

Pompeii & Herculaneum Archaeological Sites: Conservation and Management

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Abstract

This first part of the paper begins with an historical overview of the development of Pompeii and Herculaneum as an archaeological site and heritage attraction, providing an insight concerning the culture and nature of these ancient cities during the Roman period. A focus will be given on the context of these rediscoveries, and their impact within Italy and around the world and most importantly who owned, managed, and/or visited the sites throughout their history.

The paper also looks at how the ideas about the fame of Pompeii affects tourism, management, and the creation of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The conclusion compares the potential of the recent public/private partnership initiative at Herculaneum 'The Herculaneum Conservation Project' and the latest fully public funded project at Pompeii 'The Great Project Pompeii'.

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Summary

- **Chapter 1.**
This chapter states the general topic and provides some background information about Pompeii and Herculaneum.

- **Chapter 2.**
This chapter critically appraises the subject examined and provides a review of the literature related to the topic.

- **Chapter 3.**
The focus of this chapter concerns the nature, culture and location of these ancient cities during the Roman period. In order to identify why Pompeii and Herculaneum are significant for our understanding of the Roman world, primary sources for these sites will be used and analysed. The main topics covered in this section will be the extent to which Pompeii and Herculaneum represent 'typical' Roman towns and what characteristics might influence how the towns were 'read' plus subsequently managed. Thus, this section outlines what we know, how we know it, and sets the stage for why these sites are important windows on life in the ancient world. Chronologically, the section should end at or a little after the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79.

- **Chapter 4.**
This chapter focuses on the context of these rediscoveries, and on the impact that these discoveries had within Italy and around the world. These discoveries have shaped modern understandings of life in the Roman world. Thus, it would be key to look at who owned, managed, and/or visited the sites during this period. This section focuses on the period of early rediscovery of the sites from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries.

➤ **Chapter 5**.....

This chapter focuses on the twentieth century, and the rise of modern scientific archaeology, massive tourism, and the problem of Mussolini. It will retain a focus on classical reception and how it changed and was used, and how Pompeii attained a dominant global profile. Also, this chapter will look at how the ideas about the fame of Pompeii affected tourism, conservation, and management.

➤ **Chapter 6**.....

This chapter finally brings to the front the initial debate of public vs private heritage management. This can now be assessed within the strong historical narrative of reception and significance that has been developed. At this stage, we now know WHY these sites are significant, and this makes the question of how they are managed that much more urgent.

➤ **Chapter 7**.....

This chapter draws together the main findings

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

One of the most important archaeological areas in the world is the region around Mount Vesuvius where the ancient cities of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabia (**Figure 1**) once ordinary Roman cities, were destroyed by a devastating eruption of the volcano Vesuvius in 79 AD.

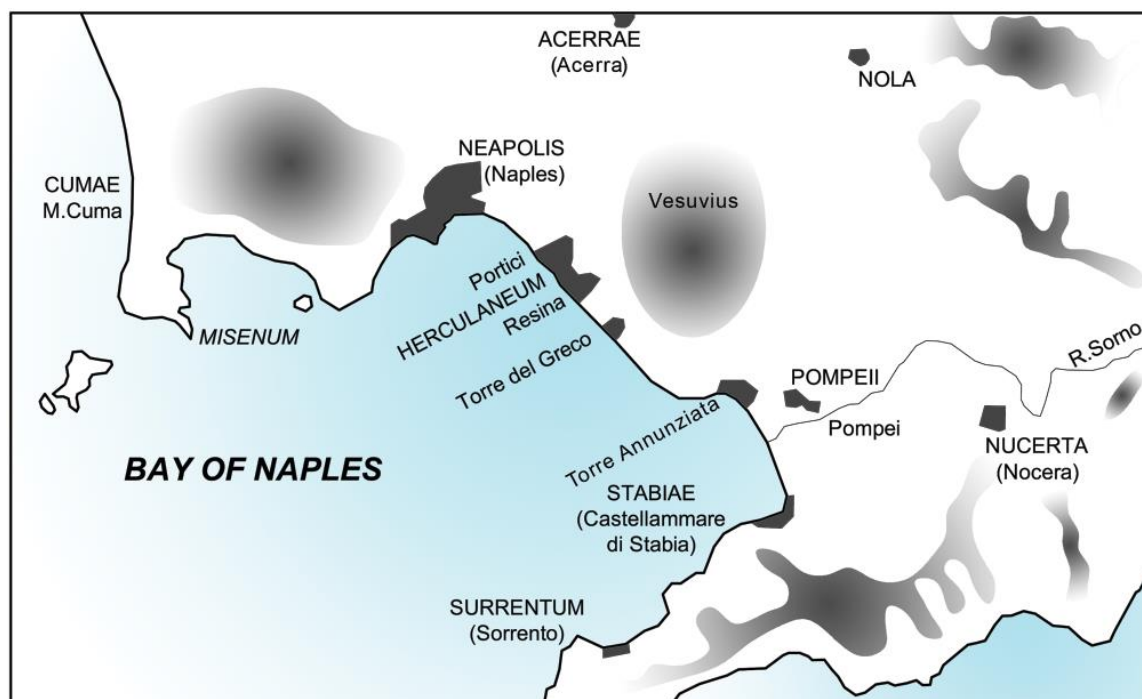


Figure 1. Bay of Naples, Sigurdsoon (2002)

Considered a town of great prosperity, Pompeii first came under Roman rule just over 2,000 years ago and thanks to its fertile ground of Campania, it soon became the favourite resort for Romans (Berry, 1998). Herculaneum instead, considered the younger sister of the well-known city of Pompeii, was regarded as the favourite holiday resort of wealthy Romans (Camardo,

2007). Pompeii, Herculaneum and the other nearby settlements were a bustling mix of rich, poor and slaves (Nappo, 1998). And, as Wallace-Hadrill (1994) claims, it was very common among the Roman aristocracy to build luxury villas in the Campania region in the last decades of the second century BC.

Unfortunately, these ancient towns did not last very long as in 79 AD the inhabitants' lives were cut short by the sudden and terrible eruption of Mount Vesuvius (Roberts, 2013). Streets, marketplaces, homes, and workshops were completely buried beneath a seven-metre layer of volcanic ash and lava. An accidental discovery led to excavation work, that began first in Herculaneum in 1709 and followed at Pompeii in 1748 (Tinh, 2016). The rediscovery of the ancient world of Pompeii and Herculaneum, caught and preserved at the moment of the eruption, has ever since drawn the attention of the world (Berry, 2007).

Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabia were unique at the time of their discovery as they provided an unprecedented and direct look into the past. Excavations and conservation work at the Vesuvian sites for the past 250 years have been directly linked to the appearance of the ancient sites and their public image (Roberts, 2013). However, after many excavation projects, it was noted that in Herculaneum, the huge volcanic lava layer meant that its buildings were preserved in a better condition than those of Pompeii, with carbonised wood, textiles, and food, being conserved and also after excavation several upper floors houses were still intact (Thompson, 2007). In comparison with Pompeii, Herculaneum has a much less area and is also less well known to most people, both in Italy and around the world. Yet the ancient Herculaneum today is a real gem that it has become the subject of study of best practice in the management of archaeological sites (Nappo, 1998).

The philanthropist David Packard, son of HP (Hewlett-Packard) co-founder of the giant information technology company and Chairman of the Packard Humanities Institute (a non-profit foundation based in California) that contributes to the conservation of historical archaeological sites arrived in Italy in 2000 and was struck by both the beauty and the degradation of Herculaneum's archaeological heritage (Thompson, 2007). At that stage, Packard decides to take over and in 2001 he signed a memorandum of understanding with the 'Soprintendenza (a government branch that administrates the national historical heritage). In essence, the Packard Humanities Institute designs and provides funds for the site projects, while the 'Soprintendenza' contract out the projects.

Sixteen kilometres away, in Pompeii, the ‘Soprintendenza’ is the same, but the way the archaeological site is managed is different. In the UNESCO site of Pompeii, the ‘Soprintendenza’ fully manage the archaeological area. Until a few years ago the low spending had caused the closing of 80 buildings to the public with almost 50% inaccessibility due to the lack of engineers and architects responsible for monitoring the facilities (Camardo, 2013). At the foot of Vesuvius, then, there are two opposing realities; on the one hand the UNESCO site of Pompeii that attracts millions of visitors every year despite the bad management of the ‘Soprintendenza’, while on the other hand the less known Herculaneum which is better preserved, maintained and managed.

Looking at key primary sources for these sites, the first part of the thesis will set the stage for why these sites are important windows on life in the Ancient World. Chronologically, this section will end a little after the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79. The second part of the thesis instead, focuses on the period of early rediscovery of the sites from the sixteenth through to the nineteenth centuries and on who owned, managed, and/or visited the sites during this period. Attention will be paid to the context of these rediscoveries, and the impact of these discoveries within Italy and around the world. This section will also examine how these discoveries shaped modern understandings of life in the Roman World, and how the reception of the classical past changed over time.

The third part of the thesis will focus on the twentieth century, and the rise of modern scientific archaeology, mass tourism, the political context during World War Two, the classical reception and how it changed and was used, and how Pompeii attained a dominant global profile. In addition, attention will be focussed upon how the ideas about the fame of Pompeii affected tourism, management, and the UNESCO World Heritage Site’s recognition. The final part of the thesis will turn to the twentieth century and explore contemporary management bringing public vs private heritage management to the front.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Background

Roberts (2013) points out that the ancient towns of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the other nearby settlements were a bustling mix of rich, poor and slaves where the population could easily be recognized and differentiated through their dresses and usual habits such as praying in temples, watching plays in theatre, attending the gladiators and beast fight events in the Amphitheatre, and relaxing in the baths (Roberts, 2013). Furthermore, as Nappo (1998, p. 3) points out, “When Pompeii first came under Roman rule just over 2,000 years ago, it was a town of great prosperity whose cultural life and urban planning were in full blossom.”

According to Berry (2007) even though the towns of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabia are quite similar in terms of historical background, buildings structure and location, only Pompeii can truly be described as the most famous archaeological site in the world where over 250 years ago the modern discipline of archaeology began. However, in antiquity, Pompeii’s importance was less noticeable, hence, as Berry (2007, p. 9) claims, “Pompeii was a small provincial town in its last period of life, one of many in the shadow of Vesuvius and in the wider region of Campania. It was Campania, not Pompeii that was famous during this period.” Thus, how and why is Pompeii the best known and probably the most important archaeological site in the world nowadays? And also, does the fame of Pompeii as an excavated site distort our understanding of its original significance?

As Roberts (2013) highlights, in 79 AD Mount Vesuvius erupted destroying all the towns to the southeast of the volcano and in just a few days, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and other smaller settlements such as Stabia and Oplontis were completely buried. Ozgenel (2008) notes that for nearly 17 centuries the ancient towns of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabia have been completely buried beneath layers of volcanic ash, pumice (known as *lapilli*) and lava and unearthing and revealing such a vast and almost intact ancient context has been an unusual phenomenon with a remarkable history. According to Parslow (1995), the start of Archaeology in Campania commenced in Herculaneum with the Austrian prince Duc d'Elbeuf in 1710 AD who found several pieces of buried marble that came from monumental ancient buildings.

Following the first excavations in the region of Campania under the personal initiative of Prince d'Elbeuf, Nappo (1998) claims that after the Bourbon kings were on the throne of Naples in 1738 AD, the official excavation to the southeast of Mount Vesuvius began in Herculaneum with Alcubierre. The excavation at Herculaneum started first, but as noted by Nappo (1998) due to the difficult and dangerous mining, Alcubierre decided to explore some nearby areas with the hope of revealing more buried treasure. Thus, as noted by Ozgenel (2008) the attention was then shifted to the new sites of Pompeii (from 1748) and Stabia (from 1749) and by 1780 AD the excavation at Herculaneum was completely abandoned.

As noted by La Rocca (2002) in 1750, the Swiss military engineer, Karl Weber was employed by Alcubierre to supervise the excavation work in the Vesuvian sites. According to Honour (1968) excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum during the eighteenth century created a huge impact within Italy and around the world making the ancient sites a significant cultural stop in the Bourbon Era. Nappo (1998) notes that after decades of excavation works taking place at Pompeii, Herculaneum and surrounding areas the visitors were quite impressed by the houses and artefacts brought to light, but as Berry (2007) claims, the beginning of the eighteenth century was also a period of serious corruption, bad digging and malpractice at Pompeii, and in Naples in general.

As highlighted by Maiuri (1953) it was only with the vision and energy of the Neapolitan archaeologist, Giuseppe Fiorelli, that in 1848 AD the undisciplined and random digging on the site as well as the constant flow of antiquities from Campania came to an end. Also, according to Pesando (2006), one of the most important things that Fiorelli did at Pompeii was to allow, for the first time, an entrance fee in 1860 AD to anyone who wished to visit the site.

Following the great excavation work of Fiorelli in the nineteenth century, according to Ciarallo and De Carolis (1998) in the first half of the twentieth century, there was great optimism about the use of Pompeii to illustrate urban life and for exploration to discover how people had lived. As noted by Wallace-Hadrill (2011), in 1924, the Italian Archaeologist Amedeo Maiuri, after having been chosen as a director for the Vesuvian archaeological site completed extensive open-air excavation work and created a 'living museum' by restoring the excavated buildings and bringing them back to their original style.

As Laurence (1999) points out, these excavations re-shaped the nature of tourism to the site since the levels of restoration and reconstruction created internal spaces for the tourists to view and as Wallace-Hadrill (2011) indicates the growing phenomenon of mass-tourism was entirely understood by Maiuri. However, as noted by Thompson (2007) the measures taken to protect the monument, during and immediately after Maiuri's excavation were not always adequate in the first place due to limited funds and the uncertainty of the Italian political and cultural context. Thus, according to O' Gorman (2005) during the sixties, the relationship between Italians and their cultural heritage changed as there was an increased awareness of the outside world, while ancient sites such as Pompeii and Herculaneum were considered to be of minor importance.

According to Berry (1998), a massive earthquake that struck the Campania region in 1980 highlighted the general fragility of the site. At the same time, Holtorf (2010) notes that the Italian government became a centralised system and the Ministry of Culture and the Environment managed the cultural heritage (including archaeological sites) and under the new system administrated by the Ministry of Culture and the Environment, the archaeological sites were managed by the regional 'Soprintendenza' (Special Superintendency of the Cultural Heritage).

According to Bumburu (2002) by the late 1990s, the site of Pompeii and Herculaneum were in a state of such serious neglect that it began to attract international attention due to the absence of regular maintenance and a widespread state of disrepair and decay. Moreover, according to Thompson (2007), this decay across the entire sites become worse for two more reasons: the acceleration in the deterioration process for the closed areas and the number of visitors that had nearly tripled and naturally provoked the consequential wear and tear on the monument.

Furthermore, Guzzo (2007) claims that Pompeii and Herculaneum appeared insensitive to their potential and to the benefits of tourism since despite the mass tourism, the number of services available in the ancient cities was insufficient. However, Teutonico and Palombo (2002) note that despite the state of degradation, the poor maintenance and bad publicity, by the end of the twentieth century nearly two million tourists visited the Vesuvian sites.

According to Wallace-Hadrill (2012) in 1997 to further enhance their international recognition and importance, the World Heritage Committee decided to enter the archaeological sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum on the list of World Heritage UNESCO, but after only a few years from the UNESCO world recognition, Pompeii and Herculaneum have been twice included on the World Monuments Heritage Watch List for the increasingly poor state of conservation and the several collapses. Thus, as highlighted by Levin-Richardson (2011, p. 316) “A number of smaller collapses followed, sparked an international discussion on the state of conservation at Pompeii and the management of the site.” In addition, Wallace-Hadrill (2010, p. 5) underlines that “Political corruption and the stranglehold of the Mafia over local and national politics are the contexts for the archaeological crisis of today.”

As Thompson (2007) highlights, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, at least for Herculaneum, things started to change as conserving the ancient site was a task that could not be resolved by the resources of the ‘Soprintendenza’ alone. As claimed by Garnsey (2012) David Packard, son of the co-founder of computer giant HP and president of the Packard Humanities Institute, decided to contribute to the conservation of the historical and archaeological site in that he was struck by both the beauty and the degradation of Herculaneum. Consequently, the Packard Humanities Institute signed a public-private partnership agreement.

According to Thompson (2007), the Herculaneum Conservation Project was an innovative public/private initiative to conserve and safeguard the archaeological site. In addition, Garnsey (2012) points out that, this joining force helped to address economic difficulties and enhanced the conservation approaches of the site. While, according to Wallace-Hadrill (2010) a few kilometres away in Pompeii, the ‘Soprintendenza’ is the same but the management in the most famous UNESCO site in the world is different.

Ferri (2014) notes that, after decades of waiting, following the series of conservation and management challenges, in 2011 the Italian Government declared the State of Emergency and launched 'The Great Project Pompeii', to rehabilitate the Vesuvian's archaeological site. Hence, as noted by Wallace-Hadrill (2010) the European Commission decided to allocate 105 million euros to Pompeii for this project to address several key issues, including the restoration and conservation of a number of areas and as Thompson (2007) claims in just a few years the revival of Pompeii was quite evident and also recognized from the UNESCO. Thus, can the latest initiative 'The Great Project Pompeii' be the end of Pompeii's bad management and conservation that lasted for years?

Chapter 3

ANCIENT POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM

This section examines the ancient cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum and also explains what they were like in the Roman period. Thus, it will become evident that Pompeii and Herculaneum represented 'typical' Roman town. The key focus for this section will include the characteristics that influenced how the towns were 'read' and subsequently managed. Thus, this section outlines what we know, how we know it, and sets the stage for explaining why these sites are important windows on life in the Ancient World.

3.1. The Historical Origins of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabia

According to Ciarallo & De Carolis (1998), the earliest urban settlement of Pompeii was built in around 600 BC by local populations. Despite this, Berry (2007) insists that the development of Pompeii can be dated back between the sixth and fifth century BC, when the Greeks first and then the Etruscans settled in the Campania region. Consequently, it could be argued that the name of the city comes from the Greek noun 'pompeion', meaning 'expedition' (Roberts, 2013). Also, it is probable that at the beginning Pompeii was not even a real inhabited area, but a knot of commercial traffic, a market (Nappo, 1998). Pompeii was situated at the mouth of the river Sarno, was destined to become practically the port of those centres of the Campania hinterland without an outlet on the sea, and therefore forced to rely on the Greek cities of the coast (Berry, 2007).

Herculaneum instead, stood at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, situated 16 km northwest of Pompeii and could be considered the younger sister of Pompeii. Thanks to its safe harbour and

pleasant climate it appears to have become a fashionable holiday resort of many wealthy Romans (Brennan, 2011). Consequently, as Berry (2007) points out, during the first century BC, due to its good road connections, Herculaneum attracted many Romans who built large luxury villas with spectacular views over the sea wall as well as elaborate bath complexes and public buildings.

Approximately 4.5 km southwest of Pompeii, the small ancient village of Stabia, originally an older settlement than Pompeii, had already been overshadowed by the much larger port at Pompeii by the end of the sixth century (Thompson, 2007). According to Berry (2007), Stabia was completely destroyed by the Roman general Sulla, during the Social war in 89 BC, but, soon after, the small village was completely rebuilt and became a popular seaside resort for wealthy Romans due to the quality of its spring water, which was believed to have therapeutic properties. Thus, the quality life and position of this location led numerous wealthy Romans to build their villas similar to the ones in Herculaneum sited on a 50m high on the ridge of the Lactarli Mountains with great views over the Gulf of Naples (Parlslow, 1995).

In the fifth century BC, the Samnites took control of many Greek and Etruscan towns in Campania, and Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabia and all the villages of the Sarno Valley. These were all part of a loose confederation of Samnite settlements that expanded rapidly, occupying the entire region (Amery & Curran, 2002). As a result, the Samnite period, thanks to its maritime trade and agricultural activities, Pompeii and surrounding areas enjoyed great economic prosperity (Berry, 2007). Thus, the Samnite arrival marked the beginning of a new age for Pompeii, which became an important trading centre and witnessed an increase in population leading the city to expand reaching 66 hectares of an urban centre. However, in the fourth century BC, new migratory waves of Samnites from the Apennines swept down the urbanized and wealthy population of the Campanian Plain (Cooley, 2004).

3.2. The Political History of Pompeii and Herculaneum

In the early third century BC Rome conquered the Bay of Naples, where Pompeii (still a largely agricultural settlement) and its surrounding towns came under Roman control as an allied town (Cooley, 2004). Rome took part in an endless series of wars between 343-290 AD against the Samnite settlements before taking control of the Campania region. It is noteworthy that during

the Samnite dominion, Pompeii was already a considerable city, politically and economically superior to the other neighbours and to the still modest Neapolis (Naples), but the entry of the Roman political sphere slowed down any further expansion (Berry, 2007).

At the end of the conflict with the Samnites, Roma imposed Pompeii to enter into their political organization created by the Romans, while maintaining its own municipal and administrative autonomy and its own language. According to Ward-Perkins (1978), Doric capitals and column bases, as well as various artefacts uncovered during archaeological excavation in the last 250 years indicates that during this period, the town fortifications were strengthened with 12 quadrangular towers and an internal protected wall made out of blocks of tufa and the external wall out of limestone. It might be argued that Pompeii's development and political importance in the ancient world was established when several public buildings were built, including the Temple of Apollo, the Temple of Venus, the Temple of Zeus, the Basilica, the Forum and the Stabian Baths as those buildings were the economic, political and cultural centre of Pompeii.

Pompeii remained faithful to Rome until 89 BC, when, taking advantage of the Social Wars, Social War of 90-89 BC, Pompeii took sides with the other Campanian cities, including Herculaneum trying to regain its independence (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994). In 89 BC, the Roman army, led by Lucius Cornelius Sulla, after seizing Herculaneum and Stabia occupied the town of Pompeii. In 80 BC, Sulla himself set up the first veterans' colony in Pompeii, also known as the 'Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum' to reward with land the veterans who had fought for him (Roberts, 2013).

3.3 The Economies of Pompeii and Herculaneum

Pompeii, once a harbour town, benefited from a good strategic position lying on the River Sarno 25 km from Naples and 26 km from Sorrento in the fertile plains of the southern Campania region. The Sarno limpid waters were channelled to irrigate the fertile fields of the plain, especially the plots just outside Pompeii (Nappo, 1998). A small and middle-class entrepreneurial town, above all commercial as it is still today, Pompeii thrived on a small canning industry, from the grain trade and from the sale of vegetables produced in the fertile and humid plain below, that was perhaps its greatest economic resource (Connolly, 1983). Vineyards, fruit orchards, and grain fields were cultivated in great numbers and depending on

the season, broccoli, onions, lettuce, peas and broad beans reached the table of the ancient Pompeians (Berry, 2007).

According to Ciarallo & De Carolis (1998), the inhabitants' deep knowledge of the different types of soil guided them in their choice of crops. The great location meant that Pompeii enjoyed significant commercial prosperity since inhabitants exported their agricultural produce beyond the Campania region and throughout the Roman Empire. In fact, as underlined by Sigurdsson (2002, p. 29) "The beauty and fertility of the Campanian region were renowned, and capable of producing three or four crops in a year. As a result, the region was heavily populated and farmed." Pompeii was also defined by Wallace-Hadrill (1994) as an attractive location for Roman families to settle due to the working port which exercised some control over the importation and exportation of goods in the area of the Sarno Valley.

From an economic point of view, the vicissitudes of war did not seem to have produced excessive upheavals in city life that impacted heavily on the local economies. Hence, as Ciarallo & De Carolis (1998) suggest, from the first century BC onward, the economic activities of Pompeii and Herculaneum were the same as other prosperous cities of the Roman province. In addition, Pliny the Elder (23–79 AD), a Roman author, naturalist and natural philosopher, who spent most of his spare time studying, writing, and investigating natural and geographic phenomena in the field, highlighted that in that period the cities under mount Vesuvius extended far beyond their walls, and eventually became typical Roman cities, with public buildings, squares, shops and houses of various size and refinement (Eichholz, 1975).

3.4 Architecture and Recreation in Pompeii and Herculaneum

Pompeii's architectural development can be divided into three phases that also reflect the political evolution of the city: the Pre-Samnite period (525 - 425 BC), the Samnite period (425 - 80 BC) and the Roman phase (80 BC – 79 AD). The last phase may be further subdivided into the establishment of the Roman Empire under Augustus in 30 BC and the earthquake of 62 AD. After the earthquake, which destroyed a large part of the town, the Pompeians rebuilt and restored both public and private monuments there, until the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD put an end to this activity.

Well before Rome, although it was only a small provincial town, Pompeii was the first town in the region that had a luxury bathhouse ‘The Stabian Baths’ which were first constructed during the third century BC. They went on to have a few restorations and improvements during the 80s BC and also after 62 AD. The baths had male and female changing rooms, a steam room, an open-air swimming pool and a library (Tinh, 2016). Therefore, as Dixon (1992) points out, by the beginning of the second century BC, in the wake of the Roman victory over Hannibal, the cities lying on the Bay of Naples, experienced an economic boom during which Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabia and a few other small settlements were completely built up.

After 80 BC, Pompeii’s ambitions changed, and construction continued with a more grandiose vision, thus, the ‘*Great Palestra*’ (The Great Gym), the Central Baths and the Amphitheatre were built (Kraus, 1975). Regarding the Amphitheatre, according to Tinh (2016) although it was only a small provincial town, Pompeii prided itself on the fact that the first Amphitheatre in the whole of the Roman Empire was built there shortly after 80 BC. This was well before the Colosseum was built in Rome in 70 AD for gladiator games and wild animal fights. Erected, at the far eastern end of the town in the form of an oval (140 x 105 m), to accommodate 20,000 spectators, it was equipped with a mechanism for stretching an awning from the top tiers to shade the public from the heat of the sun. However, in 59 AD in Pompeii, during a show in the amphitheatre, a violent and bloody brawl occurred between Pompeians and their neighbours, the Nuceriaans, and the latter suffered the worst. The scandal was such that Emperor Nero decided to bring it to the attention of the Senate, which decreed the closure of the Pompeian amphitheatre for ten years (Roberts, 2013).

Another admirable aspect of Pompeii’s architecture was evidenced by the way in which the supply and distribution of water was arranged. An aqueduct was used to carry drinking water and filled a great water tower situated on the highest part of the town and flowed through a complex system of channels towards smaller water tanks erected near crossroads. The water piped from these tanks was used first for public buildings such as the baths and the *Great Palestra*, then for public fountains across the streets installed every 100-200 metres and finally to a number of industrial installations and private houses (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994). Therefore, as Tinh (2016, p. 2) points out, “In no other town in the ancient world, except Rome itself, has such a sophisticated hydraulic system been found.”

In addition, an indication of a highly developed sense of urban planning in these ancient cities can also be found in the road structure. Straight roads, measuring 7-12 metres wide and paved with great blocks of volcanic stone were flanked by high pavements and squared-off blocks of stone at the crossings. This road structure forced chariots and carts to reduce their speed and also enabled pedestrians not to get their feet wet when crossing the roads, while the traffic was regulated by clear street signs that determined areas reserved for pedestrians only and areas with controlled access (Tinh, 2016). Thus, these features extracted from archaeological site surveys, are indicative of a highly developed sense of urban planning, as well as evidence of heavy traffic. Hence, by the beginning of the first century BC the towns lying on the bay of Naples, in particular, Pompeii, could be considered as towns of great prosperity at their highest economic peak with traffic and transport carefully managed with a one-way traffic system and a dynamic urban life (Roberts, 2013).

3.5 The House in Pompeian Society

Reviewing the role of the house in Pompeian society it could be argued that it comprises one of the richest and most complete of any known sources of information on the domestic architecture of ancient Italy up to the end of the first century AD, reflecting both the Italic tradition and Hellenic influences. Thus, Roberts (2013, p. 18) claims that “The two cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum present an unequalled opportunity to view the Romans in the most fundamental and shared context of all, the home.” It had a dual role being used as both a family home, and also as a place of work intended to handle matters and businesses with the public. In addition, as Berry also notes (2007, p. 154) “some of the best surviving examples of Roman houses from the entire Roman empire have been found in the ancient cities sitting under Mount Vesuvius.” The houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum were fronted by shops and interspersed with workshops and bars while the size and the decoration of the houses were reflective of the social status and importance of their owners (Hales, 2003). Furthermore, as Allison (2004) also points out, the wealthy elite, which accounted to around 10% of the population, needed large houses for reception and entertainment purposes and also to conduct their business and political dealings. In fact, in these ancient settlements, there was a close connection between the number of visitors to a house, its size and the political success of its owner.

A typical house in Pompeii consisted of a series of rooms all gathered around an atrium, a lobby, a hall and an entrance room that could be covered or partially uncovered and this was often the centre of the house. In the middle of the hall there would be a spa, also known as a watershed, built with the aim of tackling the long periods of draughts during the summer. Sloping roofs directed the rainwater into a central courtyard which then overflowed into an underground cistern below (Zevi, 1979). Thus, before running water was supplied via the aqueduct, these architectural features were essential for everyday life. In addition, in the houses of the middling people, which accounted for around half of the population, the rooms were generally covered by a wooden ceiling, the walls were decorated with mythological scenes, family decorations or a landscape painting, but rarely did these paintings allude to the intended purpose of the room (Maiuri, 1961). Also, an interesting thing to point out is the fact that the size of the entrance could differ from family to family. A wide entrance meant that the interiors could be visible from the street acting as a status symbol of the family (Nappo, 1998).

In addition to the traditional palaces and homes, Pompeii offered numerous remains related to its commercial buildings, such as shops, warehouses, hotels and brothels. But, the most astonishing Pompeian house is the *Villa dei Misteri* situated just outside the city walls. *Villa dei Misteri* owes its name to the richness of the decorations and mysterious paintings that appear on the Villa's walls. However, it might be argued that the town's general elections were meant to happen just a few days before the eruption since the Villa's wall depicted several political slogans, alongside other inscriptions of a more personal nature and among these of course there was some obscene words (Amery & Curran, 2002).

3.6 The Earthquake of 62 AD

The ancient towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum demonstrated their strength and power within that period since they started the reconstruction of both private and public monuments immediately after the 62 AD earthquake (Berry, 2007). The reconstruction after the earthquake began immediately, but given the magnitude of the damage, it took a very long time, in fact, at the time of the eruption, 17 years later, some of the major public monuments of the city were not yet completely restored (Nappo, 1998). According to Beard (2010), the richest families had certainly moved to their villas outside of Pompeii while the others settled in temporary housing.

Following the earthquake, changes were made to the Pompeian urban structure and as Ling (2005) points out, in this period of time the city transformed from the economic and financial centre of the Campania region into a huge construction site, where the main activity was no longer based on trade. And, as in every natural catastrophe at any time, there were private individuals who took advantage of the building confusion and perhaps the destruction of the archives, by usurping and privatizing former public areas. Furthermore, Lawrence (2007) notes that many elite Pompeian residents became rich with construction speculation or through renting apartments while others made big profits from the restoration works. We do not know if, and in what way, Nero (54 – 68 AD) first, and then Vespasian (69 – 79 AD), intervened in the reconstruction work. Pompeii was a rich city, and there was no lack of money for the needs of the moment. This is demonstrated by the luxury in which the renovation work of many buildings was started, with extensive use of coloured marbles. However, there was certainly no lack of political and administrative difficulties, as Vespasian was forced to send a delegation to Pompeii with the task of settling the issues concerning the possession of municipal lands illegally occupied by private individuals (Connolly, 1983).

3.7 Eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 AD

Unfortunately, these vibrant ancient settlements did not last very long as in 79 AD Mount Vesuvius erupted with devastating violence for the first time in 700 years destroying all the towns to the southeast of the volcano. In just a few days, the beautiful Bay of Naples in southern Italy, famous in Roman times for its fertile soil and pleasant climate, was convulsed by a catastrophic eruption of the volcano Mount Vesuvius. Pompeii, Herculaneum, and other smaller settlements such as Stabia and Oplontis were completely buried (Roberts, 2013).

According to Jongman (1991), in the afternoon of 24th August in 79 AD a series of frequent shocks shook the area around Mount Vesuvius, a violent shaking of the ground hit the surrounding area, the water sources dried up and from the top of Vesuvius a column of pulverised *lapilli* exploded from the volcano climbing to a height of 30 km. Gradually, *lapilli* and rock fragments fell from the cloud and were carried by the winds to the southeast, followed by the lava. Pompeii and Stabia were submerged immediately by a continuous rain of *lapilli* and rocks reaching a depth of up to 2.8 m, that inevitably covered everything including inhabitants (Jongman, 1991).

Herculaneum instead, was not massively hit in the first phase (the deposit of *lapilli* and rocks was less than 20 cm) but almost twelve hours later, with a hellish mixture of hot gas, ash and water vapour that killed instantly the inhabitants who attempted to escape to the beach (Cassani, 2001). Hence, the inhabitants that tried to escape in the open in Herculaneum had quicker deaths as they were vaporized instantly compared to others who were killed slowly by the collapsing roofs due to the cumulative weight of the *lapilli*.

The catastrophic eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in the space of 48 hours, completely destroyed and buried streets, homes and workshops and the area around Mount Vesuvius was completely abandoned by those who survived (Nappo, 1998). The details of the eruption were recorded in writing by Pliny the Younger, nephew of Pliny the Elder (who died in the eruption), an eyewitness who at the time of the eruption was in Miseno, a city located in the Northern part of the Gulf of Naples (Jongman, 1991). Furthermore, as Laurence (2007) points out, the detailed report of the eruption made by Pliny the Younger through a series of letters to the Roman historian Tacitus was described so accurately that the term 'Plinian' is still referenced today within Volcanology studies.

The date of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius has been typically known as August 24 of 79 AD. This date came from the letter between Pliny the Younger and Tacitus. However, in recent years, manuscript experts believe that the date originally given by Pliny was one of the following: August 24, October 30, November 1, or November 23. This unusual set of dates is due to the Romans' convention for describing calendar dates (Berry, 2013). In addition, Grete (2006) further supports an Autumn eruption as the bodies buried in the ash were wearing heavier clothing than the light summer clothes typical of August and also vegetables and fresh fruit sold in the shops were typical of October and equally the summer fruit was already being sold in conserved, or dried form.

Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabia were destroyed by the same eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 AD. However, as Herculaneum was hit by the second phase of the eruption, where six successive flows of hot gases and fluidized ashes, completely sealed the town under 20 metres of material, this particular burial phenomenon also meant that when the site was rediscovered it was extraordinarily well preserved with a huge number of carbonised wooden architectural elements, food and textiles (Macchioni, 2016). In addition, as Garnsey (2012, p. 70) also points

out that, “In Herculaneum, Doors, window frames, ceiling beams and even food were found, and wooden stairways led to preserved upper storeys, very rare survivals from the Roman World.”

3.8 Pompeii and Herculaneum after the eruption of 79 AD

When the emperor Titus was informed in Rome of the catastrophe, he nominated a senatorial committee to evaluate the scale of the damage and to bring succour to the survivors with the hope of rebuilding the city (Parslow, 1995). However, the attempt to rebuild the cities as they were before the disaster was completely hopeless as Pompeii was nearly totally buried by volcanic material and Herculaneum had completely disappeared (Ciarallo & De Carolis, 1998). Thus, the entire area surrounding Vesuvius was practically uninhabited. In second century AD, the entire area was resettled again by farmers who grew mainly wines and cereals (Beard, 2010).

This peaceful life for the locals lasted until the seventh century AD when continuous barbarian incursions led again to the abandonment of the area, which, in just a few decades, was completely overrun by immense forests (Ciarallo & De Carolis, 1998). Eventually, after many centuries, the fertile earth covering Pompeii would be farmed, new houses built, and vineyards would climb the slopes of Vesuvius again, forgetting so, the existence of the ancient towns buried during the Vesuvius eruption in 79 AD (Ling, 2005).

What happened in the immediate aftermath of the eruption remains as an unknown episode in the history of Campania as no written account of this period survived. It is likely that some survivors returned to their towns to dig channels with the hope of rescuing and pillaging their valuable remains or finding the bodies of their relatives and family members after the lava layer cooled and hardened enough to dig. Some signs of post-eruption scavenging have been recorded in various spots both by the early and later excavators but whether these digs were actually carried out by the ancient inhabitants or the later treasure hunters is not yet clear (Cooley, 2003). Emperor Titus (39 – 81 AD) conceived of unearthing the Campanian towns and repopulating them but it is clear that the empire lacked the technical means and knowledge to undertake this massive clearing and restoration project and it is likely that the survivors of the AD 79 eruption moved to the nearby cities and started a new life, perhaps receiving a compensation grant from the empire (Parslow, 1995).

Chapter 4

THE REDISCOVERY OF ANTIQUITY

This chapter focuses on the context of Pompeii and Herculaneum rediscoveries, and on the impact that these had within Italy and around the world. These rediscoveries have shaped modern understandings of life in the Roman world. Thus, I will be reviewing who owned, managed, and/or visited the sites during this period. This chapter examines the period of the early rediscovery of the sites from the sixteenth through to the nineteenth centuries.

4.1 Early discoveries during the course of the sixteenth through to the nineteenth centuries

The public's awareness of antiquity had been informed by individual ruins and museums, rather than complete, well-preserved sites such as Pompeii, Herculaneum. As mentioned by Clarke (2003, p.34) "The towns lying under Mount Vesuvius have often been described as towns that were frozen in time, giving a perfect picture of everyday life in the Roman period." The incredible eruption of Mount Vesuvius has completely buried beneath layers of volcanic ash, *lapilli* and lava for nearly 17 centuries the ancient towns of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabia. Thus, unearthing and revealing such a vast and almost intact ancient context is an unusual phenomenon and has a remarkable history.

During the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were some discoveries of ancient building materials and artefacts from the buried Campanian towns. The city of Pompeii for example, was spotted for the first time in the sixteenth century. This was during a construction project devised by Count Muzio Tuttavilla (1569 – 1599 AD) who planned to divert the water of the Sarno river to his villa in Torre Annunziata, underneath of which was

another buried site (Parslow, 1995). The planned underground channel of the shortest route happened to pass across the ruins of Pompeii. It entered the city from the amphitheatre side, extended to the forum and crossed the necropolis of the Herculaneum Gate, thus making the longest cut through Pompeii (Ciarallo & De Carolis, 1998).

During the digging of this channel under the direction of architect Domenico Fontana from 1592 to 1600 AD, several inscriptions were unearthed by the labourer. They were not aware of the fact that they were excavating over the top surface of a 66 hectares ancient city lying deep below. An inscription bearing two clearly visible words, *decurio pompeis*, referring to a Pompeian magistrate, was a piece of archaeological evidence. However, it was misinterpreted as referring to the villa of the Roman general Pompey as opposed to the Roman city of Pompeii. Its discovery, therefore, did not arouse further discussion or interest (Cooley, 2003).

4.2 The Start of Archaeology in Campania: Herculaneum and d' Elbeuf in 1710 AD

Garnsey (2012) claims that as Pompeii has always attracted so much interest, it can be quite easy to forget that the excavations took part at Herculaneum first. In fact, the excavation work first started in Herculaneum in 1738 AD, followed by Pompeii in 1748 AD and Stabia in 1749 AD (Brennan, 2011). However, according to Parslow (1995), the discovery of Herculaneum could be credited nearly 30 years earlier, in 1710 AD and not in 1738 AD as stated by Garnsey (2010) and Brennan (2011). Parslow (1995) credited the discovery of Herculaneum to the Austrian prince Duc d'Elbeuf (Emmanuel-Maurice de Lorraine) who, having married a Neapolitan Princess in 1710 AD, decided to build a sumptuous seaside villa and settle down at Portici, a site which is close to Herculaneum. At about the same time a peasant from the nearby town of Resina found several pieces of buried marble while digging a well in his land. All of the unearthed pieces were immediately purchased by the prince who, following the trends in the decoration of the aristocratic mansions of his time, was interested in embellishing his villa with marble statuary and accessories (Nappo, 1998).

D' Elbeuf realized that the marble pieces he acquired were not ordinary building materials but actually came from monumental ancient buildings and bought the land to make excavations (Barker, 1907). Thus, the first 'archaeological excavations' in the region of Campania, in this respect, began under the personal initiative of prince d'Elbeuf (Brion, 1960). Horizontal canals

were tunnelled out from a well by seven workers who by chance hit the wall of the stage building of the theatre in Herculaneum which was one of the most decorated public buildings of the ancient city (Ozgenel, 2008). The building, however, was mistakenly identified as the Temple of Hercules by d'Elbeuf (**Figure 2**). The stage was discovered in its integrity, together with its polychrome marble revetments, columns and statuary, thus yielding much more valuable pieces than the prince could have ever expected.



Figure 2. The front stage of the theatre at Herculaneum as excavated, Maiuri (1945)

In 1716 AD, at the end of an intensive nine-month long tunnelling and digging period d'Elbeuf was summoned back to Austria. D' Elbeufs' workers, despite working in cramped conditions in the narrow tunnels, were able to excavate a rich collection of antiquities that included portrait heads, decorative marbles and a group of bronze portrait statues (**Figure 3**) (**Figure 4**). This was the first private, yet undocumented collection unearthed, from Herculaneum (Parslow, 1995).



Figure 3. Bronze Bust of Sappho from Herculaneum, Barker (1907)



Figure 4. Bronze horse from Herculaneum, Barker (1907)

In this opening period of the excavation history Prince d'Elbeuf acted like an aristocratic treasure-hunter mesmerized by the amount and quality of the artwork cleared from the stage

building. Even for his private interest, the prince did not feel the urge or the need to document and record the method and progress of the excavation. The reason being his main purpose was to decorate his private residence in the manner of a museum of antiquities (Barker, 1907). On the other hand, it might be argued that without actually realizing the future consequences of his private mission and despite all his efforts of secrecy, Prince d' Elbeuf was the first 'excavator' in the long digging narrative of Pompeii and Herculaneum (Cooley, 2003).

Thus, following a series of unintentional discoveries, these ancient towns finally started to uncover themselves and as highlighted by Lazer (2009, p. 25) "The rediscovery of an ancient world, caught and preserved at the moment of cataclysm, provoked huge interest." In 1711 AD, the news about his finds was published in the *Giornale de' Letterati d'Italia* (Figure 5). This was with the intention of documenting all the known eruptions of Vesuvius to provide information on the post-eruption state of the landscape, inhabitants and the countryside around Resina and also the location of the wells where antiquities were found (Parslow 1995).

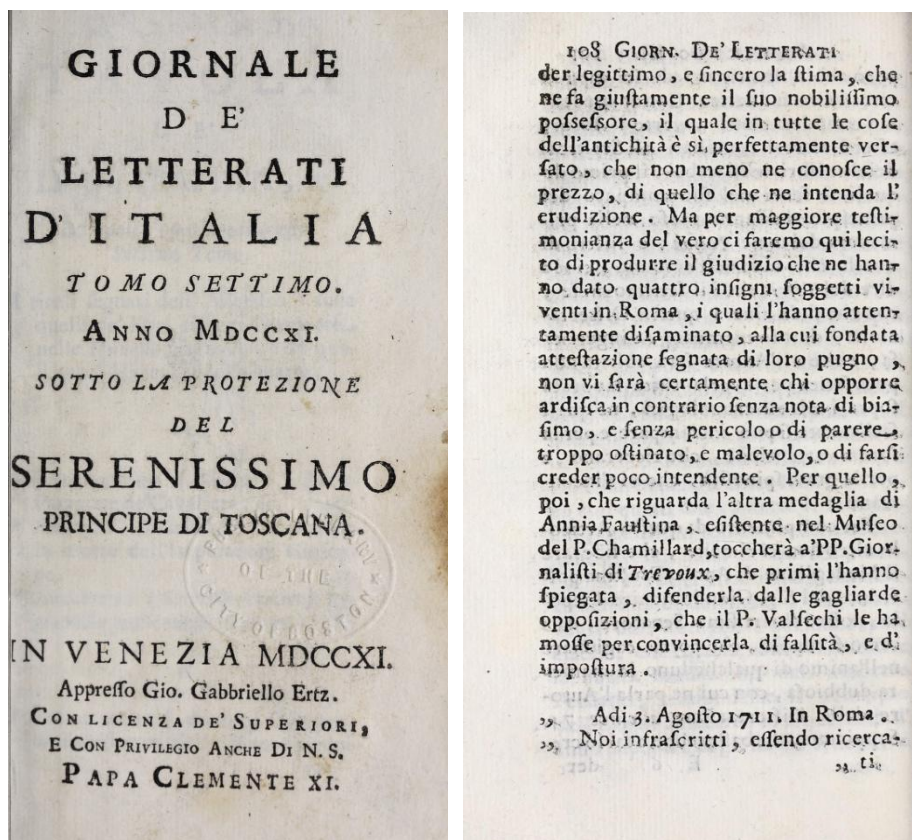


Figure 5. Giornale de' Letterati D'Italia (1711)

This newspaper report is the earliest written and published texts concerning the documentation history of Campanian archaeology. After the departure of Prince d'Elbeuf, his villa was bought

first by Duca Giacinto Falletti di Cannaloga, who adorned it with his own private collection composed of another group of unrecorded ancient statuary cleared from the site under his supervision. The villa and the collection it housed were later bought by the King of Naples, Charles of Bourbon in 1746 AD (Ozgenel, 2008).

4.3 The Bourbon Archaeology: Herculaneum, Alcubierre in 1738 AD

In 1738 AD, after the Bourbon kings were on the throne of Naples, the official excavation to the southeast of Mount Vesuvius began in Herculaneum. At the time, possession and display of ancient artwork were conceived as a major agent in planting a new political power and regime. Thus, the antiquities that could be confiscated from 1738 AD onwards in the ancient towns would serve for this purpose for Charles of Bourbon and his successors (Nappo, 1998).

During the Bourbon period (1815 - 1860 AD), the excavations in Campania were conducted under the directorship and management of a group of technical professionals, none of whom had any prior knowledge and experience in an archaeological undertaking. Among them, some played a more decisive role in not only initiating and navigating the course of the early Bourbon phase of the excavation history, but also in the birth and development of modern archaeology. The leading figure in this early episode was Rocque Joaquin de Alcubierre, a Spanish military engineer who ended up in Naples following Charles of Bourbon (Ozgenel, 2008).

Alcubierre decided to continue mining the Theatre of Herculaneum through tunnels with the aim to extract 'treasure' such as paintings, statues and other ornaments. Tunnels were dug following the course of the ancient masonry walls, cutting through them where necessary. These were narrow tunnels, which barely allowed a single worker to pass. For easing the passage of workers and finds, niches were carved at certain intervals. Neither the access points and the tunnels or the find spots along the tunnels were marked on a draft plan (**Figure 6**). This posed no problem to Alcubierre as long as he kept finding his targeted artefacts (Capasso, 2003).



Figure 6. A draft plan was drawn by Alcubierre for the excavations of the Theatre of Herculaneum, Zevi (1979)

As also observed by some visitors, the conditions in the tunnels were severe, unhealthy and even dangerous as the tunnels were narrow, dusty, dark and damp. They received little air and were also vulnerable to accidents such as the collapse of roofs and the aboveground modern structures. Besides, there was always the possibility that earthquakes and volcanic eruptions could hit the region and bury those inside the tunnels at any moment. The labourers indeed were forced to work under these circumstances; they were chained to prevent them from escaping and were also closely watched against filling their pockets with small finds. No doubt many, like Alcubierre, got sick from the poisonous volcanic dust and damp air; Alcubierre was not only lowered down into the tunnels regularly on a daily basis but also continued to supervise the royal projects at Portici as a member of the corps of royal military engineers and thus split his time and energy between digging and constructing (Brion, 1960).

Alcubierre continued to excavate extracting numerous artefacts such as mosaics, wall-paintings and small finds. The finds were split between two interested parties by Alcubierre: the marble statuary to the King and the royal museum, and the wall-paintings and mosaics to the private art dealers (Bowersock, 1978). Drafting a general plan of the tunnels and preparing a more contextual visual documentation was still not on the agenda of Alcubierre and it was not possible to track the progress of his work at Herculaneum. Areas around the theatre and the basilica were still excavated in a haphazard way as his workers continued to cut through the walls of houses and fill the old tunnels after proceeding to a new one. The excavation project

in Herculaneum resulted to be a complex and problematic project since its start as field reports and ground survey errors were made throughout the excavations.

4.4 Pompeii, Herculaneum and Alcubierre in 1748 AD

As previously mentioned, the excavation at Herculaneum started first. However as noted by Nappo (1998) due to the difficult and dangerous mining and the observable drop in the quantity of the finds, despite nearly a decade of excavations, Alcubierre decided to explore some nearby areas and chose Torre Annunziata, located 18 kilometres southeast of Naples. In 1748 AD Alcubierre was informed about the presence of some antiquities found near Torre Annunziata. This was where the Sarno canal was making an underground pass. Subsequent to that local inhabitants found several artefacts by digging the shaft of a well. With the hope of revealing more buried treasure, he got the permit to start an excavation in this area which he had mistakenly identified as the ancient Stabia but, in actual fact was Pompeii (Jashemski, 1979).

A group of workers transferred from Herculaneum started the first officially recorded dig in ancient Pompeii, in 1748 AD. Pompeii turned out to be more advantageous in terms of digging and clearing. It had a relatively shallow deposit layer that posed less technical problems and unlike Herculaneum which was buried at an approximate depth of 23 metres, it did not require tunnelling (**Figure 7**). In fact, as argued by Parslow (1995), it was easier to excavate in Pompeii and Stabia, as the ancient buildings were buried mainly under light pumice stones. Moreover, as Berry (2007) claims, Pompeii and Stabia were closer to the surface and consequently there was greater exposure to the air, making it more attractive to students and tourists as well since excavators as the material that buried it was easier to excavate.

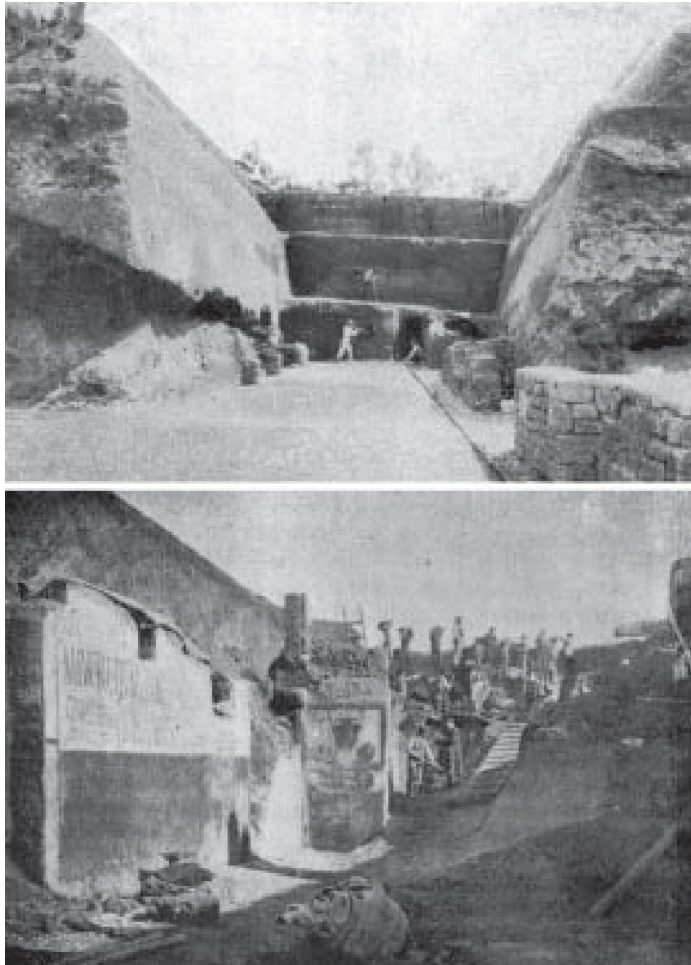


Figure 7. The first great excavation trench of the early twentieth century illustrates the depth to be cleared at Herculaneum, Maiuri (1945) and the relatively shallow deposit layer at Pompeii, Della Corte (1925)

The attention was then shifted to the new sites of Pompeii (from 1748) and Stabia (from 1749). By 1780 AD, the excavation at Herculaneum was completely abandoned. The amphitheatre was the first building that Alcubierre brought to light (**Figure 8**). The building, however, failed to provide gold, silver or bronze antiquities of value and Alcubierre, after recording the dimensions, architectural features and some speculative information on its seating capacity, moved on to another location in Pompeii. Despite clearing some paintings, Alcubierre was not happy with the finds and diverted the excavation work to some other nearby sites in 1750 AD. He was not aware of the fact that he dug the first recorded excavation trench at Pompeii (Ozgenel, 2008).



Figure 8. Amphitheatre at Pompeii, in the background, is Vesuvius. The rows of seats for the audience are still clearly visible, Andrews (1979)

Similar to Herculaneum, right from the start, the excavators used in the digging system in Pompeii were cutting and perforating whatever they could find along the way. The crudeness of the plans completed in his time suggests that the dimensions were presumably taken by chains. It was also probable that the task was undertaken by unskilled labourers as Alcubierre could become disoriented in the tunnels and thus stayed inside for only a short time. From all those years of excavation (1738-1750 AD), Alcubierre had produced at his disposal only a group of incomplete plans belonging to various monuments and the relatively more complete plan of the theatre at Herculaneum, presumably engraved in 1737 AD and which showed only some of the tunnels (Binford, 1981). Berry (2007, p. 46) claims that “Alcubierre’s brief initially was to locate and excavate valuable artefacts for his king; it was not his concern to document the ruins beyond providing a list of finds or to engage in scholarly enquiry.”

4.5 Pompeii, Herculaneum Alcubierre and Weber in 1750 AD

Following the promotion of Alcubierre to colonel, a position which required his presence more often in Naples, the Swiss military engineer, Karl Weber, was employed to supervise the

excavation work in the Vesuvian sites. Weber's first major success came with a large villa discovered at Herculaneum in 1750 AD (Gates, 2003). Called Villa of the Papyri, after an invaluable collection of rolls of the papyri that came from the private library of the building, this large residence was excavated by Weber in a more systematic fashion in 1787 AD. According to La Rocca (2002), rather than tunnelling haphazardly, Weber created a linear axis that stretched from a well near the villa. This functioned as the first shaft of entrance to the underground level. It run all the way up to the other end of the site. It was along this axis that Weber first dug a relatively spacious tunnel (**Figure 9**) (**Figure 10**).

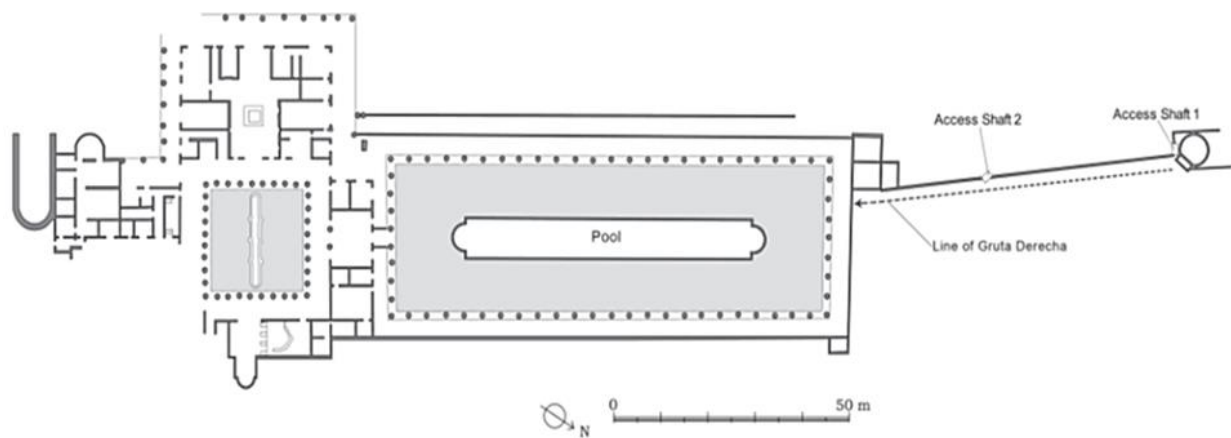


Figure 9. Schematic plan of the Villa of the Papyri and the first access shafts, the axis also illustrates the direction of the main excavation tunnel, *Gruta Derecha*, Parslow (1995)

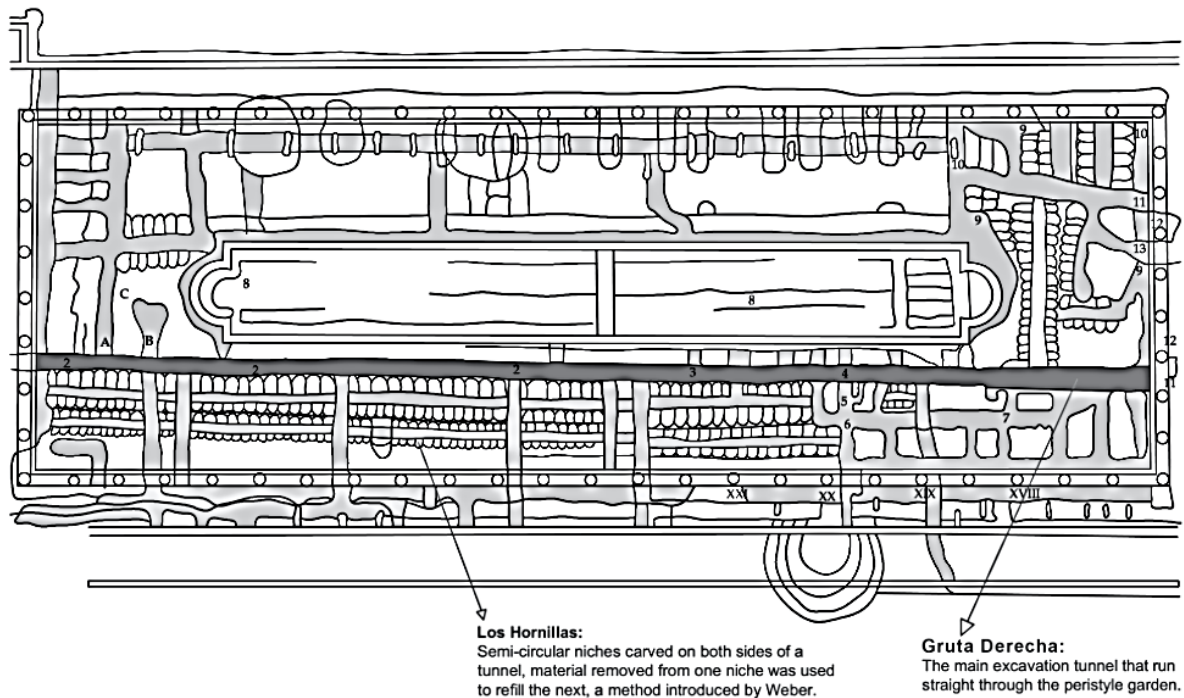


Figure 10. Villa of the Papyri, a partial plan showing the main excavation tunnel (*gruta derecha*) and the secondary tunnels that ran under the large courtyard, Parslow (1995)

This vaulted and plastered tunnel called *Guruta Derecha* (2.50m. wide and 2.00m. high) actually cut through the long and colonnaded open courtyard of the villa and thus became the main underground passage that helped to plan other parallel and perpendicular tunnels stretching towards the walls of the courtyard that stood in alignment with this major axis. Functioning as the main underground artery and a reference axis, this tunnel was of greatest importance in Weber's method of excavation and recording, thus despite his more laborious and expensive method of digging, Weber was able to produce a number of detailed drawings, sketches and notes of the villa. (Conticello, 1990). Weber's era is particularly noteworthy in this first phase of excavations in terms of preparing the first collection of documents to report Vesuvian archaeology in all its details (**Figure 11**) (**Figure 12**). For the same document, Weber prepared a draft in pencil and then redrawn in ink and colour to show the exact find spot of every individual artefact correctly. Thus, the final and coloured Weber's drawings were noteworthy as they were much more informative and comprehensive in content and representation. In addition, every individual space was marked with a number following an order from left to right that corresponded to the matching inventory list of that room. The empty spaces left around the drawing were occupied with the detailed description of the items listed in the inventory.

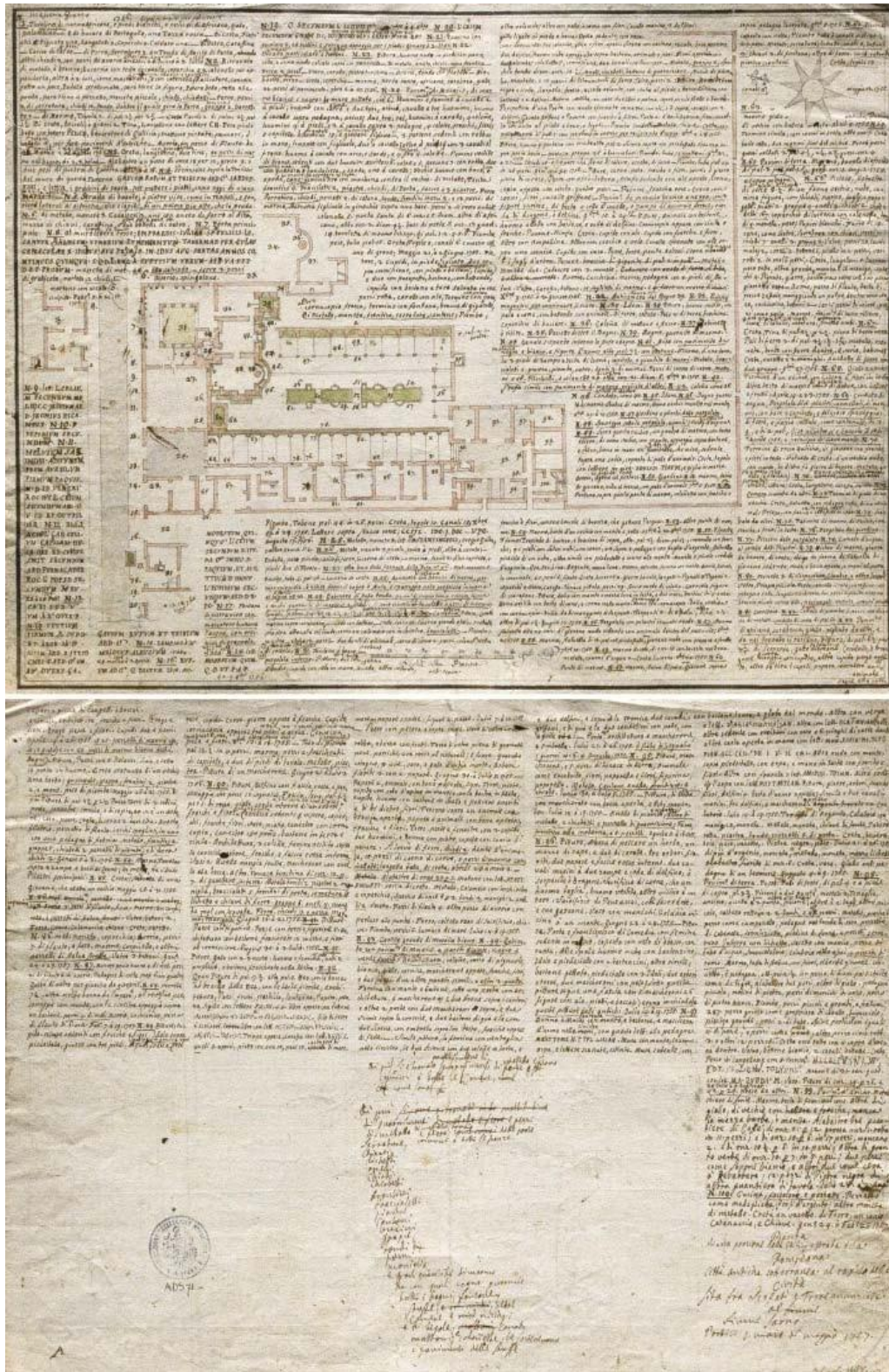


Figure 11. Example of Weber's Preliminary drawings to report Vesuvian archaeology dated 1757 (Courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli e Caserta, Archivio Disegno no 71-1 and 72-2)

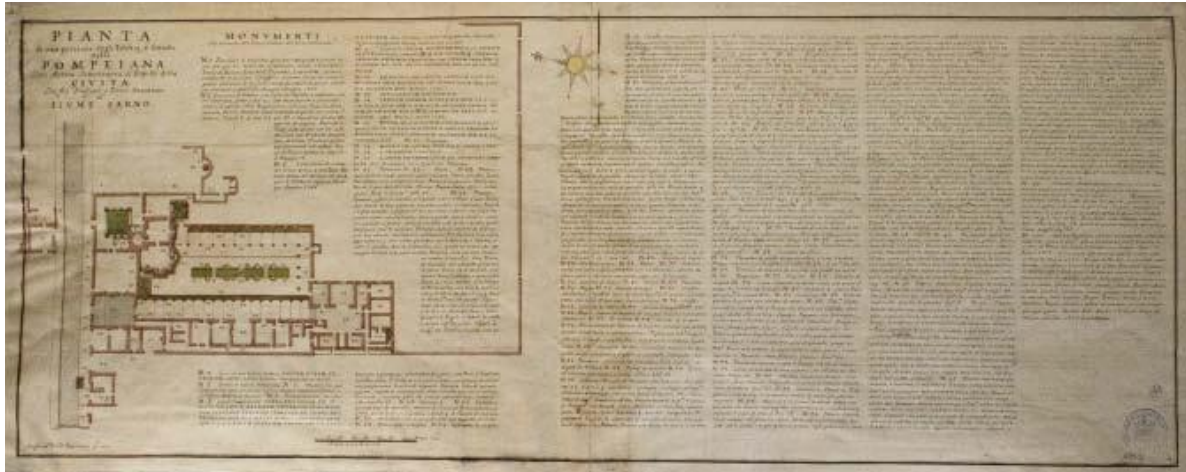


Figure 12. Final and coloured example of Weber's drawings to report Vesuvian archaeology dated 1757 (Courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli e Caserta, Archivio Disegno, no 72)

According to Harris (2009), during Weber's excavation a marble statue of Pan copulating with a goat was unearthed from the Villa of the Papyri in 1752. Charles of Bourbon and his court were present at Karl Weber's excavation site when this sculpture group was brought to light and Charles was so shocked by this find, that he ordered the excavations to be temporarily halted. In addition, he consigned the statue to a cupboard with access granted only by the direct permission of the king himself.



Figure 13. Marble statue of Pan copulating with a goat, Harris, 2009

Until Weber's appointment the laborious efforts of Alcubierre in revealing the Campanian sites were far from shedding light on the context of the ancient city; in no way did he aim to unearth the sites in a systematic way to expose the well-preserved urban fabric (Cooley, 2003). For the first time since the official inception of the excavations, Weber approached the work and the site with an archaeological perspective. This was evidenced by the fact that he also paid attention to drafting shop fronts and recording examples of common architecture in detail as opposed to the earlier documentation that targeted describing and drafting only the monumental public buildings. He also correctly identified the complex not as a villa but an agglomeration of different units.

The flow of antiquities from Campania to Europe continued during Weber's tenure as well but the artefacts at least received a better description and record useful for keeping a track of their fate. Also, Royal Proprietor, Charles of Bourbon continued the tradition of removing objects and sending them to his palace at Portici. In 1755 AD he established the *Accademia Ercolanese* whose 15 scholars published the discoveries from Pompeii and surrounding areas. The vast study consisting of several volumes with detailed descriptions of wall painting and marble sculpture found during the excavations was later reprinted in several languages (**Figure 14**). These volumes were instrumental in popularizing Pompeian motifs throughout Europe and became invaluable guides for designers and decorators intent on selling the 'Pompeian style' to a public sated with the Rococo (Bologna, 1990).

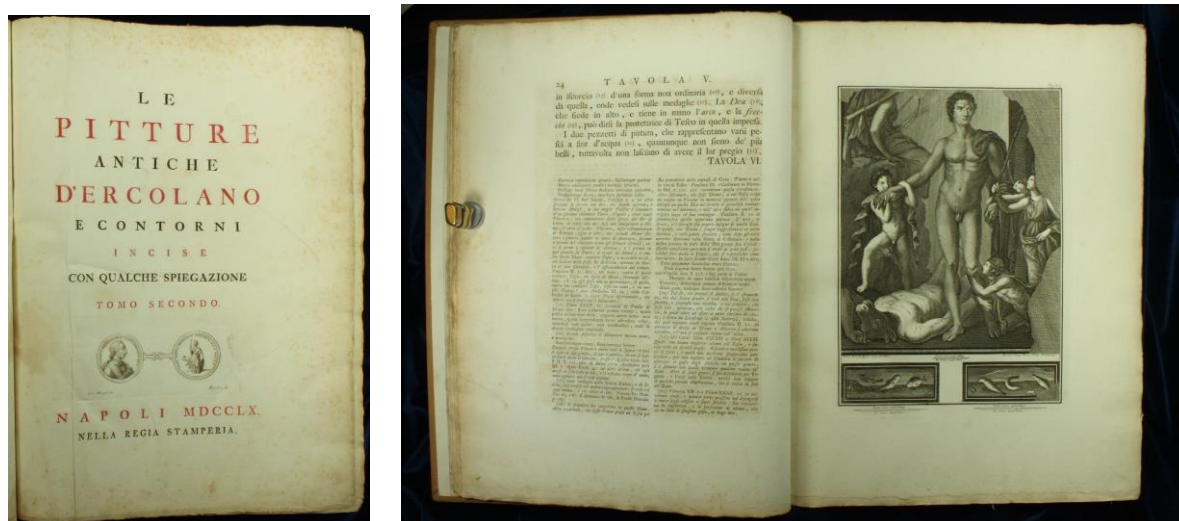


Figure 14. Volume published by the Accademia Ercolanese (Courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli e Caserta, Archivio Disegno no 73)

4.6 Excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: Impact within Italy and around the world

In the eighteenth century, the German art historian and archaeologist, Johann Joachim Winckelmann helped to publicize the discoveries of Herculaneum and Pompeii to the European aristocracy. Winckelmann, who observed the excavation process extensively in person, strongly criticized Alcubierre's incompetence as an archaeologist. He described Alcubierre's process as slow and gruelling, short on labour, and poorly excavated. (Roberts, 2013). Architects such as Robert Adam, and a fashionable group of decorative painters around Europe, including Pietro Borghini, Giovanni Battista Cipriani, William Hamilton and John Francis Rigaud used Pompeian motifs for neo-classical interiors (Honour, 1968). Excavated objects provided the archetypes for furniture designers and makers to complete an appropriately antique setting, thus, as observed by Haskell and Penny (1981) due to the high level of attention no catastrophe in history had yielded as much pleasure as the burial of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

In this first official phase of the excavations then, archaeology, despite pleasing the royal court at Naples also served for providing real souvenirs and life experiences to the visitors. For distinguished visitors, such as writers like Sir Walter Scott who visited Pompeii in 1832 AD, the site officials 'staged' live excavations at particular spots which would normally produce common objects of daily use to yield valuable artefacts. Hence, in the name of offering a memorable experience and publicity, objects of value which were already excavated were re-buried and then re-excavated and ensured that many who visited Campania in the Bourbon period and the proceeding years did not return home without memories or souvenirs of Vesuvius (Brion, 1960).

The on-going excavations during the eighteenth century in both cities brought to light not just individual buildings and artefacts but an urban fabric (**Figure 15**) of houses, streets, public buildings, commercial units, drainage channels, fountains, wells, city walls, cemeteries, parks and even some unfortunate inhabitants (**Figure 16**). In many areas the remains are preserved well up to their first storey, in some even up to the second, thus displaying the actual building size and appearance (**Figure 17**). This is truly a rare case where both the public buildings and the private architecture of two neighbouring ancient cities are uncovered on such a big scale and with such intensity.



Figure 15. Pompeii from an old postcard, Ozgenel (2008)

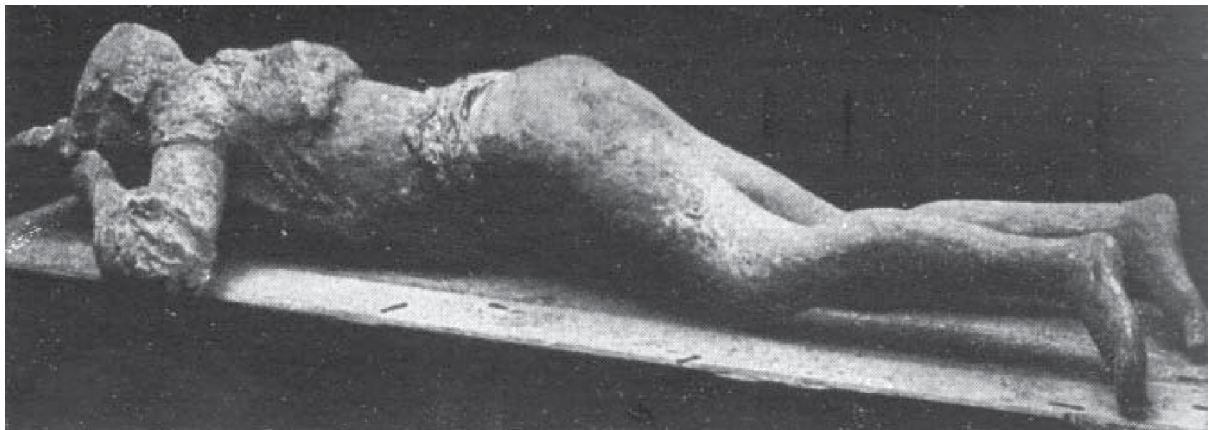


Figure 16. A cast of a young Pompeian woman, Maiuri (1953)

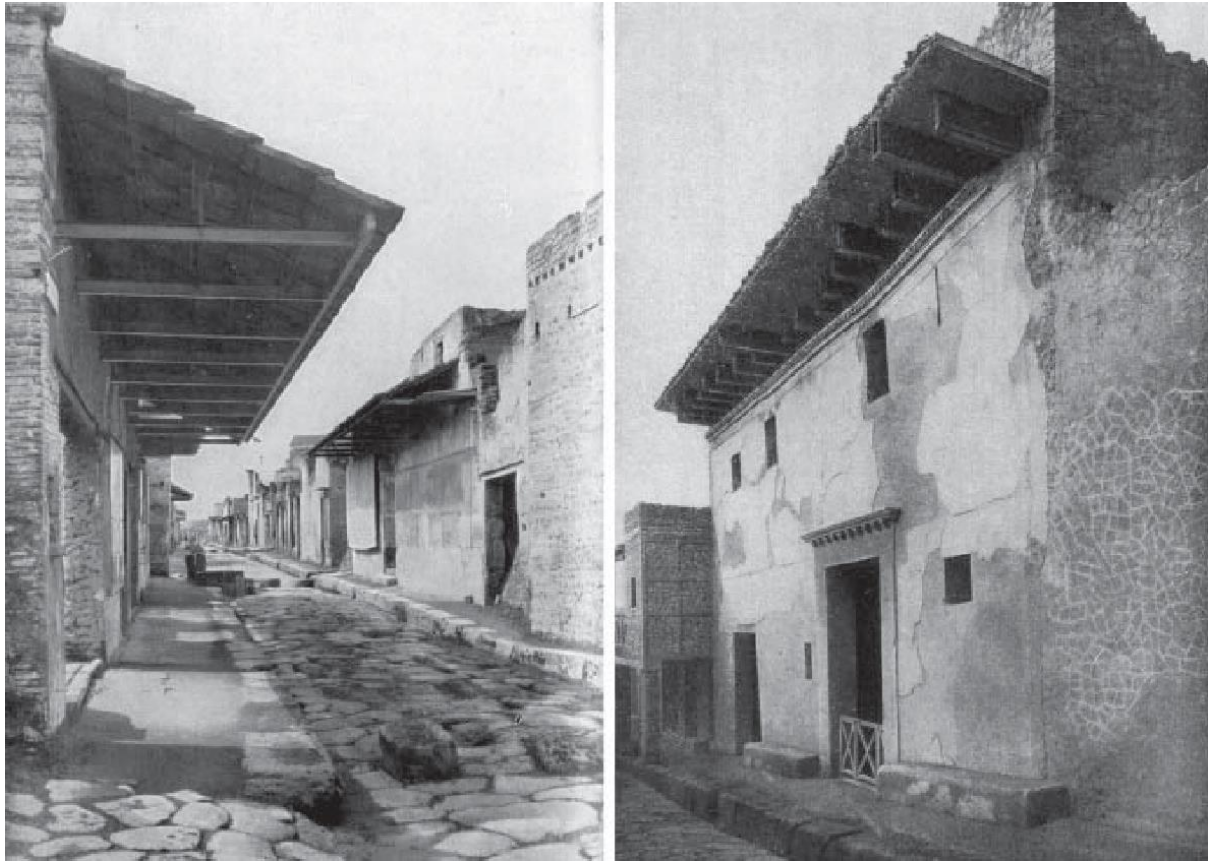


Figure 17. Via dell' Abbondanza in Pompeii, Maiuri (1953) and House of Wooden Partitions in Herculaneum, Maiuri (1945)

The excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii and the surrounding sites contributed to the claims and efforts of Charles VII (1403 – 1461 AD) and his successors in making Bourbon Naples a cultural and political centre. The excavation sites themselves, the museum at Portici which housed the selected artefacts coming from these sites and Mount Vesuvius became popular travel destinations. This was due to the fact they offered both historical and natural attractions for the royal courts and aristocracy of Europe, resulting in Naples and Campania becoming a significant cultural stop along the Grand Tour in the Bourbon Era. After decades of excavation, works taking place at Pompeii, Herculaneum and in the smaller neighbouring village of Stabia, the visitors were quite impressed by the houses and artefacts brought to light, but as Berry (2007) claims, the beginning of the eighteenth century was also a period of serious corruption and malpractice at Pompeii, and in Naples in general. In 1848 AD, proposals were drawn up to transform the administration of the excavations radically, with the aim of putting an end to theft and bribery by regularizing practices and establishing codes of conduct.

4.7 The vision of Giuseppe Fiorelli in 1848 AD

It was only with the vision and energy of the Neapolitan archaeologist, Giuseppe Fiorelli, that the undisciplined and random digging on the site came to an end when he was appointed to Director of the excavations in 1848 AD. He replaced the disastrous practice of tunnelling vertically into buildings with careful, layer-by-layer excavation. He made diagrams and measurements, removed rubble from the site for the first time, tightened security and established a more systematic plan of excavation. He also stopped the constant stream of artefacts to the 'Museo Archeologico Nazionale' in Naples by instituting a policy of leaving objects on site (Barker, 1907).

Years later, as a Professor of Archaeology at Naples University and Director of Excavations until 1875 AD he founded a training school where foreigners, as well as Italians, could learn archaeological technique and made a particular study of the materials and building methods used in Pompeii. Between 1861 and 1896 AD, Fiorelli uncovered more than 22 hectares of the site of Pompeii and also focused the excavations around the Stabian Baths (Ciarallo & De Carolis, 1998). In addition, he went on to develop the technique of creating plaster casts of humans killed by the volcanic eruption which had been preserved as body-shaped voids in the overlying ash and volcanic material (Nappo, 1998). As Harris, (2009) notes the techniques developed at Pompeii by Fiorelli have been continually refined and have influenced modern archaeological practice (**Figure 18**).



Figure 18. A new method of reproducing the victim bodies was obtained by the use of plasters casts, Nappo (1998)

According to Pesando (2006), one of the most important things that Fiorelli did at Pompeii was to allow, for the first time, an entrance fee in 1860 AD (which paid for guides and custodians) to anyone who wished to visit the site. The public entrance fee was also used to hire extra labour for the daily maintenance of the site in order to prevent a building from collapsing as until then it was a common problem during the excavations (Maiuri, 1961). In 1875 AD, Fiorelli's Pompeian activity was concluded when the Minister of Public Instruction, Ruggiero Bonghi, called him to Rome to put him at the end of the newly Instituted *Direzione Generale Delle Antichita'* (General Direction of Antiquities).

In the following decades, there were increasing efforts to make the vast archaeological area of Pompeii accessible to visitors. Thus, the increasing interest in making a tour of the Vesuvian towns also led to the provision of better transportation means as well and as noted by Maiuri (1953) a separate train service that connected the two largest cities in the bay of Naples, Naples at north to Sorrento at south, was put into operation in 1890 AD. Called *Circumvesuviana* this train stopped at several modern and ancient towns on its way around Mount Vesuvius and still provides a frequent and rapid public transportation for the visitors of ancient Campania today (**Figure 19**).

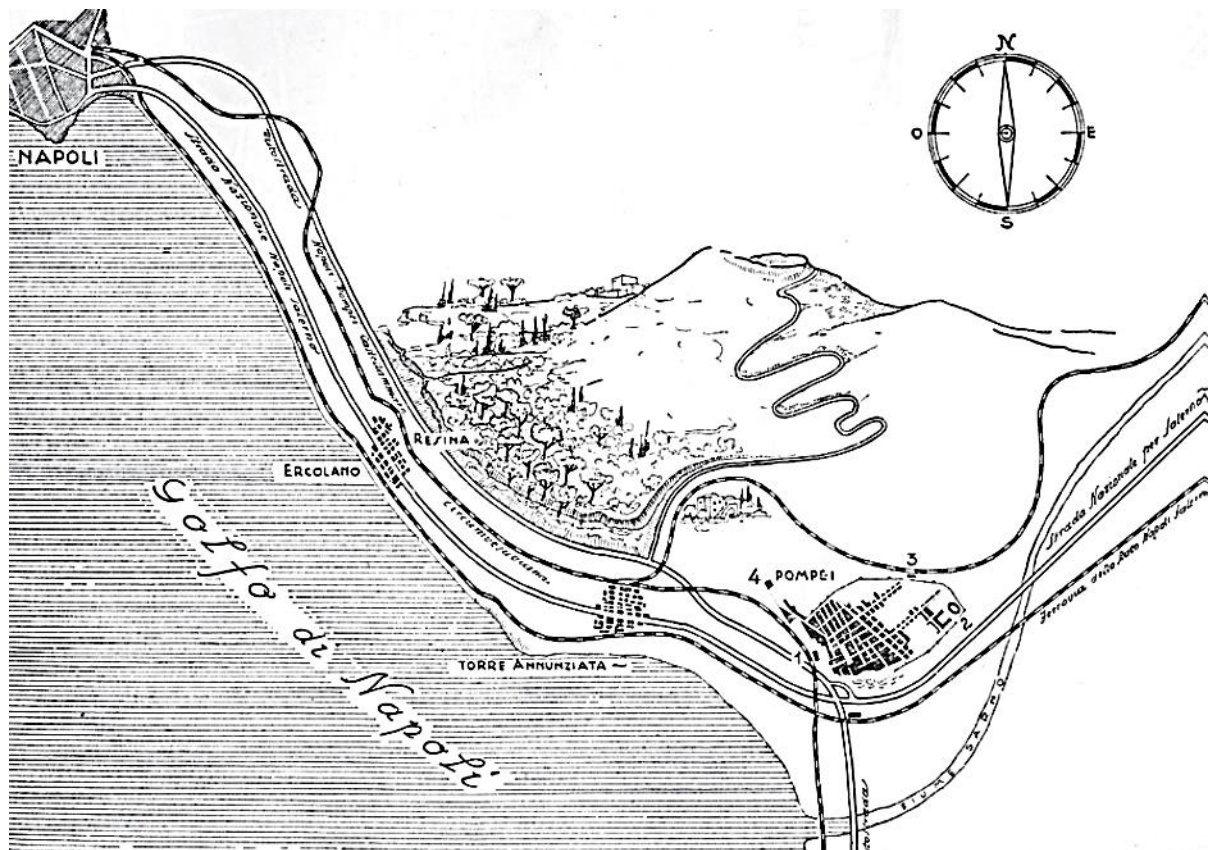


Figure 19. Circumvesuviana, Vesuvius and Pompeii, Maiuri (1953)

The early excavation narrative of Pompeii and Herculaneum illustrates how Vesuvian archaeology initiated by Alcubierre as a mission of ‘digging for collecting’, was developed into an undertaking of ‘digging for collecting and documentation’ by Weber. From there it gradually progressed into its current scientific and scholarly phase in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Chapter 5

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

This chapter focuses on the twentieth century, and the rise of modern scientific archaeology, massive tourism, and the problem of Mussolini. It will retain a focus on classical reception and how it changed and was used, and how Pompeii attained a dominant global profile. Also, this chapter will look at how the ideas about the fame of Pompeii affected tourism, conservation and management.

5.1 Excavations' works at the beginning of the twentieth century

Following the great excavation work of Fiorelli in the nineteenth century, in the first half of the twentieth century there was great optimism about the use of Pompeii to illustrate urban life and for exploration to discover how people had lived. Fiorelli's successors continued the excavation of the living quarters in the northern area. From 1910 to 1924, under the supervision of the Neapolitan scholar, Vittorio Spinazzola, the excavation of the southern and eastern districts took place on a large scale, bringing to light *Via dell' Abbondanza* (**Figure 20**), the most important street of Pompeii, connecting the Forum with the Amphitheatre. The operation was a surprising success as it revealed a previously unknown Pompeii, full of life and colour, with vividly coloured signs painted over shop entrances, representations of deities in the 'popular' style, and electoral propaganda painted on the walls of houses. The accuracy of the excavation methods employed made it possible to reconstruct with more precision than before the upper stories of houses. There were found to have been graced by balconies and galleries overlooking what must have been the busiest and most lively street in Pompeii (Ciarallo and De Carolis, 1998).



Figure 20. Excavation in *Via dell'Abbondanza* directed by Spinazzola, Nappo (1998)

5.2 Amedeo Maiuri work's excavation in Pompeii and the Vesuvian sites from 1924

In 1924, the Italian Archaeologist Amedeo Maiuri, after successfully directing the Italian archaeological mission in Greece, with a focus on Rhodes and the construction of a new museum there, was chosen as a director for the Vesuvian archaeological site (Ciarallo and De Carolis, 1998). As noted by Wallace-Hadrill (2011), due to an increased public entrance fee, Maiuri was able to complete extensive open-air excavation work and create a 'living museum'. He did this by restoring the excavated buildings and bringing them back to their original style in a very short period of time using almost exclusively personnel of the heritage authority. This rapid opening of houses to the public, displayed in such a way that it made the ancient sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum almost an open-air museum, was also motivated by the need to provide immediate access to the results so as to maintain a high profile for Maiuri's work (Camardo, 2006).

Maiuri managed to form a complete team that allowed him to tackle each phase of work, from excavation to restoration, and even the fitting out of the site as a type of museum. Consequently, in this way he envisaged compensating the local community for those areas that had been taken from the modern town by the authorities to extend the archaeological park (Camardo, 2006).

At the beginning of this process, a team of excavators was involved, assisted by several boys who had the task of transporting baskets of volcanic mud to small railway wagons. These were pulled by mules or horses and used to dump the excavated material on the nearby shoreline (**Figure 21**) (**Figure 22**). At the same time, the excavations took place with masons, carpenters and restorers working alongside the excavators. They had the task of propping the structures that were at risk of collapse as they were dug out, then carrying out immediate consolidation and underpinning work including any urgent measures to conserve the decorative features. After this first phase, marble-workers and gardeners took care of the more definitive restoration and ‘furnishing’ of the houses with the aim of reopening them to the public (Wallace-Hadrill, 2011).



Figure 21. The excavation by hand directed by Maiuri in 1928, Maiuri (1931).



Figure 22. The small railway built by Maiuri in 1928 used to remove excavated material from the excavations of the archaeological sites, Maiuri (1931)

As the houses were reopened to the public, the most important objects found during the excavations, in particular, those objects illustrating daily life, were placed on view inside display cases that were built in situ by craftsmen who worked continuously within the site (**Figure 23**). However, many of his reconstructions were indeed false, largely due to the desire to tell a story and recreate the feel and spirit of the city, disregarding archaeological evidence and often relocating artefacts to displays far from where they were found (Wallace-Hadrill 2011).



Figure 23. The shop of Priapus excavated and reopened to the public in 1931 with all the finds displayed on the counter along with (to the left) the walnuts found in that room, Maiuri (1931)

Amedeo Maiuri, as Superintendent of the Antiquities of Campania, laid the foundations for modern studies of the history and development of Pompeii through an extensive series of excavations beneath the original ground level of 79 AD (**Figure 24**). The excavation campaign carefully planned by Amedeo Maiuri's workforce that at times reached 500 persons, marked a shift in the understanding of the ancient towns. Thus, according to Van Buren (1953) within a few months, the excavation of Pompeii and Herculaneum returned to the headlines of the world press underlining the great effort of Amedeo Maiuri.



Figure 24. Plan of the archaeological open-air excavation in Pompeii, Camardo (2013)

Two years later Maiuri reported on further work that included the excavation of the ‘Fullery of Stephanus’ as well as the ‘House of the Cei’. While, from 1929 through to 1931, Maiuri brought to light, the Villa of the Mysteries (Figure 25), the House of the Menander (Figure 26), which was one of the most noble and refined Pompeian Houses, and the *Grande Palestra* (Figure 27) in which an impressive number of Pompeians were found (Ciarallo and De Carolis, 1998).

These excavations re-shaped the nature of tourism to the site as the levels of restoration and reconstruction created internal spaces for the tourists to view. The visitor was now torn between the ‘need to see’ new excavations within the site and the Villa of the Mysteries located in the opposite direction. Thus, as Laurence (1999) points out, what the new excavations did was to add new material to be viewed and extend the time needed to view the site (Figure 28) (Figure 29).

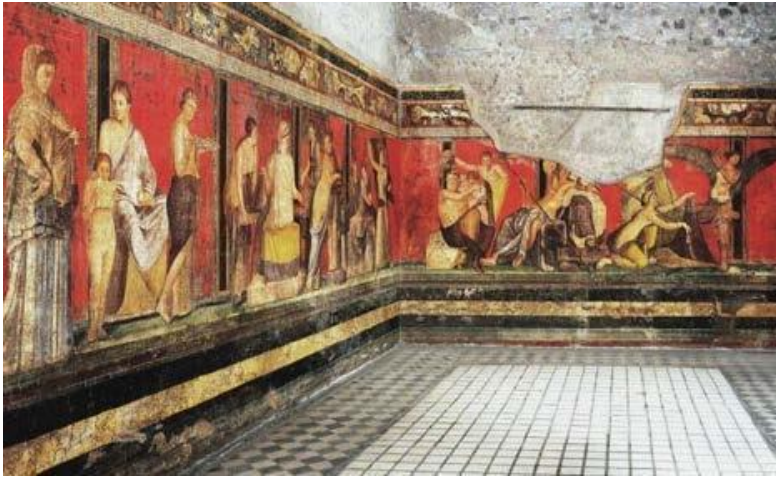


Figure 25. Image of Villa of the Mysteries, Nappo (1998)



Figure 26. Image of the House of Menander, Nappo (1998)



Figure 27. Image of the Grande Palestra, Nappo (1998)

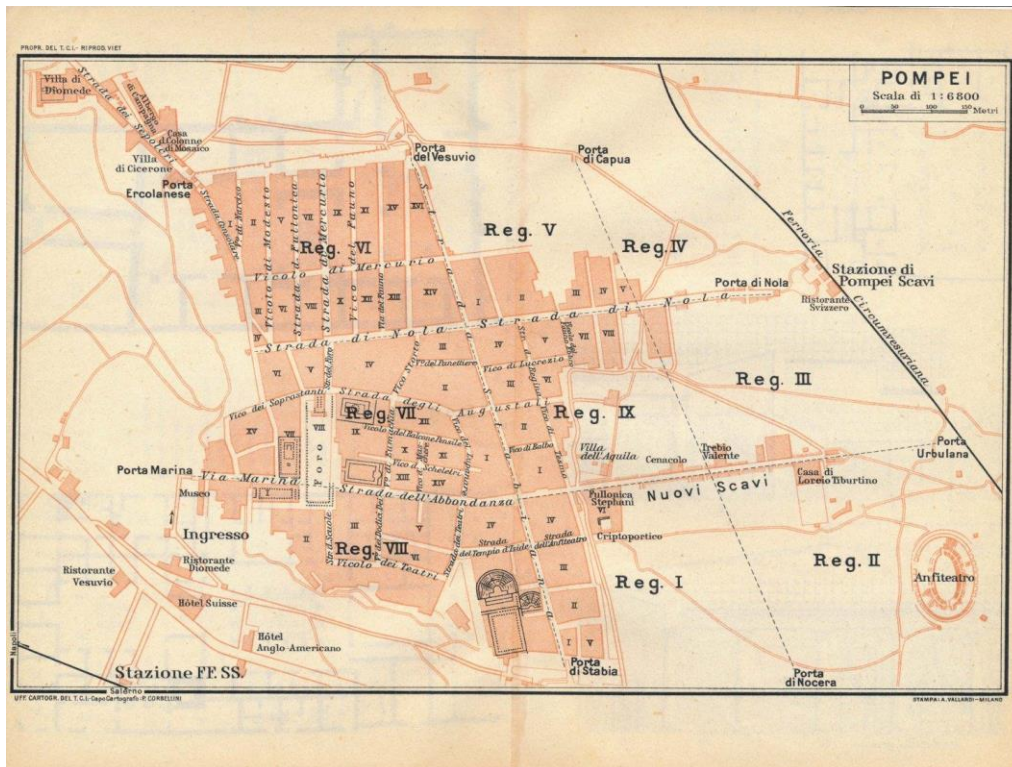


Figure 28. A tourist guide map in 1929, Maiuri (1931)

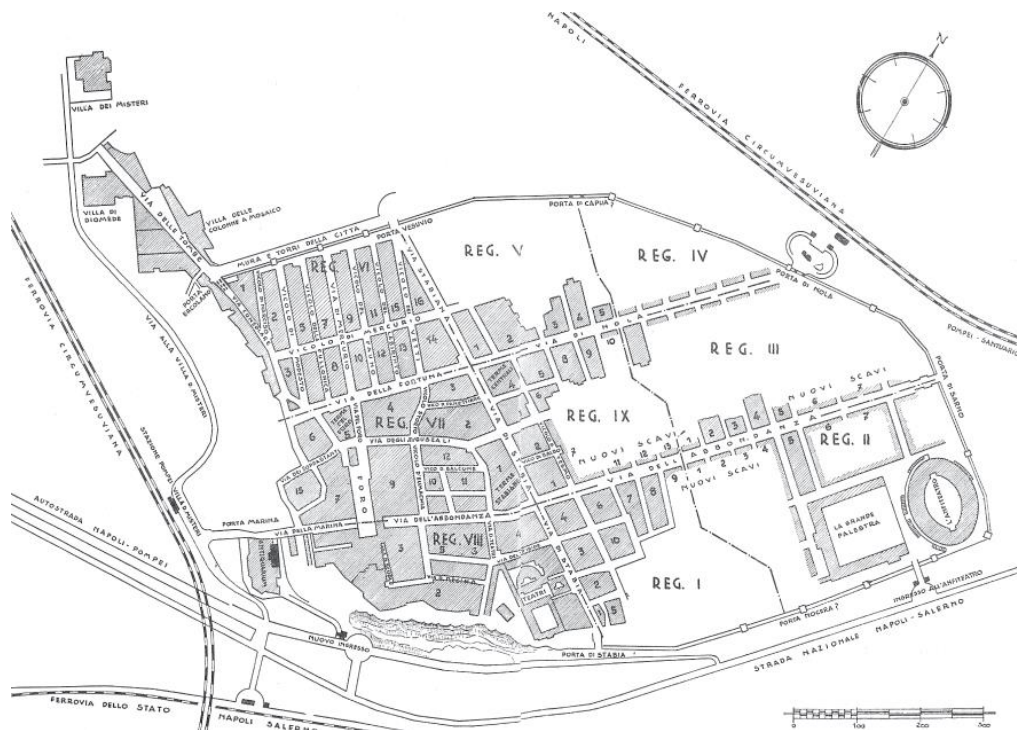


Figure 29. Plan of the excavated areas in Pompeii around in 1933, Maiuri (1953)

Maiuri carried out in-depth studies and maintained unequalled attention to the outward appearance of the city. As Carratelli (1990) claims, Maiuri was very keen on welcoming and

interacting with crowds of tourists, making a pilgrimage to the ancient sites during the tourist season in the Vesuvian sites from April to September, as he aimed to provide a better service for the sightseers. Thus, the growing phenomenon of mass-tourism that had its origins in the 1920s and 1930 and its impact on Italy was entirely understood by Maiuri as he displayed a real grasp of what the site provides for the tourist and the infrastructure of tourism Wallace-Hadrill (2011).

According to Maggi (1974), Maiuri attempted to bridge the gap between his experience of the site and the visitor viewing the site for the first time. He did this by mingling incognito amongst the multi-lingual tour parties (**Figure 30**). For him, the purpose of the site was to educate the visitors and demonstrate the intelligence of antiquity.



Figure 30. Amedeo Maiuri interacting with tourists, Maggi (1974)

Thus, as noted by Cartier and Lew (2005) Maiuri engaged with the contemporary world of the tourist, as much as the world of academic archaeology. In addition, as Berry (2007, p. 53)

points out, “Previously only nobles and notables had been able to obtain permission to see the antiquities; now they became part of the cultural heritage of the Italian people for the education and enjoyment of all.” Perhaps, it can be argued that Berry’s (2007) statement highlights the beginning of the public heritage management at Pompeii. This was thanks to the high amount of visitors, often coming as part of an organised trip by the large tourist agencies of Southern Italy. As a consequence further excavation work could still be possible as well as a safer and improved management of the site thanks to the visitors’ funds (through the entrance fee).

5.3 Amedeo Maiuri and the Italian Fascism led by Mussolini’s new government in the 1920s

Inevitably, the story of the excavations of Pompeii during this period is bound up and entangled with the ideologies of Italian Fascism led by Mussolini’s new government in the 1920s. Maiuri’s excavation and re-creation of Pompeii as a mercantile city declining from its earlier glorious aristocratic past in its final phase created a vision of the Roman past that need not have sat comfortably with the politics in the later 1930s (Whittam, 1995). By the mid-1930s, Fascists controlled all the tools of culture, which was central to the regime’s power. Thus, as Brion (1960) points out, control over Italy’s archaeological heritage was a key component of Fascist cultural policy, and Mussolini enjoyed the enthusiastic support of Italy’s antiquarians.

However, as Camardo (2007) claims, Maiuri managed to maintain a high level of interest in the site and made the most of the political context, in which the official glorification of Imperial Rome's greatness led to ongoing funding from the Fascist government (**Figure 31**). Maiuri was helped by the fact that Mussolini saw in the sites a great source of patriotic propaganda, advertising the age and splendour of Italian Civilisation (Wallace-Hadrill, 2011). In addition, as De Caro (2015) points out, Maiuri’s extensive excavations had a great impact on Fascist propaganda by offering Pompeii as a virtuous example of the regime’s ability to manage cultural heritage both in terms of protection and in terms of tourist promotion.

As Bradley (2008) also argues, Maiuri’s most productive period (1920s to the outbreak of World War Two) corresponded with the Fascist government of Mussolini, which ruthlessly

exploited the potential of Italy's imperial past in order to create a model for a new imperialist Italy. Maiuri benefited from the dictator's financial support, and, whether consciously or not, he followed the political line by excavating glorious monuments such as the House of Menander and the Villa of Mysteries in Pompeii, which were a testament to the magnificence of Italy's past (Wallace-Hadrill, 2010). Pompeii as a place or tourist destination (or even as a brand) was re-invented by Maiuri and was marketed and promoted via the new institutions of Fascist Italy that invented a form of mass-tourism with a focus on archaeology (Tannenbaum, 1972). The entire structure of a visit to Pompeii was re-organised by the excavations and publications, especially of guidebooks, undertaken by Maiuri from 1922 to 1942.



Figure 31. Pompeii and the Fascism. A visit of hierarchs, Sarfatti (1924)

According to Thompson (2007) after World War Two, where the site had suffered bombings by the Air Force and many ancient buildings had either been seriously damaged or utterly destroyed (**Figure 32**), priorities for the management of Pompeii and the other Vesuvian sites changed. The reason for this being that the numerous conservation problems, and frequent maintenance was no longer possible in post-war Italy. The state of structures exposed by the open-air excavation necessitated systematic and simultaneous conservation and restoration work. This sought to reinstate the original condition of the buildings when archaeological evidence permitted. It was a campaign that allowed the city to stand again and was exemplary for its time in many ways (Camardo, 2007).



Figure 32. The bombing in 1943, Maiuri (1947)

The measures taken to protect the site, during and immediately after Maiuri's excavation, were not always adequate in the first place due to limited funds (Thompson, 2007). Thus, it can be said that due to the uncertainty of the Italian political and cultural context, there was a shift in the management of the sites as post-war became about conservation. However, it could be argued that the period of Maiuri's supervision was the most fruitful and innovative in the history of the excavations. From the Sixties onward, excavation campaigns became less frequent as all energies were concentrated in an attempt to avoid the slow deterioration of the city (Ciarallo and De Carolis, 1998).

During those years the German architect, city planner and construction researcher, Hans Eschebach devoted himself to his archaeological-building research activities in the ancient site of Pompeii. In this he was assisted by his second wife, the teacher and archaeologist Liselotte Bliesner. Hans Eschebach mapped every excavated building and drew their walls and openings carefully on maps (**Figure 33**). Also, through the items found in buildings, they also attributed functions or land use to the buildings. These are recognised as bakeries, public baths, temples, taverns, wool workshops, smiths, inns, drinking places, brothels, and so on (Eschebach, 1970).

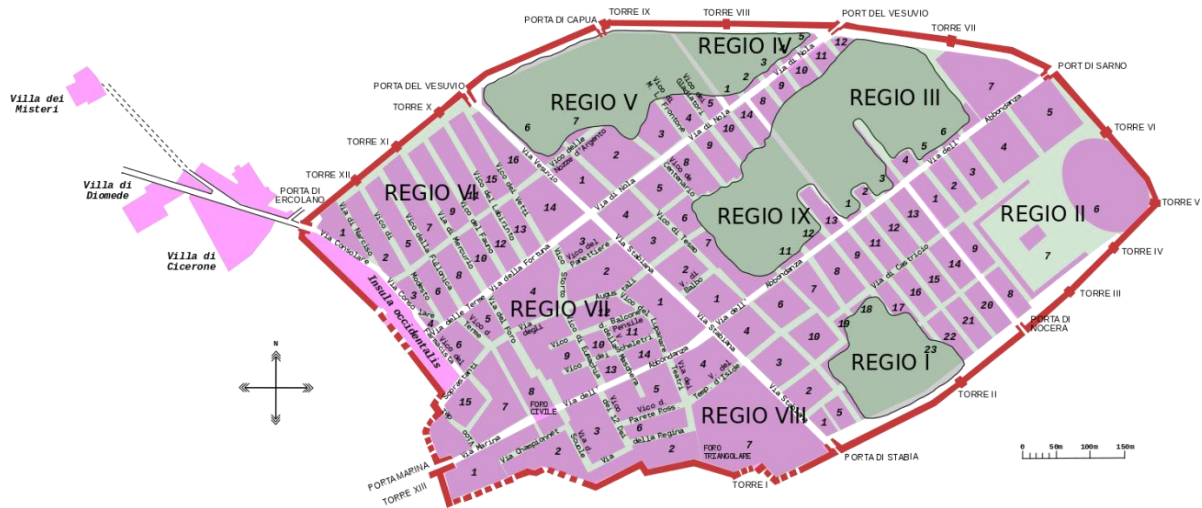


Figure 33. Pompeii on a scale of 1: 5000 based on Eschebach's plan, Escherbach, (1970)

In contrast to this approach, Laurence (1994) used the length of the streets in metres and divided it by the number of doorways. According to him, it indicates a high number of comings and goings on these streets through those doors which is a condition for microscale economic activities. According to Laurence and Newsome (2011) these two data sets could be combined. Thus, looking at **(Figure 34)** it shows Pompeii's street network and indicates the location of the most 'vital' streets and how accessible each street is in relation to all others. The black colour shows the highest integrated streets, and the light-grey the most segregated ones.



Figure 34. Global integration analyses of Pompeii with the location pattern of shops, Laurence and Newsome (2011)

5.4 Political context during the Italian economic and demographic boom in the sixties

In the sixties, following the death of Amedeo Maiuri, the Italian Parliament set up a Parliamentary Commission of inquiry for historical, archaeological, artistic and landscaping heritage. The title hid its true purpose: during the economic and demographic boom, the main concern of Italian politicians was the development of Italy, so they deliberately chose to ignore its immense cultural heritage with its innumerable monuments and ancient ruins (Pesaresi, 2007). Progress had made citizens impatient and eager to brush away any impediments that may have prevented or slowed down the building of their own homes. During the sixties, the relationship between Italians and their cultural heritage changed: they had an increasing awareness of the outside world, but they considered ancient site excavations, such as Pompeii, to be of minor importance. Prosperity, blazoned by the United States, was adopted as their role model; economic stability and peace were forefronts in Italy's mind and for the most part, their

interests were focused on developing international trade and political alliances (O' Gorman, 2005).

After Amedeo Maiuri, directorship excavation was not conducted over large areas but was limited to individual buildings (Conticello, 1990). However, during the eighties instead, according to Berry (1998) the situation evolved. There was a growing awareness and a sense of national pride among Italians as they began to appreciate the antiquities. The concept of preserving Italian heritage spread, despite the inability and the unpreparedness of the Italian authorities. Funds were allocated for concerts, theatres, monuments and ancient ruins. Thus, Pompeii became a destination of mass tourism and for this reason, it received substantial financial assistance (Wallace-Hadrill, 2012).

5.5 Earthquake in the Campania region in 1980: its impact on the conservation and management of Pompeii & Herculaneum Archaeological Sites

A massive earthquake that struck the Campania region in 1980 changed the situation as it heavily damaged the ancient sites of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabia. The earthquake highlighted the general fragility of the site. The materials used for the construction had become aged and subject to weather stress, chemical and thermal pollution. Until then, the conservationists' main goal was to protect the decorated areas and any reconstruction was limited to educational purposes and not for conservation (Arthur, 1986). The Italian army was appointed to watch over the stability of the ancient ruins and to provide protection for any repair work that required urgent attention. Although there was a scientific board of overseers, the resulting excavations were crudely performed in order to save money and were opposed to the actual needs of the site (Wallace-Hadrill, 1991). Pompeii was classified as a moderate seismic risk, and, for this reason, specialists decided to use reinforced walls in the ancient buildings, but these structures lost their original elasticity. Thus, as the limestone was more effective in absorbing seismic vibrations, ironically, the new interventions made the ruins more susceptible to collapse (Teutonico and Palumbo, 2002).

After ten years of work, the end result was pockets of restorations and reconstructions, while the remaining site was subject to the weathering and degenerative action of vegetation. Only a small area (14%) had been effectively conserved. Also, in regard to vegetation, Maiuri had

identified the serious concern presented by a particular weed, ailanthus, commonly called tree of heaven (**Figure 35**). It was native to Japan but left undisturbed in Pompeii the invasive plant grew rapidly, and its aggressive root system penetrated between the stones, causing damage to the foundations. The ancient city provides the ideal habitat for this weed because it has a humid and wet climate. The periodic weeding did nothing to prevent its regrowth and diffusion, thus without the necessary resources, this foreign vegetation spread across the 44 hectares belonging to the ancient city (Dobbins and Foss, 2007).



Figure 35. The presence of ailanthus in Pompeii, Dobbins and Foss (2007)

At the same time, the Italian government became a centralized system divided into smaller Ministries, 'The Ministry of Culture and the Environment' also known as 'MiBAC' controlled the cultural heritage. Under the new system administrated by the Ministry of Culture and the Environment, the cultural heritage (including archaeological sites) was managed by the regional 'Soprintendenza' (Special Superintendency of the Cultural Heritage). In Campania, the 'Soprintendenza' managed the Vesuvian archaeological sites and was responsible for research, excavations and maintenance of the sites as well as aiding new building and construction projects that uncover archaeological material. Important decisions, pertaining to financial and human resources, were controlled and fully managed directly by the 'The Ministry of Culture and the Environment' and the 'Soprintendenza' (Holtorf, 2010).

Focusing on the ancient site of Herculaneum instead, a series of complex interconnected factors led to the maintenance programmes at the publicly owned site grinding to an almost total halt in the 1980s and early 1990s. According to Wallace-Hadrill (2007) the first factor is the nature

of the site itself: its sheer size (roughly one quarter of the original city, some 45,000m² excavated in different phases, a factor that is often overlooked given the even greater scale of Herculaneum's sister town, Pompeii, with 440,000m² excavated) and the intactness of the ancient structures that have survived (including their upper floors and carbonised materials). Secondly, as claimed by Camardo (2007) after each excavation campaign the Italian Ministry of Culture failed to commit the kind of routine funding that the care of the archaeological site warranted.

In addition, more rigorous European health and safety standards in the workplace and on building sites wisely placed emphasis on responsibility being shared more widely. However, this led to the closure of many in-house maintenance facilities and maintenance staff no longer being able to operate. Those staff members, often craftsmen from the same families over generations, had, until the 1980s, carried out small but important interventions which had constituted the programme of continuous care of the site during Amedeo Maiuri's campaign and after it (Camardo, 2007). Thus, as Wyke (1997) claims, this interruption in routine site maintenance led to the need to outsource works and to outsource them in larger contracts because, of course, the absence of maintenance meant the problems were more serious. Needless to say, the public sector did not have the resources for these larger works contracts and so a form of stalemate was quickly reached. Also, this situation was made worse by the damage to the archaeological sites during the 1980 earthquake and by the crippling procedure-heavy administrative machine governed by the 'Soprintendenza' that simply could not spend the annual funding received in an effective way (Wallace-Hadrill, 2007).

Another issue, as Thompson (2007) notes, was a Europe-wide trend towards regulatory reforms that favour reducing fixed internal costs and increasing open contracting and outsourcing (instead of investment in in-house staff) which proved a substantial factor. If managed effectively and well supervised, site works procured through external contracts could have encouraged excellence and value for money at the right moment. However, the shortcomings of the personnel available and the impossibility of change often led to sporadic commissioning of distinct blocks of works, inadequate use of the legislation available and insufficient continuous technical supervision which, in turn, impeded the accrual of knowledge (Silberman, 2006). In the period that decay was becoming critical, 1989–1997, substantial one-off capital funding came in from central government and the European Union. This could have been a

turning point for the sites but, in the case of Herculaneum, funding was channelled primarily into new excavations instead of conservation and maintenance (Wallace-Hadrill, 2007).

By the late 1990s, the site of Herculaneum was in a state of such serious neglect that it began to attract international attention (Bumburu, 2002). The absence of regular maintenance had brought about a serious and widespread state of disrepair and decay. This phenomenon was compounded by the lack of much needed remedial work on the ancient city's infrastructure (drains, roofing and escarpments) and the fact that previous restoration interventions were themselves 'ageing'. Moreover, according to Thompson (2007), this decay across the entire site was becoming worse for two more reasons. The very closure of houses that had become unsafe brought about an acceleration in the deterioration process; with no one visiting them on a daily basis their decay escalated unchecked, pigeons installed themselves and the houses became too unsafe to access, even to evaluate the work that needed commissioning. In parallel, the number of visitors had nearly tripled and naturally provoked an absurd occurrence whereby the continually increasing number of visitors was concentrated in an ever-decreasing area of each site, with the consequential wear and tear on the monument.

Masonry structures, decorative features, fixtures and fittings in timber and metal, human remains, foodstuffs and other carbonised materials were then kept stable for nearly 2000 years thanks to the extraordinary preservation conditions created by the volcanic material that engulfed it (Camardo, 2007). Two major campaigns, the Bourbon-period tunnelling of the 1700s, and then Amedeo Maiuri's open-air excavation in the twentieth century, revealed a vast legacy of remarkably intact, multi-storey buildings complete with precious architectural features. Though, these works also disturbed the equilibrium that those very fragile remains had enjoyed whilst buried (Thompson, 2007).

The only positive factor in Pompeii towards the end of the twentieth century was the 'Pompeii Forum Project', which from the beginning has focused in understanding the dynamics of urban evolution in the forum area (Ball & Dobbins, 2017). However, it could be argued that unfortunately the 'Pompeii Forum Project' was not undertaken in the best time for Pompeii since the priorities at that time were to halt the state of degradation and the poor maintenance of the whole site. In fact, the 'Pompeii Forum Project' has never caught a huge political and media attention (Cellini, 2018).

5.6 Tourism, conservation and management of the Archaeological Sites towards the end of the twentieth century

As claimed by Levin-Richardson (2011) monuments can be eroded and decay accelerated, due to mass tourism and unfortunately, Pompeii and Herculaneum fall in this exact category, as it presents physical erosion problems. However, despite the state of degradation, the poor maintenance, the temporary closures of some its excavation sites, and bad publicity, by the end of the twentieth century the number of visitors in the Vesuvian sites is quite impressive. Over 2 million tourists per year spend their holidays in Pompeii and Herculaneum (**Figure 36**). (Teutonico and Palombo, 2002).



Figure 36. The mass tourism in the archaeological site of Pompeii, Teutonico and Palombo (2002)

Furthermore, Pompeii and Herculaneum appear insensitive to their potential and to the benefits of tourism. Despite the mass tourism, the number of services available in the ancient cities is insufficient as hotels and restaurants are unable to meet up with public demand. For this reason, many tourists who visit the historical sites must stay overnight in a different city: Pompeii and Herculaneum are only a stopover resort, a one-day trip location (Guzzo, 2007).

As Thompson (2007) claims, by the late 1990s, the archaeological ancient sites were presented not just in a general state of poor condition, but they were also afflicted by more primary problems fundamental to the survival of these townscapes. These included the seismic damage, salts, pigeon control and others less familiar such as the carbonised wood, reinstatement of Roman drains and site access issues from the modern town into the ancient cities. In addition, other factors had to be taken into consideration: illegal buildings overhanging the sites; balancing the demands of conservation and rights of visitors; threats of further volcanic activity; sea air, pollution and vandalism; shortcomings of the local conservation contractors; and the weak interface with the local community and the rest of the cultural landscape. Above all, it was necessary to understand what to conserve and for whom. For the local community, the lost cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum are all too clear reminders of the terrible threat they live with the Vesuvius which sits in the most densely populated areas in Europe today, but which also host an extraordinarily rich and diverse cultural landscape (Pace, 2000).

According to Vaccaro (1996), a tourist attraction has two fundamental characteristics: the intrinsic values of beauty and historicity and also, the presence of a public interested in visiting it regardless of how little or how much they know about the historical value of an ancient ruin. Thus, it might be argued that both characteristics can be found in the Vesuvian sites given the beauty and historical value as well as the rise of mass tourism. However, it needs to be said that a series of unforeseeable events underlines the careless management of the excavations by irresponsible and negligent Superintendents on an archaeological site that had remained perfectly preserved for nearly two thousand years, and which is the envy of the world.

Chapter 6

THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY AND CONTEMPORARY MANAGEMENT

This chapter finally brings to the front the initial debate of public vs private heritage management. This can now be assessed within the strong historical narrative of reception and significance that has been developed. At this stage, we now know WHY these sites are significant, and this makes the question of how they are managed that much more urgent.

6.1 UNESCO world recognition for Pompeii and Herculaneum in 1997

As highlighted by Beard (2010, p. 34), “The extent of excavations and the remarkable finds mean that over three million people visit the ancient town of Pompeii every year.” But what makes Pompeii the most famous archaeological site in the world? This chapter analyses what has been done in order to preserve the ancient towns of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabia since their initial excavations and why millions of worldwide visitors are attracted to this place. According to Thompson (2007), the end of the twentieth century saw a change in excavation strategy towards uncovering, restoring and researching entire quarters of the ancient town. This type of area excavation has been more systematic in its research aims, uncovering more of the history of the settlement prior to the volcanic eruption, rather than on retrieval or recovery of high-profile spot finds or individual structures.

In 1997, according to Wallace-Hadrill (2012) to further enhance their international recognition and importance, the World Heritage Committee decided to enter in the list of World Heritage UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) the

archaeological sites of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas at Oplontis (an ancient Roman seaside villa situated in the modern town of Torre Annunziata). The Committee proposed these sites since the impressive remains of the towns of Pompei and Herculaneum and their associated villas, buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, provide a complete and vivid picture of society and daily life at a specific moment in the past from the first century BC to the first century AD in all its aspects (urban, architectural and decorative) that is without parallel anywhere in the world (UNESCO, 1997).

As noted by Wallace-Hadrill (2012) since the UNESCO world recognition, Pompeii and Herculaneum have been twice included on the World Monuments Heritage Watch List for the increasingly poor state of conservation and the several collapses (**Figure 37**).



Figure 37. A collapse in Pompeii at the end of the 1990s (Via dell'Abbondanza), Wallace-Hadrill (2012)

As Wallace-Hadrill (2012) points out in November 2010, following the collapse of the House of Gladiators' s building, the ancient site of Pompeii became the centre of international scrutiny. A variety of reasons were proposed with regards the collapse. These included inadequate maintenance, heavy rainfall, and previous inadequate conservation work with the ancient material (**Figure 38**).



Figure 38. The House of Gladiators collapsed in 2010, Wallace-Hadrill (2012)

In 2011, the International Council on Monuments and Sites also known as ICOMOS and the UNESCO have carried out several visits to Pompeii to evaluate the situation. The following report highlighted six main conservation problems: inadequate water management, damage from ultraviolet radiation, ordinary decay, overgrown vegetation, visitor impact and an incompatible restoration and conservation work from earlier generations (UNESCO, 2011).

6.2 Pompeii: Escalation of decay with the closure of site areas and increases in visitor numbers

As highlighted by Levin-Richardson (2011, p. 316) “A number of smaller collapses followed, sparked an international discussion on the state of conservation at Pompeii and the management of the site, and illuminated the problems that have plagued all the Vesuvian sites throughout their long history.” Thus, as argued by Levin-Richardson (2011), the use of inappropriate material in the past has made the conservation and restoration more challenging, which added to the lack of funds needed to maintain the vast site, the issue has been made even more challenging.

Pompeii is without any doubts, one of the most popular and unique archaeological sites in the world and more and more visitors from every corner of the world are attracted by the ancient site. Perhaps. In one day alone, during May 2012, Pompeii received over 20,000 visitors (Il Mattino, 2012). As tourism increases, so the necessity to actively manage these concerns needs to be considered. An archaeological site can have many negative impacts from mass tourism. This is particularly evident at the archaeological site of Pompeii, as tourism and its physical impact increase each year (**Figure 39**). Thus, as argued by Levin-Richardson (2011), much of the decay caused in Pompeii by visitors comes from overcrowding and damaging behaviours, both intentional and unintentional, such as leaning on walls or bags rubbing against fragile frescoes in crowded areas (**Figure 40**).



Figure 39. Visitors by the House of the Meander. The barricades in the foreground had been moved by the visitors to get access to the house, which was closed for restoration, Student own image (2017)



Figure 40. Visitors resting in the shade. Without clear communication, they are unaware of the impacts of their actions on the conservation of the site, Levin-Richardson (2011)

It could be argued that at Pompeii, the freedom for visitors to engage in tactile interactions with the sites is more a result of inadequate visitor management than intentionally. Perhaps, clear communication and enforcement of what can and cannot be touched could be the first step forward. Thus, as noted by Wallace-Hadrill (2011) many of these factors could be addressed, with an improved presentation and interpretation of sites as well as an appropriate communication and visitor management (**Figure 41**).



Figure 41. Visitor crosses a rope barrier to take a picture of a mosaic. Behaviour like this could be lessened through active enforcement, Wallace-Hadrill (2011)

Another challenge affecting the Vesuvian sites is linked to the problems faced in managing the conservation of the site which results in closure of more areas each year. In fact, as Wallace (2012) points out, in the past forty years, the number of properties, roads, and areas accessible to the public at Vesuvian sites has decreased by 1/3. Perhaps, as visitors at the Vesuvian sites increase and the accessible areas decrease, by concentrating the high number of visitors in smaller areas, it also accelerates the rate of corrosion. Thus, areas not open to the public tend to be abandoned (**Figure 42**) as the limited resources are diverted towards those accessible areas (Thompson, 2007).



Figure 42. Overgrown vegetation and crumbling walls in an unvisited area of the site, Thompson (2007)

Furthermore, beside the conservation work, mass tourism, damaging behaviours and staffing issues, there are many other issues linked to the poor management yet to be resolved. One such example would be the frequent union strikes that force thousands of tourists to wait outside closed gates at Pompeii (**Figure 43**) in temperatures exceeding 30 C during the summers (The Telegraph, 2015).



Figure 43. Tourists lining up at the ticket office of Pompeii archaeological site, *The Telegraph* (2015)

Moreover, there is a need to set-up toilet facilities and wheelchair access for the uneven surfaces on both the inside and outside of the archaeological sites. Furthermore, especially in Pompeii, food kiosks need to be built as in the 163-acre archaeological site of Pompeii a visitor is unable to buy any food or water (Pompeii Turismo, 2015).

6.3 Political context around the ancient sites

Focusing on the Politics around the ancient sites laying on the foot of Mount Vesuvius, the issues affecting the new town of Pompeii (that surrounds the ancient town) also need to be considered. In fact, in recent years, the inappropriate management of the daily duties, including the local security managed by the Mayor of Pompeii, has led to a dramatic increase in robberies of tourists who attempted to visit the site (Brennan, 2011). In Herculaneum and Stabia, the situation is even worse. Thus, on one hand, there is the vibrant and lively city of Pompeii that holds many restaurants, souvenir shops, bars, and hotels, while on the other hand, due to the lack of local political interest, outside the gates of the cities in Herculaneum and Stabia there is an absolute state of degradation and filth, with non-existent tourist attractions. Surely the point about Herculaneum is that it is situated within the town of Ercolano that brings its own distinctive issue. Moreover, Wallace-Hadrill (2010, p. 5) underlines that ‘Political corruption and the stranglehold of the Mafia over local and national politics are the contexts for the

archaeological crisis of today'. Perhaps, it might be argued that in the Vesuvian sites, not only a political context needs to be understood, but also more thought need to be given to relationship between politics and local mafia organisations.

In addition to the above challenges and issues, Pompeii also risks losing its most important assets: The Pompeiian Archaeological Institute Study Centre that hosts the well-known history and archaeology department of the 'Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa'. In fact, the Mayor of Pompeii has ordered the 'eviction' of the University as those premises will be replaced by the local council administration, leaving over 4,000 ancient volumes without a home anymore (Unisob, 2012). Obviously, there have been many generous offers from museums and universities to buy these immense historical, cultural and economically valuable assets contained in the Archaeological Institute of Pompeii. In particular, the British Museum (which in the past have already grossed 11 million pounds by putting on display the Pompeii treasures never seen in any archaeological sites in Italy) and the University of Oxford feel invested with the duty to save this historical heritage by the indifference of Italian politics (Unisob, 2012). However, at the moment, the Italian University is not willing to sell its historical and valuable assets as the Italian archaeologists know very well that thanks to the notes of Professor Amedeo Maiuri contained in the ancient volumes several other buildings and areas can still be found (Napoli Today, 2018).

6.4 How Herculaneum's Problems are being addressed: The Packard Humanities Institute in Herculaneum

As Corfield (2014) points out, the great deal of carbonised wood, food and textiles preserved under the huge volcanic layer, has enhanced the difficulties of conservation due to its fragile state. In fact, the fact that previous restoration interventions were themselves 'ageing' and the absence of regular maintenance has led to a serious and widespread state of disrepair within the ancient town's infrastructure (drains, roofing and escarpments). Perhaps, as Thompson (2007) highlights, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the site of Herculaneum began to attract international attention as it was in a state of such serious abandonment. However, at the same time, at least for Herculaneum, things started to change as conserving the ancient site, was a task that could not be resolved by the resources of the 'Soprintendenza' alone.

Thus, in 2000, thanks to David Packard, son of the co-founder of computer giant HP and president of the Packard Humanities Institute based in California, visiting Herculaneum, he decided to contribute to the conservation of the historical and archaeological site. He was struck by both the beauty and the degradation of Herculaneum since only one third of the actual archaeological remains was visible at the time and aggravated by the fact that the main services were not fully running (Garnsey, 2012). Thus, in 2001, nine months since the first meeting, The Packard Humanities Institute signed a public-private partnership agreement helping Herculaneum to re-emerge with the principal objective of providing support to the Soprintendenza in addressing the critical state of the site (Thompson, 2007).

One year after signing a memorandum of understanding with the ‘Soprintendenza’ he started a long and prosperous partnership. In practice, the Packard Foundation develops and subsidises the works while the ‘Soprintendenza’ carries out the work by choosing the contractors. Hence, thanks to this new system in place, but especially thanks to 16 million euros given by the HP company for the conservation, the preservation and restoration, there is a great hope that the image of Herculaneum in the world will be changed and promoted (Coop Culture, 2016). According to Thompson (2007), the Herculaneum Conservation Project was an innovative public/private initiative to conserve and safeguard the archaeological site of Herculaneum advancing the knowledge, understanding and public appreciation of Italy. Moreover, as Garnsey (2012) points out, this joining force not only helped address economic difficulties but, more importantly, it allowed energy to be dedicated incessantly to an enhancement in conservation approaches and of the site.

The private-public model involving Mr Packard and the ‘Soprintendenza’ has represented an unprecedented change of approach for carrying out a series of rapid and flexible conservation interventions. In the site of Herculaneum, for the first time, a private partner could intervene directly on the public site in order to carry out conservation works at its own cost and under its own management. If this had been commissioned within the public procurement route available to the ‘Soprintendenza’ it would be a much more complex process. It would appear that a team of specialist contractors, thanks to the use of laser techniques, but especially, thanks to the 16 million euros already donated by the Packard Humanities Institute have achieved effective results so far (**Figure 44**). In fact, an extra 65% of the archaeological site can now be visited since Mr Packard started ‘The Herculaneum Conservation Project’ (Macchioni, 2016).



Figure 44. View of the ancient site of Herculaneum, student own image (2018)

6.5 The Virtual Archaeological Museum (MAV) in Herculaneum

According to Thompson (2007), Mr Packard's intervention improved and enhanced the preliminary measures and checks which include: cleaning work, installation of pigeon nets, vegetation management, security staff and technical support. In addition, in 2008, a Virtual Archaeological Museum (MAV) was open just a few steps away from the ruins of Herculaneum (Garnsey, 2012). Thanks to special effects a visitor can be transported two millenniums back walking inside buildings with 3D glasses and see the life of the ancient city as it was before the Catastrophic Eruption.

The virtual museum was first imagined and developed by the local archaeologist, Gaetano Capasso, and then, thanks to the sophisticated software of the virtual reality company 'Capware' his vision was created, and this unusual project was brought to life. In addition, Derrick de Kerckhove, one of the leading world experts in digital culture claims that he has not seen anything like Herculaneum in any other archaeological reconstructions made to date as no one has received such a deep technological and artistic focus. Visitor numbers are reflective of the views of Derrick de Kerckhove since in the first two years of its opening the Virtual Archaeological Museum was visited by over 200,000 tourists becoming the most visited museum in the Campania region (Lazer, 2009).

Opened in 2008, the Virtual Museum which took nearly four years to build is not just technology-based, but there is in fact also an auditorium, a projection room, a shopping arcade and a restaurant. The nine million euros spent for the Virtual Archaeological Museum has soon created a debate about the high spending for a virtual world when the reality of the ruins are just next door (Hales, 2009). And, would tourists prefer to see the virtual museum rather than the real historical ruins? These are the questions that people may raise when the virtual museum in Herculaneum is mentioned. Taking this into account, the answer could become apparent just a few minutes after having entered the museum.

This virtual museum is not just a virtual reality since the participant experiences an interactive journey by touching and seeing archaeological finds and at the same time can understand how these findings would be in their original form (**Figure 45**). Another attraction within the virtual museum, can be seen in the ‘Armaturarum room’ conceived as a journey back to 79 AD and also from time to time what happened during the excavation through a moving room (**Figure 46**). A tourist can hear street voices, listen to dialogues with philosophers of the ‘Epucurea school’ in the garden of the Villa of the Papyri, smell the scents of the oils used in public baths, hear the sea bleachers that hits the rocks, until arriving in the last stage of the path where the volcanic explosion that petrified the city in 79 AD will enable tourists revive that terrible moment thanks to artificial smokes and special surrounding noises (Garnsey, 2012).



Figure 45. Virtual reality in the MAV, student own image (2017)



Figure 46. Armaturarum room in the MAV, student own image (2017)

From reports and feedbacks, there is also positive news. According to Hales (2009) since the virtual museum's opening in 2008, the annual tourist numbers in the ancient site of Herculaneum went from being 264,000 to 410,000, while recently only in a month 70,000 tourists visited Herculaneum (Napoli Zon, 2017). Moreover, it can be observed that adults are actively engaging in this type of museum as it is something new for them as opposed to younger generations. Despite this, it is the kind of museum that interacts with the public involving the whole community, from adult to child, where finally the viewer can feel involved participating in the so-called 'museum sphere'.

However, can the virtual museum replace the real experience of visiting the archaeological ruins? The experience of the virtual can entertain and attract the visitor's attention even without any proper background knowledge of the archaeological history and excavations. In addition, it could also make the visitor experience easier as there are no worries about the high temperature of the summer, or the heavy rain of the winter expected in case a visitor wishes to walk around the ancient site.

6.6 Public vs private heritage management

In Pompeii instead, the ‘Soprintendenza’ is the same but the management is completely different at the start of the twenty-first century. In 2010 there were about 80 buildings closed to the public. around 50% of area was inaccessibility (**Figure 47**). In addition, there were no staff on site, only a few incomprehensible signs (**Figure 48**) and very few employees to monitor the site.



Figure 47. Conservation work and the resulting barriers in Pompeii. This can have a negative impact on the visitor’s perceptions of the site if not properly explained, student own image (2010)



Figure 48. Incomprehensible signs (as only Italian language is used) in Pompeii, student own image (2010)

Thus, in Pompeii, the ‘Soprintendenza’ were able to identify all the issues affecting the ancient site of Pompeii, but unfortunately given the poor conservation and management of the site it seemed as if they failed to promptly respond to those issues. In contrast the private intervention seen in Herculaneum was fast, flexible and operational with a greater understanding and collaboration from the people involved (Pompeii Turismo, 2015).

As Thompson (2007, p. 192) claims “Political have often placed short-term visible results (one-off ‘flagship’ restoration projects or, worse still, excavation) before maintenance programmes”. In a period that deterioration was at its highest peak in the ancient sites, towards the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, funding coming from the European Union were still primarily used towards new excavations instead of maintenance and conservation of the existing buildings. Therefore, the maintenance problems arose not from the lack of public funds alone, but also from the absence of the expertise and knowledge needed to spend in an effective way the available government funds (Cevoli, 2011).

6.7 The Pompeii Archaeological Research Project in 2005, Marcello Fiori and ‘A plan to relaunch Pompeii’ between 2008-2011

One of the first projects that Pompeii has seen in the twenty-first century has been ‘The Pompeii Archaeological Research Project’ in 2005 led by the University of Cincinnati and the American Academy in Rome, under the direction of Professor Steven Ellis. Archaeological excavations were undertaken on a large sub-elite neighbourhood of Pompeii. The aim was to reveal the structural and social relationships over time between Pompeian households of variable economic portfolios to determine the role that sub-elites played in the shaping of Roman urban networks, and to register their response to city and Mediterranean-wide historical, political, and economic developments. The excavations extended over 4000 m² of the ancient city (which up to that point had been entirely hidden by decades of dense vegetation growth) covering houses, shops, and workshops (**Figure 49**) (**Figure 50**), as well as urban infrastructure from fountains to fortifications, and from main streets to one of the city’s busiest gates (Devore & Ellis, 2005).



Figure 49. A shop full of vegetation prior the excavation, Devore & Ellis (2005)



Figure 50. A cooking area full of vegetation prior the excavation, Devore & Ellis (2005)

In addition, between 2008 and 2011, under the guidance of commissioner Marcello Fiori, there was the project '*Piano di rilancio di Pompeii*', 'A plan to relaunch Pompeii', in which 33 million euros was allocated by the European Community and the Campania Region. The noble goal was to enhance the archaeological area, but the outcome proved to be unsuccessful (Guzzo, 2012).

The plan to relaunch Pompeii involved several different projects: 1) Pompeii on Bike; a 4 km sightseeing cycle lane. 2) Easy Pompeii; a two-hour long pedestrian path from the Amphitheatre for people who had ambulation difficulties. 3) Baby Pompeii; the opportunity to leave infants and small children with childminders who engaged with them in workshops, whilst leaving their parents free to visit Pompeii. 4) Pompeii and Mount Vesuvius; where visitors could experience a simulation of the cataclysmic volcanic eruption. 5) Use of Great Theatre; for public shows. 6) Auditorium; a place where concerts and ballets were to take place. 7) Antiquarium; the information point for tourists. 8) Pompeii at Night; would revive the charm of the ancient town at night with guided tours. 9) Ave Canem; a proposal for adopting stray dogs which run rife around the site. 10) Archaeo-agriculture; aimed to promote and cultivate organic produce in neighbouring areas. 11) Archaeo-restaurants; would have been one of the last stops in the tour, where visitors would be encouraged to taste gourmet dishes and flavours of ancient recipes taken from the Roman era, along with more contemporary and traditional dishes (Guzzo, 2012).

Considering the vast state of neglect and deterioration of the site, its rehabilitation and works of repair to guarantee the public's safety, cost the administration 80 million euros, meaning that the above 11 different projects cited previously in the plan to relaunch Pompeii were not economically viable. On 25th October 2011, a UNESCO report criticized the work of Marcello Fiori, the Special Commissioner appointed by the Italian Minister Bondi, for not safeguarding and preserving Pompeii properly, and for implementing unnecessary work such as the remake of the New Theatre.

6.8 The Great Project Pompeii

After decades of waiting, following the series of conservation disasters troubling the site together with the above management challenges and political issues, Ferri (2014) notes that, in 2011 the Italian Government declared the State of Emergency. Consequently 'The Great Project Pompeii', was launched appointing Teresa Cinquantaquattro as a temporary special Commissioner in order to rehabilitate the archaeological sites. Hence, the European Commission decided to allocate 105 million euros to Pompeii for this project, which was officially implemented in April 2012. Deployment of these funds was to address a number of the key issues at the site, including restoration and conservation of a number of areas (MiBAC, 2012). However, as Ferri (2014, p. 381) points out, "The introduction of the temporary Commissioner position to a large extent reduced or suspended the responsibility of the Soprintendenza. This had the additional impact of making responsibilities opaquer".

Nevertheless, a question raised now, in all this confusion is, where is UNESCO? UNESCO organized a conference in 2012 to figure out how and when they can spend the available 105 million euros from the European funds. During the conference, it was also suggested that the UNESCO sponsorship potentially be removed from the most visited ruins of Italy after those of the Colosseum if the money were not used and applied properly (Pompeii Italy, 2011). Despite all the issues related to Pompeii, there is still hope for the future given the latest news about the recent restoration of six Domus, which needed urgent maintenance, and also the reopening of a few pathways damaged by rocks collapsing. This is starting to turn around Pompeii's bad reputation. This restoration was coordinated by UNESCO and was achieved thanks to European funds. Finished in March 2016, it is possible to start to look at the other face of Pompeii and perhaps see this as a new beginning, laying the foundation that hopefully

will enable the city to thrive and the surrounding area to revert back to the splendour of 2,000 years ago.

The Domus being restored back to shine in all their ancient beauty are: The Dyeing Fullonica of Stephanus which shows the treatment of the fabrics used by the ancient Romans; (**Figure 51**), Spa of Criptoportico, that has four thermal rooms used by the ancient city of Pompeii (**Figure 52**), The House of Paquius Proculus with its electoral writing on walls highlights how people in Pompeii were involved with politics over 2000 years ago (**Figure 53**), The House of Sacerdos Amandus that reflects the exploits of heroes with its paintings (**Figure 54**), The House of Fabius Amandus that can be seen as an example of a small ancient house of the middle class and finally (**Figure 55**) the House of the Efebo that demonstrates a rich merchant's mansion that stands out for its luxury and splendour of the walls (**Figure 56**).

However, it needs to be highlighted that both The House of Fabius Amandus and Efebo, stand out for their luxury and the splendour of their wall and floor decorations. Perhaps, the reopening of this six Domus is a clear sign of progress in the conservation of the entire archaeological site and its management.



Figure 51. Image of the refurbished Dyeing Fullonica of Stephanus, student own image (2017)



Figure 52. Image of the refurbished Spa of Criptoportico, student own image (2017)



Figure 53. Image of the refurbished House of Paquius Proculus, student own image (2017)



Figure 54. Image of the refurbished House of Sacerdos Amandus, student own image (2017)



Figure 55. Image of the refurbished House of Fabius Amandus, student own image (2017)



Figure 56. Image of the refurbished House of the Efebo, student own image (2017)

To achieve these objectives new people were involved from local communities which included young researchers, PhD students from the surrounding Universities and local charities. The number of tourists and visitors has increased significantly as the statistics show from the 85,000 visitors of February compared to the nearly 200,000 in March 2016. Thus, it could be argued that in the last few years the revival of Pompeii is quite evident, and also, recognized from the UNESCO Management Inspector who mentioned that the possibilities of growth are still many and all extraordinary (Soprintendenza, 2016).

Can the restoration and reopening of six Domus really be the end of Pompeii's bad management that lasted for years? Also, considering the number of houses and roads that are still closed to the public in Pompeii and in addition to the usual issues already mentioned in previous chapters, is there anything else that can be done? Is there still a chance to finally save the ancient city of Pompeii? The priority for the Italian national heritage today is Pompeii.

They are trying their best to fully restore it, relying on new technological methods by making sure to focus especially on the maintenance of the foundations of the buildings in the long run.

In the longer term this will be a more cost-effective option than investing in sporadic maintenance provided by local inexperienced handyman employed by the Pompeii city council. In addition, there is a desperate need for toilet facilities, wheelchair access for the uneven surfaces and at least five eating points that need to be situated in the far four corners as well as in the middle of the archaeological site. It is incredible to think that in the 163 acres of the whole ancient site a tourist cannot even get a bottle of water or a sandwich. Therefore, the daily maintenance needed in all parts of the city, together with the set-up of the facility's primary needs around the archaeological site of Pompeii, will hopefully make it possible for a tourist to visit the site without any major problems and enjoy the visit.

The 'Great Project Pompeii' is aiming to manage effectively the conservation and safety of the archaeological site establishing a routine maintenance process. The whole idea of enhancing the attractiveness of the site is to revive its history by making the visitor feel like as if they are in the same atmosphere of those times. However, coming back to reality, even considering the 105 million-euro investments from the European Union, it still might not be enough as there are still many other socially related issues such as the protection of legality and security, and the transparency and commitment from the local politicians.

The priority at the moment is focused upon one of the latest projects, which is seen as the new prototype of involvement meant to introduce a new way forward in the cultural heritage, 'The Great Project Pompeii'. The idea is to intervene objectively in a very complex area, not only regarding the cultural heritage, but also the simultaneous presence of other important factors within a region that has many complexities from a social perspective (Coop culture, 2016). Thus, it might be argued that the public-private partnership agreement signed between The Packard Humanities Institute and the 'Soprintendenza' in Herculaneum might be an example to be followed by Pompeii enabling the archaeological site to be better managed.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE WORK

Many ancient cities of the former Roman Empire preserve great public buildings such as baths, gladiatorial arenas and theatres. However, in addition to all of this, Pompeii and Herculaneum have also offered ordinary streets lined with shops, houses and bars. The rediscovery of the ancient towns of Herculaneum and Pompeii, whose life was ended by the sudden and terrible eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 AD, provoked huge interest with a unique opportunity to see daily life in Roman times. Therefore, due to both the tragic and sudden end of these two cities, the volcanic eruption has made sure that the buildings and urban structure have been preserved in good conditions, especially in Herculaneum. However, following the Vesuvius eruption in 79 AD and subsequent other times until today, it must be said that Vesuvius is still one of the most dangerous volcanoes in the world especially because there is a population of around three million people living nearby.

The excavations of both Herculaneum in 1709 and Pompeii in 1748, were an intact image of ancient life, almost undamaged by the passing of the centuries. However, as demonstrated in this thesis the different nature of the volcanic sediments that covered the city of Pompeii has made the excavation process a lot easier than in Herculaneum. After this point when Bourbon kings were on the throne of Naples, the official excavation to the southeast of Mount Vesuvius began in Herculaneum. Rocque Joaquin de Alcubierre, a Spanish military engineer played a decisive role not only in the initiation and navigation of the course of the early Bourbon phase of the excavation history but also in the birth and development of modern archaeology.

Following the promotion of Alcubierre to Colonel, the Swiss military engineer, Karl Weber, was employed to supervise the excavation work in the Vesuvian sites. Applying a more systematic approach, Weber's first major success came with a large villa discovered at

Herculaneum in 1750 AD called Villa of the Papyri. Despite his more laborious and expensive method of digging, Weber was able to produce a number of detailed drawings, sketches and notes regarding the villa. Weber's era is particularly noteworthy as he was reporting the Vesuvian archaeology in all its details. For the same document, Weber prepared a draft in pencil and then redraw in ink and colour to demonstrate correctly the exact find spot of every individual artefact. Weber's documents were noteworthy as they were incredibly informative and comprehensive in content and representation.

Weber's systematic approach was in contrast to that of Alcubierre. For the first time since the official inception of the excavations, Weber approached the work and the site with an archaeological perspective as he also paid attention to drafting shop fronts and recording examples of 'common architecture' in detail as opposed to the earlier documentation that targeted describing and drafting only the monumental public buildings.

As Pompeii and Stabia were closer to the surface and therefore easier to excavate, the attention was then shifted to the new sites of Pompeii (from 1748) and Stabia (from 1749) and by 1780 AD the excavation at Herculaneum was completely abandoned. These rediscoveries shaped modern understandings of life in the Roman world and after decades of excavation works taking place at Pompeii and Herculaneum visitors were quite impressed by the houses and artefacts brought to light. However, the beginning of the eighteenth century was also a period of serious corruption and malpractice at Pompeii, and in Naples in general. However, it was only with the vision and energy of the Neapolitan archaeologist, Giuseppe Fiorelli, that the undisciplined and random digging on the site came to an end when he was appointed to Director of the excavations in 1848 AD. He replaced the disastrous practice of tunnelling vertically into buildings with careful, layer-by-layer excavation.

Fiorelli removed rubble from the site for the first time, tightened security and established a more systematic plan of excavation. He also stopped the constant stream of artefacts being removed by instituting a policy of leaving objects on site. In addition, he also went on to develop the technique of creating plaster casts of humans killed by the volcanic eruption which had been preserved as body-shaped voids in the overlying ash and volcanic material. One of the most important things that Fiorelli did at Pompeii was to authorise, for the first time, an entrance fee in 1860 AD to anyone who wished to visit the site.

Following the great excavation work of Fiorelli in the nineteenth century, there was huge optimism about the role of Pompeii in illustrating urban life and for exploration as to how people had lived. Fiorelli's successor Vittorio Spinazzola, made it possible to reconstruct with more precision than before the upper stories of houses. While, in 1924, the Italian Archaeologist Amedeo Maiuri, was able to complete extensive open-air excavation work creating a 'living museum' by restoring the excavated buildings and bringing them back to their original style.

Amedeo Maiuri, as Superintendent of the Antiquities of Campania, laid the foundations for modern studies of the history and development of Pompeii. Through an extensive series of excavations, Amedeo Maiuri's workforce marked a shift in the understanding of the ancient towns. These excavations re-shaped the nature of tourism to the site as the levels of restoration and reconstruction created internal spaces for the tourists to view. The growing phenomenon of mass-tourism that had its origins in the 1920s and 1930s and its impact on Italy was entirely understood by Maiuri as he displayed a real grasp of what the site provides for the tourist and the infrastructure of tourism. In addition, Maiuri managed to maintain a high level of interest in the site and made the most of the political context, in which the official glorification of Imperial Rome's greatness led to ongoing funding from the Fascist government.

Due to the uncertainty of the Italian political and cultural context, there was a shift in the management of the sites as post-war became about conservation. In the sixties, following the death of Amedeo Maiuri, excavation campaigns became less frequent as all energies were concentrated in an attempt to avoid the slow deterioration of the city. After Amedeo Maiuri's directorship, the ancient site experienced a crisis: severe and growing were the problems of maintenance and restoration. In addition, a massive earthquake that struck the Campania region in 1980 heavily damaged the ancient sites of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabia highlighting the general fragility of the sites.

By the late 1990s, due to the careless management and conservation of Herculaneum and Pompeii, their reputation was at an all-time low. However, in Pompeii things got even worse due to the eviction of 'The Pompeian Archaeological Institute Study Centre' which took its name from the great archaeologist Amedeo Maiuri. But, in the meantime, in Herculaneum things were definitely moving in the right direction with the private intervention of Mr Packard who decided to subsidise Herculaneum in 2000. The private-public model involving Mr

Packard and the 'Soprintendenza' has represented an unprecedented change of approach as for the first time, a private partner could intervene directly on the public site in order to carry out conservation works at its own cost and under its own management. In addition, the Virtual Archaeological Museum has also created a unique experience and a new form of entertainment for visitors in Herculaneum.

A few kilometres away, on the other hand, there is Pompeii, the 'Soprintendenza' is the same but the management in the most famous UNESCO site in the world is different at the start of the twenty-first century. The 'Soprintendenza' fully manages the archaeological site, but unfortunately does not deploy the financial resources in an effective manner. However, despite all the issues related to Pompeii, there have been a few positive attempts to raise its image in recent years.

The priority at the moment is given to one of the latest projects, which is seen as a new way forward in the cultural heritage, 'The Great Project Pompeii'. This project aims to manage effectively the conservation and safety of the archaeological site establishing a routine maintenance process. Thus, in recent years, the restoration of six Domus and the reopening of a few pathways previously damaged by rocks collapsing, has been the first step to enhance Pompeii's reputation thanks to the 105 million-euro investments from the European Union for 'The Great Project Pompeii'.

How long will the new futuristic version of Pompeii last before seeing another state of degradation? A lot of work still needs to be done starting from the daily maintenance throughout the ancient city. In addition, the set-up of primary facilities such as toilets, wheelchair access and eating points will hopefully make it possible for a tourist to visit the site without any major problems and optimistically enjoy their visit. Thus, can the public-private partnership agreement signed between The Packard Humanities Institute and the 'Soprintendenza' in Herculaneum be an example for the transformation of the public management of Pompeii? The hope is that Pompeii this time can truly be reborn and demonstrate recovery from what can be defined as the rise and fall of this great cultural heritage.

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