 (= Gorbunova 1983, cat. 144).

20 Cf. complete Canino vases described as 'intiero': Gargiulo 1833 (?), 83 (= Stephani 1869, no. 106); Gargiulo 1833 (?), 423 (= Gorbunova 1983, cat. 14; Carpenter/Mannack/Mendonça 1989, 78, no. 297.3bis); Gargiulo 1833 (?), 431 (= Beazley 1956, 362, no. 31; Gorbunova 1983, cat. 82; Carpenter/Mannack/Mendonça 1989, 96, no. 362.31); Gargiulo, 1833 (?), 422 (= Gorbunova 1983, cat. 51); Gargiulo, 1833 (?), 424 (= Gorbunova 1983, cat. 167); Gargiulo, 1833 (?), 35 (= Stephani 1869, Nr 136); Gargiulo, 1833 (?), 77 (= Stephani 1869, Nr 253). For the identification of the pieces as Canino vases from the Pizzati collection see Bukina/Petrakova/Phillips 2013.



Figure 2. Detail of a restored Athenian black-figure hydria, the State Hermitage Museum, inv. B171. Photo in the archive of the Department of the Classical world. © The State Hermitage Museum.

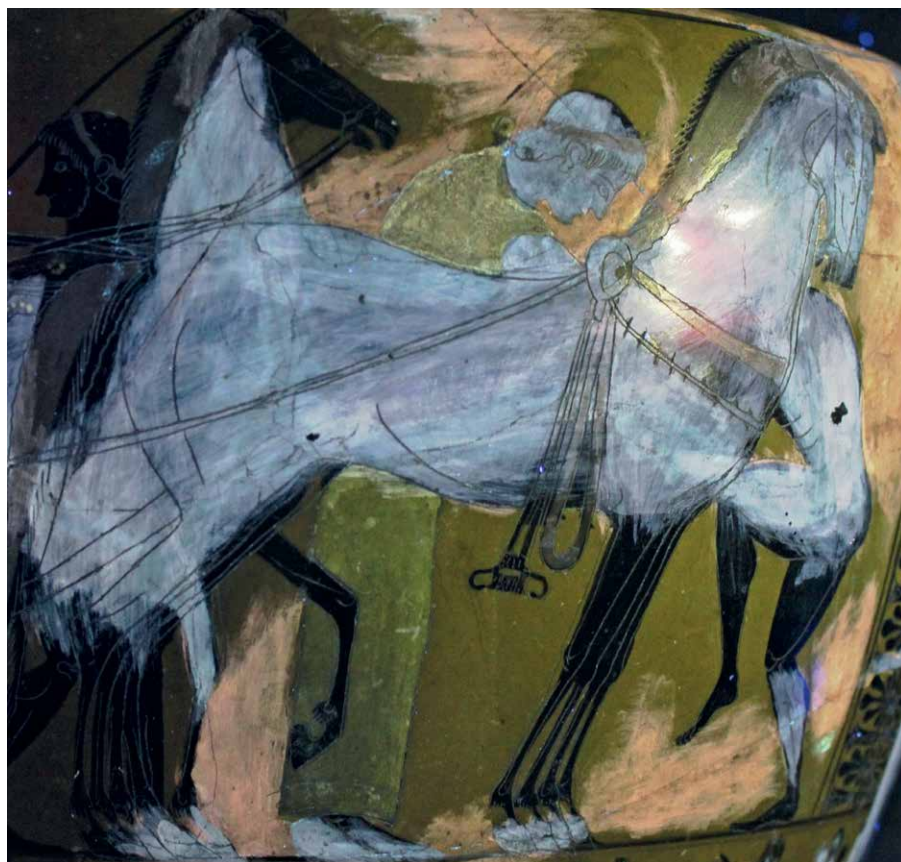
Case studies

Several Canino vases in the Hermitage are really convincing in this aspect because of the originality of the work by the restorers. One large Athenian black-figure hydria²¹ was slightly restored as attested by Gargiulo (fig. 2).

The well preserved genuine painting in general is free of repaints. Neither the damaged colours were restored nor was the painting as a whole embellished with any additional elements. Repaints were mainly situated on the secondary areas and along the hidden joints. On several parts of the figural decoration the broader joints were filled with undetected white material; the precisely stylized new incisions never crossed the

21 Gargiulo 1833 (?), I. 58 (= Gorbunova 1983, cat. 41; Carpenter/Mannack/Mendonça 1989, 69, no. 264.2).

Figure 3. Detail of a restored Athenian black-figure hydria, the State Hermitage Museum, inv. B170. Visible luminescence under UV-lights. © The State Hermitage Museum.



boundaries of these in-fills and did not damaged the genuine parts of the vase. Fine work by an anonymous draughtsman is now lost, possibly because of the fragile technique, but the glass negative of the early 20th century gives us an idea of high mastery of the restorer. This man was inclined not to embellish the piece, but to reproduce the style of his Athenian forerunner very honestly.

Another way to preserve the authenticity that we find on another Canino black-figure hydria²² is technically original. The common attitude is most typical of the period; there are massive repaints with plaster ground on the black-glazed secondary parts and along hidden joints. However after that the restorer cleaned the original incisions with a sharp tool providing the restored vase with an absolutely authentic look (fig. 3).

The restoration of this Hermitage object is the work by a restorer, who is absolutely unknown to us and made in unknown circumstances. On the other hand we do know that another piece is retouched by somebody who worked for the renowned Roman antiquarian and restorer Francesco Depoletti. This is the case with a Canino Athenian black-figure amphora.²³ In this case we can trace the tendency to repaint the genuine preserved surface as little as possible, even though the restorer was unable to stylize the lines of new incisions as fine as on the above mentioned one. He was not equal to the Athenian vase-painters at all (fig. 4).

22 Gargiulo 1833 (?), I. 220 : 'Un poco ristaurato' (= Gorbunova 1983, cat. 42).

23 Gorbunova 1983, cat. 39 (erratum: not Campana, but Pizzati); Gargiulo 1833 (?), I. 221: 'Lancella ... vecchi fauni ... in attitudine di cogliere le uve... Vaso molto interessante pel soggetto della parte primi pale, e forse unico in questo genere. È un poco ristaurato.'



Figure 4. Detail of a restored Athenian black-figure amphora, the State Hermitage Museum, inv. B1499. Photo in the archive of the Department of the Classical world. © The State Hermitage Museum.

Another name related to the restored Canino vases in the Hermitage is the *Società Candelori*, mentioned by Eduard Gerhard. It concerns Panathenaic amphora²⁴ that bears the standard complete restoration of the period.

Also there is a restored Canino red-figure hydria-calpis from the antiques shop Rosi in Rome. At first sight the restorers' attitude is the same as on the previous one: the same modest repaints along the hidden joints. The vase is restored from fragments with very small plaster in-fills; only these in-fills and joints are repainted, and the entire surface of the vase is covered with solid varnish layer. However Gargiulo declares the method as *mezzo restauro*, that is the 'medium restoration'. This concept was important for Gargiulo.²⁵ Gargiulo's *mezzo restauro* did not exclude reconstructing painting (although not quite detailed) of the missing parts, and neither the use of colours in accordance to the ancient ones. The peculiarity was rather in the fact that the supplements were left somewhat rough, with surfaces not completely finished and polished, and some even unpainted. However on the hydria-calpis in the Hermitage we can observe that

the secondary patterns and the outlines of draperies are restored.

Possibly also closely related to the model of *mezzo restauro* is the restoration of the Athenian red-figure amphora that came to the Hermitage museum via the collection of Count Gourieff. It belonged to the earliest collection of the Prince of Canino.²⁶ This piece is probably one of the earliest restorations on a vase by Euphronios which we know of. This was one of the earliest excavated pieces attributed to this painter. It was transported to Russia in the early 1840s and most was most probably never de-restored after that moment. The vase demonstrates the same technique as above: repainted joints and small in-fills but with carefully restored outlines.

Even more indicative for the *mezzo restauro* seems to be the practice of adding new fragments, which are clearly visible. Gargiulo believed that such new pieces added by *medium restoration* should be distinguishable from the ancient ones.²⁷ Old photos of a large Athenian black-figure drinking cup²⁸ from the Pizzati collection demonstrate that it was, as attested by Gargiulo, 'broken

24 Inv. B4262; see in this volume: Petrakova, A.: Canino vases in the State Hermitage Museum: the history of purchasing.

25 Milanese 2007b, 90-94.

26 Inv. B2351; see in this volume: Petrakova, A.: Canino vases in the State Hermitage Museum: the history of purchasing.

27 Milanese 2007b, 95.

28 Now de-restored: *CVA Hermitage* 3, pl. 48-9.



Figures 5 a-b. Details of restoration of the Athenian black-figure drinking cup, the State Hermitage Museum, inv. B110: a – exterior; b – interior. Photo in the archive of the Department of the Classical world. © The State Hermitage Museum.

and the visible restoration was made so not to alter it.²⁹ Indeed the joints between the fragments are filled with plaster and painted red and black, but the surface is not completely finished and polished; there were also painted clay fills. The incompleteness of the restored painting is most obvious in the tondo inside of the cup (fig. 5b); there is a simple black silhouette against a red background without any inner outlines. There were no new incisions on this cup, but in one place the restorer tried to reconstruct the outlines with white painted lines instead of incisions (fig. 5a).

It is virtually impossible to analyze stylistically the restoration work on the vases, in order to identify specific artists who restored Canino vases in Rome, or possibly in Naples in the 1830s. We can only mention the names of two experts in the field who worked on our Canino vases. They were Raffaele Gargiulo and Francesco Depoletti. Perhaps they were involved in the actual restoration work, but we have no evidence to confirm this assumption. Gargiulo's contribution to our understanding the restoration of Greek vases at the time is obvious. And also we can note that the restorers of the period have developed these methods, as the Canino excavations had set new challenges, first of all concerning Attic vases. The analysis of the Hermitage collection of Canino vases allows us to trace it.

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29 Gargiulo 1833 (?), I. 60.

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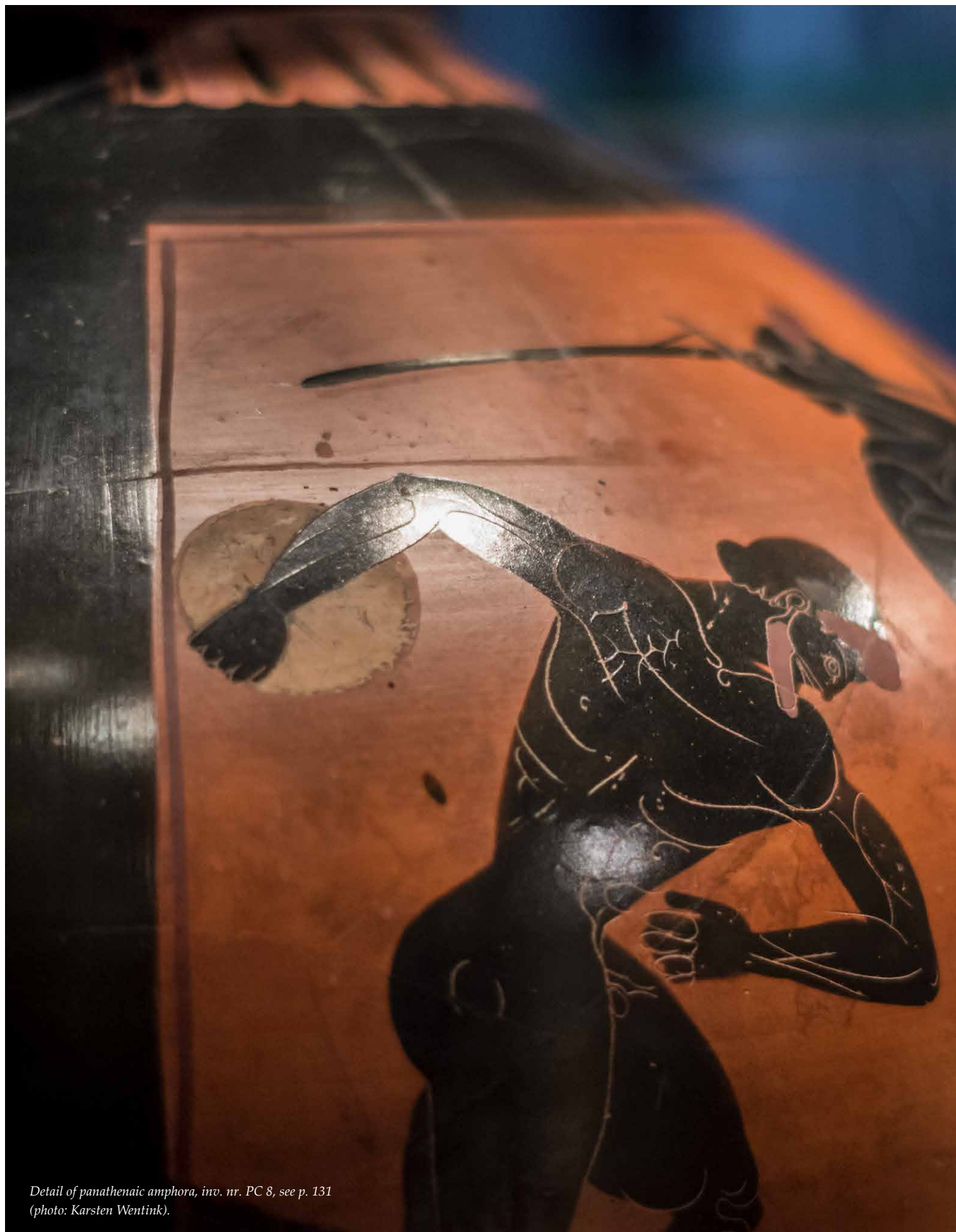
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*Detail of panathenaic amphora, inv. nr. PC 8, see p. 131
(photo: Karsten Wentink).*



Catalogue

This catalogue presents a selection of the 96 Canino vases bought in 1839 by King Willem I for the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (see the article by Halbertsma/Van Heel, this volume, pp. 53-70). The vases serve as an illustration of the variety of techniques, forms and depictions generally found in the collections from Vulci. Each entry will refer to the 1839 catalogue, which accompanied the sale in Rotterdam.



Black figure hydria

Shoulder panel with quadriga, Scythian archer, seated old man and a woman. On the central panel Poseidon, Apollo, Hermes and two goddesses (Artemis and Leto?). Painter of London B 343, ca. 510 BC. Inv. nr. PC 1, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 767 ('Les cinq divinités'), see this publication, p. 67, note 94.



Panathenaic amphora

Depiction of Athena Promachos between columns with cockerels. Kleophrades Painter, ca. 490 BC. Inv. nr. PC 6, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 526 ('Minerve. Les deux pugilateurs'), see this publication, p. 66, note 64.



Panathenaic amphora

*Depiction of young horsemen and a referee.
Near the Painter of Berlin 1833, ca. 500 BC.
Inv. nr. PC 7, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr.
545 ('Minerve. Les deux cavaliers'), see this
publication, p. 66, note 62.*



Panathenaic amphora (detail)

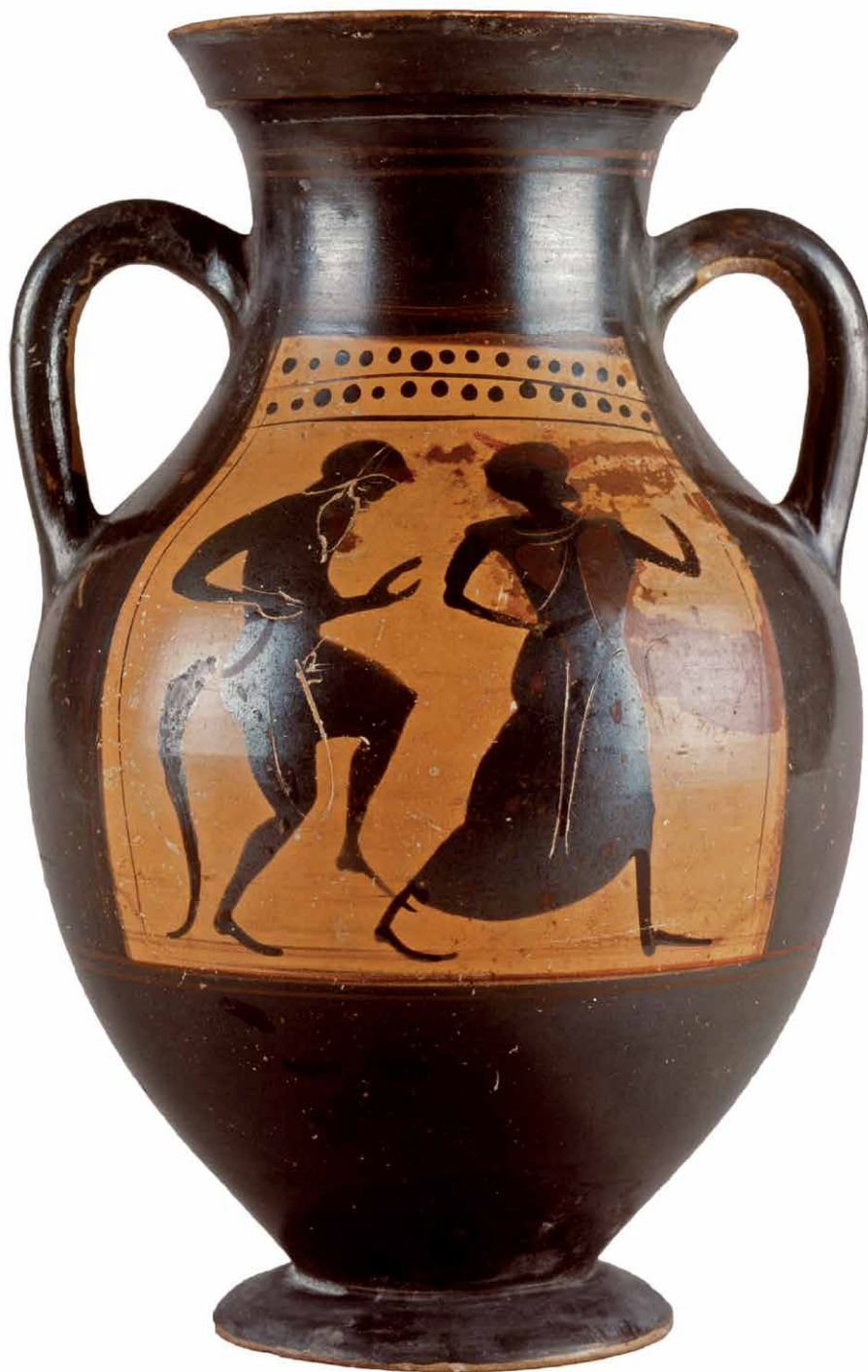
Sport scenes from the Pentathlon: discus throwing, javelin throwing, long jump, and an attendant with spears. Euphiletos Painter, ca. 530 BC. Inv. nr. PC 8, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 1946 ('Minerve. Les quatre athletes'), see this publication, p. 66, note 66.



Pseudo panathenaic amphora

Athena Promachos between columns with cockerels. Dot-ivy Group, 520-510 BC. Inv. nr. PC 9, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 1575 ('La petite Minerve. Faune & Bacchante'), see this publication, p. 67, note 96.

Right page: Reverse, satyr pursuing a maenad.





Black figure neck amphora

Dionysus drinking under a pergola, being attended by a satyr with an oinochoe. Group of Würzburg 199, ca. 520 BC. Inv. nr. PC 11, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 2058 ('Bacchus assis. Bacchante [sic] et faunes'), see this publication, p. 67, note 95.

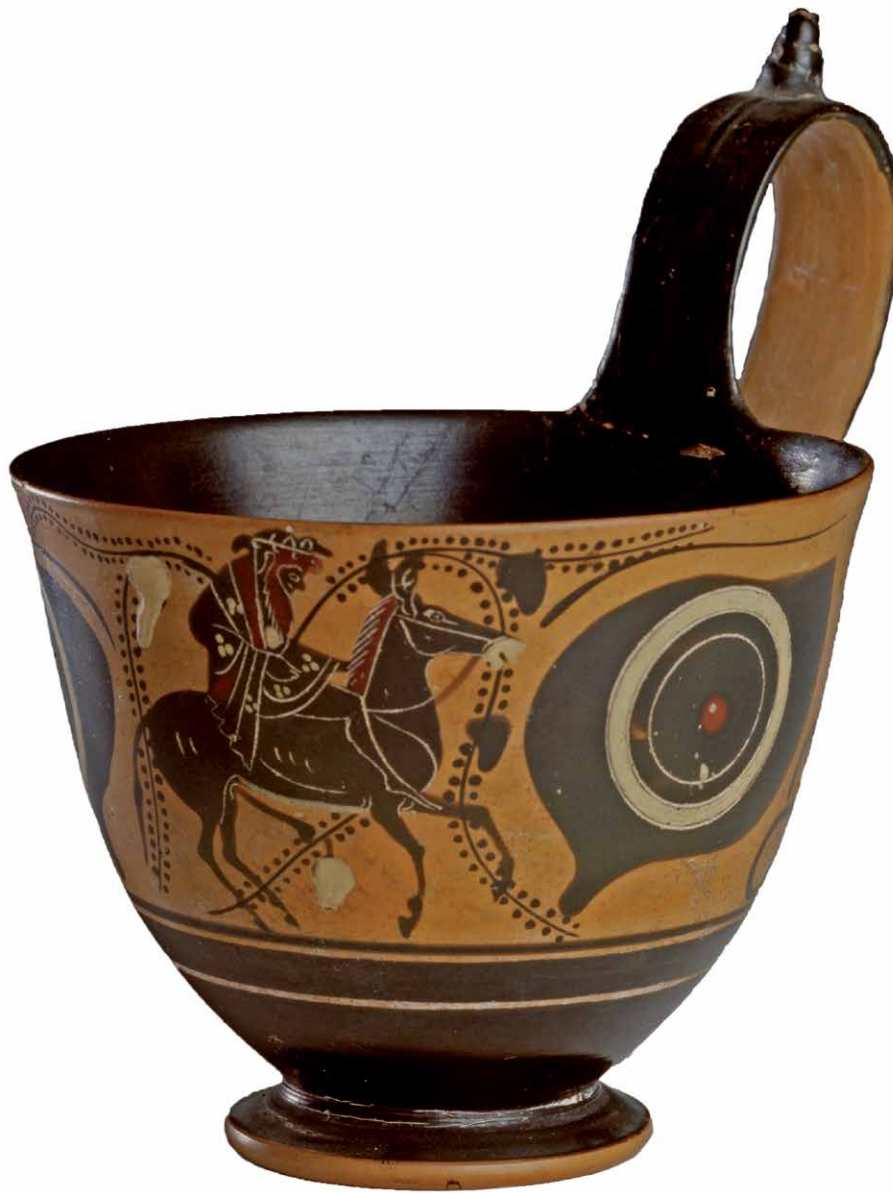
Right page: Reverse, three satyrs carrying an oinochoe, flutes and an askos.





Black figure eye-cup

Seated Dionysus amidst satyrs, dolphins and eyes. Related to the Leafless Group, 510-500 BC. Inv. nr. PC 14, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 651 ('Le faune agenouillé. Les dauphins'), see this publication, p. 69, note 142.



Black figure kyathos

Dionysus riding a mule between eyes and sphinxes. Group of Vatican G 57, 510-500 BC. Inv. nr. PC 23, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 1591 ('Neuf petites tasses avec des sujets divers'), see this publication, p. 69, note 157.



Black figure 'Chalcidian'
amphora (detail)

*Dancing satyrs and maenads and inscriptions.
Inscription Painter, 560-550 BC. Inv. nr. PC 28,
Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 302 ('Les initiés de
Cybèle. Danse grotesque'), see this publication,
p. 67, note 89.*



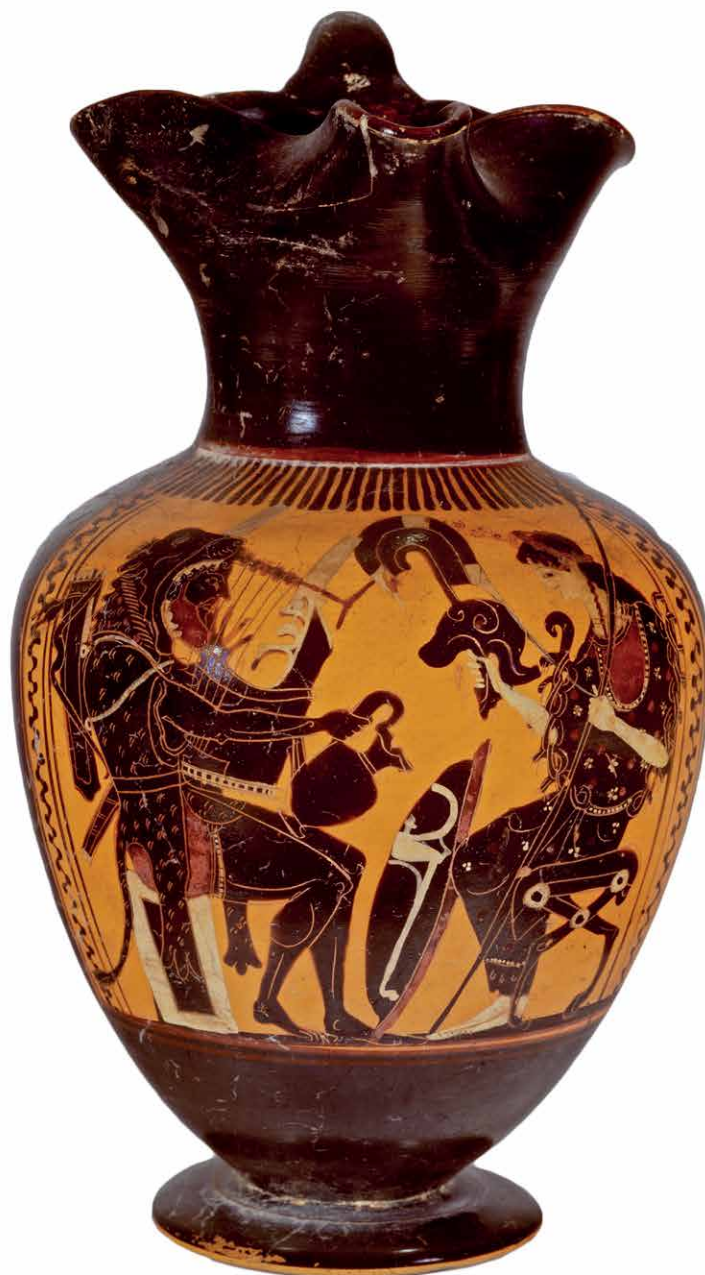
Black figure lekythos

Medea rejuvenating Aison. Haimon Painter, 490-480 BC. Inv. nr. PC 32, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 1345 ('L'autel ardent & l'oracle'), see this publication, p. 68, note 135.



Black figure oinochoe (detail)

Heracles killing the centaur Nessus, with Deianeira and an old man watching. Near the Class of Vatican 440, 530-520 BC. Inv. nr. PC 39, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 334 ('Le centaure vaincu'), see this publication, p. 68, note 114.



Black figure oinochoe

Heracles playing the cithara in the company of Athena. 500-490 BC. Inv. nr. PC 41, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 301 ('Hercule musagète & Minerve'), see this publication, p. 67, note 103.



Black figure stamnos

Heracles in combat with three Amazons. Group of Toronto 305, ca. 520 BC. Inv. nr. PC 43, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 356 ('Hercule et les Amazones. Bacchus & nymphes'), see this publication, p. 68, note 92.

Right page: Reverse, Dionysus seated between dancing maenads and satyrs.





Black figure, white ground oinochoe

Heracles wrestling with the Nemean lion. Sèvres class, workshop of the Athena Painter, 490-480 BC. Inv. nr. PC 45, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 208 ('Thésée [sic] dompte un lion'), see this publication, p. 67, note 99.



Black figure hydria (detail)

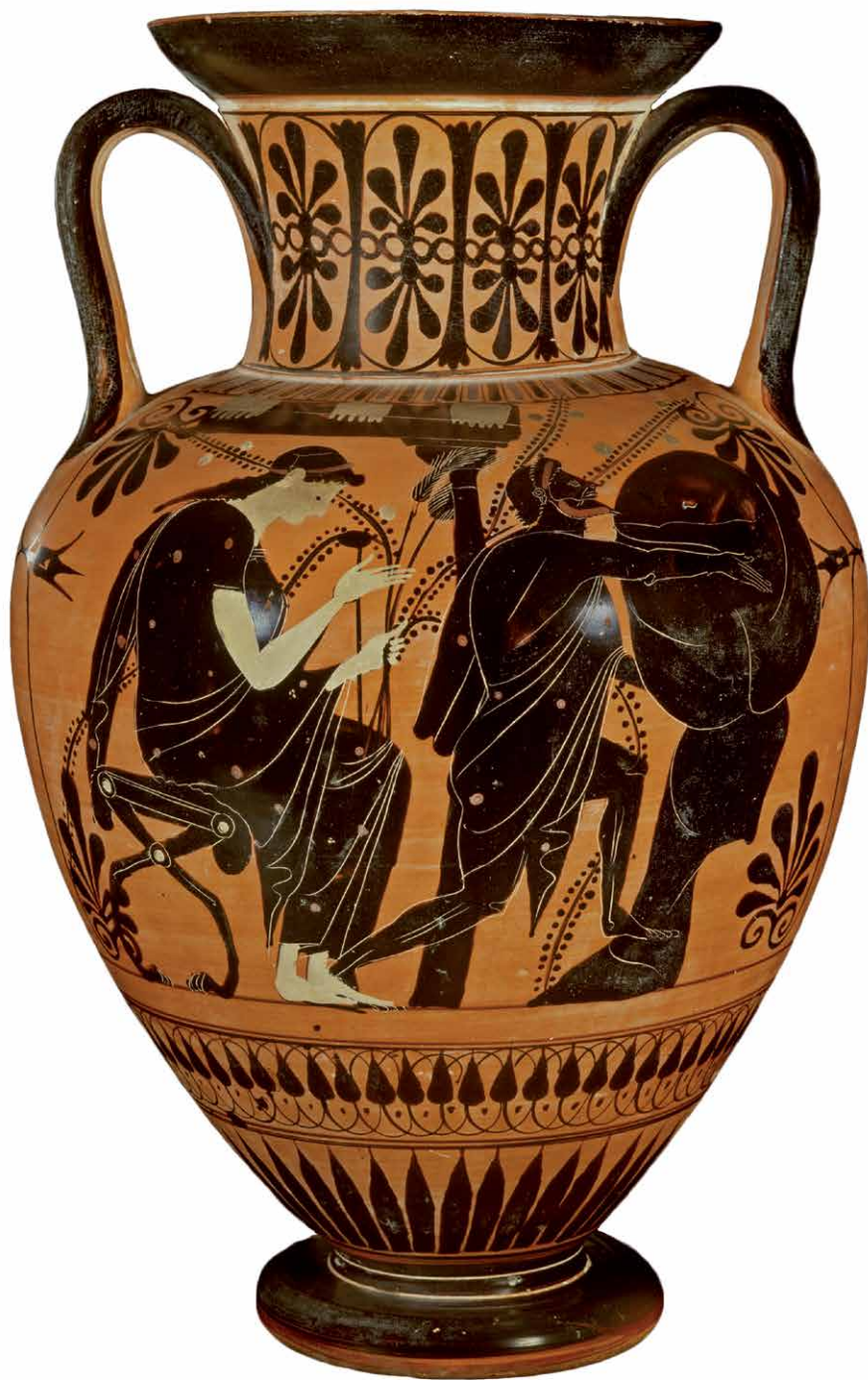
Theseus killing the Minotaur amidst onlookers. Tyrrhenian Group, 560-550 BC. Inv. nr. PC 47, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 2305 ('Minos. Thésée et le Minotaure. Animaux'), see this publication, p. 67, note 93.



Black figure amphora

Aeneas fleeing Troy, carrying his father Anchises on his back, accompanied by a woman (Creousa?) and two children. Leagros Group, 510-500 BC. Inv. nr. PC 49, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 411 ('Sisyphus roulant son rocher. La fuite d'Enée'), see this publication, p. 66, note 73.

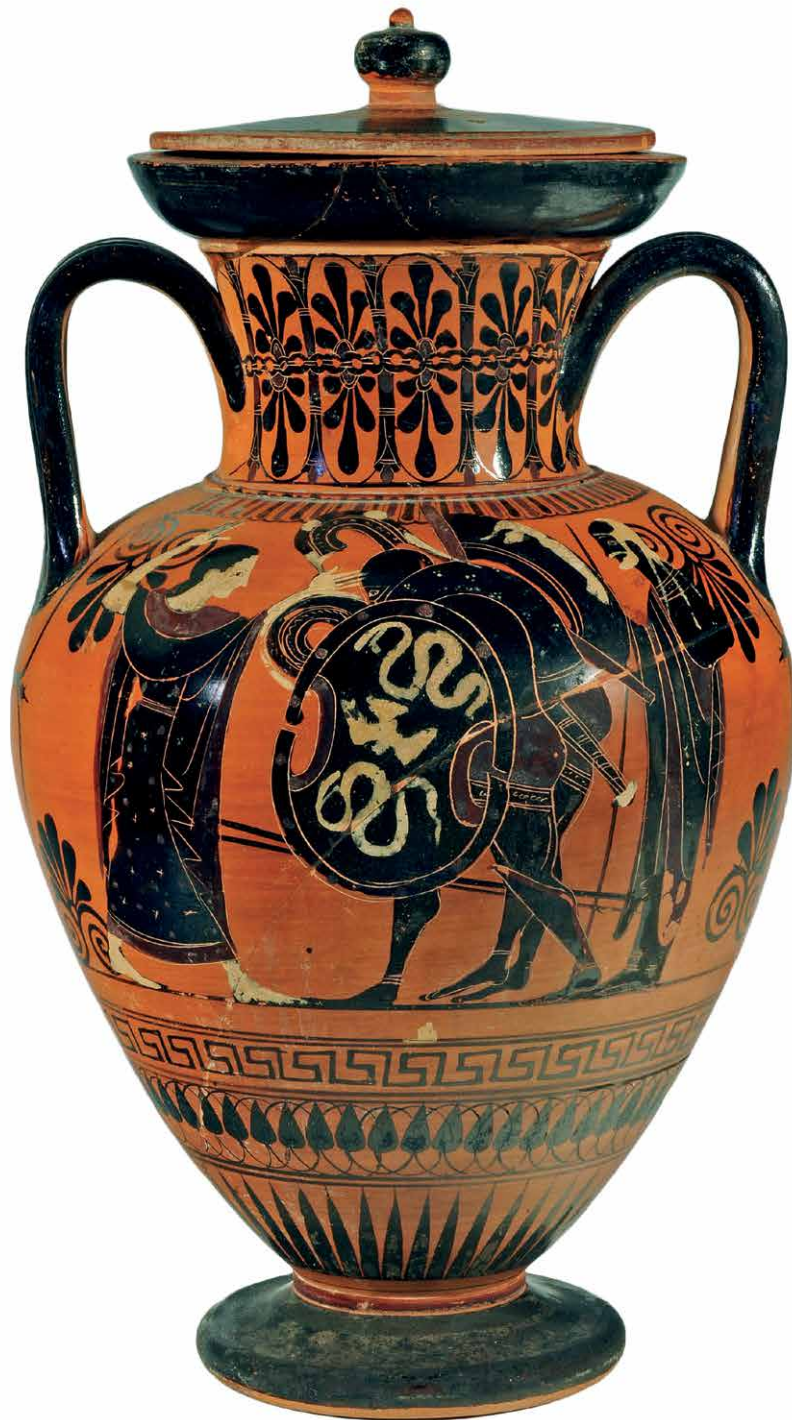
Right page: Reverse, Sisyphus rolling a boulder up the hill, in the company of Persephone.





Black figure amphora (detail)

Aeneas fleeing Troy, carrying his father Anchises on his back, accompanied by a woman (Creousa?) and one child. Leagros Group, Painter of Oxford 569, 510-500 BC. Inv. nr. PC 50, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 1891 ('La fuite d'Enée. Bacchus & Nymphes'), see this publication, p. 66, note 63.



Black figure amphora

Ajax carrying the dead body of Achilles, in the presence of a woman and an old man. Leagros Group, 510-500 BC. Inv. nr. PC 51, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 335 ('Le guerrier blessé emporté par ses Compagnons'), see this publication, p. 66, note 65.



Black figure hydria

Palaestra scene: five youths and an instructor shower and get dressed. Antimenes Painter, ca. 520 BC. Inv. nr. PC 63, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 57 ('Les six purifiés. Quadrigue. La biche poursuivie'), see this publication, p. 67, note 86.



Black figure cup

Man and woman engaged in an erotic act. 520-510 BC. Inv. nr. PC 64, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 357 ('Le groupe érotique, petit plat d'offrande'), see this publication, p. 69, note 150.



Red figure hydria-kalpis

Marriage scene (hieros gamos) with Zeus and Hera, in the company of Iris and Hermes. Oinanthé Painter, 460-450 BC. Inv. nr. PC 73, Canino Catalogue (1839), maybe nr. 606 ('Le roi couronné. Trois adolescents'), but see this publication, p. 67, note 89.

Right page: Detail of marriage scene.





Red figure amphora (detail)

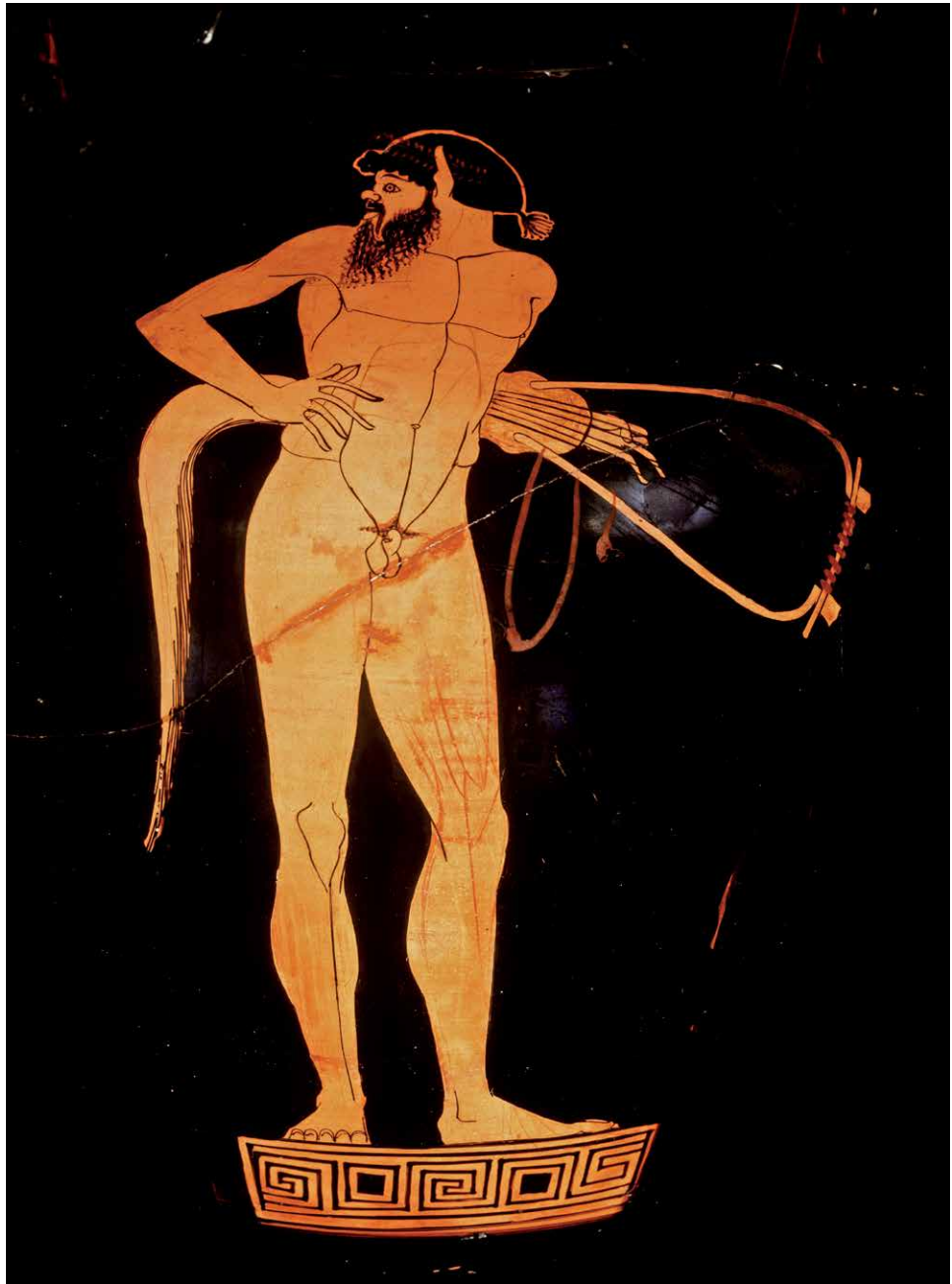
*The goddess Athena with spear and helmet.
 Berlin Painter, 480-470 BC. Inv. nr. PC 74,
 Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 637 ('Minerve.
 Hébé'), see this publication, p. 66, note 68.
 Right page: Reverse, Nike with phiale.*

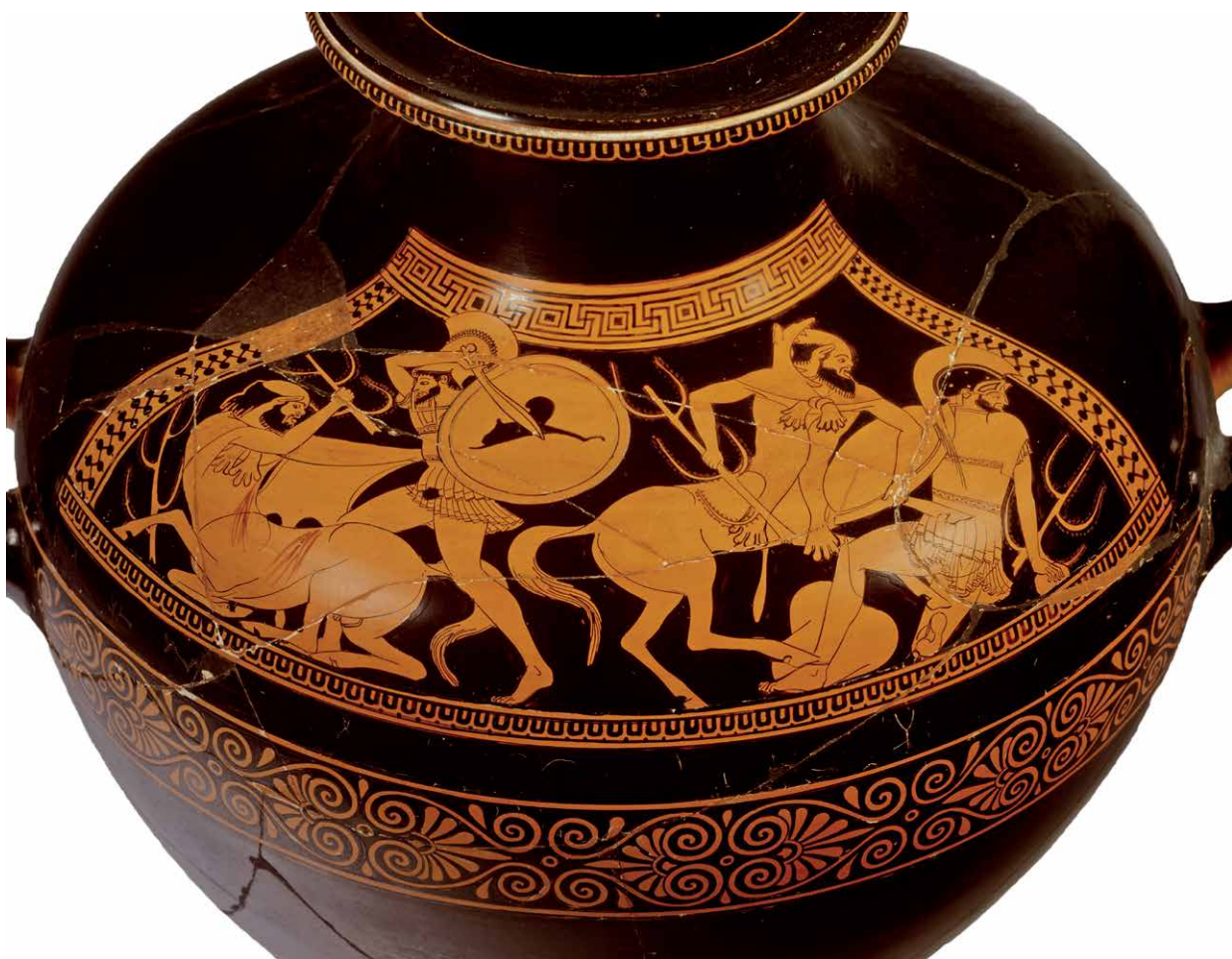




Red figure amphora

Youth draped in a mantle, carrying a hare. Kleophrades Painter, ca. 490 BC. Inv. nr. PC 80, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 1723 ('Le faune cytharède. Le lièvre'), see this publication, p. 66, note 70. Right page: Reverse (detail), satyr carrying a lyre.





Red figure hydria-kalpis (detail)

*Battle between two pairs of Lapiths and Centaurs.
Kleophrades Painter, 490-480 BC. Inv. nr. PC 83,
Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 1084 ('Les Centaures &
les Lapythes'), see this publication, p. 66, note 81.*



Red figure oinochoe (detail)

*Heracles and Apollo contesting the tripod of Delphi.
Briseis Painter, 490-480 BC. Inv. nr. PC 84, Canino
Catalogue (1839), nr. 763 ('Le trépoid disputé'), see
this publication, p. 67, note 98.*



Red figure amphora

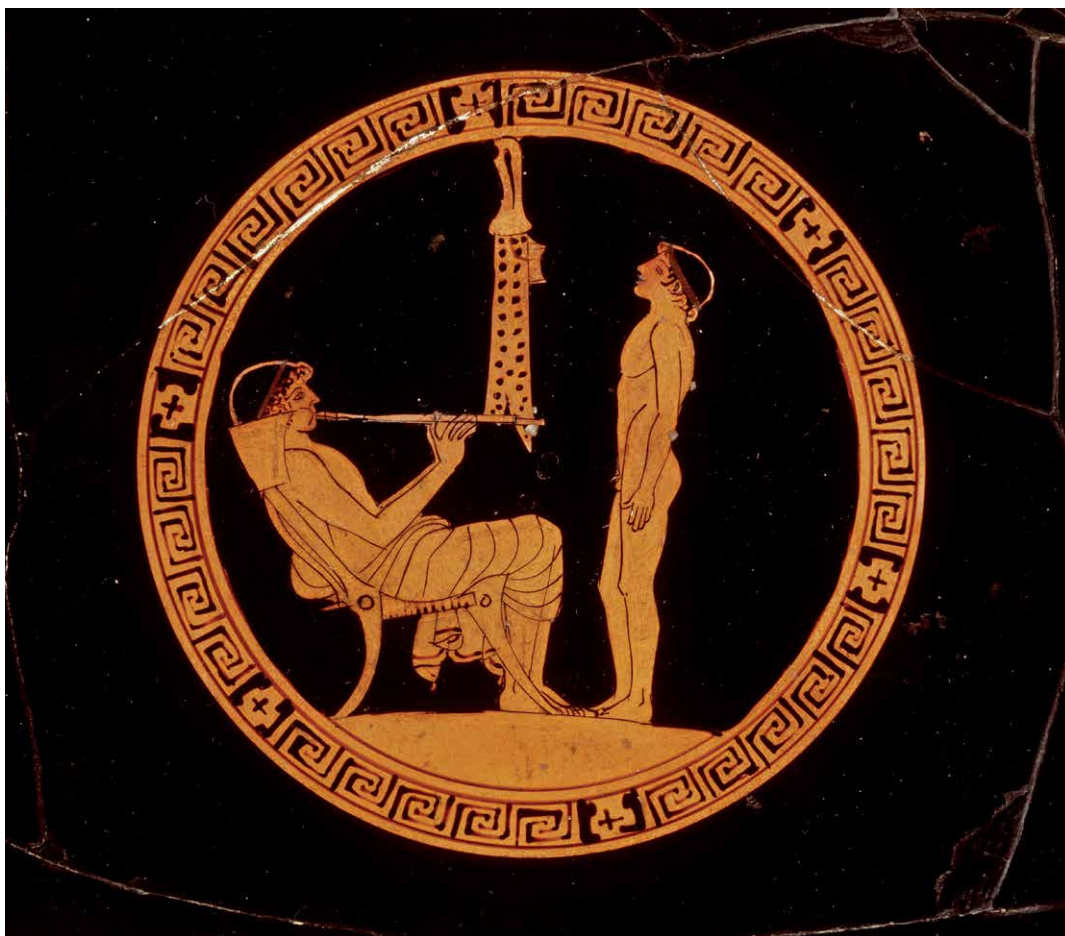
*Dancing Dionysus flanked by two maenads.
Pezzino Painter, ca. 500 BC. Inv. nr. PC 85, Canino
Catalogue (1839), without number (between nrs.
1946 and 637, 'Bacchus & deux Bacchantes. Cinq
figures'), see this publication, p. 66, note 67.*



Red figure stamnos

*Achilles, seated between Antilochus and Thetis.
Hephaisteion Painter, 480-470 BC. Inv. nr.
PC 88, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 16 ('Le
guerrier pensif, peut-être Polynice. Prêtre et
femme'), see this publication, p. 67, note 91.*





Red figure kylix

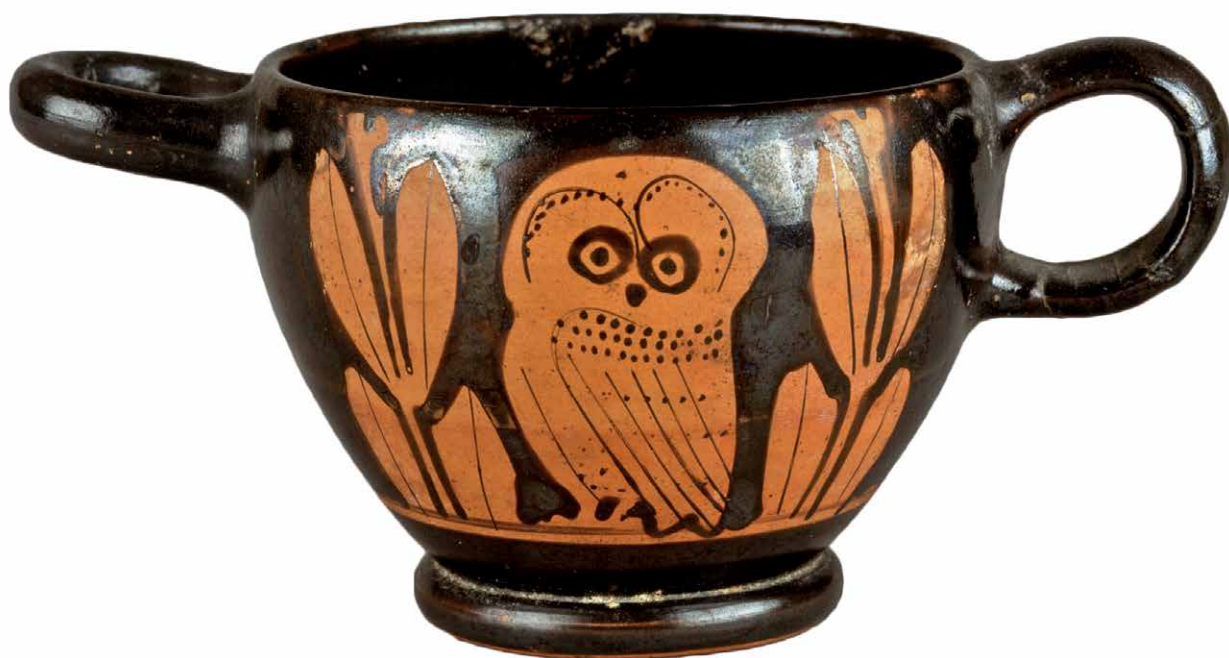
Outside decoration: revellers, drinking and joking; tondo: singing boy, accompanied by a musician playing the aulos. Akestorides Painter, 465-455 BC. Inv. nr. PC 91, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 648 ('La leçon de chant. Six adolescents'), see this publication, p. 68, note 139.



Red figure kylix

Outside decoration: youths grooming horses; tondo: hunter with sun-hat carrying two spears. Painter of Acropolis 356.

Inv. nr. PC 93, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 319 ('Huit figures drapées'), see this publication, p. 68, note 137.



Red figure owl-skyphos ('glaux')

*Owl between two olive branches. 460-440 BC. Inv.
nr. PC 96, Canino Catalogue (1839), nr. 1591
(‘Neuf petites tasses avec des sujets divers’), see this
publication, p. 69, note 157.*

THE CANINO CONNECTIONS

Starting in the year 1828, Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, unearthed more than 2000 Greek vases on his estate near the ancient Etruscan town of Vulci. The vases were restored and found their way to archaeological collections all around the world. This volume publishes 10 papers by scholars of international repute dealing with these ceramics.

The papers were presented in 2015 at a colloquium in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, which acquired 96 vases from the Bonaparte collection in 1839. Specialists in the fields of museum history, Greek vase-painting, restoration and 19th century collecting practices from the Netherlands, France, Germany, Denmark, Austria, Italy and Russia have contributed to this volume, which offers the newest insights into the person of Lucien Bonaparte, his excavation practices, the history of restorations and the selling and buying of Greek ceramics in the 19th century.

The results have helped to extend our knowledge of the collectors, traders and scholars, who were concerned with Greek vases during the 19th century. Their activities took place in a pivotal period, in which the black- and red figure ceramics, which had come to light in Italy during the previous centuries, were finally assigned to Greek craftsmanship instead of to Etruscan manufacture.

