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“But even if you throw all the junk into the Spree...”

The History and Provenance of the Campana Reliefs in the Berlin Antikensammlung

Abstract

Rohden and Winnefeld were familiar with the Campana reliefs in the Berlin Antikensammlung and thus published many of them in 1911. Even though they give a summary of the collection's history, more can be said about the provenance of some fragments. Although their actual find spots and ancient contexts may remain uncertain, the collection history reveals not only networks between different protagonists within the art market such as excavators, dealers, and collectors, but is also a prominent example of a modern perception of the reliefs. It becomes apparent that their esteem underwent a crucial shift during the 19th century that can be detected well in Berlin. On the one hand, the major acquisition of Campana reliefs was made in 1842 but considered rather unimportant by the museum's archaeologist. On the other hand, later entries into the collection were immediately exhibited at the museum galleries. Furthermore, the genesis of Rohden and Winnefeld's corpus is much related to the Berlin Antikensammlung.

Even though the Berlin Antikensammlung houses one of the largest collections of Campana reliefs outside of Italy (with around 1200 reliefs and fragments), its history is not well known and has only briefly been told.¹ In the following, I want to make a first contribution to this subject, which is also a major aspect of my dissertation project.² Since these objects will serve as the source for my further research on Campana reliefs, the collection itself – with its complex and varied history – has been the subject of my reflections as well. Therefore, I will relate the collection's history to the general research history of Campana reliefs.³ Where do the objects come from that are currently housed in Berlin? What information can be derived about their provenance or excavation context from their previous owners or relations to other collections? And

- 1 Maischberger 2016 outlines the history of the collection of terracottas in Berlin, primarily focusing on figurines. The similarities to my subject are obvious and diverse.
- 2 Quotations are translated into English by the author. Inventory numbers of Campana reliefs held in Berlin (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) are written **in bold**.
- 3 On the research history, mainly concerning the 19th century, see: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 3*–11*; Borbein 1968, 202–204; Micheli 2006; Bøggild Johannsen 2008b, esp. 122–124; Siebert 2011, 13–21; Reinhardt 2013, 147–151; Lejsgaard Christensen – Bøggild Johannsen 2015, 9–22.

overall: how can we characterise the modern reception of Campana reliefs in Berlin in terms of the history of collections and research?

Acquisitions before the Foundation of the Museum in 1830 – the First Campana Reliefs in Berlin

The Berlin Antikensammlung is rooted in the collections of Brandenburg and Prussian electors and kings. In 1698, the first documented Campana reliefs arrived in Berlin when Elector Friedrich III (from 1701 King Friedrich I in Prussia) acquired the collection of the Italian scholar Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696). His heirs had offered the collection to the head of the *Kunstammer*, Lorenz Beger, who published numerous of these objects in the third volume of the *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus*.⁴ Although Friedrich's son and successor, King Friedrich Wilhelm I – the so-called 'Soldier King' – had already donated 36 of the most precious statues to Dresden, forming the core of the local collection of antiquities, most of the terracottas remained in Berlin.⁵ Today, eight fragments of Campana reliefs can still be attributed to Bellori's collection in Berlin (Figs. 1. 2).⁶

A systematic extension of the collection was not undertaken until the 19th century. In 1810, it was decided that a public museum was to be founded in Berlin. It was inaugurated at the Lustgarten in 1830 – today's Altes Museum. A high-calibre collection was therefore necessary, enriched by acquiring various large and small private collections.⁷ Additional Campana reliefs came to Berlin in the 1820s with three of these collections: the Koller collection,⁸ Bartholdy collection,⁹ and the Ingenheim collection.¹⁰

4 Beger 1701; Heres 1974, 237f.; Heres 1977a, 98; Heres 1978, 6–16; Heres 2000, 499; Vaiani 2002, 85. 91f.

5 Heres 1974, 238f.; Heres 1978, 13f.; Heres 2000, 500f.

6 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 4*; Heres 1978, esp. 34; Vaiani 2002, 127. 149 with notes 301–304; Maischberger 2016, 168 with note 14. – **TC 244**, 'Gefangene auf dem Wagen': Beger 1701, 339; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 53*. 132. 276 pl. 73; Borbein 1968, 40 with note 207 pl. 7, 2; Akimova 2005, 107 cat. 197; Tortorella 2008, 310 cat. 4, 1. – **TC 252**, 'Zwischen Rankenwerk stehende Flügelfrau': Beger 1701, 284; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 203. 292 pl. 107, 2. – **TC 411**, 'Kelterung': Beger 1701, 255; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 4*; Rauch 1999, cat. 666. – **TC 412**, 'Kelterung': Beger 1701, 252; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 4*; Rauch 1999, cat. 631. – **TC 418**, 'Sitzende Gottheiten im bacchischen Kreis' <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1200207>> (31.03.2022): Beger 1701, 271; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 35 fig. 73; Rauch 1999, 128. – **TC 425**, 'Bacchische Weihe': Beger 1701, 244; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 57; Rauch 1999, cat. 405. – **TC 558**, 'Siegessägtin beim Stieropfer': Beger 1701, 285; Borbein 1968, 86 with notes 408. 415 (mistakenly called 553); Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 301 (mistakenly called 553). pl. 128, 2). – **TC 559**, 'Siegessägtin beim Stieropfer': <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1200213>> (10.08.2023): Beger 1701, 285; Borbein 1968, 85 with note 404; 86 with note 415; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 83. 85. 284 pl. 89, 1.

7 Heres 1977b, 104f.

8 <<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/sammlungen/1005846>> (10.08.2023); Heres 1977a, 188f.; Kästner – Saunders 2016b, esp. 9–17; Maischberger 2016, 168.

9 <<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/sammlungen/1005737>> (10.08.2023); Heres 1977a, 118 with note 159; Netzer 2004, *passim*; Maischberger 2016, 168.

10 <<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/sammlungen/1005613>> (10.08.2023); Heres 1977a, 118; Fendt 2012a, 116.



Fig. 1 Engraving from Beger's catalogue (Beger 1701, 285) showing the plaque in Berlin, Antikensammlung, Inv. TC 599.

Image: Public Domain <<https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.3460#0314>>.



Fig. 2 Photograph of a Campana relief with Victory sacrificing a bull. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Inv. TC 599.

Image: © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

All three men were diplomats and officers, respectively, in the first decades of 19th century Italy, in Rome and Naples, and founded – as was the fashion at the time – collections of antiquities. Campana reliefs were in no way at the centre of the collectors' interests, and neither their number nor quality seem to have influenced the decision to buy these collections for the museum. Rather vases – of which Koller possessed 1348 pieces – and marble works stood out. With the Ingenheim and Bartholdy collections came five pieces each, and with the Koller collection at least 62 fragments came to Berlin. Among the outstanding other works, Campana reliefs can be considered as 'bycatch' – in contrast to the careful reception of single Campana plaques by some architects and artists of that time.¹¹

There were, however, some 'pearls' or 'big fish' within these collections. Both Koller and Bartholdy had obviously bought fragments found in the Quadraro area near Rome, namely three of Hercules' labours: fighting the lion, the Hydra, and the bull. While Koller had most of his fragments restored into complete reliefs, Bartholdy kept two broken pieces, but they obviously derived from the same matrices.¹² Such reliefs are held – among others – in the collection of the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen. As proven by a receipt, he bought the reliefs in 1832 from the sculptor Pascale Ricco in Naples.¹³ Regardless of whether Ricco restored the fragments himself, Koller might also have acquired his pieces in Naples. It is still to be debated why Bartholdy's fragments did not undergo a restoration. These pieces are an early example of what is characteristic for the modern perception of Campana reliefs: while used repetitively in antiquity¹⁴ and even excavated together, the reliefs were usually dispersed soon after. Apparently, no collector wanted to acquire replicas. Thus, Campana reliefs were received and collected as single art works, not as friezes.

The newly founded museum in Berlin kept a register for terracottas that only goes back to 1845, in which the Campana reliefs are also listed. Thus, the first inventory numbers do not reflect their entry into the museum, but rather their location at the time of the exhibition within the so-called Antiquarium. By that time, not all provenances were still known, which is why frequently only their general origin from the 'old royal collection' ('Alte königliche Sammlung') is noted.¹⁵ 'Antiquarium' is the former name of the collection of ancient 'minor art', before they were directed, from

11 See the INTRODUCTION in this volume with notes 8 and 12. Examples are discussed by: Bøggild Johannsen 2008b (influence on Thorvaldsen's artistic work and interior of Thorvaldsens Museum); Reinhardt 2013, esp. 144–151 (façade of Palais Dürckheim-Montmartin in Munich)

12 Concerning the findspot and types in general: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 51*: 93–95; Borbein 1968, 160 with note 836; Möller-Titel 2019, esp. 46–48. From Bartholdy collection (currently in Russia): **TC 71**, Hydra: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 51*: 94. 287 pl. 95, 1; Möller-Titel 2019, cat. 61). – **TC 72**, Lion: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 51*: 93. 287 pl. 95, 2; Möller-Titel 2019, cat. 41. From Koller collection: **TC 404**, Hydra: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 51*: 94. 287 f. pl. 96; Möller-Titel 2019, cat. 54. – **TC 405**, Bull: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 51*: 95; Möller-Titel 2019, cat. 71. – **TC 406**, Lion: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 51*: 93; Möller-Titel 2019, cat. 37. – **TC 1265**, Hydra: unpublished, remains unrestored.

13 Lejsgaard Christensen – Bøggild Johannsen 2015, 16.

14 See also the INTRODUCTION in this volume with note 51 (reference to Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 43* f.; Borbein 1968, 16; Tortorella 2018a, *passim*).

15 Heres 1978, 16; Kästner 2010b, 48 f. with note 2; Maischberger 2016, 168 f.

1896 on, by the same head as the collection of ancient sculpture; only gradually – at least from 1911 on – did they also institutionally form the current Antikensammlung.¹⁶ Every piece recorded by Rohden and Winnefeld as kept in the Antiquarium should be housed in the Antikensammlung today. Also, the inventory numbers are still valid, but the prefix ‘TC’ for terracotta should be added. Each group, sculpture (Sk), vases (V.I. or F), gemstones (Ge), glass (Gl) and so on, is kept in a single inventory, each starting with the number 1. A first selection of terracottas was published in 1842 by Theodor Panofka, including, among others, Campana reliefs.¹⁷

The Sermoneta Collection 1841/42 – on the Composition and Provenance of Her Collection

Only later did the vast majority of Campana reliefs come to Berlin, that is in 1841/42 with the collection of the Duchess of Sermoneta, Teresa Caetani, née de Rossi (1781–1842).¹⁸ Rohden and Winnefeld characterise it as such: “a huge number of pieces, but only few undamaged plaques, more severely restored, but mainly fragments of minor value”.¹⁹ Around 1000 numbers are recorded as the Sermoneta collection in the terracotta inventory (TC 3707–TC 4727), but not all of them are Campana reliefs. Moreover, the collection consists of numerous fragments that were joined (if possible) only after their registration. In these cases, a single relief consists of several inventory numbers. For Rohden and Winnefeld, working on a catalogue distinguishing the different types of images on Campana reliefs, this seemed to be of little value. Many image types appear in several pieces – for example, 114 fragments can be attributed to the type ‘Siegessäule beim Stieropfer’ (Nike Tauroktonos).

Again, no Campana relief is the focal point of the collection, but instead a marble statue – the one of Meleager,²⁰ currently exhibited in the upper story of the Altes Museum. We know quite precisely where this statue was found. It was excavated in 1838 in Santa Marinella, near Civitavecchia, during an excavation project initiated by the Duchess of Sermoneta. Emil Braun, who was director of the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica at that time, personally gave a report about the excavations that were continuing for the next two years. Again, Emil Braun and the sculptor Emil Wolff found the statue for young King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who was delighted by it.

16 Kästner 2010a, 42.

17 Panofka 1842, 17–22 for pl. 6, 2 (TC 64). 54–58 for pls. 15. 16 (TC 1310); 96 f. for pl. 30 (TC 561); 108–110 for pl. 34, 2 (TC 419); 115 f. for pl. 36 (TC 413); 130–132 for pl. 43 (TC 3610); 132 f. for pl. 44 (TC 408); 150 f. for pl. 48 (TC 407); see also Maischberger 2016, 168.

18 Caetani 1920, 90 no. 109 pl. A–39: “Donna bella e di grande intelligenza, ma di natura imperiosa”; Sacchetti 1980, 275 with note 138; Kästner 1993, 109.

19 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 9*: “eine sehr große Zahl von Stücken, doch nur wenige unversehrte Platten, mehr stark ergänzte, hauptsächlich aber Bruchstücke von meist geringem Werte”.

20 Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 215 <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1062467>> (10.08.2023); MonInst 3, 1839–1843 pl. 58 <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/2466139>> (10.08.2023); Braun 1838, 1 f.; Borsari 1895, 200; Blümel 1938, 22 f. cat. K 235 pl. 48; Gianfrotta 1972, 55 f. fig. 96; Neudecker 1988, 47. 100. 217 f. cat. 58, 1 pl. 27, 1; Kästner 1993, 109; Heres et al. 1997; Schwarzmaier et al. 2012, 233–235 cat. 132; Fendt 2012b, 338–342 cat. 78.

Related to this acquisition, in early 1842, the Campana reliefs arrived in Berlin. On April 11, Eduard Gerhard, the “Archäolog am Museum” (‘archaeologist at the museum’), and thus the recipient in Berlin, writes to Emil Braun in Rome:

“I do not value the Duchessa’s terracottas any more highly when I take stock of them than I did when I first saw them. The complete plaques are very dear to us, although there is hardly any new scholarly information in them; in the fragments there are all kinds of pleasant things, but the mass of the insignificant things is overwhelming, and there is little prospect of finding whole plaques from the fragments, singularly little or nothing. The totality, after I have made so much fuss about it, is defeating in comparison with the collections known to us. You can imagine that I speak quite differently to our people here; so many pleasant things remain as a result of this purchase, but the curse that a conscientious museum official has to register Etruria’s useless rubbish is not so easily overcome. I mean, one could have chosen from the unsorted lot, saved a lot of small architectural fragments from costly transport – and I know your answer beforehand that one has to send everything down the throat of the people who want to stick their noses into everything themselves.”²¹

Emil Braun, on the other side, tries to console his colleague, writing on April 23, 1842:

“That you have so much trouble and distress from the terracotta crumbs of our poor Duchessa, concerns me deeply. I had wanted to spare you it, but Berlin ordered otherwise and imperiously. But even if you throw all the junk into the Spree, you have made a double [...] purchase. Just stick to the main things and forget everything else: the Meleager is a piece that will not easily be found again on the market.”²²

- 21 “Die Terracotten der Duchessa schätze ich beim Inventarisieren nicht höher als beim ersten Anblick. Die vollständigen Platten sind uns sehr lieb, obwohl kaum eine neue Erudition darin steckt; in den Fragmenten ist allerlei angenehm, die Masse des Unerheblichen aber erdrückend, zur Ermittlung ganzer Platten aus den Fragmenten wenig Aussicht, singular wenig oder Nichts, die Totalität nach so viel Aufhebens das ich davon gemacht im Vergleich mit den uns bekannten Sammlungen niederschlagend. Sie können denken, daß ich unsern hiesigen Leuten gegenüber ganz anders spreche; es bleibt so viel Angenehmes als Resultat dieses Ankaufs übrig aber den Fluch den ein gewissenhafter Museumsbeamter hat Etruriens unnützen Plunders registrieren zu müssen verwindet man nicht so leicht. Ich meine doch man hätte aus dem Groben aussuchen, eine Menge kleiner architektonischer Fragmente dem kostspieligen Transport entziehen können –, und weiß Ihre Antwort vorher daß man den Leuten die in Alles die Nase selbst stecken wollen eben auch Alles auf den Hals schicken muß.”
- 22 “Daß Sie von der Terracottenbröckelei unserer armen Duchessa so viel Mühe und Noth haben, geht mir nah. Ich hatte sie Ihnen ersparen wollen; allein von Berlin aus befahl man anders und perentorisch. Aber auch wenn Sie den ganzen Rummel in die Spree werfen, so haben Sie einen doppelten R[...]thkauf gemacht. Halten Sie Sich nur an die Hauptsachen und denken Sie Sich das andere ganz hinweg: der Meleager ist ein Stück wie es im Handel so leicht nicht wieder vorkommt.”

On the one hand, this correspondence is amusingly frank, while on the other, it conveys two important pieces of information; that the fragments were found at an excavation in Etruria, and that indeed everything was brought to Berlin. Also in favour of this assumption speak the characteristics of the pieces within the lot. If the material came from the art market (and not from an excavation), the fragments would have already been assembled, and there would not be so conspicuously many identical fragments. Regardless, the fragments arriving in Berlin – once again – did not cause any outburst of joy, while the statue of Meleager did.

Obviously, duplicates or fragments did not arouse any interest at the Antikensammlung. The ideal seems to have been complete – or completed – reliefs, as known from the Campana or Townley collections. Furthermore, the reliefs’ uniqueness was appreciated and demanded – a surprising difference to sculpture, for which a certain canon was, if necessary, created using plaster casts. Unlike the collections in Jena or Bonn,²³ the Berlin collection did not house many plaster casts of Campana reliefs – but as mentioned previously, the Campana reliefs here belonged to the Antiquarium, and not to the collection of ancient sculptures. Even though the fragments from the Sermoneta collection represent the results of excavations, their authenticity was valued less than their aesthetic appearance.

Returning to the Sermoneta collection itself, it is probable that not all pieces come from the same place – and not all the material was sent to Berlin. Aside from the excavation in Santa Marinella, the Duchess also excavated at other places in Etruria and Latium²⁴ from which the Campana reliefs might have come. At least, some bronzes and Etruscan terracottas in Berlin supposedly might derive from these other excavations.²⁵

Furthermore, some pieces from the Sermoneta collection find close parallels in pieces from the collection of Thorvaldsen in Copenhagen, for example, two reliefs with ‘Schwebende Flügelwesen’, both shown by Rohden and Winnefeld.²⁶ Moreover, in both collections there are fragments of ‘Athena beim Schiffbau’ (with a third similar piece from the Campana collection, Fig. 3)²⁷ and of a so far unique ornamental stripe with

23 For the collection in Jena see the chapter in this volume and Sängler 2018, 156–158. For Bonn see: <https://arachne.dainst.org/search?fq=facet_kategorie:%22Reproduktionen%22&fl=20&q=bonn%20campana*> (10.08.2023) and M. U. Heinrich in: Bauer – Geominy 2000, 137–139 cat. 22. 23 a–c.

24 Naso 1996, 135 f. with note 168 refers to Archivio di Stato in Rom (ASR), Camerlengato, p. II, tit. IV, b. 236, f. 2345; Werner 1998, 284 with note 1 refers to ASR, Ministero del Commercio e Lavori Pubblici, b. 678.

25 Berlin, Antikensammlung **Fr. 2315 (=Misc. 2716 a)** <<https://id.smb.museum/object/692297>> (10.08.2023); Kästner 1993, *passim*, esp. 116.

26 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 194. 265. pl. 53 1. 2; **TC 3911, TC 4011, TC 4030, TC 4139, and TC 4426** <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1199994>> (10.08.2023): Borbein 1968, 38 with note 185; 192 with note 1026). – Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum H1087 <<https://kataloget.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/en/H1087>> (10.08.2023): Borbein 1968, 38 with note 185 pl. 5, 3; Lejsgaard Christensen – Bøggild Johannsen 2015, 126 f. cat. 74. A third relief acquired 1826 or 1832 from the Dodwell collection in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen NI 1050 is mentioned by Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 194. 265.

27 **TC 4136**: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 13 fig. 15. – Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum H1068 <<https://kataloget.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/en/H1068>> (10.08.2023): Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 13 fig. 16;



Fig. 3 Campana relief showing Athena's head, the ship Argo's beam, and the head of a worker. Paris, Louvre, Inv. S 6785.

Image: © 2018 Musée du Louvre / Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines; S 6785. <<https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010314104>> (31.03.2022).

lion heads and acanthus.²⁸ It has not yet been brought together with any image type, but it may – as recent findings from Cumae suggest – also belong to the depiction of Athena building the Argo.²⁹

What is the relationship between Thorvaldsen and the Duchess of Sermoneta? According to archive material, the Duchess had already tried to sell her collection to the Vatican in 1831 – that is, before most of her excavations had taken place. This means that already at that time there must have been a collection of Campana reliefs to sell. The representative of the Vatican, Luigi Grifi, was not interested in the collection and declined acquiring it.³⁰ Thorvaldsen was also invited to the “Palazzo Caetani in the Botteghe Oscure in order to examine the terracottas offered by the Duchessa for sale to the government”.³¹ Maybe some of the artefacts drew Thorvaldsen's interest, and he bought them.

Aside from that, there are some restored plaques within the Sermoneta collection, such as **TC 3707** or **TC 3709**.³² Some of them have been restored again later which

Lejsgaard Christensen – Bøggild Johannsen 2015, 119 cat. 65. – Paris, Louvre S 6785 <<https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010314104>> (10.08.2023).

28 **TC 3837** <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1200855>> (10.08.2023): Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 33* f. fig. 12 left. – Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum H 1130 <<https://kataloget.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/en/H1130>> (10.08.2023): Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 33* f.; Lejsgaard Christensen – Bøggild Johannsen 2015, 175 cat. 128.

29 Capaldi 2006, 309 f. fig. 31, 6–8; 317 fig. 31, 29.

30 Naso 1996, 135 f. note 167: “non ebbe seguito per lo scarso interesse attribuito da L. Grifi ai reperti”; Naso 2004, 291 f. note 11. Naso refers to ASR, Camerlengato, p. II, tit. IV, b. 215, f. 1615.

31 <<https://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/m161831,nr.97>> (10.08.2023): “Palazzo Caetani alle Botteghe Oscure per esaminarvi le terre cotte offerte dalla Sigra Duchessa in vendita al governo”.

32 **TC 3707**, ‘Pelops und Hippodameia’ currently in Russia: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 117; Mackowsky 1936, 107 no. 113 pl. 132; Borbein 1968, 139 with note 716. – **TC 3709**, ‘Oinomaos und Myrtilos’:



Fig. 4 Campana relief with Dionysus between two kneeling satyrs, broken into pieces. The upper part is a modern addition, most of the rest is ancient. Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. TC 3717.

Image: © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Johannes Kramer (Photo).

means that they are now disassembled into pieces, as with **TC 3714**.³³ Some of these restorations must have been undertaken after the 1960s, for Borbein saw them still intact³⁴ – for other pieces, Borbein notes that they were already broken.³⁵ At least one of the 19th century restorations (**TC 3717**) was undertaken in the same workshop that also restored a relief in the Campana collection. The ornamental stripe on the top edge is unique and certainly modern.³⁶ Both pieces must come from an even older collection, for they are illustrated already in Dal Pozzo’s Paper Museum (Fig. 4).³⁷

Kekulé von Stradonitz 1905, 6–8. 18 with fig.; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 119. 297 f. pl. 120; Borbein 1968, 140 with note 726; 141 with note 728.

33 **TC 3714**, ‘Frauen schreiten neben einem Kandelaber’ <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1199969>> (10.08.2023); Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 214. 298. pl. 121, 2; Borbein 1968, 192 with note 1031; 193 with note 1033; 195 with note 1052; 211 pl. 44, 2.

34 Borbein 1968, 211. pl. 44, 2 on **TC 3714**.

35 Borbein 1968, 140 mit Anm. 726 on **TC 3709**.

36 **TC 3717** <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1199560>> (10.08.2023); Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 73 fig. 146 (only ancient part); Rauch 1999, cat. 37. – Paris, Louvre Cp 4269/S 823 (<<https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010288259>> (10.08.2023); Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 73 (mistakenly called S 768); Rauch 1999, 18 with note 154 cat. 40; Piriou 2018a, 228 cat. 224.

37 Dal Pozzo, Windsor vol. 8 fol. 206 nos. 941. 943 (one of these pieces); see also the forthcoming publication by A. Claridge and E. Dodero in the series: “The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo: a catalogue raisonné. A III (sarcophagi and other reliefs).”

All in all, the Sermoneta collection appears to be a compendium of Campana reliefs from different sources, collected over some years. In general, the Sermoneta family is not well-known for its collection of antiquities. A first collection from the 17th century was sold, together with the former home of the family, the Palazzo all'Orso, to the Ruspoli family.³⁸ Only in the late 19th century was the Palazzo Caetani, in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure in Rome, equipped with antiquities.³⁹ Anyhow, the different sources from which antiquities were collected, and the restoration of some of the Campana plaques, is proof that the family appreciated antiquities as such, and that they were not only interested in selling them. The sources of the reliefs seemingly remained unknown to Emil Braun and Eduard Gerhard.

Acquisitions in the Second Half of the 19th Century and Early 20th Century – Collectors, Art Market, Excavations, and Researchers

Even though Campana published his luxurious volumes just at this time,⁴⁰ Campana reliefs had not yet provoked any interest in Berlin. Thus, for the next decades, only a few further plaques were acquired; in the 1860s, a relief with 'Gefangene auf dem Wagen', and some plaques found at the river Tiber in Rome, near San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, showing Theseus' labours.⁴¹ Aside from that, important acquisitions were made from Heinrich Dressel, who offered reliefs to the museum. He lived in Rome, where he also collected antiquities, and later became the head of the Berlin Münzkabinett (numismatic collection).⁴² Especially after the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, the Berlin museums built up an encyclopaedic collection, with unlimited sources of money. Finally, Campana reliefs would no longer be neglected.

After returning to Berlin in 1889, Dressel offered major parts of his collection for sale to the Berlin museums. It was considered to be the "most important, certainly the most refined of all private collections at the time".⁴³ According to the "protocol of the expert commission for the Antiquarium on April 9, 1889" preserved in the Zentralarchiv of the Berlin museums, Mr. Dressel offered "a collection of terracotta reliefs [...], a collection of 25 lamps from Rome, terracotta figurines, lamps and varia [...]"⁴⁴ for which 3270 Marks were approved.

Dressel had previously acquired a relief for the Antikensammlung. According to the protocol dated July 15, 1879, Dressel "proposed acquiring a terracotta relief

38 Picozzi 2007, *passim*; Hofter 2019, 148.

39 Picozzi 2007, 281; Taglietti 2007, 283–286.

40 Campana 1842; for more recent publications see Gaultier et al. 2018, esp. Haumesser 2018b and Piriou 2018a; and the chapter by M. SZEWCZYK in this volume.

41 **TC 5880** 'Gefangene auf dem Wagen': Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 133 f. fig. 248; Tortorella 2008, 312 cat. 4, 3. – **TC 5888–TC 5890**, 'Theseus': Rutgers 1863, *passim*; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 100 f. 103. 293 pls. 110, 1, 2; Möller-Titel 2019, cats. 156, 173, 208.

42 Weiß 2007, 13–15. see 13–47 for Dressel's biography; see 59–77 for the history of his collection of gems.

43 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 11*: "bedeutendste, sicher die gewählteste aller Privatsammlungen aus dieser Zeit".

44 SMB-ZA, I/ANT 29. Recorded as **TC 8217,xx**.



Fig. 5 Campana relief with Herakles finding his son Telephos and the deer caring for him. Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. TC 7654.

Image: © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Johannes Kramer (Photo).

depicting the finding of Telephos that was bought by him for the royal museums for the price of 200 Francs”,⁴⁵ (Fig. 5) which was approved. In the inventory, Ernst Curtius notes the find spot: “in via nazionale nearby the ruins of the baths of Const. At the same time was found the pendant (Faustulus with the Lupa).”⁴⁶ The same find spot is given for some pieces in the Musei Capitolini in Rome.⁴⁷ The pendant, “a clay relief (Romulus and Remus) for 400 Marks”, is also preserved in the Antikensammlung (Fig. 6), but was offered for sale by Dressel only in 1897 – almost 20 years later.⁴⁸ Dressel clearly acquired antiquities for the museums,⁴⁹ and on his own account, selling them gradually. Thus, both the pendant showing Telephos and the one with Romulus and Remus may

45 SMB-ZA, I/ANT 29: “beantrag [Dressel in Rom] die Erwerbung eines von ihm für die kgl. Museen gekauften Terracotta-Reliefs die Auffindung des Telephos darstellend [...] für den Ankaufspreis von 200 Francs”. – TC 7654: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 96. 301 pl. 127, 2; Backe-Dahmen 2008, 85 f. fig. 43.

46 Inventory book of terracottas for TC 7654: “in der via nazionale bei den Ruinen der Const. Thermae. Zugleich gefunden das Pendant (Faustulus mit der Lupa).”

47 Anonymus 1881, 300 nos. 12. 13; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 96; Stuart Jones 1926, 342 nos. 29, a, b; pl. 123.

48 SMB-ZA, I/ANT 30. TC 8489 <<https://id.smb.museum/object/705032>> (10.08.2023): Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 97. 301 pl. 127, 1; Settis 1988, 421 fig. 197; Backe-Dahmen 2008, 90–92 fig. 47; Zanker 2009, 208 fig. 158.

49 Weiß 2007, 40–42 on Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 247 <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/18907>> (10.08.2023). For a general overview on Dressel’s activities on the art market and how this related to the museums in Berlin and Dresden see: Weiß 2007, 48–58.



Fig. 6 Campana relief with Faustulus finding the twins Romulus and Remus and the Lupa. Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. TC 8489.

Image: © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Johannes Laurentius (Photo).

have been found together at the same time and also acquired by Dressel together, but he decided to resell them separately to Berlin.

Not all of Dressel's reliefs came to Berlin in 1889 – some went to Dresden.⁵⁰ Georg Treu, the head of the local collection of antiquities, explains in a vacation request that “Mr. Dr. Dressel in Berlin [...] is willing to let us have those pieces of which there are already replicas in the Berlin Museum.”⁵¹ Again, the Berlin museums chose not to collect what was considered an unimportant replica. Nevertheless, Dressel's terracottas were highly valued and immediately exhibited in the Antiquarium's permanent collection at the Neues Museum: “Of the great collection of clay reliefs acquired in the previous quarter, the fragments of the most important frieze plaques are exhibited in the stand showcases at the terracotta hall [...]”⁵²

50 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 9* are mistaken when assuming that the sale of the Campana reliefs to Dresden took place earlier. Other objects were sold to Dresden in 1885 and 1888 (see Treu 1889; Knoll 1993, 85; Knoll 1994, 248), but no Campana reliefs.

51 Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Acten der Generaldirection der königlichen Sammlungen für Kunst und Wissenschaft zu Dresden. Betreffend die Skulpturensammlung 1888–1891, 13890 Nr. 278, fol. 62: “Herr Dr. Dressel in Berlin [...] bereit sei, uns diejenigen Stücke zu überlassen, von denen im Berliner Museum bereits Wiederholungen vorhanden sind.”

52 Curtius 1890, IV: “Von der im vorigen Quartal erworbenen grossen Sammlung von Thonreliefs sind die Fragmente der wichtigsten Friesplatten in Pultschränken des Terrakottensaals ausgestellt; [...]”; Generalverwaltung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 1891, 182.



Fig. 7 Fragment of a terracotta relief, probably from the Villa of Voconius Pollio in Marino. The foot of a dancing maenad is preserved, and the lower rim with the koroplast's fingerprints. Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. TC 8217,92.

Image: © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Johannes Kramer (Photo).

Where did Dressel get his reliefs from? Dressel clearly acquired some of them at the art market in Rome; for others, he probably visited various excavations. *This* may be the case with the reliefs showing Telephos or Romulus and Remus (see above), as well as some other reliefs, now kept in Dresden, that have their only parallels in reliefs found by Rodolfo Lanciani in the early 1880s in the villa of Voconius Pollio, in Marino near Rome. All three fragments belong to the type ‘Kelterung’ (winepressing).⁵³ The treatment of the walking Satyr's cloak is unique – it differs not only from the normal style, which is much more flowing,⁵⁴ but also from a similarly designed fragment found on the Palatine Hill in Rome – but with a smaller distance between the figure and the edge.⁵⁵ Thus, the carving and the space between the figure and the edge of the relief prove that the pieces in Dressel's collection come from Marino. To my mind, this is also evident for some large fragments depicting the Gods of Eleusis or maenads. Dressel possessed a piece showing a foot (TC 8217,92; Fig. 7). These reliefs are usually forgotten when talking about the terracotta reliefs from Marino, for they are not common Campana reliefs. Aside from their size, the handmade lower edge is characteristic – you can still see the fingerprints there.⁵⁶

53 Rauch 1999, type 3.G.6. Dresden, SKD, Skulpturensammlung bis 1800 ZV 761.110 and ZV 761.111: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 67 fig. 134; Rauch 1999, cat. 753 and 754. – From Marino, Rome, MNR: Rizzo 1976/1977, 13 fig. 7.

54 E.g. illustrated by Berlin TC 416 <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1200009>> (10.08.2023): Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 67 fig. 133; Rauch 1999, cat. 751.

55 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 53365: Pensabene 2017b, 339 no. 1363 pl. 171.

56 Rom, MNR 4372: Paribeni 1952, 99 f. figs. 9, 10; Micheli 2017, 41 fig. 4.

Other fragments may have been found on the Palatine Hill in Rome, having good parallels in pieces found there during the 19th century. This is the case with fragments of reliefs showing either Ikaros⁵⁷ or the so-called bird oracle.⁵⁸ Among Dressel's terracottas, there is also an antefix in a type so far only known from the Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi.⁵⁹ All in all, it was not uncommon to sell duplicates of those terracotta reliefs that were considered less important.⁶⁰ Lanciani himself sold some other pieces from Marino to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.⁶¹ Dressel may or may not have acquired the reliefs directly from Lanciani. An antefix from Marino entered the collections of Antiquities in Munich in 1908 as part of Paul Arndt's collection.⁶² He was an art dealer in Rome, with whom Dressel might also have had contact.

In other collections that are now housed in Berlin, there are also good parallels to pieces found on the Palatine hill. During the whole 19th century, the Palatine Hill seems to have been a major source of Campana reliefs. For example, Ingenheim possessed a relief showing a winepressing ('Kelterung') which is from the same mould as a fragment from the Palatine,⁶³ and Joseph von Kopf (see later) had bought a unique piece of cresting with its only parallel to the Palatine.⁶⁴

At the end of the 19th century, Berlin archaeologists finally systematically studied the Campana reliefs – Herrmann von Rohden, a teacher living in Alsace who was awarded a doctorate by Kekulé in Bonn,⁶⁵ and Herrmann Winnefeld, a researcher at the Berlin Antiquarium, at that time directed by Kekulé.⁶⁶ Rohden had started working on his book in the 1880s but did not finish until the end of the century. Kekulé therefore asked his employee Winnefeld to go through the manuscript, rearrange the text, and correct and update the information given. How Rohden and Winnefeld actually worked together was unclear to me, but, in the archive of the DAI in Berlin, I found some letters illustrating their relationship. Both scholars wrote to Kekulé – it is unclear if, and where, the correspondence between Rohden and Winnefeld themselves is kept. According to the letters, Rohden and Winnefeld did not actually work together, but only corrected their manuscripts. Also, it is clear that the idea was not originally to organise the book

57 **TC 8217,50** <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/23590>> top right (10.08.2023): Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 113 f. fig. 215. – Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 53382: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 113; Pensabene 2017b, 149 f. 311 cat. 1160 pl. 135.

58 **TC 8217,21** <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1200204>> (10.08.2023): Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 31*. 40*. 20. 21 fig. 31. – Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano: Pensabene 2017b, 149. 326 cat. 1266 pl. 152.

59 **TC 8217,79**: Kästner – Kunze 1988, 311 cat. D 4.15. I thank Rudolf Känel for drawing my attention to this piece. See the contribution by G. D'ANGELO in this volume, p. 198.

60 Pensabene – Sanzi Di Mino 1983, 4 with note 30 pl. 159; Pensabene 2017b, 123.

61 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 88.568 <<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/182799>> (10.08.2023). – Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 88.570 <<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/182800>> (10.08.2023).

62 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen NI 7138. Findspot according to the inventory.

63 **TC 409**: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 23*. 52*. 65. 266 pl. 55, 2; Rauch 1999, cat. 700. – Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 53396; Pensabene 2017b, 316 f. cat. 1197 pl. 142.

64 **TC 8787**: Pollak 1905, 50 no. 205 pl. 8; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 32. 164. 236. 270 pl. 60, 5. – Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano: Pensabene 2017b, 329 no. 1286. pl. 156.

65 Rohden 1953, VIII 49–51.

66 Wolters – Lullies 1988.

according to the image types – an arrangement by workshops was also proposed, but considered to be too difficult. At least, the order of plates follows this plan.

Additionally, the correspondence sheds light on the question of why such a surprising number of pieces from Berlin are discussed in the book that was finally published in 1911 – it was an explicit order of Kekulé, the editor of the series about ancient terracottas. Anyhow, Rohden had to be convinced, as it seems:

“Apart from the Parisian pieces, you want me to limit myself above all to the Berlin pieces. [...] Certainly we have a number of excellent pieces here, but there are not many that are so well preserved and such good examples of their type that one would want to put them on the plates as exemplars. The large plaques with the deeds of Herakles, for example, can hardly be excluded; but what good are the Berlin and Parisian examples, compared to the Gregorian [i.e. the pieces in the Vatican] that Otto drew. I will send you a list of the Berlin pieces, which in my opinion must be included, in the next few days; it is not large.”⁶⁷

In the end, Winnefeld probably also contributed to that – for he did quite a laborious task in Berlin. There is still a box the size of a shoebox in the Altes Museum labelled “Campanareliefs”. In this, there are around 800 pieces of paper documenting, one by one, the vast majority of the fragments of Campana reliefs in Berlin. They are grouped by image types and were – as far as my graphological skills are able to discern – written by Winnefeld. These descriptions were not included completely in the publication of 1911, nor is the inventory so detailed. They are therefore of major importance for us, for many of the pieces described here are no longer held in the Antikensammlung (see later). Aside from that, the DAI undertook a photography campaign not only in the Antikensammlung, but also in Italian museums and private collections. These photographs were used for the figures and plates in the publication, but some of them remained unpublished. Many of these can be found on Arachne/iDAI objects today. This complex genesis must be considered when reading Rohden and Winnefeld’s publication.

Being an expert on Campana reliefs, Winnefeld initiated, around 1900, the acquisition of more such reliefs. Having been considered bycatch for decades, the plaques now became a ‘must-have’. Thus, the collection of Josef von Kopf, who lived in Rome as a sculptor, was bought after his death through the personal engagement of Winnefeld. The collection contains some splendid fragments.

67 H. von Rohden, Brief vom 2. April 1893, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin, Archiv der Zentrale, Nachlass Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz: “Sie wünschen sich außer den Pariser Sachen vor allem auf die Berliner zu beschränken. [...] Gewiß haben wir da eine Reihe trefflicher Stücke, aber viele sind es nicht, die so gut erhalten u. an sich so gute Exemplare ihres Typus wären, daß man sie als Musterbeispiele auf die Tafeln bringen möchte. Die großen Platten mit den Heraklesthaten darf man z. B. schwerlich ausschließen; wie wenig taugen aber die Berliner u. Pariser Exemplare, wie gut sind die Gregorian [d.h. im Vatikan], die Otto gezeichnet hat. Ein Verzeichnis der Berliner Stücke, die meiner Ansicht nach unbedingt aufgenommen werden müssen, schicke ich Ihnen in den nächsten Tagen, es ist nicht groß.”



Fig. 8 Photograph of Joseph von Kopf's workshop in Rome.

Image: © Reproduction from Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Q 2/12 Bü 36.

While investigating the collection, I came across a photograph showing the artist's *atelier* in Rome (Fig. 8). The fragments were hanging on the wall – probably as a source of inspiration. Ludwig Pollak published a catalogue of Kopf's collection,⁶⁸ and the Campana reliefs were sold to Berlin through him. Some pieces came to Budapest through Paul Arndt,⁶⁹ one of Pollak's colleagues in Rome.⁷⁰ With Arndt's collection, another terracotta head, which had been in Kopf's and later Pollak's collection, came to Munich in 1908.⁷¹

68 Pollak 1905.

69 Oroszlán 1942, 296; Szilágyi 2003, 5.

70 Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum T.582, 'Bacchisches Opfer' <<https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/campana-relief-with-bacchic-procession/>> (10.08.2023): Pollak 1905, cat. 186 pl. 8; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 55 fig. 104; Oroszlán 1930, 63 cat. 15; Oroszlán 1942, 299f. cat. 8 pl. 47, 4; Rauch 1999, cat. 322). – T 584, 'Enthüllung des Phallos' <<https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/fragment-of-a-cornice-with-relief-decoration/>> (10.08.2023): Pollak 1905, cat. 190 pl. 8; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 54 fig. 101; Oroszlán 1930, 63 cat. 17; Oroszlán 1942, 299 cat. 7 pl. 47, 3; Rauch 1999, cat. 294. – T.589, 'Satyrknaben auf Pantheren vor einem Krater' <<https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/architectural-plaque-with-the-relief-of-a-satyros-riding-a-panther/>> (10.08.2023): Pollak 1905, cat. 194; Oroszlán 1930, 61 cat. 6; Oroszlán 1942, 300 cat. 10 pl. 48, 1. – Inv. unknown, 'Herakles auf Wagen': Pollak 1905, cat. 187; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 21*, 43f. 69 fig. 80; Oroszlán 1930, 62 cat. 10; Oroszlán 1942, 299 cat. 6 pl. 52, 1; Rauch 1999, cat. 155.

71 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen NI 6878: Pollak 1905, 39 cat. 150. pl. VII; Hamdorf 2014, 305–306 cat. D 499; Känel 2022, 148–150 fig. 7.

Furthermore, two single reliefs were acquired in 1903, according to the protocols from March 3 and December 29. Both depict so-called ‘Hallen der Palästra’, and were offered by Paul Hartwig in Rome.⁷² In fact, many museums and collections acquired similar reliefs through Hartwig, Arndt, or Wolfgang Helbig between 1902 and 1904.⁷³ Even though they were found at the same time, and thus at the same place, the wide dispersal of reliefs is a major problem for studying the contexts in which the reliefs were found. How many more fragments can be attributed to this context? In how many cases do we have no idea about the origin of the reliefs? The wide spread of plaques in museums all over the world leads to the impression that they come from different sources – this is misleading. As we have seen, fragments made in the same mould were usually also found together.⁷⁴

The Impact of World War II – Losses and New Possibilities

As far as I am concerned, no major acquisitions were made beyond this point. The Antikensammlung even lost objects during World War II. During the war, the collections were stored in safe places – both within and outside of Berlin. At the end of the war, the collection was stored in areas conquered by different Allies, where Soviet, American, and British troops recovered them. While the latter brought them to so-called collecting points (in this case, the Americans in Wiesbaden and the British in Celle),⁷⁵ the Soviets carried more than 2.5 million museum objects from Berlin, Dresden and other cities in their occupation zone to the Soviet Union as reparations – including the reliefs of the Great Altar of Pergamon and many Campana reliefs.⁷⁶ There has been intensive and fruitful cooperation between German and Russian archaeologists to study this shared history.⁷⁷ Other objects were destroyed or damaged during the war: some lost their inventory numbers and thus vanished. Even today, many pieces carry provisional numbers given during the evacuation (x-numbers), or later y- or ü-numbers. In some cases, more than one provisional number was given because the prior became illegible.

Only at the end of the 1950s, did artefacts and art objects from all the occupation powers return to Berlin,⁷⁸ but many objects are still housed in Russian museums. This is the case for Campana reliefs from all collections, but particularly from Dressel’s and Kopf’s. In general, only since the German reunification in 1990, has it been possible to

72 **TC 8739**: Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 145. 280 f. pl. 82; Perry 1997, 43 no. 1; Reinhardt 2016a, 251 with note 55; 254 fig. 13. – **TC 8814**: Hartwig 1904, 109 fig. 100; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 147. 281 pl. 83; Reinhardt 2016a, 251 with note 55; 252 with note 61; 255 fig. 14.

73 For an overview see: Hartwig 1903; Hartwig 1904; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 145–147. 280 f. pls. 82. 83; Reinhardt 2016a, 251 with note 55; 252 with note 61.

74 See also the introduction to this volume with notes 30. 31.

75 Kästner 2010a, 44 f.; Heilmeyer 2018, 15.

76 Kühnel-Kunze 1984, 71–75; Akinscha et al. 1995, 51; Akimova 2005, 98–108; Chapuis – Kemperdick 2015, 11.

77 Maischberger 2016, 171 f.; a result of this cooperation is, for example, the publication of the so-called Victoria of Calvatone: Staatliche Eremitage – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung 2020.

78 Kühnel-Kunze 1984, 262. 268. 282; Akinscha et al. 1995, 51; Anders 1999, 70; Schade 2004, 234–236; Heilmeyer 2018, 24. 29–37.

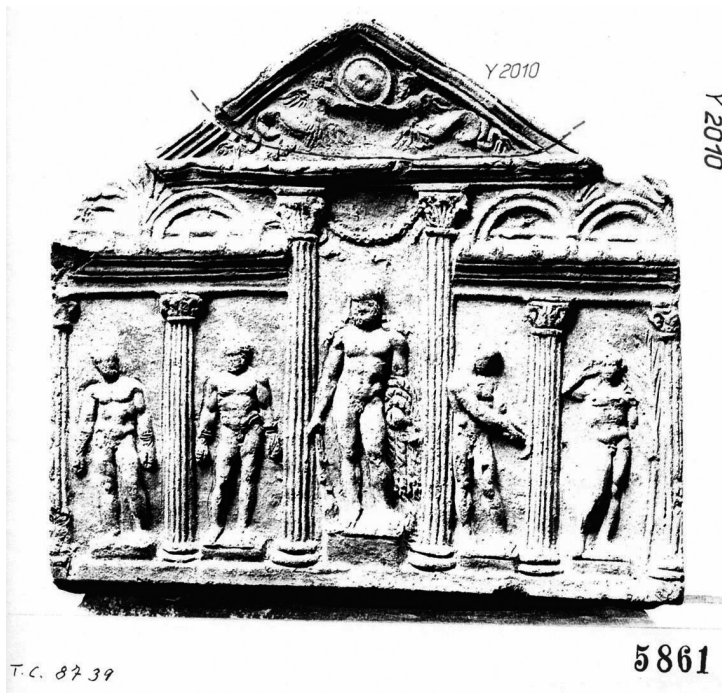


Fig. 9 Fragment of a Campana relief depicting a *palaestra*, with only the pediment preserved in Berlin. Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. TC 8739.

Image: © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

get an overview of what has been lost or is still in the collection. The Antikensammlung has already issued a first volume of losses during World War II,⁷⁹ but terracottas are not yet listed.

I can present some numbers, at least as a preliminary estimate: in total, around 1200 numbers are listed as Campana reliefs or fragments for the Antikensammlung. During the division, there were 65 recorded in the Pergamonmuseum (East Berlin) and 760 for the Antikenmuseum in Charlottenburg (West Berlin). Additionally, some dozens carry provisional numbers. Around 300 pieces are missing today, of which I was able to identify around 50 within Russian collections. Russian colleagues have both published some objects in course of an exhibition in 2005, and run an online lost art-database,⁸⁰ but still the identification is not always easy, for the pictures provided are quite small. Among the 250 other missing pieces, there are certainly many that currently carry a provisional number. Many of these will never be identified again due to undetailed descriptions and their bad state of preservation.

These are some case studies of problems that emerged due to the evacuation and other effects of World War II. In most cases, I have needed to compare the current preservation or label with old descriptions in the inventory, Winnefeld's descriptions

79 Miller 2005.

80 Akimova 2005, esp. 98–108; <<http://lostart.ru/en/index.php>> (10.08.2023).

or the publication of 1911. If accessible, photographs are of help, of course. Some objects were also damaged during the war, for example, some parts are now missing or surfaces are damaged. This is the case of **TC 8217,56**; Rohden and Winnefeld knew the whole fragment, but today, the upper frieze is lost. In other cases, objects carry the wrong number – for example, the object with the number **TC 43** must be identified as **TC 8217,56**.⁸¹ Thus, a piece considered to be from the old royal collection actually turns out to belong to the Dressel collection. Also, in the major publications on Campana reliefs (Rohden – Winnefeld, Borbein, Rauch and so on), there are sometimes spelling errors that are copied by all other publications. Some broken reliefs are kept partly in Berlin, partly in Russia, as with **TC 8739**, of which only a fragment from the upper pediment is still in Berlin – the major part is kept in Moscow (Fig. 9).⁸²

Conclusion – a Distinct History

Having studied the history of collecting Campana reliefs at the Berlin Antikensammlung in detail, the material can still be studied further. Concerning the reception of Campana reliefs, the whole category of terracotta reliefs was considered rather unimportant throughout the centuries, and only entered the collection as a kind of ‘bycatch’, with a few exceptions when complete reliefs were acquired. Thus, I cannot yet detect preferences for acquiring reliefs according to their depictions, preservation and so on. Beger’s publication of the *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus* in 1701 remains an extraordinary exception to this reception. Even though this hypothesis demands further consideration, not unimportant for this estimation may have been the division of the collections in Berlin into a collection of ancient sculptures and another of ‘minor art.’ Despite belonging to the Antiquarium because of their material, these architectural terracottas would have, in some respects, found a much more suitable home in the collection of ancient sculptures. As it was, nobody was too enthusiastic about the reliefs. Therefore, unsurprisingly, the gradual consolidation of both collections around 1900 led to a rising interest in the reliefs. As seen, the reliefs’ uniqueness, state of preservation (mainly of the reliefs, less of the colours), and the quality of the depictions were important for the Antikensammlung. During the intense study and acquisition policy of that period, they became a favourite object. Other important factors are the flourishing art market in Rome, stimulated by the ongoing excavations at that time, and the special personal interest of scholars such as Rohden and Winnefeld with relation to Berlin.

But, at the same time that scholars began to discuss the value of copies, despite the long tradition of plaster cast galleries and museums, they were banned from some museums and the ‘original’ (as a contrary to the ‘copy’) gained its ongoing status.⁸³ An impressive example of this dramatic change is the plaster cast collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Within only 30 years, it grew to the third largest museum collection of its kind, but the museum stopped buying new casts in 1902, and shortly

81 **TC 8217,56**, ‘Kelterung’; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 41*. 66 fig. 132; Rauch 1999, cat. 630.

82 **TC 8739** (see note 73) divided into **Y 2010** (still in Berlin), and Moscow, Pushkin Museum AT 3700: Akimova 2005, 103 cat. 190; Kästner 2010b, 55 figs. 10. 11.

83 See, for example, the volume: Alexandridis – Winkler-Horaček 2022.

afterwards completely dissolved its collection.⁸⁴ The interest in mould-made reliefs may also have cooled in the context of these changes in value. Quite a special problem for the study of Campana reliefs is, of course, World War II. But on the wave of recent activities on Campana reliefs, the Berlin collection shall not disappear from view.

In general, modern scholars and museums have usually collected – and thus understood – Campana reliefs as single art works. Numerous plaques found in the same place at the same time were dispersed because a collection of replicas was, for a long time, considered less valuable. The arbitrary selection of undamaged material during the last 200 years, and the sometimes creative restorations in modern times, have led to quite a narrow perception of the Campana reliefs. In fact, the modern reception contradicts the ancient usage of the reliefs as friezes which show the same scene again and again. Thus, a critical awareness of the impact of modern scholarship is necessary for properly understanding the ancient usage and characteristics of these reliefs.

All in all, the Berlin Antikensammlung offers a complex and rich collection of diverse sources that can be the basis for studying not only the ancient reception and perception of Campana reliefs, but also the modern one. Aside from this, the relation between various collections (such as Thorvaldsen's collection in Copenhagen, August Kestner's collection in Hannover, or Campana's collection in Paris) need further investigation. These studies may offer further insights into the different protagonists involved in excavations and the art market – providing information on the provenance and contexts of Campana reliefs. I hope that this article contributes significantly to this aim.

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84 Whitehill 1970, 172–217; Hirayama 2013, 90–93. 141 f. 152–155. 160 f.


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For the works cited in this article, please refer to the comprehensive BIBLIOGRAPHY at the end of the volume.

Primary Sources

The letters cited above in notes 21 and 22 are kept in the archives of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome (Archive II Gelehrtenbriefe, transcriptions) – see <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/624412>> (20.03.2024) for the letter by E. Gerhard to E. Braun, dated April 11th 1842 (note 21), and <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/2359907>> (20.03.2024) for the letter by E. Braun to E. Gerhard, dated April 23th 1842 (note 22).

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