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Antiquity after Repatriation: New Perspectives on the Debate over Cultural Property

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Introduction

In September 1995, Swiss and Italian law enforcement officers executed a joint raid on the Geneva warehouse of notorious Italian antiquities dealer Giacomo Medici. The evidence found inside the warehouse would have far-reaching repercussions for the world of museums, art, and archaeology, redefining the way major museums acquire antiquities, igniting heated debates over the ownership of cultural property, and ushering in a resurgence of demands by origin countries for the repatriation of antiquities in museum collections around the world.

Medici's warehouse was packed with stolen classical-era antiquities: sculptures and architectural salvage in various states of restoration and disrepair, fragments of Roman mosaics, vases from the Etruscans, Corinthians, and Myceneans, and more.[1] The most explosive evidence to come out of the raid on Medici's warehouse, however, were the thousands of polaroids preserved in photo albums inside Medici's office. Among the images represented in the polaroids were an array of antiquities "apparently fresh from the ground".[2] It became clear very quickly that the objects shown in the polaroids would cause major problems for museums in the West that had long benefited from secret dealings with the black market antiquities trade.

Three years after the warehouse raid, three Italian archaeologists were granted access to Medici's albums of polaroids. One of the archaeologists, Maurizio Pellegrini, likened the photo albums to "a murder book—a voluminous catalogue of archaeological corpses stripped of their context".[3] The contents showed "priceless antiquities wrapped in newspaper, stuck in the trunk of a car, laid out on a cheap carpet, sitting on a tile floor, or propped up on a kitchen table".[4] As Pellegrini and his colleague Daniela Rizzo studied the photographs, they began linking the looted

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[1] Jason Felch and Ralph Frammolino, *Chasing Aphrodite: The Hunt for Looted Antiquities at the World's Richest Museum* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011), 52.
[2] Ibid., 152-153.
[3] Ibid., 174.
[4] Ibid.

artifacts in the pictures to objects currently in the collections of major American museums like the Princeton University Art Museum and Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ultimately, however, Medici's most frequent and reliable client was the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California.[5]

Evidence uncovered would eventually lead the Italian government to file criminal charges against Marion True, the Getty's head curator of antiquities, on conspiracy to traffic in antiquities. It was the first time that a major figure in the museum world had ever faced legal consequences for knowingly acquiring looted antiquities. In many ways, True's trial in Rome served as a chilling warning to other major museums about the repercussions of knowingly buying stolen antiquities. The publicity and public backlash incited a surge of demands from countries around the world for museums in the United States and Western Europe to repatriate objects in their collections that had been acquired in spite of evidence and suspicions of looting.

Demands for the repatriation of antiquities from museums by the objects' countries of origins have been happening for over 50 years. Among the most famous examples is Greece's ongoing battle with the British Museum for the return of the Parthenon Marbles. Ever since the Getty Museum's illicit dealings were exposed, however, the repatriation movement has been gaining momentum. In 2007, the Getty agreed to repatriate a staggering 40 objects from their collection back to Italy. Museums have met the repatriation movement with resistance, however, and while scholars and professionals on both sides of the debate have put forth many compelling arguments for and against repatriation, little progress has been made in finding a solution for resolving repatriation controversies.

This paper argues that common arguments for and against repatriation are too often based on speculation over the fate of antiquities after repatriation rather than on actual evidence. As a result, arguments over the broader issue of antiquities repatriation as well as debates over specific

[5] Ibid., 176.

repatriation controversies have become increasingly stagnant, unproductive, and polarizing. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the insights that can be gained by studying the fate of antiquities after repatriation and to demonstrate how large bodies of research focused on antiquities post-repatriation can help move the debate forward and help museums and origin countries resolve repatriation controversies in a constructive manner. Importantly, the modern debate over the repatriation of antiquities and the ownership of cultural property takes place within a distinctly postcolonial context, and the absence of evidence in these arguments exacerbates the inherent imbalance of political and economic power between the different nations and museums involved. Evidence-based research on the fate of antiquities after repatriation can help narrow this gap in political and economic power and move the two sides closer to finding compromises and solutions.

In the first part of this paper, I will explain the origins of the debate over the ownership of cultural property. This will include a brief historical overview of early encyclopedic museums and an examination of how imperialism, colonialism, and marked technological and economic inequalities allowed museums in the West to build up massive and disproportionate quantities of the world's greatest cultural treasures.

Part two of this paper will explain the debate over the repatriation of antiquities, focusing on the arguments of the two major sides in the debate: origin countries and museums. I will highlight the inherently speculative nature of many of these arguments and identify the need for research that can determine the validity of these claims.

In part three I will present my own original research, conducted in Italy in May 2018 with funding from the Loyola Marymount University Honors Program. This research will reveal the locations and fates of the 40 antiquities repatriated to Italy from the Getty Museum and compare speculative arguments made about the fate of antiquities after repatriation to the reality of antiquities after repatriation. This section will detail the current status of the repatriated objects in their new

museums as well as the objects' cultural significance in local communities. The evidence of my research demonstrates that there is no singular outcome for repatriated objects, a fact that plainly justifies my call for widespread research on the fate of antiquities after repatriation. Included at the end of this paper is an itemized table that provides the name, image, information, and location of each repatriated object as of May 2018.

In the conclusion of this paper, I will revisit the complex nature of repatriation controversies and the myriad of different circumstances that can affect the outcome of any given call for repatriation. I present the case of the repatriated Shivapuram Nataraja in India as a contrast to the fate of the repatriated Getty antiquities, highlighting the many factors that can affect the fate of antiquities after repatriation, from religion to political turmoil to economic instability. By showcasing how greatly the fate of antiquities after repatriation can vary, I demonstrate the ineptitude of speculative arguments that paint with too broad a brush, fail to acknowledge the diversity of possible outcomes, and fail to produce any evidence for their claims. I propose that a large body of research documenting the fate of antiquities after repatriation around the world would be hugely beneficial for scholars, museums and origin countries that are arguing over whether or not a repatriation ought to take place.

This paper does not take a firm stance for or against the repatriation of antiquities. Rather, it aims to encourage more scholarship studying the fate of antiquities after repatriation—scholarship that can facilitate more constructive conversations between museums and origin countries every time the rightful ownership of an object of antiquity is contested.

I. Origins of the Contemporary Debate over the Ownership of Cultural Property

Disagreement over the question "who owns cultural property?" has become central to debates between museums and origin countries over calls for the repatriation of antiquities. By exploring the nuances and ramifications of this question, the museums and origin countries have

brought into focus fundamental questions about the correction of historic injustices, the concept of nationhood, cultural identity and heritage, the purpose of museums, and morality versus legality.

In arguments over the repatriation of antiquity and the ownership of cultural property, it is important to look critically at how encyclopedic museums came to prominence within the context of European colonialism and imperialism. This section will examine the history of encyclopedic museums and early antiquities collecting practices in order to demonstrate how the modern debate over repatriation and the ownership of cultural property has been shaped by the postcolonial legacies of economic, political, and technological inequality.

Today, a select few powerful museums in Western Europe and the United States have stockpiled massive collections of the some of the greatest cultural treasures from all over the world, from Ancient Greece to the indigenous cultures of Oceania and the Americas to ceremonial objects recovered in Asia and Africa. The history of antiquities collecting and the rise of museums is long, complex, and often troubling. And while today not all the museums facing calls for repatriation are definitionally encyclopedic, encyclopedic museums like the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston are among those museums most frequently faced with calls for repatriation by origin countries. For this reason, I will focus specifically the origins of the encyclopedic museum in order to evaluate to the contemporary implications of powerful museums in the West owning vast shares of the world's greatest antiquities.

The concept of the encyclopedic museum emerged during the Enlightenment period of the 18th century, and, according to contemporary defenders of the encyclopedic museum, was based on the ideas of European thinkers who sought to create a universal museum, a public exhibition space for objects from not one but many cultures from all over the world.[6] The earliest encyclopedic

[6] Neil Macgregor, "To Shape the Citizens," in *Whose Culture? The Promise of Museums and the Debate over Antiquities*, ed. James Cuno (Princeton University Press, 2009), 42.

museums, the British Museum among them, sought to curate a collection of objects and antiquities that represented all the worlds' cultures and natural phenomena, catalogued and exhibited to the public according to the Enlightenment principles of systematic taxonomies and scientific inquiry.[7] As one of the earliest institutions amassing collections of antiquities from around the world, the British Museum is often the primary target of criticisms branding encyclopedic museums as nationalistically driven institutions that are repositories for imperial plunder.

Countering these criticisms, proponents of the encyclopedic museum highlight the noble and altruistic ambitions that Enlightenment thinkers had when developing their museums. Today, one of the most powerful and passionate defenders of the encyclopedic museum is James Cuno, the former director of the Art Institute of Chicago and the current President and CEO of the J. Paul Getty Trust. He has written extensively on museums, cultural property, and antiquities repatriation, and in his 2011 text *Museums Matter*, Cuno praises the mission of the encyclopedic museum as the embodiment of Enlightenment ideas, stating that,

> The breadth of the museum's collections was characteristic of the Enlightenment's view of the world and the means of making an account of it. To begin to know the world, one had to build an archive, as large as possible, of its many parts. Collecting things and describing and classifying them made it possible to propose relationships among them. Collecting more allowed one to test one's hypotheses. Eventually, through a rigorous scientific examination of the world—its natural, physical, and cultural characteristics— one could learn truths that could be applied to economic and human behavior for the benefit of humankind.[8]

Cuno goes on to call attention to the formative role that early encyclopedic museums assumed in the formation of modern intellectual thought, positing that:

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[7] James Cuno , "The Enlightenment Museum," in *Museums Matter: In Praise of the Encyclopedic Museum* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 14.
[8] Ibid., 15.

> This was the context for the founding of the British Museum, the first true public encyclopedic museum: a cosmopolitan urban center with a diverse and rapidly expanding population and a disputatious culture of debate and published argument, opposed to prejudice and superstition, suspicious of received truths and the specialization of knowledge, confident in the promise of science—the gathering, classifying, and cataloging of facts about the world—to yield truths that would contribute to human progress.[9]

However, many scholars disagree with individuals like Cuno about the motivations behind the rise of the encyclopedic museum. Scholars like Sharon Macdonald characterize the early national encyclopedic museum and 19th century European collecting practices as "symbols of the existence of the newly forming nation-states… positioning the new nation-states as 'collectors,' signaling their identity and indeed very existence by their ownership of collections".[10] Whereas the encyclopedic museum's most ardent defenders emphasize the altruistic and intellectually ambitious mission of the early encyclopedic museum, its critics are quick to point out the nationalism and imperialist competition that was entrenched in such museums' formations. Says Macdonald,

> Collections allowed nation-states to show their possession and mastery of the world – something colonial powers were especially well able to demonstrate through the accumulation of material culture from the countries that they colonized. They also gave them the opportunity to amass and present evidence of their own pasts, so turning their histories into "objective" fact and legitimizing their right to exist.[11]

Today, encyclopedic museums, as well as public museums like the Getty Villa with more focused kinds of collections, are often subject to criticism and controversy over their histories,

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[9] Ibid., 21-22.
[10] Sharon Macdonald, "Collecting Practices," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2011), 85.
[11] Ibid.

acquisition practices, and rightful ownership of cultural property. While the plundering and theft of art and antiquities has been a byproduct of conflict and conquest for most of recorded history, contemporary debates over the ownership of cultural property and repatriation are for the most part limited to the events of the last three hundred or so years, with the rise of colonialism and imperial expansion.

> The competition for world domination by European states was manifested in imperial collecting that was equated with a new natural glory. As European empires conquered new territories, they looted cultural objects from around the world. Thus, British, French, and German travelers competed for national glory by hauling away Greek, Egyptian, Chinese, African, and other antiquities… looted cultural objects expansively displayed in museums and world fairs were the most concrete demonstration of imperial glories and wealth.[12]

Among the most famous and treasured ancient objects seized during periods of imperial occupation are the Rosetta Stone—discovered in 1799 by the French in Egypt, currently in the collection of the British Museum[13]—and the Benin Bronzes—stolen by British forces from the Kingdom of Benin in 1897 and currently distributed among the British Museum and other museums throughout Europe and the United States.[14]

Calls for the repatriation of antiquities extend beyond those objects stolen during imperialism and colonial occupation. Throughout the 20th century and into the 21st, legacies of imperialism have lingered in the persistent economic, technological, and political imbalances that

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[12] Elazer Barkan, "Amending Historical Injustices: the Restitution of Cultural Property - An Overview," in *Claiming the Stones/Naming the Bones: Cultural Property and the Negotiation of National and Ethnic Identity*, ed. Elazer Barkan and Ronald Bush (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2002), 19-20.

[13] James Cuno, "Introduction," in *Whose Culture? The Promise of Museums and the Debate over Antiquities*, ed. James Cuno (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 8.

[14] Barbara Plankensteiner, "The Benin Treasures: Difficult Legacy and Contested Heritage," in *Cultural Property and Contested Ownership: the Trafficking of Artefacts and the Quest for Restitution*, ed. Brigitta Hauser-Schaublin and Lyndel V Prott (London: Routledge, 2016), 135.

exist between successful former imperial powers like the United States, the United Kingdom, and France and non-imperial countries like Greece, Turkey, Angola, Nigeria, and Cambodia.

The end of colonialism has not prevented museums from acquiring stolen cultural property. To this day, many wealthy and powerful museums continue to enrich their collections with unprovenanced antiquities that have no documented record of ownership or discovery. Looting at archaeological sites has become increasingly popular and profitable in culturally rich countries like Peru, Cambodia, and Iraq. Especially in regions that lack the resources for proper security at archaeological sites, ancient artifacts are often stolen from the ground by "local people—most of them poor and deprived of a decent means of living—[and] mostly serve as stooges. They perform… 'subsistence digging' and sell the items they get hold of for a minimal price for the sake of survival".[15] These antiquities are illegally exported from the origin country and sold into the flourishing antiquities black market, where most will eventually end up on the art market, at auction houses, and in the collections of museums and private individuals.[16]

II. The Debate over Repatriation

The need for widespread research on the various outcomes of antiquities after repatriation is exemplified by the inherently speculative nature of arguments made for and against repatriation. Shaped by the history of imperialist and colonialist collecting practices, most of these arguments fail to break away from postcolonial biases and imbalances of power. As a result, both sides of the debate become entrapped by complex issues of identity, history, wealth, and power. Instead of addressing these biases and inequalities, both sides tend to implicitly rely on them or weaponize them to suit their arguments. Because of this, resolving disagreements over repatriating antiquities

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[15] Brigitta Hauser-Schaublin, "Introduction: Changing Concepts of Ownership, Culture, and Property," in *Cultural Property and Contested Ownership: The Trafficking of Artefacts and the Quest for Restitution*, ed. Brigitta Hauser-Schaublin and Lyndel V Prott (Routledge, 2016), 9.
[16] Ibid., 8.

and the ownership of cultural property becomes entrenched in complicated issues of identity, object preservation, and historical injustices. The contentious nature of these debates has devolved into arguments based almost entirely on speculation over the fate of antiquities after repatriation. The following section will provide an overview of the contemporary debate over repatriation, highlight the speculative nature of the arguments on both sides, and ultimately demonstrate the need for evidence-based arguments about the fate of antiquities after repatriation.

There are two basic sides in the debate over the repatriation of antiquities. The side in favor of repatriation is largely spearheaded by origin countries, the countries that are pursuing the repatriation of antiquities that were originally discovered inside their borders. Museums and museum professionals comprise the side of the debate that typically resists repatriation.

Over the past fifty-some years, origin countries have successfully and unsuccessfully pursued the repatriation of antiquities and cultural property from major museums in the West. When arguing for the return of antiquities, origin countries bring up a variety of ideas about cultural property law, cultural heritage, historical injustice, and basic morality. Successful examples of this include the recent repatriations of many of the Benin bronzes back to Nigeria from museums in Britain and France. An unsuccessful example is Greece's never-ending battle against the British Museum for the return the Parthenon Marbles.

When an origin country calls for the repatriation of an object in a foreign museum's collection, the origin countries will typically cite national and international laws that govern against the illegal export and trade of cultural property.[17] In recent years, origin countries have seen major successes in securing the repatriation of antiquities when they can present conclusive evidence proving that the antiquities were exported illegally.[18] Such evidence does not always exist, however,

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[17] Ibid., 12.
[18] James B. Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity?: Museums and the Battle over Our Ancient Heritage* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 2-3.

and the sole fact that a museum acquired an unprovenanced antiquity is rarely enough to convince the museum to repatriate. Therefore, when seeking repatriation, origin countries often expand their arguments beyond the law, invoking ideas about historical injustices, the destruction of cultural heritage, and cultural identity.[19]

Origin countries frequently argue that museums are unjustly depriving their nation and its people of an essential part of their culture and preventing citizens from accessing and connecting to a tangible piece of their identity that connects them to their national, familial, and cultural identity. Objects of antiquity can be fundamental to national identity. The Parthenon, for example is a monument that defines not only the Athenian landscape but symbolizes Greece's nationhood and history, a landmark that is recognized all over the world as a monument that is distinctly Greek. It is from this perspective that Greece often campaigns for the return of the Parthenon Marbles. In cases where the legal argument is not particularly strong, morality and identity-based arguments can be effective in swaying public opinion. Regarding the ownership of cultural property, Elazer Barkan, the director of Columbia University's Institute for the Study of Human Rights, writes that

> Possession of one's cultural property seemingly creates a level playing field among powerful nations and weaker nations or minorities within nations. The rationale is that if all cultures are of equal worth, all cultural property is worth preserving…. Restitution of cultural property, therefore, occupies a middle ground that can provide the necessary space in which to negotiate identities and a mechanism to mediate between the histories of perpetrators and victims…. Heritage is appreciated and cherished because it enriches life in ways that market economy and monetary compensation cannot. Tangible cultural property manifests the cultural identity of a nation or a group disproportionate to other economic resources… The

[19] Ibid., 8.

> identity of these objects, even when separated from ownership, manifests the group's history and tradition.[20]

Alongside arguments about the legality of museums' acquisition of certain antiquities, the moral right to own antiquities with significant cultural value has become a central part of arguments in favor of repatriation.

On the other side of the debate, the museums at the center of repatriation controversies have spent the past several decades casting doubt on the motivations behind origin countries' calls for repatriation, forming sophisticated arguments against the widespread repatriation of antiquities from museums around the world. James Cuno and the late John Merryman, a Stanford law professor who specialized in art and cultural property law, have both written extensively about the importance of museums and in criticism of calls for repatriation they believe to be rooted in nationalism. In their arguments against repatriation, museum professionals and scholars like Cuno and Merryman attempt to navigate issues of identity, historical injustices, and legality in order to make a strong case for why antiquities should not have to be repatriated from museums without strong legal justifications.

Cuno has frequently maintained that cultural property is a political construct, questioning the idea that people today actually derive cultural identity from antiquities, and positing that "antiquities are often from cultures no longer extant or of a kind very different from the modern, national culture claiming them".[21] How can certain antiquities be the cultural property of a nation when the ancient cultures in question were not confined or related to the national borders and national identities that exist today? Cuno criticizes the "emotional 'natural, cultural identity' card played by

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[20] Elazer Barkan, "Amending Historical Injustices: the Restitution of Cultural Property - An Overview," 16-17.
[21] James B. Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity?: Museums and the Battle over Our Ancient Heritage* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 9.

some proponents of nationalist retentionist cultural property laws" that seek to curb museums' acquisition of unprovenanced antiquities.[22] Such policies exist because unprovenanced antiquities are consistently the product of looting and black market trading, and the acquisition of such antiquities reinforces the activities of those who profit from looting and perpetuates the continued destruction of cultural heritage.

The pro-museum position is quick to identify the obvious consequence of museums being prevented from acquiring unprovenanced antiquities. Cuno points out that once the looting takes place and the knowledge has been lost, it cannot be restored. The antiquity will be sold no matter what, and if museums cannot buy the object and put it on display for the public, all looted antiquities will end up in the hands of private collectors, depriving the public of access to objects of the ancient past.[23] Scholars like Cuno maintain that there will always be a highly profitable market for looted antiquities, and as long as there is money to be made, looting at archaeological sites will not be prevented.

In his essay "The Nation and the Object", Merryman puts forth a sophisticated framework for evaluating the virtues of any given repatriation while also presenting a withering critique of the common arguments employed by origin countries. According to Merryman, origin countries pursuing the repatriation of antiquities are advancing a "nation-oriented policy" that prioritizes cultural nationalism, while museums that resist repatriation advance an "object-oriented policy" that prioritizes preservation, truth, and access.[24] In other words, origin countries with a so-called nation-oriented policy want to retain ownership of antiquities found within their borders out of a nationalist desire to prevent the free exchange of antiquities, while museums with an object-oriented policy

[22] Ibid., 13.
[23] Ibid., 8.
[24] John Henry Merryman, "The Nation and the Object," in *Whose Culture?: The Promise of Museums and the Debate over Antiquities*, ed. James Cuno (Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 186-187.

seek to retain ownership of antiquities in order to do what is best for the object. Explaining the concept of object-oriented policies, Merryman identifies three distinct factors that should be taken into account when considering the repatriation or acquisition of an antiquity: preservation, truth, and access.[25] Merryman explains these the factors as such:

> Applying an object-oriented policy, whether it would be proper for a museum or collector or dealer to acquire an object depends first on whether its export is likely to endanger the object or its context; second, on whether through its acquisition the object's truth is more or less likely to be fully revealed; and third, whether as a result of the acquisition the object will be more or less readily available to scholars for research and to the public for education and enjoyment.[26]

Merryman's points suggest that contested antiquities are most often better off in the collections of major museums than in the collections of minor museums in less economically prosperous countries. From Merryman's perspective, an object will be safest and best preserved at a well-funded museum in a major city, whereas a museum in a country like Greece or Turkey or Nigeria might lack the resources to provide the same standard of care. Furthermore, it seems to make sense that a museum like the Metropolitan Museum of Art is better equipped to study their antiquities and conduct research that can generate new scholarship than a poorly funded museum in a developing country. And it seems indisputable that objects in a major museum in the West are more frequently and more easily accessed by the public than less-visited museums in cities and towns in Italy, Peru, or Egypt.

It is necessary to point out, however, that Merryman's argument contains flaws that are most likely shaped by postcolonial biases, most notably in his argument that museums in the West are

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[25] Ibid., 187.
[26] Ibid., 188.

better caretakers for antiquities. As recently as Fall 2019, it was reported that artifacts destined to be displayed in Berlin's still-under-construction Humboldt Forum had been stored for years in terrible conditions due to an apparent lack of funding.[27] There are many examples of museums in the West exposing their collections to damage, such as the 1933 botched attempt by the British Museum to clean the Parthenon Marbles which reportedly caused irreparable damage to their marble surfaces.[28] When the year is 2019 and the artistic capital of Germany is storing cultural treasures from around the world in "flooded storage rooms and depots choked with toxic dust", it severely undermines Merryman's argument that museums in the West are the best stewards of ancient art.[29]

Arguments for and against repatriation are plentiful and complex. And in all the arguments I have outlined, from scholars like Merryman to the origin countries themselves, the arguments are undergirded by ideas of what happens to objects after repatriation. Origin countries, for example, suggest that local people are able to connect with their cultural heritage and derive identity from antiquities that are repatriated to their country and communities. Museums, on the other hand, claim that repatriated antiquities will not be properly preserved and will end up in museums where nobody will ever see them. While arguing about the fate of the objects, both sides are circling around larger issues of power and identity without ever confronting those issues head on. Failure to address the history of museums and the legacies of imperialism has allowed these objects to become fodder in a never-ending debate over repatriation and the ownership of cultural property. Consequently, nearly all existing scholarship in this debate fails to corroborate their claims with actual evidence about the fate of antiquities after repatriation. Instead, museums and origin countries formulate their

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[27] Liam Stack, "Are African Artifacts Safer in Europe? Museum Conditions Revive Debate," The New York Times (The New York Times, September 4, 2019), https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/04/arts/design/germany-museum-condition-artifacts.html)
[28] Helena Smith, "British Damage to Elgin Marbles 'Irreparable'," The Guardian (Guardian News and Media, November 12, 1999), https://www.theguardian.com/uk/1999/nov/12/helenasmith)
[29] Ibid.

arguments within a postcolonial framework that fuels overly generalized and heated claims about identity and ownership and knowledge. Without evidence and research pertaining to antiquities after repatriation, a significant portion of the debate over repatriation is based entirely on speculation.

In order to move the debate forward and in order to facilitate productive dialogue between the two sides of the debate, there needs to be more research and more scholarship aimed at determining the validity of repatriation arguments, actually documenting the fate of antiquities after repatriation. In the next section, I will present original research on the fate of 40 antiquities repatriated to Italy in 2007 from the Getty Museum, with the ultimate goal of demonstrating the invaluable insights into the repatriation debate that could be attained through widespread research on the fate of antiquities after repatriation.

III. The Reality of Antiquity after Repatriation

In August 2007, the J. Paul Getty Trust and the Italian Ministry of Culture released a joint statement announcing that the Getty would repatriate 40 objects from its collection back to Italy.[30] Over the following months, 39 antiquities were shipped from Malibu to Italy, among them a statue of Apollo and fresco fragments from Pompeii. In 2011, the final antiquity from the list was returned to Italy, a seven-and-a-half-foot Cult Statue of a Goddess, once considered the great masterpiece of the Getty's collection.[31]

In December 2007, the 39 repatriated Getty antiquities, as well as antiquities recently repatriated to Italy from the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston,

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[30] "Italian Ministry of Culture and the J. Paul Getty Museum Sign Agreement in Rome," The Getty (J. Paul Getty Trust, August 1, 2007), https://www.getty.edu/news/press/center/italy_getty_joint_statement_080107.html)

[31] Ralph Frammolino, "The Goddess Goes Home," Smithsonian Magazine (Smithsonian Institution, November 1, 2011), https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-goddess-goes-home-107810041/)

were displayed together for a year in the exhibition "Nostoi: Recovered Masterpieces".[32] With the conclusion of the exhibition in early 2009, the Italian government began the process of distributing the antiquities to national archaeological museums throughout Italy, placing the objects in museums near where they are believed to have been discovered.

I traveled to Italy in May 2018 to visit the locations of the 40 repatriated antiquities, studying the objects in their new contexts and evaluating how the reality of the objects' circumstances compared to the speculation in arguments made for and against repatriation. At some museums, the antiquities in question were displayed prominently. In others, I was unable to locate or view the objects at all. Throughout the following section I will establish the locations of the 40 repatriated objects as well as detail my findings at each location. All locations listed are current as of May 2018.

Rome

The following objects are located in Rome, either at the Palazzo Massimo museum or in storage:

1. Statuette of Dionysus
2. Marble Bust of a Man
3. Statuette of Tyche
4. Attic Red-Figure Calyx Krater Fragments
5. Attic Red-Figure Phiale Fragments

The Statuette of Dionysus (1), the Marble Bust of a Man (2), and the Statuette of Tyche (3) belong to the collections of the Palazzo Massimo museum. However, at the time of my visit, the objects were undergoing restoration and study and therefore were not on display. The Attic Red-Figure Calyx Krater Fragments (4) and the Attic Red-Figure Phiale Fragments (5) were also not on display, but rather in the collections storage of the Superintendence of Archeology, Fine Arts and Landscape

[32] Livia Borghese and Jason Felch, "Italy Exhibits Its Recovered Masterpieces," Los Angeles Times (Los Angeles Times, December 18, 2007), https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2007-dec-18-fg-getty18-story.html)

for the Metropolitan Area of Rome, the Province of Viterbo and Southern Etruria (SABAP-RM-MET).

Cerveteri

The following objects are located in Cerveteri, a town about 30 miles north of Rome that is the location of a UNESCO World Heritage Site marking multiple incredibly well-preserved Etruscan necropolises:

1. Pontic Amphora with the Killing of Medusa
2. Attic Janiform Kantharos
3. Attic Red-Figure Kylix Depicting Gym Scenes
4. Attic Black-Figure Amphora with Procession Scene
5. Attic Black Figure Kylix with Symposium Scene
6. Etruscan Red-Figure Duck Askos
7. Antefix in the Form of a Maenad and Silenos Dancing
8. Bronze Mirror with Relief-Decorated Cover

All eight objects listed belong to SABAP-RM-MET. In May 2018, the Etruscan Red-Figure Duck Askos (6), the Antefix in the form of a Maenad and Silenos Dancing (7), and the Bronze Mirror with Relief-Decorated Cover (8) were on loan to a museum in Germany for temporary exhibition.

The objects have been displayed as part of an exhibition on repatriated objects in the extensive exhibition space at the Cerveteri town hall multiple times over the last several years. In May 2018, the exhibition was closed to the public in preparation for another upcoming exhibition. Guided by local officials, I was allowed to tour the closed exhibition, titled "I Predatori Dell'Arte e il Patrimonio Ristrovatio: Le Storie del Recupero", or, roughly translated: "Predators of Art and Rediscovered Heritage: Stories of Recovery". Following the iteration of the exhibition that was about to open during my May 2018 visit, the exhibition has run again as recently as September 2019.[33] Included in the exhibition are objects repatriated from the Getty, as well as from the

[33] Artemide Guide. "'The Heritage found in Cerveteri' the prestigious archaeological exhibition that exposes finds from the illegal market of works of art and finally returned to the community." Facebook, April 30, 2019.

Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Princeton University Art Museum.

The exhibition space is well-designed, and labels and wall text provide informative commentary on the objects in both Italian and English. The objective of the exhibition is outlined in the wall text at the beginning of the exhibition, reading, "The protection and enhancement of cultural heritage must be seen as an increasing commitment to be shared by all public institutions, voluntary associations, and individual citizens. This is the ultimate objective of the exhibition at Cerveteri". The exhibit tells the story of looting at archaeological sites, antiquities trafficking, and the politics of museum acquisitions. Objects were in great condition and displayed in well-lit glass cases. According to Dr. Daniele Medaino, an expert in Etruscan archaeology and a local tour guide, the number of visitors to the archaeological museum at Cerveteri and to the town hall exhibition space has increased substantially since the arrival of the repatriated objects.

Ascoli Satriano

The following objects are located at the Museum of Ascoli Satriano in Ascoli Satriano, a small village town about 30 miles west of Italy's eastern coast:

1. Statue of Apollo *(c. 100-150 CE)*
2. Painted Marble Basin with the Nereids Carrying the Weapons of Achilles *(c. 325-300 BCE)*
3. Two Griffins Attacking a Fallen Doe *(c. 325-300 BCE)*

While located in a remote town with a population of approximately 6,000, the museum in Ascoli Satriano had plenty of visitors on a Wednesday afternoon, including a class of school children that was given a tour of the museum during the time I was there. The sign-in book at the welcome desk logged visitors from over a dozen countries in recent months, from places like Brazil to New York City.

The Statue of Apollo (1) is the centerpiece of a gallery on the first floor, positioned within a protected alcove along the room's back wall. Upstairs, the Marble Basin (2) and the Two Griffins

Attacking a Fallen Doe (3) are displayed in a dramatically lit gallery, with the Two Griffins sculpture serving as the focal point for the room. In visiting the museum in Ascoli Satriano, it is obvious that the Two Griffins sculpture is the masterpiece of the museum. The sculpture, which dates to around 300 BCE, would have served in ancient times as a pedestal to mount the flat surface of a table.

Included in the gallery's wall texts are images of polaroids discovered in Giacomo Medici's Geneva warehouse, showing the very objects now on display at the museum in various states of disrepair. Labels and wall text are displayed only in the Italian language. Translated, the text encourages visitors to look at the marbles and imagine how the Ancient Greeks living near Ascoli Satriano would have used and valued these objects. The text reflects upon the importance of the Griffons' return, both as a correction of historical injustice and as a vehicle for local people to connect with their cultural heritage and identity. Roughly translated, one wall text notes that "after illegal excavation and illegal exportation, the return of the Griffons constituted an important moment for the cultural heritage of Italy and for the history of Ascoli Satriano", and that the repatriation became an important symbol in the "growth and development of the city's image". Next to the Statue of Apollo in the first-floor gallery, a wall text shows the recovered polaroid of the looted statue, dirty and disassembled in a wooden crate. Translated, this wall text tells the story of the statue's probable theft from the Ascoli Satriano region in the 1970s, its sale by Medici to an American art collector, its acquisition by the Getty, and its ultimate repatriation to Italy in 2007.

Throughout the town of Ascoli Satriano, it is very obvious that the repatriation of these objects—particularly the Griffons—had become a matter of great pride for the local community. Images and references to the Griffons are all over the town. Tourist maps and brochures are covered with images of the Griffins. Every resident in the town knows of the repatriated objects, and it is clear that their return has prompted the town to embrace its status as a city of great art. Walking down the narrow cobblestone streets, banners and flags on the sides of buildings bear the

Griffons' image. Restaurants are named after the Griffons. Ten years after the antiquities' return, it is clear that they have become an integral part of Ascoli Satriano's culture and identity.

Taranto

The following objects are located at the National Archaeological Museum in Taranto, a city of 200,000 people along Italy's southern coast:

1. Apulian Red-Figure Volute Krater with Phoenix and Achilles
2. Apulian Red-Figure Calice Krater with Underworld Scene
3. Apulian Red-Figure Pelike with Perseus and Andromeda
4. Apulian Red-Figure Loutrophoros with Perseus and Andromeda
5. Apulian Red-Figure Volute Krater with the Freeing of Andromeda

The Loutrophoros with Perseus and Andromeda (4) and the Volute Krater with the Freeing of Andromeda (5) were the only two objects repatriated from the Getty that were on public display in the galleries at the time. The Volute Krater with Phoenix and Achilles (1), the Calice Krater with Underworld Scene (2), and the Pelike with Perseus and Andromeda (3) were not on public display as they were undergoing repairs in the museum's restoration lab.

The Loutrophoros with Perseus and Andromeda and the Volute Krater with the Freeing of Andromeda are displayed in a themed gallery on the first floor with other objects that have been part of similar repatriation controversies. Object labels and wall texts are provided in Italian and English. One wall text describes the influx of looted antiquities onto the private market in the early 20th century as well as the lack of adequate cultural property laws set up to prevent such looting. An interactive tablet in the gallery allows visitors to choose a language and read more about the museum's history, nearby archaeological excavations, museum acquisitions, and recovered heritage. On a Friday morning, the museum was very busy, with multiple guided school visits taking place.

The museum administration in Taranto generously granted me access to the museum's restoration lab, which was in the process of performing repairs on the Volute Krater with Phoenix

and Achilles, the Calice Krater with Underworld Scene, and the Pelike with Perseus and Andromeda. These works were undergoing restoration in preparation for an upcoming exhibition at the museum on Apulian vases repatriated to Italy from foreign museums. According to the lab technicians, previous restoration efforts performed before the objects' repatriation had applied the wrong types of paint and glue to the vessels. As a result, the museum was forced to reverse the previous restorations and redo them using the corrects kinds of glue and paint. Examples like this call into question arguments made by the likes of Merryman about the varying standards of care at different museums.

Crotone

The following object is located at the National Archaeological Museum in Crotone, a port city of around 60,000 people along Italy's southern coast:

1. Bronze Askos in the Shape of a Siren

On a Sunday at midday, the museum was completely empty. The museum clearly strove to extol the history of Crotone, with extensively worded wall texts, labels, and maps. However, the exhibition displays were often underwhelming. English translations are provided for certain wall texts and labels, but the translations often lacked clarity. Several wall texts were dedicated to the Bronze Askos, but none provided any English translations.

The Bronze Askos is presented as the most important object in the museum's collection, with its image on museum brochures, maps, and books. However, the object's display is underwhelming, with the six-by-eight-inch Bronze Askos dwarfed by the enormous case it is displayed in. There is also a smaller bronze object inexplicably displayed next to the Bronze Askos in the same case. With only one or two people working at the museum at the time of my visit and no security personnel within the galleries, it is likely that the museum in Crotone lacks adequate

funding. Images of the Bronze Askos do not appear throughout the city of Crotone, which generally seemed to attract tourists for its beaches rather than its history and art.

Aidone

The following object is located in the Archaeological Museum in Aidone, a remote village town of 5,000 people in the middle of Sicily, a short drive away from the Morgantina archaeological site:

1. Cult Statue of a Goddess

This statue was undoubtedly the most controversial and most valuable object involved in the Getty repatriation. As part of the 2007 agreement between Italy and the Getty, the repatriation of the Goddess was postponed until 2011. Today, she is the masterpiece of the Aidone museum, with her image universally known and displayed throughout the town. Believed to have been looted from the Morgantina archaeological site decades before, the objects she once would have held in her hands to identify her have long been lost. As a result, her identity has become the source of much controversy and speculation. While at the Getty, she was presented as Aphrodite. However, many scholars believe her to represent Persephone or Demeter. These two goddesses had strong cult followings in Sicily during the time of Greek colonization, and the Greeks believed that the nearby Lake Pergusa was the actual site of Persephone's abduction by Hades in Greek mythology.[34]

The Goddess is the clear masterpiece of the museum's collection. At seven-and-a-half-feet tall, she towers over visitors and the gallery space. Around her, labels and wall texts in Italian and English discuss the historical context of the objects, highlighting the statue's monumental form and dress, as well as the object's repatriation from the Getty.

[34] Felch and Frammolino, 98.

The museum in Aidone, once a 17th century monastery, saw nearly 31,000 visitors in the year 2014, compared to the Getty Villa's 400,000 annual visitors.[35] Despite this massive disparity in visitor numbers, it is important to note that the return of the sculpture has had a massive impact on the town and museum's tourism industry. In 2011, the year the sculpture was returned, the museum saw just 17,000 people pass through its galleries.[36] In the first three years after the sculpture's return, museum attendance had nearly doubled. On the Wednesday afternoon I visited the museum, it was crowded with tourists and school visits alike.

Aidone is a difficult town to navigate to, with extremely limited options for public transportation, underdeveloped road infrastructure, and a mountainous terrain. In a 2014 article in the New York Times, the director of the Aidone museum discusses how public budget cuts have "left the museum with few resources for maintenance, guards and publicity", and how frequent road closures in the area surrounding the town have often interfered with people's ability to visit.[37]

Naples

The following objects are located at the National Archaeological Museum in Naples:

1. Red-Figure Pestana Lekythos with the Garden of the Hesperides
2. Apulian Red Figure Pelike with the Mourning of Achilles for Patroclus
3. Apulian Red-Figure Bell Krater with a Fliacica Scene
4. Attic Red-Figure Krater Depicting a Theatrical Scene
5. Attic Red-Figure Bell Krater with a Dionysian Scene
6. Attic Red-Figure Calyx Krater with Divine Figures
7. Attic Red-Figure Krater with the Killing of Aegisthus
8. Attic Red-Figure Kantharos Configured with a Dionysian Mask
9. Attic Red-Figure Kylix with Zeus and Ganymede
10. Attic Red-Figure Amphora with Scene of Fight for Tripod

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[35] Rachel Donadio, "Vision of Home," The New York Times (The New York Times, April 17, 2014), https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/20/arts/design/repatriated-works-back-in-their-countries-of-origin.html)

[36] Jason Felch, "She's No Longer the Getty Goddess, but Statue Is Still a Puzzle," Los Angeles Times (Los Angeles Times, May 29, 2011), https://www.latimes.com/entertainment/la-xpm-2011-may-29-la-ca-culture-exchange-20110529-story.html)

[37] Donadio.

11. Red-Figure Attic Kalpis with Fineo and Harpies
12. Attic Red-Figured Kylix with Ether
13. Attic Red-Figure Amphora with Athletes
14. Attic Black-Figure Amphora with a Fight between Heracles and Gerion

Communications with an administrator at the Naples museum in 2018 revealed that a selection of these objects were abroad at the time, on loan to museums for temporary exhibition. According to this administrator, all fourteen objects were scheduled to be returned to public display that fall as part of the reopening of the museum's Magna Graecia permanent collection. The reopening of this exhibit was confirmed to have taken place in the summer of 2019 by press releases and multiple travel blogs. This reopening was the first time in 20 years that the museum's Magna Graecia collection was open to the public, following extensive restoration and protection work on the gallery's Roman floor mosaics.[38]

Conclusion

The fate of antiquities after a repatriation will vary based on the object itself, the state of affairs in the origin country, the museum's resources, and a myriad of other factors. The single example of the 2007 Getty repatriation does not represent the fate of all antiquities post-repatriation. However, the insights obtained by studying the repatriated Getty objects demonstrate how valuable it can be for museums and origin countries to look at what actually happens to repatriated objects, rather than relying on speculative claims fueled by biased, postcolonial ways of thinking.

In Italy, all the repatriated objects from the 2007 Getty repatriation appear well-preserved, and the vast majority have been reliably on display in museums since their return, while the others have since gone on display or are planned for display in the near future. Had the 40 antiquities remained at the Getty, it is highly likely that many of the objects would have remained in storage and

[38] "Naples Unlocks the Past," Sirenuse Journal, July 23, 2019, http://sirenusejournal.com/en/naples-around/naples-unlocks-the-past)

been hidden from public view for years. In many cases, such as the Two Griffins Attacking a Fallen Doe and the Cult Statue of a Goddess, the repatriated antiquities have become part of the cultural identity of cities and towns throughout Italy. And while many of these Italian museums will never have as many annual visitors as the Getty, the exhibition of these repatriated objects has transformed the tourist landscape of small towns and has helped energize local communities' connection to their cultural heritage and their commitment to the arts and culture.

It is reasonable to conclude that the country of Italy is committed to the preservation of cultural heritage and that its museums and cultural organizations are excellent stewards of the antiquities that were looted, illegally exported out of Italy, illicitly acquired by museums around the world, and ultimately returned.

Having reached this conclusion with the support of research that focuses on antiquities after repatriation, I argue that there should be widespread efforts by scholars to study the fate of antiquities after repatriation in order to determine the veracity of speculative arguments made for and against repatriation. When a country calls for the repatriation of an object, there ought to be a large body of research that scholars, museum professionals, and government officials can consult to look at the fate of objects previously repatriated to that same country. The contentious repatriation controversies over the past few decades show that reverting to worn-out and biased arguments for and against repatriation accomplishes very little in negotiations.

For Italy, my research largely refutes arguments purporting that Italy's motivations for repatriating and retaining cultural property are driven by nationalist government agendas, and that museums in Italy are not properly equipped to take care of their objects. To further investigate whether the importance of the repatriated objects in local communities is the product of locals connecting with their cultural identity or the product of locals feeling triumphant in their victory over a wealthy American museum would require additional research. My research also lends

credence to certain arguments made by museums, for instance the claim that many repatriated objects end up in remote museums that can be difficult to access and that see a fraction the amount of annual visitors recorded by the repatriating institution.

Overall, however, my research in Italy demonstrates that knowing the fate of antiquities after repatriation can help cut through tired, worn-out arguments and inform the debates between museums and origin countries with insights that can actually help the two sides achieve a constructive outcome. It will be important to research the fate of antiquities after repatriation in all different countries and contexts. With every repatriation that takes place, there can be numerous different outcomes, and these outcomes should be taken into account when making a decision about whether to repatriate an object, especially if it could put the object at risk. An obvious example would be repatriating objects to countries that are currently experiencing warfare or frequent terrorism. However, there have also been instances where the ultimate outcome of a repatriation has deviated from the basic premises of the arguments made to achieve that repatriation, consequently calling into question the way we assign meaning to certain objects, and how this meaning can shift over time.

Take for example the Shivapuram Nataraja, an ancient bronze statue of Shiva that was repatriated from the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, California back to India in 1986. In advocating for its return, India argued not only that the statue was illegally exported from the country, but that the statue was the living embodiment of Shiva, and therefore needed to be returned to the temple at Shivapuram where it was originally found and where it was originally worshipped and displayed.[39] The cultural and religious argument made by India about the Shivapuram Nataraja was compelling. However, upon repatriation, India was unable to follow

[39] Melody Rod-ari, "Returning Home: the Journey and Afterlife of Repatriated Objects," in *Arts of South Asia: Cultures of Collecting*, ed. Allysa B Peyton and Katherine Anne Paul (University of Florida Press, 2019), 252.

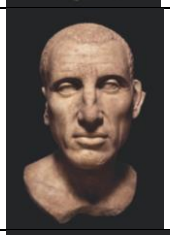
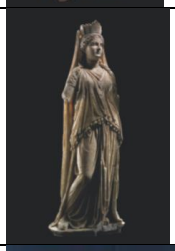
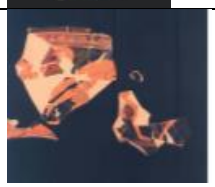
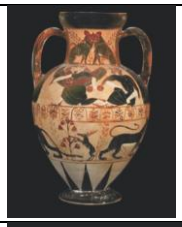
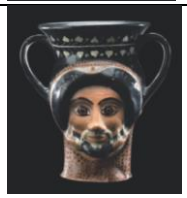
through on its stated desire to return the statue to the Shivapuram temple. The controversy and subsequent trial over the object had garnered such massive media attention throughout India and the world that by the time of its return, the statue had become "an invaluable cultural, religious, and artistic icon".[40] The debate over the Shiva's repatriation had changed the object's meaning, shifting from a valuable religious symbol to a statue with unimaginable monetary value. Because of this, the risk of theft was too high to risk publicly displaying it at the Shivapuram temple. Since its return over thirty years ago, the Shivapuram Nataraja has been hidden from public view, and today remains locked in a vault at a temple in Chennai.[41]

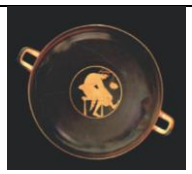
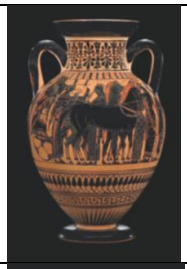
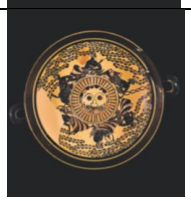
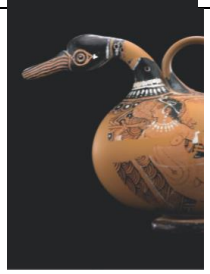
The fate of the Shivapuram Nataraja is very different from the fate of the antiquities repatriated to Italy. In this example, the arguments made by museums against repatriation about access and preservation seem to hold much more water. But the fact that the outcomes of the 2007 Getty repatriation and the Shivapuram Nataraja repatriation are so radically different exposes the inherent fallibility of far-reaching, generalized arguments for and against repatriation. The fate of antiquities after repatriation is clearly contingent upon so many factors, factors which often go beyond the points debated by museums and origin countries. When it was repatriated to India, the Shivapurum Nataraja's cultural significance was not necessarily lost when it was locked in storage. The fate of the Shivapurum Nataraja does not invalidate the arguments made by India for its return. The debate that took place over its repatriation changed its status as an art object. The battle over the Shivapurum Nataraja brought the sculpture fame associated with monetary rather than cultural value. The example of the Shivapurum Nataraja highlights how divisive and unproductive the repatriation debate has become. With more scholarship about antiquity after repatriation, it will be

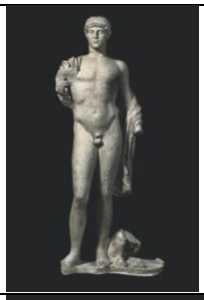
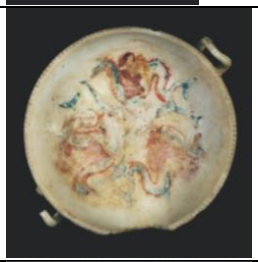
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

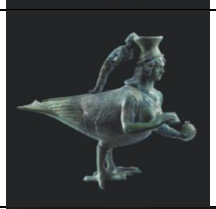
easier for both sides of the debate to navigate wealth and power imbalances and resolve the matters at hand.

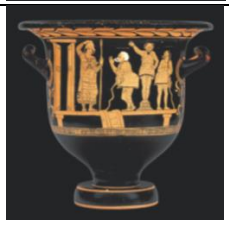
Over the past few decades, museums throughout the United States and Western Europe have repatriated innumerable objects from their collections. From Turkey to Cambodia to Peru to Nigeria, the outcome of all repatriations should be researched and documented. Today, as countries around the world make increasingly high-profile calls for repatriation, the insights provided by such scholarship would be an indispensable resource for museums and source countries debating the merits and validity of repatriation claims.

Object	Image	City	Location	Notes
Statuette of Dionysus c. 50 CE		Rome	Palazzo Massimo	As of May 2018, the object was undergoing restoration and was not on display.
Marble Bust of a Man c. 75 CE		Rome	Palazzo Massimo	As of May 2018, the object was undergoing restoration and was not on display.
Statuette of Tyche c. 50 CE		Rome	Palazzo Massimo	As of May 2018, the object was undergoing restoration and was not on display.
Attic Red-Figure Calyx Krater Fragments c. 490 BCE		Rome	In storage of the Superintendence of Archaeology for the Metropolitan Area of Rome	
Attic Red-Figure Phiale Fragments c. 490-480 BCE		Rome	In storage of the Superintendence of Archaeology for the Metropolitan Area of Rome	
Pontic Amphora with the Killing of Medusa c. 530-510 BCE		Cerveteri	Comune di Cerveteri	As of May 2018, object was part of an exhibit showcasing repatriated antiquities.
Attic Janiform Kantharos c. 470 BCE		Cerveteri	Comune di Cerveteri	As of May 2018, object was part of an exhibit showcasing repatriated antiquities.

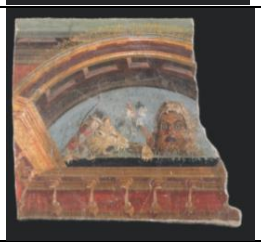
Attic Red-Figure Kylix Depicting Gym Scene c. 510-500 BCE		Cerveteri	Comune di Cerveteri	As of May 2018, object was part of an exhibit showcasing repatriated antiquities.
Attic Black-Figure Amphora with Procession Scene c. 530 BCE		Cerveteri	Comune di Cerveteri	As of May 2018, object was part of an exhibit showcasing repatriated antiquities.
Attic Black-Figure Kylix with Symposium Scene c. 520 BCE		Cerveteri	Comune di Cerveteri	As of May 2018, object was part of an exhibit showcasing repatriated antiquities.
Attic Red-Figure Kylix with Ilioupersis c. 500-490 BCE		Cerveteri	National Archaeological Museum at Cerveteri	
Etruscan Red-Figure Duck Askos c. 350-300 BCE		Cerveteri		In May 2018, the object was on loan to the Badisches Landesmuseum in Germany for temporary exhibition.
Antefix in the Form of a Maenad and Silenos Dancing c. 500 BCE		Cerveteri		In May 2018, the object was on loan to the Badisches Landesmuseum in Germany for temporary exhibition.

Bronze Mirror with Relief-Decorated Cover c. 200 BCE		Cerveteri		In May 2018, the object was on loan to the Badisches Landesmuseum in Germany for temporary exhibition.
Statue of Apollo c. 100-150 CE		Ascoli Satriano	Museum of Ascoli Satriano	
Painted Marble Basin with the Nereids Carrying the Weapons of Achilles c. 325-300 BCE		Ascoli Satriano	Museum of Ascoli Satriano	
Two Griffins Attacking a Fallen Doe c. 325-300 BCE		Ascoli Satriano	Museum of Ascoli Satriano	
Apulian Red-Figure Volute Krater with Phoenix and Achilles c. 320 BCE		Taranto	National Archaeological Museum at Taranto	As of May 2018, the krater was in the museum's restoration lab.
Apulian Red-Figure Calice Krater with Underworld Scene c. 320 BCE		Taranto	National Archaeological Museum at Taranto	As of May 2018, the krater was in the museum's restoration lab.

Apulian Red-Figure Loutrophoros with Perseus and Andromeda c. 340-330 BCE		Taranto	National Archaeological Museum at Taranto	
Apulian Red-Figure Pelike with Perseus and Andromeda c. 340-330 BCE		Taranto	National Archaeological Museum at Taranto	As of May 2018, the pelike was in the museum's restoration lab.
Apulian Red-Figure Volute Krater with the Freeing of Andromeda c. 410-400 BCE		Taranto	National Archaeological Museum at Taranto	
Bronze Askos in the Shape of a Siren c. 470-460 BCE		Crotone	National Archaeological Museum at Crotone	
Cult Statue of a Goddess c. 425 BCE		Aidone	Archaeological Museum of Aidone	

Red-Figure Pestana Lekythos with the Garden of the Hesperides c. 350-340 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Apulian Red Figure Pelike with the Mourning of Achilles for Patroclus c. 375-350 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Apulian Red-Figure Bell Krater with a Fliacica Scene c. 380 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Attic Red-Figure Krater Depicting a Theatrical Scene c. 380 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Attic Red-Figure Bell Krater with a Dionysian Scene c. 420 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Attic Red-Figure Calyx Krater with Divine Figures c. 470-460 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.

Attic Red-Figure Krater with the Killing of Aegisthus c. 470 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Attic Red-Figure Kantharos Configured with a Dionysian Mask c. 480 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Attic Red-Figure Kylix with Zeus and Ganymede c. 480 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Attic Red-Figure Amphora with Scene of Fight for Tripod c. 480-470 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Red-Figure Attic Kalpis with Fineo and Harpies c. 480 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Attic Red-Figured Kylix with Ether c. 520-510 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.

Attic Red-Figure Amphora with Athletes c. 515-510 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Attic Black-Figure Amphora with a Fight between Heracles and Gerion c. 540 BCE		Naples	National Archaeological Museum at Naples	As of May 2018, not on display. It is possible the object is now on display in the Magna Grecia exhibit.
Fresco Fragments from Pompeii c. 35-62 CE		Naples or Pompeii		Unable to verify exact location.
Fragment of a Fresco: Lunette with Mask of Hercules c. 50-30 BC		Naples or Pompeii		Unable to verify exact location.

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