

Excavations and Tourists – Understanding Pompeii in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

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In 1958, towards the end of his long directorship of the excavations at Pompeii, Amedeo Maiuri made a number of observations on the interaction of the site with the numerous tourists who visit it.¹ These observations reveal a sense of purpose to his work that had culminated in the re-shaping of the ruins of Pompeii through new excavations and new projects of conservation. His focus was on the start of the tourist season in April, when he looked on at the first processions or hordes of tourists arrive at the Porta Marina. He describes them as peoples of the North making a *pilgrimage* (*pellegrinaggio*) to the site.² Speaking as the director or boss of the site that was Pompeii, he observes them and seeks to provide a better service for his clients. This brief published account on the difference of modern tourism to that of the early visitors to the site in the eighteenth century highlights the dynamic of mass-tourism and Maiuri's understanding of the growing phenomenon that had its origins in the 1920s and 1930s.³

Maiuri displays a real grasp of what the site provides for the tourist and the infrastructure of tourism. The majority of tourists did not stay in Pompeii and arrived on a trip by train, bus, or car for a visit lasting at the most a day; often as part of an organised trip by the large tourist agencies of Southern Italy. Those entering Pompeii, for the first time, experience a unique touristic experience.

*I envy the visitors that come for the first time to Pompeii; I envy their state of grace in which, for the first time they enter a gate of the city, the first contact with the pavement of the streets, the first crossing of the threshold of a house, they have the gift of astonishment and become once again children and ask the questions that children ask their grandmother.*⁴

Maiuri is attempting to bridge the gap between his experience of the site (some 34 years as its director) and the visitor viewing the site for the first time - something that

¹ Maiuri 1958. For discussion of the career of Maiuri see Maggi 1974; Carratelli 1990. A collection of Maiuri's papers was edited by Belli 1978.

² Maiuri's view coincides with Nash 1996: 44 'The experience and reactions of a person while touring...take on a sacred aura and function to recreate the individual for day-day life at home, are dictated by the need for inversion as well as by certain social influences. Maiuri 1929, Rusconi 1929: 13-15, and Corti 1951 refer to the excavation of the site as resurrection of the spirit of antiquity. On theories of tourism, see Urry 1990: 1-15 on the tourist gaze; also papers in Cartier and Lew 2005 on tourism and the seduction of place.

³ The *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* organised subsidised excursions from 1931, and by 1937 arranged 50,000 excursions (compared to unsubsidised 4,165 excursions in 1930) to promote mass travel by train and discounts on Mediterranean cruise-ships. See de Grazia 1981: 180-4 for discussion. A destination of the organisation were the excavations at Ostia and at Pompeii, see Beretta 1933: 188. The number of foreign visitors to Italy varied considerably from 1924-1939 in direct relation to the global economy. In 1925, the Italian state recorded the number of foreign visitors staying in terms of nights in hotels at 19,430,000, by contrast during the depression of 1932 records show 9,478,095, and in 1937 the numbers return to 17,370,496 nights in hotels. Foreign tourists were calculated to have earned Italy an income of 150-200 million lire. Data from *Enciclopedia Italiana* (1937) Appendice II: 1050-51. Tourism even in the 1920s was an economic activity that was making a significant difference to Italy's balance of payments.

⁴ Maiuri 1958: 89.

he achieves by mingling incognito amongst the multi-lingual tour parties. For him, the purpose of the site was to educate these adult-children (or clients) and demonstrate the intelligence of antiquity. What Maiuri makes clear in these brief remarks about tourism is the didactic purpose behind his work at Pompeii. He engages with the contemporary world of the tourist, as much as the world of academic archaeology.⁵

His musings on the relationship of the archaeology of Pompeii and tourism were built on a long acquaintance with the latter. As early as 1929, he was publishing books on Pompeii for the general reader sponsored by the national company for tourism that were translated into other languages and could contain not only 193 black and white photographs but also fourteen water-colours by Luigi Bazzani.⁶ This was followed by his guidebook published by the Libreria dello Stato in 1932.⁷ What Maiuri presents us with is the culmination of tourist experiences that go back to the Risorgimento and the period in which Fiorelli revolutionised access to the site with low admission prices and free access for all visitors on a Sunday. Noted in Britain, in the Times newspaper in 1863, as a fundamental change to the site.

The British Newspapers of the late 19th century provide us with a means to understand how the site was perceived by visitors rather than expert academics. Consistently, there is a sense of wonder. However, the qualities that are presented by these northern visitors to Pompeii are surprise at the fact the monuments are not as striking as other wonders in the British Empire – in Egypt or India. Yet, there is presented in these articles a need for contemplation of the mundane and the gain from an unimpeded walk informed by multi-lingual custodians. The spectacle of an excavation for dignitaries was a cause for press reports in 1879 to commemorate the city's destruction and that of the German Emperor. Here the reporting is about the dignitaries and the discoveries. The point of these experiences is according to the journalists that: there was a sense of expectation. These are not what we would call 'research-led' expectations, but reveal the fundamental immersion of a visit to Pompeii.

Changing Itineraries

The structure of any tourist visit is determined by the point of arrival and first encounter with the ruins to be gazed upon (Figure 1). The 1920s and 1930s saw a major change to the way in which visitors were transported from Naples to the site. Up to the early 1930s arrival was in three formats: the Ferrovie dello Stato (state railway) had constructed a station outside Porta Marina; the recently constructed autostrada permitted rapid travel from Naples to the Porta Marina; and, finally, the Circumvesuviana (private railway) had its Pompei Scavi station at Porta di Nola. The latter explains the excavation of Via di Nola in the nineteenth century to create an excavated street or thoroughfare between the central area of the excavated site and the entrance associated with this modern electric railway. The excavations facilitated the immersion into the site and that unique tourist experience of leaving the modern

⁵ Maiuri 1958: 91 the naming of the House of the Ship Europa excavated in the 1950s was seen as a celebration of the new-found European Union and a recognition of the heterogeneity of the visitors to the site, who might respond to such a sentiment.

⁶ Maiuri 1929b; a volume in the same series was published by him on Herculaneum in 1932.

⁷ Maiuri 1932b; a volume in the same series was published by him on Herculaneum in 1936. Both were continuously up-dated and re-issued after 1945, and were translated into English to provide the authoritative guidebook well into the 1970s and even beyond into the 1980s as the sole comprehensive guide translated into English for the site.

convenience of the electric railway and directly entering the ruins from antiquity. Travel time was in all cases forty minutes to an hour from Naples. However, by 1936, the now familiar Circumvesuviana Pompei-Villa dei Misteri station had been built with a faster and more frequent service to Naples.⁸ It took its name from the recently excavated remains of the Villa and was located between Porta Marina and the Villa of the Mysteries. It was convenient for entry by the Porta Marina and an itinerary that culminated in the viewing of the recently excavated remains of the Villa.⁹

Guidebooks containing recommended itineraries can point the way to understanding how the tourist was expected to view the site: what was recommended, and can be analysed for the changes in commendation that occurred as each new guidebook was produced and incorporates the new findings of the archaeologist.¹⁰ Engelmann included in his 1929 guidebook four itineraries of two hours for a brief visit and another of four to five hours for a longer visit.¹¹ He suggests in one of the brief visits that the visitor takes the Circumvesuviana to Porta di Nola and follows a route carefully timed to include the House of the Vettii, the House of the Faun, the House of the Tragic Poet, the Forum Baths, the Forum and its associated buildings, the Antiquarium and Porta Marina followed by the Triangular Forum and the theatres prior to returning to Porta di Nola. He also suggests an alternative in which the visitor arrives as before, follows a similar itinerary, but exits via Porta Marina to return by state railway to Naples after a fine lunch at the Grande Hotel Suisse. These do not include the new excavations or the Villa of the Mysteries and can be seen as the traditional framework or visitor experience of the pre-fascist era. The new excavations are included in the other itineraries, requiring an additional 45-50 minutes viewing time and the Villa of the Mysteries would consume five minutes to organise the permit or ticket and was worthy of a ten minute visit, once you arrived there. What is clear from the articulation of the itineraries in Engelmann's guide is the scale of change taking place. The original itineraries are adapted to include a section 'New Excavations' rather than integrating them into the original format of entry via Porta di Nola.

The original structure of entry via Porta di Nola was fundamentally altered by the early 1930s. Maiuri advocated entry via Porta Marina and his guidebook follows a structure that places an initial emphasis on the public buildings of the city in the following order: the Forum, the Triangular Forum and Theatres, the Amphitheatre, the Baths; and then moves on to the houses in three sections the Northern Quarter, including the House of the Vettii, the Central Quarter, including the brothel, and the Southern Quarter and New Excavations. Finally, the guidebook ends with the tombs beyond Porta Ercolano and the Villa of the Mysteries.¹² The ordering is in the format of an itinerary, that leads the tourist to the Forum down Via dell'Abbondanza towards the Triangular Forum and theatres from where they crossed Via di Stabia and exited the excavations close to where the excavation of the House of the Menander was

⁸ Carrington 1936: 157; Van Buren 1930: 387.

⁹ Maiuri 1932b.

¹⁰ Interestingly, the maps in all of Maiuri's guidebooks from the period are of a slightly earlier phase in the excavation projects, which would cause anyone using them to be delighted to discover additional buildings not marked on the map of their guidebook.

¹¹ Engelmann 1929:27-31.

¹² Maiuri 1932b.

being completed down a track known as Strada dell'Anfiteatro. Having viewed the amphitheatre, they returned to the site via the southern entrance to The House of Loreius Tiburtinus, excavated 1918-21,¹³ and viewed the new excavations along the eastern part of Via dell'Abbondanza prior to seeing the Stabian Baths and the possibility of viewing the Central and Northern Quarters of the City. The final point of the itinerary was, of course, the newly excavated Villa of the Mysteries.

The addition of the Circumvesuviana station Pompei-Villa dei Misteri further confirmed the entry point as the Porta Marina. Carrington's book for the general reader published in 1936 includes an itinerary of the site that is rather different to that of Maiuri's and endeavours to include all the site ending with the new excavations in Via dell'Abbondanza.¹⁴ Arrival is via the Porta Marina and the visitors begin by examining the antiquarium prior to entering the Forum from where they visit the Forum Baths and Via di Mercurio and view the walls of the city. Having mused on the nature of the Social War, the visitor was recommended to follow Via del Consolare and make their way through the street of tombs to the Villa of the Mysteries. Having arrived, the visitor would then retrace their steps to examine the houses of Region VI, prior to an examination of Via di Nola, Via di Stabia and parts of Via dell'Abbondanza prior to arrival at the Triangular Forum and the theatres. From here, the visitor was led to the House of the Menander and along Via dell'Abbondanza to the House of Loreius Tiburtinus and, the partially excavated, Praedia of Julia Felix. The visit terminated at the amphitheatre, from where the visitor was advised to take a *carozza* back to the station.

Excavation and Tourism

It is a sad observation that conservation of archaeological remains is not newsworthy, whereas new excavations and, even better, novel discoveries are.¹⁵ The appointment of Amedeo Maiuri in 1924 coincided with a massive increase in the funding of excavation at the site. His predecessor Vittorio Spinazzola established Via dell'Abbondanza as an excavated archaeological artifact remaining unpublished until after his death.¹⁶ The first three years of Maiuri's work on the excavations of Insulae I.6 and I.7 were published in 1927, alongside a lengthy article by Della Corte of unpublished epigraphy from Via dell'Abbondanza in the journal *Notizie degli Scavi*.¹⁷ Two years later Maiuri reported on further work on these two blocks that included the excavation of the fullery of Stephanus as well as the House of the Cei.¹⁸ These would become two key points in tourist itineraries. Importantly, the excavations extended to include the street between the House of the Cei and that of the Menander. From 1929 through to 1934, the excavations in Region I are not reported in *Notizie degli Scavi*, the reason being that the publication of the monographs on the excavations of the Villa of the Mysteries and the House of the Menander made such journal publication

¹³ Maiuri and Pane 1947 for final publication of plans and reconstruction of garden, which was reconstructed in the 1990s and is familiar to most visitors.

¹⁴ Carrington 1936: 157-39.

¹⁵ Rusconi 1927 reports on the work at Pompeii in a volume that also presents results of other state projects of a similar magnitude: the Forum of Augustus in Rome; the ships from Lake Nemi and the newly inaugurated excavations at Herculaneum.

¹⁶ The excavations in Via dell'Abbondanza were only published some ten years after Spinazzola's death in 1953.

¹⁷ Maiuri 1927; Della Corte 1927.

¹⁸ Maiuri 1929a.

redundant.¹⁹ These two extensive excavations re-shaped the nature of tourism to the site and created new nodes in the tourist itineraries (see above for discussion). The levels of restoration and reconstruction created internal spaces for the tourists to view. The publications and the publicity associated with them, as well as the actual find of silver treasure in the House of the Menander, caused the new or novel finds to become known and considered to be of incredible significance. Publication of the inscriptions from insula I.10 was undertaken by Della Corte in *Notizie degli Scavi* in the same year as the publication of the monograph on the excavations, the epigraphy from the Villa of the Mysteries was published in *Notizie degli Scavi* in 1940.²⁰ In 1934, Olga Elia continued Maiuri's account of the excavations of insula I.10 in *Notizie degli Scavi*.²¹ There then follows a lull in the publication of the excavations that were then seeking to link the earlier excavations with the amphitheatre. Della Corte's programme of publication of the epigraphy continued,²² but it is not until 1939 that we find a very full publication of the excavations of the Palaestra and the insula blocks that we now associate with the houses of Region II, including the Praedia Julia Felix with simultaneous publication of the epigraphy.²³

The effect of this series of excavations over a fifteen-year period was to re-shape the site. Spatially, the 'must see' locations of the eighteenth and nineteenth century excavations: the Forum, Region VI, Via di Nola, the Theatres, the temple of Isis and the Triangular Forum were added to by joining of the theatres to the amphitheatre via the axial routeway of Via dell'Abbondanza. The casualty of this process was Via di Nola, Via di Stabia and sections of Region VII were only of interest to the enthusiastic tourist wanting to cover the whole site. 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. One version of an itinerary to encapsulate the new excavations was to visit the Forum then the Via dell'Abbondanza with excursions from it to the theatres, temple of Isis, House of the Menander and the amphitheatre, prior to an examination of the earlier excavated areas. Another was to visit the Forum and move onto the houses of Region VI before making a start on Via dell'Abbondanza and its associated sites to begin with. Afterwards, other sites including the Villa of the Mysteries needed to be visited to complete the visit. What the new excavations did was to add new material to be viewed and extend the time needed to view the site. The extent can be seen even after six years of work: Engelmann calculated visit times for each halt on the itinerary for his four hour visit, the new excavations of Via dell'Abbondanza consumed forty-five minutes, the ticket, walks and viewing of the Villa of the Mysteries took an additional twenty-five minutes.²⁴ Even in 1929, forty percent of the visitor's time was spent viewing the recent excavations. The additional ten years of discoveries contributed further objects to be considered on the Via dell'Abbondanza: not least the House of the Menander,

¹⁹ Maiuri 1930; 1933a.

²⁰ Della Corte 1933; 1940.

²¹ Elia 1934.

²² Della Corte 1936.

²³ Maiuri 1939; Della Corte 1939. It needs to be recognised that running alongside these new excavations were a series of *saggi* to investigate the development of the city prior to its final phase and also the nature of the water-supply: Maiuri 1930a, 1931b, 1933b – work that did not catch the attention of the organisers of tourism in the post-war period Maiuri 1958. The importance of this work was however was picked up by the academic community, see annual reports of Van Buren in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 1926-1942.

²⁴ Engelmann 1929: 31.

the Grande Palaestra, and the Praedia of Julia Felix that could be added to Engelmann's list of: the fullery of Stephanus; House of the Cryptoporticus; Schola of Juventus; House of Trebius Valens, wallpaintings and *dipinti* in the streets and plastercast doors.

Sadly, relatively few visitors actually needed or wanted to spend the extra time in the excavations. At the end of the process of excavation of the site in 1958, Maiuri reflected that all of his work to present that: the new excavations undertaken with the latest techniques of conservation and preservation had been futile.²⁵ Many of the major tourist agencies preferred to follow a brief itinerary, or a 'breathless race', that stopped at halts timed to the minute at the Antiquarium, the Forum, the Baths, the House of the Vettii and ignored the rest of the city and made a mockery (*un'irrisione*) of all the projects undertaken since his appointment in 1924, by choosing instead to visit a house excavated in the previous century, that as we shall see did not convey the image of antiquity that was to Maiuri's taste. The structured visit of the mass-tourist industry required certainty over timing and over the nature of what would be viewed to facilitate the minimum of knowledge on the part of the guide. The latter did not need to know the whole site or interpret the challenges presented by new excavations. These guided groups of visitors were in marked contrast to the individual tourists with their guidebook written by Maiuri, who sought to investigate the city themselves. He reports an encounter with a young couple from New York in the House of Europa, who impressed him with the length of the journey they had made to visit other classical sites in Mediterranean. Having a half-day to spare, they asked him where they should visit having been to Delphi in Greece, he advised them to visit his excavation of the Grotto of the Sybil at Cumae.²⁶ For those seeking to understand the site and its new excavations, the dominance of Maiuri's guidebooks (translated into all major languages), and academic publications shaped their visits and provided the explanation of what they were looking at.

The House of the Menander rewrites Roman Domestic Space

The new excavations of the 1920s and 1930s were presented in an utterly new fashion building upon the tradition begun by Giuseppe Fiorelli of revealing the site and preserving the building, but also leaving the finds at their point of discovery. 'Pictures, pavements and small objects can be seen in their original setting, and almost the only thing that is now found necessary to remove is valuable metal-work' and the cost of doing so was seen as a cause to marvel at (Figure 2).²⁷ Maiuri drew on the success of the presentation of the House of the Vettii, excavated in 1895, where the finds were displayed, where they were thought to have been utilised.²⁸ Archaeology was there to present the Pompeian past in its houses in a series of minute details via the finds as much as the architectural spaces, so many of the finds have since scattered and are unrecoverable. Theft and pilfering from the site from the 1970s up to the present has become a significant factor in the conservation of the remains and a rejection of the forms of presentation pioneered by Maiuri.²⁹ However, for those visiting the site in the 1930s, the finds were in their locations,

²⁵ Maiuri 1958: 89-90.

²⁶ Maiuri 1958: 91-2.

²⁷ Carrington 1936: 12.

²⁸ Maiuri 1948: 11; Leppmann 1968: 171 notes the few robberies that occur on the site in the late 1960s..

²⁹ Ling 1997: 1 highlights recent thefts from the House of the Menander, in contrast to the situation in the 1960s, see note 26..

alongside the plaster-cast bodies and the domestic environments in which both had existed. The policy can be seen as a response to new excavations at Ostia Antica that were creating a rival tourist experience of antiquity, but what Ostia lacked were the finds that were presented to the visitor at Pompeii.

Inevitably, the story of the excavations of Pompeii in this period is bound up and entangled with the ideologies of Italian fascism. Maiuri, in the preface of the publication of the House of the Menander, makes it clear that the new Regime had aided the field of archaeology in ways previously unknown. Both of the monographs, on the House of the Menander and the Villa of the Mysteries, included colour illustrations and were published by the Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato.³⁰ The lavishness is underpinned by a text that Maiuri suggests is free from the excessive weight and were designed to be accessible. He follows a principle here that Pompeii was not simply about excavation, but also about comprehension and explanation to others. Hence, the lavish volumes provided a new standard of publication that integrated excavation, finds, wall-painting and architecture. The result of the Menander excavation and publication was a glimpse into the existence, taste and spirit of the inhabitants of the past and was the subject of considerable praise within the Foreign Archaeological community in Rome - 'a model of book production'.³¹ The combination of a find of treasure and state funding for such a lavish publication created a new sense of importance to this archaeological find, it was the most lavish, the best published, and the most recently excavated domestic space from antiquity. A new archetype had been created.

The House of the Menander was a space, which was covered with a new roof to preserve the finds and frescoes (Figure 2). These were remarkable: an atrium with a preserved Lararium, stairs leading to upper-floors, numerous frescoes featuring the mythology of antiquity, as well as private baths, a library and slave quarters. The effect of the restoration of the roofed space was to create a destination in the ruins to rival that of the House of the Vettii. The restored spaces of the planted peristyle created a vision of space similar to the stripped down public architecture of the State. It was in such spaces that Le Corbusier and other proponents of modernism pondered or even developed their use of columns and light.³² As a house to visit, it surpassed the House of the Faun, because it was roofed, and it surpassed the House of the Vettii through its size and structure of space. It was quite simply, the place in which to imagine or experience the internal space of Roman domestic architecture. For the Director of the American Academy, 'This house, in plan, structure, and decoration, exhibits all the characteristics of a noble Samnite residence, enlarged and adapted to the requirements of an equally aristocratic mode of life in the Roman period'.³³ The Menander was to eclipse the importance of all others. It was utilised as the model for the structure of space found in the atrium of the *Casa Augustea* in the *Mostra Augustea della Romanita* held in Rome in 1937-8. The reconstructed house was a composite of the decoration of the house of Livia on the Palatine in Rome and the by

³⁰ The publication date for the second series of the volume, 500 copies in Italian and 500 copies in English, by the Istituto Poligrafico/Libreria dello Stato took place on 21 April 1931 to coincide with the birth of Rome – Maiuri 1931a.

³¹ Van Buren 1933: 506-7.

³² Le Corbusier 1946: 169-72; Goalen 1995 for discussion of modernism and the excavations from Pompeii.

³³ Van Buren 1931: 351; compare Ling 1997: 1-3 on thefts and need for his re-study and publication on the same set of data.

now familiar atrium from the House of the Menander with its Lararium for the household gods.³⁴ The House of the Menander became the Augustan House *par excellence*, a structure at the apogee of ancient style and architectural perfection.³⁵ It was in the triclinium of this house that Mussolini entertained the German Minister of Education Bernard Rust in 1940.³⁶

The centrality of the excavation of the House of the Menander can be explained in part by the find of silver treasure that could produce myths of its discovery to be consumed by visitors and commentators. The story goes that Maiuri was about to go home from the excavations, when he heard the cries of a ten-year-old boy who had crept into the cistern and had discovered an iron box.³⁷ The boy recalled to the Professor what he had seen, the hole through which he had climbed was expanded and Maiuri entered to view the find. The story is at odds with the published report of the find via careful archaeological excavation,³⁸ but the production of the story and its credibility that caused it to appear in print demonstrates the prominence of the discovery in the romantic imagination of visitors to the site. At the time of discovery, the find was newsworthy and noted.³⁹ Half of the publication of the House of the Menander is given over to the treasure. It was a unique find and later excavations sought but failed to discover new novelties to rival it: the the inscription ‘ubi fulgur conditum’ in a garden or the Laksmi statuette being examples of new novelties.⁴⁰

Architecture and Interpretation

Maiuri’s mission to explain Pompeii to a wider public, whether in his monographs or in his guidebooks rested on a belief in change in the final period of the city and was supported by the findings of the new excavations. That change was based around a belief in the development of a class of merchants and industrialists, which accounted for the twin parallel forces of urban adaptation: demography and economics whether in antiquity or in the present.⁴¹ The process was seen at its clearest in the Fullery of Stephanus in Via dell’Abbondanza, where he could see an atrium house re-used as a fullery on a grand scale.⁴² The explanation was founded on the idea of an upper-class retreat from the city to the suburbs, as the population increased and the city took on an industrial or mercantile character with a predominance of Campanian freedmen, Greeks and Asian migrants in the imperial period.⁴³ Maiuri’s thesis depends on contemporary theories of urban growth set alongside a reading of Juvenal’s third satire. These were articulated within the cultural ideals of *strapaese* and *stracittà*, by which the traditions of Italy (Catholicism, ruralism, classicism, realism, hierarchy, and authority) were threatened by industrialisation and urban growth.⁴⁴ Maiuri’s explanation of the process seeks to explain the nature of the ruins seen by the tourist:

³⁴ A.A.V.V. 1938.

³⁵ Maiuri 1929b: 64.

³⁶ Leppmann 1968: 171.

³⁷ Corti 1951: 204-5, originally published in German in 1940.

³⁸ Painter 2002: 3 and Maiuri 1933a: 245-33.

³⁹ Van Buren 1931: 351.

⁴⁰ Van Buren 1939: 518.

⁴¹ Maiuri 1932b: 61.

⁴² Maiuri 1932b: 63; 1942: 173.

⁴³ Maiuri 1932b: 14.

⁴⁴ Thompson 1991: 119-20.

Trade creates urbanism, and urbanism leads to overcrowding. In a wall-girdled city having an excess population, houses like the Fauno, Pansa, and Nozze d'Argento were altogether unsuitable, since they took up too much ground space. This state of things slowly led to a transformation of the old patrician houses into smaller dwellings with shops springing up where possible, and to compensate for the loss of space, upper stories were added... And where a burgess or merchant had amassed a certain wealth and needed a larger house, he no longer thought of building a magnificent mansion for himself, but, instead, brought several neighbouring houses and made such alterations as were required to make them into one house.⁴⁵

It answers the tourist's curiosity over the number of entrances and the knocked together nature of urban form in the houses and insulae that did not conform to the new public architecture of the 1920s and 1930s, or even that of the Neo-classicism of the Risorgimento.⁴⁶ The argument experimented with in publications for the tourist market was to be developed ten years later in *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei* for an academic audience.⁴⁷ His largest projects of the 1920s and 1930s provided the examples from which the ideas were derived the Casa del Menandro exemplified the upper-class house maintained within the city;⁴⁸ whereas the Villa of the Mysteries provided a categorical example of an upper-class residence that had suffered from a transformation of its décor after the earthquake of A.D. 62/3.⁴⁹ The worst excesses of this transformation were to be found in the house of the Vettii:

In its extravagant and pompous colouring, represents the happiness and prosperity of the trading classes who, after having succeeded in acquiring lordly mansions, altered them to suit their own taste. This taste led them to prefer scenic effect rather than what was refined and lasting, and whatever they did was more for show than for personal comfort and enjoyment.⁵⁰

However, the change in demography and class structure could be found in the Villa of the Mysteries: on the one hand an upper-class residence with beautiful frescoes and on the other an agricultural business.⁵¹ The two visions of the Pompeian past sat uneasily next to each other and needed further explanation. The problem in terms of tourism in the 1930s was one of presentation: was Pompeii a place of the upper-classes with refined taste or was it a place of manufacture and urban development? Elsewhere in the city, in Region VII, the projecting balconies and brothels confirmed the area behind the Forum as a 'neighbourhood of poverty' comprised of mezzanines of small apartments and one-room flats.⁵² These were, for Maiuri, a result of a change in the demographic make up and the emphasis on commercialism and

⁴⁵ Maiuri 1929b: 64-6. This view engages with the international debate over the city and urban growth that produced in Italy the new towns of Sabaudia and Littoria in the now drained Pomptine marshes and in post-war Britain those of Stevenage, Bracknell, Milton Keynes to name but a few. On the relationship of urban growth and the classical city, see Laurence 1997.

⁴⁶ See Laurence 1999 figures 10.1-10.3.

⁴⁷ See especially Maiuri 1942: 209-18; see critique by Wallace-Hadrill 1991: 250-1; see Van Buren 1942: 436-7 for a contemporary reaction.

⁴⁸ Maiuri 1932b: 65.

⁴⁹ Maiuri 1932: 78-9.

⁵⁰ Maiuri 1929b: 69-70; compare 1942: 105-12. Given his views on taste, it is not surprising that he condemns the tour companies for taking tourist groups to the one house that epitomised the very worst taste on the site, and ignored the beauty of the other houses including that of the Menander.

⁵¹ Maiuri 1932b: 83

industrialism led to the growth of a vertical city in the final phase of Pompeii that coincided with similar developments in the modern world.⁵³ The relationship of a social class to the overall change in taste was a feature of his later work and was further developed after 1946 with the publication of revised guidebooks to Pompeii and his excavations at Herculaneum.⁵⁴ The new excavations, ironically, revealed a tableau of Juvenal's third satire for the Maiuri and his audience of tourists into which could be inserted: Caecilius Jucundus, the fullers guild with the misplaced association with the Eumachia building, bakeries, and bars.⁵⁵ A vision of Pompeii to contrast to that of the nobility of the House of the Menander that tourists continue to encounter in guidebooks and in guided tours of the site today. The vision of the Roman past is ambiguous and open to the tourist's interpretation.

Reasserting *Romanità*: the *Grande Palaestra*

Mussolini's new government had been based around a group of young men in the 1920s and the role of youth was the foundation for the future of Italy.⁵⁶ Mussolini had as early as 1921 described fascism as not a *chiesa* but a *palaestra* or training ground in which ideas could be developed in contrast to a series of rigid doctrines.⁵⁷ The *palaestra* as a place in which the youth of antiquity trained was to find its place in the new regime's education policies and youth organisations from the mid-1920s. Keying into this new emphasis on youth, Della Corte investigated the role of youth or *Iuventus* in the Roman Empire in his monograph published on the subject in 1924.⁵⁸ The emphasis was placed on the organisation or *collegia* of *Iuventus* across the Empire, and physical and military training for the legions of antiquity. The similarity between the ancient institution and the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* founded in 1926 for school children and the *Fasci Giovanili di Combattimento* founded in 1931 for young persons between eighteen and twenty-one is uncanny.⁵⁹ Pamphlets highlight the similarities and the intention to train the young for the military.⁶⁰ These two organisations were replaced in 1937 by the *Gioventù italiana del Littorio*, whose membership reached eight million in the late 1930s.⁶¹ Activities featured physical education, parades in uniform on Saturdays (often avoided), and cultural visits. Della Corte had searched the site of Pompeii for locations of *Iuventus*. These were found in the Palaestrae of the Theatres and the Schola at Regio III, Insula 3.6, which was interpreted as a centre of the *collegium Iuventutis*. The internal decoration was of a

⁵² Maiuri 1929b: 78-9. The gradual decay and decline of the excavated remains in Region VII might be explained with reference to this interpretation. The brothel and a number of bakeries are the only structures that can be viewed in this important region of the excavated site.

⁵³ Maiuri 1929: 81-6.

⁵⁴ Wallace-Hadrill 1991: 251-57.

⁵⁵ Maiuri 1929: 81-104 for the fullest account, see Jongman 1988 for a correction to this viewpoint.

⁵⁶ Whittam 1995: 64-72; Betti 1984 and Koon 1985 for full treatments of the subject.

⁵⁷ Mussolini 1929: 242-3 reprints his 1921 article in a selection of works compiled and annotated for *La Gioventù*.

⁵⁸ Della Corte 1924.

⁵⁹ Raspa 1937: 19-22 includes the elements of Della Corte 1924 on Rome in his pamphlet *Edicazione Balillistica*. Age divisions were Pre-Balilla 0-6 year olds; *Figli della lupa* 6-8 year olds; *Balilla Escursionisti* 8-12 *Balilla Moschettieri* 12-14 year old boys; *Avanguardisti* 14-16 year old boys; *Avanguardisti Moschettieri* 16-18 year olds and *Giovani Fascisti* 18-21 year olds, see Tannenbaum 1972: 121.

⁶⁰ Raspa 1937: 64 and graduation or the *Leva Fascista* was seen as equivalent to the assumption of the *toga virilis* in antiquity with the youths of the 1920s receiving a rifle - see Anonymous 1928: 101-2.

⁶¹ Whittam 1995: 65, membership became compulsory, and formed a training for membership of the Fascist Party at the age of twenty-one, a condition for employment.

militaristic character. Maiuri's 1932 guidebook followed the findings of Della Corte.⁶² This envisaged a headquarters here and the youths exercising and bathing in the Praedia Julia Felix. Later, Maiuri revised his guidebook after the war to exclude the link between a *Collegium Iuventutis* and the *Schola* at Region III Insula 2.1.⁶³ What is clear from the work of Della Corte and Maiuri was a search for *Iuventus* on the site that engaged with current ideologies.

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 of *romanità* in the later 1930s.⁶⁴ The opportunity to develop Della Corte's thesis of *Iuventus* at Pompeii arose with the excavation of the *Grande Palaestra* next to the amphitheatre in Region II. Van Buren reported in 1939 that 'the excavation of a huge public *palaestra* and its vicinity have formed the chief scene of interest; the great colonnade has been partially reconstructed, and this zone of excavation has been extended as far as the houses that front upon the south side of Via dell'Abbondanza'.⁶⁵ The excavations and their interpretation in this way created a spatial structure for Pompeii that was similar to that of the new architecture of sport and youth found in so many cities of Italy with the sports stadia and training facilities located at a distance from the historic centre.⁶⁶ The *Grande Palaestra* was interpreted by Maiuri as an early version of the exercise spaces of the imperial *Thermae* in Rome, and was regarded as a distinctly Roman structure, in contrast to the smaller Greek *palaestrae* across the city.⁶⁷ The new excavations coincided with the celebration of the bimillennium of the birth of Augustus in Rome, and the 200th anniversary of the first excavations at Herculaneum was celebrated in October 1938. Pompeii was a local destination for youth organisations both those of Campania and of others at their Summer camps at the seaside. What they saw in Pompeii was the excavated *romanità* of their own age-group and the organisation that had transported them to the excavations. The spatial organisation of *Iuventus* in Pompeii associated with the excavated amphitheatre and the *Grande Palaestra* followed the structure familiar to thousands of children who were aware of or had attended parades, rallies and the Fascist academies in the recently constructed Foro Mussolini at Rome.⁶⁸ The excavations in Region II re-invented Pompeii as a place in which the new generation of *gioventù fascista* could locate *romanità* of the Augustan era stripped of the ambiguity of the visions of the earlier city with its Greek *palaestrae*, and the later Neronian and Flavian city dominated by merchants and over-crowding. All were relative to the *Vita Nova* glimpsed in the new station, Pompei-Villa dei Misteri, and the electric railway or on the autostrada that transported them back to their present and an expected future of taking part in the performances of youth and fascism in Foro Mussolini founded upon that tradition of *romanità* glimpsed in the Grande Palaestra of Pompeii.

⁶² Maiuri 1932b: 71.

⁶³ Maiuri 1944: 75 completed in 1944 renamed ten years later as the *Schola Armaturarum* Maiuri 1954.

⁶⁴ This ambiguity was also present in the 1926 remake of the film *Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei*, for discussion see Wyke 1997: 165-71. It contrasts with the clearer visions of *romanità* with respect to archaeology at Rimini (Laurence 1999) and Rome (Bondanella 1987: 172-206),

⁶⁵ Van Buren 1939: 518.

⁶⁶ Examples include Rimini (Laurence 1999), Rome with its Foro Mussolini (since 1943 Foro Italico; Caporilli and Simeoni 1990, as well as A.A.V.V. 1990) and other towns such as Spello, where the sport facilities were located next to the ancient amphitheatre.

⁶⁷ Raspa 1937: 20 differentiates Greek aesthetic exercises from those of Rome associated with military training.

⁶⁸ Raspa 1937 for role of Foro Mussolini in the education of the young.

From the Past into the Present

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. His later excavations in the 1950s added or concluded what had been begun earlier. The result is still felt today by those who visit the site as individuals, are guided in groups, or are actually doing the guiding.⁶⁹ It is almost impossible to cover all the attractions and get a sense of the whole site within the ambit of a single day, yet this is what the tourist industry and tourists expect to occur. Most tourists find the excavated city far bigger than they expected and the images presented fail to conform to the pre-conceived images of antiquity derived from knowledge of the Roman Empire. The ambitious programme of excavation undertaken by Maiuri produced a vision of antiquity that is contradictory to that produced elsewhere, which had to be translated into the model of diachronic change to produce the rise of the mercantile interests at the expense of the aristocracy. The very detail available from the site prevented the schematic glosses, which was possible with the excavation and presentation of Ostia Antica as the port city of Rome. Like the film *L'ultimi giorni di Pompei* of 1926, the excavations of Maiuri produced a contradictory picture of antiquity that did not always place an emphasis on the state's vision or articulation of *romanità*. Yet, the interpretation of the site and presentation to tourists was dominated by a sense of the Augustan Age as the apogee of Roman culture and could provide a confirmation of the dangers to the state in the modern era with reference to aesthetic and cultural decline in the *L'ultima fase* or *L'ultimi giorni* of Pompeii in the Neronian and Flavian eras. The very detail of the evidence could at any turn negate the ideology of *romanità* and required interpretation via the guidebook or the guide explaining the evidence. The fact that the guidebooks were re-issued, after the fall of fascism (even if with revisions), perpetuated a version of the site encoded with meaning in the late 1920s and early 1930s. It has been often said that history is re-written by every new generation of historians, but we might add that some generations re-write history to a degree whereby the next generations continue to sub-consciously articulate the evidence within the model of that previous generation.⁷⁰ Today, the interpretations of Maiuri have been discussed and debated in academic archaeology, but their presence can reassert itself in school textbooks,⁷¹ and in the interpretation of the site in guidebooks and souvenir brochures.⁷² 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 and *romanità*. With well over 2 million visitors visiting the site each year, today, the marketing of Pompeii has proven successful and takes these visitors through a heritage site that still bears all the marks of the man behind its success – Amedeo Maiuri.

⁶⁹ I would like to thank Annabel Lawson and Denise Allen at *Andante Travels* for the opportunity of guiding groups of tourists and development of itineraries to Pompeii and other destinations in Italy during the 1990s. This experience, particularly the challenge of how to view and explain the excavations in Pompeii to up to twenty-five people within the time-frame of a single day, was invaluable for the development of an understanding of the tourist dynamic that lies at the heart of this paper.

⁷⁰ There is an uncanny resemblance between Moeller 1976 interpretation of *collegia* in Pompeii and the role of fascist *Associazioni* and syndicates.

⁷¹ A recent manuscript for a school textbook maintained the connection of the Eumachia building as the headquarters of the fullers *collegium*.

⁷² A feature of a number of recent TV documentaries/docu-dramas.

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