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Tourism and Luxury Crafts: How a 19th Century Roman Family Business Charmed the Foreigners and Conquered the International Market Reinventing the Past. The Castellani Goldsmith 1814-1914

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ABSTRACT

For historical, cultural and religious reasons, Rome has always been one of the most attractive cities for international tourism. During the 18th century, when Rome became one of the more popular city of the *Grand Tour* travelers, the rich foreign visitors began to discover the products of the Roman luxury handicrafts, including reproductions of paintings and sculptures, small objects and mosaic jewels, cameos and engraved stones. In the early decades of the 19th century, the increase in tourist demand for luxury handicrafts led some goldsmiths to abandon the production of foreign-style jewels (a characteristic of the Roman goldsmiths aimed at intercepting local demand) to produce objects which value added resided in the artistic and cultural content inspired by the Italian goldsmith tradition. The craftsmen who first innovated the Roman jewellery were the Castellani. They invented the so-called "Italian archaeological jewelry", attracting immediate success among the wealthy tourists, artists and intellectuals who visited Rome during the 19th century. The paper will outline the entrepreneurial strategies adopted by the Castellani to obtain a product able to attract the taste of foreign customers who over the years also played the role of "testimonials" for the conquest of the international market.

Keywords: Roman jewellery; Family Business; Luxury Crafts; Rome; Castellani Goldsmith

Roma è stata nel corso dei secoli uno dei più importanti poli di attrazione del turismo internazionale, per motivi di ordine storico, culturale, religioso. Nel corso dell'età

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moderna, soprattutto dal Settecento quando la città divenne una delle tappe imprescindibili dei viaggiatori del *Gran Tour*, i ricchi visitatori stranieri iniziarono a scoprire anche i prodotti dell'artigianato artistico romano quali riproduzioni in copia di pitture e sculture, piccoli oggetti e monili in mosaico, cammei e pietre incise, ecc. Nei primi decenni dell'Ottocento, l'incremento della domanda turistica per l'artigianato di lusso spinse alcuni orafi ad abbandonare la produzione di gioielli di gusto esterofilo (che fino ad allora aveva caratterizzato l'oreficeria romana finalizzata ad intercettare la domanda locale) e a produrre oggetti il cui valore aggiunto risiedesse nel contenuto artistico e culturale ispirato alla tradizione orafa italiana. I primi orafi ad innovare l'oreficeria romana furono i Castellani che inventarono la cosiddetta "oreficeria archeologica", riscuotendo un immediato successo tra i facoltosi turisti, artisti e intellettuali che nel corso dell'Ottocento visitarono la città di Roma. Il paper intende ricostruire la vicenda dei Castellani e le strategie imprenditoriali adottate per ottenere un prodotto orafa capace di sedurre il gusto dei consumatori stranieri che divennero anche un tramite per la conquista del mercato internazionale.

Keywords: Oreficeria romana; Artigianato artistico; Imprese di famiglia; Roma; Oreficeria Castellani

Introduction

Today, tourism is one of the most important sectors for the world economy¹; yet its economic weight has started to take on a certain importance only from the second half of the 19th century, when thanks to the improvement of living conditions, the development of transport and communication routes, the *tour* practice has become first a fashion and, since the 20th century, a mass practice to be perceived as economically and socially relevant (Leonardi, 2003). The tourist offer has therefore diversified and, together with the luxury hotels designed for the classes of sufficient means, there are countless accommodation facilities created to meet the demands of the middle classes, which have determined a widespread economic circuit based on the supply of goods and services (Battilani, 2001, pp. 323-325). On an economic level, no less important has become the purchase of souvenir-objects with a symbolic value full of suggestion that recall a more or less traditional past, souvenirs, which contained the *genius loci* of the visited country. Until the end of the 19th century, however, Italy remained a destination country for that European aristocratic tourism born in the 16th century with the practice of the Grand Tour, although during the 18th and 19th centuries, in addition to the traditional Grand Tourists there are new visitors flows from the United States, and even from Central America. The aim of this paper is to show that even before the explosion of mass tourism, during the 19th century the demand of foreign travelers who visited the "Bel Paese" represented an imported economic resource, at least with regard to the development of artistic and luxury handicraft, thanks to the appreciation of Italian products by foreign travelers, who

became involuntary promoters of the export of the first made in Italy products. It seemed interesting, on a paradigmatic level, the link between the tourist demand and the artistic handicraft of one of the indispensable cities of the Grand Tour: the city of Rome, analyzed through the story of the short but intense activity of the Castellani goldsmith's company, active from 1814 until 1914. The paper analyzes the entrepreneurial strategies and the process and product innovations adopted by Castellani in order to find a position within the luxury handicraft appreciated by the rich foreigners visiting Rome.

1. Roman tourism and artistic and luxury handicraft

During the 18th century, the Grand Tour, practiced since the 16th century mainly by young men of aristocratic families, especially English, to complete their cultural education, was replaced gradually by that due to the landscape passion and therefore the pleasure trip that transformed Italy in one of the favorite destinations for European travelers (De Seta, 1989, p.143). With its artistic and archaeological attractions, Rome has been one of the favorite cities for foreigners who have visited Italy over the centuries. In addition to the Grand Tourists that came a bit from all over Europe, in the course of the 18th-19th there were added artists, scholars, diplomats and a vast cosmopolitan world that stayed in Rome for shorter or longer periods, being able to take advantage of an articulated accommodating system that went from luxury hotels to room renting (Paloscia, 1967, p. 49). In Rome, the "foreigners" industry acquired an important economic significance that grew during the 19th century, so much so that in 1850 the city came to count 30-40 thousand foreigners, a presence that increased by one fifth the present population (Paloscia, 1967, p. 47). In his "Ricordi di Roma", Luigi Delatre wrote: "Rome lived on foreigners, and modern Rome lives on foreigners. The main industry of the Romans is to rent rooms to foreigners; Rome is a great inn. Every year when autumn is approaching, those peregrine birds descend on Rome like quail flocks, and the Romans stretch the bird-catching net. The foreigners coming from every country are Russians, Germans, French, Spaniards; but the most numerous are English" (Delatre, 1870, p. 7).

Much of the Roman accommodation was concentrated in the so-called *quartiers des étrangers*, an area that extended from Piazza del Popolo, Via del Corso and Via del Babuino, and ended with the Quirinale hill. Even the names of the hotels located in that area testified to the cosmopolitan character of the clientele: America, Europe, New York, and so on (Girelli Bocci, 2006, p. 80). The Hôtel Ville de Londres was instead located in Piazza di Spagna, which, due to the strong presence of the English persons, was called the "ghetto of the British". And precisely in this sort of triangle frequented by foreigners, the main workshops of artists and artisans who gave life to the antique and souvenir industry were concentrated, driven by the demand of the tourists who wanted to bring with them tangible memories of that unforgettable trip, in the form of ancient finds or contemporary testimonies (Pinelli, 2010, pp. 53-97). In essence, since the 18th century, thanks to the increasing demand fueled by the many foreigners who

visited Rome, artistic handicraft began to fuel an invisible, but not irrelevant, flow of exports (Gross, 1990, p.104). The souvenirs production was divided on two registers: on the one hand luxury products such as valuable antiquities, engravings and landscapes of famous painters, micromosaic jewels and cameos; on the other hand, less valuable products for travelers with less spending capacity who could only afford to purchase paintings of low value and standardized objects such as fans and dish sets that reproduced famous landscapes, tobacco tins and brooches covered with mosaic, plaster casts or reduced-size terracotta copies of ancient statues (Pinelli, 2010, pp. 53-97). But mainly due to the production of luxury souvenirs there was a network of artists and artisans, which constituted a model of excellence: sculptors-restorers like Carlo Albacini, painters and portraitists like Giovanni Battista Piranesi, smelters and goldsmiths like Luigi Valadier, gem-engravers of the caliber of Giovanni Pinckler considered by far the most skilful jeweler of his time, in whose shop, near Piazza di Spagna, customers could buy carvings and cameos reproducing all sorts of ancient works. Then there were skilled merchants capable of procuring ancient sculptures for their wealthy clients (Pinelli, 2010, pp. 108-126).

A Roman specialty, which from the end of the 18th century became one of the most flourishing artistic industries in Rome, was the production of micromosaics² on which commissioned experts could reproduce the portraits of the buyers or the miniature of the ancient monuments of Rome (Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, 2006b, pp. 51-61). The fact that souvenirs such as cameos and micromosaic jewels were not cumbersome objects and therefore suitable to be easily transported by travelers who crossed the peninsula to visit other places and cities of art should not be underestimated (Stefani, 2011, pp. 29-36). In the early decades of the 19th century the flow of travelers who went to Rome continued to grow and consequently the demand for artistic handicrafts, so much so that the “fine arts” sector arrived to count more than a thousand employees (Vidotto, 2001, p. 238; Bartocchini 1985, p. 238). As for jewelry, however, the Roman goldsmiths of the early 19th century did not produce original jewelry, but fashionable “pieces”, inspired by the northern European jewelry, in order to meet local demand. However, the goldsmith sector represented an important branch of Roman craftsmanship. At the beginning of the 19th century there were 22 goldsmiths’ shops³. The number of jewellery shops stabilized at just over forty in the Thirties with an employment of about four hundred people (Castellani, 1881), arriving at 1,500 goldsmiths on the eve of 1870 (Vidotto, 2001, p. 20). Among the Roman goldsmith’s companies, Castellani was the first to innovate the goldsmith product, through the creation of original jewels, able to influence the fashion of the international jewelry of the time.

2. The beginning of Castellani Company and the market positioning strategies of Fortunato Pio

The brief but intense history of the jewellery company begins with Fortunato Pio Castellani (1794-1856), who, in 1814, opened the first family jewellery shop on via del Corso (Fabri, 1953): a strategic choice, considering that the street was the main artery

of the urban “triangle” frequented by foreigners and that at the time this was also the street of the most fashionable shops in the city (Capalbo, 2012, p. 36). As all the Roman goldsmiths of the time, in order to conquer and expand the rich local clientele⁴ Fortunato Pio Castellani, began by selling and reproducing fashionable jewels, in vogue at the time on the international market (Bordenache Battaglia, 1987; Sartirana, 1870, p. 60). His suppliers were the most important European goldsmiths’ houses in Geneva, Paris, London and St. Petersburg, but he also used a branched network of intermediaries sending him the “latest fashion” jewels to be sold at the beginning of the mundane season⁵. For example, in a letter to George Bloog, his British supplier, he asked for “pendeloques du dernier, dernier gout” (Aluffi Pentini, 2005, pp. 67-81); in another, addressed to the Geneva based house. Moyner et fils, he wrote: “I need a fine assortment of at least three dozen of enamelled rings ... and rich in something new, six pairs of pendants of the newest type”⁶.

His correspondence with foreign suppliers often contained requests for news on changes in jewellery style, such as those contained in the letters to his Paris associate, Giacomo Mendel (Aluffi Pentini, 2015, p. 68). But Fortunato Pio Castellani did not just sell imported jewellery; he began to produce original items, based on drawings sent to him by his European associates (Castellani, 1862, p. 16). The stratagem used by the goldsmith to insert a personal touch in the reproduction of fashionable jewelry highlighted his creative flair and the high quality standard of the workshop. It was the taste and skill Castellani showed in the details that earned him the esteem of the Roman aristocracy and of the wealthy tourists who came to Rome and began to visit his shop. Accounts from the twenties show that many customers went to the shop not only to have their old jewellery repaired or remounted, but also to commission new jewels. On March 6, 1827 Ms. Villomill, an American woman, paid 35 scudi for “gold and manufacture of 58 small roses in a necklace of turquoise and pearls”⁷; Alessandro Torlonia commissioned some jewels, including a pair of silver gilt engraved buckles in the English style⁸. The prestige of the atelier grew over the years and at the beginning of thirties he started to receive his first major commissions. The first important works seem to date back to 1833 and were commissioned by Princess Rospignosi. In order to produce those jewels, in addition to the use of fashionable stones such as aquamarine, garnet, etc., Fortunato Castellani used also materials never used before by Roman goldsmiths, like moon rocks, Naples lava and malachite (Aluffi Pentini, 2005, p. 69). The following year, Prince Borghese chose Castellani to refashion some of the family’s jewellery. The jewels in question were Pauline Bonaparte’s *corbeille de mariage* when she married Prince Camillo Borghese in 1803 and from whom she separated on June 25, 1816 (Aluffi Pentini, 1990). The jewellery was full of brilliant cut diamonds, pearls, and various precious stones which had belonged to the prince’s family for generations and which were returned to Borghese family ownership in 1825 after the death of Pauline. In 1834, for the wedding of Marcantonio Borghese to the daughter of the Duke of Shrewsbury, Gwendolyn Talbot, the Borghese family jewels, including those belonging to Pauline Bonaparte, were entrusted to Fortunato Castellani to refashion them into more modern creations. The goldsmith designed new jewels using the precious stones from the jewellery collection. The parures of diamonds, emeralds and rubies designed by the Roman goldsmith marked an important turning point not only

for the workshops' production but also for the production of jewellery in Europe at that time, in terms of both taste and construction technique. For example, 2,057 diamonds were used in the design of a large tiara consisting in 139 small Dutch roses fashioned into six individual bouquets. There were also twelve *aigrettes*, an expensive type of headgear - one of the most fashionable items of jewellery for the period - shaped into wheat ears of corn whose diamonds, thanks to an en tremblant frame, followed the movements of the wearer (Aluffi Pentini, 1990).

In order to consolidate the success he achieved, Fortunato Castellani continued to produce fashionable jewelry and started to invite working in his workshop also foreign artisans, as for example Augusto Zwerner, a famous goldsmith from Saint Petersburg who settled in Rome in 1830 (Montani, 1928; Donati, 2005), who created many jewels for the shop, specially rings⁹. An important part of the jewels marketed and produced by the company was represented also by jewels created for male customers, including: rings, tie clips, lapel pins, cigars and tobacco tins in gold or with miniatures, buttons for vests with precious stones, knobs for canes decorated with precious stones and enamels, watches with gold chains¹⁰.

3. Research and innovation: the “Giallone d’oro”

A man of eclectic culture, who was very sensitive to the changes taking place in the European artistic and cultural climate¹¹, Fortunato Castellani started his research path in order to create an innovative goldsmith's company with the ambitious aspiration - subsequently shared with the two sons Alessandro (1823-1883) and Augusto (1829-1914) - to make a radical renewal in the goldsmith's production, able to also attract the demand of the rich tourists visiting Rome that loved to buy precious souvenirs typical of local craftsmanship that recalled the ancient splendour of Rome and its artistic heritage. The cultural climate of the time contributed to orient the stylistic renewal lines of the shop. In fact, the excavations being carried out in the territories of ancient Etruria, and Campania¹² influenced fashion considerably, including that of the jewels that saw the return of the ancient ornaments like the fibula. For a cultured man and passionate about antique jewellery, but attentive to changes in fashion, like Fortunato Castellani, the new stylistic orientation of the goldsmith's production was almost obvious.

A no less important factor that would have marked the road to renewal was his passion for science, especially chemistry. In the early 1820s, helped by Domenico Morichini, a chemist at the University of Rome and Abbot Feliciano Scarpellini, director of the Osservatorio Capitolino, he finally discovered the process of electrolysis which gave gold that clear unchanging colour imprint of antique jewellery called “giallone” (Castellani, 1862, p. 16), a discovery that created quite a stir among Roman scientists and goldsmiths, in fact, on August 7, 1824 the Accademia dei Lincei, a prestigious Roman institution, was commissioned by the papal government to study Fortunato Pio Castellani's discovery (Giornale Arcadico, 1851). On August 10, 1826, the Roman goldsmith was invited by the Academy to give a lecture in which he explained the

process used to obtain the giallone (Albano, 1912; Bordenache Battaglia, 1980, p. 319). During this conference, Fortunato Pio Castellani met Michelangelo Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta, whose friendship was to be of great importance in the history of the company: he designed not only jewellery for the Castellani but also invested capital in the atelier (Walker, 2005, p. 24). In addition, Caetani's network of social relations allowed Fortunato Pio to become acquainted with the exclusive world of the nobility, the rich middle classes, intellectuals and artists of the whole western world, his potential customers (Bordenache Battaglia, 1978), and also the most famous foreign writers such as Walter Scott, Balzac, Taine, Stendhal, Gregorovius, frequent guests of the Duke of Sermoneta (Monsagrati, 2005). Moreover, Michelangelo Caetani's friendship with the banker Alessandro Torlonia allowed Castellani to be presented to many of the English noblemen who had financial ties with the Roman banker (Walker, 2005, p. 24). Another important acquaintance for Fortunato Castellani, and especially for his sons Alessandro and Augusto, was Marchese Giovanni Pietro Campana di Cavelli, an antique art and jewellery collector¹³. In 1859, following financial difficulties, Campana's collection was sold by the government of the Papal States who entrusted the jewellery to the Castellani atelier, where Augusto made it the subject of study and restoration, producing also the sales catalogue. Many Castellani products were inspired by the jewellery in the Campana collection.

4. The Italian archaeological jewellery and "the war on fashion"

In addition to the craftsmanship, which in itself already represented an added value of the Castellani jewels, there was also the product innovation, i.e. the production of jewels that did not only copied the style of those of the antiquity, but also reproduced the color, so as to determine some to write erroneously that the Castellani were "copiers of the ancient, not innovators" (Giunta di Roccagiovine, 1962, p. 14). The results obtained thanks to the technical research and the meetings with Caetani and Campana, were the basis of the birth of the so-called "Italian archaeological goldsmith", a definition coined by the Castellani to describe their creations that marked a decisive turning point not only for the Roman firm, but also for the taste of goldsmiths of the 19th century.

The production of antique-style gold began slowly and did not lead immediately to the abandonment of fashionable jewellery¹⁴. It was only at the beginning of the 1840s that documentation on the jewellery in the atelier starts mentioning pieces of antique-style. Among the pieces listed in the inventory compiled in 1841 we can find pendants "like Etruscan style" and the "Pompei style", a round "like Etruscan style" broche, bracelets and necklaces "like antique use"¹⁵. There are also the first jewels that recall the artistic beauties of ancient Rome as two brooches with carved stones representing the facade of the Pantheon. Finally we begin to see scarabs¹⁶ that in Castellani jewellery were most popular in the fifties and sixties of the century, after the transfer of the company to the sons of Fortunato Castellani, Alessandro and Augusto, in 1851. Several items of jewellery with scarabs are found in the 1854 inventory, such as a "necklace with six

scarabs, garnets, gold chain” or a “a brooch with a big scarab bound in gold”¹⁷. The jewellery with scarabs proved popular among Castellani’s foreign customers, especially the English (Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, 2005b). The ancient scarabs used by the Castellani were often used in modern-style necklaces (Simpson, 2005). The passion for the archaeological collecting of the two brothers, together with their sense of business, inserted the shop in the other important Roman luxury souvenirs market: the one for the archaeological finds, which increased when Alessandro moved to Naples in 1862, where he opened a jewellery atelier and a ceramics school. From Naples Alessandro sent to the shop in Rome several objects found in the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum that Augusto restored to sell them to rich foreign clients or to national and foreign museums, or used them for goldsmith creations. The correspondence between the two brothers often refers to ancient jewelry, coins and scarabs. Only one of these letters reveals the dense antiquity trade to which Alessandro was dedicated: “I will soon send you an antique heart-shaped sapphire. It belongs to Mr. Doria, from Capua Vetere, my excavation partner”; “I don’t know if you have remarked that the scarab of one of those rings is extremely rare”; “The day before yesterday I had 200 Byzantine gold coins” and “16 Etruscan carnelian scarabs”¹⁸. Alessandro also urged Augusto to “do good business with the many strangers you say you are going to see”¹⁹. The channels for procuring objects from the excavations were different, including buying from the inhabitants of the area. Alessandro wrote again: “If you have charming ordinary small stones, ancient, and not ancient, send me these things. They are useful to me: I give them to the peasants who bring me some beautiful objects, and they then sell them to the foreigners in the countryside. The peasants are very greedy for such things: but you will understand that they must be cheap, in short, find some in the store and send them”²⁰. But the sense of business led the Castellani not to “fossilize” only on the first, albeit important, innovation of the “giallone”. They began to give more space to the production of engraved stones and cameos, which constituted the other important channel of luxury souvenirs appreciated by tourists (Righetti, 1952). “Try to make gain on the stones: do not waste them: it is a case that we have been able to buy so many in so short time. I believe that they will give a beautiful appearance to our work, removing the monotonous sight of the so used giallone. Believe that an ancient engraved little stone always gives great importance to jewels... and I think it’s difficult for the other goldsmiths to compete with us this year in giving shape to the season” wrote Alessandro in 1863²¹.

The Castellani had the most famous Roman engravers of cameos working for them, like Tommaso Saulini, specialized in portraits on stones and shells, and his son Luigi who was awarded a medal at the International Exhibition of London in 1862. It was Saulini who produced the oval cameo with head of the Medusa for the Castellani in 1850, auctioned at Sotheby’s on July 22, 2008. However, the most important engraver of precious stones that worked for the Castellani was Antonio Odelli, who worked with them until 1872, the year of his death. Among the works Odelli produced, there is an intaglio with the head of Mars for a seal commissioned by banker Rothschild in 1846 (Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, 2006a, p. 110). In order to satisfy the demand of the rich buyers of antique pieces, at the Castellani laboratory cameos of the previous centuries were also mounted, bought by the company over the years²².

If Fortunato Pio had a great business intelligence and capacity for innovation, the real turning point in the gold production of the shop was registered under the direction of Alessandro and Augusto, when the two brothers decided to devote themselves exclusively to original productions, abandoning definitively the sale and production of fashion jewellery. Augusto writes in his memoirs: "Under the guidance of Michelangelo Caetani, we decided to follow our own course and forget about foreign productions, focusing efforts on reproducing the works of Italian goldsmiths from the classical ages. We declared war on fashion and we won"²³. This was a crucial moment in the history of the atelier because from then on the Castellani became real jewellery designers that could captivate the tastes of European and American consumers²⁴. Moreover, the time of peace after the end of the Napoleonic wars and the progress of transports had increased the tourist flow in the Eternal City. The presence of foreigners increased even further following the election of Rome as the capital of Italy in 1871, leading to a growth in the demand for souvenirs, above all those of luxury craftsmanship. Not surprisingly, it was in the second half of the '800 that the luxury product becomes personalized and has the name of the company or manufacturer and no longer that of a powerful or a locality (Lipovetsky, 2008, p. 44). It is no longer just the value of the material that determines the luxury, but the aura of the name and the fame of the manufacturer, the prestige of the brand. The Castellani, therefore, created a brand consisting of two intertwined "C", with which to give the shop's creations the character of quality and exclusivity. The new artistic direction was also accompanied by a division of duties between the two brothers in the direction of the family business: Alessandro was entrusted with the creative part, while Augusto assumed the economic management of the company.

Over the years the Castellani began to experiment other ancient techniques of working gold, trying to reproduce the Etruscan method of granulation, a process that involved creating such tiny gold particles that were almost imperceptible to the naked eye (Walker, 2005, p. 31). Etruscan jewellery, in fact, consisted of a thin gold leaf that was cut, bent and embossed in different ways, then decorated with various kinds of filigree and minute spheres of gold achieved by means of granulation. In the past, many goldsmiths had tried to replicate this effect but to no avail. The archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann, a scholar of ancient jewellery, claimed that the art of granulation was incomprehensible to even the most expert of goldsmiths (Ogden, 2005, p. 161). For the Castellani, too, it was no easy matter. In order to discover the process of granulation, the Castellani studied the works of Pliny, Theophilus and Cellini, as well as the works of Maltese, Genoese and Indian goldsmiths (Castellani, 1862, p. 22). The secret was finally revealed in a small village in the Apennine Mountains, in the Marche region, where the jewellery worn by peasant women, it was discovered, was made in a fashion similar to the ancient methods of granulation and filigree. So the Castellani invited some the craftsmen from the village to Rome, who then managed to reproduce the ancient gold²⁵. In 1852, moreover, the two brothers introduced the production of other luxury souvenirs loved by rich tourists: micro mosaic jewels, inspired by Roman, early Christian and medieval models. The direction of the "special mosaic workshop" was entrusted to Luigi Podio, the leading micro mosaic artist of the time, who worked exclusively for their shop²⁶. and set up a "special mosaic workshop" the greatest micro

mosaic artist, who gave exclusive service in their workshop. The micromosaic conjugated to the goldsmith's art was considered "of incredible effectiveness", so much so that "large numbers of craftsmen abandoned the old methods and imitated this new style which flourished greatly" (Castellani, 1881, pp. 395-420)²⁷. An innovation of this new production sector, at the suggestion of the Duke Caetani, was the insertion in the micro mosaic jewels of the mottoes, mainly used for the necklaces with Christian symbols (Rudoe, 2005, p. 144). Duke Caetani is also attributed with the introduction of what soon became another characteristic Castellani piece of jewellery: the millefiori, an item with a circular pattern which often had a central setting (Walker, 2005). Finally, the company also added sophisticated works in enamel to its growing repertoire and a collection of pieces inspired by the Renaissance.



Figure 1: Micromosaic brooch with AMOROMA, gold and vitreous tesserae, designed for Castellani by Michelangelo Caetani .

Source: Courtesy of the National Etruscan Museum of Villa Giulia, Rome.



Figure 2: Fibula of classical inspiration, with the distinctive double "C" of the goldsmith company. Castellani manufacture .

Source: Courtesy of the National Etruscan Museum of Villa Giulia, Rome.



Figure 3: "Campana" brooch of lobed shape with granulation in gold. Castellani manufacture.

Source: Courtesy of the National Etruscan Museum of Villa Giulia, Rome



Figure 4: Brooch with cameo with the bust of Vespasiano, attributed to Antonio Odelli. Castellani manufacture. Gold, cordierite, pearl, ruby, enamel.
Source: Courtesy of the National Etruscan Museum of Villa Giulia, Rome

5. Castellani jewels: luxury souvenirs with a strong symbolic value

Although the Italian and Roman aristocracy - including the royal family of the House of Savoy - remained an important nucleus of the shop, with the affirmation of the archaeological goldsmith the Castellani clientele became international and extended to the English, German, Russian and North American aristocracy (Rudoe, 2005). The shop became an obligatory stop for all those foreign tourists who wanted to bring back a precious souvenir that contained the genius urbis Romae. In 1860 the French writer Edmond About visited the Castellani shop together with a wealthy American friend who spent a fortune on several items of archaeological-style jewellery: a necklace with pendants in gold, ivory combs, pins with mottos written on them, and numerous rings (Scarbrick, 2005, p. 285). In 1863 an American female sculptor bought a total of 106 scudi at the Castellani shop²⁸. Thanks to the purchases of rich tourists, the fashion of archaeological had crossed national borders, to the extent that in some novels of the time, the most elegant female characters wore the finest "Etruscan" jewels, usually made by the Castellani, as in the novels of Marie Louise de la Remé, a British writer known to the public under the pseudonym of Ouida²⁹. Lady Hilda Vorarlberg, the heroine of the novel *In a Winter City*, returns from a trip to Rome, where "she had bought a quantity of pictures and marbles, and bronzes, and Castellani jewellery"³⁰; and Lady Jean Challoner, in another novel by the same author - *Friendship* - written in 1878, wears Etruscan jewellery (Scarbrick, 2005, p. 293).

The success of Castellani jewellery cannot be fully appreciated without considering the strong symbolic value that they managed to confer on their creations: reviving in their creations the glorious past of Italian art, expressing in their archaeological jewellery a synthesis of what they considered the age-old tradition of Italian jewellery, dating back to the Etruscans of the early 7th century BC. No less significant was the reference to the artistic and cultural past of Rome, which for the Castellani was a centre of global importance, to the extent that many of their creations commemorated the Eternal City (Weber Soros and Walker, 2005)³¹.

The added value that the symbols conferred on Castellani jewellery, together with the high quality of their workmanship and high prices, made Castellani jewellery positional goods³²: luxury jewels that gave an immediate and clear indication of the status of the wearer, but also objects that evoked history and mythology, thus also a kind of direct participation in the greatness of Italy's ancient past. Since the 1850s, business improved greatly for the Castellani company, as can be seen from the accounts for those years, values increasing from 19,690,23 scudi in 1833 to 39,163,73 scudi in 1843, 59,061,87 scudi in the late 1850s, and reaching a peak in the mid 1860s at 92,010,59 scudi³³. According to some witnesses of the time, it seems that between the 1850s and 1860s, the period when the company was at the height of its success, the Castellani had a significant contribution to the luxury souvenir companies of Rome by creating "a new branch of industry that was worth two or three million lire a year" (Delatre, 1870, p. 126). It is not a coincidence that during this period there number of goldsmith

masters increased, with different specializations, working for the Castellani: from 14 in the period 1837 to 1883 to 23 in the period 1858 to 1860³⁴.

6. International success

Thanks to the purchases of foreign tourists, Castellani jewels were known abroad where they were a great success, to the extent that in 1860 Alessandro, who for political reasons had moved to Paris, opened an elegant store in Paris, at number 5 Avenue des Champs Elysées, where he sold the items sent to him from Rome³⁵. With his fine manners and culture, he soon began to frequent the best Parisian salons. One was that of Gioacchino Rossini³⁶. Rossini's house was frequented by prominent Parisians, who would help spread the name of Castellani in the French capital. However, the meeting which contributed most to the fame of the Castellani in the Ville Lumiere was the one with Napoleon III, who had a strong interest in ancient art. In December 1860, during a reception organized by Princess Mathilde, Alessandro presented several items from his firm's selection of jewellery to Napoleon³⁷ who bought some of the more elaborate and expensive pieces, among them a brooch based on jewellery found in the "Kul ObaÄ" excavation site³⁸.

A contribution to its international success was also the participation of the Castellani family in various Universal Expositions where the Roman firm obtained several awards: in 1861 at the First Industrial Exposition in Florence; at the London exhibition the following year; in 1867, the Paris Universal Exhibition; in 1874, the one in Vienna; In 1876 Alessandro took part in an exhibition in Philadelphia, displaying jewels made in Naples, where, as we mentioned, he moved in 1862. The atelier was attended by eminent artists, including the goldsmith Giacinto Melillo (1846-1915), who became its director and miniaturist and who, after 1870, took over the activity with great success (Walker, 2005, p. 48), continuing the tradition of archaeological jewelry, thanks to which he won the Grand Prix at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900 (Munn, 1977, pp. 20-22).

Alessandro's departure from the French capital did not cause the abandonment of his international relations. He often went to Paris and London. It is probable that on his travels to London Alessandro brought with him some Neapolitan goldsmiths, among whom his pupil Carlo Giuliano, who later opened a shop there (Munn, 1983). Sources suggest that he was at first a dealer in London for Castellani jewellery produced in Naples (Munn, 1983). Certainly Giuliano earned world renown for creations that were clearly of "Castellani inspiration", using the techniques and styles he had learned at the workshop in Naples. In his London shop he made revivalist jewellery, supplying the most famous jewellers in the West End, like for example Robert Phillips who fell in love with his archaeological style jewellery, so much so that he began to produce it himself (Munn, 1984). Giuliano's successes and Robert Phillips decision to produce archaeological style jewellery marked - probably more than any official international recognitions - the moment of the final victory in that challenge, not always underlying,

that first Fortunato Pio and then Alessandro and Augusto, made with the various fashions in jewellery in the 1800s.

Another conclusive proof of the success of the Roman company is without a doubt the growing number of goldsmiths imitating Castellani jewellery in the city of Rome itself, as for example the French jeweller Ernst Pierret, who opened in 1845 a goldsmith shop, being mentioned in Murray's Handbook of Rome and its Environs, in 1871, as "one of the foremost artists in Rome, second only to Castellani" (Scarisbrick, 2005, p. 296).

Conclusions

Once reached the peak of success, the descending parable of the Castellani³⁹ shop began. As confirmed by Augusto's autobiographical notes, at the beginning of the eighties the business was no longer that of the previous decades⁴⁰. After Alessandro's death, in 1883, the company began to record its slow but inexorable decline and the Castellani shop closed definitively in 1914. Alfredo, Augusto's son, did not show the same sense for business, nor the same innovative motivation of the predecessors.

Able to combine artistic inclinations and innovative and entrepreneurial skills, the merit of Fortunato Pio Castellani first, and of Augusto and Alessandro later, was to have sensed the potential demand of wealthy tourists visiting Rome, to whom they were able to offer jewelry with a strong symbolic content that became luxury souvenirs. Thanks to the Castellani archeological goldsmithing, Italian jewelry has, for the first time, crossed national borders and marked the goldsmith's fashion of those years, bringing the world the first great success of Made in Italy, synthesis of artisan tradition and culture of the past, wisely combined with the innovative capacity able to create unique products full of meaning.

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¹ According to the World Travel and Tourism Council, in 2016 tourism contributed 10.2% to the formation of world GDP, giving work to 1 in 10 people (Country Economic Impact Analysis, 2018). Rome, albeit with short stays, remains the undisputed capital of Italian tourism with almost 20 million arrivals and 40 million visitors a year (Bartoloni, 2017).

² The history of the Roman mosaic began at the end of 1500 in the Mosaic Studio of the Reverend Fabbrica di San Pietro. In 1731 it was found the way to compose the vitreous pastas of an almost infinite range of colors, which placed at the heat of the flame became malleable, turning into a substance suitable for being spun. Long and thin chopsticks were obtained which, once cooled, could be reduced into tesserae even smaller than one millimeter per side. The micromosaic was born (Righetti, 1952).

³ Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR), *Miscellanea Statistica*, Titolo III, Finanze, b. 9, *Stato dei bottegai e commercianti patentati a Roma [1821-1822]*.

⁴ Fortunato Castellani was acquainted with the tastes and lifestyle of the Roman aristocracy. His father having died young, he was brought up by maternal uncle, the priest Sebastian Santucci, employed as a private teacher by the princes of Chigi. He had given his nephew the opportunity to mix with members of the Roman aristocracy (Walker, 2005).

⁵ The main European correspondents of the Castellani were the Geneva Houses Bautre, Alliez Bachelord Terin, Vacheron et Costantin, Moynier et fils, Duchêne et Peyrot, Moricard et Degrange, Meynadier. The purchase of the stones took place through the mediation of several companies including the company Tanagli and Mariani of Florence and the Wateau and Mendel of Paris. ASR, Fondo Castellani (FC), *Registri, Copialettere, 1830-1850*.

⁶ ASR, FC, *Registro 19, Copialettere, 1830*.

⁷ ASR, FC, *Registro 148, Copia conti e fatture, anni 1827- 1829, ff. 6, 13*.

⁸ *Ibidem*, ff. 13, 23.

⁹ ASR, FC, *Registro 83, Descrizione degli oggetti in essere nel Negozio di oreficeria al Corso n. 174 del Sig. F. P. Castellani, 3 giugno 1833*.

¹⁰ ASR, FC, *Registro 82, Roma li 3 giugno 1833. Descrizione degli oggetti in essere nel Negozio di oreficeria al Corso n. 174 del Sig. F..P. Castellani; Ibidem, Registro 43, anni 1840 - 1843, Roma li [settembre] 1841*.

¹¹ His intellectual curiosity and broad cultural horizon clearly emerge in the numerous Italian and foreign magazines he subscribed to, which ranged from fashion and art, to literature, economics. ASR, FC, *Registro 29/1, Contabilità e giustificazioni, 1846-1895*.

¹² Etruria was an ancient region of central Italy including the territories south of the river Magra, Tuscany, part of western Umbria up to the Tiber river and part of northern Lazio. In Campania the archaeological excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii began respectively in the thirties and forties of the eighteenth century under the reign of Charles III of Bourbon, and had an increase at the beginning of the nineteenth century during the period of French occupation.

¹³ The collection of Greek, Etruscan, Roman and Byzantine jewellery, acquired in the first half of the 1800s by Marquis Campana, was one of the most important and famous private art and

antiquities collections in Europe in the nineteenth century. Campana had been appointed to prestigious positions by the papal government, such as, among others, the supervisor of the excavations of Ostia. (Fiorentino, 2005, pp. 11-17; Magagnini, 1994; Sarti 2001).

¹⁴In the early 1830s, in fact, there were very few references to jewellery in the archaeological style. On September 7, 1832 a certain Benedetto Testa paid 118 scudi for a necklace “in the Etruscan style with onyx”, a pair of earrings, a bracelet, a brooch and a *ferronnière* (a decorated band worn on the forehead); and in December 1835 Count Esterhazy bought an Etruscan gold brooch for 16 scudi (ASR, FC, Registro 151). The count was probably Nicholas Esterhazy (1807-1890), who was the Austrian ambassador in Rome until about 1856, and whose name appears on several occasions in Castellani documents (Walker, 2005, p. 30).

¹⁵ ASR, FC, Registro 83, Descrizione degli oggetti in essere nel Negozio di oreficeria al Corso n. 174 del sig. F.P. Castellani, anno 1841.

¹⁶ ASR, FC, Reg. 83, Roma li [settembre] 1841. Descrizione degli oggetti in essere nel Negozio di oreficeria al Corso n. 174 del sig. F.P. Castellani.

¹⁷ ASR, FC, Registro 88, Inventario del negozio di oreficeria, anno 1854.

¹⁸ ASR, FC, fasc. 13/1 [corrispondenza], Lettera di Alessandro ad Augusto, Napoli, 13 dicembre 1863.

¹⁹ Ibidem, Napoli, 11 novembre 1863.

²⁰ Ibidem, Napoli, 22 novembre 1863.

²¹ ASR, FC, fasc. 13/1 [corrispondenza], Lettera di Alessandro ad Augusto, Napoli, 22 novembre 1863.

²² ASR, FC, fasc. 13/1 [corrispondenza], Lettera di Alessandro ad Augusto,. Napoli, 11 novembre 1863

²³ ASR, FC, Memorie di Augusto, 196/4, 83.

²⁴Such as a cameo brooch depicting George Washington, designed for an American buyer, now in the Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia in Rome. The cameo is attributed to Giuseppe Girometti (1780-1851), one of the most famous engravers of the time in Rome, who worked for the Castellani (Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, 2005a, p. 93).

²⁵ It should be noted that the techniques used by the Castellani to produce granulation were not the same as those used in ancient times, when the beads of metal were welded with the help of carbon dust. The Castellani used more modern methods, such as gluing together the granules of gold (Venturelli, 2003, p. 110).

²⁶ASR, FC, b. 196, Ricordi di viaggio e ricordi personali di Augusto Castellani, 2 marzo 1888 (Rudoe, 2005, p. 135; Castellani, 1881, p. 408).

²⁷ In 1866 in Rome there were 18 mosaic workshops and 172 craftsmen employed in making micromosaics.

²⁸ ASR, FC, Registro 106, Cassa del negozio, anno 1863.

²⁹ The writer lived most of her life in Italy, dying in Viareggio on January 25, 1908.

³⁰Novel of 1876, published by Elibron Classic Series, in 2006, quote on p. 224. The episode is also quoted by Diana Scarisbrick (2005, p. 293).

³¹ Inspired by Roman art included paper knives, tie pins, hair clasps, and gold jewellery with mosaics based on those in the catacombs of Rome and the Lamb of God in the church of Saints Cosma and Damiano.

³² As defined by Fred Hirsch (1976).

³³ The Pontifical lira was introduced in 1867 in the lands still belonging to the Papal States. For the sake of uniformity, values in lira have been converted to Roman scudi (5 papal lire = 1 scudo), since for the greater part of the period in question the Roman scudo was the official currency. The value of the jewels is that listed in the annual inventories of the shop compiled

by the Castellani. ASR, FC, Contabilità particolare, Negozio, Inventari, Registri 82-98, anni 1833-1905.

³⁴ ASR, FC, Registri nn. 126 – 131.

³⁵ Alessandro went to Paris as a voluntary exile to avoid being arrested for his political activities. He transformed his stay in the French capital into a business opportunity (Fabri, 1953; Bordenache Battaglia, 1980, p. 320).

³⁶ Alessandro talks about his relations with Rossini in numerous letters sent to members of his family in Rome. ASR, FC, b. 18/3/b, Alessandro's letter to Augusto, July 9, 1860, and Alessandro's letter to Guglielmo, July 21, 1860.

³⁷ ASR, FC, Lettera di Alessandro a Fortunato Pio Castellani, 11 dicembre 1860, b. 18/3/b. The letter was published in full by Francisci Osti (1981).

³⁸ Excavations carried out at the sites of Kul Oba and Great Bliznitza revealed Greeks gold artefacts from the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the strait that connects the Black Sea to the Sea of Azov in southern Russia. The Black Sea region was colonized by the Greeks at the beginning of the first millennium BC. The objects found in the excavations were taken to the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (Simpson, 2005, p. 182).

³⁹ ASR, FC, b. 198, Diario di Augusto Castellani, 1881.

⁴⁰ ASR, FC, b. 196, Ricordi di viaggio e ricordi personali di Augusto Castellani.