and measures of action, and, by their very constitution, they were often divorced from, if not opposed to, the wider public, the whole people, whom it was the object to move. Such an international movement, I felt convinced, could only be set on foot by one individual, deeply inspired with the conviction of the absolute rightness, the absolute necessity, of excavating Herculaneum by means of the co-operation of the whole world: possessed of adequate knowledge of the subject itself, an average of tact, an ordinary power of persuasion, but an uncommon readiness of self-effacement when once the work was fairly organised; ready at all times to recede to the background and leave the work in the hands of those fitted to do it; and, above all, an extraordinary enthusiasm for the cause itself. Such a man, devoting his whole time and energies to the task, it seemed to me, must ultimately succeed, because the object was true and good in all its aspects.

For years past I had often expressed these views to my friends, only regretting that my numerous duties and occupations prevented me from taking up the mission to preach this peaceful crusade in the sphere of science and art and universal culture. I would not give up the hope that some day, circumstances being favourable, I might be able to devote myself to the consummation of this end devoutly to be wished.

It was in the autumn of 1903 that my friend, Mr. Leonard Shoobridge (formerly of Balliol College, Oxford), who himself had always been convinced of the necessity of excavating Herculaneum, urged upon me that I should actively undertake to carry out my plan. Knowing the conditions of my life and duties, he assured me that he would assist me in every way, take the burden of much of the work off my shoulders, and see that under my direction my ideas were carried out. His own advocacy of my plan, and the assurance that, with proper help, I could carry it into execution, were so con-

vincing, that I decided to devote all my spare time to this cause. So it was agreed that we should begin operations during the Easter holidays of 1904.

But we also agreed that, to carry our design through the initial stages, in which, before all things, the authorisation, nay, the active support, of the Italian authorities were to be obtained, we should have to keep our plan from the public until this authority was secured, and that we should only initiate those whose active help was indispensable. The personal interest which H.M. King Edward had previously shown in my work encouraged me to acquaint him from the outset with the plan I had formed, and to invoke his sympathetic support.

On December 27, 1903, I wrote to His Majesty, giving him an outline of my plan, and praying for an audience in case he desired to hear further details. On December 28 I received a letter[1] from Lord Knollys expressing the interest which the King took in the scheme, yet pointing out that it was important that certain preliminary conditions should be fulfilled before the scheme could be further discussed—namely, (1) an estimate of the cost of the excavation, and (2) the consent of the Italian Government. The opinion of the King corresponded entirely with what my colleague and I felt, as to the urgency of settling the preliminary stages before the scheme could, wholly or in part, be made public, and any further active step in the propaganda could be taken which was to enlist the interest of the world. I may say at once here that at no stage were we ignorant of the great difficulty of securing the consent of the Italian authorities—being perfectly acquainted with the internal history of Italian archaeological affairs, the antagonisms existing between the sections and individuals representing that study, and the sensitiveness of the whole Italian people with regard to anything that might even remotely suggest foreign inter-

[1] Appendix I.

vention in their own affairs. Moreover, we anticipated the difficulties and dangers arising out of misunderstanding or misrepresentation, especially in the early phases, and therefore decided upon keeping our work as much to ourselves as was possible.

Having been provided with proper official recommendation from the Foreign Office for our Ambassador in Rome (Sir Francis Bertie), Mr. Shoobridge and I met in Florence in March 1904 and at once proceeded to Rome. Among those who were most helpful to the cause there I must single out my friend the late Marchese Vitelleschi, a senator, a man of highest culture and refinement and of lofty integrity of character, respected by all, even those who differed from him politically, whose word, moreover, carried weight with all sections of the community. To him we confided our scheme, and received from him criticism, advice, and support which were of the greatest use to us in this stage of our proceedings.

We arrived in Rome on April 4, and decided to lay the matter before the King of Italy in the first instance. Before doing this, however, we felt that our studies on ancient Herculaneum and the question of its excavation ought to be supplemented by further examination on the spot. We therefore started for Naples on April 12, and remained there till April 17. Here we received most active help in carrying on our inquiries from the British Consul-General, Mr. Neville Rolfe, for many years an ardent student of Campanian antiquities; from Professor Païs, at that time Director of the Museum and of the Pompeian excavations; and from Professor Mercalli as regarded the geology of Vesuvius and of Herculaneum. We made a careful study of the site and the remains, and came to the preliminary conclusion—of necessity a rough estimate—that Herculaneum could not be thoroughly excavated in the manner we thought desirable under an expenditure of £40,000 a year.

Through the intervention of the British Ambassador and

the support of Count Gianotti, the Master of the King's Household, I had an audience with the King on April 18. I laid our plan of an international excavation before His Majesty, who showed the keenest and most intelligent and sympathetic interest in the question, which he had evidently studied with thoroughness. His Majesty pointed out the difficulties in the way of its realisation, but manifested the greatest sympathy with such an effort. He knew that I was to bring the matter before the Prime Minister (Signor Giolitti) and the Minister of Public Instruction (Signor Orlando), promised to mention the matter to the Prime Minister, and advised me to lay definite questions—such as whether it would require a special Bill—before the Minister of Public Instruction. To my request whether he would authorise me to publish the fact that he was in favour of the scheme at this stage, he answered in the negative; for, as a constitutional monarch, he would only give his consent in case the responsible Ministers agreed. He promised himself to talk to the Prime Minister about it.

On April 19 I had a conference with the Prime Minister at the Palazzo Braschi. To him also I gave an account of our plan, with the outlines of which he seemed already acquainted. He said it would be difficult to introduce a Bill that session. I asked him whether he would authorise me to say that he was in favour of the scheme. He replied in the affirmative; but that it all depended upon the consent of his colleague, Signor Orlando. He gave me an open letter to the Minister of Public Instruction, warmly recommending myself and the scheme to his attention.

On April 21 I had a conference with Signor Orlando at the Ministry of Public Instruction (Minerva). He at once hailed the scheme with unqualified approval. He maintained that it needed no Bill, and that the work could begin soon. I told him that the great difficulty would be to interest the world sufficiently to raise the funds required; but that I

would start on my mission to the various centres as soon as my regular duties allowed of this, and would organise the different national committees. I told him that, though his word was a sufficient guarantee to enable me to begin my propaganda over the world, yet, in view of the fact that governments change, and that without some written authorisation from the Italian Government doubts might arise whilst I addressed myself to foreign bodies, and my work thus be impeded, I ought to have, if possible, some assurance in writing that the international scheme had his official support. This he promised to send me at once. It arrived next day, and it is included in the Appendix.[1] He agreed to the publication in the press of this first authorisation, but thought it would be better to publish it abroad in the first instance, as difficulties, misrepresentations, and unnecessary opposition might arise if it were first made known in one or the other Italian newspapers. Accordingly, the first short notice of the authorisation was given through the Roman correspondent of the *Times* in the issue of April 23.[2]

Meanwhile my colleague, Mr. Shoobridge, began his work on the complete elaboration of the literature as well as the monuments in Italy (collecting illustrations of the latter) pertaining to Herculaneum. Unfortunately for myself and the whole enterprise, he was taken seriously ill shortly after I left, and had himself to leave Italy unable to return for a long time, so that I was deprived of his active help on the spot. Especially when later complications arose, his presence in Italy would have been invaluable had he been able to clear matters there. It has only been within the last year that I have again enjoyed his valuable co-operation.

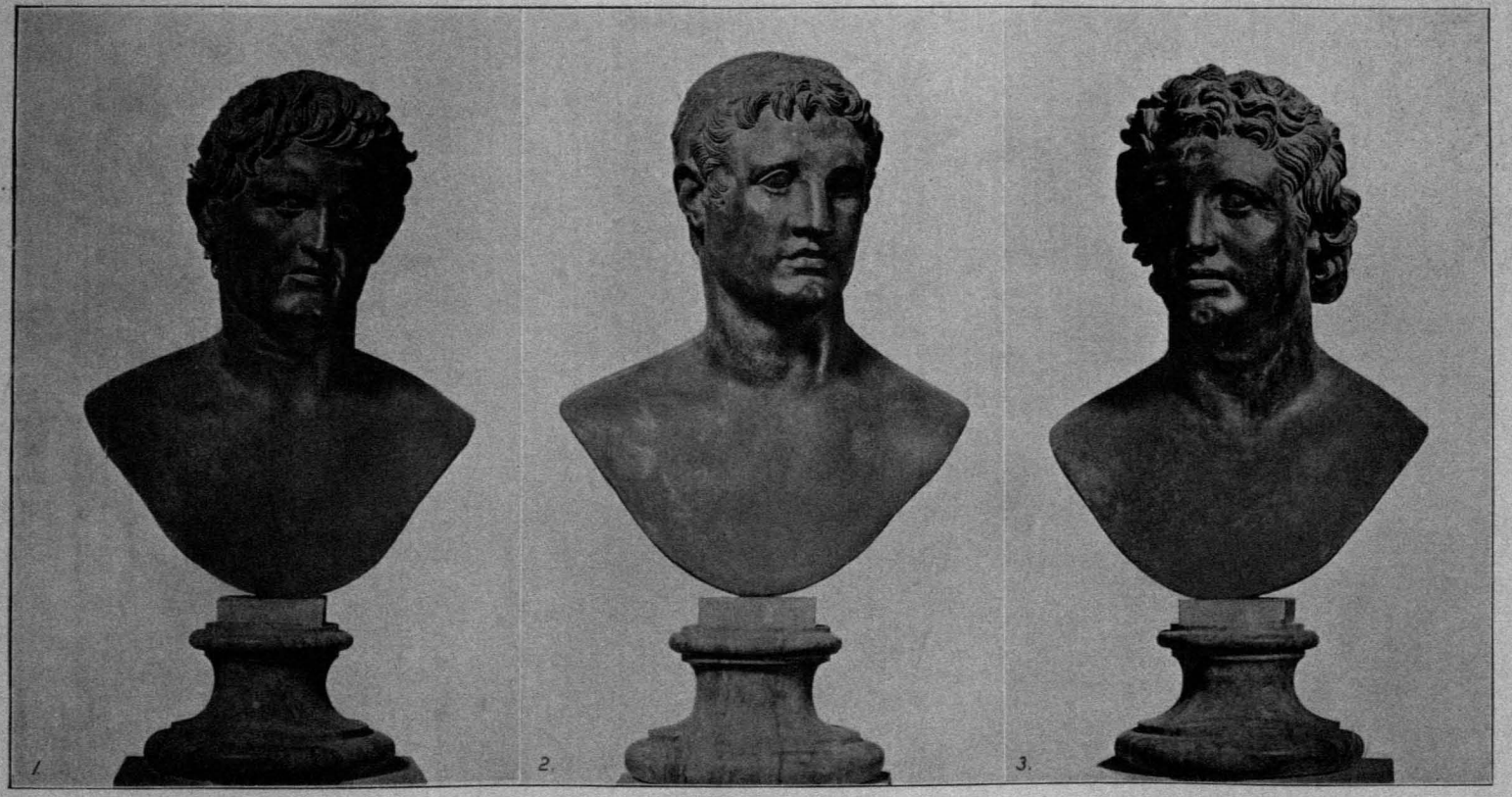
I now felt free to begin the *iniziativa mondiale*, of the *grandezza e difficoltà* of which I was well aware. The first step to take was manifestly to organise the several committees in each country, so that the matter should no longer be in

[1] Appendix I. [2] Appendix I.

the hands of individuals, but should be raised to an impersonal level, and that interest should be aroused all over the world and funds collected. I had reported the successful result of my Italian visit to the King (of England), and had received his congratulations in reply.[1] But there was considerable difficulty in first starting the English committee, it being felt that a certain assurance of adequate financial support would be necessary before that body could be formed. I thus had to face a "vicious circle" from which it was not easy to escape. Promises of considerable support had already been made to me by private friends (*e.g.* my first offer was from Mr. Henry Phipps, who promised £500); but not only was I loth to have any direct concern personally in the control or even the collection of the funds, but also I felt that, as soon as possible, the whole undertaking ought to be dissociated from ourselves and put in the hands of wider official bodies. Thus the funds could not well be raised until the committees were formed, and the committees—at least as concerned England—could not well be started until there was some guarantee of financial support. It seemed clear that the United States—where more than in any other country a tradition exists among the possessors of great wealth to give active support to educational and scientific enterprises—was the centre whence such guarantee of financial support would be most readily forthcoming. A letter received from my friend, the late Mr. John Hay,[2] moreover, assured me that President Roosevelt would prospectively consent to take the moral leadership in that country; while my friends informed me of good prospects of help among the prominent individuals who were able to assist. But my academic duties and other pressing work kept me tied to England, and there was no chance of undertaking a journey to the United States till the Christmas holidays. I therefore turned to Germany and France.

It was not till the end of June, when my academic work

[1] Appendix I. [2] Appendix I.



THREE LIFE-SIZE BRONZE BUSTS. PLATE 8.

? A Ptolemy, ? Ptolemy Philadelphus, ? Seleucus Nicator.

was over, that I was able to go to France. M. Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, and my friend and former colleague, M. Homolle, had smoothed the way, the former having written to the Minister of Public Instruction, M. Chaumié, while the latter had prepared my archaeological colleagues in Paris to give a favourable reception to the scheme. I arrived in Paris on June 30. At a meeting of the Institute on the following day I had the pleasure of meeting, and of receiving the grateful and enthusiastic support of, the veteran scholar, Gaston Boissier; while at a luncheon given by M. Homolle, at which Messieurs Perrot, Heuzey, the Duc de Loubat, and Messieurs Collignon, Bayet, and Pottier were present, I was invited to lay my whole scheme before my colleagues, who each and all gave their unqualified support. In the evening, at a dinner at M. Georges Perrot's, the same approval was confirmed by other colleagues. At the same time, through the friendly and efficient intervention of my friend, Sir Edmund Monson, H.M. Ambassador to France, with unusually short notice, President Loubet received me at the Elysée, and consented to become the honorary president of the French committee, which all my friends promised to organise speedily as soon as the moment arrived and the word was given. Through the intervention of M. Bayet (Directeur de l'Instruction Supérieure at the Ministry) a meeting was arranged with the Minister, M. Chaumié, who, after taking full cognisance of the scheme, promised his official support, which he subsequently confirmed in writing in a letter of July 22.[1] My supporters in France agreed that the committee should be formed on the broad and representative lines which I have given above; while the official adhesion promised that any experts whom the Italian authorities or the International Committee should ask to join the international staff would be sent. The advantage to the advanced students who might be utilised was also recognised.

On my return to England I wrote to Signor Orlando (incidentally congratulating him on the speech which he had made at the inauguration of the statue of Giordano Bruno), informing him of the success of this first step and of my future movements. My plan was to leave at once for Germany, then to proceed to Austria, and I asked Signor Orlando whether I could meet him in the north of Italy to discuss further details of the plan. I received no answer to my letter.

Arrangements were now being made for laying my plans before the Chancellor, Prince Bülow, and the Emperor of Germany. My friends, the German Ambassador in London (Count Paul Metternich) and Count Seckendorff, took the active steps necessary. But it was not till August 5 that I could travel to Norderney, where for four days I was able, while receiving most cordial hospitality, to lay the whole matter before the Imperial Chancellor. He entered most sympathetically into the whole plan, which appealed not only to his cultured nature, but also to wider and more ultimate political ideals, and promised his full support, suggesting provisionally the names of prominent and representative men to form the German committee. He also promised to bring the matter to the cognisance of the Emperor and to secure an audience for me. How well he kept his promise and how fully he grasped the spirit of the scheme is shown by the letter of August 13, 1904, published in the Appendix.[1] There were, however, some inevitable delays before I could be received in audience by the Emperor. This took place at the *Parade-Diner* in the Schloss of Berlin on September 2. His Majesty had already been informed of the essential features of my plan through the Chancellor. He asked further pertinent questions, showing deep insight and interest, and ended by consenting to become honorary president of the German committee and to arrange that one of the

[1] Appendix I.

Princes should take the active presidency. This support on the part of the leading German authorities was confirmed by a letter from Prince Bülow of September 13.[1]

It was now too late to continue my journey to Austria and Italy, as I was called back to England. Moreover, through the kindness of the Austrian Ambassador in London, Count Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly, preliminary steps had been taken for the formation of a powerful and representative committee in Austria and Hungary.[2] It was my intention to prepare the ground for other committees through the diplomatic representatives in London, several of whom already took an active interest in the scheme. But the most important field of operation remained the United States, especially as successful results in that country would facilitate the effective formation of a committee in England. The establishment of each strong committee in one country would favour the work in the other. This was also felt by the King, who recognised the good influence which the support of the German Emperor would have on my proposed propaganda in the United States.[3] But my academic duties kept me at work in England till the beginning of December.

Before going to the United States, where the widest publicity would have to be given to the scheme, I felt that the time had come for a fuller publication of the plan than had hitherto been admitted. I decided to initiate this phase by means of a lecture, for the delivery of which the President and Council of the Royal Academy of Arts offered me hospitality in Burlington House. Under their auspices it was arranged that I should deliver a lecture on December 13, and thus publish my plan, give an account of what had already been achieved, and point out what remained to be done. In the name of the Royal Academy a distinguished audience was invited, including the representatives of the foreign countries, among whom were the Italian Ambassador and the Secretaries

[1] See Appendix I. [2] Appendix I. [3] See Appendix I.

of the Embassy. A wider publicity was to be given by the press.

Here begins a chapter of accidents, apparently unavoidable in all important movements, insignificant in themselves, yet often fraught with grave consequences. The Italian Ambassador, Signor Panza, who throughout proved himself a most generous supporter of the scheme, when consulted as to how the presence of the representatives of the Italian press could be secured, had kindly offered to distribute the invitations among them. They were sent by him to the correspondent of one of the chief papers for distribution among his colleagues. Unfortunately, that gentleman having changed his address, the invitations did not reach the correspondents till after the lecture had been delivered, and they were thus dependent for their information upon the shortened reports in the London papers. The real misfortune ensuing from this accident was, that whereas I had taken especial pains in the beginning of my lecture to emphasise all that I could with truth and sincerity say in praise of my Italian colleagues and the national work in Italy, all that was rightly calculated to conciliate the just *amour propre* of Italy, these important passages, giving a tone to my whole discourse, were omitted in the English and hence also in the Italian reports.

The lecture was delivered on December 13, and was well reported in the London papers the next day.[1] On the 14th I sailed from Liverpool for the United States. Here my friends, the Hon. John Hay in Washington, Mr. Whittridge and Mrs. Cooper Hewitt in New York, and Mr. S. D. Warren in Boston, had made the necessary preparations. Christmas intervening, I could not give the lecture, which was delivered under the auspices of the American Institute of Archaeology, until December 27, at the house of Mrs. Wadsworth in Washington. The question of an American committee was discussed by competent advisers after the lecture. As it is

[1] Appendix I., *Times'* Report.

against custom for the President to attend any function in a private house in Washington, I repeated my lecture at the White House the next evening (December 28). President Roosevelt cordially consented to become honorary president of the American committee. The next important meeting was to take place in New York, where arrangements had been made that my lecture should be given to an audience representing those chiefly interested in the subject, as well as those most favourably situated to give material support to the scheme, at the house of Mr. Pierpont Morgan on January 3. This lecture, and the conference with those in a position to forward the movement most effectively at this stage, formed the crucial point in the work during the first phase: it was the *moment psychologique* of the movement.

Then, two days before the lecture was to be delivered in the house of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, an evening paper in New York published a telegram from Rome denying that I had any authority to act in the matter, and maintaining that the Italian Government was opposed to the scheme. Up to that moment I had felt so absolutely confident and at rest concerning the Italian authorisation, that I was convinced the Roman telegram was based on a misunderstanding of the Roman correspondent. My communications with the newspaper in question, and with others publishing similar accounts the next morning, however, proved that here was not merely a slip on the part of one correspondent. I at once cabled to Signor Orlando, demanding that, before January 3 (the day of my lecture), he should publish the true facts of the matter, so that I might not stand before the world as an impostor. To this I received the following cablegram on January 2: "Provederò con istruzioni nostro rappresentante perchè sia chiarità situazione fatti [fatta].—ORLANDO." I was thus referred to the Italian Ambassador at Washington for an explanation, with the materials for which Signor Orlando had supplied the Ambassador. In answer to my telegram to the latter I received

the following explanation on January 3, the morning of the day on which I was to lecture: "Italian Government notifies that no concrete plan was presented to it about Herculaneum excavation, that consequently it did not pledge itself, and that it preserves its complete liberty of action. Please take note of this declaration.—ITALIAN AMBASSADOR." The spirit and contents of this despatch were essentially altered by subsequent telegrams and letters.[1] As a matter of fact, the cipher despatch received by the Ambassador from Rome was not quite intelligible to him. In his letter of January 6, his own opinion was, that a misunderstanding had arisen in Italy owing to the erroneous newspaper telegrams published by the European press, announcing that President Roosevelt had been designated by me as president of the International Committee; whereas, in my plan as communicated to the Italian Government, this leading position was to be reserved for the King of Italy. His letter ended with the expression of his personal belief that "the whole incident only resulted from a misunderstanding provoked by erroneous notices in the newspapers, and that I would succeed in clearing the whole matter on my return to England."

Meanwhile, however, I had to face my audience in New York—an audience from which I had reason to hope that in its hands at this critical juncture lay the success of the whole enterprise—with the disheartening information contained in the first despatch of the Italian Ambassador at Washington before me. I was thus forced, while mentioning the newspaper reports and the despatch, to begin my address by explaining the situation and by communicating to the audience my credentials to act in the matter. In spite of the weakening effect which such a declaration at the outset must needs have had when facing the arduous task of arousing enthusiasm for an ideal cause, so that those able to do so should make material sacrifice for a purely spiritual gain to be derived from

[1] Appendix I.

work in a distant hemisphere,—in spite of this unfortunate accident, I was assured, and had undoubted evidence, that most of those who were present were intensely moved in sympathy with the great international enterprise. Then and at no other time did I personally ask for contributions. I had from the outset decided that I could have nothing to do with the financial side of the project. The committees with their appropriate officials were to be responsible for this department, and on these committees, as well as on the International Committee, the strictest regard to business-like principles and procedure in the trusteeship of the funds was to be safeguarded. But I was satisfied that, when once the American committee and its officials were organised, the financial support of the scheme, so far as the United States was concerned, was assured.

The next day I travelled to Boston, and lectured there to a similarly selected audience at the house of Mr. Montgomery Sears on January 5. Here too the same enthusiasm was aroused, and preliminary arrangements were made for the formation of a committee. I returned to New York the next day, where, for the next five days, my time was amply filled with personal visits to those who could materially further the scheme and in consultations with those friends who undertook to organise the committees, as well as in correspondence and in the writing of an article on the question, which subsequently (April 1905) appeared in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*. The plan adopted was, that there should be one American committee, with the President as honorary president, and local committees in the important centres of the East and West, the North and the South. But the actual inception of their organisation and activity should be deferred until, on my return to Europe, I could clear up the misunderstanding arising out of the erroneous newspaper reports. In the United States the press had warmly taken up the propaganda, and had done its share to arouse

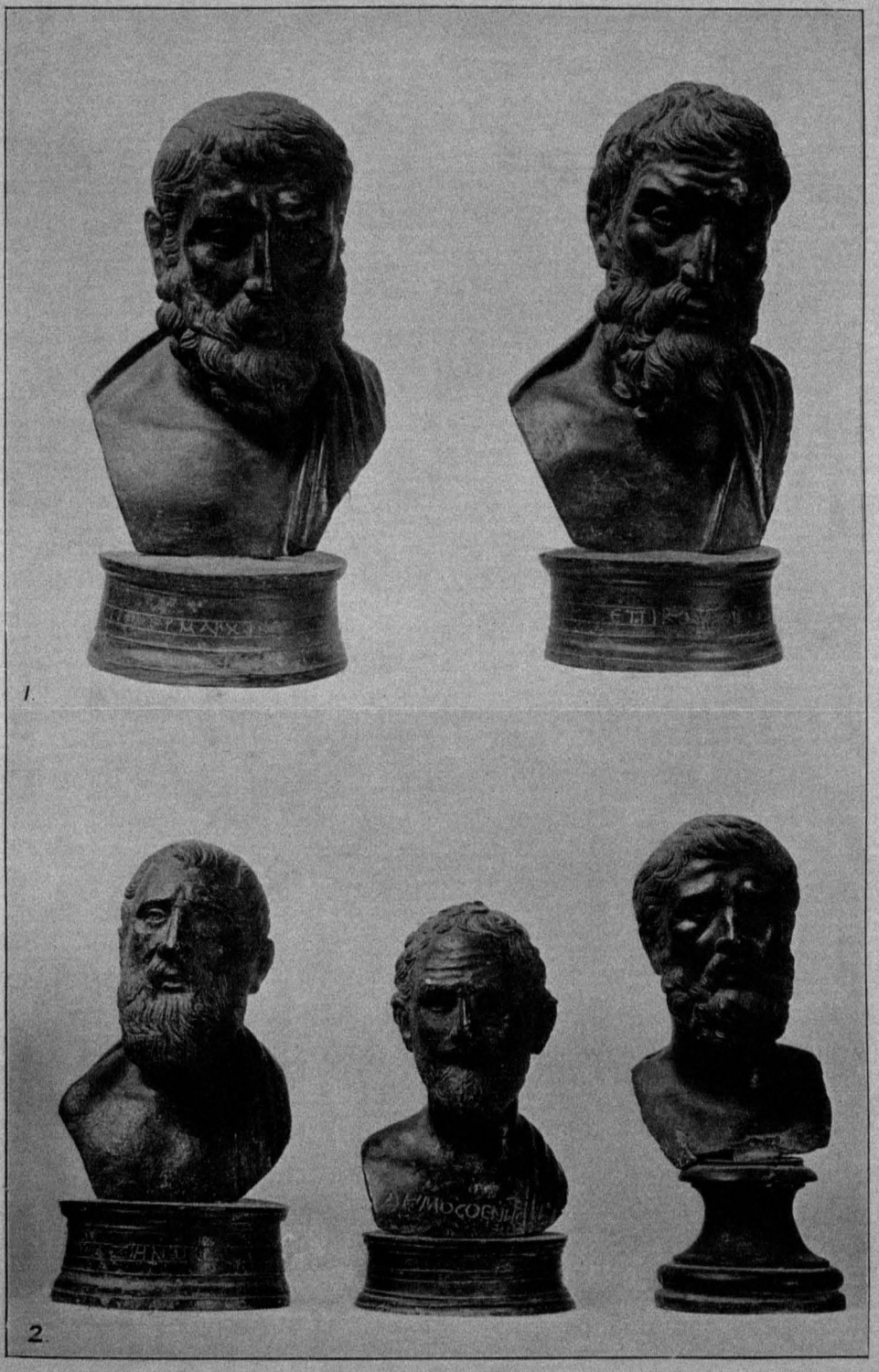
interest in the enterprise throughout the length and breadth of the country.

As I was due in residence at Cambridge on January 20, I sailed from New York on January 11. On my arrival at Queenstown I received a large packet of correspondence and newspapers from England and Italy, showing, to my great distress, that misunderstandings and misstatements of an invidious nature, distinctly antagonistic to the scheme, had been circulating freely throughout the press during my absence. Some of the Italian papers even referred to the American Society of Waldstein and Co. as if it were a commercial enterprise to carry off, and profit by, the discoveries made at Herculaneum. Even in the London *Times* the invidious personal attitude made itself manifest in letters of January 7 and 10, 1905, in which complaint was made that the Royal Academy and not some other learned body had taken the matter under its wing, and that some individual archaeological colleagues had not been associated with the movement. To this Sir Edward Poynter had aptly replied.[1]

On arriving in London on January 18, I at once called on the Italian Ambassador, who explained the situation to me, read me a despatch from Signor Orlando (which in no way sounded unpromising), and reassured me in expressing his belief that, if I would draw up in writing an account of what I had been doing, and proposed to do in the future, he would forward it to Rome. He expressed his opinion that all would be readily cleared up, and even suggested that the present misunderstandings, through the wide publicity which they had given to the scheme, had stimulated the sluggish interest of the general public and would ultimately be helpful in furthering the project.

The same day I wrote out the account he desired and forwarded it to him, while I also wrote a letter to the *Times* calculated to remove all misunderstandings and to appease the

[1] Appendix I.



FIVE SMALLER BRONZE BUSTS OF PHILOSOPHERS. PLATE 9.

Among them Hermarchus, Epicurus, Demosthenes, and Zeno.

turbulent and antagonistic spirits in Italy and elsewhere.[1] I also communicated with the correspondent of the *Tribuna* of Rome in order to make the truth known in Italy. Then ensued during the following months a continuous journalistic warfare, of which some of my letters published in Italy and in England given in the Appendix will convey an idea.[2] Every attempt was made on my part, while practising self-repression and moderation, to secure the victory of truth and to put before the Italian people and the world what had actually happened and what was the real nature of the scheme of future international excavation.

Had Signor Orlando at the very outset simply made a statement of the conditions on which the Italian Government had consented to the plan of an international excavation, in co-operation with, and under the leadership of, Italy, and stuck to this in face of some opposition (which in all parliamentary States must be expected), all the misunderstandings would have been avoided, and the great work at Herculaneum would now be proceeding to the profit of the civilised world and the glory of Italy. This he did not do. On the contrary, his speeches in the Italian Chamber only tended to obscure the situation and to give rise to misunderstandings and mis-statements by the press, which lasted for months, and which all efforts have not availed to dispel radically even now; though at one time the whole Italian press and the Italian public appear to have grasped the true nature of the project, to which they gave their hearty and unqualified support.

Though the Giolitti Ministry fell, the whole question had been referred by them to the Central Commission of Fine Arts and Antiquities, the highest authority concerned with these matters in the kingdom. It was not till the winter of 1905 (December 2) that, at their meeting, the Commission, having my proposal before them, decided by seven votes against four in favour of my scheme for the international excavation of

[1] Appendix I. [2] Appendix I.

Herculaneum.[1] It was some months later that I was officially informed, through the Italian Embassy in London, of this decision. But no further steps were taken.

During all this period I was keeping the foreign friends, who were ready to set to work on the task of forming the various national committees, in suspense. Early in 1906, therefore, I inquired, through the British Embassy in Rome and the Italian Embassy in London, whether, should I travel to Rome, Signor Bianchi, at that time Minister of Public Instruction, would grant me a conference in order definitely to decide whether the project could be pushed forward or ought to be relinquished.[2] I was informed that, though the Minister would be pleased to confer with me, he could not undertake to bring the matter to a final settlement.[3] I accordingly did not go to Rome then. But meanwhile I had already received most encouraging appeals to continue my efforts from leading men in Italy and also from the local authorities of Resina.[4] When, on my way to the Archaeological Congress at Athens in March 1905, my ship called in the harbour of Naples, the Mayor of Resina came on board and begged me to persevere in my exertions, assuring me of the respect and gratitude of his fellow-townsmen.

Owing to ill-health, which necessitated a rest-cure in the summer of 1906, nothing was done for some months. But when I had sufficiently recovered, I again resumed work on the scheme early in September of that year. The Giolitti Ministry had again come into office. It now appeared to me desirable to bring matters to a head, and to press for a final decision of the Government, whether the plan of an international excavation would be accepted by them or not. In

[1] Professor De Selinas at once wrote to the papers that, though present at the meeting, he was momentarily absent during the voting. He would have voted *for* the proposal. It is thus eight to four and two abstentions. The President, Visconti Venosta, and Signor d' Andrade abstained. For : Boïto, Barnebei, De Petra, Gherardini, Brizzoni, Loewy, Milani (De Selinas). Against : Primo Levi, Ojetti, Ricci, Venturi.

[2] Appendix I. [3] Appendix I. [4] Appendix I.

the latter case it would be right that I should notify all my friends who had engaged themselves to start national committees, to abandon the work. From Italy I was greatly encouraged to continue my efforts. Some of the leading spirits of that country, among whom I must single out my friend, Professor Milani, the Director of the Etruscan Museum of Florence (who throughout has clearly declared himself in favour of such international co-operation), and the famous composer and poet, Arrigo Boïto, who paid me a visit at Cadenabbia and did all in his power to further the scheme, gave me most effective and loyal encouragement. These are but types of the leading intellectual element in Italy, to whom the ideal aspect of our enterprise appeals strongly, and who ever remain the staunchest supporters of our scheme.

During the month of August, from Switzerland, and subsequently from Cadenabbia, I corresponded by letter and telegram with Signor Tittoni, the Minister of Foreign Affairs—to whom I had strong personal introductions,—with the result that an appointment was made to meet him at Rome on September 15, where I hoped also to find Signor Rava, Minister of Public Instruction, and Signor Corrado Ricci, who held the newly-created post of Director of Fine Arts and Antiquities in the Ministry. When I arrived in Rome, I was disappointed to find that Signor Rava had been compelled by official business to leave for Milan, whence I came: and I may at once say that, on my return to Milan the next day, Signor Rava had been forced to leave for Rome. On the other hand, my conference with the Minister of Foreign Affairs was highly satisfactory. He, of course, pointed out that the decision of the question did not lie within his competence (*ressort*); but that his attitude towards the plan was deeply sympathetic, and he promised speedily to bring the matter before his colleagues, so that I should have an early and definite answer as to their decision.[1]

[1] See my account of interview in Appendix I.

Meanwhile the leading press was again taking up the discussion of the project. A powerfully written article by Signor Janni in the *Corriere della Sera* of September 17, and in the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse* by Dr. Münz, led the way; and it is no exaggeration to say that the whole Italian press had veered round to an unqualified approval of the scheme of an international excavation of Herculaneum. I did my best, by private[1] and public letters, to put the matter in its true light and to dissipate all misconceptions and misstatements. The *Giornale d' Italia* of Rome, which in earlier days had been distinctly critical, if not inimical to the scheme, published an article from the pen of Professor Conti (before, a pronounced opponent of the scheme), in which that archaeologist generously recanted his former strictures of my action and gave unqualified support and praise to the project and to myself personally. The *Tribuna* of Rome,[2] pronouncedly antagonistic before, of all Italian newspapers the one most directly in touch with the Government, published successively three long articles by Professor Dall' Osso, of the National Museum of Naples and the Pompeian excavations, which are of lasting value as contributions to our knowledge of ancient Herculaneum. Each of these articles was headed by the following paragraph :—

EXTRACT FROM THE "TRIBUNA," JANUARY 14, 1907

Noble and great ideas, when once they have been sent forth, make way for themselves of their own accord, for they have in them the force which tends to their success. Thus it happened in the case of the Waldstein project for the excavation of Herculaneum. It had not been long published when it received a cold reception from public opinion, preoccupied as this was with the notion of a seizure of our antiquities by foreigners, so that it was vehemently opposed in newspapers in the name of a principle dear to our people, "L' Italia deve fare da sè"—"Italy must do things herself."

This sacred watchword found an echo of sympathy in many hearts during the first period of our political redemption, when the aim was to free Italy from the attitude of subjection to the foreigner and to direct her to a free line of development in the spheres of organisation most important to her, namely, in

[1] Appendix I. [2] *Tribuna*, January 14, 20, and 29, 1907.

education and in industry. But it has no reason for existence now in regard to a work which looks to a lofty result embracing the principle of the solidarity of mankind in scientific achievement, all the more when the question is of a colossal undertaking which even the richest nation in the world would not be able by the employment of the ordinary means at its disposal to accomplish alone.

It is therefore no matter for astonishment that in little more than two years so rapid a change regarding the Waldstein project should have come about, not only in the feeling of the public, but also in that of men of learning, who are much more tenacious of their views since these are in their case the result of mature reflection. It is a point worthy of note that the Central Commission, which at its meeting held a year ago admitted the Waldstein project with two contrary votes and four abstentions, in its sitting of last November voted the project unanimously.[1]

But a really striking fact is that the very man who was the first to raise the cry of alarm and to proclaim the crusade against the barbarous invader of our artistic patrimony, declared a few days ago in these same columns, that we ought to open our arms to our brother in welcome to his magnificent proposal, "which is a fervid act of homage to our history and our glory." So now that we are united among ourselves, and that the heart of Italy beats at one with that of other nations in the desire to hasten the accomplishment of this arduous undertaking, we are waiting with confidence for the announcement by the Minister which may permit the determined Anglo-Saxon to put his magnificent programme into actuality. It is a beautiful thing, in this age when the struggle of interests between nations has become so harsh, to witness the spontaneous and universal adhesion to an undertaking by which the material interest of Italy alone will be benefited through the conspicuous increase of our artistic inheritance. We may easily find explanation of this miracle if we set beside it the progressive increase in the receipts derived from the charge for entrance at Pompeii, which proves the rapid expansion of the cult of antique beauty and the spread of that noble desire to call forth the lost glories of the past which formerly was limited to few. The present generation, conscious of the brilliant spring-time of art that lies hidden under the strong covering which enwraps Herculaneum, cannot remain for long indifferent to the thought that, with the consent of Italy to the co-operation of other States, these treasures of art may in a short time be restored to the light of day.

J. Dall' Osso,
of the National Museum, Naples.

[1] The Central Commission became unanimously favourable to the proposition because the opponents received from the supporters all the guarantees which they had demanded as to the character and the manner of the international elements in the project. The opponents started from the principle that we ought, even in such cases as this, to be and to show ourselves in the first place citizens rather than archaeologists or artists; that the political side of the question had therefore to be also considered, and this the more because there was suggestion in the first instance of some intervention, though only honorary, on the part of heads of States. This danger having been set aside by the declarations of members of the Commission who reflected in the discussion the views of Professor Waldstein, there was no longer need for any one to take a hostile position regarding the project. The agreement was, in fact, such that the member who had previously been the most resolute opponent contributed to formulate the order of the day, which was voted unanimously.—The Editor.

That Signor Tittoni's promise was faithfully kept was manifest from the decision of the Central Commission, to whom the Government again referred the question. It was on November 10, 1906, that the newspapers made the announcement—which by many was received with intense joy—that the Commission had unanimously accepted the scheme of the international excavation of Herculaneum, strongly recommended it to the Government, and urged that the work be taken up without delay. The exact terms of the resolution are the following: 1. That the subscriptions shall be of a private character, without any official intervention in foreign countries. 2. That the funds shall be administered by an International Committee sitting in Rome, of which the King of Italy shall be honorary president, and the actual president some one nominated by His Majesty. 3. That the executive committee of excavation of Herculaneum (the "staff") shall be composed of a number of foreign members and of the same number of Italian members, and all its members, both foreign and Italian, be nominated by the King of Italy on the recommendation of his Minister of Public Instruction. 4. That the first publication of all scientific and artistic material obtained shall belong to the Italian Government and be made at its expense, though the Minister of Public Instruction shall be empowered to invite other Italian and foreign *savants*, who do not belong to the executive committee, to take part in that publication. 5. That the foreign members of the executive committee may, on the responsibility of its president and with proper safeguards, permit students of their own nationality to be present at the excavations. 6. That all the results of the excavation shall be the property of the Italian Government. This shall not prevent the Italian Government from giving to the States which have most largely contributed some specimens of objects found, in the case of those objects being in duplicate and such a concession not injuring national collections.

It will be seen that these conditions are in complete harmony with the scheme which I had proposed. In one point they distinctly go beyond anything proposed by me—namely, in recommending that, at the discretion of the King of Italy, duplicates of objects discovered be presented to the nations contributing. In my scheme it was always clearly maintained that none of the objects were to leave Italy. This generous concession on the part of the Italian Commission appeared to me of great advantage: as it would facilitate the raising of funds abroad, would furnish foreign museums with important material for study, and would in no way diminish the archaeological treasure of Italy or impair the character of the results of the excavation by removing any of the illustrative objects from their natural setting in the country where they were found.

From Italy and from all parts of the world I received letters and telegrams of congratulation, and not only the whole press, but some of the Italian authorities themselves, expressed their conviction that the matter was settled and the international excavation was no longer a scheme but an accomplished fact. At a dinner to celebrate the auspicious event, given to the Italian Ambassador in London on December 5, 1906, at which the representatives of the chief Powers were present, I was assured that the delay in my receiving official communication of this decision was caused merely by the usual official delay or "red tape," and that I would be speedily informed of this final agreement.

Yet for some time, in spite of repeated requests through the official channels, I did not receive this communication. Then, on February 19, in the *Tribuna* of Rome, only a few days after the fourth of those important and favourable letters of Professor Dall' Osso was published, there appeared an extract from a letter addressed to me by Commendatore Boni, appended to an article decidedly Chauvinistic in spirit and in content, condemning my scheme as an encroachment upon the

honour of Italy. I have now every reason to know that Commendatore Boni's action was based upon an entire misunderstanding of the true nature of our scheme, and that he has since then taken cognisance of the true facts of our action and our purpose. But the mere publication of this letter at once set alight all the flames of Chauvinism, which in Italy, as, unfortunately, elsewhere at this moment, can merely be covered over for the time being, and are constantly smouldering in the press, if not in the hearts of the people. In a few days the decision was apparently reversed. We were informed by the newspapers, and, after considerable delay, I received official confirmation of the decision of the Italian Government, that no material help or direct international co-operation would be accepted, and that the Italian Government had decided at once to proceed to the excavation of Herculaneum by itself.

I was at the same time informed that the friendly advice of distinguished foreign authorities (including myself) would be accepted; but that the work would be entirely in the hands of the Italian experts.[1]

Out of the truly munificent grants voted for purposes of Archaeology and the Fine Arts, we were informed that for the present the sum of 15,000 francs (£600, $3000) had been assigned to the work of excavating Herculaneum.

But the promise to begin the great work was definite and emphatic, and we must all rejoice in this important decision. For it has been and is, after all, our chief object to lead to the inception of such a great work, no matter by whom the work is carried out. It was also gratifying to receive the acknowledgment of the service which our efforts had secured for Italy expressed in the words of the *Giornale d' Italia* when announcing this decision.

At the same time, from what has been shown above and from what will become convincingly manifest in the further development of our arguments in this book, it must be evident

[1] See Appendix I.

Pl. VII

Hebog Dujardin

Three Female Marble Statues
(Dresden and Naples)

that the sum granted and the staff to be appointed (however distinguished and highly competent they may be individually) are decidedly inadequate to carry the stupendous task to a satisfactory conclusion. The useful work, which we hope may at once be done at Herculaneum by the Italian Government, can only be tentative and preliminary; but it will be of the highest importance if thereby it can be determined at what definite point and by what methods the great work of a complete and final excavation can be undertaken. We sincerely wish all success to our Italian *confrères*.

The important facts, however, remain: 1. That ancient Herculaneum must be excavated completely and thoroughly. 2. That for the good of the living and successive generations, and for the practical reason, that every year's delay makes the future excavation more costly and more difficult, this excavation must be vigorously pushed forward soon. 3. That for such an enterprise the present methods of work in excavation are inadequate, and that we require a complete reform of these methods. 4. That to carry out such work adequately we can reasonably claim the active support and co-operation of all civilised nations. 5. That such an international undertaking will favour and develop the good understanding and feeling of brotherhood among men and will bring us one step nearer to the ideals which we all have in common, and which, in our truly best moments, we all devoutly profess.

PART I

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

In dealing with Herculaneum in the Past and Present we have taken particular pains not to allow the main thesis of this book—that Herculaneum is the one site above all others which ought to be excavated—in any way to influence our treatment of the topography, the ethnography, the effect of the eruptions on the ancient remains, and the actual state of the site since the great eruption. We have thought it right occasionally to emphasise our doubts as to the arguments of writers strongly supporting our main thesis, when we did not feel satisfied that the data at our disposal warranted assurance on the points at issue. In spite of such scepticism, always called for in sound research, our conviction remains unshaken in the exceptional advantages which Herculaneum offers for the illustration of Hellenic life, art, and culture in a Graeco-Roman centre. The more we have always ourselves borne in mind the "negative instances," the stronger is our assurance in the positive grounds for our conviction.


del 1631
Real
Boschetto
Fortino
Mare
S. Agostino
Templum
Strada

CHAPTER I

TOPOGRAPHY

THE position of Herculaneum cannot be rightly appreciated without some reference to the general topography of Campania.[1] Campania was in antiquity a very elastic term:[2] Timaeus (who wrote in the first half of the third century B.C.) is the earliest writer whom we know to have used it, and he did not include in it the neighbourhood of Cumae. Indeed, the term seems to have been limited to the Capuan district up to the time of the Second Punic War. Polybius (second century B.C.) appears to use it approximately in the current modern sense, though most maps to-day place Sinuessa at least, and some Cales and Teanum, as towns of Latium, whereas he includes them all in Campania. But in the days of the Empire the name Campania came to be applied to the whole of Augustus's "First Region of Italy," which included in addition Latium and other districts.

It is necessary to make this clear at the outset, in order to avoid misunderstandings, but in practice the term is applied to a definite, indeed to a remarkably individual area. Moreover, this area corresponds with fair approximation to the territory of the Campanian race,[3] *i.e.* those "Samnites of the plains" who[4] once held the Ager Falernus up to the Savo, and forced Naples to admit them to her citizenship. The boundaries of Campania in this sense are, roughly, to the north, the

[1] See map, Plate I. Cf. Beloch, *Campanien*, pp. 1 and 2.
[2] Timaeus, *ap.* Strab. p. 248.
[3] See Part I. Chapter II.
[4] Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 10.

Volturus; to the south, Nuceria and the Surrentine peninsula. Its inland frontier was formed by the mountains Tifata and Taburnus, while its whole western front was washed by the Mediterranean.

Campania is a great volcanic plain,[1] once submerged, surrounded by the spurs of the Apennines. The simplicity of its coast-line is broken by the Gulf of Naples, bounded on each side by a projecting mountain mass partly severed from the mainland: on the north by the "Phlegraean Fields," a cluster of old craters and small plains, and by their continuation, the islands Prochyta and Aenaria; on the south by the Surrentine peninsula and the island of Capreae. The "Phlegraean Fields" are isolated by a wide expanse of plain; the Surrentine peninsula, the southern boundary of Campania, is a spur of the Apennines. Towards the east end of the Gulf towers the mass of Monte Somma and Vesuvius, the point where cross two great volcanic ranges running north and south, east and west:[2] Monte Berici, Amiata, the crater lakes Bolsena and Bracciano, the Alban hills, Stromboli, Etna; and Volture, Monte Epomeo in Ischia (Aenaria), and the Ponza islands. East and south of Vesuvius the narrow valley of the Sarnus runs down from the Nolan plain, which opens westward into the great expanse of Campania. It was in this valley, on the slopes of Vesuvius west of the Sarnus, that Pompeii lay. We are here more concerned with the coast between Vesuvius and Naples. The Sebethos, the river of Naples, and the Veseris farther east run through a swampy valley. It was at the south-east end of this district, on the south-west slopes of Vesuvius,[3] about five miles from Naples by the coast-road and some four and a half miles from the crater, that Herculaneum stood. She was perched, as two[4] of the scanty ancient notices

[1] Mau-Kelsey, p. 1. See also Part I. Chapter III.

[2] Mau-Kelsey, p. 1.

[3] Nissen, *Italienische Landeskunde*, 1902, ii. 2, p. 757.

[4] Strabo, p. 246; and Sisenna, Frags. 53 and 54, Peters. Cf. Winckelmann, *Werke*, ii. pp. 7 *seq.*

state, upon rising ground near the sea: Strabo (second half of the first century B.C.) calls the site "a foreland jutting out into the sea," and adds that it caught the south-west wind in a wonderful manner, so as to make the place a healthy residence. Sisenna (119-69 B.C.) states that the town lay between two rivers. Ruggiero[1] is, on *a priori* grounds, sceptical about the rivers; but the mistake, if there be one, must be Sisenna's, not the copyist's, for the fragment owes its preservation (by the grammarian Nonius) to the fact that Sisenna used the rare feminine form "fluviae."

The whole line of the coast has been so essentially modified by various eruptions that we can hardly be certain of more than this, that the sea once ran much farther inland than it does to-day. We know from Dionysius of Halicarnassus[2] that the town had harbours, safe under all conditions; but of these no trace remains. It has been thought that the name of the modern Resina is a modification of the old name of these harbours, "Retina"; but the name Retina rests solely upon a doubtful reading of a corrupt passage in the younger Pliny,[3] and most recent critics prefer to explain the word as the name of a lady. Beloch[4] has tried to trace the course of the "fluviae," and believes that the lines of their respective beds were followed by the two later lava-streams, which run down to Granatello and the Marinella di Resina; he further supposes that a harbour lay at each of their respective mouths. In support of this he quotes the fact that there is still a spring on the beach at Granatello, and an annual flood in the neighbourhood of the Church of S. Maria di Pugliano.

The site of Herculaneum is mostly covered to a great depth with the "terra vecchia" or "pappamonte," dating, at least in great part, from the eruption of 79 A.D., the nature of which is discussed in Chapter III. The lava ejected in later

[1] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. vii. [2] i. 44.
[3] *Ep.* vi. 16. 8; and cf. Ruggiero, *Della Eruzione, etc.*, p. 3.
[4] *Campanien*, pp. 228, 229.

times, chiefly in 1631, covers a comparatively small area, and is nowhere more than a layer above the great mass of "pappamonte."

The general accuracy of Strabo and Sisenna is confirmed by the fact that the one street at present uncovered slopes at first gently, and then very abruptly towards the sea,[1] so that the last houses, which clearly mark the end of the town in that direction, were supported by elaborate and strongly-built substructures. The identification of the site is placed beyond all doubt by a great number of inscriptions.

The town was undoubtedly small. For this conclusion we have the authority of Sisenna,[2] Strabo,[3] and Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[4] Strabo's contemporary; and it is confirmed by the fact that Herculaneum is very rarely mentioned by ancient writers, except in catalogues like those of Strabo,[5] the elder Pliny,[6] Florus,[7] and the geographer Pomponius Mela.[8] Moreover, the graves discovered to the north-east in 1750 and 1751 fix the limit in that direction,[9] while the orientation of the famous "Villa of the Papyri," to the north-west, makes it improbable that it was part of the town. Again,[10] the excavators of the early part of the nineteenth century reached the edge of the town to the south-west, *i.e.* in the direction of the sea. But a detailed discussion of the size and shape of the town must be prefaced by an account of its remarkable regularity of design. It seems almost certain from the small portion now uncovered, and from the notes of the eighteenth-century excavators, that all the streets crossed one another at right angles, and were laid out upon a definite system. Two long streets were discovered running from north-west to south-east, that to the north-east being the broader of the two, and being flanked on each side by a colonnade.

[1] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. xlvi.
[2] Frag. 53, Peters.
[3] p. 258.
[4] i. 44.
[5] v. 8.
[6] *N. H.* iii. 5. 62.
[7] i. 11. 6. He is clearly using older sources.
[8] ii. 70.
[9] See La Vega's plan, Plate 11; and below, p. 78.
[10] See below, p. 63.

LA VEGA'S PLAN OF HERCULANEUM. PLATE II.

From Ruggiero's *Scavi, etc.*

At right angles to these two streets ran five streets about the same width as the narrower of them, but much closer together, so that the whole town was divided into rectangular blocks or "insulae." The narrower of the two parallel streets lay half-way between the broader street and the edge of the town. All this is clearly shown in the small map made by Francesco La Vega,[1] the last and best of the eighteenth-century excavators, and published in Carlo Rosini's *Dissertatio isagogica ad Herculanensium voluminum explanationem*, 1797; though the extreme difficulty of constructing such a map, owing to the character of the excavation,[2] must not be overlooked. This map has been the basis of all later ones, and its accuracy would seem to have been strikingly confirmed in an interesting lawsuit cited by Professor J. Dall' Osso in one of his excellent articles in the *Tribuna* early in 1907.[3] The Marchese di Bisogno, whose property was being expropriated, claimed that allowance should be made for the fact that part of the buried city certainly lay under it. To prove this he sank a shaft at a point where La Vega's map marked the crossing of two streets, and struck such a crossing at the angle of one of the corner houses.

In the same article Dall' Osso has argued that the arrangement here revealed is not the Roman or Etruscan system of the *cardo* and *decumanus*, based upon the ritual of the *templum*, a system observable to-day in Marzabotto (Misanum), near Bologna, Turin (Augusta Taurinorum), Aosta (Augusta Praetoria), and other places, but the Greek system ascribed to Hippodamus of Miletus. He defines the Etruscan system as based upon the mutual bisection at right angles of two main streets of equal importance, the *cardo* running north and south, and the *decumanus* running east and west, parallel to each of which run smaller streets at regular intervals, dividing

[1] See Part I. Chapter IV. The map is given on Plate 11; cf. also the map of Herculaneum from Beloch, *Campanien*, Plate 10 in this book.

[2] See Part I. Chapter IV.

[3] January 29.

the whole town into square "insulae." To the Greek system he attributes the division of the whole site into two or four rectangular zones by one main street or three parallel ones, crossed at right angles by a number of streets much closer together, subdividing the town into rectangular, not square, blocks. It seems very doubtful whether this distinction can be maintained. Antioch, indeed, as described by Libanius,[1] and, more important still, Naples, were clearly built upon the latter system. Its connection with Hippodamus is another question; the evidence for the three cities which he is said to have laid out—Piraeus, Thurii, and Rhodes—is scarcely conclusive, and nothing definite can be learned from literature; while Alexandria, which Dall' Osso claims as Hippodamean, and Nicaea (Antigonia), a Greek city certainly uninfluenced by the Etruscan system, are both known from Strabo's accounts[2] to have had two broad main streets crossing at right angles. Nicaea was flat and square and had four gates; and from a stone in the middle of the gymnasium all four could be seen at once. Again, Marzabotto, which is indisputably Etruscan, is far nearer Dall' Osso's "Hippodamean" system than that which he describes as Etruscan.[3] The ethnological bearing of this question, on which Dall' Osso lays much stress, is discussed in Chapter II. For the moment we are concerned only with its application to the problem of the size of the town. It seems very likely indeed that north and east of the great central street ran a third in the same direction, corresponding to the one already discovered south and west of it. This would give us a symmetrical division into four zones, closely resembling that of Naples. It would thus appear that about half the town is still untouched. Ruggiero[4] holds that the

[1] i. p. 337. [2] p. 793 and p. 565.

[3] See Brizio, "Relazione sugli scavi eseguiti a Marzabotto presso Bologna" in *Mon. Ant.*, published by the Reale Accademia dei Lincei, vol. i. pp. 289 ff.; in the separate edition, pp. 45 ff. For the whole question see Sogliano, *Studi di Topografia storica e di storia antica*, Naples, 1901, pp. 19 ff., who considers the systems of both Pompeii and Herculaneum to be Etruscan.

[4] *Scavi, etc.*, p. vii.

town ran far to the north-east, even beyond the Church of S. Maria di Pugliano; but the accidental discoveries of paintings, marble, and mosaics at the "fosso di Calollo," described on February 22, 1836, on which he bases his supposition, probably belonged, as Dall' Osso holds, to a country-house.[1] The only important building (besides the outlying "Casa dei Papiri" already alluded to), not apparently orientated in accordance with this plan, is the theatre: a divergence probably due to the lie of the ground. Whether there was originally a sixth cross-street, destroyed in part to make room for the theatre, or whether the latter lay beyond the original limits of the town (perhaps a more probable view), is a point that only excavation can decide.

For the existence of town-walls we have evidence both literary and epigraphical. We have Sisenna's words "parvis moenibus,"[2] confirmed by Strabo's phrase φρούριον, which indeed usually means a fortress, too small to be called a city, but essentially implies fortification; and we have the inscription found in July 1758, under the modern street near the "Savarese" or "Paris" farm[3]—

M · NONIVS · M · F · BALBVS · PROCOS
BASILICAM · PORTAS · MVRVM · PECVNIA · SVA

("Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, Proconsul, [built *or* restored] the Basilica, the Gates, the Wall at his own expense.") Yet no trace of this wall has ever been found, in spite of the fact that on the south-west side, in the district now uncovered, the edge of the town has admittedly been reached. Nissen[4] concludes that the town was quite wiped out by the great earthquake of 63 A.D., and rebuilt without the walls—a conclusion hardly warranted even by Seneca's probably hyperbolical statement:[5] "Of the town of Herculaneum a part fell,

[1] See below, p. 79.
[2] Frag. 53, Peters.
[3] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. xxxvi; No. 305 in Beloch, *Campanien*; Mus. Naz. 1180; *C.I.L.* x. 1, 1425.
[4] *Italienische Landeskunde*, ii. 2, 1902, p. 757.
[5] *Nat. Quaest.* vi. 1. 2.

and even what remains is in an unsteady condition." Seneca certainly implies that the destruction here was less complete than that of Pompeii, and we know how much of old Pompeii still stands in spite of the earlier disaster. Moreover, the inscription just quoted almost certainly refers to a restoration *after* this earthquake. This supposition is probable on the face of it, and is strikingly confirmed by the fact that a Marcus Nonius, who may well be the same person,[1] erected, in A.D. 72, a statue to the Emperor Vespasian in the building sometimes identified as the Basilica,[2] the very Emperor who, four years later, restored the Temple of the Mother of the Gods, which had fallen in the same earthquake.[3]

In any case it cannot be doubted that even if the ruin wrought by the earthquake was greater at Herculaneum than at Pompeii, a vast amount of old material and many old structures must have been used in the restoration ; and nothing is less likely than that the systematic laying out of the city dates entirely, as Nissen apparently supposes,[4] from the interval between the earthquake and the eruption.

With regard to the town-wall, we seem to be reduced to two main alternatives : either the MVRVS in question was not the town-wall, whereas all scholars appear to agree that it must have been such ; or the town-wall did not follow the line of the edge of the town at the point laid bare in the

[1] So Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 234. Mommsen, who inclines to date M. Nonius Balbus as Augustan, appears to have overlooked the dedication to Vespasian (see *C.I.L.* x. 1, 1420 and 1425).

[2] See below, p. 70.

[3] The two inscriptions are numbered 1166 and 1151 respectively in the Museo Nazionale at Naples, and 1420, 1406, in the *C.I.L.* (x. 1). Beloch quotes them on p. 221 :—

(*a*)
IMP · T · VESPA<SIANO>
CAESARI · AV<G · F · >
TRIB · P · COS · II · CEN<S · PONTIF>
M · NONIV<S>

(*b*)
IMP · CAESAR · VESPASIANVS · AVG · PONTIF · MAX
TRIB · POT · VII · IMP · XVII · P · P · COS · VII · DESIGN · VIII
TEMPLVM · MATRIS · DEVM · TERRAE · MOTV · CONLAPSVM · RESTITVIT

[4] *Italienische Landeskunde*, ii. 2, 1902, p. 757.

nineteenth century. We venture to suggest that the town-wall on the sea side included the harbours and the open land between them and the town. The Long Walls at Athens offer a certain analogy, though the circle of the old town-wall is there complete. If the fortifications of town and harbour at Herculaneum were built contemporaneously, a single line of circumvallation may well have been judged sufficient; or in the restoration that portion may have been omitted.

The dimensions of the whole town have been calculated by Beloch[1] to have been about 370 metres north-east to south-west, by about 320 metres north-west to south-east; or, supposing that there was no third street north-east of the street with the colonnades, 277.50 metres by 320 metres. These calculations cannot, however, be accepted without hesitation, since the south-eastern limit which he fixes, viz. the "temple" marked with a cross a little south of the "graves" in La Vega's map, may really be a temple, and not "the peristyle of a country-house," as he assumes. Still, its shape, in so far as the little map can be trusted, seems to confirm his view. Moreover, it appears to interrupt the street system.

Before leaving the question of the size of the town, a point should be noticed which seems to have escaped observation, namely, that the "graves," if correctly indicated on La Vega's map, are too close to the main street to admit of a complete third street such as has been assumed. Two considerations must not, however, be overlooked. First, that, although the ideal geometrical city was no doubt enclosed in perfectly rectangular fortifications (as Nicaea, built on level ground, seems to have been), the nature of the ground often made it necessary (as at Piraeus and Naples) to depart from this scheme; so that we really can never be sure exactly how far the town stretched in any one direction, except through excavation. Secondly, the small scale and scanty materials

[1] *Campanien*, p. 230.

of La Vega's map must never be forgotten; and Ruggiero,[1] at least, questions the correctness of the position assigned therein to so important a building as the so-called Basilica.

Something must be said of the character of the streets and buildings hitherto revealed.[2] The streets are paved with polygonal blocks of the oldest Vesuvian lava, with pavements on each side edged with Vesuvian tufa, and filled in with earth, or sometimes with pounded brick ("opus signinum"). Their condition, as Dall' Osso has aptly remarked, is strikingly superior to that of the streets of Pompeii. The paving is far more regular, and the ruts, which run as deep as 20 centimetres at Pompeii, are here, at least in the part now uncovered, barely discernible. This, by the way, also shows the greater traffic of Pompeii as a commercial centre, while Herculaneum had no such traffic. Moreover, the elaborate underground drainage of this part of the town made it possible to dispense with "stepping-stones" of the type so familiar at Pompeii.

The total width of the streets seems rarely to have exceeded 30 palmi, or 7.94 metres. A street 25 palmi, or 6.61 metres wide, was discovered on January 9, 1743; while in the part now uncovered the width[3] varies from 4.79 to 5.45 metres. Beloch's attempts to base upon these figures elaborate calculations in Oscan and Roman feet are scarcely convincing. Indeed, in the matter of the great central street, Beloch, it appears to us, has been led into error. For, overlooking the fact that Weber,[4] when he discovered this street,[5] carefully mapped and measured it (for he fully recognised its importance), and pronounced it 18 palmi in the roadway and 8 in each of the colonnades, *i.e.* 9 metres in all,[6] he deduces from Cochin and Bellicard's plan of the Basilica,[7] which includes a portion of this street, the astonishing measurements—9.60 metres

[1] *Scavi, etc.*, p. xxxvii.
[2] Cf. Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. viii.
[3] Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 231.
[4] See Part I. Chapter IV.
[5] November 13, 1756; see Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. viii, and p. 208.
[6] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. 231; cf. p. 234.
[7] In *Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d'Herculanum*, 1754.

without the colonnades, 4.80 metres the northern colonnade, 3.50 metres the southern. All these calculations are based upon the supposition that the scale of Cochin and Bellicard's plan is 1.1200, an assumption which rests almost entirely[1] upon a comparison of their plan with the minute one in La Vega's plan of Herculaneum. Beloch himself admits that "the smallness of the scale makes the results highly inexact"; and, indeed, here again his results (c. 79 metres × c. 42 metres) are quite irreconcilable with Alcubierre's calculation (May 30, 1739) of 40 metres as the length of the central space of the building in question. On such grounds Beloch proceeds to force these imaginary measurements of the central street into scales of Oscan feet.

It is particularly important to point out Beloch's mistake with regard to the width of this street, because Dall' Osso, in the series of articles to which we have already alluded,[2] though he quotes Weber's comments in the original Spanish, has slipped into the error of printing Beloch's measurements.[3] Nor is this point immaterial: for the plausibility of Dall' Osso's theory[4] (discussed lower down) that this street took the place of a Forum, is greatly lessened when we learn that, instead of being "at least 16 metres wide, with the colonnades," it was in fact only 9 metres wide.[5]

One street with gravel was found in the city (February 23 and November 16, 1760), and a gravel path in the outer garden of the "Casa dei Papiri" (November 1, 1760).

Three public fountains were found, one of "rustic marble," and one of travertine, both opposite temples (September 22, 1759; September 2, 1758), and a third of marble (March 22, 1760). The excellence of the water-

[1] "Almost," because Beloch says that it is confirmed by the fact that the small street running south-west, the head of which also appears in the plan, can be shown on this scale to be 4.80 metres wide; and the part of it exposed in the "Scavi Nuovi" is 4.95 metres wide. But it is misleading to suppose such accuracy in an unessential part of so small a plan.

[2] See above, p. 61.

[3] *Tribuna*, January 29, 1907.

[4] *ib.* February 13, 1907.

[5] *ib.* January 29, 1907.

supply is attested by the great number of lead pipes, bronze cocks and basins, though its nature and source are, so far as we are aware, unknown.[1] It seems probable that, like that of Pompeii, it was derived from the great aqueduct which fed Naples, Puteoli, Baiae, and Misenum.[2]

The forms and materials of the houses of Herculaneum differ little from those of Pompeii;[3] but the forms are perhaps less typically Roman, while the materials seem to be mostly of a late type. They are (so far as our scanty evidence shows) predominantly of reticulate grey or yellow tufa. This style is at Pompeii not earlier than the time of Augustus.[4] The use of large tufa-blocks at the angles, which prevailed at Pompeii till the time of the Roman colony (80 B.C.), is almost entirely absent. Some of the columns are of "mischi," travertine, or Nucerian tufa, inaccurately termed "piperno" by the eighteenth-century excavators; but the great bulk are of ordinary tufa or brick, coated with stucco. The paintings and other decorations closely resemble those of Pompeii, though, as Wickhoff remarks, they are, taken as a whole, superior in artistic quality.[5] It must, however, never be forgotten that our knowledge of the domestic architecture of Herculaneum is very largely derived from the one street now uncovered, not, perhaps, a very fashionable one. The old journals contain many vague but enthusiastic references to "fine rooms," "beautiful palaces," and the like.[6]

Moreover, even if we suppose that the average Herculanean house was originally of no greater interest than the average Pompeian one, the conditions of the eruption have caused the former to be far better preserved. This matter will be discussed at greater length in our third chapter. Here it will be enough to remark that the upper storeys and the

[1] Cf. Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, Introduction, for all these particulars.

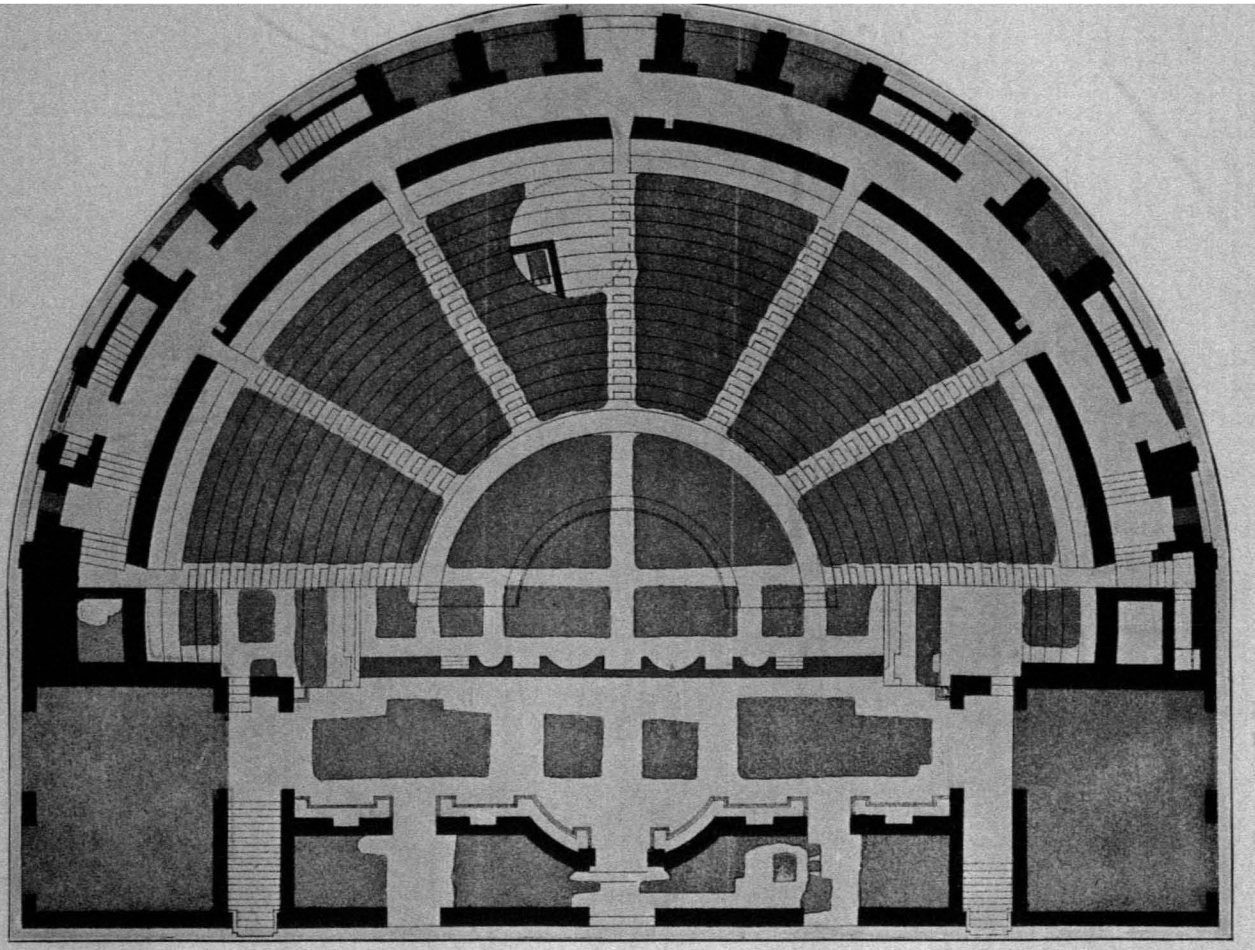
[2] For this aqueduct, whose connection with Pompeii is very probable, though only conjectural, see Mau-Kelsey, p. 233.

[3] So Dall' Osso in *Tribuna*, March 11, 1907.

[4] Mau-Kelsey, pp. 38 and 43.

[5] Cf. Introduction, p. 11.

[6] See Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. ix.



PLAN OF THEATRE.

From Ruggiero's *Scavi, etc.*

PLATE 12.

woodwork (roofs, furniture, window-cases, etc.) seem all to have survived at Herculaneum, the wood in a state of carbonisation; whereas at Pompeii they have almost entirely perished. And, owing to the carelessness and ignorance even of the nineteenth-century excavators, this whole field of research, full of interest and importance to students of ancient architecture and ancient life, is still practically untouched.

In the columns, pavements, and incrustation-work of the theatre and other buildings, a great variety of rare and beautiful marbles was freely used.

The principal public buildings hitherto discovered are the following. First, the small, but marvellously rich and beautiful theatre, of noble style and proportions, covered with marble incrustation. It was peopled with fine marble and bronze statues, including six great equestrian statues of gilded bronze, on the very highest tier, whose numerous fragments, after much fine talk,[1] were thrown into King Carlo's melting-pot in 1770, to reappear as the candlesticks and "Conception" of the Royal Chapel of Portici. A great many of these statues are now in the Museo Nazionale at Naples, and three are at Dresden,[2] but many are irretrievably lost. The theatre was not built into a hill-side, but stood free. Its character seems to be Graeco-Roman, and from an inscription,[3] set up in slightly varying forms at more than one point in it, it is clear that it was built or restored in Roman times :—

L · ANNIVS · L · F · MAMMIANVS · RVFVS ·
II · VIR · QVINQ · THEATR · ORCH · S · P ·
<P · >NVMISIVS · P · F · ARC<HI>TE<CTVS>

("Lucius Annius, son of Lucius, Mammianus Rufus, quinquennial duumvir, [built *or* restored] the theatre and the orchestra at his own expense. Publius Numisius, son of Publius, was the architect.")

[1] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. xv. [2] See Part I. Chapter IV.
[3] *C.I.L.* x. 1. 1443; cf. 1444, 1445, 1446.

The inscription and the materials of the theatre[1] both point to the first century of the Empire. The number of fragments of decorative marble, and of bronze and marble statues recorded in the excavators' journals, is almost incredible;[2] but they pulled the building to pieces as they proceeded with the tunnelling. They found it perfect, save for the highest part and for the colonnade behind the "scena," which had both apparently been broken down during the eruption.[3] They left it a stripped and mutilated skeleton. Luckily the records kept were full enough to make it possible for careful research largely to reconstruct it in imagination, a laborious and difficult task which Ruggiero has patiently and skilfully performed. We reproduce his plans,[4] prepared on the spot with the help of "two most expert architects," Guiseppe Solari and Eugenio Leone; and Mazois' restoration of the façade.[5]

Next in importance among the public buildings discovered at Herculaneum seems to be the so-called "Basilica," a large building north-east of the main street, whose identification is still hotly disputed. Perhaps it will be best briefly to state what is known of it before proceeding to the discussion of rival theories.[6] It was found under the group of poor cottages between the Vicolo di Mare to the north and the gardens of Benedetto and Priore to the south. It was never completely excavated, on account of ominous subsidences in the aforesaid cottages; but work was carried on there for several years, and its general form ascertained with fair certainty. We reproduce the plan published by Cochin and Bellicard[7] in 1754. It was a rectangular building, about half as long again as it was broad. Bellicard states that the entrance portico, *b* in their plan, was divided into five equal parts, the two outer

[1] Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 233.

[2] Cf. Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, pp. xxvii ff.

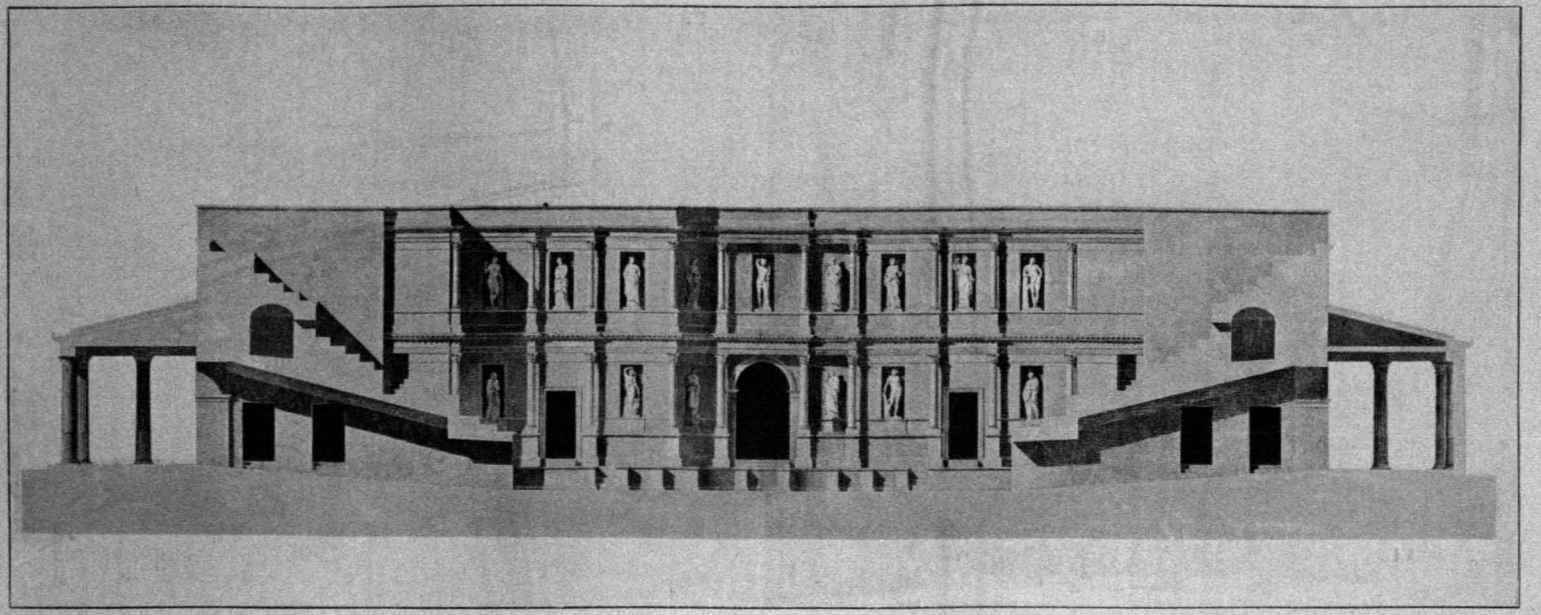
[3] Cf. Part I. Chapter III.

[4] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. xix.

[5] Mazois and Gau, *Les Ruines de Pompéi, etc.*, part iv., 1812. See Plate 13.

[6] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. xxxiv.

[7] *Observations sur les antiquités de la Ville d'Herculanum*, 1754. (For details of the different editions of this work, see the Bibliographical Appendix.)



MAZOIS' ELEVATION OF THE SCENA OF THE THEATRE. PLATE 13.

of which opened into the interior colonnades of which we shall speak ; and that each vault of this entrance was decorated with an equestrian statue, of which two marble ones were alone recovered, one of Marcus Nonius Balbus.[1] They also assert that the pillars of the portico were not veneered with marble, but that the porticoes were entirely paved with it.

Internally it was surrounded by a colonnade, *f*, *f* in the plan, with half-columns on the inner face of the outer wall, corresponding to the columns. Between these half-columns were rectangular niches with pedestals, each containing a statue (alternately bronze and marble, according to Cochin and Bellicard). A painted frieze ran round the upper part of the wall, and there were paintings upon the concave ceilings of the niches. The objects marked *g*, *g* appear to be large pedestals. The shorter wall at the end opposite the entrance had in its centre a square niche (*d* in the plan), reached by three steps, containing a long pedestal with three statues of marble—the middle one representing Vespasian, according to Bellicard ; and two smaller semicircular niches stood in the same wall, facing the ends of the side porticoes. From these niches were cut the pictures[2] of Theseus over the slain Minotaur (a particularly striking work), of Cheiron with Achilles, and of the Childhood of Telephus, which are all preserved in the Museo Nazionale (9049, 9006, 9109 respectively). Opposite these niches stood, according to Bellicard, two pedestals *e*, *e*, with bronze figures of Nero and Germanicus. The level of the central space was lower than that of the colonnades, and was reached by four steps. The nature and extent of the roofing are quite unknown, and the middle of the building was not explored. The principal finds, besides the pictures just mentioned, were four or five marble Roman portrait-statues,[3] partly in fragments, including two of the Balbi (inscribed) ; some bronze statues, including Augustus with

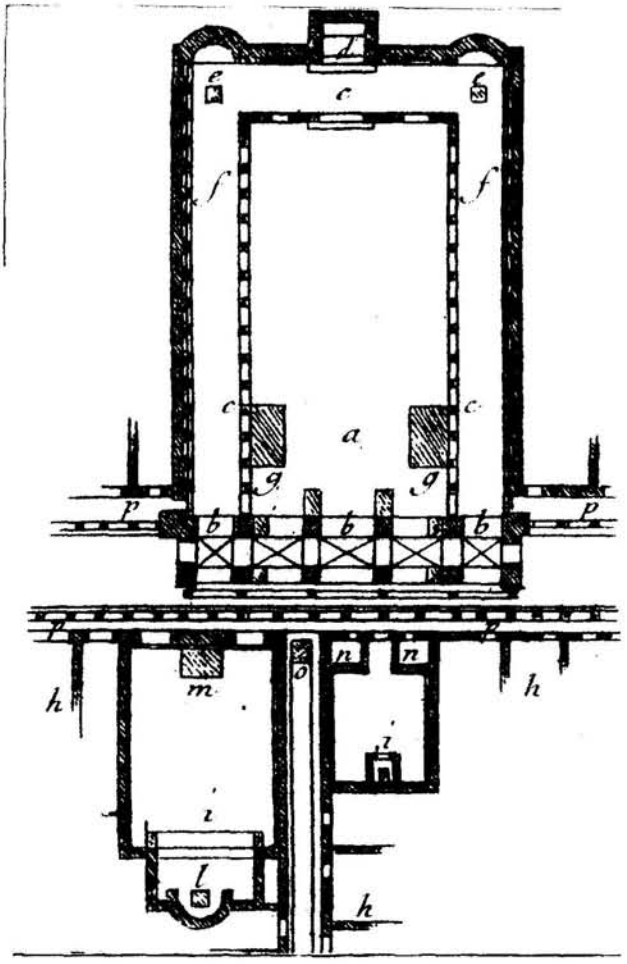
[1] Plate 15. [2] See Plate XI. (Frontispiece) ; Plates 16 and 17.
[3] According to Ruggiero, p. xxxv.

the thunderbolt; several vases and other small objects; and a number of wall-paintings, including Hercules strangling the snakes, slaying the lion, and bringing the boar to Eurystheus, Hylas being seized by the nymphs, a doubtful Bellerophon, Leda, a pair of wrestlers, a Bacchante, a citharistria, and various decorative works.[1] There were also found countless fragments of bronze and marble statues (of human beings, horses and chariots); and a stream of similar fragments[2] seems to have been carried down the road (now partially uncovered) leading to the sea. This probably shows either that the building was partially or wholly roofless, or that the roof broke under the weight of the volcanic *ejectamenta*.

Many identifications have been proposed. Alcubierre and Weber, its eighteenth-century excavators, call it sometimes "Temple," sometimes "Temple *or* Building of Theseus," sometimes "Temple of Hercules," sometimes, on account of the many eagles painted on the walls, "Temple of Jupiter." All these names are obviously wrong. There is perhaps more to be said for the theory that it was a Forum. This theory is attributed to La Vega by Ruggiero, though with some hesitation; but it seems far more likely, and indeed almost certain from his map, that La Vega's "Forum" was a different building farther to the north-west. In any case the building which we have described seems hardly large enough for a Forum; the length of the central space (on Alcubierre's calculation of 10 palmi for each of the 15 intercolumniations) can barely have been 40 metres. We have already indicated the untrustworthiness of Beloch's calculations, which give considerably larger measurements.

On the other hand, it does not seem likely that any other building discovered can have been the "Forum," and the exploration of the central street, into which it may well have opened, seems to have been fairly complete. Dall' Osso[3] indeed maintains, as we have said above, that the central

[1] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. xxxvi. [2] *ib.* p. li. [3] *Tribuna*, January 29, 1907.



PLAN OF THE BASILICA. PLATE 14.

After Cochin and Bélicard.

street itself took the place of a Forum. We have already pointed out his error in the matter of its width. But apart from this, an important piece of evidence in his arguments seems to us to rest on a misunderstanding. He dwells at great length upon the wall-painting, or series of paintings, figured in the *Antichità di Ercolano*, tom. iii. (1762), Plates XLI., XLII., XLIII., which he takes to represent the central street of Herculaneum. He even identifies two equestrian statues there depicted with those of the Balbi. Unfortunately, although published in the *Antichità di Ercolano*, the paintings in question were undoubtedly found at Pompeii ("Civita"); this fact is stated even in the *Antichità*, and the full records of their discovery have been printed by Fiorelli.[1] Overbeck and Mau,[2] Mau and Kelsey,[3] and Helbig,[4] are no doubt right in explaining it as a picture of the Forum at Pompeii, which was surrounded by colonnades.

Against the Basilica theory, now generally held (*e.g.* by Beloch and Dall' Osso), Ruggiero urges the following objections :—

(*a*) That it leaves unexplained the sinking of the central space.

(*b*) That the inscription referring to the Basilica (see above) was found some way off at a higher level, in a place whither the mud-stream[5] could not have carried it.

He himself considers it to be a Palaestra on the following grounds :—

(*a*) He thinks the level of the porticoes was raised in order to protect spectators during wrestling, etc.

(*b*) The subjects of the paintings, mainly heroic, resemble those on the west wall of the Palaestra opposite the Stabian Baths at Pompeii.

(*c*) There are some indications of an *ephebeum* close by, and

[1] *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia*, i., 1860, pp. 17 ff.
[2] *Pompeji*, 1884, p. 579.
[3] Mau-Kelsey, p. 54.
[4] *Wandgemälde, etc.*, 1868, Nos. 1489 ff.
[5] See Part I. Chapter III.

also of thermae, both buildings which Vitruvius names as appurtenances of a Palaestra.

He holds that the presence of statues and the absence of a "tribunal" prove nothing either way. On the whole, the question seems unlikely to be settled until further excavation has widened our knowledge. As we said above, the interior was not completely explored.

Of the Temples of Herculaneum[1] the records are somewhat scanty. Though La Vega marks three only in his map, we have unambiguous statements about five at least; it is doubtful whether the two recorded on August 1, 1743, are not identical with two previously recorded. Of two of these temples only have we detailed information. First, there is that of the Mother of the Gods, restored by Vespasian after the earthquake of 63 A.D., which was identified by the inscription already quoted (see p. 64). Its site is so carefully recorded that it should be easy to rediscover it by opening up the eighteenth-century shaft. Its total external length was 23.28 metres. The inner measurement of the cella was 15.60 × 7.93 metres. The roof was a barrel vault adorned with stars of various colours—red, green, and yellow—on a white ground, carefully drawn and counted by the painstaking Swiss, Carl Weber. He found that there were exactly nine hundred and sixty-six. This scheme of decoration closely resembles that of the flat ceiling of a ground-floor room in the House of Diomedes at Pompeii. There were two large stucco columns between the *antae* of the *pronaus*, which was approached by steps. But architecturally by far its most remarkable feature is the fact that the *exterior* of the barrel vault is said to have been levelled and covered with a black and white mosaic pavement, which seems to indicate that the building had two storeys, an arrangement which it would be hard to parallel in extant temple architecture. The temple had other buildings contiguous upon one side; but these, as well as the temple itself, seem to

[1] See Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, pp. xxxviii ff.

have been included in a sacred precinct enclosed by colonnades (a point on which the journals are a little obscure). In the neighbourhood of the temple was found a small pillar with a statuette of Isis, and also a bronze base with Egyptian hieroglyphs (September 18, 1760). Many small objects were found within it, including "three most beautiful bronze tripods," scales, a knife, lamps, cups, a candelabrum, funnels and vessels of bronze, clay and glass; also a minute bronze eagle, restored by Paderni to the handle of "an exquisite vase," found, so he asserts, years before, in the same place;[1] and, lastly, "5.55 metres above the pavement," perhaps in the upper storey, statuettes of Venus, Mercury, and Hercules.[2]

Another temple, not far from the first, was investigated between September 1757 and April 1760. No inscription was found by which it could be identified. The columns were probably of inferior material coated with stucco, or we should hear of their piecemeal removal after the pleasant fashion of that day. There is some reason to believe that they were of the Ionic order. The carbonised beams and planks,[3] and the baskets full of lead plates collected during the driving up of a ventilating shaft, showed the nature of the roof. The pavement was mosaic, black with yellow squares. The objects found in and about this temple include interesting bronze vessels (one inlaid with copper), a bronze statuette of Bacchus, and part of a statue and of a relief in marble. Weber drew a plan of this temple and sent it to Alcubierre on March 8, 1760, but it is lost.

Of the remaining temples we know practically nothing. The two structures which face the "Basilica" on each side of a smaller street (which is believed to be the upper end of that now visible in the "Scavi Nuovi") have not been identified with certainty. They are not marked on La Vega's plan, nor described in the journals; but they are drawn with

[1] Museo Nazionale, 69087.

[2] Museo Nazionale, 5133, 5227, 5270.

[3] January 19, 1760.

some care in Cochin and Bellicard's plan of the Basilica, and the same authors have left us a description of them. The larger stood to the south-east of the small street. It had two entrance doors, between which stood the large pedestal marked *m*, on which was a bronze chariot, of which only fragments were collected. The "sanctuary" was in an apse, *l*. The smaller had one entrance only, but on each side of this door was a small chamber, communicating by a small door with the street, and the street only. Here, according to Cochin and Bellicard, were kept the sacrificial instruments; but this seems to be a mere conjecture. Equally conjectural, in all probability, are the identifications implicit in the following sentence: "Its sanctuary was closed by a pierced wall, with a single opening, opposite which was placed the Divinity." The buildings were vaulted, and adorned on the interior with half-columns, between which were frescoes and some inscriptions on bronze. De Jorio[1] held that these buildings were *curiae* or "tribunals," analogous to those at the south end of the Forum of Pompeii, and Beloch[2] inclines to accept this view; but Ruggiero[3] follows Cochin and Bellicard.

We have also an inscription about a "Macellum" (Meat or Fish Market),[4] perhaps not in use at the time of the disaster, as the inscription was face downwards and used as the base of a cupboard.[5]

Before leaving the town proper, we must say something of the small portion excavated in the nineteenth century, and still exposed, often called the "Scavi Nuovi."[6] This part of the city sloped steeply to the south-west, and ended in a sharp cliff; and strong and elaborate subterranean rooms were needed to keep the last houses level. Two streets were laid

[1] *Notizie sugli Scavi di Ercolano*, 1827. [2] p. 235. [3] p. xi.

[4] Found January 19, 1765, now in Museo Nazionale, No. 3738; *C.I.L.* x. 1. 1457.

[5] So Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*

[6] For the whole description of the "Scavi Nuovi" see Ruggiero, *Scavi di Ercolano*, pp. xlvi-li.

bare, crossing one another at right angles. That running down to the sea has a fine vaulted drain, 0.60 metres broad and 1.05 metres high, fed by various small drains and gutters. At the edge of the cliff it empties into a well-shaped opening of unknown depth, but certainly more than three metres.

The details of this portion of the city are far too elaborate to be here fully described, but we must endeavour to indicate some of the chief points of interest. Three of the openings to the street were fronted by porticoes, whose columns stood upon the edge of the pavement; near them five stone benches were found. Almost all the houses were two storeys high, and had *moeniana* projecting over the street. But these upper structures, of unique architectural and archaeological interest, were in every case allowed to collapse; a few traces alone still remain, and a plan,[1] by Bonucci, of the upper storey of the "Casa d' Argo." None of the houses were completely explored, so that their exact arrangement and size, and even their chief entrances, are often difficult to ascertain. Four shops are easily recognisable by the size of their doors, and three eating-houses by their fireplaces and their benches, sometimes solid, sometimes hollow and filled with earthenware vessels. Perhaps the most interesting individual feature is an open-air court with an elaborate system of marble tanks and running water, identified as an oyster bed. A "Thermae" was partially excavated. The whole of the sea street was strewn with fragments of bronze statues, human and equine, of various scales, and there was also found a small silver bust of Galba, in tiny fragments, now carefully put together and in the Museo Nazionale.[2] This portion of the site[3] had been considerably tunnelled by the eighteenth-century excavators, and many of the larger works of art had been removed. However, a marble bust, several pictures, and a number of

[1] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, Tav. xii.

[2] No. 110127; cf. also p. 659 in Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.* (record of September 11, 1874).

[3] Cf. especially Arditi's letter, February 15, 1837 (in Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. 571).

bronze statuettes were unearthed,[1] and an almost bewildering number of domestic antiquities of the highest interest. These included not only fine bronze and clay vessels, but a great variety of wooden objects: for example, a wooden chest of drawers, with bronze fittings, unfortunately empty.[2] There were also found a quantity of nets, ropes, cords, eatables, etc.

Of the Tombs of Herculaneum little need be said. Omitting four funeral inscriptions on marble in the Museo Nazionale,[3] the exact *provenance* of which is unknown, we have only notices by Weber,[4] Bellicard (with a plan),[5] and Gori,[6] all probably referring, as Ruggiero[7] holds, to a single discovery (a subterranean family vault, apparently of the Nonian family). This tomb seems to have lain under the farm Moscardino, which then perhaps covered a wider extent of ground than now, in the place where La Vega marks his "Sepulcretum."[8] It was divided into niches, and had names[9] inscribed above in vermilion. Urns with clay lids were found entire. The tomb was rectangular and was entered by a staircase. Some urns were also found above this tomb at a higher level.

We have left to the last a division of our subject which is in many ways the most important of all—the country houses lying round the city. Campania was a favourite residence of rich Roman nobles, and we have special evidence of Herculaneum's popularity.[10] That fact alone would fully justify the assertion that the buried villas of this district are an

[1] See especially Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, pp. 583-678, *i.e.* the journals of the excavations from 1869 to 1884.

[2] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. 588; May 14, 1869.

[3] Nos. 3756, 3757, 3758, 3759.

[4] Between November 1750 and February 1751; Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. xxxvii.

[5] In Cochin and Bellicard, *Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d'Herculanum* (Bellicard's account was written in 1750). See Ruggiero, *Scavi di Ercolano*, p. 256, and Tav. VIII. 2a.

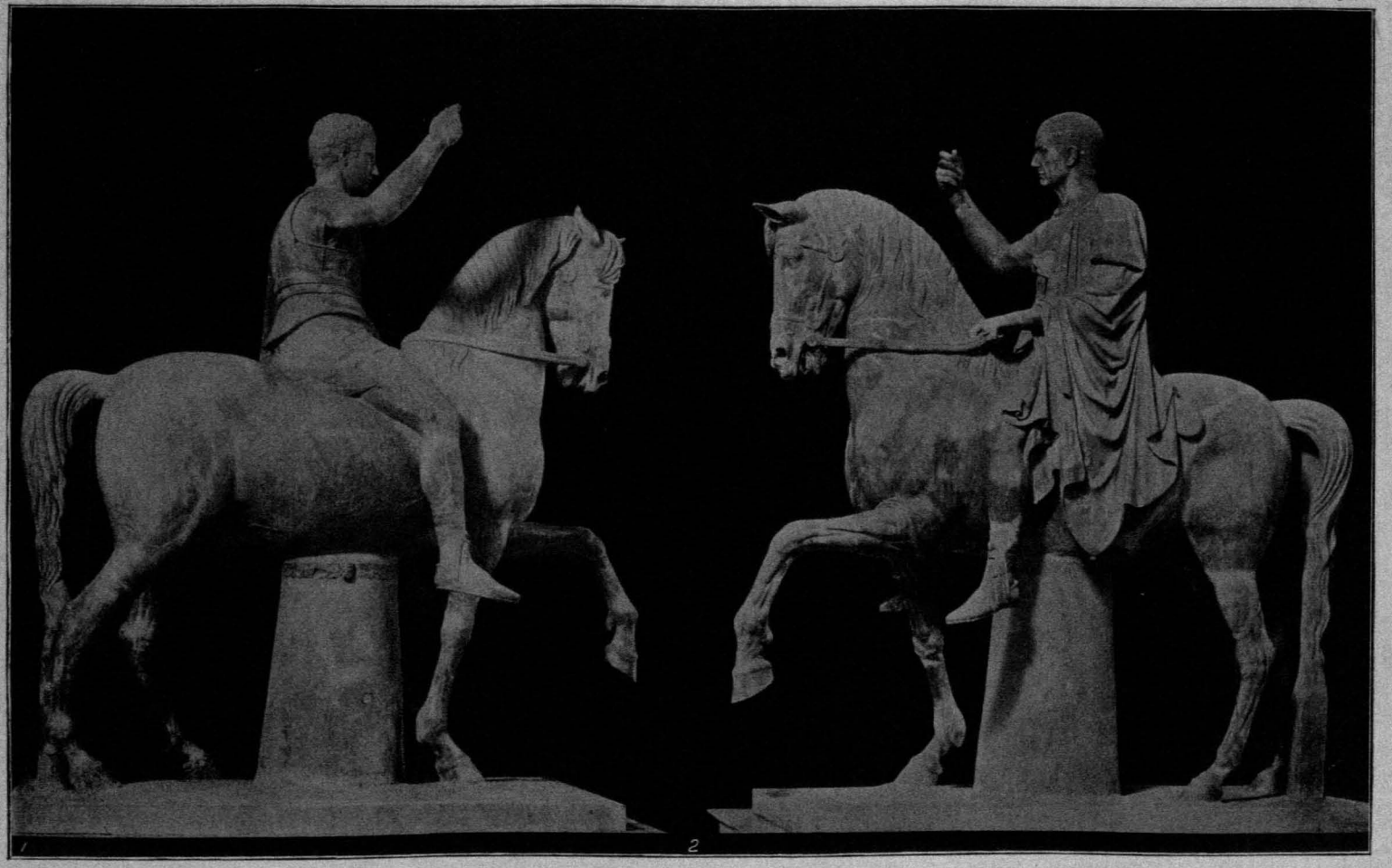
[6] *Symbolae Litterariae*, Decadis II. vol. ii. Letter 23, Rome, 1751.

[7] *Scavi, etc.*, p. xxxvii.

[8] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, Tav. II. in corner; Plate 11 in this book.

[9] Cf. *C.I.L.* x. 1. 1473-75.

[10] See Part I. Chapter II.



EQUESTRIAN STATUES OF THE BALBUSES. PLATE 15.

exceptionally promising field for excavation. The wildest hopes were more than fulfilled by the one villa at all deeply explored—the famous "Casa dei Papiri." Before giving the marvellous details of this most fruitful of all Campanian excavations, we must point out that, despite the almost complete concentration of systematic research upon the actual town, at least three other villas appear to have been discovered since the middle of the eighteenth century.

First, from the end of 1752 till the end of May 1754,[1] at a point in front of the "Epitaffio di Portici," some 400 metres below the Royal Stables of Portici, there were excavated rooms with painted walls and others encrusted with alabasters and various marbles; others had vaults still in position, one of which had stucco panels,[2] adorned with figures and other decorations in bas-relief. There were also found some blocks of a marble column, some clay and lead vessels, a clay lamp, hinges, many lead pipes, and other fragments of various sorts.

Secondly, in July 1755, in a shaft sunk in connection with the new buildings of the Royal Stables just alluded to, an ancient wall was struck adorned with a number of paintings. This discovery was followed up, and excavations went on until the following August. Many mosaics and pictures[3] and some small hinges were extracted. Alcubierre noticed as early as December 7, 1755, that the building was uninhabited, and contained no furniture.

Thirdly, we have two allusions, sixty-seven years apart, to discoveries at a place called the "Fosso di Callollo," a little beyond the Church of S. Maria di Pugliano, in the direction of Vesuvius. We have already mentioned[4] the

[1] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. xi, and the day-books under these dates (beginning December 15, 1752).

[2] Museo Nazionale, Nos. 9604, 9635, 9669, 9691, 9704, 9723, 9737, 9752, 9861, 9877, 9929, representing, apparently, "Sirens with veils on their heads and flowers in their hands"; and Nos. 9603, 9634, 9668, 9690, 9703, 9713, 9722, 9736, 9751, 9860, 9876, 9928, 9975, 9976, representing Minotaurs (see report of March 24, 1754, p. 152 in Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*).

[3] Including No. 9276 in the Museo Nazionale.

[4] See p. 63.

different inferences concerning the extent of Herculaneum drawn from these discoveries. Ruggiero, as we said, believes that they belonged to a part of the town proper; but it can hardly be doubted that Dall' Osso is right in accepting Dall' Aquila's view (see below), that they were part of a country house. The earlier of our two allusions need not long detain us. On July 8, 1769,[1] La Vega writes: "I have commenced to take levels with a view to learning the different planes which distinguished the city of Herculaneum; and this I have done as far as the "Fosso di Callollo," where even in former days excavations were made, and where the old level of cement remains uncovered." On February 22, 1836, Guiseppe dell' Aquila wrote to Arditi, whose agent he was, as follows:[2] "Information has reached me that a farmer of Resina has discovered in his grounds some ancient buildings at a point called the 'Fosso di Callollo,' a little beyond the church of Pugliano towards Vesuvius, and therein are found mosaic pavements and *rosso antico* marbles, not to mention the painted walls, which are sold publicly to strangers, the blame of which is afterwards put upon Pompeii. And since this represents a country house, and I think it has never been explored, it is therefore probable that remarkable objects may be found there, for which reason I have decided that I am doing my duty in informing your Excellency of it, in order that suitable arrangements may be made to stop the continuance of the excavation, which was begun a long time ago."

Again, the "temple" marked to the south-east in La Vega's plan is held, as we have said, by Dall' Osso to be the *peristyle* of a country house.

Last of all, a brief sketch must be given of the most striking discoveries of the "Casa dei Papiri." The whole subject has been worthily treated in an admirable and sumptuous work by the distinguished Italian professors,

[1] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. 497. [2] See *ib.* p. 570.

WALL-PAINTING. CHEIRON AND ACHILLES. PLATE 16.

Domenico Comparetti and Giulio de Petra.[1] Our knowledge of this villa is based chiefly upon the surviving official documents, but additional information may be gleaned from letters of Camillo Paderni (the curator of the Portici Museum) and Monsignor Ottavio Bayardi, the publications of the "Accademia Ercolanese," and the writings of Winckelmann and Martorelli. Further details concerning the finds made in the Villa will be found in Appendix IV., and the question of its ownership will be dealt with in Chapter II. Here we can only summarise the main results.

The site of the villa is recorded with the greatest exactitude, and it could no doubt be reopened without difficulty.[2] The façade,[3] with the principal entrance, faced south-west, with an exterior portico of twelve columns (if the position assigned to the eight marked in Weber's plan is correct). Next came a large *andron*, and beyond that a "Tuscan atrium" with two wings. From the wall opposite the entrance one passed through three doors into a square *peristylium*, surrounded by thirty-six columns, and containing a long and narrow tank or *lacus*. Beyond this again lay several rooms, one of which (with a pedestal, niche, and semicircular apse) may have been the *lararium*. To the right of the "Tuscan atrium" and the *peristylium* lay another portico, and rooms of various sizes, some of them apparently bath-rooms; in one Weber has marked a stove. It is extremely likely that in this direction much lies unexplored; for, despite the

[1] *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni, i sui Monumenti e la sua Biblioteca*, Torino, 1883.

[2] See Weber's plan of the "Round Terrace," Plate XI. in Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.* This terrace, whose position relative to the rest of the villa is exactly recorded (see especially Weber's plan of the villa, Plate IX. *ibid.*, and Plate XXIV. in Comparetti and De Petra) on Plate 11, was 800 palmi south of the Royal Palace, 150 palmi south-east of the garden of Caravita, 2350 palmi north-east of the Gulf of Naples or Castello di Granatello, 105 palmi north-west of the royal street of Ciceri, 530 palmi south-west of the royal street of Portici, and from the peak of Vesuvius 5 miles ("5 miglia di 60 per grado, lat. gr. 40.47, long. 31.51"). See also our Plate 48.

[3] For what follows see Weber's plan, Plate IX. in Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*; Plate XXIV. in Comparetti and De Petra; in this book Plate 11, and Appendix IV. Cf. also Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, pp. xl ff. See also our Plate 48.

magnificence of the courts and the garden, quite inadequate traces of domestic accommodation were laid bare. One note[1] possibly indicates the presence of *coenacula*. From the middle of the left of the *peristylium* one passed through the *tablinum* into the magnificent *viridarium*, surrounded on two sides by twenty-five, and on two by nine or ten columns.[2] In its centre lay a vast tank, *piscina* or *natatio*. At the farther end of the *viridarium* were two rooms, and beyond them a long wall—beside which, perhaps, was an avenue—ran to the aforesaid "round terrace,"[3] an open-air "Belvedere" 3.97 metres high, with a pavement of various coloured marbles, approached by a marble staircase. It is probable that in this region lay a garden. There were found here a gravel path and three fountains wholly or partly of marble; while the only building found was a tank, *piscina limaria*, with walls 1.32 metres high, and connected with pipes. From this led the great conduit which supplied the house, a magnificent structure which called forth Weber's most enthusiastic eulogies. Many of the rooms had marble or mosaic pavements, and careful plans of four of these, besides that of the Belvedere, were made by Weber and obtained by Ruggiero from one of his descendants. Moreover, parts at least of all these pavements are now in the Museo Nazionale.

It will be clear that this was a remarkably fine villa; but the interest of the building itself, great as it is, is utterly eclipsed by that of its unique contents.[4] In this one villa were found thirteen large bronze statues, of which nine at least must always rank among the very finest in the world; eighteen small bronze statues and thirty-two bronze busts, including several exceedingly fine works; fifteen marble busts and eight

[1] December 20, 1755 (see Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. xli). "Above the subterranean staircase they have begun to discover a pavement of white marble, as it were a *quarto* above."

[2] Weber makes nine at one end, ten at the other, probably by a mistake.

[3] See Plate XI. in Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*

[4] See Comparetti and De Petra, *La Villa Ercolanese, etc.*, pp. 256 ff.

WALL-PAINTING. THE CHILDHOOD OF TELEPHUS. PLATE 17.

Telephus in the foreground. Heracles and personification of Arcadia.

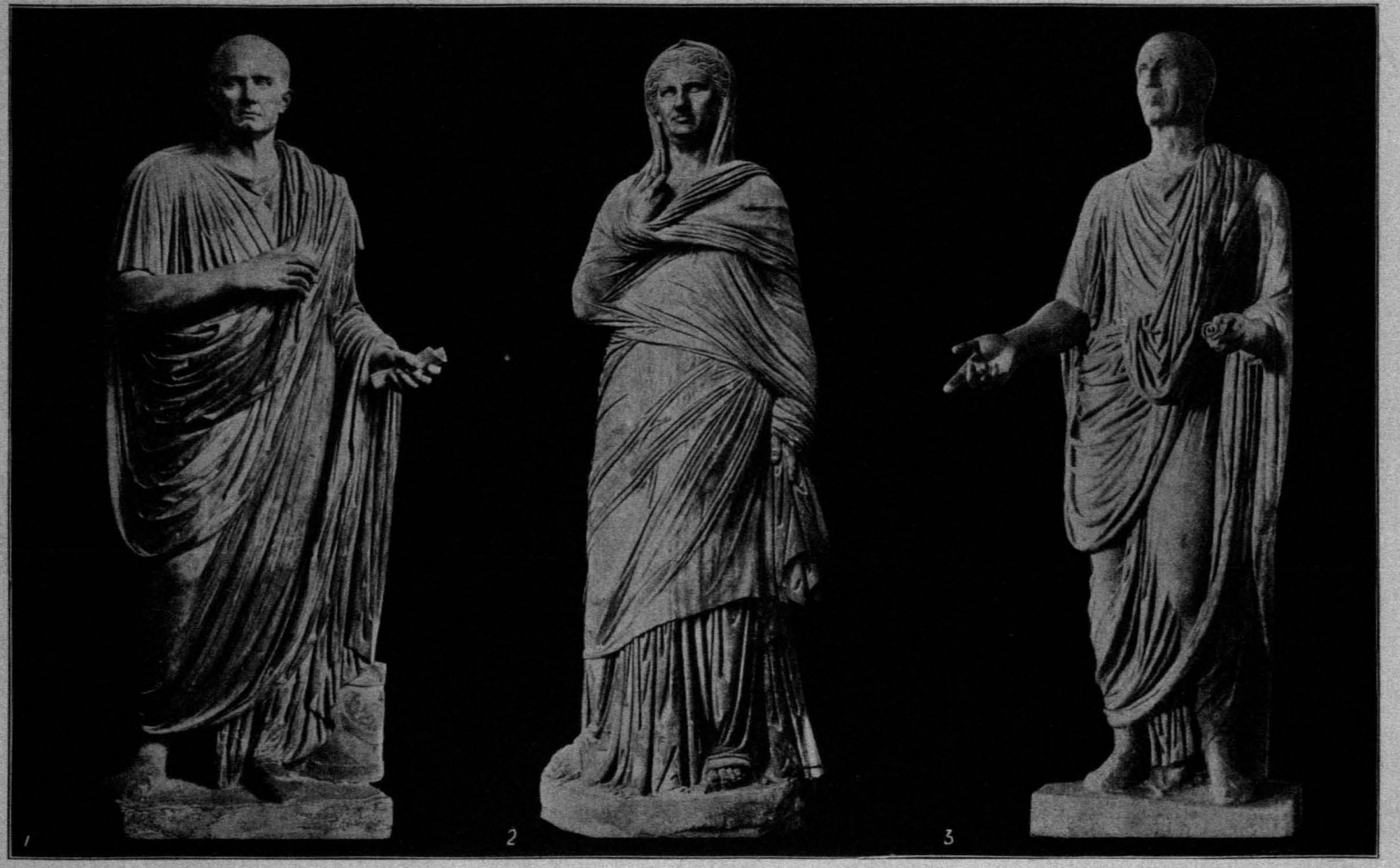
or nine marble statues; and an absolutely unique library of papyrus rolls.

The finest of the many fine bronzes are the Mercury seated upon a rock (Plate I.), the two reclining Fauns (Plate III.), and the five magnificent archaic "dancing maidens" (Plate IV.), with their smaller companion, the "praying maiden." Details of the statues and busts and of the papyrus rolls will be found in the Appendix. Of the last a few words here must suffice. It is uncertain exactly how many rolls and fragments were originally collected; the complete list of those now preserved amounts to 1860. It is conjectured by Comparetti and De Petra[1] that this represents some 800 original rolls. Of these only 709 have hitherto been unrolled, of which 199 have been deciphered and engraved, 143 deciphered only, while of the remaining 367, 90 only are supposed to be decipherable.[2] The condition of these papyri and the methods of opening and deciphering hitherto employed, together with the history of their publication, will be discussed in Chapter IV. Here it will suffice to remark that while the contents of the library could scarcely have been more disappointing, this fact was purely accidental, and there is every hope that the next discovered may throw a flood of light upon the dark places of ancient literature and history. This library proved to consist almost entirely of Epicurean philosophy, and by ill-luck the best preserved rolls were those of, perhaps, the least interesting writer in the collection, Philodemus,[3] "an obscure, verbose and unauthoritative Epicurean of the days of Cicero." There were also, however, fragments of as many as three copies of Epicurus's thirty-seven-volume treatise περὶ φύσεως.[4] But in this Epicurean garden there stood at least one pillar of the Porch, Chrysippus περὶ προνοίας β'; [5] unfortunately, the title alone has survived. There were also unrolled eighteen Latin manuscripts,

[1] *La Villa Ercolanese, etc.*, p. 64.
[2] None have been unrolled since 1883.
[3] Comparetti and De Petra, *La Villa Ercolanese, etc.*, p. 79.
[4] *ib.* p. 6. [5] *ib.* p. 66.

but they were all practically undecipherable, with the exception of small fragments of a poem about Augustus's Egyptian war. Almost all the more promising rolls are said to have been "attacked," but there is reason to hope that improved methods may make it possible to decipher many which now appear absolutely hopeless; and in spite of the uninteresting character of most of the books so far identified, so long as one fragment remains undeciphered there is an indefinite possibility of exciting discoveries. Who can be certain, for example, that no careless guest ever left her pocket Sappho in the library, for a lazy slave to thrust out of sight between Philodemus and Carniscus? And since the papyri were found in various parts of the house, and much remains unexplored, it is quite possible that a set of an entirely different character may still be discovered there.

We have given a rapid and imperfect sketch of what is now known of the topography and structures of Herculaneum. In our second chapter we shall discuss the probable character of her citizens.



THREE MARBLE ROMAN PORTRAIT STATUES. PLATE 18.

Marcus Nonius Balbus the Elder, Viciria Arcas, and unknown Orator.

CHAPTER II

THE INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT AND OF HERCULANEUM

In this chapter we shall have to weigh with critical sobriety some of the arguments which have been adduced to prove that Herculaneum differed from Pompeii in that it was more distinctly and continuously Hellenic in its origin and traditions, and shall in some cases find that the arguments in favour of such a distinctively Hellenic character for Herculaneum are not valid. Still the important fact always remains that the taste of the inhabitants of Herculaneum does show a pronounced preference for the types of Greek art. Whether this was due to the continuous influence of the original Greek settlers or to the taste of the dominant class of Romans who dwelt there in Roman times cannot be finally decided. The fact itself is of highest importance for the main question which this book is meant to investigate.

If the topography of Herculaneum cannot be discussed without reference to Campania in general, still less can the problem of her population be treated in an isolated manner. The aims and limitations of this book preclude a full inquiry into the wide and intricate problems of the ultimate character and origin of the earliest inhabitants of Campania. The exact significance of the names Ὀπικοί and Osci, Αὔσονες and Aurunci, and the linguistic and ethnical affinities of these early peoples with the later Samnite invaders, are beyond our scope. Our literary evidence for the ethnology of ancient Campania is extremely untrustworthy. Important terms like Τυρρηνοί are