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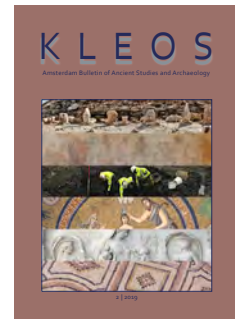
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The Tomba Campana: a long-debated 'discovery'

Considering the finds of a 19th-century
excavation that never happened

ELINE VERBURG

ABSTRACT

This paper critically re-evaluates the publication history of the Tomba Campana in Veii from its discovery until today. The Tomba Campana is of great value for Italian archaeology because of its unique and early wall paintings and rich grave goods. However, its modern post-excavation history is turbulent and controversial. The aim of this paper is to give a short overview of the events surrounding the discovery of the tomb and its contents both during and after the discovery, in order to add to the line of interpretation developed by F. Roncalli, F. Delpino et al. The introduction will discuss publications from the 19th and 20th centuries. Following this introduction, a short biography of the discoverer, Giovanni Pietro Campana, will be given. Subsequently, the contents of the tomb will be discussed. Lastly, this paper will contextualise the 'discovery' within the context of how antiquarians dealt with authenticity in the field of archaeology in the early 19th century, the period in which the tomb was discovered.

INTRODUCTION

The Tomba Campana is an Etruscan tomb, dating to 600 BC. It is located close to the Etruscan city of Veii and is famous for its rich contents and extraordinary wall paintings (Figure 1). The tomb was officially discovered in February 1843 by Giovanni Pietro (or Giampietro) Campana, a rich banker and amateur archaeologist from Rome. He presented it as the only visitable Etruscan tomb with its grave goods still *in situ*, which attracted many travellers during their journeys to the Italian peninsula. Giovanni Pietro Campana even received a golden medal from Camerlengo Riario Sforza in 1843 because he left the numerous objects in the tomb untouched and donated the tomb to the Pontifical Government, showing that Campana's activities concerning archaeology, at

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Figure 1
 Map of the plain of Veii.
 The arrow shows the
 location of the Tomba
 Campana (after Bartoloni
 et al. 2013, 134 fig. 1).

that time, were highly appreciated.¹

THE SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION

In the first publications by Campana and the important architect and archaeologist L. Canina, written in 1843, immediately after the discovery of the tomb, the authenticity of the tomb was emphasised, with both men stating that the tomb had remained almost entirely untouched during the past centuries.² The tomb was also thoroughly described by G. Dennis in his masterpiece *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, again with a focus on the supposedly excellent condition of the tomb.³ In the early 20th century, the focus shifted to the marvellous wall-paintings and their significance, with articles written by A.M. Harmon and A. Rumpf, and later in the 1970s by L. Banti and C. Bettini.⁴ In 1963, M. Cristofani and F. Zevi wrote an article in which they tried to identify the archaeological objects that were found in the tomb

1 Delpino 1985, 118.

2 Campana 1843a, 4. "Frutto di più stagioni di scavi fu il ritrovamento di un sepolcro, che col nome volgare diremo grotta sepolcrale (...) che mi presentasse uno stato di straordinaria conservazione immune dal guasto del tempo e da quello degli uomini." and hereafter "La porta era di pietra anche essa, ma caduta naturalmente o piuttosto infranta dagli antichi profanatori de' sepolcri, i quali pare che siensi limitati a rubar soltanto gli ori, lasciando ogni altra cosa salva dalla umana rapacità." Campana 1843b; Canina 1847.

3 Dennis 1848.

4 Harmon 1912; Rumpf 1915; Banti 1970; Bettini et al. 1977.

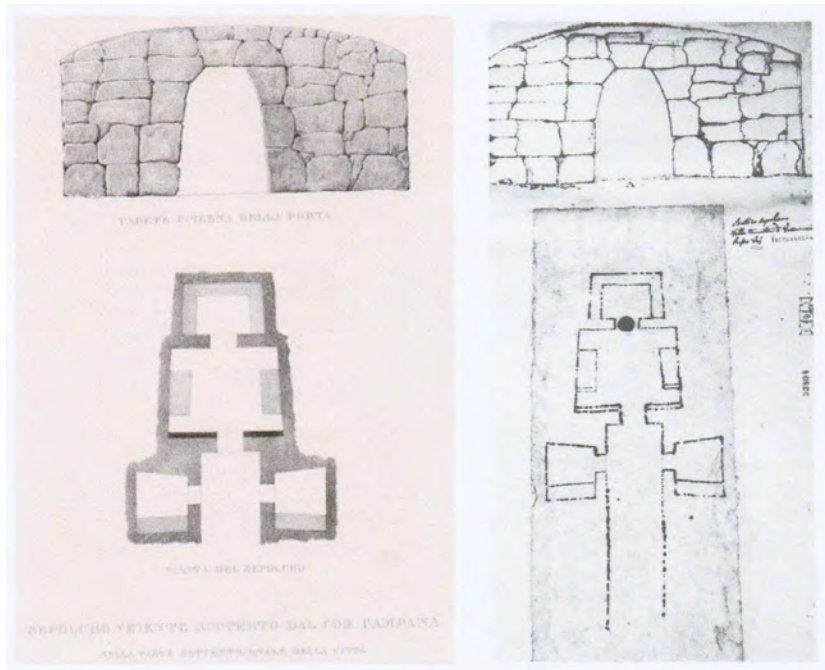


Figure 2

Left: the cyclopic entrance wall and plan of the Tomba Campana (after Canina 1847 plate XXIX).

Right: illustration by Francesco Caracciolo of the cyclopic entrance wall and plan of the Tomba Campana (courtesy of BiASA, Collezione Lanciani, Roma XI, 64, l n, 101, inv. 33804).

by using drawings from the inside of the tomb, which had been published with the articles of Campana and Canina in the 19th century.⁵

Although Campana stated that he had discovered the tomb in an intact state and many scholars believed this statement long into the 20th century, in a 1979 article, Roncalli cast doubt on the nature of the tomb, which initiated a discussion on the origins of many of the objects that had been claimed to hail from the Tomba Campana.⁶ Roncalli revealed, for example, that the terracotta cinerary urns could not have belonged to the tomb's original inventory, as he discovered that these objects originally came from the San Bernardino necropolis in Orte, near Viterbo.⁷ Subsequently, doubts emerged about the origin of more objects inside the tomb, and once again regarding the unique wall paintings, which had already been questioned by Rumpf as early as 1915. Doubts intensified when F. Delpino published an article in 1985 in which he presented a drawing from 1825 that showed the plan of the tomb, and thus made clear that the tomb had possibly already been discovered years before Campana announced his 'discovery' (Figure 2).⁸

5 Cristofani/Zevi 1963.

6 Delpino 1985, 117; Campana 1843a.

7 Roncalli 1979, 157-167.

8 Delpino 1985, 137.

THE AIM OF THIS PAPER

Ever since Roncalli published his article in 1979, no new archaeological research has focused on the Tomba Campana. Furthermore, even after Delpino wrote two new articles in 1984-1985, in which he published the 1825 Caracciolo drawing, the old publications were not reconsidered with regard to the question of the tomb possibly having been staged.⁹ This is perhaps due to the fact that archaeologists were unsure of how to deal with the revelations of Roncalli and Delpino about this tomb.¹⁰ As Roncalli only discussed a couple of objects and there is a lack of new studies, the origins of many objects, as well as the authenticity of the wall paintings, are still questioned.¹¹ Further studies on the objects and wall paintings of the Tomba Campana are thus necessary to clarify their origins and authenticity.

This paper will revisit the 19th- and 20th-century publications in order to reconsider the 'facts' presented in the earliest articles, and to provide room for new insights following the line of inquiry established by Roncalli and Delpino. Following this review of the tomb and its contents, the authenticity of the Tomba Campana and its contents will be discussed, including how antiquarians dealt with authenticity in the field of archaeology in the early 19th century. First, however, some background on the discoverer of the tomb, G. P. Campana, is needed to be able to contextualise the 'discovery' of the tomb.

THE DISCOVERER: GIOVANNI PIETRO CAMPANA

Giovanni Pietro Campana was a 19th-century collector with a primary focus on antiquities. He came from a family of bankers and owned many buildings in Rome and the surrounding area. These buildings included a factory that produced marble – or a substance resembling it – of which statues, columns and pavements were made, and a laboratory in which terracotta and ceramics were restored, an important fact that will be discussed more thoroughly later in this article.¹² His villa, which he inherited from his grandfather, was located on the via di San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome.¹³ Due to rebuilding projects in the late 19th century, it unfortunately no longer exists. In 1846, he completely renovated the villa, with the exterior resembling a Roman temple and

9 Delpino 1985; Delpino 1984-1985.

10 The article written by Delpino in 2012 is mainly an extract of his publications in the 1980s.

11 Roncalli 1979, 163.

12 Sarti 2001, 6.

13 Nadalini 1996, 420.



Figure 3
 Photograph of the 'casino' of the Villa Campana in Rome, which eventually became the museum of antique sculptures, of which some are displayed between the columns (after Sarti 2001, fig. 3).

featuring plaster casts of famous sculptures such as the Capitoline Wolf. He also modified a small building close to the villa into a 'casino', a small house with the characteristics of a Roman villa. In his garden stood the statue of Giove Celimontano, an original statue, though updated with modern additions, derived from the villa of Domitian in Castel Gandolfo.¹⁴ His garden also contained reconstructions of a Roman columbarium and an Etruscan tomb, both furnished with ancient objects. Apparently, he did not object to placing reconstructions and original antique statues within the same context.¹⁵ Eventually, Campana established his museum of sculptures in the Villa Campana (Figure 3). On 12 April 1854, Campana applied for his first loan from his own Monte di Pietà bank, offering his collection as a security. On the 28 November 1857, Campana was arrested for stealing 983,959 *scudi* during his time at the head of the Monte di Pietà bank. He was sentenced to 20 years of forced labour and his collection was confiscated by the Pontifical Government.¹⁶

THE TOMB'S (ALLEGED) CONTENTS

"[...] an Etruscan funerary grotto, manufactured out of tufa, with several painted walls in good condition together with some urns, funerary objects, vases and other, mostly black ceramics of the most antique style."¹⁷

14 Pianazza 1993, 440.

15 Ibid.

16 First, the Pontifical Government tried to keep the Campana collection in Italian territory, but in 1860 it decided to sell it, resulting in the dispersal of the collection between England, Russia and France.

17 Campana 1843a, 4. Translation by the author. "[...] una grotta sepolcrale etrusca, fabbricata nel tufo, con entro alcuni dipinti parietarii di buona conservazione insieme ad alcune urnette, vasi e tazze fittili la più parte di tinta nera e del più antico stile."



This is how Campana describes the tomb in two separate but similar articles that were published a few months after the discovery.¹⁸ In these two articles he also writes that vases with human ashes and two funerary beds with two skeletons were found in the first chamber of the tomb, one still covered by his armature (Figure 4). Oxidation, as Campana says, had caused parts of the harness and helmet to crumble. The helmet showed two holes made by a spear, which, according to Campana, was the cause of death. A chandelier, a vase in the form of a *prefericolo*, several mirrors and a fireplace were also found.¹⁹ The latter was found in the middle of the room. The other vases in the room, some of which contained human ashes, had different shapes, some had a black slip, some had relief ornaments and others were black with a yellowish base. According to Campana, they all belonged to one style that he calls *della prima etrusca maniera*.²⁰ He also mentions that several figurines of terracotta and some animals cut out of amber were found in the chamber. The second chamber was smaller than the first one and contained three cinerary urns, a multitude of large vases and some objects of use (Figure 5). On the back wall of the second chamber, three circles were painted and the wall in the

Figure 4
Illustration of the first chamber of the Tomba Campana by L. Gregori (after Canina 1847, pl. XXX).

18 Campana 1843b, 99-102; Campana 1843a, 1-8. The following discussion of the contents of the tomb as presented by Campana are based on his two articles.

19 A *prefericolo* is a bronze vase that was used to execute sacrificial rituals.

20 Translation by the author: 'Of the first Etruscan style'.

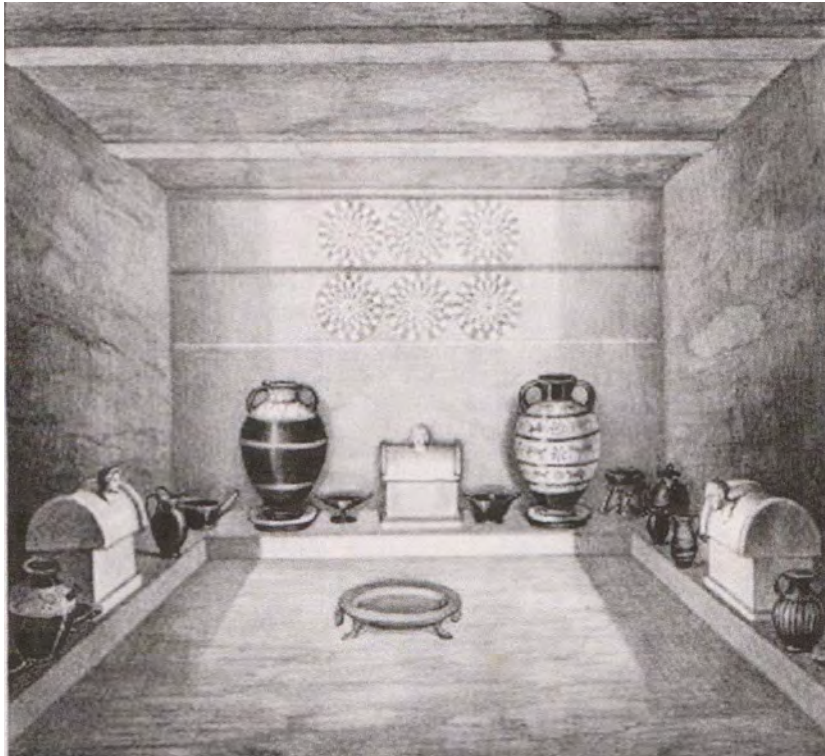


Figure 5
Illustration of the second chamber of the Tomba Campana by L. Gregori. Visible are several ceramics, the three cinerary urns from Orte, two vases standing in terracotta braziers, and one brazier with lion paws in the centre (after Canina 1847, pl. XXXII).

first chamber contained beautiful wall paintings as well (Figure 6).²¹

Despite the fact that Campana states in his publication that the discovery of the Tomba Campana was “the result of several seasons of excavation”, it is interesting that absolutely nothing can be found about these excavations immediately before the discovery of the tomb.²² A plan and a drawing of the entrance arch of the Tomba Campana, probably made by Francesco Caracciolo around 1825, is the evidence that the tomb had possibly already been discovered (Figure 2).²³ Francesco Caracciolo and his father Ludovico occupied themselves with the documentation of Veii, probably inspired by William Gell and Antonio Nibby, who surveyed Veii for their book *Carta de’ dintorni di Roma*, first published in 1827.²⁴ Delpino suggests that Luigi Canina and the Caracciolo father and son participated in this study and contributed to the body of documentation for Gell and Nibby.²⁵ The similarity between the Caracciolo drawing and a plate in the publication of Canina from 1847 (Figure 2) does indeed confirm

²¹ Campana 1843a, 8.

²² Campana 1843a, 4.

²³ Delpino 2012, 101.

²⁴ Nibby 1827.

²⁵ Delpino 1985, 79-83, 137-142, 79 note 19, 137 note 36. Delpino thinks this because the legend belonging to the drawings has Canina’s handwriting and a passage in his book *‘Etruria Marittima’* suggests this as well.



Figure 6
Illustration of the wall paintings in the first chamber by L. Gregori (after Canina 1847, pl. XXXI).

that Canina knew this drawing and that he, too, was possibly aware that the tomb had already been discovered.²⁶ If it is true that the tomb had already been discovered, it makes it unlikely that all the aforementioned objects were still present in the tomb, and that fragile objects such as the skeletons were still intact when Campana 'discovered' the tomb in 1843.²⁷

Several other sources describe the tomb and its contents, but these sources contain many irregularities. L. Grifi, the secretary of the *Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti* of the Pontifical State, for example, made an inventory list of the tomb a few months after the discovery for the new custodian of the tomb. In this list, he does not mention the skeletons, nor the amber animal figurines or the terracotta figurines which were mentioned in Campana's 1843 publication (Figure 7).²⁸ It has always remained unclear what happened to these objects after the discovery, and their absence from this list confirms that they were probably either taken out of the tomb right after the discovery, or were never present in the tomb. Grifi also mentions two tufa heads, which are not mentioned by Campana. Another interesting point is that Grifi describes '*tre vettine coi loro catini*', which means something like 'three vases with their basins'. According to Cristofani and Zevi, the 'basins' are in fact the three braziers that were found in the tomb, two of which can be seen on a picture taken by Romualdo Moscioni around 1900, and are now in the Museo dell'Agro Veientano (Figure 8).²⁹ All illustrations of the inside of the tomb show that the vases are standing in the braziers. This is

²⁶ The Caracciolo drawing does not occur in the publications of Campana.

²⁷ Delpino 2012, 101-102.

²⁸ Delpino 1985, 189. ASR, Ministero Commercio, Belle Arti, Industria, Agricoltura e Lavori Pubblici, b. 365, fasc. 19.

²⁹ Cristofani/Zevi 1965, 6.

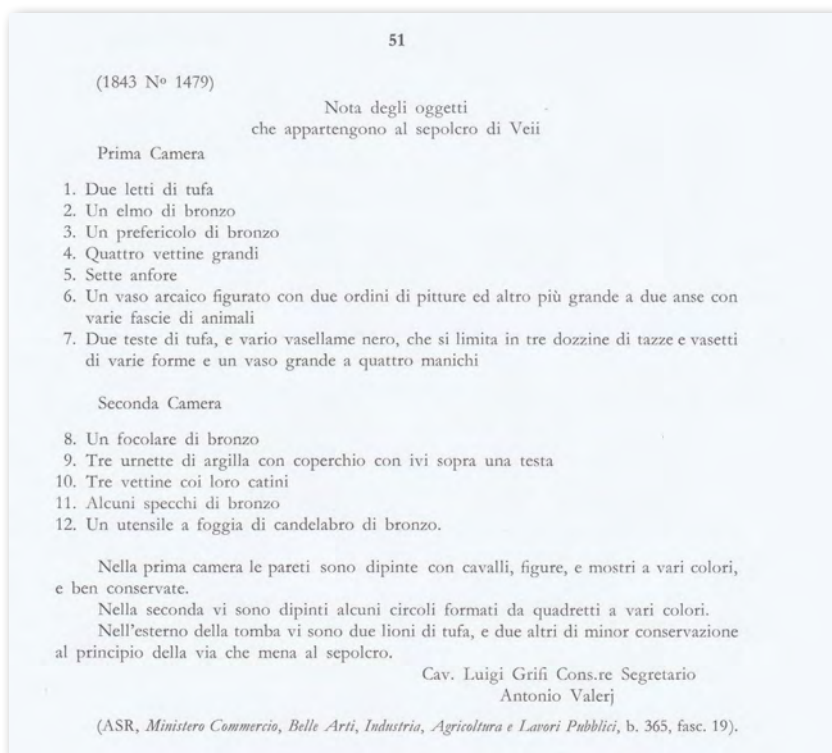


Figure 7
Inventory list made by
Luigi Grifi (after Delpino
1985, 189).

highly unusual, because braziers were used to burn fuel to heat a space, to cook, or to burn incense. Therefore, the function of the amphorae – that of storing food – is not connected to that of the braziers. Thus, the fact that they are standing in the braziers, shows that somebody was unaware of their function, and this is important evidence. This fact can be interpreted as proof that the contents of the tomb were staged, since it seems unlikely that an Etruscan would have put two objects together that absolutely do not correlate with each other from a functional point of view (Figures 4, 5 and 6).

Doubts emerged around the origin of the objects as well. In his 1979 article, for instance, Roncalli revealed that the cinerary urns from the Tomba Campana did not originally come from Veii, but from the San Benardino necropolis in Orte.³⁰ This assertion is proven by drawings made by Giovanni Vitali, who was involved in the excavations at Orte, in which the three urns from the Tomba Campana are visible (Figure 9). The presence of the same inscription on one of the urns on the drawing and on one urn from the Tomba Campana gives conclusive evidence as to the provenance of these pieces.³¹

Roncalli's hypothesis, stating that these objects had been transferred to the Tomba Campana, becomes even more likely

³⁰ Roncalli 1979, 157-167.

³¹ Ibid., 161; Archivio Camerlengato, Parte II, tit. IV, busta 254, f. 2701.



Figure 8

Picture of the outside of the Tomba Campana made by Romualdo Moscioni between 1868 and 1901 showing head no. 12395 placed on the right lion. On the left hand the two terracotta braziers are visible standing upwards against the wall (after Cristofani/Zevi 1965 pl. IV).

if one considers the fact that Campana participated in the excavations at Orte in 1839, partnered by Giuseppe Ferri and Luigi Arduini.³² It is therefore plausible that Campana put the cinerary urns in the Tomba Campana himself, perhaps without Grifi's knowledge. Arduini was involved in the excavations at Veii as well, since a document was discovered in the administration of Prince Chigi in which a contract is mentioned between Prince Chigi, Campana and Arduini dating to 6 April 1842. This contract concerned the division of the objects found during excavations that took place on the property.³³ Given the evidence, it is possible that the idea of placing the cinerary urns in the Tomba Campana was a joint decision made by Campana and Arduini.³⁴

More objects from the Tomba Campana are of dubious origin. Two of the three tufa heads, for example, which were found without their 'bodies' inside the Tomba Campana, are already mentioned on Grifi's list, but the third must have been added later. In his 1961 book *Recherches sur la statuaire en pierre étrusque archaïque* Alain Hus states that "[...] if you had not known they [i.e. the heads] came from Veii, you would attribute them to Vulci."³⁵ According to Iefke van Kampen, the two 'original' heads of the Tomba Campana (with inventory number 12394) possibly come from Vulci, maybe

32 Sarti 2001, 19, 21; Archivio Centrale di Stato di Roma, AABBA / versamento, N. 95 no. 120.5: "Giuseppe Ferri fin dall'anno 1839 incominciò a scavare con il Sig.re Marchese Campana e Luigi Arduini nei terreni di Orte e Montorso in Sabina, poscia col medesimo Campana nel 1843 a Cerveteri e Falleri."

33 Delpino 2012, 101-102; Timbro 'R. Soprintendenza ai musei ed agli scavi della Prov. Di Roma, 13 GIU 1917 N. di Prot. 440 N. di Pos. 4-XII'.

34 Delpino 2012, 102.

35 Van Kampen 2009, 140; Hus 1961, 311. "Si l'on ne savait que la tête provient de Veies, on pourrait l'attribuer à Vulci."

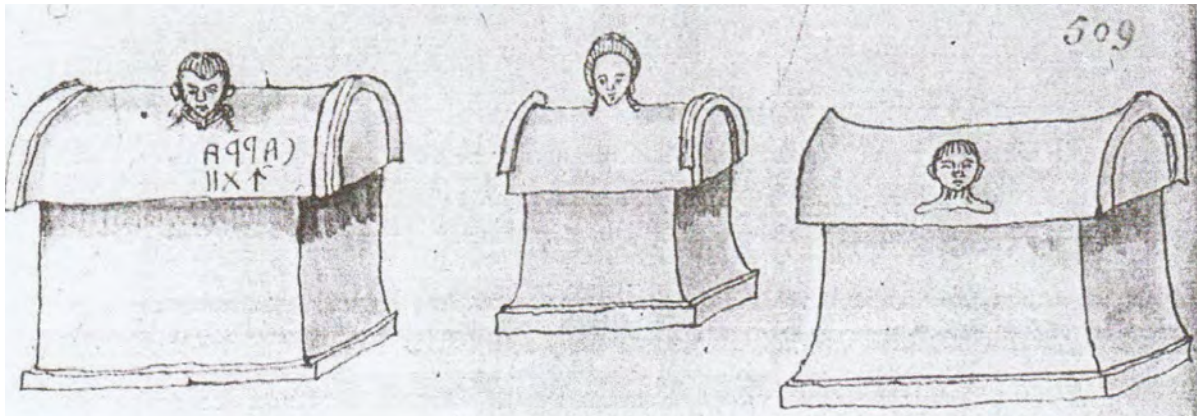


Figure 9
Illustration made by Giovanni Vitali of the cinerary urns from Orte (after Roncalli 1979 pl. VI fig. 3).

from Orte, based on their stylistic features.³⁶ The third head, which is visible on the Moscioni picture (Figure 8), probably comes from Veii and was deposited in the Tomba Campana for a while in the 19th century. This head has a different artistic quality and is more crudely executed in comparison with the other two, suggesting an earlier date and Veii as the place of origin, since Veii was not a very important centre for stone sculpture.³⁷ This means that two of the three heads did not originally originate from Veii, and it is therefore likely that they did not originally belong to the Tomba Campana.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE TOMBA CAMPANA: ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTIQUARIANISM

During the 19th century, collectors became more and more aware of the importance of the archaeological contexts of the artefacts they excavated or obtained. This resulted in a new way of displaying these objects in museums; they tried to display objects that they felt belonged together. This idea was pioneered by the Campanari family, who organised a celebrated exhibition of reconstructions of Etruscan tombs in London in 1837.³⁸ Their exhibition of Etruscan antiquities took place only a few days after the inauguration of the Museo Etrusco Gregoriano in Rome, nowadays part of the Vatican Museums. For many people outside of Italy, the London exhibition was the first time they were able to become acquainted with Etruscan tombs, since Nibby and Gell's book about Rome and the surrounding area only contained a few pages on Etruria.³⁹ The exhibition showed life-size reconstructions of Etruscan tombs, with the extraordinary and detailed wall paintings executed as copies on canvas. The exhibition intended

³⁶ Van Kampen 2009, 140.

³⁷ Lulof/Kars 1994, 51, 59.

³⁸ Colonna 1978, 82.

³⁹ Ibid., 83.

to show the tomb right after its discovery, with all the ceramics, skeletons and golden ornaments in situ. The tombs were lit by torches, to give visitors the experience of descending into a real Etruscan tomb.⁴⁰

Giovanni Pietro Campana probably did not see the Campanari exhibition in London, but must have been inspired by it, since he was also celebrated for his habit of reconstructing original tomb contexts.⁴¹ C. T. Newton and S. Birch described the objects from the Campana collection in their 1856 report, which was commissioned by the British Government in connection with the potential acquisition of the Campana collection for the British Museum. They mentioned that the *sarcofago degli sposi*, which is now in the Louvre in Paris, was exhibited in a room that had been painted so as to represent the original chamber in which it was found in Cerveteri.⁴²

However, Campana seems to have made associations between objects based not only on his archaeological knowledge, but also on his imagination.⁴³ In his *Archaeological Discoveries*, A. Michaelis mentions that Campana had:

“Unfortunately adopted the wretched Roman custom of restoring arbitrarily broken statues and reliefs, and finally covering the whole with a dull white paste [Gnaccarini paste].[...] In consequence of his work the marbles lost all artistic charm and scientific value.”⁴⁴

The way in which Campana restored his pieces gives an important indication of his approach to archaeology. Perhaps the Tomba Campana is the best example of his reconstructive activities. Since we now know that many of the objects did not originally belong to the Tomba Campana, this can no longer be considered as an authentic context, but should instead be seen as an antiquarian reconstruction.

In the first half of the 19th century, a first step towards more scientific research was made in excavations that were controlled by the Pontifical State. The focus of these excavations was still on finding precious objects, but adequate publication of the excavation results, as well as the provenance and historical

40 Colonna 1978, 85-86.

41 Because of their mutual interest in antiquity, Campana knew the Campanari family well.

42 Newton/Birch 1856, 49; Sarti 2001, 78; Pianazza 1993, 439.

43 Sarti 2001, 70.

44 Michaelis 1908, 74-75.

significance of finds also became important.⁴⁵ Reports were published by the *Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, founded in 1829, and by the *Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*.⁴⁶ Campana managed to bypass the rules of the Pontifical State and execute excavations, which were not so scientific, like that of the Tomba Campana. He also did not publish the results of the Tomba Campana excavation properly, failing to submit them for academic scrutiny and debate, which paints a picture of an amateur archaeologist rather than an academic.

That being said, when looking at archaeological activities in the 19th century, it is important to keep in mind the fact that a different idea of authenticity existed. Showing an object as it was excavated and conserving it at the same time was not the aim. Rather, the aim was to present aesthetically pleasing reconstructions of the past to the public. The important architect and archaeologist Canina, for example, who also published with Campana about the Tomba Campana, combined his archaeological knowledge and his skills as an architect to create reconstructions of ancient monuments. He was in charge of the excavation, consolidation and presentation of the Roman remains along the Via Appia, and established an evocative image of that road that appealed to the Romantic spirit of the age.⁴⁷ In the 1820s, Pompeii was also extensively cleared and restored to make the site comprehensible as an urban entity and give visitors a better sense of daily life in Pompeii.⁴⁸ Nowadays, the aim of archaeologists and restorers is to preserve antiquity by showing the object as authentically and originally as possible, whilst necessary modern additions are deliberately made visible at the same time to distinguish between authentic and restored elements. The interaction with archaeological heritage was thus completely different than in modern-day heritage management.

Campana had many contacts in the Roman antiquarian community, some of whose reputations are nowadays considered questionable. During the first half of the 19th century, museums in Northwest Europe also became interested in the Etruscans, and Etruscan antiquities were highly sought after.⁴⁹ Antiquities dealers cleverly tried to make money from this by producing

45 Sarti 2001, 19; Dyson 2006, 22.

46 Dyson 2006, 31-35.

47 Ibid., 37-38.

48 Ibid., 45.

49 Paul 2012, preface xii. See, for example, the collection of Sir William Hamilton, Hans Sloane, Charles Townley and Auguste Durand.



Figure 10
 Photographs from left to right of vases C664, C667, and C627 (after Pottier 1897, pls. 25, 26 and 28).

semi-original or even totally fake objects.⁵⁰ Amongst Campana's close friends were members of the Castellani family, a family of goldsmiths who advised Campana in forming his jewellery collection.⁵¹ They were not afraid to refurbish and modify objects, just as Campana did. Several bracelets from Campana's collection are actually made up from Etruscan 'box-type' earrings, which were flattened and combined.⁵² The Castellani family produced several versions of the box-type earrings and became famous for making modern jewellery in Etruscan design, which they sold as authentic. Two other famous forgers, Pietro and Enrico Pennelli, worked for Campana in his restoration laboratory. They are famous for the 'Pennelli Sarcophagus': a fake Etruscan sarcophagus that was sold as though it were authentic via the Castellani family to the British Museum, where it still remains in storage.⁵³ According to S. Reinach, the Pennelli brothers had started to construct fragments and pieces made of antique-looking terracotta because of the many visitors who asked Campana for antique objects as a souvenir after having visited Campana's museum in Rome.⁵⁴

The practice of combining fragments from several different objects is confirmed by E. Pottier in his *Vases antiques du Louvre*, a catalogue of the archaeological department of ceramics at the Louvre, of which a large part belonged to the Campana collection. Pottier writes that Campana restored fragmentary objects, using other ancient fragments to complement them.⁵⁵ Perhaps this is the reason why Campana also collected many fragments of ceramics.⁵⁶ Pottier's catalogue also shows that Campana even

50 Paul 1962, 6.
 51 Vlad Borrelli 1992, 437.
 52 Sarti 2001, 74.
 53 Paul 1962, 190-192.
 54 Reinach 1905, 10; Nadalini 1996.
 55 Pottier 1897, 33.
 56 Michaelis 1908, 75; Sarti 2001, 6.

invented provenances for forgeries in his catalogue.⁵⁷ Even if we leave Tomba Campana's dubious history out of the equation, then, it is clear that Campana had a colourful history of manipulating ancient objects.

Around 20 objects taken from the Tomba Campana are now exhibited in the Museo dell'Agro Veientano in Formello, but it is unclear what happened to the other objects over the years. However, the vases included in the publication of Pottier do give us insight into the possible destination of some of them. Three vases from the Tomba Campana that were published by Canina in his book *L'antica città di Veii* are possibly included in Pottier's publication (Figure 10).⁵⁸ Number C664 of Pottier's catalogue has an unknown provenance, but we recognise this kind of caryatid chalice on table XXX in Canina's *L'antica città di Veii* (Figure 4) and twice on plate XXXIV in the same publication (Figure 11). Pottier also mentions that several fragments of the chalice come from another original chalice. Number C667 from Pottier's publication comes from Caere, but, again, the resemblance with a vase on plate XXXIV in Canina is striking. Number C627 from Pottier resembles a vase found in Canina's book as well, on plate XXXIV, but again the provenance is 'unknown'. Only one vase in the whole publication is mentioned as coming from Veii: an impasto spiral amphora C 551. This research into the Louvre catalogue can indicate two things:

1. either that the vases had already belonged to Campana's collection before he discovered the Tomba Campana and he placed them in the tomb to stage an archaeological funerary context,
2. or that Campana added many of the objects that disappeared after the discovery in 1843 to his own collection, which was partially sold to the Louvre in 1860.

CONCLUSION

This paper has assessed the old publications on the Tomba Campana in order to add new insights with regard to the discovery and the modern history of the tomb. This study has reviewed the line of inquiry that was started by Roncalli and Delpino. Their discoveries have been confirmed here, with added supporting evidence that confirms the idea that the discovery of the Tomba Campana was actually a staged event.

57 Pottier 1897, 33.

58 Cristofani/Zevi 1965, 24; Canina 1847; Pottier 1897, objects C664, C667, C627.

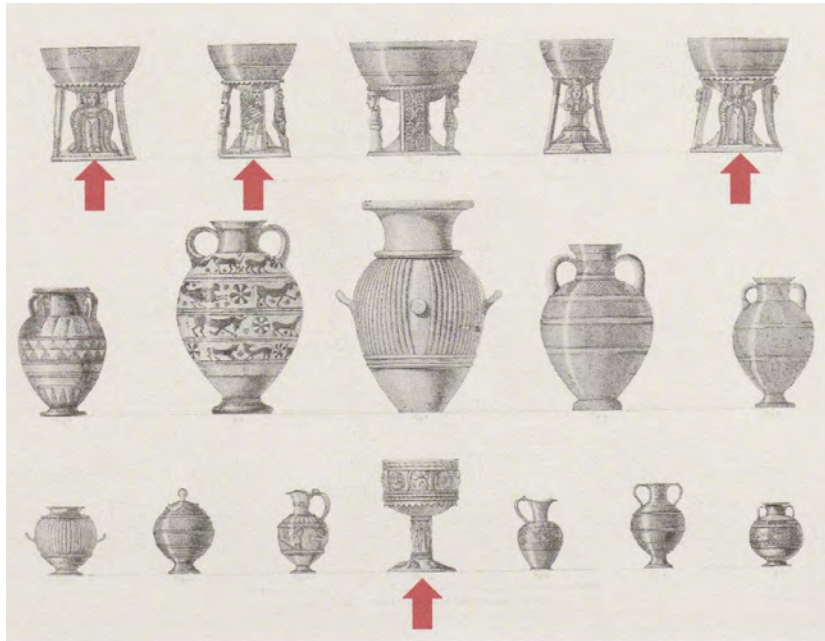


Figure 11

Illustrations of objects from Veii by L. Gregori. The red arrows show the vases that match the vases from the Campana Collection in the Louvre (after Canina 1847, pl. XXXIV).

Previous work by Delpino already followed this line of inquiry with the presentation of the Caracciolo drawing, which was made several years before the discovery. Furthermore, having conducted an accurate re-examination of the publications by Campana, Dennis and the Grifi's list, we can clearly see that these documents show irregularities both in the documentation of the grave goods as well as the composition of the funerary context. Special attention should therefore be paid to the 'stand-in pans' mentioned by Dennis or the '*tre vettine coi loro catini*' mentioned by Grifi, which are a key piece of evidence proving that the objects were put together by someone who was unaware of their historical function.

In addition, the article by Roncalli has demonstrated that the cinerary urns did not originally belong to the Tomba Campana, but hail from Orte. A conclusive piece of evidence for this discovery is the document found by Sarti, which shows that Campana himself participated at the excavations at Orte, together with Arduini and Ferri. This links Campana to the location where the three terracotta cinerary urns were originally found, and indicates that Campana, possibly in cooperation with Arduini, put the cinerary urns in the Tomba Campana. Roncalli suggests that it is plausible that there are more objects from the Tomba Campana with dubious origins, and, in fact, two of the three tufa heads are more likely to come from Vulci than from Veii, according to Hus and van Kampen. The antique vases that are now in the Louvre are firm proof that either these vases were already part of Campana's collection and were used to stage the Tomba Campana or that they were taken out of

the tomb after the discovery and show us how the grave goods from the tomb disappeared over time.

Not only the examination of the objects of the tomb, but also the biography of Campana (and his network of antiquarians), has given us insight into his way of collecting archaeological objects, emphasising how Campana restored the objects in his collection. His restorations were not focused on conservation, but merely on the completion of objects in an aesthetically pleasing way. This habit of combining ancient and modern objects can also be seen in the Villa Campana, where he assembled ancient statues with plaster casts, set against the background of his Roman-style villa. This habit of conservation was not unusual, since it was common practice among antiquarians of the 19th century to make reconstructions, as is shown by the example of Canina and the reconstruction of the Via Appia.⁵⁹ From this perspective, and bearing in mind the Campanari exhibition of reconstructed tombs, the step towards an entirely staged tomb must not have been that big.

By revisiting the 19th- and 20th-century publications and archival documents about the Tomba Campana, this paper has provided new insights and new evidence that confirms the hypothesis of earlier publications by Roncalli and Delpino, who questioned the authenticity of the Tomba Campana. Further research could give a definitive answer about the origins of some of the grave goods from the tomb. In the same vein, recent research on the wall-paintings in the Tomba Campana has started under the supervision of Lucina Giacomini and Francesca Boitani with ENEA laser technology. The results of this study have not yet been published, but they will be of decisive importance for the many questions on this tomb that still have to be answered.⁶⁰

59 Dyson 2006, 37-38.

60 The Louvre recently dedicated a large exhibition on the Campana Collection that was held from 7 November 2018 until 18 February 2019 with the title: *Un rêve d'Italie: la collection du marquis de Campana*. In this exhibition the Campana Collection was partially brought back together.

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