BETWEEN IMAGE AND MOVING IMAGE: REPRESENTATIONS OF POMPEII IN ILLUSTRATED BOOKS AND SILENT FILMS OF 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

AYLİN ATACAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

JULY 2020

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Yaşar Kondakçı
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lale Özgenel
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Suna Güven (METU, AH)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lale Özgenel (METU, AH)

Prof. Dr. Belgin Turan Özkaya (METU, AH)

Prof. Dr. Esin Boyacıoğlu (Gazi Uni., ARCH)

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ahmet Gürata (Bilkent Uni., COMD)

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Aylin Atacan

Signature :

ABSTRACT

BETWEEN IMAGE AND MOVING IMAGE: REPRESENTATIONS OF POMPEII IN ILLUSTRATED BOOKS AND SILENT FILMS OF 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURY

Atacan, Aylin
PhD., Department of Architectural History
Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lale Özgenel
July 2020, 446 pages

This dissertation aims to illustrate and examine the depiction of ancient Pompeii as 'space,' 'image', and 'moving image'. A significant novelty introduced in the contemporary literature on Pompeii is the importance given to '(re)presentation' as a way of visualization, rather than as a way of documentation. The corpus of the visual narrative of Pompeii does not illustrate or animate 'ruins'; it is a composed 'architectural mise en abyme' created through representations of 'stage in a stage' and 'frame in a frame'. The main argument relies on a critical reading about the type, content, and nature of Pompeii's early representations. These visual productions form a significant part of its early architectural historiography. The thesis aims to contribute in several ways to the scholarship. First, it aims to introduce and critically address illustrated books as visual sources for architectural interpretation. A second contribution of the study lies in integrating the medium of cinema into its discussion framework. A third contribution is that the thesis sets an example to make a rewarding use of archaeological material in an architectural history framework. The thesis, layer by layer, uncovers the 'archaeology of Pompeian visuality'.

Keywords: Pompeii, Travel Literature, Silent Films, Cinema and Architectural History, Representation and Architectural History

ÖZ

GÖRÜNTÜ VE HAREKETLİ GÖRÜNTÜ ARASINDA:
19. YY VE ERKEN 20. YY'DA RESİMLİ KİTAPLAR VE SESSİZ FİLMLERDE POMPEİİ TEMSİLLERİ

Atacan, Aylin
Doktora, Mimarlık Tarihi Lisansüstü Programı
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Lale Özgenel
Temmuz 2020, 446 sayfa

Bu tez, Pompeii antik kentinin 'mekan', 'görüntü' ve 'hareketli görüntü' olarak üretilen mimari temsillerini örneklemeyi ve incelemeyi amaç edinir. Pompeii üzerine üretilen güncel literatürün getirdiği önemli bir yenilik, temsillere bir dökümantasyon olarak değil bir görselleştirme biçimi olarak bakmayı ve yorumlamayı hedeflemesidir. Pompeii görsel anlatısının farklı temsil biçimleri sadece kalıntıları tasvir etmez ve canlandırmaz; bu temsiller 'sahne içinde sahne' ve 'çerçeve içinde çerçeve' teması altında yaratılmış kompoze bir 'mimari *mise-en abyme*'dir. Tezin ana argümanı, Pompeii'nin erken temsillerinin türü, içeriği ve doğası hakkında eleştirel bir okumaya dayanır. Bu görsel üretimler Pompeii mimarlığı üzerine olan erken mimarlık tarihi yazımının önemli bir bölümünü oluşturur. Çalışma bilimsel araştırma alanına çeşitli yollarla katkı sağlamayı hedef edinir. İlk olarak, seyahat literatürü içerisinde yer alan resimli kitapları mimari yorumlama için görsel kaynaklar olarak tanıtmayı ve eleştirel olarak ele almayı amaçlar. Çalışmanın ikinci katkısı sinema ortamını tartışma çerçevesine entegre etmektir. Üçüncü bir katkı, çalışmanın, mimarlık tarihi çerçevesinde arkeolojik materyalin verimli bir şekilde kullanılması için bir örnek oluşturmasıdır. Tezin en önemli amacı 'Pompeii görselliğinin arkeolojisi' ni katman katman ortaya çıkarmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pompeii, Seyahat Literatürü, Sessiz Filmler, Sinema ve Mimarlık Tarihi, Temsil ve Mimarlık Tarihi

To My Mom

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am first and foremost indebted to my magnificent advisor Lale Özgenel, who gave me every possible encouragement to complete the thesis. Words cannot adequately express how grateful I am to her, without whom this thesis would not have been possible. I am extremely grateful to my dissertation committee members Belgin Turan Özkaya and Ahmet Gürata who contributed to the thesis with their invaluable remarks and criticisms from its very earliest stages to the end. I also owe sincere thanks to my examining committee members Suna Güven and Esin Boyacıoğlu for their insightful criticisms.

As with any project that moved across countries and seas on its journey, there are numerous people to thank for improving the work and making the experience more enjoyable. I am grateful to all the staff at the Superintendency of Pompeii for giving me permission to visit the houses which are not open to public, and to document them. In particular, I would like to thank the member of the UNESCO office, Antonella Bonini who accompanied me at the site visit in 2017. I would like to express my great thanks to Kathleen Dickson, and in particular, to Steve Tollervey of British Film Institute who organized my viewing session in 2018. I also want to extend my appreciation to the staff at the The National Archaeological Museum of Naples Library and Archive, and The British Film Institute Archive.

During my five years as a research assistant at METU, I have benefited from the constant support of the faculty and staff; I wish to thank them all. The friendship and encouragement of my colleagues was vital; I would like to thank Deniz Özden, Duygu Kalkan Açıkkapı, Elif Bilge, Gizem Güner, Neris Parlak Temizel, and Şehri Kartal. I am deeply grateful to Senem Evsen and Elif Devrim Topsakal for their support and friendship.

My deepest personal gratitude goes to my family, whose kindness, endless love and support came in countless forms. I dedicate this thesis to my mom Songül Atacan and all the dreamers, with love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM iii

ABSTRACT iv

ÖZ v

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vii

TABLE OF CONTENTS viii

LIST OF FIGURES xi

INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Aim 1

1.2 Significance 5

1.3 Scope 8

1.4 Methodology 9

1.5 Structure 10

1.6 Seminal Literature 14

REPRESENTATION of ANCIENT POMPEII: "The Site" 22

2.1 The Birth of Narration: Excavating the "City of The Dead" 22

2.2 Discovery of the Site and its Narration 25

2.3 Ancient Site as an Architectural Stage 45

2.3.1 Urban Architecture and Public Space as a Backdrop 46

2.3.2 Architectural Fabric: Social and Spatial Context of Domus 70

2.3.3 Constructing the Luxury: Villa 82

2.4 Roman House and 'Scenography' 84

2.4.1 Domestic Décor: Artistic Fabrication in Domus 116

2.4.1.1 Staging Rituals 117

2.4.1.2 Artistic Codes of Social Interaction 123

2.4.1.3 Staging Luxury 124

2.4.2 Captured and Framed Lives on Surfaces 126

2.5 Creating Architectural Scenography: Visual and Spatial Representation 132

FROM FACT TO FICTION: POMPEII on PAPER: "The Image" 141

3.1 Travel, Sightseeing and Visual Representation in the 19th c. 141

3.1.1 Travel Literature: Naples and Pompeii 147

3.2 Illustrated and Printed Media on Pompeii 154

3.2.1 Site Accounts 157

3.2.1.1 Scientific Accounts 157

3.2.1.2 Architect as Writer: Pompeii Catalogues and Folios 174

3.2.1.3 Guidebooks 179

3.2.2 Traveler Accounts 195

3.2.2.1 Travelogues 196

3.2.2.2 Travel Albums 206

3.3 "*Pompeiana*": The First Archaeological Guide Book on Pompeii 218

3.4 Constructing Fiction upon Architecture of Pompeii 228

3.4.1 A Victorian Look at *The Last Days of Pompeii* 229

3.5 Staging the Ruins: Photograph as a New Representation/Narration Media in Travel 244

FROM FACT to FICTION: POMPEII on SCREEN: "The Moving Image" 266

4.1 Cinematic Antiquity 267

4.2 Silent Films: A Brief History of the Genre 275

4.3 Architecture in the Making of Historical Film 279

4.4 "Moving" Through Pompeii 285

4.4.1 *The Last Days of Pompeii* as a Movie 289

4.4.2 Talking Images: Pompeii in Silent Films 296

4.4.2.1 *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* – 1908 299

4.4.2.2 *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* -1913 311

4.4.2.3 *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* -1913 327

4.2.2.4 *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* -1926 340

4.4.2.5 Documentary Footage on Pompeii 354

4.5 Convergent Scenography of Pompeian Architecture: From the Images in the Illustrated Books to the Images in the Set Designs of Early Silent Films 362

CONCLUSION 383

BIBLIOGRAPHY 396

APPENDICES 415

APPENDIX A TIMELINE OF DISCOVERIES AND EXCAVATIONS 415

APPENDIX B CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF EXCAVATIONS 416

APPENDIX C CATEGORIZATION of WALL PAINTINGS 417

APPENDIX D LIST OF FILMS ON POMPEII 421

APPENDIX E SYNOPSIS OF THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII 424

APPENDIX F CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF BOOKS and ARTWORKS ON POMPEII 427

APPENDIX G CURRICULUM VITAE 428

APPENDIX H TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET 431

APPENDIX I TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM 446

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. 1 Postcard showing a group of tourists using the funicular to reach the top of Mount Vesuvius 3
Figure 1. 2 Paper print mounted on card 3
Figure 1. 3 Ground plan of Crystal Palace 4
Figure 1. 4 Excavations in Pompeii in presence of sovereigns of Italy and Germany 13

Figure 2. 1 Map showing the location of Pompeii, produced by the author 24
Figure 2. 2 The first known plan of Pompeii 30
Figure 2. 3 Karl Weber's 1758 plan of *Villa dei Papyri* showing the tunnels 31
Figure 2. 4 Site map of Pompeii drawn by Piranesi 33
Figure 2. 5 The earliest known 'Pompeian Style' room 34
Figure 2. 6 Cover of *Les Ruines de Pompeii* 35
Figure 2. 7 Early panoramic photograph of Pompeii through *Via di Mercurio* 37
Figure 2. 8 *The Last Day of Pompeii*, painting, Karl Pavlovic Briullov 39
Figure 2. 9 View of Forum 48
Figure 2. 10 Plan of Forum 48
Figure 2. 11 View of Forum Area 49
Figure 2. 12 Reconstructed view of Forum 50
Figure 2. 13 *Via Dell'Abbondanza,* glass lantern slide 51
Figure 2. 14 Forum of Pompeii decorated for a festival, hand color aquatint, Alessandro Sanquirico 52
Figure 2. 15 The most depicted view of Forum 53
Figure 2. 16 The usage of perspective, depth and visual axis in the painting by Christen Schjellerup Købke 53
Figure 2. 17 Temple of Jupiter and Forum, with a vista towards Vesuvius, Giacinto Gigante 54
Figure 2. 18 The usage of perspective, depth and visual axis in the painting by

Giacinto Gigante 54
Figure 2. 19 Early photograph of Forum 55
Figure 2. 20 The usage of perspective, depth and visual axis in the photograph by Giorgio Sommer 55
Figure 2. 21 Basilica illustrated by the author from a photograph taken in 2017 56
Figure 2. 22 Reconstructed Basilica, engraving in the opera *L'ultimo Giorno di Pompei* 57
Figure 2. 23 Albumen silver print framing Basilica from the entrance 57
Figure 2. 24 Illustration of Temple of Apollo, Fortunino Matania 59
Figure 2. 25 Excavation scene from Temple of Isis 60
Figure 2. 26 Engraving of Temple of Isis 60
Figure 2. 27 Forum Baths illustrated by the author from a photograph taken in 2017 61
Figure 2. 28 View from Forum Baths 61
Figure 2. 29 Scene from the interior of Forum Baths 62
Figure 2. 30 Stabian Baths 63
Figure 2. 31 Large Theatre and Barracks of Gladiators 65
Figure 2. 32 Color lithograph of Theatre 65
Figure 2. 33 Late 19th century photograph showing Large Theatre 66
Figure 2. 34 Albumen print showing Large Theatre 66
Figure 2. 35 Hand-colored albumen silver print depicting Greek Theatre 67
Figure 2. 36 Reconstructed scene depicting the games in Amphitheatre 68
Figure 2. 37 Early photographic image of Amphitheatre 68
Figure 2. 38 Plan formations of House of Sallust between 2nd century BC to 79 AD 72
Figure 2. 39 View of the *atrium* of House of Sallust 72
Figure 2. 40 Plan of House of the Faun 73
Figure 2. 41 Plan of House of the Vettii 73
Figure 2. 42 Views of *atria,* House of the Faun and House of the Vettii 74
Figure 2. 43 Layout of a typical *domus* showing vertical and horizontal axes 75
Figure 2. 44 Painting displaying a silver tableware, Tomb of Vestorius Priscus 78
Figure 2. 45 House of the Tragic Poet 88

Figure 2. 46 View from *atrium* to *hortus*, House of the Tragic Poet.....89
Figure 2. 47 House of the Tragic Poet as illustrated in *Pompeiana*.....90
Figure 2. 48 House of the Tragic Poet, Henri Labrouste.....91
Figure 2. 49 Theatrical Rehearsal in the House of the Tragic Poet.....91
Figure 2. 50 House of the Tragic Poet, Pierre Olivier Joseph Coomans.....92
Figure 2. 51 House of the Tragic Poet, chromolithograph by D. Capri after an illustration by G. Discanno.....93
Figure 2. 52 House of the Tragic Poet, glass lantern slide.....94
Figure 2. 53 House of Pansa.....95
Figure 2. 54 View from *tablinum* to *fauces*, and *atrium* to *peristyle*.....95
Figure 2. 55 Albumen print showing the replicated interior of *Pompeia*.....96
Figure 2. 56 Cover of the handbook, *The Pompeia: A Reproduction of The House of Pansa, in Pompeii*.....96
Figure 2. 57 Plan of House of Pansa.....97
Figure 2. 58 Salted paper print, Calvert Richard Jones.....98
Figure 2. 59 House of Pansa, glass lantern slide.....98
Figure 2. 60 View towards *atrium* and *tablinum*, House of the Faun.....99
Figure 2. 61 House of the Faun, Giorgio Sommer.....100
Figure 2. 62 House of the Faun, George Washington Wilson.....101
Figure 2. 63 House of the Faun.....102
Figure 2. 64 House of the Faun, Rick Bauer.....102
Figure 2. 65 House of Sallust, illustrated by the author.....103
Figure 2. 66 View of *atrium* and *tablinum*, House of Sallust.....103
Figure 2. 67 House of Sallust, hand-colored aquatint.....104
Figure 2. 68 House of Sallust, photograph, Giorgio Sommer.....105
Figure 2. 69 House of Sallust, chromolithograph, Von Falke.....106
Figure 2. 70 House of the Vettii, illustrated by the author.....107
Figure 2. 71 View from *atrium* to the *peristyle,* House of the Vettii.....107
Figure 2. 72 House of the Vettii, glass lantern slide, Sommer and Son.....108
Figure 2. 73 House of the Vettii, Carlo Brogi.....109
Figure 2. 74 Photograph displaying the *peristyle* garden, House of the Vettii.....110
Figure 2. 75 Illustration of House of the Vettii, Frank Fox.....110

Figure 2. 76 Views from garden, Villa of Diomedes 111
Figure 2. 77 Villa of Diomedes, painting, Carl Georg Enslen 112
Figure 2. 78 Villa of Diomedes, lantern slide, Giorgio Sommer....113
Figure 2. 79 Villa of Diomedes, photograph, Robert Rive....113
Figure 2. 80 Villa of Diomedes, photograph, Rick Bauer....114
Figure 2. 81 Human figures in Carl Georg Enslen's painting (1825) and Rick Bauer's photograph (1870) 114
Figure 2. 82 Villa of the Mysteries....120
Figure 2. 83 Indoor banqueting scene in *triclinium,* House of the Chaste Lovers 121
Figure 2. 84 *Cubiculum* reconstructed, Villa of P. Fannius Synistor....124
Figure 2. 85 Operation of "view-through", House of the Centenary....127
Figure 2. 86 Operation of "view-through", House of Menander....128
Figure 2. 87 View through effect, perspective, and imaginary spaces created beyond wall surfaces....129
Figure 2. 88 Reconstruction of three wall-paintings in *oecus,* House of the Labrinth....130
Figure 2. 89 The Fourth Style, House of the Vettii....131
Figure 2. 90 Painting depicting a private concert party that took place in the Neapolitan apartment....138
Figure 2. 91 Close-up view from painting depicting a private concert party that took place in the Neapolitan apartment 138
Figure 2. 92 "Frame in a Frame", graphic displaying the concept of Mise-en Abyme....139

Figure 3. 1 Possible route of Grand Tour between England and Neapolitan area of Southern Italy 142
Figure 3. 2 *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, cover, Joseph Adison....149
Figure 3. 3 Classification of travel literature....156
Figure 3. 4 Plate depicting a house, *Account of the Discoveries at Pompeii: Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London*, William Hamilton 160
Figure 3. 5 *Views of Pompeii*, cover and introductory page, James Duffield Harding and William Light....162

Figure 3. 6 First page depicting the actual state of Villa of Diomedes*, Views of Pompeii* 162
Figure 3. 7 Zoom from Street of Tombs to Herculaneum Gate, *Views of Pompeii*.....163
Figure 3. 8 *Pompeii, Past and Present*, Cover and introductory pages 166
Figure 3. 9 Temple of Venus and its reconstructed image, *Pompeii, Past and Present* 167
Figure 3. 10 House of Balcony and its reconstructed image, *Pompeii, Past and Present* ..168
Figure 3. 11 Amphitheatre and its reconstructed image, *Pompeii, Past and Present* 168
Figure 3. 12 *Pompei Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding*, cover with an illustrated view....170
Figure 3. 13 Actual view of Temple of Apollo, *Pompei Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding*....171
Figure 3. 14 Reconstructed view of Temple of Apollo, *Pompei Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding*....172
Figure 3. 15 Actual view of Temple of Isis, *Pompei Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding*....172
Figure 3. 16 Reconstructed view of Temple of Isis, *Pompei Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding* 173
Figure 3. 17 *Les Ruines de Pompei*, Entrances, House of Pansa, Villa of Diomedes and House of Championnet....176
Figure 3. 18 *Pompeii, Illustrated with Picturesque Views*, Detailed plan of Pompeii.....177
Figure 3. 19 Cover, *Pompei Descritta*....178
Figure 3. 20 Photograph showing the first pages, *Pompei Descritta*....178
Figure 3. 21 *Rambles in Naples*, cover....180
Figure 3. 22 Map of Pompeii, *Rambles in Naples* 182
Figure 3. 23 View of the Street of Sallust with a group of visitors, *Rambles in Naples*....182
Figure 3. 24 Street of Balcony, *Rambles in Naples*....183
Figure 3. 25 *Guide to Pompeii*, cover illustrated with a human cast 185
Figure 3. 26 Graphically depicted general views, *Guide to Pompeii*....186
Figure 3. 27 *A Lightning Spark for Pompeian Visitors*, cover illustrated with an animal cast....187
Figure 3. 28 Reconstructed interior scene, *A Lightning Spark for Pompeian*

Visitors.....188
Figure 3. 29 Reconstructed interior scene with human figures, *A Lightning Spark for Pompeian Visitors*.....189
Figure 3. 30 *Three Hours in Pompeii*, cover.....190
Figure 3. 31 Index, *Three Hours in Pompeii*.....191
Figure 3. 32 Photograph showing House of the Faun, *Three Hours in Pompeii*.....193
Figure 3. 33 Photograph showing House of the Tragic Poet, *Three Hours in Pompeii*.....193
Figure 3. 34 Plan of House of Pansa, *Baedeker's Southern Italy And Sicily: A Handbook for Travelers*.....195
Figure 3. 35 *Italian Pictures*, introductory page.....197
Figure 3. 36 *Italian Pictures*, introductory page of the chapter Naples and Pompeii.....198
Figure 3. 37 General View of Pompeii produced from a photograph, *Italian Pictures*.....199
Figure 3. 38 Restored view from the interior of House of Pansa, *Italian Pictures*.....200
Figure 3. 39 Human figures inserted into an image, *Italian Pictures*.....201
Figure 3. 40 *Pen Sketches*, first page.....202
Figure 3. 41 Title of the chapter on Pompeii, written by an original font, *Pen Sketches*.....203
Figure 3. 42 Actual interior and a restored interior, *Pen Sketches*.....203
Figure 3. 43 Condition of the site and methods of transportation to Vesuvius, *Pen Sketches*.....203
Figure 3. 44 *Roman Holidays and Others*, cover.....204
Figure 3. 45 Photograph showing the process of excavation, *Roman Holidays and Others*.....206
Figure 3. 46 *Souvenirs de Voyages*, cover.....209
Figure 3. 47 Views of funicular and crater of Vesuvius, *Souvenirs de Voyages*.....209
Figure 3. 48 Photograph album, Giorgio Sommer, cover design.....210
Figure 3. 49 Pages displaying the angel frescoes, *Pompei*, Giorgio Sommer.....210
Figure 3. 50 Undated souvenir album, Achille Mauri.....211
Figure 3. 51 *Pompei*, Cover and first page.....212

Figure 3. 52 Naples Museum, showing exhibition cabinets, *Pompei* 213
Figure 3. 53 Pages of travel album in the form of a scrapbook, Roger Björnstjerna 215
Figure 3. 54 *Pompeiana,* William Gell, covers of Volume 1 and Volume 2 220
Figure 3. 55 Engraving of general view of Pompeii, *Pompeiana*, William Gell 221
Figure 3. 56 Excavation view, *Pompeiana* 222
Figure 3. 57 Example of a page order, diary of William Gell 224
Figure 3. 58 Street of the Mercuries, drawing in William Gell's diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana* 225
Figure 3. 59 *Chalcidicum,* drawing in William Gell's diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana* 225
Figure 3. 60 View from the roof of the therme, William Gell's diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana* 225
Figure 3. 61 Vault of the *tepidarium*, detailed drawing in William Gell's diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana* 226
Figure 3. 62 House of the Tragic Poet, plan in Wiliam Gell's diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana* 226
Figure 3. 63 House of the Fountain in William Gell's diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana* 226
Figure 3. 64 Photogravure displaying the blind girl Nydia, *The Last Days of Pompeii* 232
Figure 3. 65 Illustration of the *peristyle* garden, *The Last Days of Pompeii* 232
Figure 3. 66 Last image, *The Last Days of Pompeii* ,1834 illustrated version 233
Figure 3. 67 Frontispiece, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, 1839 234
Figure 3. 68 Frontispiece, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, 1850 234
Figure 3. 69 Frontispiece, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, 1879 235
Figure 3. 70 *The Vintage Festival,* Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, 1871 241
Figure 3. 71 View of Banquetting Hall, Minstrel's Gallery in Knebworth House 243
Figure 3. 72 Daguerreotype image, Alexander John Ellis 247
Figure 3. 73 Temple of Fortuna Augusta, Hand-colored albumen silver print 248
Figure 3. 74 Group of visitors photographed by Giorgio Sommer 250
Figure 3. 75 Photograph, Eruption of Vesuvius, Giorgio Sommer 251

Figure 3. 76 Visitor to Pompeii on a sedan chair, Frank Carpenter.....251
Figure 3. 77 Funicular to Vesuvius, Giorgio Sommer.....252
Figure 3. 78 Group portrait at Vesuvius, Giorgio Sommer.....254
Figure 3. 79 Brazilian Imperial Family at Vesuvius, Giorgio Sommer 254
Figure 3. 80 Photograph showing Alexander Graham Bell entering the ruins of a house in Pompeii.....256
Figure 3. 81 Sophia Myres photographed in Pompeii, Sir John Linton Myres.....257
Figure 3. 82 Woman at the crossing of Via della Fortuna and Nola Street 258
Figure 3. 83 Woman at the stairs of Temple of Isis, York & Son 259
Figure 3. 84 Looking towards the east side of Temple of Apollo, Unknown Artist....261
Figure 3. 85 Group of tourists posing in front of Temple of Isis, Unknown Artist 261
Figure 3. 86 Group of tourists with a man holding Scafati Guide in front of Temple of Isis, Unknown Artist.....262

Figure 4. 1 A street scene from *Via Stabia* in Pompeii, magic lantern slide 269
Figure 4. 2 Cross-section drawing of the Panorama building in Leicester Square, aquatint 270
Figure 4. 3 Engraving showing a group of spectators watching Daguerre's diorama 271
Figure 4. 4 Photograph showing a nickelodeon in London 277
Figure 4. 5 Panoramic view from *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Silver printing-out paper.....294
Figure 4. 6 *The Last Days of Pompeii* at Manhattan Beach.....294
Figure 4. 7 Regional distribution of silent film production companies 296
Figure 4. 8 Real locations of the places narrated in the films.....298
Figure 4. 9 Introduction of the lead characters in the opening scenes, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 300
Figure 4. 10 Sequential order, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908.....300
Figure 4. 11 Street scene where the all characters are seen together, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 301
Figure 4. 12 Plan, House of the Tragic Poet, produced by the author 302
Figure 4. 13 House of Glauco, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 303

Figure 4. 14 Jone and her slaves shown in the set design, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 304
Figure 4. 15 Jone and her slaves shown in the set design, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 304
Figure 4. 16 Circular seating unit, *Road of Tombs*, Jacob Philipp Hackert 305
Figure 4. 17 Circular seating unit, detail from *An Exedra*, Alma-Tadema 305
Figure 4. 18 Circular seating unit, *Outside the Gate of Pompeii*, John William Godward 306
Figure 4. 19 The backdrop used in several scenes, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 306
Figure 4. 20 Plan, Temple of Isis, produced by the author 307
Figure 4. 21 Interior décor created for Temple of Isis, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 307
Figure 4. 22 Amphitheatre scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 308
Figure 4. 23 Scenes in Jone's villa during the time of destruction, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 309
Figure 4. 24 Scene displaying Nidia surrounded by flowers, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 309
Figure 4. 25 *Ophelia*, Sir John Everett Millais 310
Figure 4. 26 Sequential order, chosen scenes, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 312
Figure 4. 27 Color negatives of the film produced by George Klein in USA 313
Figure 4. 28 Street scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 314
Figure 4. 29 Street scene showing the typical features, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 314
Figure 4. 30 Tavern of Burbo, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 315
Figure 4. 31 Semicircular seat, *exedra*, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 316
Figure 4. 32 Interior scene staged from entrance, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 317
Figure 4. 33 Bathing scene, i House of Jone, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 317
Figure 4. 34 Reconstructed *peristyle* garden, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 318
Figure 4. 35 Reconstructed *atrium* and *tablinum*, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 319
Figure 4. 36 Entrance, Glauco's house, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 320
Figure 4. 37 Wall paintings seen behind the curtains, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*,

1913 320
Figure 4. 38 Temple of Isis, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 321
Figure 4. 39 Ritual performance, Temple of Isis, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 322
Figure 4. 40 Spectacle in arena, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 323
Figure 4. 41 Forum of Pompeii during the eruption, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 324
Figure 4. 42 Destruction of buildings and architectural elements and Forum, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 324
Figure 4. 43 Letters written shortly after the release of *The Last Days of Pompeii 1913* in Italy and the USA 325
Figure 4. 44 Magazine page, featuring *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 326
Figure 4. 45 Introduction showing the characters, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 328
Figure 4. 46 Plan, Villa Diomedes, produced by the author 328
Figure 4. 47 Image of the sequential order, showing the chosen scenes, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 329
Figure 4. 48 Scene framed as a stereograph card, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 330
Figure 4. 49 Street scene, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei,* Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913 331
Figure 4. 50 Semicircular seat, entrance of the house of Arbaces, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 331
Figure 4. 51 Banqueting scene, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei,* 1913 332
Figure 4. 52 *Herod's Birthday Feast* displaying a Roman feast scene, Edward Armitage 332
Figure 4. 53 Banqueting scene, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 333
Figure 4. 54 Atrium set design, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 334
Figure 4. 55 Bedchamber of Jone, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 335
Figure 4. 56 *In the Roman Palace* displaying a mistress and her slave 335
Figure 4. 57 Dancing scene on an Attic red-figure vase of mid 4th century BC 336
Figure 4. 58 Arena scenes, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 336
Figure 4. 59 Scenes from sets of Temple of Isis,

Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei, 1913 337
Figure 4. 60 Eruption of Vesuvius, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 338
Figure 4. 61 Sculpture of the blind girl Nidia,
Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei, 1913 338
Figure 4. 62 Scene showing the exercise ground of Stabian Baths 341
Figure 4. 63 Postcard showing Glauco training at the exercise ground of Stabian Baths, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*,1926 342
Figure 4. 64 The Discobolus of Myron 342
Figure 4. 65 Postcard depicting street scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1926.....343
Figure 4. 66 Postcard showing same street from a different angle,
Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei, 1926 343
Figure 4. 67 Postcard showing Tavern of Burbo, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1926.....344
Figure 4. 68 *Lararium* painting.....344
Figure 4. 69 Postcard showing the set design of Temple of Jupiter,
Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei, 1926 345
Figure 4. 70 Postcard showing interior scene from house of Glauco,
Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei, 1926 346
Figure 4. 71 Postcard showing interior scene from house of Jone,
Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei, 1926 348
Figure 4. 72 Bathing Scene, Stabian Baths, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1926.....349
Figure 4. 73 Amphitheatre Scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1926 350
Figure 4. 74 Potcard showing destruction in house of Glauco,
Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei, 1926 350
Figure 4. 75 Film stills and paintings displaying cartibulum.....353
Figure 4. 76 Interior scene showing *mensa delphica*,
Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei, 1913 354
Figure 4. 77 Images showing *tarantella* performance, *Neapolitan Dance at the Ancient Forum of Pompeii,* 1898.....355
Figure 4. 78 Albumen silver print showing *tarantella* performers, Giorgio Sommer.....356
Figure 4. 79 Forum scene, *Visit to Pompeii*, 1901 356
Figure 4. 80 Façade views from Forum, *Visit to Pompeii*, 1901.....357

Figure 4. 81 Forum scene, *Visit to Pompeii*, 1901 358
Figure 4. 82 Temple of Apollo, *Visit to Pompeii,* 1901 358
Figure 4. 83 Funicular station, and funicular Etna, *Visit to Pompeii,* 1901 359
Figure 4. 84 Two ladies in front of Basilica, *Visit to Pompeii,* 1901 359
Figure 4. 85 Tourists visiting Pompeii, *Visit to Pompeii*, 1901 360
Figure 4. 86 Victorian lady posing among the ruins, *Visit to Pompeii*, 1901 360
Figure 4. 87 Opening scenes from short footage, *The Relic of a Great Calamity,* 1927 361
Figure 4. 88 Visit of King Alfonso XIII of Spain and Queen Ena to Pompeii, *Royal Sightseers*, 1923 361
Figure 4. 89 *Visit of King of Italy*, 1927 362
Figure 4. 90 Panorama view of Pompeii, Robert Burford 364
Figure 4. 91 Panorama view of Pompeii, Carl George Enslen 364
Figure 4. 92 *View of New Discoveries Made in the Western Suburb of Pompeii* by Charles François Mazois; *The Entrance to Pompeii on the site of Porta Nolan* by Alessandro Sanquirico 365
Figure 4. 93 *Country House near the Ancient City of Pompeii* by Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non; *Garden of the House of Diomedes at the Walls of Pompeii* by Alessandro Sanquirico 366
Figure 4. 94 Panorama painting, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 366
Figure 4. 95 Street scenes from films *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompeii* 368
Figure 4. 96 Reconstructed street view, *Pompei Before Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surroundings* 368
Figure 4. 97 Sketch by Finley Acker, *Pen Sketches* 368
Figure 4. 98 *Exedra* outside the gate of Herculaneum, *Pompeiana* 369
Figure 4. 99 *Exedra*, *Pompeii, Illustrated with Picturesque Views* 370
Figure 4. 100 Plate showing *exedra* on Street of Tombs, *Views of Pompeii* 370
Figure 4. 101 *Exedra* illustration, *Guide to Pompeii* 370
Figure 4. 102 Amphitheater scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1908 371
Figure 4. 103 Engraving showing entrance of arena, *Pompeii, Illustrated with Picturesque Views* 371
Figure 4. 104 Photograph from Amphitheater, *Pompeii Past and Present* 372

Figure 4. 105 Eruption scene in Amphitheater, *Pompeii Past and Present*.....372
Figure 4. 106 Reconstruction of Forum, *Pompeii Past and Present* 373
Figure 4. 107 View of Forum, *Pompeiana* 373
Figure 4. 108 Reconstruction of Temple of Jupiter, *Pompei Before Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surroundings*.....373
Figure 4. 109 Reconstruction of Temple of Jupiter, *Pompei Before Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surroundings*.....374
Figure 4. 110 Décor of Forum, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompeii*, 1926 374
Figure 4. 111 Street scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1926.....375
Figure 4. 112 View from shop, *Pompeii; Its History, Buildings and Antiquities* 375
Figure 4. 113 Street fountains, *Les Ruines de Pompéi* 376
Figure 4. 114 Reconstructed interior scene in House of the Tragic Poet, *Pompeiana*.....377
Figure 4. 115 Reconstructed interior scene in the House of the Second Fountain, *Pompeiana*.....378
Figure 4. 116 Reconstructed interior scene in House of Dioscuri, *Pompeiana*.....378
Figure 4. 117 Interior scenes from house of Glauco 379
Figure 4. 118 Destruction scene, *Pompeii Past and Present*.....379

Figure 5. 1 Photograph showing Farnese Hercules after explosion.....395

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim

This thesis aims to illustrate and discuss the depiction of ancient Pompeii as 'space,' 'image' and 'moving image' as a repeatedly occurring and intertwining theme in various representational media at the end of the 19th and the early 20th century when the city had become a famous archaeological site and began to feature as context and content in artworks, books, photographs, and films. By combining physical, written, and visual evidence on the ancient site and architecture, the study frames a broader historical understanding of how representation had played an important role in constructing the visual knowledge and narration of Pompeii. It also reveals the complexity and nuances involved in various types of representations.

The ruins and architectural remains unearthed at the site were utilized in media realms to fabricate visual contexts that framed and animated the architecture and life of the ancient site from the eye of the producers. The accidental finds, the early unsystematic digs and the later organized and more scientific excavations which spanned between the 16th and 19th centuries were utilized to compose literal and visual narrations of the site, and thus to create a myth of 'archaeological discovery,' and a fable of 'resurrection of Pompeii'. These narrations represent the early epoch of the architectural historiography of Pompeii. An examination and discussion of representations of Pompeii on paper and screen, in this context, demonstrate that the visuality of the site had been interpreted in particular formats and produced with visual codes, which indeed transformed the site from an archaeological entity to a narrative, stage and set.

The period concerned corresponds to the emergence of architectural representations of the ancient city in the photography and film. The architectural representations that were

utilized as a form of visual representation of reality/actuality in this period are, undoubtedly, not comparable to the modern ones that are created in digitalized media. While the technological difference is an obvious factor, the most significant distinction between now and then lies in how the visual material and form of propagation circulated trans-geographically by the site experiencers. For example, the visitor/tourist who took photographs and prepared albums of the ancient city as a souvenir carried information about the site in the form of captured photographic shots from one place to another. The cities that were visited as touristic destinations in the 19th century, including both the ancient cities like Pompeii and Athens and the contemporary ones like Rome and Paris, in this sense, were introduced to the European populace in the form of 'scenes' that presented architectural representations of urban spaces, domestic environments, public edifices, and daily life. The scenes that were produced to present a fictionalized visual context in most cases were indeed treated as a mirror of urban reality.

The 'site' gained a touristic value and became a popular travel and sight-seeing destination through several simultaneously occurred developments. The funicular railway that was put into operation in 1880, and the organizations of the 'Grand Tour' that started in the 19th century and followed a route between Britain and Italy, and which benefitted from this service were among the primary developments (Figure 1.1). The tour was designed and organized mainly for entertainment and leisure purposes and enabled travelers to engage with the site as early as the 19th century. The travelers' perception and experience of the site facilitated the visual and informative transfer of the ancient site in various ways to several homelands. An exemplary instance is the Great Exhibition of 1851. The Crystal Palace, which was erected for the Exhibition and reconstructed later in South London in 1854, housed a replica of a Pompeian house designed in the Victorian taste (Figures 1.2, 1.3). Developments in the technology of printing and binding, in addition, made the illustrated books about the touristic destinations available for the common populace who lacked means and time for travel. The ancient sites became known via these publications which came in many forms, from scientific accounts, sketchbooks, scrapbooks, logbooks, guidebooks and handbooks to photograph albums, and consequently created a cultural affinity and emulation for antiquity that foremost manifested in imitating ancient decoration, and lifestyle in especially the European context.

Figure 1. 1 Postcard showing a group of tourists using the funicular to reach the top of Mount Vesuvius (Source: www.tramwayinfo.com)

Figure 1. 2 Paper print mounted on card showing the reconstructed Pompeian house in the rebuilt Crystal Palace at Sydenham in 1854 (Source: www.londonstereo.com)

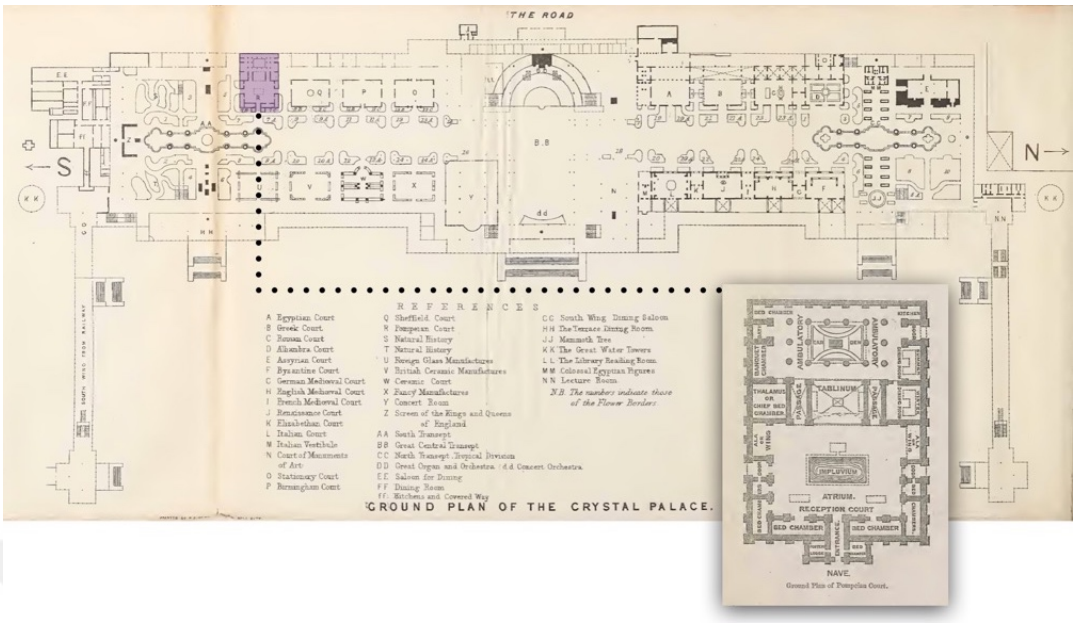


Figure 1. 3 Ground plan of Crystal Palace showing the "Pompeian Court", produced by the author from the visuals in *Guide to the Crystal Palace and Park*, 1854, p. 87

The factual information generated from the excavations inspired the painters of the early 19th century to create compositions of ancient scenes from Pompeii. Paintings that depicted ancient sites, including Pompeii, were commissioned by the wealthy patrons of the European aristocracy with the aim to display in private residences, and later in the museums. As such, the visual information about the ancient cities and ruins presented in these paintings circulated only in the intellectual milieus, and their public exposure and influence remained limited compared to the printed media.

Representations of Pompeii changed scope and format after the introduction of moving-image technology at the end of the 19th century. The cinema, as the ultimate format of this technology, became a popular medium of representation that escalated the interest in antiquity and past cultures. Cinema was a dynamic representation medium and made the clients of the early historical film, experience travel through sequences of captured images from the ancient sites. It can be argued that because the producers of the first short films derived the 'visual codes' of representation mainly from the artworks, in particular from paintings; the paintings had most often relied on illustrated books, and that the illustrated books utilized the archaeological content, Pompeii was actually exposed to three

consecutively and interrelatedly developed media of representation: site (archaeology-driven), paper (image-driven) and film (moving image-driven).

Scenes representing the ancient city were framed first by the ancient Pompeians, who constructed architectural sequences in both private and public settings. The excavations that brought to light the spatial correspondences of these settings had actually revealed the archaeological contexts that would be represented afterward. The archaeological material, in this sense, served as a repository for the first staged representations that were produced as illustrated images in the form of drawings and photographs. With the cinematic vision came the 'moving photography,' that indeed (re)staged the ancient city on screen. Taken together, it can be stated that the narration history of ancient Pompeii is nothing but a composition of a stage in a stage in a stage…

In this regard, the main argument of the thesis relies on a critical reading of the type, content, and nature of early representations of Pompeii, that is, the visual productions that form a significant part of its early architectural historiography. It, therefore, addresses such questions as; How the ancient site was constructed socially, spatially and visually by the ancients themselves? How the ancient site was staged in different visual media following its recovery? In which ways the 'ruins' were aestheticized, produced, and reproduced? What were the visual codes of production, reproduction, and representation? Who were the actors that compiled, produced and disseminated the representational images? What are the thematic and narrative links between different representational media?

1.2 Significance

Pompeii casts an influential shadow over history in almost every subsequent period after the excavations had started. By the middle of the 18th century, the excavations began to be documented appropriately, and most importantly, reported in printed media. Until that time, Pompeii had featured many times as an art theme because the remains and ruins of the city had presented a potent visuality. As a matter of fact, in order to create a persuasive narration, the artists composed fictitious depictions by utilizing the art treasures unearthed

in the excavations. The excavations, in fact, unleashed a veritable passion for antiquity and especially for 'ruins', and launched a 'visual phenomenon.' The resurrection of Pompeii in this context became a popular and appreciated theme in both literal and visual studies.

The exceptional preservation status of ancient Pompeii and the amount of material information gathered from the archaeological studies since the 19th century presents a rich context to discuss aspects of ancient Roman culture in various thematic frameworks, such as in terms of urbanization and architecture, social and private use of space, rituals and cultural practices, and finds and decoration. The amplitude and diversity of the archaeological evidence made Pompeii an indispensable reference for studies that focus on ancient Roman culture. Thus, the scholars of Roman antiquity took Pompeii as a micro-cosmos of Rome for a long time. The site and its archaeological content were taken to represent Roman art, architecture, and urbanism almost until the 1990s when discursive frameworks that are based on critical interpretations of both textual sources and archaeological evidence introduced novel readings and discussions about the cultural and material history of Pompeii. Readings that take visuality as a central theme, in this context, exemplify those approaches that utilize an interdisciplinary framework and make creative interpretations in Pompeian historiography. Therefore, it can well be stated that how Pompeii was represented also influenced how it has been presented, interpreted, and discussed in the history of scholarship on Roman antiquity.

The thesis, accordingly, aims to contribute in several ways to this scholarship. First, it aims to introduce and critically address illustrated books as visual sources for architectural interpretation. Although considerable research has been devoted to the representation of Pompeii in paintings, relatively less attention has been paid to the illustrated books in which the contents were choreographed by images of selected scenes and accompanied texts. The most remarkable examples of such illustrated books belong to travel literature, which had never acquired a homogenous identity and took many forms, including memoirs, scenic tour journals, topographical essays, romantic narratives, exploration journals, and guidebooks. One of the significant contributions of the study, in this regard, is to discuss and demonstrate how travel writing had served as a visual source. Assuming

the illustrated book as a collector and transmitter of visual data, and analyzing the performative role of the page in displaying and framing this data shows how Pompeii became '(re)staged', foremost, through illustrated 'architectural stages' in a two-dimensional medium.

A second contribution of the study lies in integrating the medium of cinema into its discussion framework. As a newly emerged medium of representation, cinema became the iconic visual representation sphere of the 19th century, changed the notion of static representation, became a mass-entertaining media, and launched a new way of looking at history. The late 19th century and early 20th century, in this context, witnessed a rapid change in the representation of the ancient world through the swift and embracing reach of moving-image technology. The silent films which constitute the early phase of cinema became the new visual environment to stage antiquity to the audience. The study explores the potentials of utilizing the representative and telling examples of a fundamental nineteenth-century visual phenomenon – the moving image, to offer an inclusive and interdisciplinary reading on the representational history of Pompeii. By focusing on a sample of silent films based on and adapted from the novel *The Last Days of Pompeii*, the thesis addresses the reciprocal connection between the textual and the pictorial way of stimulating visuality. The silent films discussed in the study constitute a rarely studied academic research subject. The available research revolves around discussing such themes as gender, sexuality, national identity, class, and ethnicity. Hence, no study has yet looked at these films from the perspective of architectural history, and for example, addressed in which ways the architectural representations of Pompeii produced for the silent films had echoed facts within fictions. An examination of the architectural representations in the silent films opens ground for an interdisciplinary discussion that engages with cinema and architectural historiography. For the architectural historians of antiquity, the new ground which settles on the visual material gathered from the silent movies which represent classical subjects, such as ancient cities, offers a creative premise to be uncovered.

A third contribution is that the thesis sets an example to make a rewarding and fruitful use of archaeological material in an architectural history framework. The architectural legacy of Pompeii has been thoroughly investigated socially and spatially, while an

examination of the history and context of the representation of this legacy is yet at an early stage. In the 19th century, there existed a 'myth of antiquity' which aroused curiosity on ancient architecture and daily life. Although the myth was not associated directly with Pompeii, the revealing of an ancient city almost in its entirety, the astounding architectural discoveries and the rich context of findings made Pompeii shine within the myth of antiquity in the 19th century. The city, in this regard, gained more popularity than the other ancient cities, and became the emblematic representative of ancient Rome. The most powerful and effective factor that made Pompeii such a prominent representative of the ancient past was the far-reaching and meticulously drafted visual (re)presentations that narrated architectural and urban scenes from the city. The thesis, in this respect, uncovers the 'archaeology of Pompeian visuality'.

1.3 Scope

The thesis limits the scope of the main argument to the period between the 19th and early 20th century, while also referring to the 18th century to set its historical frame. Pompeii was first staged to the public through the open-air excavations that were initiated around the 1750s. The site directors, visitors, writers, and artists contributed to the spread of information and evidence collected from the excavations. It is, therefore, not a coincidence that Pompeii became a popular and well-known ancient site in the 19th century. This century, at the same time, witnessed a radical and rapid change in understanding the material world; scientific progress, new research and questioning thoughts in fields like geology, chemistry, physics, astronomy, as well as archaeology accelerated the propagation of information on the history and antiquity, including that of Romans and Pompeii too. A considerable amount of the early historiography on ancient Pompeii was written, visualized, and disseminated in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The most important agent was the traveler/visitor/tourist who transferred both textual and visual information, produced material including photographs and illustrated books, and transported objects and souvenirs from Pompeii to home. This cultural transportation provided an opportunity for artists to represent antiquity in the light of the unearthed objects and art treasures found in Pompeii. Paintings that depicted ruins and

ancient sites gained a documentary character and became sources of reference, in addition to their artistic value, for the later printed materials.

Paintings, illustrated books that include images in such book formats as scientific accounts, guide books, handbooks, travelogues, photographs and albums, and cinematic devices and films, constitute the visual corpus on the representations of Pompeii. The thesis presents selected samples from each media and compares them in terms of purpose, content and method of representation in the course of the argument. The sampling is made according to the accessibility of archival sources as well as the representative identity, quality, and content scope of the material.

1.4 Methodology

All the chapters are arranged to include a comparative analysis of the actual information gathered from the excavations and the visual representations which replicated, fabricated and/or reconstructed the factual data. To make this possible, that is, to compare the pictorial sequencing and visuality of ancient Pompeian architecture with its later representations the following themes are used: 'depth', 'illusion', 'allusion', 'stage', '*mise en scene*' and '*mise en abyme*'.

The study utilizes images/illustrations and films produced on Pompeii as primary sources, in addition to the scholarly literature, to make a critical evaluation of the visual media as representative of domestic and urban architecture, and daily in the ancient city. The research, in this sense, includes both archival study and literature survey. It looks at the publications concerning excavation records and site documentation as well as the visual material that consists of guide books, accounts, travelogues, photographs, and films. The structure of the study is based on framing the discussion in three visual representation contexts: 'the site', 'the image', and 'the moving image', that also corresponds to the main argument chapters.

The archival study determined the outline of the main argument chapters, as each visual representation context required separate archival research. Chapter 2, presents paintings

and photographs, Chapter 3 presents illustrated books, and Chapter 4 presents moving images that are deconstructed from the selected films; the films, in turn, establish their own image archives as they are converted into sequential images. The selection of the illustrated books is based on the research conducted in several libraries in 2017, especially in the library and archive of Naples Archaeological Museum. Several books are gathered from online database collections.[1] A site survey is done in 2017 to make in situ analysis, observation and documentation; the photographs are taken with the permission of The Archaeological Park of Pompeii, a unit of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism. The graphical drawings prepared by the author are based on the photographs taken from the online sources. The films are tracked and viewed in the British Film Institute (BFI) Reuben Library, British Film Institute Mediatheques, and British Film Institute Archive in 2018, and in the online collections including the British Pathe in 2018, the *Istituto Luce Cinecitta* in 2018, and the Eye Film Institute in 2017.

1.5 Structure

The study is organized in three major thematic discussion chapters that aimed to make an 'archaeology-like survey' on the visuality of Pompeii; in this respect, the chapters focus on the archaeology of the architecture at the site, archaeology of the illustrated books about the site, and the archaeology of the short films about Pompeii respectively.

Chapter 2, *Representation of Ancient Pompeii: "The Site"* begins by giving a brief overview on the history of Pompeii and the excavations in order to provide a background for such questions as in which ways the ancient city was staged? How the urban layout of the city, and more significantly, the architectural organization of the dwellings staged scenes to the outer world via visual and spatial representations? How the visual 'narration' of Pompeii had started? In this regard, the most represented public structures are

[1] The online databases used to track the illustrated books are as follows: "The Internet Archive" (a digital library of internet sites and other cultural artifacts in digital form), "HathiTrust Digital Library" (a collaborative of academic and research libraries preserving 17+ million digitized items), and "Online Archive of Bibliotheque Nationale de France".
The archives used to find the photographs are: "HEIR -The Historic Environment Image Resource," in the University of Oxford, and "*PompeiiinPictures"*, a digital archive produced and owned by Jackie and Bob Dunn.

examined comparatively in different representational media, such as engravings, paintings, and photographs. The Pompeian house, *domus,* is well exemplified in the site. Studies on the architecture and decoration of *domus*, demonstrated that it was designed as a combination of 'architectural sequences'. The section reserved for domestic architecture, in this respect, introduces the sequences by analyzing architectural features as well wall-paintings that elaborate perception of spatiality. The houses that were frequently used as the background settings of the fictional narrations form the case study sample. The correlation between various art products is examined in both urban and domestic contexts. 'Background' creations, such as Vesuvius, a reminder of the great tragedy, or Forum, that feature in several representations are highlighted as the visual strategies used to transform an architectural space to a stage. The photographs taken by the author and the abstract drawings produced by the author are used to supplement the visual materials and the argument. Most of the images used in the chapter are collected from the online databases and, as such, are the high-resolution versions of the images found in publications. Over time, the ancient city generated its own narration and its visual archive. In the meantime, there emerged actors who produced, conducted, and transferred the factual data. In this line of thought, the actors of this chapter are the excavators, site directors, and the artists who created the early representations of the city. The chapter, 'site', in this regard, focuses on presenting the gradual process of physical and visual 'revealing' of Pompeii.

Chapter 3, *From Fact to Fiction: Pompeii on Paper: "Image"* focuses on how the site was architecturally illustrated and re-constructed on paper and thus influenced fictions as a reference, such as the seminal novel *The Last Days of Pompeii* authored by Edward Bulwer-Lytton in 1834. This chapter includes a discussion on the role of Victorians and Edwardians in the 19th century; those who visited the ancient site and produced various types of artistic representations of ancient Pompeii. They also represent the 'British antiquarianism' in the sense that they collected and displayed the ancient objects they brought from Pompeii. Around the 1820s, first guide books on Pompeii were published. These books, however, were not suitable to move around as they were big and heavy. With the productions of illustrated, lighter, and portable versions of guidebooks, it became more practical, easier, and faster to reach and transfer the architectural and site-

specific knowledge. In this regard, the illustrated books opened ground for visual representations that became encapsulated on pages. In line with Chapter 2, which discussed how the city and its architectural components were conceptualized and designed as stages, this chapter argues that the framed illustrations in the books (re)staged the architectural scenes, and the books, in this regard, had their own scenography in terms of the order, composition, and sequence of the images used. In order to analyze the visual content of these books, the productions are classified as scientific accounts and traveler accounts. The actors of this chapter, in this regard, are the authors and the travelers who indeed created a 'visual phenomenon' on Pompeii.

Chapter 4, *From Fact to Film: Pompeii on Screen: "Moving Image"* examines the representations of Pompeii on screen. Even though the architectural fabric of the ancient city was studied in different disciplines, including archaeology, architectural history, art history, and classics, few studies have actually focused on reading this fabric through films. Pompeii's narration from its first dig until today had indeed, a long-term effect on its visual productions. There exist about dozens of films about Pompeii produced in different genres since 1898. The films that were produced at the turn of the 19th century and the early 20th century are elaborated as case studies. As Francois Penz (2018) claims: "Cinema constitutes an accidental archive, Cinema offers a vast library of demonstrations of architecture in use".[2] In accordance with this statement, this chapter decomposes the archive of the films by deconstructing the films and converting the moving images to images; the captured scenes/images are compared to the illustrations found in the books in terms of 'visuality' and 'spatiality'. The chapter concludes by articulating 'scenography' to show how Pompeii's domestic environments had created a scenography by means of applying an axial spatial arrangement that started from the street entrance and culminated in the garden at the back of the house. The same 'scenographic' understanding, actually, had turned the ancient site into a stage for the travelers who had watched the open-air excavations like a live performance (Figure 1.4). 'Architectural sequence' and 'frame' are themes used to discuss how the architectural scenography created by the book

[2] This quote is taken from Penz's keynote speech at the conference '*Moving Images–Static Spaces: Architectures, Art, Media, Film, Digital Art and Design',* held by the Architecture Media Politics Society (AMPS) in Istanbul in 2018.

illustrations had produced 'images' that were later transformed into 'moving images' in the scenes of early films on Pompeii.

Conclusion, provides the highlights from the main argument chapters and summarizes how the architectural representations of Pompeii in different media have constructed a visual stimulus on the ancient city beyond Italy. It underlines the narrative strategies that link all media, from literature, and painting to film, and demonstrates the wide compass of the spectacle of the city.

Figure 1. 4 Excavations in Pompeii in presence of sovereigns of Italy and Germany, engraving after life drawing by Gennaro Amato, *Lillustrazione Italiana*, 1893 (Source: www.gettyimages.fi)

1.6 Seminal Literature

It looked more appropriate to incorporate the studies that shine out as seminal works in the introduction, at the very beginning of the study, rather than in a separate literature survey chapter as accustomed. This is a conscious preference to make the three major chapters associate and work as a coherent and complementary whole. As each chapter dwells on how the very same material was manipulated in different ways to act like a 'stage', by different actors and producers in varying formats and media, a wholistic trio seemed well-working.

Visuality, spatiality, and the oriented perception created by architectural arrangements in the urban and domestic spheres are often used as the central themes of description and discussion in ancient Roman art and architecture. The scholarship on Roman domestic architecture gained an impetus in the 1990s with the seminal works of Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (1994) and John C. Clarke (1991). An earlier pivotal work is Heinrich Drerup's *Bildraum und Realraum* (1959), an article that highlights the visual axes in the context of House of Menander as a primary design tool. This work is a pioneering study on visuality and space in the Roman house. Drerup attributed the term *'Durchblick',* the 'visual axis', to argue that houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum were planned with a series of framing devices to construct the effect of 'view through'. The spatial arrangement in the Roman houses is discussed in terms of visuality in the later scholarship as well. For instance, Roger Ling used the terms 'scenographic' and '*Durchblick*' in order to examine the Pompeian wall painting styles. In *Roman Painting* (1991), Ling made a comprehensive study that analyzed the pictorial artistic fabrications that were applied as 'scenographic'[3] productions on the walls of Roman houses. Ling (1991) considered all the decorative schemes categorized as 'Four Styles' and suggested that these styles "…open the wall illusionistic recession or embroider it with sumptuous flights of fancy and polychrome ornamentation" (p. 1). Focusing on the visual potentials of the fourth style to create an allusion, Ling suggested that within the large panels that carry picture-panels or flying figures, the architecture is glimpsed through narrow openings, which creates the effect of

[3] Ling (1991) introduced 'scenography' in order to analyze the Fourth Style decoration, and describes the scenographic effect that appeared on the wall as: "the wall is opened up illusionistically by means of perspectival architecture amid which figures are set as if in a real environment" (p. 75).

'*Durchblick*'. The effort to create architectural sequences along a visual axis that connected the street entrance to the rear garden was not the only a design principle in the planning of the house A similar visual axis also existed in the architectural components in the form of assemblages of 'built pictures'. In accordance with the assumptions made by Ling, John Clarke used the classification of wall-paintings to analyze ancient Roman houses, mainly from Pompeii, from an art historical view. In his book *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C-A.D. 250, Ritual, Space and Decoration*, Clarke examined a range of houses, highlighted the role of decoration, especially the wall paintings, and discussed how the architectural and ornamental features mirrored the cultural, religious, and social life of the residents. He looked at the visual axis, hierarchies of spaces, and the organization of decoration and argued that decoration aimed at viewer's gaze, and the content differed according to the placement of the painting in the dynamic spaces (*atrium*, *peristyle*) or static spaces (*tablinum, triclinium*); accordingly, the painting was applied for a quick recognition or prolonged attention. The spaces, in this respect, 'arranged views' for the residents and visitors. Whether it was a *domus* or an elite villa, at the focus of artistic representation was the spectator's gaze, and the manipulation of the viewer's perception transformed the domestic space into a stage.

Durchblick, view-through, visual axis, built pictures, scenography, and stage emerge as the themes used to discuss the visuality of Pompeian architecture in the seminal studies of Drerup (1959), Ling (1991), and Clarke (1991). Visuality is one of the central themes in Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's seminal book *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum,* published in 1994. By putting the concepts of 'illusion' and 'allusion' among the central themes of argument, Wallace-Hadrill looked primarily at domestic architecture to discuss the social construction and use of public and private realms in Roman houses and explored the potentials of the domestic setting to propose new insights into Roman social life. Accordingly, the house was a setting for rituals of both realms, and as such, had a performative nature. He identified those architectural tectonics/devices that created a 'stage' and made the house a performance space to argue how the daily rituals were designed and performed by elaborating the perception of the beholders in the form of 'allusion' and 'illusion'. The book establishes a broader framework for identifying the visual codes that were used to elevate the domestic space into a representational space in

ancient Pompeii. It draws an 'architectural scenography' of the buildings in Pompeii, which served as an architectural stage to conduct business and daily life. The thesis, in this respect, takes the ancient Roman practice of transforming spaces into performative architectural 'stages', that is, presenting spaces to beholders via a number of visual devices and arrangements that complemented and suited the rituals that took place in them as a precursor of "representation of site" in the later epochs.

In *The Roman House as Memory Theater: The House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii* (1994) Bettina Bergmann used Wallace-Hadrill's 'axes of differentiation',[4] and suggested that the interior of the house was a visually harmonious ensemble that consisted of "epic and dramatic *exempla*, the artful juxtaposition of likenesses and opposites, and the role of movement for comprehension" (p. 255). She further pointed out that the architectural mnemonic[5] was created by the arrangement of 'sequences'. As discussed by Wallace-Hadrill (1994), wall paintings were the visual components of the architectural devices that were used to create perception through allusion, and as such had a profound impact on the construction of architectural stages.

Spatial organization and devices of representation revolved around social behavior and rituals in the ancient Roman culture. Katherine Dunbabin's fundamental book on Roman dining rituals, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (2003), addressed and contextualized 'festive dining', one of the most depicted and visually illustrated subjects in Roman art. Dunbabin discussed such issues as the relationship between representation and fact, the interplay between text and image, the communication of visual imagery, and the reception of the beholder. The book, as such, sets the scene by tracing the depictions of banquets in wall paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum.

---

[4] Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1994). Chapter 1: Reading the Roman House, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 3-16.

[5] According to Bergmann, the ancient Roman house enveloped a memory system, and the visitors associated their conception of culture to the spaces and the pictorial content of the house. She suggested that the grand axis of the house, between the *atrium* and the *peristyle* was also the axis of the architectural mnemonic. As stated by Valladares (2014), "Bergmann introduced the spatial and material methods of Roman memory training as a significant factor in the reception and interpretation of wall paintings" (p. 177).

The traditional approach of analyzing the architectural content of Pompeii as an assemblage of 'visual data' is challenged in the contemporary scholarship. A significant novelty introduced in the contemporary studies on Pompeii is the importance given to '(re)presentation' as a way of visualization, rather than as a way of documentation. This coincides with the growing number of studies in the field of Classical Reception[6], which made an important stimulus for the development of reception theory and had an impact on studies that highlight the significance of visual representation in the texts and material culture of ancient Greece and Rome from antiquity to the present day. Eric M. Moormann's book, *Pompeii's Ashes: The Reception of the Cities Buried by Vesuvius in Literature, Music, and Drama* (2015), covers the entire spectrum of material related to Pompeii's reception and is an outstanding example of this approach. Moormann discusses a total of 255 works including novels, novellas, short stories, poems, stage works, movies and TV shows on Pompeii and Herculaneum, and in contrast to the approaches that see Pompeii a well-known and well-studied topic in the discipline, and hence claim that nothing is left for the future studies: "…there are still original texts to be written which in turn will evoke a side of the Vesuvian towns not yet highlighted in earlier works. These works are not tombstones of dead towns, but monuments that illustrate how very much alive they still are" (p. 424).

A similar reception of the buried city, discussed through artworks, has featured in the exhibition *The Last Days of Pompeii: Decadence, Apocalypse, Resurrection*. The exhibition was held by the J. Paul Getty Museum, first in 2012, and the following year it is re-displayed in the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the *Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec* in Canada. Edited by Victoria C. Gardner Coates, Kenneth D. S. Lapatin, and Jon L. Seydl, the exhibition catalogue, bearing the same title with the exhibition, showed the potential

[6] Classical Reception Studies aim to understand the comprehension of the classical world since antiquity. It is the study of the representation of the ancient world in an interdisciplinary frame, including literature, art, music, and film; an inquiry into how and why the texts, ideas, images and material cultures of ancient Greece and Rome have been received, adapted, refigured, used and abused in different historical and cultural contexts. During the 2000s, the field has become popular among the scholars who dealt with Classical topics, such as Ancient Greek Literature. The field engages with the reception theory that originated from the work of German scholar Hans Robert Jauss, in the late 1960s. The reception theory is a version of literary theory examining the readers' reception and interpretation on a literary text. The classical reception studies became widespread with the launch of the *Classical Reception Journal* in 2009 by the Oxford Press. Through the explanation of the relation between ancient and modern texts and contexts, the Classical Reception studies enable unique opportunities to study Classics in an interdisciplinary and comparative way.

legacy of the ancient city in the modern imagination, and its contemporary representations in several art domains, ranging from paintings, prints, and sculpture to theatrical performances, photography and film.

Even though a considerable amount of research has been devoted to Pompeii's representation in paintings and photographs, relatively less attention is paid to silent films, which can be considered as the first 3d displays of antiquity via the tragic story of Pompeii and its inhabitants. There are, indeed, several reasons as to why the films on Pompeii are not adequately explored as sources of representation. First of all, there is a lack of restored material. In an interview about her book *Caesar in the USA* (2012) Maria Wyke, professor and chair of Latin at University College London, and a leading figure in the emergence of Classical Reception Studies since the 1990s, explained this as such:

> There is very little known about the silent films and partly that is because most of them in only survive in archives and the archives are scattered all over Europe and in the United States and often you find fragments of the films in different places…It is lot of technical works by the archives themselves to digitally restore the very fragile film stock that they have. A lot of the film survived in cans on nitrate which corrodes over time and the further we get into the 21st century the more corroded the actual master copies are and therefore the more sort of complicated and urgent the process is… What makes them difficult to restore is that it is quite hard to present them as a particular country's national heritage. For example, in British Film Archive there is at least a hundred of these films surviving; it is one of the biggest collections. But, these are not British films; most of these films are Italian or French. The peculiarities of their survival mean that they have German intertitles and in a sense, they belong to many different European countries rather than just one, so you cannot get national lottery funding to restore these films.[7]

As stated by Wyke, silent films have become creative subjects for scholars in the last twenty years, after the appearance of restored versions. Maria Wyke's influential study, *Projecting the Past: Ancient Rome, Cinema and History,* published in 1997, includes a part on Pompeii (Pompeii Purging the Sins of the City) and is one of the pioneering works. The book made an important contribution to the studies about the representation of ancient Rome in films. According to Wyke, the purpose of the book is to explore the cinematic reconstructions of Roman history through the case studies of films, including *Spartacus*, *Cleopatra*, *Nero*, and *Pompeii*. She highlighted that the films needed to be studied due to their capacity in creating an imbricative set of modern knowledge of ancient Rome. The

[7] This quote is taken from Maria Wyke's interview on the book *Caesar in the USA*, published in 2012. (Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ofPiqoYSgQw)

book, which provided a ground for the current debates between cinema and history, also aimed to bridge the divide between classics and popular culture. In the part that dwelled on the cinematic creations on Pompeii, Wyke (1997) put forward the differences between the representations in films and the archaeological realism, before the production of the films, and stated that:

> The closing metaphors of paint and brush interlink the cinematic iconography of Pompeian daily life with the visually rich, sensuous conventions of nineteenth-century classical-subject painting and stage designs, while the earlier invocation of archaeological realism draws on the continuing cultural hold of the ancient city which the excavations were constantly stimulating. (p. 262)

Wyke's interpretation is significant in the sense that it shows how cinema had created its original way of representation in the visual repertoire of the 19th century's artistic works and also demonstrates that the visual codes were embedded in the context of representation not for presenting documentation of the archaeological discoveries but for narrating and animating the city of dead. In this sense, it can well be stated that the silent films on Pompeii were the visual (re)creations of Pompeii.

The Ancient World in Silent Cinema, a project conducted by Maria Wyke and Pantelis Michelakis, a senior lecturer in Classics at the University of Bristol, aimed to produce the first large-scale, interdisciplinary and collaborative study of the representations of ancient civilizations in silent cinema and to establish new understandings, both of cinema's fascination with the past and of the appeal of the ancient civilizations in modern times. The project is extensively introduced and discussed in *Antiquity in Silent Cinema,* published in 2013. In addition, several screenings of the sample prints taken from the archives are shown during the course of the project; the screenings which were open to the public and accompanied by panel discussions with the contribution of experts.[8] Ian Christie's article, *Ancient Rome in London: Classical Subjects in the Forefront of Cinema's Expansion after 1910* published in *The Ancient World in Silent Cinema*, looked at different versions of the film *The Last Days of Pompeii*, and considered the Italian productions as the benchmarks against the

[8] As mentioned in the book *The Ancient World in Silent Cinema*, the public screenings held in Berlin (*Deutsches Historisches Museum*), London (The Bloomsbury Theatre), Bristol (Wickham Theatre), Los Angeles (The Getty Villa) and Anaheim (The American Philological Association Conference).

British and American productions. Another seminal article in this context is *Screening Pompeii: The Last Days of Pompeii in Cinema*, authored in 2012 by Adrian Staehli, professor of Classical Archaeology at Harvard University.[9] Maria Luisa Neri in her 2005 article, *Rianimare l'antico per produrre spettacolo, Le scenografie de Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei* (*Reanimate the ancient to produce entertainment, the scenography of The Last Days of Pompeii*), made a comparison between film stills and the illustrations. She chose the 1926 version of *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* (produced by Carmine Gallone and Amleto Palermi) as a case study and argued that the virtually reconstructed architectural features of Pompeii in the film is the result of the work of a scenographer-architect-archaeologist, a professional figure capable of working across the board, and integrating seemingly distant themes to weld them into fiction film. She stated that the themes -culture, politics, literature, architecture, archaeology, and cinema- are brought together in the film that reinvented the past, interpreted the rediscovered ruins, gave a second life to the narration on Pompeii, and displayed them through the spectacular nature of the new mass communication medium. The Italian writer Francisco Salvador Venture's article *Pompeii in Film* featured in the edited book *Pompeii and Europe 1748-1943,* published in 2015, claimed, among other things, that Pompeii was imagined by the Western world widely through the cinematic adaptations. He briefly analyzed the silent films and their central themes through such topics as Christianity, pagan cults, catastrophe of the city, and the architectural representations. The most recent article of Wyke published in 2019, *Mobilizing Pompeii for Italian Silent Cinema,* explored the four Italian films titled *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompeii* (*The Last Days of Pompeii*). In the abstract of the article, it is underlined that the films "situated viewers immersively within the reconstructed city and substitute for a detached tourist gaze an impassioned, participatory one" (Wyke, 2019, p. 453). The study also argued that the four Italian silent films produced between 1908 and 1926 work together to mobilize the narration of Pompeii. In the discussion, 'the nation', 'the medium of cinema: emotionality', and 'the medium of cinema: the masses', emerge as the main discussion frames. According to her, in terms of taking advantage of Pompeii's position in classical reception studies and using the silent cinema's potential to create links between different art mediums, the films challenge the classical receptions in traditional media.

[9] The Harvard Film Archive sponsored the screening of the 1926 version of *The Last Days of Pompeii* in 2012.

There are two seminal historical sources that are indispensable in this study: William Gell's *Pompeiana: The Topography of Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii* (1817) and Sir Bulwer-Lytton's novel *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834). *Pompeiana* is accepted as the first archaeological guide book on Pompeii. Moreover, the book was the first relatively accurate account of the site in English. It acted as a reference for Bulwer-Lytton's novel, which used it to construct the fictional atmosphere, and hence the spatiality of the text by adapting a number of thematic and narrative links from the engravings and illustrations. *Pompeiana* included eighty-one visuals showing Vesuvius and the ruins, a fold-out map, and reconstructions of houses and temples. By underlining the unique characteristics of Roman architecture and meticulously detailing the domestic sphere, Gell attached particular importance to the architectural features of Pompeii. It is noteworthy to state that among all the illustrations, those depicting the imaginary reconstructions with ancient Romans pursuing their daily affairs, thus blending the past and present, had played a major role in the fictional narratives of Pompeii.

The restored images which were produced to resurrect the past, are the most influential achievement of *Pompeiana.* These images were used by Bulwer Lytton to fabricate data for his novel *The Last Days of Pompeii.* The novel had overlapped 'fact' and 'fiction', and offered the readers an opportunity to take part in a historical narrative which they did not experience before. In addition to its impact on further fictitious creations, the most outstanding feature of the novel is that it gave inspiration also for the screen adaptations under the same title in the silent era of cinema.

CHAPTER 2

REPRESENTATION of ANCIENT POMPEII: "The Site"

2.1 The Birth of Narration: Excavating the "City of The Dead"

All day the tempest of fire falls,
Covering at length tower and walls.
Oh, what a change! The mountain's side,
The verdant plain, the river's tide,
The city, have passed from sight away.
The evening's glory and morning's ray,
As oft in future time they come.
Will find no more the peaceful home
That stood upon the mountain's side;
For there, alas! a fiery tide
Goes seething down, and never more
Will flowers bloom, or sweet birds pour
Their happy strains from sheltering tree.
All, all have fled. Nought e'er will be
That e'er has been, for in their stead
Will ever rest a lava bed.

Watie W. Swanzy,1889[10]

Dismantling historical objects from the context in which they are discovered to place them in museums makes them 'exhibition objects'. The ancient cities, in this sense, are exhibition venues and open-air museums as the architectural and in-situ ruins that form the archaeological context are immovable and open to visit on site. The word 'ruin', which is derived from the Latin word *ruina,* means to fall down and tumble (Skeat, 1884), and is commonly linked to the Greek word *katastrophē* which means overthrowing, sudden turn (Sarat *et. al.*, 2015). The ancient city of Pompeii, often labeled as the 'City of the Dead' is a manifestation of both meanings: 'the ruins of catastrophe'. As Goldstein (1979) mentions, the ancient city of Pompeii was first described as the *"city of the dead"* by the Scottish historical novelist, playwright, and poet Sir Walter Scott during his visit to Pompeii and Herculaneum in 1832:

[10] Swanzy, W. W. (1889). *Pompeii, Evelyn and Other Poems.* New York: G. W. Dillingham. p. 14.

> Through a passionate antiquarian who had turned an entire generation's eyes toward the vivid scenery of the past he now seemed indifferent both the excavations in progress and to the archaeological history which his guide, Sir William Gell, recited at length. Instead, he limped dejectedly through the ruins muttering "The City of the Dead, The City of the Dead" as if claiming a place of burial. His poetic phrase, a cliche from that moment If not before, elevated Pompeii from a routine stop on the Grand Tour- as it had been for Walpole, Gray, and Boswell- to a place of profound symbolic character. (p. 227)

British archaeologist Sir William Gell accompanied Sir Walter Scott during his excursion to Pompeii. In his memoranda, William Gell reserved a chapter for the studies he made in the region of Naples and also refereed to Scott's remarks on Pompeii: "…He seemed generally nearly insensible, viewing the whole and not the parts, with the eye, not of an antiquary, but a poet and exclaiming frequently 'The City of the Dead' without any other remark" (Lockhart, 1838, p. 299). As understood from Gell's notes, Scott approached Pompeii, not as an excavation site of remarkable artifacts; instead, he saw the city as a reminder of the dead and great calamity. Similar to Scott's definition of the city, Pompeii, over the years, has been identified with the tragedy caused by Mount Vesuvius.

Memorialized, commonly with decadence and apocalypse, Pompeii has been resurrected through narration and representation in many spheres. The modern tale of the city had started with its discovery in the 16th century, which was elaborated as a narration of 'decadence, apocalypse and resurrection'.[11] "… Between Pompeii as a *memento mori* on a grand scale, a reminder of the destruction and human mortality, and Pompeii as an open-air museum, offering a precious glimpse of Roman life the 1st century CE" (Beard, 2011, p. 211).

Pompeii, called *Pompeia, Pompeianus,* and *Civita* by such ancient authors as Strabo, Pliny, Statius, and Holftenius (MacBean, 1773) is an ancient town in Campania which was destroyed by a volcanic eruption in 79 AD. (Fischetti, 1884, p. 5) (Figure 2.1). During its history, Pompeii was subject to the danger of Mount Vesuvius, an active volcano unknown as such by the ancients. The relationship between Pompeii and Vesuvius is thus an ironic one. The city owes its remarkably well-preserved archaeological state to the

[11] The three overarching rubrics, 'decadence', 'apocalypse', and 'resurrection' are from the title of the catalog *The Last Days of Pompeii: Decadence, Apocalypse, Resurrection,* which is published for the exhibition organized under the same name by the Getty Museum and the Cleveland Museum of Art in 2012 and 2013 respectively.

eruption of Vesuvius despite its life being tragically ended also by it. Its exceptional preservation quality, according to many scholars, made Pompeii an architectural micro cosmos of ancient Rome. Architectural historian Spiro Kostof (1985) entitled the chapter on Roman architecture in his seminal book *A History of Architecture Settings and Rituals,* as "*Rome: Caput Mundi*" and used Pompeii as an example to describe the ancient Roman city and its urban components. [12] Pompeii was a medium-sized ancient city, but it has contributed to our understanding of early Roman architecture and art in many ways. The city has become one of the most studied and visited archaeological sites since its first excavation in the 17th century, and it would not be wrong to say that the city, together with Athens and Rome, is among the most known ancient cities in the world. Pompeii owes its recognition, to a large extent, to the visual materials and writings produced for centuries. This material, taken together, constituted a historical representational discourse through which diverse readings of ruins were done, different meanings were associated, and thus new layers of interpretation accumulated.

Figure 2. 1 Map showing the location of Pompeii, produced by the author

[12] The Latin term *Roma Caput Mundi* (Rome Capital of the World) was first used by the Roman poet Lucan (Tesoriero, 2010).

This chapter presents a concise contextual narration of the site concerning its excavation history and demonstrates how revealed buildings and their architectural settings were perceived, depicted and represented in the artistic sphere. The visual material presented and discussed in the chapter consists of early-stage decors, paintings, and first photographs. The guidebooks, folios, and travelogues that include a substantial amount of visual material showing the narration and perception of the site are discussed in the next chapter.

2.2 Discovery of the Site and its Narration

16th and 17th Centuries, The architect and engineer Domenica Fontana, who is known to have built the dome of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, discovered Pompeii accidentally at the end of the 16th century. Fontana was hired by a local Neapolitan lord between 1592 to 1600 to dig a canal and divert water to his house. During the digging works, Fontana found, without knowing at that moment, a brick wall that belonged to the ancient city. The presence of an ancient city in that area, was known from the younger Pliny's letters who had described the eruption in some detail but this was not a commonly shared and publicly known information at that time; Fontana's entry of the ruin in his diary, therefore, is the second written reference of the narration of the buried city in its history:

> Beyond any doubt what we see before us is the celebrated city once called in its country Pompeii, irrigated by the currents of the chill Sarno River… A strange and certainly horrendous way to die… We approached close to the city, which she herself shows us through her towers, houses, the theatres and temples which one can discern, almost whole. (Harris, 2007, p. 23)

As Fontana could not get permission from his employer to further excavate and to find more ruins, he had reluctantly re-buried the finds of the ancient city. He mentioned in his diary that he had tried to give as little damage as possible, considering the future excavations. For the Neapolitan royalty, at that time, Fontana's work of digging around Pompeii to bring water to the area was more crucial than uncovering an ancient city. Even though he failed to reveal the extent of the ancient city, it would not be wrong to say that Fontana became the first narrator of Pompeii, exactly fifteen centuries after the city was covered with the lava and ashes of the mighty Vesuvius (Maiuri, 1951).

Pompeii, in fact, had already been plundered by treasure hunters before Fontana spotted it. The very first digs, in this sense, were random and destructive as they were done by robbers to loot the luxurious houses. The disturbance of the ancient remains can be traced from the evidence left by the illegal intruders: [13]

> A nice glimpse of their activities is found in two words scratched by the main door of one grand house, which was found to be almost empty when uncovered by nineteenth-century excavators. It reads: 'House tunneled', words hardly likely to have been written by an owner, so presumably a message from one looter to the rest of his gang, to tell them that this one had been 'done'. (Beard, 2010, p. 11)

Pompeii has a long history of excavation, which started with the illegal digs of treasure hunters and Fontana in the 16th century. The excavations and research gradually became official, regular, systematic, and scientific in the following centuries, and continue at present as well.[14] The city was spotted in the 16th century but was not identified as Pompeii; an inscription mentioning *Decurio Pompeis*, and found by the laymen during the excavations conducted by Fontana, was misinterpreted as referring to the Villa of the Roman General Pompey and not the city. Another document containing the name of Pompeii and found in 1689, was also interpreted as such by an architect named Picchiatti[15] who also thought that the name referred to the Roman general Pompey. It was historian Bianchini[16] who first assumed that the inscription had referred to the ancient city of Pompeii (Özgenel, 2008). Thus, the city which was spotted from an ancient wall by Fontana had remained unidentified in the 16th century despite the two diagnostic evidences, which included the name Pompeii. It would become known as an ancient city in the next century. Nevertheless, Pompeii would remain unstudied in the scholarly circles

[13] It is understood that some of the skeletons found in the city did not actually belong to the victims of Vesuvius, but to those who made the illegal digs in the area (Beard, 2010, p. 11).

[14] See Appendix A for a chronological timeline of the excavations between 1748 and 1954 The timeline is prepared by the information taken from the website of *The Special Superintendency for the Archaeological Heritage of Naples and Pompeii* (SANP). (Source: http://pompeiisites.org/)

[15] Francesco Antonio Picchiatti (1619-1694) was an architect who had worked in Naples in the Baroque period; his most known work is the Obelisk of San Domenica in Naples.

[16] Franchesco Bianchini (1662-1729) was an Italian scientist, archaeologist, and historian. "As a historian, he is known for having written a universal history supported by information from, and the arts, *Istoria universale provata con monumenti e figurate con simboli degli antichi* (Rome, 1697)" (Grummond, 1996, p. 159)

since organized archaeological research and systematic excavations, which were officially conducted under the auspices of the Italian Kingdom throughout the 17th century, had concentrated on Rome.

18th Century, Uncovering the ancient cities of Campania began in 1710 and started in Herculaneum. The story began with Prince Elbeuf (Duc d'Elbeuf), a French commander of the Austrian army in the service of Charles VI at Naples, who contacted the local architect Ferdinando Sanfelice in 1713 to realize a villa project in Portici (Rowland, 2014):

> …when a peasant, while sinking a well at Portici, found several pieces of ancient mosaic… The Prince wanting these fragments of marble to compose a stucco in imitation of that used by the Ancients, purchased of the peasant a right to search for them; on doing which, he was recompensed with a Statue of Hercules, and another of Cleopatra: this success encouraged him to proceed with ardour… in short, the produce of these excavations became considerable enough to attract the attention of the Neapolitan Government: in consequence of which, the Prince d'Elbeuf was commanded to desist; and all researches were given up till about the year 1736… (Starke, 1837, pp. 295-296)

The amount of ancient material found during the construction of the villa indicated that there was a rich and uncovered context buried beneath. The discovery of the archaeological material motivated D'Elbeuf to establish a research academy under the name *Accademia Ercolanese* in 1759. The Academy aimed to make organized excavations and prepare scientific accounts of the monuments (Maiuri, 1951). The excavation work in the site, however, was operated far from being systematic and was conducted in the form of digging tunnels in an accidental and unplanned manner. Therefore, although the initial official digs in the region began in Herculaneum in 1738 and were undertaken by the Academy, the first systematic open-air excavations would get a start in Pompeii around 1750. The excavations in Pompeii would rely on open-air studies and not on digging tunnels, as this method had led to collapses in Herculaneum (Moormann, 2015). In this respect, primarily the visible material such as loose objects, floor mosaics, and wall-paintings was collected. Among the first significant architectural finds in Pompeii is "a wall from the *Praedia of Julia Felix* with the immensely popular still lifes in the upper register" (Moormann, 2015, p. 26). A series of public monuments were also discovered in the southern part of the city in the 1750s.

The archaeological research in the first half of the 18th century aimed to collect antiquities, and hence was not conducted scientifically. The Academy published *Le Antichità di Ercolano Esposte* (Antiquities of Herculaneum Exposed) (1757-1792), an eight-volume corpus that included accounts and visuals of the findings from the excavations done in the Bay of Naples (Salem, 2018). The title of the work had put the emphasis on Herculaneum, but the publication included information from the excavations conducted in Pompeii and Stabiae as well. The corpus was composed of high-quality engravings and texts.[17] The book, rather than targeting to share scholarly and archaeological research, aimed to impress the readers with the quality of visual material which belonged to the collection of King of Naples. The first four volumes displayed wall-paintings. The fifth volume focused on bronze busts, while the sixth on bronze statues. The seventh volume was also reserved wall-paintings. The last volume, which was published in 1792, contained lamps and candelabras. Most of the high-quality images were matched with scholarly texts that typically gave no information about the place and date of the finding. The illustrated plates published in the volumes served as visual sources for the painters of the period. For instance, French painter Joseph-Marie Vien made a painting titled *La Marchande d'Amours* (1763) under the influence of Carlo Nolli's engraving *Seller of Loves,* which was included in the third volume. *Antichità di Ercolano* was evaluated as a catalog of the findings for designers and scholars and hence was not seen as an archaeological record of scientifically documented finds.

Le Antichità di Ercolano Esposte brought together the accounts of the late 18th century excavations. The early 18th century narration of the ancient Campanian towns are found in the newspapers that reported the finds unearthed by Prince d'Elbeuf. The reports were published in *Giornale de'Letterati d'Italia,* after a manuscript written by the rector of *S. Maria di Pugliano* in Resina Andrea Simone Imperato; "this manuscript and the newspaper report are the earliest written and published texts concerning the documentation history of Campanian archaeology" (Özgenel, 2008, p. 9).

[17] The volumes in total, consists of about 619 copperplate engravings, 836 vignettes and 540 illuminated letters designed by Luigi Vanvitelli, who was an Italian engineer and architect, and engraved by painter and engraver Carlo Nolli.

In 1738, Carlo di Borbone [18], bearing the title 'King of Two Sicilies', and as a "very ambitious sovereign, who wanted to put his newly-formed state definitively on the map of Europe" (Moormann, 2015, p. 17), decided to build a summer palace in Portici like Prince D'Elbeuf. He commissioned Joaquin de Alcubierre, a Spanish military engineer, to conduct field research to locate the palace, and to dig for the ancient remains below the site. While subsequent discoveries were made between 1738 and 1750 under Alcubierre's commission, the methods used were considerably debatable. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, a German art historian, archaeologist and antiquarian, who reported about the Bourbon excavations around Campania in his *Letter* addressing the European audience, criticized Alcubierre with these words: "This man to use an Italian saying, had as little to do with antiquities as the moon has to do with crayfish, and through his inexperience, he was guilty of much damage and of the loss of many beautiful things" (Winckelmann, 2011, p. 26); this was the 'most damning criticism' in the *Letter*.

The late 18th century witnessed several visual representations done as paintings and drawings. One of the common visual themes seen in the paintings of the era is the eruption scene of Mount Vesuvius rather than the Campanian towns. The drawings most likely illustrated excavation areas, site plan and architectural settings. A plan drawn by François de Paule Latapie and titled *Esquisse du Plan de Pompeii faite de mémoire pour donner une idée des positions respectives des fouilles en Fevrier 1776*,[19] shows a site plan, drawn from the memory of the author following his visit to Pompeii; this drawing is accepted as the first known plan of the excavations (Moormann, 2015) (Figure 2.2). Even though this was a distorted plan and did not show the actual state of the site in detail, it gave an insight about the location of the monumental buildings at the time of their excavation.

[18] Carlo di Borbone or Charles III of Bourbon from Spain's Bourbon dynasty became the king of Two Sicilies (Sicily Island and mainland) in 1734. During his reign in Sicily, he promoted the construction of numerous public buildings and architectural projects such as the San Carlo Theatre. Despite his reforms, which promoted enlightenment ideals, "Charles became the most successful of Europe's "enlightened despots", Magill, F. N. (1999). *Dictionary of World Biography, Volume 4: The 17th and 18th Centuries*. New York: Routledge. p. 287.

[19] The French naturalist, traveler and writer François de Paule Latapie visited Italy between 1774 and 1777. His travel diaries which consist of fourteen notebooks include his observations on Rome, Naples and the islands from Elba to Sicily. He drew a topographic plan of the excavations from his memory in 1776, as the Neapolitan monarchy had prohibited visitors from taking any notes in the site at that time.

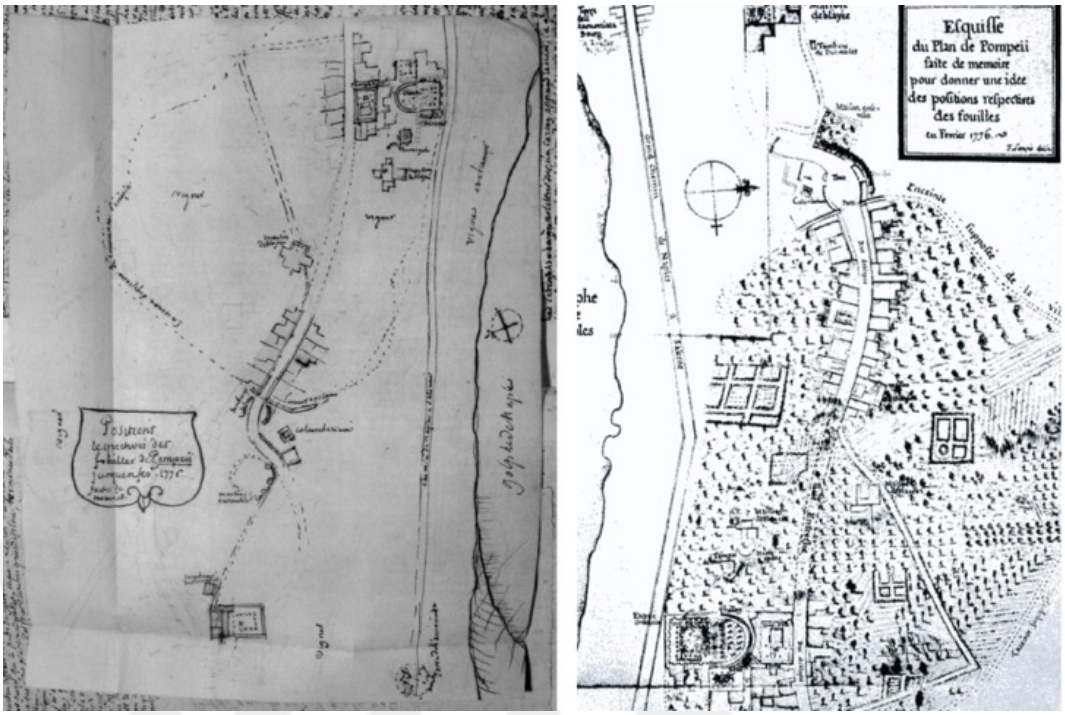


Figure 2. 2 The first known plan of Pompeii, drawn by François de Paule Latapie in 1776 (Montègre, 2012, p. 148; Ciarallo, 2006, p. 19)

Herculaneum excavations continued for several years because the findings in Pompeii were not considered as prominent compared to those that came from Herculaneum (Rowland, 2014). In the early years of the Herculaneum excavations, the unearthed artifacts were kept in the storerooms of the Bourbon Royal Palace at Portici. A special wing of the palace was arranged to house the treasures found in the excavations. This wing has become *Herculanense Museum,* the first official museum of the Campanian archaeological finds, in 1758. The venue of the exhibition was later changed and the collection was moved into *The Palazzo Degli Studi,* which became *the Real Museo Borbonico.* With the decree of King Ferdinand in 1816, it was renamed as *Museo Archeologico Nazionale* (Moormann, 2015).

The excavation of the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum in 1750 is considered a significant threshold in the field of Classical Studies. The villa, which contained a collection of papyri, is "the only intact library to survive from Greco-Roman antiquity" (Zarmakoupi, 2010). In 1750, just two months after the discovery of the Villa of the Papyri, the Swiss army engineer Karl Jakob Weber whose methodological approach and

expertise in the field of modern surveying differentiates him from the early managers of the site (Coates, 2012), was appointed as the director of the excavations and had worked in the site until 1765. Weber, for the first time, drew an accurate plan of the villa in detail by measuring all the tunnels that were previously dug (Figure 2.3). The plan had remained as the only tangible reference to the architectural layout of the villa for a long time.

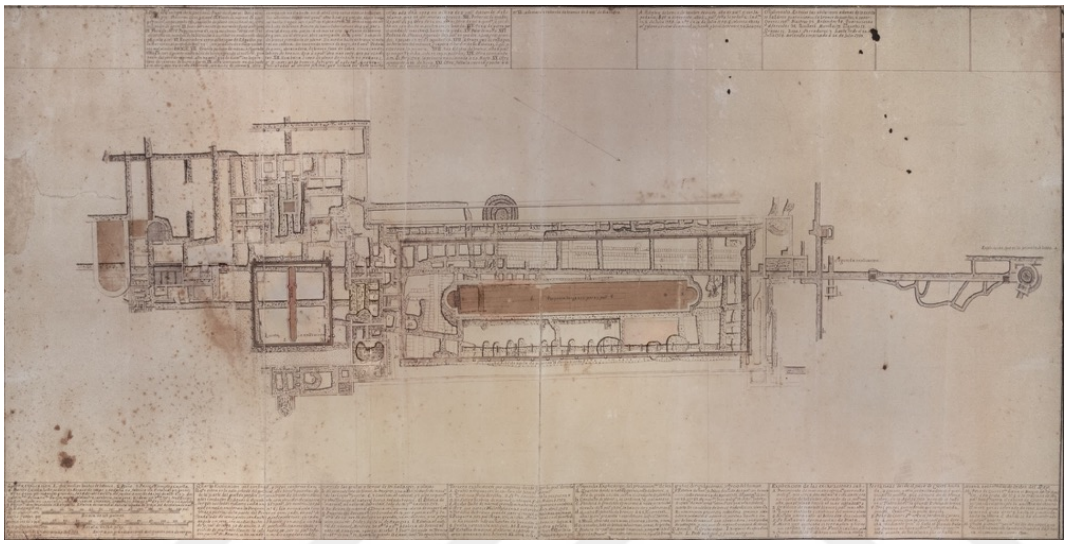


Figure 2. 3 Karl Weber's 1758 plan of Villa dei Papyri showing the tunnels, Herculaneum, (Source: www.herculaneum.uk)

In 1748, the "excavations commence at the site of Pompeii, about 11 km further southeast, under the mistaken impression that it is ancient Stabiae…" (Foss, 2009, p. 30). The first excavation trench was opened by the Neapolitan Abbot Giuseppe Martorelli (Rowland, 2014), which shifted the attention from Herculaneum to Pompeii. However, it was not until an inscription found in 1763 that the site was securely identified as Pompeii. The inscription was found outside the *Porta Ercalano* (the Herculaneum Gate) and included the phrase "*REI PUBLICAE POMPEIANORUM"* (The State of the Pompeians) (Rowland, 2014 and Foss, 2009). This was the first archaeological firm proof that supported the prediction of Lucas Holstein, a German librarian of the Vatican

Library, in 1666; [20] "the hill of *Civita* covered ancient Pompeii".[21] Holstein, referring to Fontana, who first called the hill where he conducted his dig as '*Civita'* in 1592, was the first to identify '*Civita'* as the site of ancient Pompeii as early as 1666, nearly a century ago then the find of the diagnostic inscription.

The military engineer Roque Joachim de Alcubierre had worked as the site manager of the royal excavations for some period following the official discovery of ancient Pompeii in 1763. Alcubierre first dug some exploratory tunnels around Pompeii, like in the Herculaneum excavations, which made him realize that the excavation conditions in Pompeii and Herculaneum were not similar. As a result, he gave up tunneling and started open-air digs. Karl Weber (1750-60) and Francesco La Vega (1764-80) had worked as the site directors under the supervision of Alcubierre; they kept the site log-books and reported the finds to Alcubierre. La Vega had aimed to preserve everything in and limited the removal of artifacts and paintings from the site as much as possible. He preferred to restore the artifacts and ruins in situ or to bring those previously moved artefacts to the Portici Museum back to their original setting. During his directorship, in the second half of the 1760s, several prominent public areas that included Temple of Isis, Theatre Area, Triangular Forum, and the city's northwest corner were excavated.

A significant visual document about Pompeii from the 18th century is a site map drawn by Giovanni Battista Piranesi in 1785. This plan showed how the excavation process was conducted during his visits (Figure 2.4). Piranesi had made several visits to the Vesuvian sites between 1770 and 1778, and he painted at least fifteen views of Pompeii, and later these plates turned into copperplate engravings by his son. Compared to the first map of Latapie dating from 1776, Piranesi's map illustrated the site in more accurate details. He, for example, showed the plans of the excavated buildings, which were located alongside the main street, which was unearthed at that time, and also the perspectival drawings of Temple of Isis and the gate of the city.

[20] Cassanelli, R., and Niccolini, F., 2002, p. 16

[21] The Latin word *Civita* means city and citizenship. "The name *Civita* was coined to region around Pompeii to denote a dimly recollected ancient town in this area," see Lazer 2009, pp. 94-284.

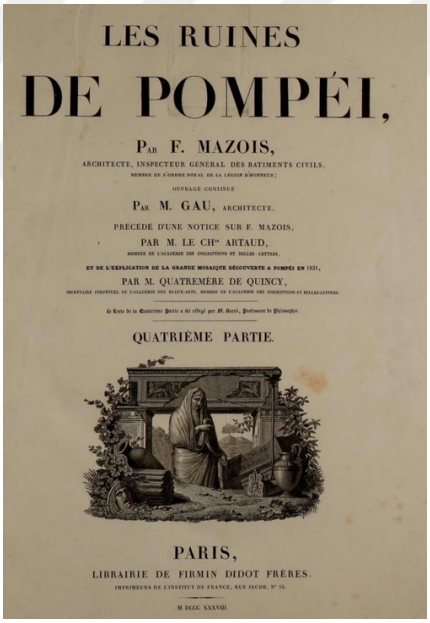
Figure 2. 4 Site map drawn by Piranesi, showing the excavation area during 1780s
(Source: www.pompeiiinpictures.com)

The royal excavations made it possible to present Pompeii to the European intellectual and aristocratic circles as a prominent ancient site in the 18th century (Jameson *et al.*, 2003). Sir William Hamilton, a British Ambassador to the court of Naples (1764-1800) and an antiquarian and collector in that regard, played a pioneering role. He arrived in Naples in 1764 as an ambassador with the official title 'Envoy Extraordinary to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies'. He sent regular official reports to the Secretary of State of Britain and also published the scientific periodical *Archaeologia* in 1774. The publication is one of the first illustrated accounts of the excavations conducted in Pompeii. Hamilton's article was brief, had provided some plates but was unique in the sense that it focused "for the first time in the excavation history - on architecture" (Moormann, 2015, p. 46). Hamilton aimed to record and share the site situation, and hence did not include his interpretations in the article. Because he wanted to document the actual state of the excavations, he did not include human figures or skeletons in the plates he had prepared. The catalog *Antiquités Etrusques, Grecques, et Romaines Tirées du Cabinet de M. Hamilton* (Collection of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities from the Cabinet of the Honble. Wm. Hamilton) which consist of his collection of antiquities was the best-known work of Hamilton. The four-volume folio catalog was illustrated with hand-colored plates and was published in Naples in 1766-1767. His second outstanding work, *Campi Phlegræi: Observations on the Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies*, which brought together the letters that expressed his observations on

Mount Vesuvius, was published in 1766; the vivid illustrations of the book were painted by Pietro Fabris. This book had become one of the pioneering works in the field of volcanology. As an ardent collector of ancient artifacts, Hamilton had guided aristocratic visitors. He promoted classical culture and its visuality in Britain by his publications and letters and also by his collection, which he later sold to the British Museum. Hamilton, as one of the leading figures who promoted Pompeii in the European context, and as the author of books that included several visuals of the ancient city, is mentioned further in the following chapter. It is sufficient to say here that his books introduced the ancient Pompeian houses and their decoration to the European nobility and aristocracy and aroused a desire among them to decorate in the Pompeian style of walls, floors, ceilings, and furniture (Foss, 2009). It can be said that a modern version of the 'Pompeian Style' came into fashion in the home-furnishing of the second half of the 18th century (Figure 2.5). 'The Pompeian Revival' influenced first the designers in London who were keen followers of the regularly published accounts of Hamilton that contained colored sketches and painted schemes of uncovered spaces in Pompeii. Ostentatious Pompeian interiors later became popular in other countries, for example, in France and Germany during the first half of the 19th century (Banham, 1997).

Figure 2. 5 Earliest known 'Pompeian Style' room, Packington Hall, 17th century mansion, Warwickshire, England (1785-1788) (Source: www.wga.hu)

19th Century, The city walls of Pompeii were excavated and the actual borders of the city were uncovered in 1808, by the order of King Giuseppe Bonaparte's wife Queen Maria Caroline. During the last quarter of the 18th century, queens of some royal families in Europe had already become patrons of artists, commissioned artworks, and "created an informal network…Evolving conceptions of queenly duties and gender contributed to this flourishing of "matronage"" (Strobel, 2005, p. 3). Among them was Maria Carolina of Naples, who was keenly interested in Pompeii and promoted the publication of Francois Mazois's *Les Ruines de Pompeii,* the first series of engravings on the city (Dobran, 2006) (Figure 2.6). Mazois developed architectural drawings according to the recordings he did in the site and engraved them in Rome; he dedicated the publication to Queen Caroline (Amery and Curran, 2002).


LES RUINES

DE POMPÉI,

PAR F. MAZOIS,

ARCHITECTE, INSPECTEUR GÉNÉRAL DES BÂTIMENTS CIVILS,

OUVRAGE CONTINUÉ

PAR M. GAU, ARCHITECTE,

PRÉCÉDÉ D'UNE NOTICE SUR F. MAZOIS,

PAR M. LE Chr ARTAUD,

ET DE L'EXPLICATION DE LA GRANDE MOSAÏQUE DÉCOUVERTE À POMPÉI EN 1831,

PAR M. QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY,

QUATRIÈME PARTIE.

PARIS,

LIBRAIRIE DE FIRMIN DIDOT FRÈRES.

Figure 2. 6 Cover of *Les Ruines de Pompeii*, Francois Mazois, 1837

The well-illustrated publications on Pompeii featured during the early 19th century. The first illustrated works by Hamilton and Mazois was followed by *Pompeiana,* a two-volume book with colored paintings written by the British archaeologist Sir William Gell and architect John P. Gandy in 1817-1819 and in 1832. *Pompeiana* is considered as the first archaeological guide book on Pompeii and had served as one of the primary sources that

displayed the architectural representations of the ancient city.[22] Gell was a member of the Society of Dilettanti, a society established by a group of British aristocratic gentlemen to develop classical taste. The publications contributed to the recognition of Pompeii as a popular visitor destination and indeed aroused interest among the European aristocracy who was attracted to the site in large numbers via the Grand Tour. The Tour had a standard itinerary, between Britain and Italy, and became a traditional travel route of Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. It was usually attended by the young male members of the European elite. British aristocrats, who were often accompanied also by their fellow citizens, were the frequent participants of the Tour and had visited, among many other stops like Turin, Milan, Florence, Pisa, Bologna, Venice, and Rome, Pompeii as a prominent and representative site of ancient classical culture (Lazer, 2009).

Pompeii continued to be visualized in the artworks of the period during the excavations. Between 1808-1815, the famous House of Pansa, which has two *atria* and two colonnaded gardens, was discovered.[23] The house got its name from an inscription found on one side of the entrance. It is presumed that Pansa was the name of the owner of the house (Gell and Gandy, 1852, p. 134); several other inscriptions bearing the name of *Cuspius Pansa* were also found in the same house (Clarke, 1853). The house was also mentioned and illustrated in Gell's *Pompeiana*. Consequently, it became a regular practice to name the discovered houses after a find or an event in the Campanian towns. Between 1824 and 1826, the small but charmingly decorated House of the Tragic Poet, which was named after a wall painting depicting "a tragic poet reciting his work to a group of listeners (now re-identified as the mythical scene in which Admetus and Alcestis listen to the reading of an oracle)" (Beard, 2010, p. 82) was excavated. This house was accepted as a prototype of the Pompeian domestic architecture and was included in both Gell's *Pompeiana*, and also in the famous novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii* written by Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton in 1834. The House of the Faun which was decorated by the impressive 'Alexander the Great' mosaic, and the statue of a dancing Satyr, and looked like an "almost museum-

[22] The book will be introduced and discussed in a separate section in the third chapter.

[23] See Appendix B for a chronological timeline of the significant developments in the excavation history. The timeline is prepared by the information taken from the web site of *The Special Superintendency for the Archaeological Heritage of Naples and Pompeii* (SANP) (Source: www.pompeiisites.org).

style environment" (Beard, 2010, p. 137) was also unearthed in 1831. Some public areas of Pompeii also unearthed, in addition to a group of decorated and showy houses. *Via di Mercurio,* the most drawn and illustrated street of ancient Pompeii for example, was excavated between 1820 and 1830 (Figure 2.7).

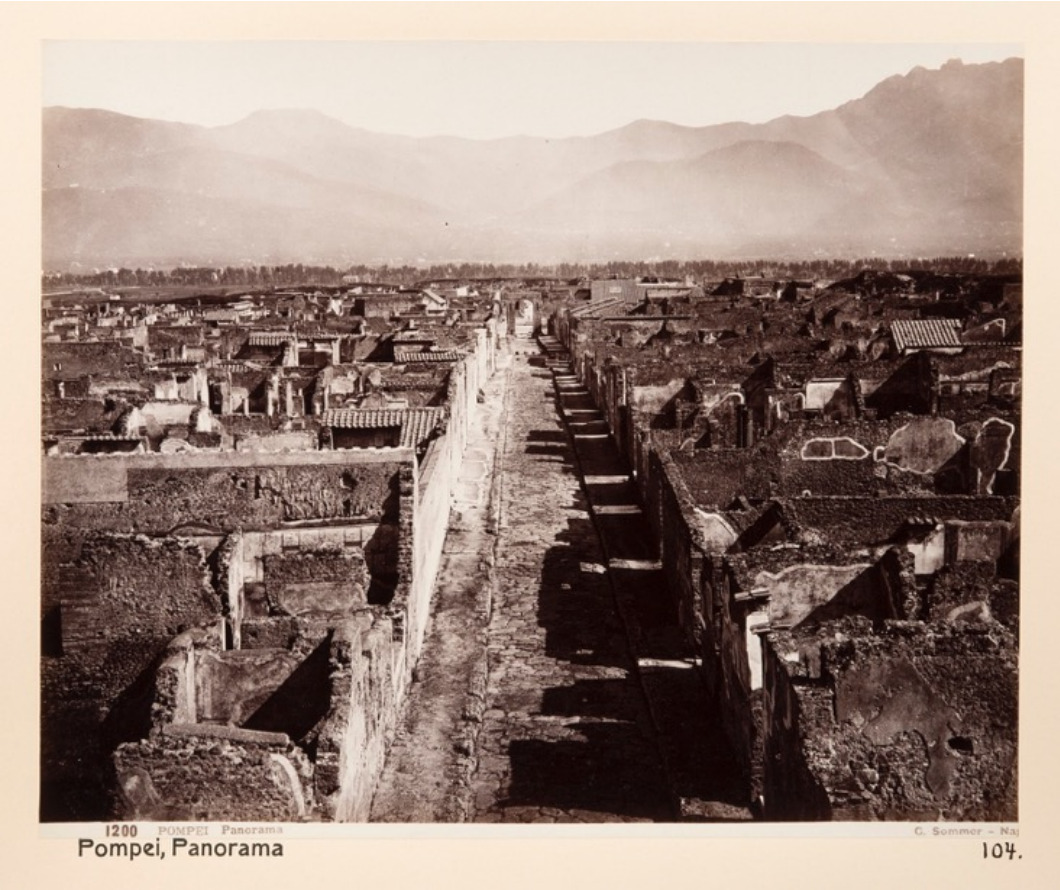


Figure 2. 7 Early panoramic photograph of Pompeii through *Via di Mercurio*, Giorgio Sommer, c. 1860-c.1890 (Source: www.commons.wikimedia.org)

The most important development that took place during the 1830s was the transformation of Pompeii from an archaeological site into an open-air museum. This was made possible by the establishment of a railway that enabled transportation between Naples and Pompeii and thus attracted crowds of visitors to the site. The 17th century was the period of discovery; the 18th century of the excavations. The first productions, including maps and scientific publications which aimed to report the uncovered state of the site, were produced in the 18th century. The research academy, *Accademia Ercolanese*, and the museum in Naples were also founded in this century. The 19th century, on the

other hand, was more of a period of representation, as the knowledge accumulated through the excavations in the previous century had reached a context sufficient enough to be utilized for visualization and narration.

In the middle of the 19th century, both the ancient city of Pompeii and the disaster created by Vesuvius had become well-known subjects in Europe and America by means of the publications of the site excavations and illustrated books, especially those written by Francois Mazois and Sir William Gell, and also Edward Bulwer-Lytton's novel *The Last Days of Pompeii,* featured in 1834 and dedicated to Sir William Gell. The novel can be taken as a "novelized archaeological handbook", for which the author made use of such newly excavated houses as the 'Villa of Diomedes' and 'House of the Tragic Poet' as sets for the characters and events and hence to construct his fiction. In fact, "the many references in Bulwer-Lytton's novel to petty facts also told in travel books make The Last Days a sort of new travelogue…" (Moorman, 2015, p. 226). As another primary source for this study, *The Last Days of Pompeii* is discussed in detail in the third chapter.

Pompeii became a representational context also in opera in the 19th century. In fact, even before its appearance in the illustrated books and the novel, it was 'staged' to the audience. The ancient city's first stage appearance was in Giovanni Pacini's opera *L'ultimo Giorno di Pompei* (The Last Days of Pompeii) premiered in the San Carlo Theatre in Naples in 1825. The show acquired huge popularity and was later performed also in Rome, Vienna, Paris, Venice, and London. The idea of setting an opera based on the eruption of Vesuvius and the basic outline of the story came from the Italian architect and scenic designer Antonio Niccolini. The sets were designed according to the hand-colored aquatints done by the Italian scenic designer, architect, and painter Alessandro Sanquirico. The aquatints included the *atrium* of the House of Sallust, entrance to Pompeii from the Nolan Gate, Forum of Pompeii decorated for a festival, and a subterranean chamber. The sets were created by the successful interpretation and revitalization of the data obtained from the excavations carried out at that time, thanks to Sanquirico who "relied considerably on archaeological publications, such as *Delle Antichita di Ercolano* (House of Sallust), Gell's *Pompeiana* (for Forum and Streets of Tombs), and Saint-Non's *Voyage Pittoresque* (for the Villa of Diomedes)" (Coates *et. al.*, 2012, p. 197).

The Russian painter Karl Pavlovic Briullov who was commissioned to depict Vesuvius' eruption in a painting by a wealthy Russian countess in 1829, was most likely influenced by the sets of the opera. It took three years for Briullov to complete the painting he named *The Last Day of Pompeii* (Figure 2.8). Aiming to depict the eruption scene realistically, Briullov studied Pliny's letters and accompanied the excavations at the site in 1830 (Harris, 2007). Compared to his colleagues who had done paintings on Pompeii that exhibited landscapes and vistas from the ancient city, Briullov was the first to use human figures and architectural elements, such as gates and statues, to create a more dramatic composition.

Figure 2. 8 *The Last Day of Pompeii*, Karl Pavlovic Briullov, 1830-1833, The State Russian Museum (Source: www.commons.wikimedia.org)

Between 1863 and 1895, the excavation director of Pompeii was Giuseppe Fiorelli. In 1863, Fiorelli had introduced two novelties that improved the archaeological documentation and study of Pompeii in many ways. He developed a new addressing system for site orientation and documentation. The system he devised was based on dividing the area into nine *regiones* (regions), which consisted of city-blocks called *insulae*

(island), and giving the buildings individual entrance numbers. Second, he developed a casting technique to preserve the bodies of the victims uncovered in Pompeii. The technique relied on using a solution of liquid plaster and was revolutionary in terms of recapturing the forms of human beings, furniture, and other objects. Fiorelli, moreover, pursued a policy of keeping the artifacts in-situ and not transferring them into the museums, which allowed researchers to study the objects in their context (Lazer, 2009). During his directorship, the site became accessible not only to the royals, elites, and aristocratic circles but also to the common populace (Hales and Paul, 2011).

In the process of unearthing Pompeii that extended from the first excavations in the 1750s to the 1860s, Fiorelli was the first director who had aimed and managed to present the site in an accurate way. He is, therefore, a significant actor who conducted the process including excavation, research, conservation, and documentation in a sense closer to the scientific understanding of modern archaeology. The new casting technique used to display the tragic figures on site, indeed enabled to revive a second life, shown as frozen in time, in the modern narration of the city; this became a new visual material to represent in the art spheres. The impressive casting technique, which displayed the positions of Pompeians at the last minutes before devastating eruption, had a major role in reanimating the tragedy in the minds of visitors. Because of the major effect, pictures and illustrations of the casts were used as visual materials in the books, especially depicted in the covers of guidebooks.

20th Century, The first investigations on the ancient coastline of Pompeii, as essential as the discovery of the city walls, were done in 1878. The city, thereafter continued to be more systematically excavated under the authority of a series of site directors who followed the footsteps of Fiorelli: Michele Ruggiero (1875–93), Giulio De Petra (1893–1900), Ettore Pais (1901–4), Antonio Sogliano (1905–10), Vittorio Spinazzola (1911-23), and Amedeo Maiuri (1924-1961) (Foss, 2009). Among them, the German archaeologist Maiuri served as the director of the excavations for 37 years. During his period, he cleared much of the southeastern part of the city, and had completed the excavation of the most well-known edifices in Pompeii, including The Villa of the Mysteries that he uncovered between 1929-1930. It was under Maiuri's directorship that the excavations received a

scientific base and the results became published as regular reports. He made studies on the chronology of the site and proposed a set of phases in the urban layout of the city in reference to the work he carried out on the city walls. Accordingly, he identified Greek construction methods and suggested a Greek dominance as an early phase. His proposal, however, is seen controversial:

> Maiuri's proposal of phases, which was related to the debate over the Greek and Etruscan hegemony of Pompeii, was surrounded by heated arguments from those who did not believe in so large a city from the beginning of the fifth century BC and those who, while accepting the proposed chronologies, did not see a Greek model in the earliest fortification but, rather, an "Etruscan-Italic" one. (Chiaramonte , 2009, p. 145)

Maiuri also supervised the repairs in the site during the World War II, after it was bombed twice in August and September 1943, he further excavated ten more city blocks but with minimal documentation (Chiaramonte, 2009). Though systematic Maiuri's excavations were questionable in many ways. Whether he had correctly and accurately documented the excavations or used scientific methods[24] only for the excavation process itself is yet unknown. Indeed, aiming to collect as much data as possible in the shortest available time, he did an extensive amount of excavation, which could not have been documented at the same pace. The amount of archaeological material unearthed during his directorship at the beginning of the 20th century is so overwhelmingly huge that one thinks whether there were finds that were destroyed or even got lost without any documentation. From an architectural perspective and comparing to the works done in the previous excavation phases, for example, it is still controversial how Maiuri had completed the excavation of the 'Villa of the Mysteries', a vast, decorated urban villa found outside the city walls of Pompeii in just two years. The method of casting he used, as another example, destroyed the forensic clues on the bodies. Maiuri, in fact, was keen on satisfying the interests and expectations of the visitors. He actually designed a representation of ancient life in the site according to his own mindset: the artifacts chosen by him were put to display in glass cages that were placed inside the houses at Herculaneum. Maiuri's interpretation of the

[24] Archaeological science (archaeometry) refers to the scientific methods that analyze, evaluate and document the archaeological material. In this respect, there are particular dating techniques (physical and chemical dating methods), artifact studies, environmental studies, mathematical/statistical methods/models, and conservation methods. It is highly debated that the 19th century excavations lacked, among other issues, the conservation aspect of the archaeological science.

ruins both in Pompeii and Herculaneum was nothing but an encapsulation of a 'frozen in time' narration.

Maybe because he adhered to Fascist ideology, Maiuri's excavation and documentation methods were highly criticized later. Louise Zarmati (2006), in her work titled *Amedeo Maiuri: In search of the dark side* comments on Maiuri's understanding of archaeology, his association to the Fascist ideology, and questions the matter of 'frozen in time'. By giving examples from Herculaneum, she states that:

> Photographs from the Herculaneum Archive show that during the 1930s and 40s Herculaneum looked like a stage-set: walls were restored and reconstructed, houses were roofed and artefacts were put on display in glass cases in the rooms in which they had been found.[25]

Zarmati's interpretation provides an insight why Maiuri had put so much effort to excavate a large part of the site: he wanted to create a vivid atmosphere because according to him, or to his imagination, the city of dead could turn into a living one and hence the artifacts that had been left from the ancient life needed to be displayed to define the settings of a second life.

While Maiuri was criticized by many scholars for using unscientific methods, he must be credited for the scope of work he accomplished on site. He excavated the largest part of the *insulae*, investigated the urban layers of the ancient city all the way to the Samnite layer, cleared the walls that surrounded the city from the soil, reorganized, and provided new displays of findings in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples. He has also been credited for his contribution to the development of literary culture on archaeology. For instance, as stated by Pappalardo (2014) in the guide of the exhibition titled *Amedeo Maiuri from Rhodes to Pompeii, a life for archaeology*: "it was Amedeo Maiuri, Roberto Longhi and Roberto Pane who in the first half of this century respectively for archaeology, art history and history of architecture introduced the literary prose in scientific dissertations" (p. 8). He furthermore states that it is due to Maiuri's leading position that the archaeological literary taste in Italy was expanded. Maiuri created the presentation methods such as

[25] Zarmati, L. (2006). *Amedeo Maiuri: In search of the 'dark side'*. p. 8
(Source: www.academia.edu/7711936/Amedeo_Maiuri_In_search_of_the_dark_side)

displaying artifacts in glass cases in some of the houses ('House of the Telephus Relief' in Herculaneum and 'House of the Gilded Cupids' in Pompeii). Yet, despite the change in the presentation methods used on-site and the fact that artifacts are now kept in museums, the houses themselves still serve as open-air displays for the visitors.

Maiuri's successor Alfonso De Franciscis, unlike his colleague, aimed primarily not to excavate but rather to preserve and publish. He instituted a program of restoration between 1961-1976, and also organized a series of international colloquia and museum exhibitions to commemorate the 1900th anniversary of the eruption. The modern excavations were stopped only for a while in 1980 due to a series of serious earthquakes. Fausto Zevi (1977-1981), the director who replaced Alfonso De Franciscis, has also concentrated more on the restoration and photographic documentation of what had been unearthed so far rather than continuing to excavate more (Lazer, 2009).

The responsible state archaeology unit, *Soprintendenza* [26] of Naples and Caserta, was divided into two separate units in 1982, due to the vastness and the enormous amount of archaeological richness of the regions. Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae came under the directorship of Baldassare Conticello; the second unit to be responsible from the rest of Naples was given to the charge of Enrica Pozzi Paolini and Stefano De Caro. The divided *Soprintendenza* is converted back into a single body and became *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei* in 2008 (The Special Superintendency for the Archaeological Heritage of Naples and Pompeii) (Moormann, 2015). With a Ministerial Decree in 2017, the name is changed one more time, and the *Soprintendenza* became what is known today: *Parco Archeologico di Pompei* (the Archaeological Park of Pompeii). This final administerial reorganization is done to adjust to the international standards introduced for cultural institutions and sites.

[26] *Soprintendenza* (The Special Superintendency) is a decentralized coordinating body under the authority of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage, which is responsible from safeguarding and enhancing the cultural heritage of Italy. The term is introduced to the field of archaeology by Italy. All the information and dates which are not linked to the sources referred in the text, are taken from the official web site of *The Special Superintendency for the Archaeological Heritage of Naples and Pompeii* (SANP). For detailed information see http://www.pompeiisites.org

21st Century, The current studies in the Campanian towns are devoted to realize The Grand Pompeii project that aims to protect the archaeological area. Initiated by the Italian Government and started in 2011, the project intends to develop and implement an urgent program of conservation, maintenance, and restoration. In addition to the site-specific work, several events, lectures, exhibitions, meetings, and conferences are being conducted by The Archaeological Park of Pompeii, the administrative body of the Campanian archaeology.

Pompeii maintains its popularity as a visitor destination since the time of the Grand Tour in the middle of the 18th century. Today it is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.[27] Because of its exquisite physical state, a rarity in the world of archaeology, it still attracts thousands of visitors from all over the globe. The visitors' profile has changed, inevitably, from the 18th century onwards. While the grand tourists were keenly interested in antiquity to learn about Classical culture, in addition to spending leisure time, many modern visitors are especially interested in the disaster narration of the site and the tragedy it witnessed. Despite the shift in the aim, scope and priorities of sight-seeing excursions one feature of the city have remained intact; the site is a show case and still presents 'scenes' to the outer world by architectural stages and that these stages are imitated in various art spheres due to their inspirational and artistic value. Today, Pompeii is not a place as silent as the Dead Sea, as stated by Melville (Horsford and Hayford, 1989, p. 101). The ancient site is full of modern tourists, who take photographs of the ruins and pose among them. The site and its architectural fabric, in this sense, serve as a ruined background. In contrast to the previous methods of site presentation, which was organized by site directors, such as Maiuri, in some ways that included displacement of in-situ findings, the current staging of the ruins is arranged without incorporating unearthed findings from the excavations. Today there is a new understanding of site presentation, which privileges a representation that focuses on the architectural tectonics of the ruins; as such the site turns into a composition of architectural voids rather than the volumes created with decorational objects. Furthermore, because most of the unearthed treasures are stored and displayed in the museum environment and are not shown in-situ, the site itself gains value and turns into an architectonic stage where artists curate and exhibit modern artworks, producers

[27] Pompeii, Herculaneum and Torre Annunziata are granted as UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 1997.

make films, architectural historians and other scholars conduct research. When compared to the state of the site in the 18th and 19th centuries, the ancient city today displays itself as a 'site of exhibition', and not a 'site of excavation'. Until the 20th century, the ancient site was an experimental ground for archaeology, as it was the first time that not only single objects, buildings, or urban quarters but a whole site was gradually being revealed. Today though every new excavation can well be considered as an experiment depending on its content and context, and the ancient site and the information accumulated from the excavations are scientifically constructed and presented as a coherent knowledge, Pompeii is still a productive locus opens to narrations based on facts and/or fictions. Today, modern visitors are still transported to Pompeii by the force of the imagination of the previous narrators who encountered the site as tourists, authors, and artists.

2.3 Ancient Site as an Architectural Stage

In 1834, 1835 and 1872, the one of a kind novel *The Last Days of Pompeii* was staged to the Victorian audience who was obsessed with the ancient world and its artistic representations. The novel was adapted by Edward Fitzball, a popular English play writer, in 1835 and played in the transpontine theatre, the Royal Victoria.[28] The play received several critics on its scenery and performance; one critic stated that the "great attraction of the piece lies more in the department of the scene-painter than of the actors".[29] The criticism attests that the success of the adaptation was linked more to architectural representation than the story. Around the same time, the urban and architectural fabric of Pompeii was uncovered to some extent, and the ruins exposed gave the site the look of an architectural stage. The city back then was gradually transforming into a stage, foremost through the excavations themselves, which were open to those in search of the ancient past; both the public and the participants of the Grand Tour were given the opportunity to watch the excavations. This section will discuss how the site and its archaeological content acted as a performative stage in three perspectives: urban,

[28] In the 18th and 19th century, the sensational melodramas, which were staged on the south side of the Thames River in London, were named as 'transpontine theatres'.

[29] Richards, J. (2009). *The Ancient World on the Victorian and Edwardian Stage*. England: Palsgrave Macmillan. p. 63.

architectural, and spatial. The urban layout of the city was taken as a model, micro-cosmos and prototype of other Roman cities, in particular of Rome, in the scholarly media. The city itself became a potential theme to romanticize for the 19th century painters, who canonically visualized the scenic beauty of landscapes and cityscapes among other subject matters as well.[30] In line with the 19th century's idealized romantic movement in art, Pompeii and its surroundings became an artistically pleasing and satisfying visual theme to stage on the blank surfaces of canvases and pages. The unearthed architectural fabric included both public buildings and private buildings in the monumental scale and with decoration and as such offered a colorful and attractive archaeological portfolio to create representative backgrounds in artworks. The architectural components of houses, foremost the spaces distinguished by decorations, columns and colonnades, became inspirational in the 19th century art as well. The visuality of the wall paintings and mosaics, in particular, that exhibited exquisite usage of color, perspective, and material contributed to creating impressive modern presentations and backgrounds. In short, the grammar of presentation used in every domain of art was constructed by the visual impetus of the architectural devices displayed as archaeological finds in the site. This unleashed a veritable passion to utilize ruins as a background, which helped to launch a visual Pompeii phenomenon.

2.3.1 Urban Architecture and Public Space as a Backdrop

Remains of public architecture in Pompeii were used as a subject in art since the first excavations (Richards, 2009). The early 18th century depictions of the city seen in paintings and engravings in this context had portrayed only the ruins and nearby surroundings. In the later decades, on the other hand, artists enriched the images they painted with human figures to make fictional reconstructions. The fictional illustrations of ruins and people in different public and private settings created, in turn, the 'mental pictures' of a 'Pompeian life.' Some public buildings were preferred more than others to use as background illustrations, such as Amphitheater, Temple of Jupiter, and Public Baths, most likely due

[30] On romanticism and 19th century paintings see, Olson, R. J. (2001). *Ottocento: Romanticism and Revolution in 19th-century Italian Painting.* Bloomsbury: Philip Wilson Publishers.; Schneider, J. (2007). *The Age of Romanticism.* Greenwood Publishing Group.; Facos, M. (2011). *An Introduction to Nineteenth-century Art.* Taylor & Francis.; Palmer, A. L. (2019). *Historical Dictionary of Romantic Art and Architecture.* London: Rowman & Littlefield.

to their monumentality and hence the popularity. The scenes and stories constructed as such became the visualized narratives of the site and thus were both demanded and enjoyed, whether they presented correct instances or not. For instance, narrating a story about an upper-class woman in the room of a gladiator, which was unearthed by excavation, was romanticized as a dramatic love story and hence, was not seen as a socially and culturally inappropriate situation. This story had indeed become one of the popular themes in paintings and films. Illustrated public buildings in such visual media as paintings, books, and films functioned, among other things, as architectural stages that used to enrich and dramatize fictional stories taken from public life. The fact that some of the buildings which are sampled and presented briefly below were frequently portrayed in the artworks demonstrates the recognition, popularity, and visuality Pompeii had gained in the 19th century Europe. In what follows, is a comparative panorama of public buildings that were depicted in artworks and utilized as urban stages.

Forum, The Civic Forum (Figure 2.9), the rectangular open area surrounded by colonnades and located towards the southwest of the city, was the center of business, political contention, and daily life in Pompeii (Figures 2.10, 2.11, 2.12). It was built as the new urban space of the city in the Early Imperial Period. Because it was at the heart of the city and functioned as an urban node, the Forum was designed in a monumental fashion and with such expensive building materials as marble and building components as marble colonnades and marble statuary (Richards, 2009). One of the major urban arteries, *Via Dell'Abbondanza* passed through the Forum and culminated in the Amphitheater (Figure 2.13). Many of the public facilities were also built along this axis, on both sides. This impressive urban space became one of the most popular and frequented destinations of modern visitors in the following periods as well.

Figure 2. 9 View of the Forum, illustrated by the author from a photograph taken in 2017. Isolating human figures by graphic representation aims to highlight the background abstraction of the scenery which opens towards Mountain Vesuvius beyond the ruined state of public buildings in the Forum

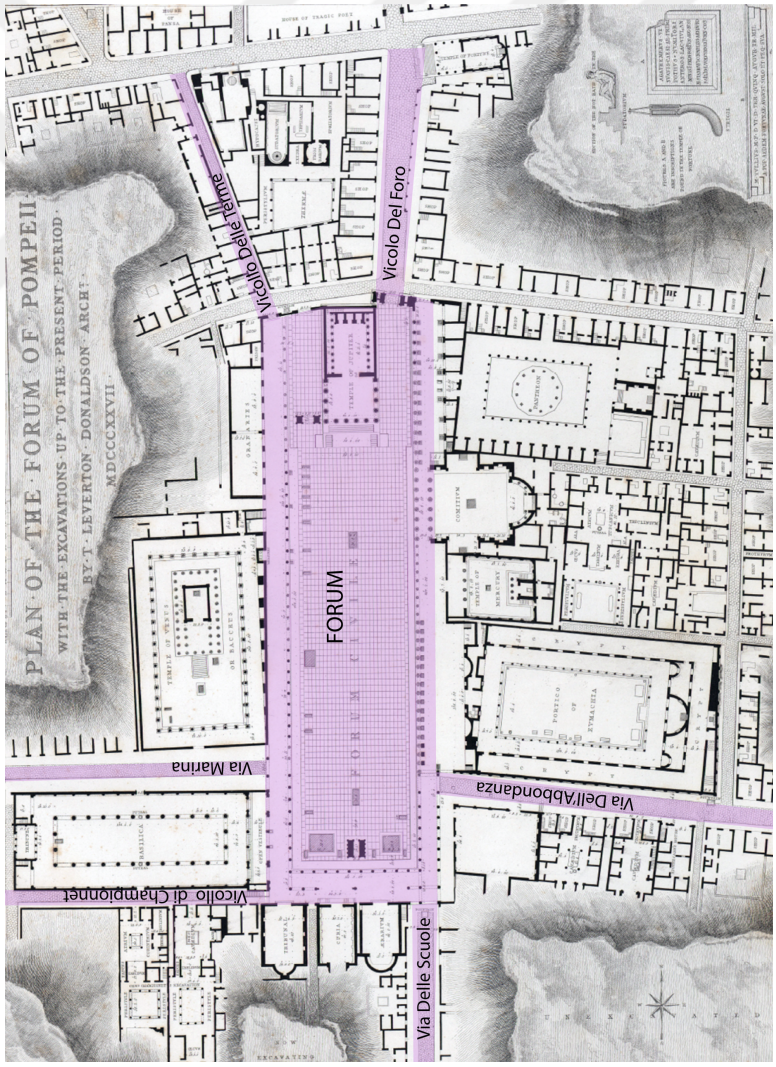


Figure 2. 10 Plan of the Forum, adapted by the author
(Source: www.pompeiiinpictures.com)

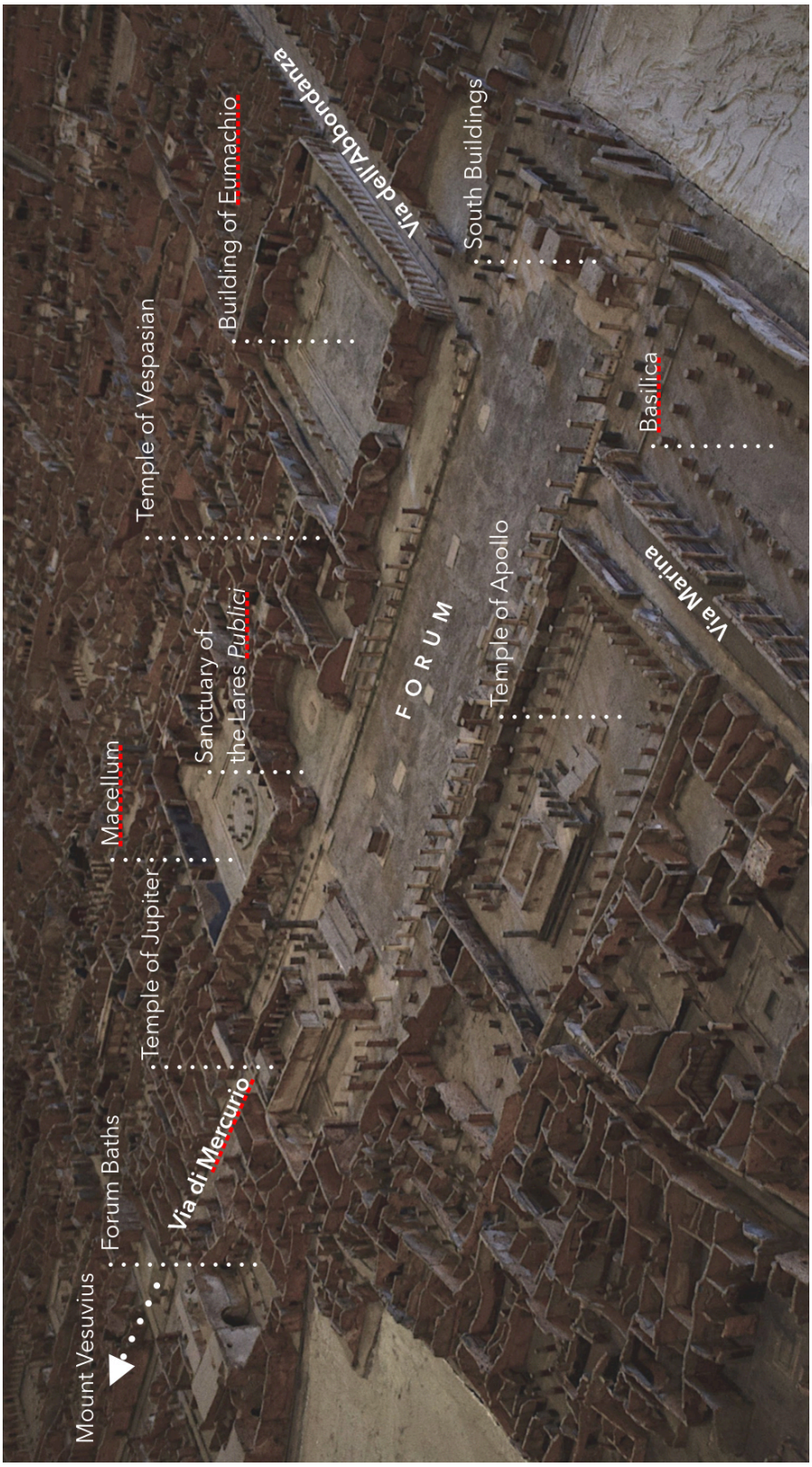


Figure 2. 11 View of the Forum Area, adapted from the author's photograph archive 2017

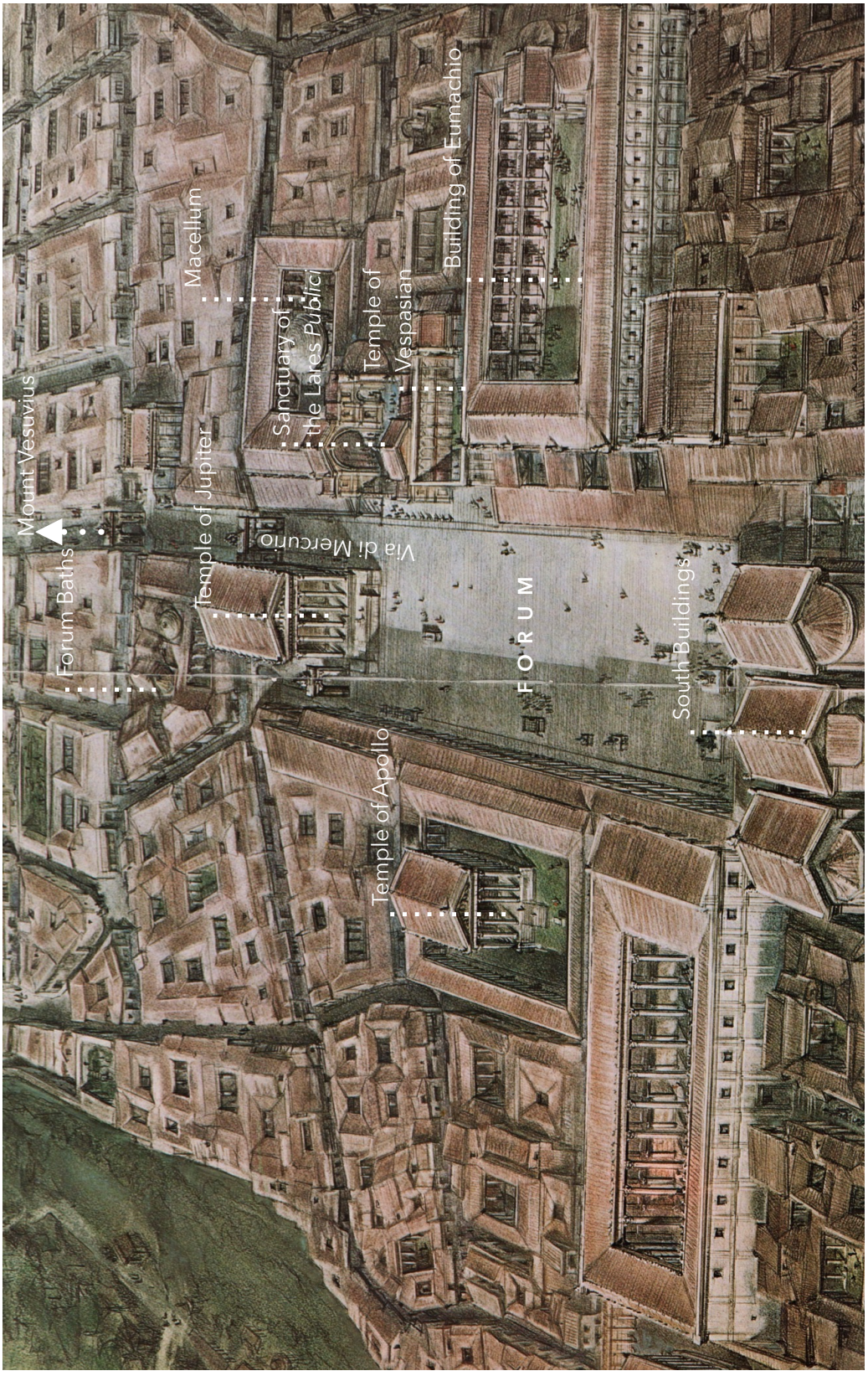


Figure 2. 12 Reconstructed view of the Forum, adapted by the author (Carpiceci, 1977, pp.8-9)

Figure 2. 13 Glass lantern slide showing *Via Dell'Abbondanza,* the main urban artery of Pompeii (Source: www.heir.arch.ox.ac.uk/, HEIR- the Historic Environment Image Resource, Institute of Archaeology University of Oxford)

It is therefore not surprising to see that Forum became one of the most illustrated urban edifices of Pompeii. The area was depicted in oil paintings on canvas, etchings, engravings, hand-colored engravings, albumen silver prints[31], gelatin silver prints[32], aquatints with hand coloring[33], photostats[34] and photographs. Irrespective of the art medium in which it featured, it is seen that some architectural elements were commonly used to reinforce the narration authors/artists had intended to stage.

[31] The Albumen prints are photographic paper prints in which a divided silver and gold image are dispersed in a matrix of egg white. "The albumen process was the main positive printing photographic process of the nineteenth century and was invented by Louis Blanquart-Evrard. It started around 1850, dominating photographic printing between 1855 and 1890 and surviving in various forms into the late 1920s." (Kaplan, 2013, p. 4)

[32] Developed in the late 1880s, gelatin silver printing is the primary black and white processing technique of photography. An image is produced with three layers: paper as a base, baryta as a surface for separating the image, containing gelatin layer from the paper support, and gelatin consisting of light-sensitive silver compounds. (Source: http://archive.artic.edu/irvingpennarchives/gelatin/)

[33] Hand coloring aquatint is a printmaking technique that came into use in the mid 18th century and was used between the 1770s and 1830s. (Source: http://www.lib.udel.edu/ud/spec/exhibits/color/intag2.htm)

[34] Photostat is a device used to make facsimile copies of written, printed or graphic material, and revolutionized the study of rare books in the 1910s and 1920s.
(Source: https://collation.folger.edu/2015/07/photostats/#easy-footnote-bottom-2-7245)

An early example depicting the Forum as an architectural object in an artwork is the scenic design of the opera, *L'ultimo Giorno di Pompei* by Giovanni Pacini. This musical show was actually a disaster narrative and was staged for the first time at *Teatro san Carlo* in Naples in 1825. The sets were designed by scenographer and architect Antonio Niccolini and later enhanced by the scenic paintings of architect Alessandro Sanquirico, for another show in *La Scala* opera house in Milan (Daly, 2015) (Figure 2.14).

Figure 2. 14 Forum of Pompeii decorated for a festival, hand color aquatint by Alessandro Sanquirico, 1824 (Coates, Lapatin and Seydl, 2012, p. 199)

The backdrops designed by Sanquirico were sensational and achieved great admiration. Like the other 19th century scene designers, Sanquirico showed "how Italian perspective scenery's illusion of depth was replaced by a vaster "panoramic vision"" (Londré and Berthold, 1999, p. 201). The Danish artist Christen Schjellerup Købke's landscape painting, *The Forum at Pompeii with Vesuvius in the Background,* that was produced in 1841 is one of the first examples of the genre characterized by the use of a visual axis that looked from the north and across the ruined Forum towards Vesuvius (Brooks, 2017). Aiming to represent the ruins in a romanticized setting, Købke preferred to illustrate one side of the Forum in perspective (Figures 2.15, 2.16). To achieve this, he depicted the landscape and its composition by utilizing light effects, the accurate color codes of the actual state of the ruins, and also illustrating the details. He created a contrast between light and dark by painting the foreground in shadow and the background in light. The gloomy presence of Vesuvius in the background acted as a reminder of the eruption of 79 AD. The

visualized architectural ruins in the painting also "exhibited divergent approaches towards representing the "real"" (Bischoff, 2006, p. 24). In his 1860 painting titled *The Temple of Jupiter and the Forum at Pompeii*, the Neapolitan painter Giacinto Gigante used the same angle from the same point (Figures 2.17, 2.18). Unlike Sanquirico's interpretation, which did not aim for actuality and hence a reconstruction of Forum, the views composed both by Købke and Gigante inherited a more documentary character as they utilized graphic representation methods to illustrate the actual state of the excavated area in that time.

Figure 2. 15 Most depicted view of Forum, from its southern corner to Mount Vesuvius, Christen Schjellerup Købke, 1841 (Brooks, 2017, p. 54)

Figure 2. 16 Perspective, depth and visual axis in the painting by Christen Schjellerup Købke, adapted by the author

Figure 2. 17 Temple of Jupiter and Forum, with a vista towards Vesuvius, Giacinto Gigante, 1860 (Niccolini 2002, p. 72)

Figure 2. 18 Perspective, depth and visual axis in the painting by Giacinto Gigante, adapted by the author

At the beginning of the 1740s, it became possible to keep some of the statues and wall-paintings in places where they had been found by using new conservation methods. Such new methods of display in the form of in-situ and open-air installations, undoubtedly, aroused more interest and attracted many artists and photographers, like Giorgio Sommer and Roberto Rive, who had dedicated their time and effort to reproduce canonical views of the city.

The Forum, which had already become a recurring theme in the paintings of the 19th century, began to feature in photographic works as well (Dwyer, 2010). The early photographs showing panoramic views, monuments, and archaeological objects in Pompeii were taken by the German photographer Giorgio Sommer between 1870 and 1877. Sommer was also the first artist who had captured the first plaster casts made by

Fiorelli and took photographs of the Forum (Niccolini, 2002). His photograph labeled *Foro Civile a Pompei* used the same perspective, which used in the artworks produced before and likewise showed views from the southern part of the city towards Mount Vesuvius (Figures 2.19, 2.20). Sommer turned his work into souvenir business and sold picturesque photographs of Pompeii as souvenirs to aristocratic tourists during the 1860s as well (Hannavy, 2013).

Figure 2. 19 Early photograph of Forum, *Foro civile a Pompei,* Giorgio Sommer*,* ca. 1870s (Fanelli, 2010, p. 57)

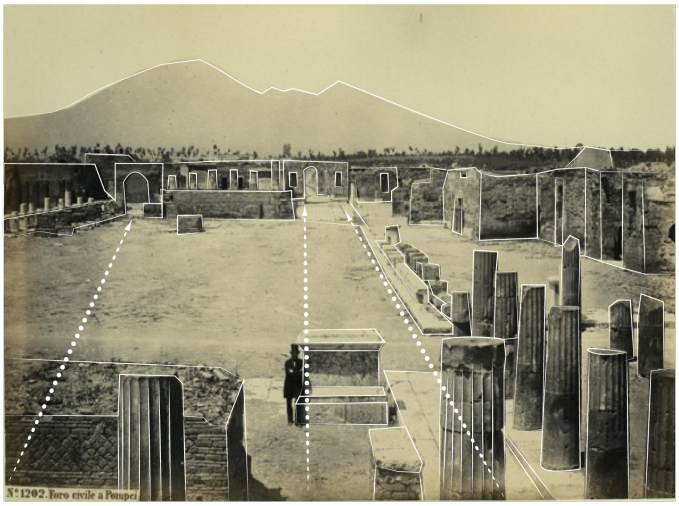


Figure 2. 20 Perspective, depth and visual axis in the photograph by Giorgio Sommer, adapted by the author

Pompeii had a second Forum on the southern edge of the city. Called the Triangular Forum, it is one of the oldest sacred areas of the city and dates back to the 6th century BC. It is located on a ridge of lava rock that overlooked the valley and the river Sarno. As its name suggests, the Triangular Forum had an awkward form compared to the central Forum. As such, it did not provide a striking perspective, perhaps the reason why there exists few visual representations of this Forum. A comparison of two forums in terms of their form and location suggests that the Forum creates a potential scenery to frame and visualize through its central location and the vista opening towards the mountain.

Basilica, Basilicas (Figure 2.21), like temples and market places were among the major public buildings located at city centers in the ancient Roman cities and opened into Fora. Pompeii was no exception in this sense. The three-ailed Basilica was the locus of local business and also served as the law court of Pompeii. It had an unroofed *vestibule* and the main entrance composed of five doorways on its short side facing the Forum; the tribunal, which was the seating area of the magistrates, was located at the end of the long façade (Sear, 2002). This monumental public building, like the Forum, was also used as a backdrop of scenery in the opera *L'ultimo Giorno di Pompei.* The reconstructed setting likewise included fictional, painted human figures (Figure 2.22). A view of the Basilica, from its entrance towards the tribunal beyond the standing columns, was captured in the form of a silver albumen print by Sommer around the 1860s (Figure 2.23).

Figure 2. 21 Basilica illustrated by the author from a photograph taken in 2017, isolating human figures by graphic representation aims to highlight the background abstraction of the scenery of the Basilica.

Figure 2. 22 Reconstructed Basilica, engraving in the opera *L'ultimo Giorno di Pompei*, Alessandro Sanquirico, 1827 (Source: www.getty.edu)

Figure 2. 23 Albumen silver print framing the Basilica from the entrance, Giorgio Sommer, ca. 1860s (Source: www.moma.org)

The Basilica had a long and narrow plan with two stories of internal columns dividing the space into a central nave and flanking aisles. The architectural layout of the building, in this respect, resembled the Forum, but with a difference: it is not located towards Vesuvius. Moreover, the Basilica was constructed in a longitudinal sense to orient

attention on the short side of the building on the southwest corner of the Forum, where there was the tribunal, on-axis, dominating the central nave. The Basilica did not become a visual theme in the artworks of the 19th century when compared to the other types of buildings located at the Forum; today, however, it is among the most photographed places in the Forum. In the 19th century, when the building was not yet restored, it looked like a garden of massive columns. The restoration took place only on one of its short facades. This restored wall standing at the end of the long visual axis still defines the character of the building and provides a focal point from the architectural perspective. The wall, which acts as a focal reference and defines the boundary, helps visitors envision and recreate the missing architectural volume of the building. Before the restoration, the building lacked this wall and thus provided an axial and open-ended sightline parallel to the long façade, a perspective that did not open towards Vesuvius. As such, the Basilica most likely was not seen as a setting attractive enough to illustrate. In contrast to the more realistic depictions which showed its ruinous state, such as those made by the photographic medium, the reconstructed version of the Basilica, as seen in the set designs of opera that showed its monumental columns, provided an opportunity to perceive the spatiality of the building.

Temples, The dominant focus of the Forum was the Temple of Jupiter, which was located at its north end. It was built on an elevated podium, which provided the best view of the Forum. While the podium and portico organization of the Temple is characteristic of the Etruscan temples, the architectural arrangement of the structure was in Greek fashion (Mau, 2007). As Kleiner (2016) states: "According to the most widely accepted chronology, when Pompeii became a Roman town, the Romans converted the Samnite Jupiter temple into a *Capitolium* in emulation of the triple shrine of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva on the Capitoline Hill in Rome" (pp. 21-22).

> This extension of the cult would have made it clear to all the citizens of Pompeii that they had been politically and ideologically assimilated into Rome, already well on its way to becoming the capital state of a state that would encompass the entire Mediterranean world. (De Albentiis, and Foglia, 2009, p. 25)

There were other temples on the east side of the Forum; Temple of Augustus (Sanctuary of the *Lares Publici*) and Temple of the Genius of Augustus (Temple of Vespasian), which

were dedicated to the emperor as a means of ideological persuasion and used for sacred and political rituals. The Temple of Apollo, which flanked the Forum on its long side, dates back to the 6th century BC. The temple had an eclectic architecture combining Etruscan and Greek elements, and thus showed a similarity with the Temple of Jupiter. In 1921 Fortunino Matania, an Italian artist and expert of historical scenes and famous with his realistic portrayals illustrated the public life of this building in a painting. This painting exemplifies an original approach which is not seen before, as Matania put himself between the ancient human figures whom he depicted in the act of watching the crowd in the old days of Pompeii (Figure 2.24).

Figure 2. 24 Illustration of the Temple of Apollo, Fortunino Matania, 1921
(Source: www.maryevans.com and www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk)

Cults known as mysteries religions and centered around gods like Isis had followers and temples in the ancient Roman world. In Pompeii, too, the Egyptian goddess Isis was a highly popular deity, and a large temple was dedicated to its cult (Aldrete, 2004). Many paintings and inscriptions found in Pompeii also show the strong influence of Egyptian culture in the city (Grant, 1971). The temple of Isis stood near the Large Theatre located at the Triangular Forum, but unlike the other temples, it was open every day. It had high walls and a single entrance, specifically arranged as such to make the ceremonies that took place inside invisible from outside. The temple turned into an artistic subject immediately after its excavation. An engraving depicting the discovery of the Temple of Isis was done by Pietro Fabris in 1779, for the well-known book, *Campi Phlegraei* which is a compilation

of the exploration of antiquities by Sir William Hamilton (Figure 2.25). The scene published in the book is the first depiction and representation of the temple. In another engraving of 1788, the Italian architect and engraver Francesco Piranesi showed the state of the temple after its excavation (Figure 2.26). Fabris' engraving shows a group of workers in the act of carrying the volcanic deposits away from the excavation site together with another group who were elegantly dressed and watching the excavation like a show. In contrast to Fabris' depiction, the Piranesi's engraving put the human figures inside the ruins of a temple, and as such made them the actors of a stage rather than the spectators of a show.

Figure 2. 25 Excavation scene from the Temple of Isis, Pietro Fabris, 1779 (Amery and Curran, 2002, p. 36)

Figure 2. 26 Engraving of Temple of Isis, Francesco Piranesi, 1788 (Petersen, 2011, p. 25)

Baths, Typical of ancient Roman cities, there were a number of public baths in Pompeii, the earliest dating back to the Samnite period of the 2nd century BC. The oldest and best-preserved thermal complex in the city is Stabian Baths. This 4th century edifice was built in the Greek *balaneion* style, which was a public hot water bathing facility. The Forum Baths (Figures 2.27, 2.28) is located north of the Temple of Jupiter and was constructed in 80 BC. This is a large and elegantly decorated double bath building that utilized the same exercise yard for both men and women. The Central Baths located at the intersection of the *Via Stabiana* and the *Via di Nola* was under construction at the time of the eruption in 79 AD. The Suburban Baths were located outside the Porta Marina (the city gate on the west). It had a single row of bathing rooms placed next to the *palaestra*, and its *caldarium* had a wide projecting apse (Evans, 2013). The baths in Roman culture and hence in Pompeii did not just serve for maintaining public hygiene but were also consumed as socializing places.

Figure 2. 27 Forum Baths illustrated by the author from a photograph taken in 2017, isolating human figures by graphic representation aims to highlight the background abstraction of the interior

Figure 2. 28 View from the Forum Baths, author's archive, 2017

In art history, 'bath' and 'bathing' are among the commonly used themes, often as a reminder of erotic gaze and lust. The baths of Pompeii were among the most popular buildings of the ancient city for both the visitors and the artists, most likely because of reminding similar associations. Théodore Chassériau, influenced by the newly excavated Forum Baths in his visit to Pompeii, had depicted the *tepidarium* of the building in a painting entitled *Tepidarium* in 1853 (Figure 2.29).[35] The style he used was a combination of classicism and orientalism, and "… while the background may be classicizing, the central theme of decadent sexuality owes far more to the contemporary understanding of orientalism than to antiquity" (Coates, 2012, p. 102). Domenico Morelli, who painted *The Baths of Pompeii* in 1861, also illustrated an atmosphere similar to that of Chassériau's *Tepidarium,* which he had seen on his visit to Paris (Figure 2.30). Noteworthy in his work, is the fact that he drew nearly all the architectural details truthfully and created the setting in nearly a photographic accuracy.

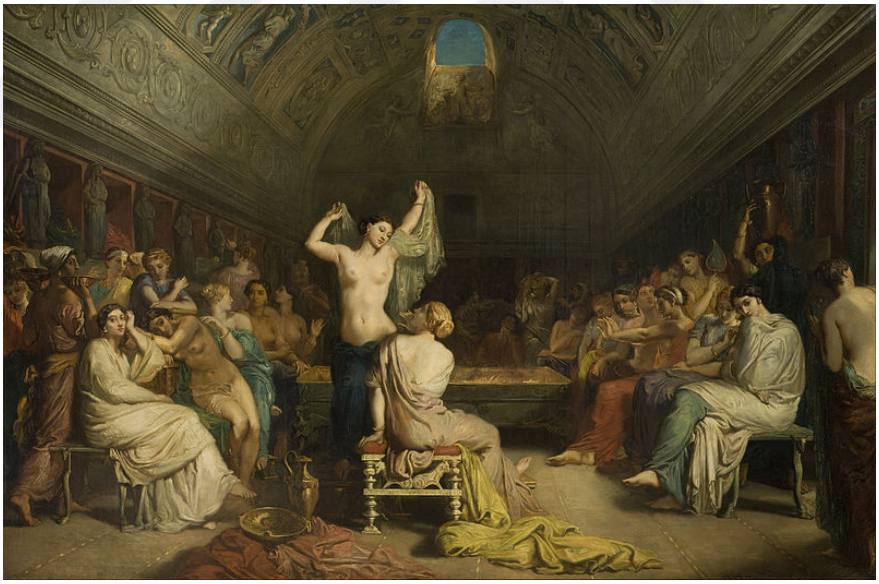


Figure 2. 29 Scene from the interior of the Forum Baths, Théodore Chassériau, 1853 (Lombardi, 2009, p. 35)

[35] Most of the Orientalist art was indeed erotic, and aimed to create meanings other than artistic expression. This kind of artwork distanced the male members of the bourgeois from their repressive social life, and on the other hand, by depicting women in this way, they tried to control and pacify women who were struggling for rights of equality during the 19th century (Facos, 2011, p. 158). For orientalism, see Said, E. W. (1979) *Orientalism*. New York: Random House Books; MacKenzie, J. M. (1995) *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Netton, I. R. (Ed.). (2013) *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage*. New York: Routledge; Çelik, Z., Benjamin, R. and Crinson, M. (2002). *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*. London: Duke University Press.

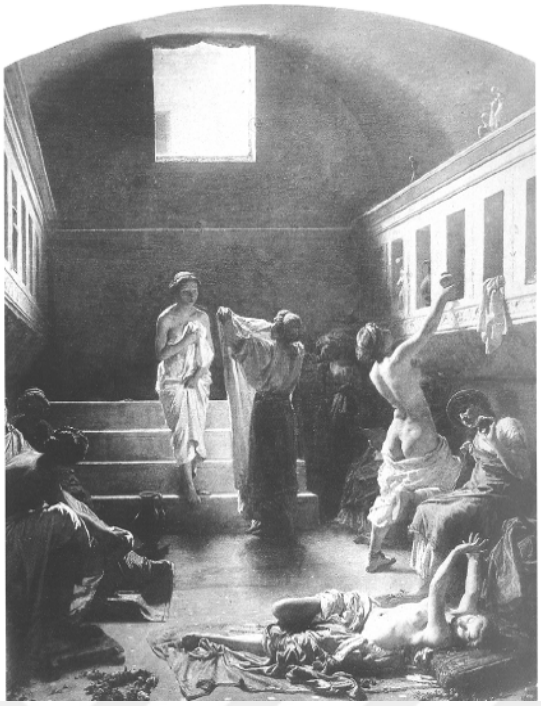


Figure 2. 30 The Stabian Baths, Domenico Morelli, 1861 (Harris, 2007, p. 20)

In order to achieve a striking effect, Chassériau utilized various visual codes, which he derived from the visual representations of antiquity in his time. In this regard, he fostered an interest in scenes of bathing and leisure in Pompeii for further pictorial interpretations. The visual codes manifested in such issues as instances from social life, imitations of decorational elements and objects unearthed by the excavations, and vivid atmospheres created by using selective color schemes which share common features with the actual colors in the buildings. He also paid attention to distinguish the human figures. There are both sitting, and standing figures; the standing figures are slaves in the act of serving while the others are the elite citizens. This was a widely used depiction also in antiquity, seen on vases and wall-paintings, to highlight the hierarchy between social classes. By representing the nude and sensual women to create an erotic atmosphere, the artist undoubtedly also adopted an *Orientalist* attitude. He could have benefited from the available publications to construct the architectural perspective, such as *Les Ruines de Pompéi by* Francois Mazois and *Pompeiana; The Topography, Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii Excavations Since 1819* (1832) by William Gell. Sarah Betzer (2010) in her article *Afterimage of the Eruption: An Archaeology of Chassériau's Tepidarium* (1853) suggests that Chassériau was inspired by the architectural publications of his time:

> Chassériau's painting certainly mirrored Gell's scrupulous attention to archaeological detail, and the structural and spatial scaffolding of the work suggests the explanatory goals of projects like Mazois' and Gell's. This is emphasized in the full title given by Chassériau for the painting: *The Tepidarium. The Room Where the Women of Pompeii Went to Rest and to Dry Themselves after Leaving the Bath* – a sort of learned floor plan in words (p. 474).

Aiming to generate an architectural scenography, the artist embedded decorational objects such as an exterior bench called *subsellium* or *scamnum,* a *brazier* used to heat rooms, and bronze benches. Bathing utensils such as pitchers were depicted in selective colors which defines the material quality. Taken together, space, figures, furniture, hairstyles, pieces of jewelry, and the fluid texture of costumes painted on the canvas provides an insight into the artist's response and reflection to Pompeian life capsulated in one of the places for ancient socializing - the Tepidarium.

Theaters, The oldest preserved Roman period theatre in Pompeii was built during the 2nd century BC. It was later modified in the Augustan era. The structure has a semicircular shaped *cavea* (auditorium) and orchestra, and had a capacity of around 5000 people. *Odeon,* another covered but smaller theatre with a seating capacity of around 2000, was located adjacent to the large theatre (Cooley, 2013). It was reminiscent of a Greek *bouleuterion,* which was used as a meeting place for the city councils and assembly chamber for the first settlers (Zanker, 1998). Due to its architectural similarity with theaters found in Corinth, Argos, Athens, and Epidauros, it can be stated that the *odeon* in Pompeii was used as a theater and for rhetorical exercises rather than staging plays (Laurence, 2010). Both theaters were among the early excavated structures. The Large Theater complex and the Gladiators' Barracks found next to it became popular shortly after their discoveries[36], and thus began to be used as themes in artistic representations. One of the first paintings that illustrated the theatre was done by the German painter Jacop Philipp Hackert, who was the official painter of the court at Naples (Figure 2.31). The painting, *View of the Excavation of Pompeii*, produced in 1799, depicted the excavated ancient ruins in a serene and pastoral landscape. Hackert used darker colors in the foreground while he painted the background lighter. The human and animal figures shown in the foreground and the surrounding pastoral nature provides for the viewer a scene of an on-going and

[36] Large theater was discovered in 1764, the Gladiators' Barracks in 1842.

incomplete excavation process. The mountains (except Mount Vesuvius) stand as the outstanding features and shape the background. In his compositions Hackert often depicted the scenic beauty of Naples and its surroundings by portraying an idealized tranquil country life: "The shepherds and flocks of Campania and the picturesque ruins of the Vesuvian towns became a projection space for an idyllic notion of the simplicity of Homer's and Virgil's worlds" (Roettgen, 2013, p. 135). Other artists of the 19th century who painted the theater of Pompeii, as different from Hackert, focused more on the parts of the theater area and from a closer distance rather than portraying the theatre district as a whole. A color lithograph, for example, depicted a close-up view of the theatre from the same angle used by Hackert (Figure 2.32).

Figure 2. 31 Large Theatre and Barracks of Gladiators, Jacop Philipp Hackert, 1799 (Tarabra, 2008, p. 78)

Figure 2. 32 Color lithograph of Theatre by an anonymous artist around 19th c.
(Source: https://art.famsf.org)

The theatre district in Pompeii became a frequently used scene in 19th century photography as well. Photographers like Roberto Rive took photographs of both the theatres and the barracks (Figure 2.33), while other artists like Giorgio Sommer framed their photographs specifically by gates to focus on the parts of the structures (Figure 2.34). Apparently, the later visual works that used the theatre as a theme, like Sommer's colored photographic version, had a more documentary character, utilising close-up views that enabled the viewer to see archaeological details (Figure 2.35). The apparent inaccuracies, however, must have been deliberately created by the artists since, for example, the games and gladiatorial shows were shown as taking place in the Amphitheater, but the Gladiators' Barracks were located adjacent not to the amphitheater but to the theatre area.

Figure 2. 33 Late 19th century photograph, looking from Large Theatre towards Gladiators' Barracks, Roberto Rive (Source: https://pompeiiinpictures.com)

Figure 2. 34 Albumen print, looking west across Large Theatre, Amedio Atelier, ca. 1860s, (Source: http://objdigital.bn.br/)

Figure 2. 35 Hand-colored albumen silver print depicting Greek Theatre, Giorgio Sommer, ca. 1860s (Lyons, 2005, p. 58)

Amphitheater, The amphitheater is located at the end of *Via dell'Abbondanza,* at the southwest corner of the city. This grandiose building had changed the cultural climate in the town more than the other public buildings (Zanker, 1998). With an estimated capacity of about twenty thousand spectators, it gained a huge reputation for its gladiatorial combats that attracted Romans from all neighboring areas and towns. As such, and it became one of the popular socializing places for both Pompeians and their neighbors. As understood from the graffiti on its walls, the famous gladiatorial contests which previously took place in the Forum, started to be held at the amphitheater after its completion. The Gladiators' Barracks, located behind the Large Theatre, the House of the Gladiators and the Large *Palaestra* were the other buildings uncovered in this area in 1776 (Cooley, 2013). The Large *Palaestra* had functioned as a training ground for the military corps of the upper-class youths and was situated next to the amphitheater. In antiquity, "like the Colosseum in Rome, … the Amphitheater at Pompeii was intended as a place to go to see and be seen, a place of visible social status and rigid social hierarchies" (Bomgardner, 2013, p. 42). The excavation of this impressive structure attracted considerable attention at that time. Narrated together with the popular gladiatorial games, the structure became another popular visual theme in art. In 1884 Auguste Louis Lepère, a French painter and etcher, engraved a scene named *The Festival of Pompeii, the Circus of Gladiators* which recreated a gladiator game watched by a Victorian audience (Figure 2.36). Like Matania, who put himself between the ancient human figures in the painting of the Temple of Apollo, Lepère also portrayed human figures dressed in ancient costumes and 19th century dresses

in the scene. What is striking in his work is the existence of Vesuvius at the background; in order to highlight the role of the mountain as a reminder of the great calamity, it was visualized in the act of smoking. Aiming to display the capacity of this massive structure, the artist preferred to illustrate dozens of human figures, which got smaller and blurry looking towards the edge close to the mountain. Photographers Somer and Behles took similar shots of the amphitheater with Vesuvius at its background in an albumen stereograph medium (Figure 2.37). A comparison made between the two instances illustrates that even though they belong to different representational media, they share common features in terms of framing; they both illustrated the scene not only by focusing on the structure itself but also utilizing the mountain.

Figure 2. 36 Reconstructed scene depicting a game in Amphitheatre, engraved on wood, Auguste Louis Lepère, 1884 (Source: www.clevelandart.org)

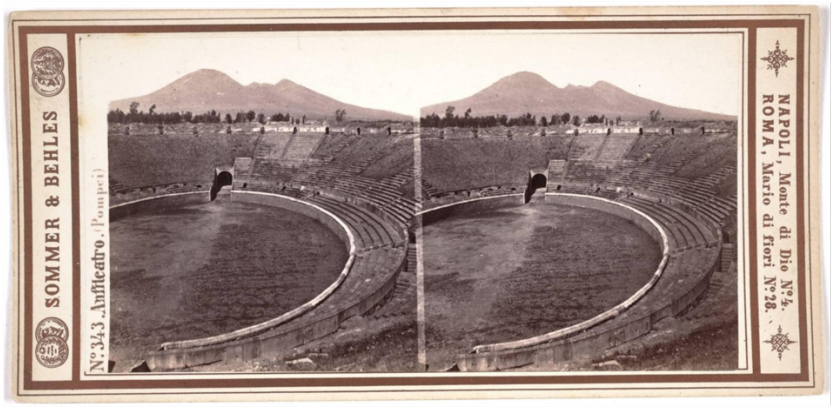


Figure 2. 37 Early photographic image of Amphitheatre, Sommer and Behles Studio (Source: www.commons.wikimedia.org)

***

Pompeii, from its first official excavation by Prince Elbouf in the second half of the 18th century to today, has become a fetish of narration and representation, an uninterrupted chronicle of ruins. The exploration of the ancient cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum in Campania during the 18th century, in this regard, was also the generator of modern archaeology:

> On the other hand, "Antiquaries knew more or less how to extract objects from the ground and unearth monuments. But the task at Herculaneum was to uncover an entire town that had been suddenly petrified by a volcanic eruption. Never had the excavator been confronted with such a mass of data; never had they had to face so many questions relating to the processes of excavation, conservation, recording, and publication. (Schnapp, 2013, p. 13)

The quotation shows exactly why the western world was very enthusiastic about the excavation of the buried cities; from scale to technique, it was challenging all the methods known before as the task was to reveal a city rather than an object. In the case of Herculaneum, the excavation was conducted underground by way of tunneling and hence had remained invisible to the public. The excavations at Pompeii on the other hand, attracted huge public attention due to the open-air digs which were visible. "Most obviously, of course, the area of excavation was gradually extended: at the beginning of the century Pompeii was more a buried street than a buried city; by the 1890s over half of what we now see had been excavated" (Beard, 2013, p. 2018).

The first documents produced during the early excavations were prepared to understand and explore the city and hence recorded technical information in the form of measured plans and drawings; the latter was produced specifically to satisfy artistic delight. Especially this latter group of visual material made the ancient city of Pompeii a popular subject in the artistic spheres. The early paintings produced by a combination of striking colors such as various tones of red, in the 19th century usually depicted Mount Vesuvius and its eruption as a reminder of the 79 AD apocalypse. In the later examples of the 19th century, Vesuvius continued to be the background but not anymore treated as the focal point in the painting; the architecturally visualized ruins instead, were placed as central themes. In the 19th century, under the influence of the prevailing neoclassicism and

romanticism, the ruins became the main actors of picturesque landscapes illustrated with pastoral colors and contrasts of light. At the end of the 19th century, the newly developing photographic method as a medium of art added a documentary aspect to the representation of the artifacts and buildings revealed in Pompeii. In the early examples, it is seen that the artists took shots often from the same spot and angle; later examples show more personalized preferences that produced focused and/or close-up shots of parts of architectural remains.

The artworks presented so far are sampled to illustrate representations of public buildings that were uncovered in various parts of the city as single edifices. The urban fabric of Pompeii, on the other hand, is attested by the domestic architecture that survived in an unprecedented amount and variety. The following section analyzes the nature of ancient Pompeian houses and their visual representations. This section, together with the previous one, provides a comparative framework about how public and private buildings were visually narrated in the later centuries, and open ground for the discussion given in the 3rd and 4th chapters.

2.3.2 Architectural Fabric: Social and Spatial Context of *Domus*

This section looks at the domestic architecture of Pompeii and discusses how houses were transformed into stages of display and narration in the 18th and 19th centuries. 'House' is approached as a 'stage' and its representation as a visual scene, thus creating another type of a stage; or 'stage in a stage'. The articulation of 'stage in a stage' theme in the visual materials of the periods considered constitutes the framework of the discussion. The section also addresses how the visual constructs of houses were created according to the 'scenarios' that were composed of the images of the private settings, which will be further elaborated in Chapters 3 and 4. The sample of houses used in the discussion is those houses that were recurrently consumed in the artistic media and thus were visually explored in their historical context.

Pompeii's architectural fabric was composed of ruins. The ancient site came into life both as an aesthetical and historical context, especially after the domestic architecture and the

associated artistic content were revealed. The context and amount of the houses brought to light in about two centuries made Pompeii a milestone and an absolute reference in the field of Roman domestic architecture. The typology identified in reference to this rich and diverse context provided a multitude of information on the form, decoration, and use of ancient Roman houses, hence on its architecture and spatiality. As one account put it in 1884: "everyone knows what a Pompeian house is like. You may see one at the Crystal Palace, and this may serve you as a model to imagine half-a-score'" (Beard, 2013, p. 216). The Pompeian house, like the public edifices of the city, has been reproduced both spatially and visually in various representational media after becoming an archaeologically comprehensive entity, and thus a well-known visual construct in the cultural spheres of Europe. The single-family dwelling called "*domus*" in the ancient Roman period constitutes the great majority of the housing type in Pompeii and therefore needs to described architecturally, socially and functionally prior to elaborating its reconstructed forms.

The standard single-family house in the Roman world in the 3rd and 4th century BC was named as *Domus Italica*, and the literary accounts given by both Vitruvius and Varro confirms that the origin of the Republican *Domus Italica* was the Etruscan house (Kleiner, 2016). A notable and frequently used example used to define this house type is 'House of Sallust' (Figures 2.38, 2.39). Compact and introverted, the house was planned around an inner, semi-open hall called *atrium*, which was equipped with an *impluvium*. The *atrium* was the focus of the domus and was surrounded by rooms of varying size and function; cubicula (living room/bedrooms), *alae* (alcoves), *fauces* (the entrance), and *tablinum* (the reception area). The *atrium* opened towards the *tablinum*, and beyond the *tablinum* was the garden, *hortus*; the central axis led from the entrance to the *atrium*, to the *tablinum* and to the *hortus*. During the 2nd century BC, this house type received a *peristyle,* a second, open and colonnaded courtyard, as featured in the Greek houses of the period, and developed into a more elaborate scheme. The colonnade as a feature of Greek domestic architecture, converted the Italic *domus* into a Hellenized Roman house (Kleiner, 2016). "The owners had been consciously Hellenizing in their emulation of styles considered 'regal', which were introduced following the social, commercial and cultural contacts with the Hellenistic kingdoms of the East" (Flower, 1996, p. 187). Indeed, not only private

architecture but also the public buildings and temples were influenced by the Hellenistic architecture, especially by the palaces and the showy residences of the Greek east. The House of the Vettii (Figure 2.40), House of the Faun (Figure 2.41) House of the Silver Wedding and House of the Labyrinth are some of fully excavated, documented and hence best-preserved examples of private architecture from this period in Pompeii (Kleiner, 2016) (Figure 2.42).

Figure 2. 38 Development of House of Sallust between 2nd century BC and 79 AD. (Boston Museum of Fine Arts Department of Classical Art, 1978, p. 53)

Figure 2. 39 View of *atrium*, House of Sallust, author's archive, 2017

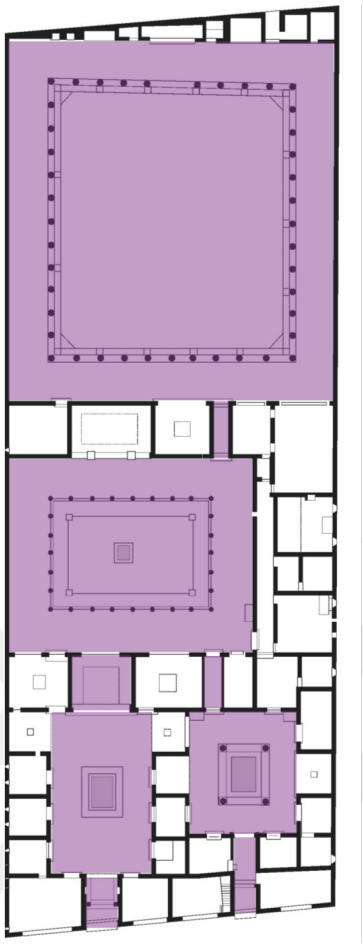


Figure 2. 40 House of the Faun, adapted by the author (Yegül and Favro, 2019, p. 55)

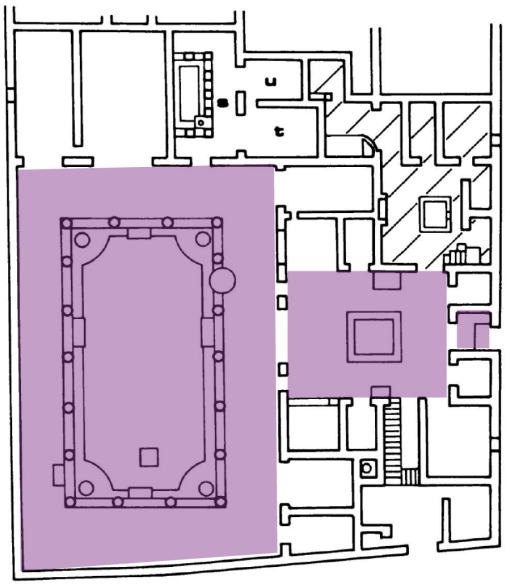


Figure 2. 41 House of the Vettii, adapted by the author, (Wallace-Hadrill, 1988, p.79)

Figure 2. 42 Views of *atria*, House of the Faun and House of the Vettii, author's archive, 2017

The Roman *domus* was not used only as a home; it was conceptualized and designed as a multi-functional private setting to perform private and social rituals and to conduct business. According to ancient literary sources, several rituals and regularly performed practices concerning "worship of household gods, ceremonies of coming-of-age, marriage, birth, and death", daily business and social interaction took place in the *domus* (Clarke, 1991, p. 1). The house was used by different social groups:

> Three main groups made use of a Roman house: the owner's family, servants, and friends… The public/private axis distinguishes between the outsiders and the insiders; both slaves and family are insiders, though in social rank (grand/humble) they differ greatly. Friends are outsiders…" (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, p. 38)

Such conceptual dualities as 'public/private', 'outside/inside' and 'grand/humble' operated in social and spatial terms and articulated both the architectural layout of the house and the social life within:

> The Pompeian atrium house is normally defined as a large rectangular hail, longer than it is wide, onto which a series of symmetrically arranged rooms opens. On each flank of the hall two or three doors conceal small rooms (*cubicula*) used for sleeping or storage. At the far end of each lateral wall, the hail space opens up on either side into a pair of open areas (*alae*). At the back of the hall, terminating its longitudinal axis, lies the *tablinum*, the sanctuary of the master. (Dwyer, 1991, p. 26)

The Pompeian house was as an inward-looking mass, planned along an axis that linked a 'sequence' of spaces: *fauces, atrium, tablinum* and *hortus* (Figure 2.43). This axis was also visually defined by the arrangement and positioning of architectural elements, such as doorways, columns, decoration and focal objects and/or installations like niches and water elements.

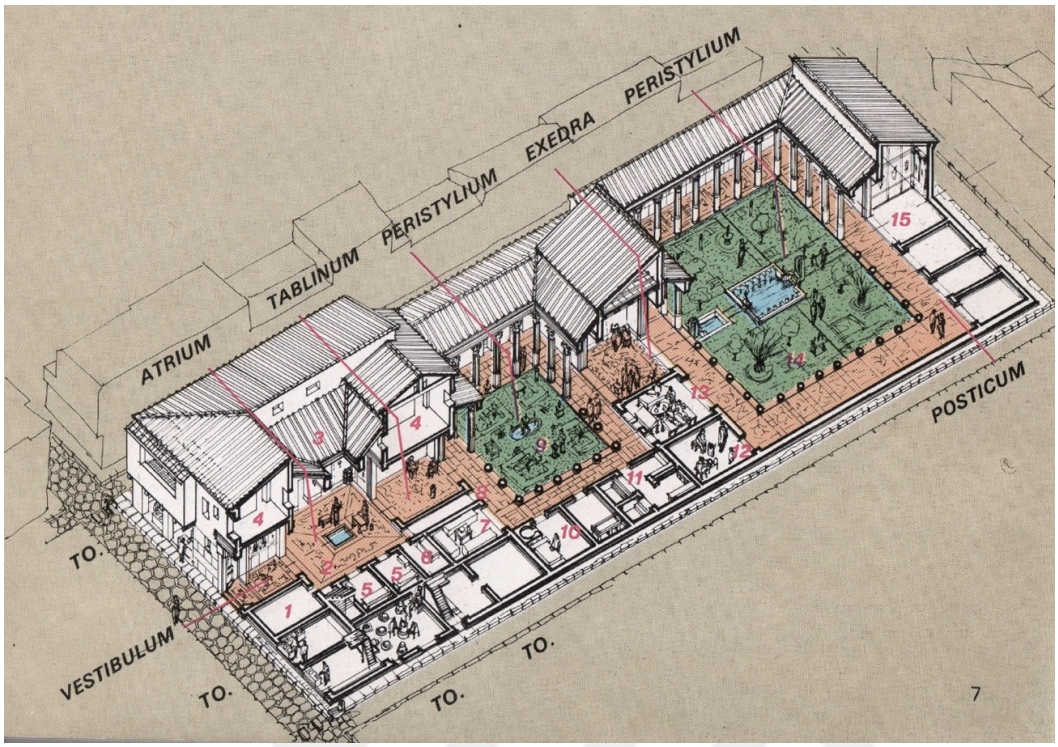


Figure 2. 43 Layout of a typical *domus* showing vertical and horizontal axes, (Carpiceci, 1977, p. 7)

Fauces, The entrance passage called *fauces* (in latin meaning 'throat') was "the deep tunnel-like space leading into the atrium" (Clarke, 2006, p. 250). The first spaces which are located, often on one or both sides of the *fauces* and flanked the street were commercial units which opened to the street and did not usually have an access to the private area beyond. The *fauces* was often designed like a short tunnel that separated the domestic area from the street, and established a liminal boundary in between. This deep space distanced the hearth of the house from the street and as such did not allow for a comfortable and full vision of the interior to the passerby at a single gaze.

> The *fauces* announce the axis and align a viewer's gaze along it. From a shallow space level with the sidewalk, the doors opened inward to create a viewing position for the visitor who would see the *tablinum* framed by the floor, wall, and ceiling of the *fauces* (cited by Drerup 1959). (Clarke, 2013, p. 344)

Atrium, The second focus of the long axis running from *fauces* to *hortus* was the *atrium*. This was an inner hall with a roof opening. The central opening, *compluvium,* channeled the rain water into a rectangular and shallow basin called *impluvium* which was often connected also to a cistern. *Atrium* was a multi-functional and public area. It was the

center of domestic rituals and sacred activity (*sacra privata*) and hence the likely place of the shrines of the *Lares* and *Genius*, and the *Penates*. (Peterson, 2011).[37] According to ancient testimony, the ancestral representations, the *imagines*, of past family members acknowledged as persons of success and deed were also displayed in the *atrium*. "The presence of the *imagines* in the *atrium* allowed the ancestors to appear as spectators for the rituals and activities…" (Flower, 1996, p. 202).

> The *atrium* was a room associated with the morning hours, when most business was conducted, and people called on the master of the house for the traditional *salutatio* (morning greeting). It is, therefore, a space connected with work, especially official business (*negotium*), as opposed to other rooms used for leisure activities (*otium*). (Flower, p.188)

Tablinum, The *atrium* gave access to *tablinum,* a spacious room located on axis of the street entrance. This was a formal reception room used by the owner of the house to do business, meeting and communication with clients and visitors. It was often open on both sides, thus having a visual connection both to the *atrium* and the garden. *Tablinum* served as a spatial boundary in between the front and back of the house and its central position allowed insiders to control who entered the *atrium* and what was happening in the house. "Whether the *dominus* himself or his servant was present in it, the *tablinum* was the place from which the security of the household was controlled" (Dwyer, p. 28). In the Roman world "…the home was a locus of public life and the *atrium* and *tablinum* had served as the primary public spaces. A public figure went home not so much to shield himself from the public gaze as to present himself to it in the best light" (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, p. 5). In his powerhouse, the best location for the master was definitely the *tablinum',* the third focus of the architectural scheme which according to Dwyer (1991) adjoined the *atrium* "much as a modern *proscenium* stage, though it is usually elevated by only a few inches" (p. 27).

Behind the *tablinum* lied the *hortus*, a garden designed to bring nature inside and often embellished with porticoes (Kleiner, 2016). The *hortus* actually defined the open and

[37] Domestic shrines could also be arranged in other locations like kitchens or *peristyles*. For further information about domestic shrines see, Orr, D. G. (1972). *Roman Domestic Religion: A Study of the Roman Household Deities and Their Shrines at Pompeii and Herculaneum,* University of Maryland Press.

landscaped area of a rear court, located at the end of the sequential and visual axis of the house. [38] Due to its noncentral position and distance from the street entrance, *hortus* is described as the relatively private zone of the house, with controlled visitor accessibility.

Triclinium, A major space which was not aligned on this axis of the house was the dining room called *triclinium,* after the three *klinai* (banqueting couches) arranged in the form of Greek letter *Pi* and set against the walls of the room. The *kline* was a Greek-style couch. It was used to recline and/or sleep in both living rooms and *triclinia.* Various forms of *kline*, such as movable wooden couches or fixed masonry ones are well represented in Pompeian houses. Paintings which display banqueting scenes in the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum show that the participants reclined on couches with elegant cushions, and ate from tables. *Klinai* were decorated with luxurious textiles and cushions and complemented with marble or bronze tables that were used to display fine tableware made of costly materials, such as silver, gold, bronze, or semi-precious stone utensils designed both for functional and decorative purposes, such as *scyphus*, *cantharus* and *simpulum* (Figure 2.44). Archaeological evidence supports that furnishing was not specified much according to function, which indicates that functional flexibility could have been achieved by moving the furniture between spaces. Couches made of wood seems to have been more common, as illustrated by the banqueting scenes displayed in wall-paintings and mosaic, though, there were more opulent versions with fittings made of costly materials, such as ivory and bronze as well. The wooden furniture rarely survived the eruption; an example is the carbonized wooden couch frames found in Herculaneum. Architectural features such as windows and openings that provided a vista of the garden and items such as ceramic and silver objects found in *triclinia* formed the 'snapshot' of real-life habits of private dining.

[38] The Roman *domus* differed than the Greek house in terms of the principles concerning the design of open courtyards. The courtyards in the Greek houses lacked green areas; they either had beaten earth floors or were paved with cement, mosaic or cobblestones.

Figure 2. 44 Painting in the Tomb of Vestorius Priscus displaying a silver service, (Tuck, 2015, p. 15)

Dining was a notable social occasion in the world of antiquity and the dining space, *andron* in the Greek houses and *triclinium* in the Roman houses, was a place for social intercourse through dining, drinking and entertaining. The archaeological evidence such as cuttings that indicated the alignment of the couches along the walls, marks on the pavements and the decoration differences between the areas corresponding to the couches and the central area help to identify a room as *triclinium*. "The rooms themselves were usually long and narrow, and often divided by structure or decoration into a forepart and a deeper inner zone; the couches were set up in the inner portion" (Dunbabin, 2005, p. 38). Dining could also take place in the garden, as attested by the open-air dining pavilions arranged as 'summer *triclinia'* in a number of houses.

Dining was a convivial and festive ceremony in antiquity. Dining, eating and drinking in a reclining position with slaves standing to serve, in this regard, was a sign of power,

privilege and prestige (Dunbabin, 2005). Festive banqueting practiced in the elite households served, apart from leisure purposes, as a political strategy as it enabled to communication and networking among peers. While the tradition was originally associated to the members of the upper-class, in time it became practiced by the non-elite as well. Representations of dining were found in various contexts, from vases, and utensils to wall paintings and mosaics pavements in the houses, as well as in painted tombs and various types of sculpted tomb monuments. Most of the evidence concerning how the convivial ceremony was 'set' and 'staged' in the Roman period comes from ancient authors and pictorial decorations. The wall paintings that depicted banqueting scenes, and which could be found in places other than the *triclinia* in the Roman house, manifested and demonstrated the social status of owner of the house. These paintings created an ambiance of luxury and wealth in domestic settings. A decorative element that might be found in a *triclinium* setting to embellish its ambiance was such water installations as pool or *nymphaeum*:

> This was a flight of twelve steps, set in a niche covered in mosaics made out of glass and sea shell, down which a stream of water, brought from the mains supply, cascaded – or, more realistically perhaps, trickled. From the base of the steps, the water was channeled into a bowl that stood between the couches, and then on into another pool and fountain along the garden edge of the room. This is an arrangement found elsewhere in Pompeii, not to mention other, grander, places in the Roman world, and it must have come close to the Roman idea of 'dining heaven'. (Beard, 2010, p. 95)

Cubiculum, The spaces that are not architecturally or archaeologically diagnostic and lack function-specific names, are indiscriminately labeled as *cubiculum.* The *cubiculum* served as a private room and/or a bed-chamber*,* usually located in the *atrium* area and/or next to the *triclinium*. "The feature of a *cubiculum* next to a principal dining space is a standard one, copied from luxury houses and villas; the notion was to create a suite of rooms dedicated to the pleasures of the banquet, one of them large, the other intimate" (Clarke, 206, p. 241). While *cubiculum* is the most common term used to identify the small rooms found around the *atrium* or *hortus*, it may not be a correct one to specify their function as a bedroom since allocating separate rooms for sleep is a modern concept and emerged in the 19th century:

> We might, rather, consider that Pompeians slept wherever convenient, according to status, interpersonal relationships and the season…Evidence of private activities

> suggests that analogy with a "boudoir" rather than with a bedroom (in the modern sense) might be appropriate. (Foss and Dobbins, 2009, p. 273).

Furthermore, even though the group of rooms found in the *atrium* part of the house are commonly identified as private rooms and labeled as *cubicula*, some could have been used as storage spaces, as *cellae* or *penariae* (storerooms) described by Varro as well (Allison, 1999). This also confirms that only "a limited number had evidence of bedding but more often they contained small quantities of personal material (e.g., caskets, small vessels, items related to dress, toilet and lighting)" (Foss and Dobbins, 2009, p. 271). As mentioned by Nissinen (2009), in few examples, "cubiculum could act also as a place for dining, religious activities, storage and ablutions" (p. 89). The fact that some *cubicula* were richly decorated, indicates that it was considered as a room of importance and thus an alternative reception room. The elite citizens might use these decorated rooms, for example, as a reception space for meetings, peers or high-ranking guests (Clarke, 1998). Nissinen (2009, p. 90) also argues that as a decorated room the *cubicula* could well be used as a controlled public space and served as a reception room, except in situations like "the illness of the master of the house or the absolute need for secrecy than an ordinary custom" which required some degree of privacy. In his seminal article *'Public' and 'Private' in the Roman Culture: The Case of the Cubiculum* Andrew M. Riggsby (1998) discusses the possible functions of a *cubiculum* by looking at the use of the term in ancient literature and demonstrates that it was a multi-functional space. A considerable amount of the wall paintings found in the rooms identified as *cubicula* depicted scenes of sexuality and erotic gaze, which indeed had led to identifying them as a bedroom. Yet, erotic content was found in the wall-paintings that adored other spaces, like *tablinum* as well.

Who were the actual users of *cubicula* and whether it was an absolutely private space are still matters of debate as the evidence that came from the excavations are scanty and could not provide diagnostic evidence about the social use of space. Another disputed issue in this context is the location of the slave quarters and their sleeping areas, for which there is not much evidence as well. As such it is not possible to comment with certainty whether slaves had slept with their masters or elsewhere; married couples had used the same *cubiculum* or not and which family member had his/her own *cubicula:*

> …the inhabitants of Roman households might have had routine-based nightly activities and more or less permanently fixed sleeping spaces, and also that (at least the wealthiest) Romans had a possibility to use peaceful and private bedchambers, and that receiving guests or other outsiders in one's cubiculum depended on circumstance rather than custom. However, the locations of sleeping areas seem to have changed according to season. The settings for sleeping among upper class Romans are more likely to have been solitary rather than social (Nissinen, 2009, p. 107)

Colonnaded Garden, Peristyle, Several of the houses in Pompeii received colonnaded gardens (*peristyle*), possibly following the intensified cultural contacts with the Hellenistic world starting from the 2nd century BC, began to be elaborated with colonnaded gardens (*peristyle*) that replaced the traditional *hortus;* from its presence in almost all medium and large-sized houses it can well be said that *peristyle* was a highly favoured domestic ensemble. "Around the middle of the second century BC the *peristyle* was introduced and became widely used as the focus for the more private family rooms which opened off it" (Flower, 1996, p. 193). Though few, there are examples of extremely lavish houses with two *atria* and two *peristyle* courtyards dating from the 2nd century BC in Pompeii as well.

Religious Spaces, Lararium, The religious activity in a Roman house did not take place in a space specifically designed for this purpose. It can be spatially located in different parts of the house and in the form of a *lararium*, a cult worshipping installation. The *lararium* "was usually reserved for Roman household gods and spirits such as the *lares* (the protectors of a family), the *penates* (the gods of the ancestors), and the *genius* (the guardian and the protective spirit of the household's *paterfamilias*)" and was often found in *atrium, hortus* and/or the kitchen zone (Peterson, 2011, p. 43; Orr, 1973). The *atrium*, among other spaces, however, seems to have been the primary location of the *lararium*:

> Although the atrium tended, as time went on, to become little more than a large and richly furnished sitting room, in earlier days its heavy roof and other traditional features had contributed to a general impression of closed-in sanctity. This austere atmosphere was appropriate to the shrine of the household gods (*lararium*), which was frequently located in this part of the house. (Grant, 1971, p. 114)

Lararium could be designed in the form of a niche in the wall, a shelf, a wall painting, a cupboard containing the images of the *lares*, or a small structure made of wood or stone. The religious ceremony took place in front of the *lararium*, which was decorated with paintings of garlands. The owner of the house sacrificed cakes, fruits, and wine at these shrines in order to appease the protective spirits (Clarke, 2003). Such significant family

events as rites of passage; birthdays, marriages, or *toga viriles* ceremonies and special events like family festivals were celebrated at this altar with sacrifices to *genius*.

2.3.3 Constructing the Luxury: Villa

The architectural and decorational scope of urban houses influenced the design of the countryside residences. The Roman had two types of countryside houses: villas that functioned as farm houses (*villa rustica),* and those that were designed as luxurious leisure residences (*villa urbana* and *villa suburbana).*[39] Both types of villas were found in both the inland and seaside, in particular along the Bay of Naples (*villa maritime).* In the beginning of 2nd century BC, the new concept of domestic house, *villa urbana* appeared, then it was adopted throughout the Roman Empire. The villa, with the variety of decorative elements, intended to manifest Greek culture and civilization. The architectural elements including gardens, baths, libraries, rooms, courtyards and fountains designed in order to imitate the forms of Greek architecture. For example, there were Greek statues located at the rooms; wall paintings and floor mosaics displayed scenes from Greek mythology. The Hellenistic experience of nature also influenced the design principles of the views of the landscapes. Indeed, in such an approach, by creating a three-dimensional representation of Greek culture in domestic environments, these environments became a new form of cultural memory (Zanker, 1998). Similar to the *villa urbana*, the design of the *villa suburbana* was an amalgam of Greek and Roman architectural features. The appreciation of landscape found expression both in the form of gardens and in the fictive views of landscapes displayed by painted interiors. With the lavish waterworks, sculptural embellishments, and ornamental plantings, the *peristyle* gardens in the suburban villas simulated the Roman public gardens in the domestic sphere (Zarmakoupi, 2014).

The villa belonged to the urban elite who spent their time between the city and countryside; the villa was one of the powerful and privileged symbols of high social status and culture (Moorman, 2009). For the owner, the architectural merits of the villa

[39] For further information, see, Ackerman, J. S. (1990). "The Ancient Roman Villa" in *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, and Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1998). "The Villa as Cultural Symbol" in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: Villa Urbana*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, pp. 43-53.

contributed to self-promotion and self-display. Hence, displaying wealth and prestige, depending on the taste of the owner, via decoration and architecture, had set the context of domestic luxury as well. Luxury was materialized in two overlapping ways. First, either in reality or as a display on the paintings, such materials as precious metals, expensive marbles, costly textiles and fabrics were used to decorate the spaces. Second, the contents of paintings and images were appropriated to create a dramatic aura. The depiction of mythological themes in paintings, for example, linked the atmosphere of the spaces to the Hellenistic concept of *tryphe* (*luxuria*), which was exploited as a symbol of power and matter of prestige (Moormann, 2009).

The villas and the time spent in villas were always coupled with such words as pleasure, wealth, and leisure. "The leisure *(otium)* associated with villas embraces a whole sphere of life in which architecture and décor were inseperably connected with certain styles, habits and intellectual pursuits" (Zanker, 1998, pp. 139-140). The villas, thus, became the stage sets to perform leisure activities and associated rituals.

The villa was distinguished by an architectural repertoire that opened it to landscape, and/or incorporated greenery into its inhabited spaces. The windows and terraces, for example, enabled the capture and enjoy panoramic views. In order to take advantage of the vistas, the designers made clever orientations of the porticos, dining rooms, and bedrooms (Zanker, 1998). The design of the villa was often dominated by impressive *peristyles* adorned with gardens and sunlight. The introverted *domus* and the extroverted villa shared common features. Both were designed "with an eye for visual angles and a keen sense of symmetry, space and perspective" (Rothe, 2018, p. 47)

The wall paintings played a major role not only to enlarge spaces but also to create a variety of scenes. Statues and other decorational elements reinforced the appreciation of classic culture. "The sumptuously decorated interiors of the villas staged the owner during his elaborate dinner parties, and the monumental facades served the self-advertisement of their owners by marking the villas' presence in the landscape" (Zarmakoupi, 2014, p. 380). In such luxury-driven villas, the artists made use of perspective depictions more effectively as they had many large surfaces to cover. The villa owner, in this respect,

usually doubled his pleasures by applying garden and landscape murals within a real tamed landscape.

Visual and spatial axis were also utilized as markers of orientation in leisure villas where viewing towards outside to frame and capture the landscape was prioritized in comparison to views towards inside from the *fauces* (Clarke, 1991). The villas oriented towards panoramic views. Shifting vistas in the *peristyle* gardens created through zones of shade and light.

2.4 Roman House and 'Scenography'

The Pompeian *domus* imitated the architecture and décor of public edifices, like theatres, temples, and basilicas. Moreover, it housed stage settings that were derived from the architecture of public contexts. In terms of theatrical discourses, the resemblances between private and public settings allowed visitors to become spectators of "domestic performances" organized by the owners. Through staged performances and scenes they achieved a medium of self-presentation. As stated by Beacham (2013):

> A crucial factor enabling this presentation to take place was the inclination of patrons, architects, and painters to draw extensively upon a language of theatricalism and to deploy within the house configurations of space, properties, scenery and movement which were conditioned by a theatricalised mode of viewing, reacting, imagining, and performing. (p. 363)

The house could transform into a theatrical sphere, where scenery, gaze and movement played a central role for engagement. Concepts of 'scenography' and '*mise-en-scène'*, in this respect, can provide an insight into the dynamics and comprehension of this theatricality. Two major principles that guided the design of the *domus* were 'Architectural scenography' and sequential order'. Both were concretized and made manifest by a décor which provided visitors an imaginative sphere that extended from the real world and transformed the architectural spaces into fictional places. Wall paintings were particularly utilized for these purposes, and could display such themes as illusionary perpectives, theater stages, costumes, masks, and actors, elements that associated domestic décor with the scenography used in theatre.

The Pompeians made use of 'scenography' in their private settings by associating the architectural layout of the houses and the daily rituals, and by manipulating the spatiality and decoration of rooms to operate and enhance the social routines. This was done in a number of ways, starting from the arrangement of the street entrance. The doorways provided outsiders to throw glimpses into the houses, and partially released the visual context. In this context, the user/guest who walked from the *fauces* all the way to the *hortus* found herself/himself in a series of 'scenes' framed in distinctive ways. The framing device was used deliberately to direct the visitor's gaze. The Roman spectators were accustomed to look through images framed by wooden or canvas panels in theatres. Similarly, the spectators/visitors encountered views which were framed by openings such as doorways and windows, besides the wall paintings that framed the depicted views on the walls. A linearly extended series of framed views were arranged within a composition of architectural sequences defined by the visual axis. As the visitors moved through spaces, they experienced the architectural sequences. The *trompe l'oeil* technique used in wall paintings created false optical illusions, manipulated vistas and multiplied the architectural sequences that occurred in the domestic setting. The real or painted vistas "destabilize and disrupt the elements from which we construct normal visual reality and in the proccess may theatricalise it" (Beacham, 2013, p. 368). In this sense, between the street door, *atrium, tablinum*, and *peristyle*/garden at the back, the house was experienced by visitors at three levels: physical, visual, and imaginative. The process started with the visual ambiance created by objects, images, and/or trophies placed in the *fauces*. This elaborated entrance hall served as a front space that prepared the audience for the scenes they would encounter in the house. These narrow entrance spaces were enhanced with the visual hints related to the scenographic content of the house. If outside is assumed as 'real' and inside as 'fictive,' the *fauces* represented the threshold between reality and fiction.

The *atrium*, as the symbolic center of the house, was an amalgam of the opposite spheres: exterior-interior, public-private, and real-fictional. The *atria*, was designed and decorated to make a reference to all these spheres. For example, it could be designed both by constructed columns and painted columns. Beacham (2013) made a comparative analysis on the architecture of theatres and houses and suggested an analogy between the columns displayed in the *atria* and the *scaenae frons* of the theatre. According to him, this columned,

permanent architectural background décor of the theatres was designed to give an impression of power to spectators. In a similar vein, the columns found in *atria*, whether real or painted, served as icons of power manifested through architecture. The iconic elements elevated the *atrium* to a stage of performance. In this stage, dramatic scenes related to rites of passage, such as coming-of-age, wedding, funeral, sacrifices for ancestral cults at the *lararium* and communication and interaction with dependents through *salutatio* meeting were set by owners and watched/participated by public audiences. Moreover, the images of ancestors, that could take different forms from painting, shield portrait and mask to bust, placed in the *atria*, and which brought the past to the context of the present, made this fictional stage a place of memory display as well. As such, the architectural stage enveloped by the *atrium* was designed not only to watch but also being watched.

The *tablinum*, often elevated from the ground, was placed in a dramatic location to display the house owner, particularly towards the *atrium*. Space could be opened fully to the *atrium* via doors or fabrics that functioned as separators. By pulling aside the curtains or opening the doors, the owner of the house could appear on stage (Beacham, 2013). This must have been a surely theatrical appearance, for example, for the audience waiting to make salutations in the mornings. The walls of the *tablinum* were usually covered with more complex paintings compared to *atrium*, which enabled the owners to present themselves within a sophisticated pictorial space. The décor of the space, in this regard, was constructed to elaborate the social status of the owner via both architecture and art. Within the colored and framed space of the *tablinum*, the owners could perform visual presentations of self.

The scenography in the *peristyle* was arranged by columns, light and panorama. The garden was surrounded by actual columns that gave a monumental look to space. The walls of the colonnades, in addition, could be animated by painted columns, thus making space oscillate between real and fiction, like the *atrium*. The illusions, created as such, could be supported further by imaginary landscape paintings as well. By looking at these paintings, the spectators had shifted imaginatively between the view of the 'actual garden' and the fictional world of the 'painted garden'. Such rooms surrounding the *peristyle as triclinium* and *cubiculum* were also painted with pictorial ensembles. Because the architectural voids

in these rooms came to life by the "scenically induced contemplation of mythic or imaginary realms", they too, had a significant role in composing the visual repertoire of the house (Beacham, 2013, p. 398). The visual quality of the stage in the *peristyle* was enhanced by other decorative elements, such as pools, fountains, statuary, and shrines; taken together with paintings and colonnades, they transformed the colonnaded garden into a theatrical setting.

Because dozens of houses were brought to light with standing walls and decoration, the urban fabric of Pompeii became renowned more with domestic architecture. The domestic architecture of the city is well studied; the recurring design and decoration features in several houses enabled to argue convincingly the principles that guided the organization of domestic spaces. In this respect, the houses at Pompeii can well be described, apart from their spatial aspects, as ensembles of architectural stages which consisted of scenographic paintings and framed vistas. Some of the houses in this amazingly rich context became popular objects of visual representation and simulation in later centuries. They appeared in guides, books, and artworks. The represented visuals of the houses, in the forms of drawings, etchings, paintings, and photographs, on the other hand, display a scenography in terms of framing and ordering the images as well.

The interest in displaying the houses of Pompeii via artistic media was a strong one. Because the house was conceptualized as an architectural stage from the beginning, it can be interpreted that through its later visual representations in various media, the stages had become (re)staged and the houses had indeed become (re)framed. The selected examples below are used to discuss how and in which ways the *domus* and villa became objects of representation in non-archaeological media, and how the framing and staging of the illustrated took the scenes created originally in the houses.

House of the Tragic Poet, House of the Tragic Poet (Figures 2.45, 2.46) is located on the main street leading to Forum and was excavated between 1824 and 1826. It was named after the discovery of a floor mosaic *emblema* in the *tablinum*, which portrayed a dramatist and a group of actors. The house owes its fame to the wall paintings and mosaics in the *atrium* and *triclinium* (Niccollini, 2002). The fact that the plan of the house conformed

Vitruvius' description of the Roman *domus* in *De Architectura*, made it a 'model house' which is used as a reference to describe Roman domestic architecture. "Since its discovery, this small house has come to be regarded as a veritable paradigm of the Roman *domus* and has enjoyed a rich afterlife, furnishing a kind of stage set for the projection of our own retrospective notions about Roman life and manners" (Bergmann, 1994, p. 226). As the house contained several mythological paintings in the *atrium*, Bergmann (1994, p. 249) interpreted the *atrium* of the house as a 'memory theater' in reference to the content of the paintings. The rich decorational context of the house inevitably made it focus of artistic illustration from its discovery until today.

Figure 2. 45 House of the Tragic Poet, illustrated by the author from a photograph taken in 2017

Figure 2. 46 View from *atrium* to *hortus*, House of the Tragic Poet, author's archive, 2017

The house was introduced to the general public as an illustration in *Pompeiana* by William Gell in 1832. The novelist Bulwer Lytton was influenced by the representation of the house in *Pompeiana* and used it as the dwelling of his character Glauco. Following its early representations, the house became a commonly used visual theme and became frequently used as a model to create fictional environments in paintings and illustrations. It served as an agent between reality and antiquity and indeed played a major role in reanimating 'the city of death', and thus Gell's reconstructed *atrium* view, showed the architectural setting of the *atrium* and the spaces beyond in a single-point perspective (Figure 2.47). The *impluvium* was illustrated as the focus of the foreground while the *lararium* the background and the vanishing point of the perspective. By showing the reflection of light coming from the roof on the floor, Gell aimed to make the viewer aware of the roof opening, *compluvium,* above the *impluvium*. From wall to floor, all the architectural elements and decoration were illustrated in detail in Gell's composition. In the later paintings,

lithographs, illustrations and photographs that depicted the same house, nearly an identical angle would be used.

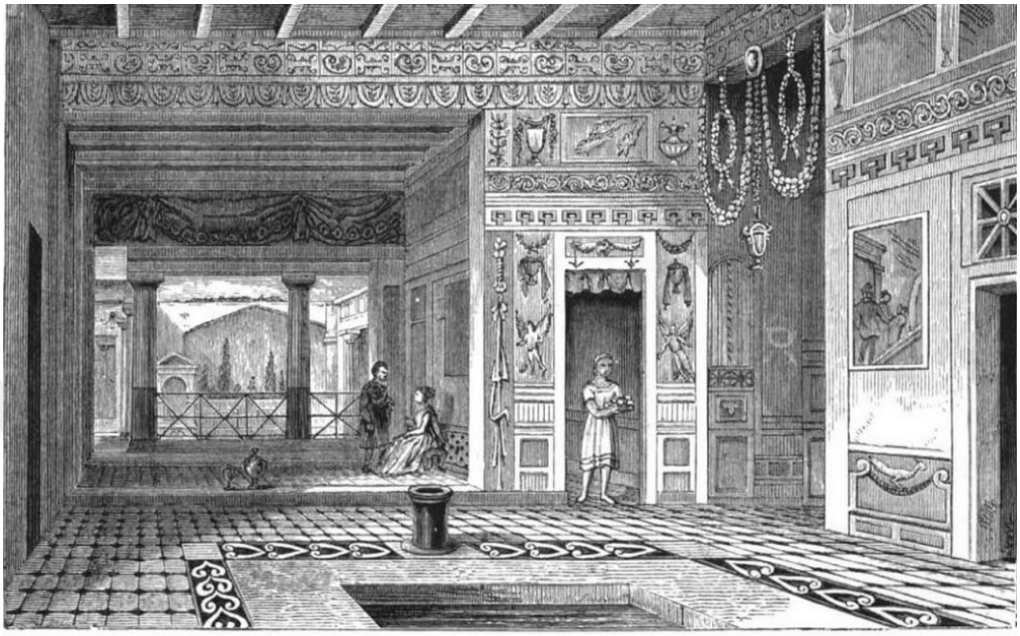


Figure 2. 47 House of the Tragic Poet as illustrated in *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1832 (Adams, 1869, p. 192)

Gell's illustration, however, is not the first visual representation of the house. Henri Labrouste, a French architect from the *École des Beaux-Arts* school of architecture, painted the actual state of excavation as a colored wash on paper, circa 1824-30 (Figure 2.48). In this depiction, as customary, the architectural elements framed the views and created spatial sequences. It is clear from the painting that the work was done after the wall paintings were cut out and moved to the museum; the pastel colors and remains of the removed frescoes were still recognizable on the walls. According to Bergmann, the urge to represent this house is done in two different ways after its sensational discovery; some of the representations aimed solely to re-animate and re-create the domestic atmosphere, while others tried to document and record the remains in the form of watercolors, engravings, and temperas, like the painting of Labrouste.

Figure 2. 48 House of the Tragic Poet, Henri Labrouste, ca. 1824-1830
(Source: https://catalogue.bnf.fr)

In the second half of the 19th century, recreations became popular. The artists started to animate the vivid domestic atmosphere of life in Pompeii by inserting human figures into the paintings. In 1855, one such work was painted on canvas by the French painter Gustave Boulanger, and named as *Theatrical Rehearsal in the House of an Ancient Roman Poet*; the name referred to the mosaic that depicted a group of actors preparing for their play (Figure 2.49). The painting shows a theatrical performance by a poet and actors set in the *peristyle* of the house. The depiction of the *lararium*, the wall paintings (showing the copies as the original ones were kept in the National Archeological Museum of Naples), and the reconstructed ancient furniture created a robust spatial recreation executed in an architectural approach.

Figure 2. 49 Theatrical Rehearsal in the House of the Tragic Poet, Gustave Boulanger, 1855
(Source: www.wga.hu)

A more detailed version of the same house, in comparison to the 1855 painting, was painted by Pierre Olivier Joseph Coomans in 1869 (Figure 2.50). *The Last Hour of Pompeii-The House of the Poet* also showed architectural and spatial elements such as the copies of paintings that had once decorated the walls of the house in antiquity. The painting composed a view from the *cubicula* to the *peristyle*. While a figure was depicted in the act of reading at a reclining position behind a group of people in both paintings, the 1869 version made the reclining figures the focal theme in the scene. All the details showing the accessories that constructed the fabric of the scene, such as chests, jewel boxes, vases, candelabra, hand mirror, gaslight chandelier, clothes, shoes, jewels, and even the hair models were painted in a way as close to the actuality in antiquity as possible. In paintings with overwhelming details and where all figures were portrayed in the act of posing, it also becomes possible to observe the social differences as well; the slaves, for instance, were often depicted while serving their masters, as shown in both paintings. A major difference of the latter painting on the other hand, was the depiction of the smoke that was coming out of Vesuvius as a sign of the eruption. Beyond all the domestic luxury, this was a reminder of the apocalypse, which would take place hours later.

Figure 2. 50 House of the Tragic Poet, Pierre Olivier Joseph Coomans, 1869
(Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org)

A chromolithograph framing of the *atrium-tablinum-peristyle* axis of the House of the Tragic Poet was done by D. Capri in 1898, based on an illustration by G. Discanno (Figure 2.51). There are few human figures in the painting and the wider frame focused more on the architectural depictions and used a graphical approach. Unlike the previous two paintings, the scene included a wooden balcony and indicated the presence of a second floor. The painting was named *Ideal Reconstruction of the House of the Tragic Poet Interior* which shows how the painting was conceived as a medium of architectural recording as well. The 'ideal' referred to such architectural details as the accurate illustrations of the *atrium,* the *impluvium, the compluvium*, the *lararium*, the wall paintings, the floor mosaics, and the decorational objects.

Figure 2. 51 House of the Tragic Poet, Chromolithograph by D. Capri after an illustration by G. Discanno, 1898 (Niccolini, 2002, p. 195)

The house was also used as a setting in the 19th century photographic productions, the visual materials inserted into books, portfolios and guidebooks. One example is a lantern glass slide that portrayed the interior of the house by using the angle used by Labrouste; the main difference between the two representations was a lady dressed in the Victorian

style and posed towards the camera while standing at a doorway next to the *tablinum* (Figure 2.52). Similar to painters who placed ancients in the scenes they created, the photographers also inserted human figures in their shots, for which they used the visitors as models. Placing the real visitors of the site into captured frames emerged as a novel way of reviving the past at present. In fact, such collages aimed to give a scale of the space captured in the photograph and to create a nostalgic/romantic atmosphere of the ruins as filtered by the camera.

Figure 2. 52 House of the Tragic Poet, Glass lantern slide, Unknown Artist, ca.19th century (Source: www.heir.arch.ox.ac.uk)

The House of Pansa, The House of Pansa (Figures 2.53, 2.54), a large house from the Samnite Period, is an example of an *atrium-peristyle* type house that nearly occupied an entire *insula* with its large back garden:

> The original nucleus is still visible: Tuscan atrium with the usual beam support, *cubicula*, *alae* and *tablinum*, arranged axially and symmetrically in front part of the house; the peristyle behind contains a great pool (*piscina*) rather than the usual garden…The French scholar Mazois sketched a plan of the garden at the time of excavation, and observed that it was laid out symmetrically in rectangular plots separated by paths which also served as irrigation ditches. Through may have been included, the garden was obviously a produce garden designed to supply the Pompeian and local markets… (McKay, 1998, p. 43)

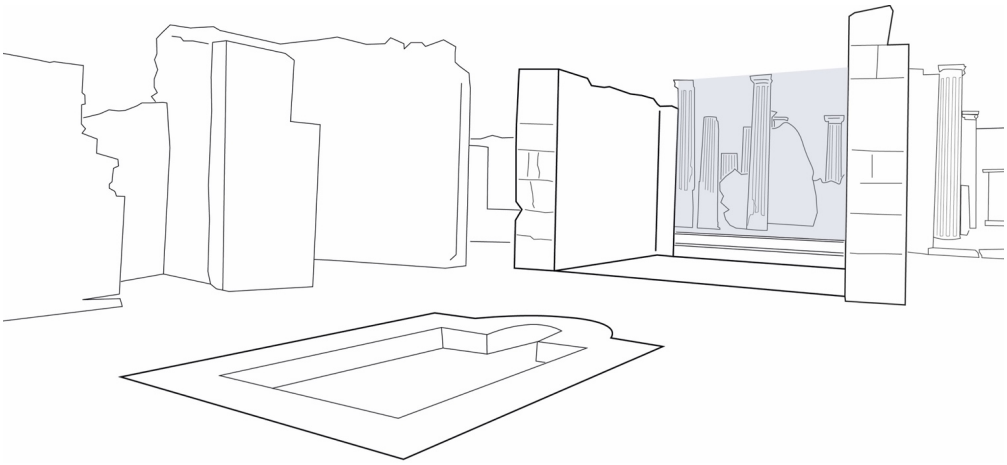


Figure 2. 53 House of Pansa, illustrated by the author from a photograph taken in 2017

Figure 2. 54 View from *tablinum* to the *fauces*, and *atrium* to *peristyle*, author's archive, 2017

The house featured in various printed media in the 19th century as a model of Roman aristocratic dwellings. Moreover, a replica of it was built at Saratoga Springs in the USA in 1889 by architect Franklin Webster Smith. The replica house, which was filled with the replicas of ancient mosaics, frescoes, statuary and furniture, was built as an archaeological museum of ancient Roman houses and named *Pompeia* (Figure 2.55). As stated by the architect in 1900: "during ten years since its completion, without any previous announcement, and with ignorance on the part of many of "what is a Pompeian house," it has been visited by about 100.000 people, whose stay at average between two and three hours" (p. 17). The handbook of the exhibition, *The Pompeia: a reproduction of the house of Pansa, in Pompeii, buried by Vesuvius, A.D. 79. at Saratoga Springs* was published in 1891 (Figure 2.56). It was stated in the book that: "From the numerous private houses now excavated in Pompeii, the "House of Pansa" was selected as a model, from being the most

perfect in plan, and consequently the best known. In proportion and arrangement, this reproduction is nearly identical" (Smith, 1891, p. 4) (Figure 2.57). Smith went bankrupt and the museum was closed in 1906, the building, however, still stands.

Figure 2. 55 The albumen print showing the replicated interior of *Pompeia,* Franklin W. Smith, 1889 (Source: https://digital.library.cornell.edu)

Figure 2. 56 Cover of the handbook, The *Pompeia*: A Reproduction of The House of Pansa, in Pompeii, Buried by Vesuvius, A.D. 79, 1891 (Source: https://archive.org)

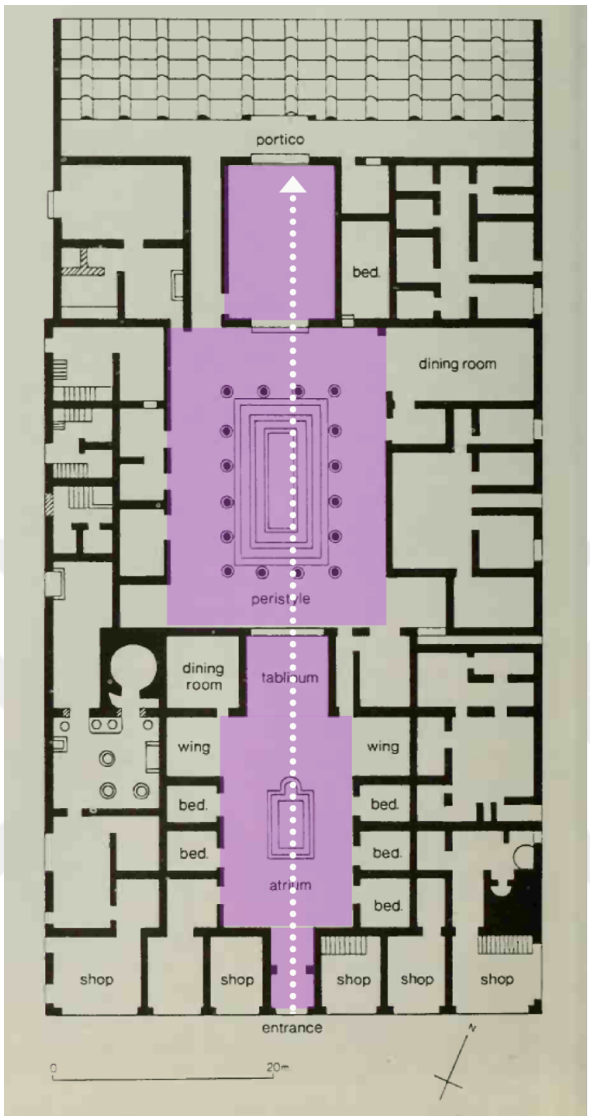


Figure 2. 57 Plan of the House of Pansa, adapted by the author (Grant, 1978, p. 112)

The house became one of the popular settings for photographic studies, which was a newly emerging medium in the 19th century. Two examples of the photographic shots of the house are a salted paper print produced by Calvert Richard Jones in 1846 (Figure 2.58) and a glass lantern slide from the end of 19th century (Figure 2.59). Both works showed the actual state of the excavations and used almost the same vista framed within doorways, and showing Mount Vesuvius at the background of the axial perspective. While the first photograph framed the space in between the entrance and the *peristyle*, the second one framed a view from the *tablinum* to the *peristyle*. In both of them, there are human figures standing near the entrances.

Figure 2. 58 Salted paper print, Calvert Richard Jones, 1846
(Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org)

Figure 2. 59 Glass lantern slide of The House of Pansa, Unknown Artist, ca. 1890s
(Source: http://heir.arch.ox.ac.uk)

House of the Faun, The most outstanding Pompeian house from the 2nd century BC is the House of the Faun (Figure 2.60), named after the discovery of a dancing *satyr* statuette in the *impluvium*. The use of a *satyr* statue as a welcoming decoration in the *atrium* indicated that the owners had an affinity for Greek culture: "embodying the Greek tastes of the local nobility, is more imposing than any known palace or villa of contemporary Hellenistic kings"[40] (Grant, 1971, p. 112). The house had two *atria*, and two *peristyles* and its layout exemplifies "the subsequent shift of the main living-areas of the houses from

[40] In Greek mythology, a *satyr* or *silenos* is a male nature-spirit, partly human and equine in form. In mythological illustrations, Satyrs were sometimes represented more like a beast, and sometimes like a human. They were typically as playing the double flute, dancing, pursuing *nymphs*, and accompanying Dionysos (Hansen, 2004)

atrium to peristyle" (Poehler *et al.,* 2011, p. 50) at the end of the 2nd century. While the first *atrium* was a traditional one with a central roof opening (*Tuscan atrium)*; the second had four Corinthian columns that supported the roof (*tetrastyle* (four-column) *atrium*) (Kleiner, 2016).

Figure 2. 60 View towards *atrium* and *tablinum*, House of the Faun, author's archive, 2017

The house is also well known for its floor mosaics, among which is "the most intricate ancient mosaic ever discovered" (Beard, 2010, p. 28), the "Alexander Mosaic". The elaborate panel is found in the *exedra* located between the first and second *peristyles*. The mosaics, indeed, became the focus of excavations during the 1830s. It is clear from Fiorelli's accounts that he also prioritized to uncover the magnificent set of floor mosaics. He described the house and the 'Divine Spirit of Bacchusas' mosaic as such:

> …Festoons of flowers and fruit surround this picture, and from them hang many stage-masks, of a new and varied design. The execution, coloring, style, sensitivity, and freshness of this peerless monument cannot be described… It is to be noted that apart from the decorations and the rusticated walls imitating colored marbles, no painting adorns this dwelling. One might say that its owner, scorning a glory that he would have shared in common with more lowly houses, has reserved for himself a type of decoration and of luxury, which it would not be easy to emulate. Thus, this house's atrium alone offers enough to create a gallery in the Royal Museum of unparalleled richness. (Cooley, 2013, p. 18)

Among the mosaic repertory of the house was a pavement containing the Latin greeting '*Have*', which was placed in front of the house. "The salutation makes explicit what was

normally implicit; namely, that the house's owner was communicating to street goers the extension of the house's realm into the sidewalk" (Hartnett, 2017, p. 124). The house, as one of the largest and well-known in the city, was used, not surprisingly in art as well. It was photographed by Giorgio Sommer circa 1865 (Figure 2.61). The photograph was taken to frame the *peristyle* and the famous Alexander Mosaic together with five standing people. The architectural historian Giovanni Fanelli in his book *Addenda a Giorgio Sommer* described this shot in these words:

> From a cleverly decentralized point of view, the position of the flood in the foreground introduces the second floor arranged as a theatrical scene consisting of the architectural elements of the largest house in Pompeii, whose horizontal succession is commented by the significant presence of five different figures for dress social background. A short landscape piece appears in the background. (Fanelli, 2012, p. 58)

Figure 2. 61 House of the Faun, Giorgio Sommer, ca. 1865, (Fanelli, 2012, p. 58)

In the early 20th century, more photographs were taken from the house, one of which showed the *atrium* before the 1943 bombing. The scene included a vista different from the earlier examples as the angle was shifted from the *peristyle* to the *fauces,* to show the doorways and in-between walls of the *cubicula* and *ala* which had remains of first style wall paintings (Figure 2.62). At some point, the walls standing at two sides of the *tablinum* were restored to construct a roof above its entrance. Similar to the original state of the *atrium*, which had an inclined roof covered with tiles, the entrance area before the *tablinum* was partially roofed. The restoration work was apparently conducted to imitate the original state and create a likeness to it.

Figure 2. 62 House of the Faun, George Washington Wilson, Unknown Date
(Source: http://heir.arch.ox.ac.uk)

In 1918, the house was illustrated with color by an unknown artist for the book *Italy* authored by Frank Fox and published in the United Kingdom (Figure 2.63). The dancing satyr statuette, which was put back into its original position in the *atrium*, was the focal point at the foreground of the illustration while Vesuvius featured at the background. Almost similar to this framing, another shot of the actual state of the house, looking north across the *impluvium* in the *atrium* was taken in 1939 (Figure 2.64). The two images taken together exemplify well how the representation methods had changed with the introduction of photography while the architectural setting used to frame the vistas remained the same in the early 20th century. The photographic shots taken without human figures captured the architectural environment of the houses with the purpose to record their actual state, and hence not to re-animate or to re-construct, as customary in paintings and illustrations. In the photographs which contained human figures, on the other hand, the aim was to add a fictional creation onto the reality itself. Therefore, not every photograph taken should be interpreted as an act of documentation.

Figure 2. 63 House of the Faun, colored illustration, Frank Fox, 1918
(Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org)

Figure 2. 64 House of the Faun, Rick Bauer, 1939
(Source: http://www.pompeiiinpictures.com)

House of Sallust, House of Sallust (Figure 2.65, 2.66) is an old Samnite house which was originally built as a typical *domus italica* in the 3rd century BC. It was later "converted into an inn, no doubt in large part because of its strategic location on the first street inside the city gate marking the end of the road from Herculaneum to Pompeii" (Kleiner, 2016, p. 34). Even though the house was converted into an inn (*hospitium*), its typical *domus* features stayed unchanged. The axial view from the *atrium* to the *hortus* was still visible, and the *impluvium* continued to mark the center of the *atrium*. The house retained a significant amount of its first style wall paintings in the *atrium*, *tablinum*, *and* the *triclinium*. It was

partially destroyed in the bombing of 1943 and restored in the 1970s. The house is described Mau (1982) as monumental in terms of its architectural features and proportions:

> The treatment of the entrances to the *tablinum* and the *alae*, with plasters joined by projecting entablatures, the severe and simple decoration, and the admission of light through the *compluvium* increased the apparent height of the room and gave it an aspect of dignity and resort. (p. 285)

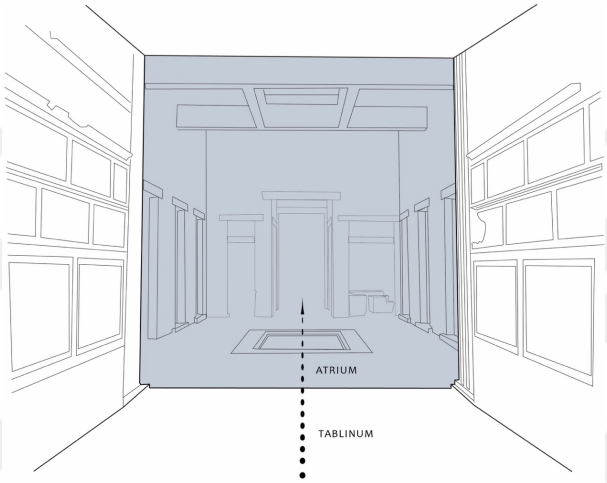


Figure 2. 65 House of Sallust, illustrated by the author from a photograph taken in 2017

Figure 2. 66 View of *atrium* and *tablinum*, House of Sallust, author's archive, 2017

The early representation of the house came in the form of a hand-colored aquatint (Figure 2.67). It was used as a backdrop of the painted scenery in Giovanni Pacini's opera *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei* in 1827. The scene was reconstructed by the addition of fictional human figures. Although the painting showed detailed drawings of columns, ornaments, and wall-paintings, it was not an accurate depiction of the architectural features of the house. In other words, it was not approached as an illustration of reality and actuality. The first style wall paintings that are among the remarkable features of the house, for example, are not included in the reconstructed scene. In addition, in contrast to most painters who had preferred to visualize perspectives that looked from the street entrances towards the *atria*, this painting showed a vista from the *atrium* to the street. Yet, while it was not a true composition of the interior, the basic architectural features of the house and the visual axis were readable.

Figure 2. 67 Hand-colored aquatint, House of Sallust, Alessandro Sanquirico, 1827 (Coates, Lapatin and Seydl, 2012, p. 144)

The house was photographed by Giorgio Sommer around 1860-1865 (Figure 2.68). When a comparison is made between the present situation of the house then and its photograph, it is remarkable to see that a large part of the house was already restored in the late 19th century. The focus of the photograph was the shop that flanked the *fauces* and opened onto the monumental *atrium*. The presence of three figures provides a scale for the house.

Figure 2. 68 House of Sallust, Giorgio Sommer, ca. 1860-1865, (Fanelli, 2012, p. 62)

Another reconstructed scene of the House of Sallust was illustrated by Von Falke as a chromolithograph, in 1879 (Figure 2.69). Compared with the hand-colored aquatint of opera *L'ultimo Giorno di Pompei* (1827), it was illustrated in a more accurately. The axis used in perspective here was extended, as more customary, between the *atrium* and *hortus*. The rooms which surrounded the *atrium* was also made visible through their entrances. The curtains, which marked the passage from the *atrium* to the *tablinum,* interrupted the continuity of the visual axis to a certain extent but indicated that when the curtain was closed, the *atrium* could become a single, contained void.[41] Three spaces are shown in perspective, *atrium, tablinum,* and *hortus*, and most of the items that represent Pompeian domestic interiors were included in the composition, including also the *lararium*, *impluvium*, and *compluvium*. The House of Sallust actually serves as a good example for the first style wall paintings, which were characterized by colorful patchwork walls of brightly painted faux-marble. Von Folke imitated the first style paintings in the wall painting illustrations he had done; by adding figurative compositions however, he made an interpretation, most likely to create vivid scenery. The human figures were depicted in the act of reclining and were framed beyond the *tablinum*. By establishing a direct analogy between the curtains

[41] The evidence about the use of domestic textiles, such as curtains, is limited. For the use of textiles in the late Roman domestic architecture from a social and architectural perspective, see Stephenson, J. W., (2014). Veiling the Late Roman House, *Textile History*, 45:1, pp. 3-31.

used in theaters and the curtain separating the *tablinum* and *atrium*, it can be said that the *tablinum* was represented as a scenic space and converted into a stage that could be viewed from the *atrium* and that the residents of the house were depicted as actors who were shown in the act of playing their daily rituals.

Figure 2. 69 House of Sallust, Chromolithograph, Von Falke, 1879
(Source: https://digitalcollections.nypl.org)

House of the Vettii, House of the Vettii (Figure 2.70, 2.71), famous with its fourth style paintings, was owned by two relatives, Aulus Vettius Restitutus and Aulus Vettius Conviva, who were known as freedmen. The house, therefore, can be taken as a representative of '*nouveau-riche'* housing (Mayer, 2012), the "projection of a sub-elite commercial identity in the wall paintings" (Tuck, 2015, p. 190) and provides an opportunity to observe the newly emerged aesthetics that influenced the design of *domus*. Tuck defines this moment in Pompeian history as a "social revolution", and points out the Vettius brothers' role as such: "Where a Roman senator would emphasize his ancestry and literary pretensions, the Vettius brothers celebrate their wealth, status as upholders of the Roman religious system, and the notions of love and Dionysus combined with sly references to their commercial ventures" (Tuck, pp. 193-194).

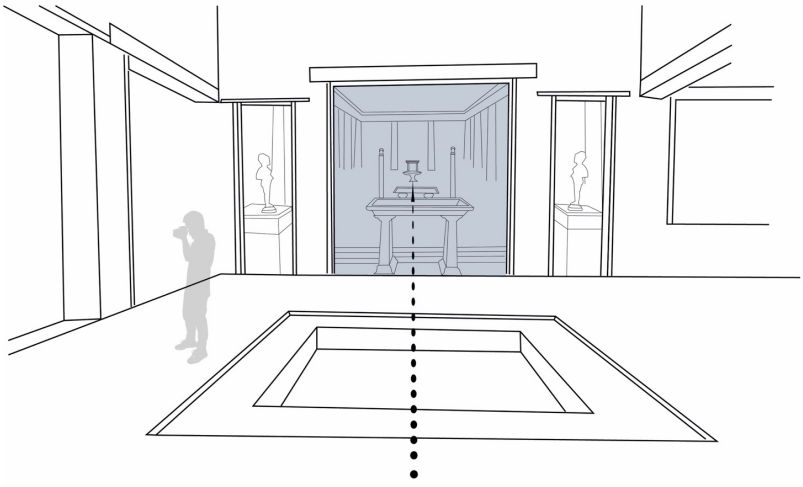


Figure 2. 70 House of Vettii, illustrated by the author from a photograph taken in 2017

Figure 2. 71 House of the Vettii, view from *atrium* to the *peristyle,* under restoration in 2017, author's archive, 2017

Among all the wall paintings in the house, the one located in the *fauces* and depicting Priapus (the patron deity of Vettius brothers) with its exaggerated phallus has become a recognizing sign of the house. It is believed that Priapus was the protecting deity of the richness of the house and served as a talisman against the evil eye (Foss and Dobbins, 2009). The image, however, was considered problematic for the visitors of the 19th century, for instance "when Queen Elizabeth of England made her state visit in 1980 …, the painting of Priapus in the Vettius brothers' entrance vestibule had just been freed from the locked metal screen that had hidden it from view for years" (Rowland, 2014, p. 247).

This remarkable house also played a leading role in the excavation history; "only the excavation of the *Casa dei Vettii* in 1894 led to the policy of completely restoring and reconstructing houses and of leaving all finds in situ as far as possible" (Cather, 1992, p. 93). The house had a typical layout except for the *annex* that consisted of two interconnected rooms alongside the largest reception room located in the *peristyle*; it was labeled as a *gynaeceum*, and "this is only the product of the assumption that so secluded an area must be for women" (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, p. 58).

The earlier photographs of the house were taken by Giorgio Sommer and Son Company, who photographed the *atrium* from almost all angles. The photographs depicted the reconstructions, of walls and roof structure, and thus served as documents that showed the amount of restoration in the house (Figure 2.72). Carlo Brogi, an Italian artist who photographed the house during its excavation in 1895, also captured the workers and directors (Figure 2.73). As the photograph taken by Sommer and Son focused on the *atrium* view, the one taken by Brogi set the frame with the exterior view of the house.

Figure 2. 72 House of Vettii, glass lantern slide, Sommer and Son, ca. 1860-1865
(Source: http://heir.arch.ox.ac.uk)

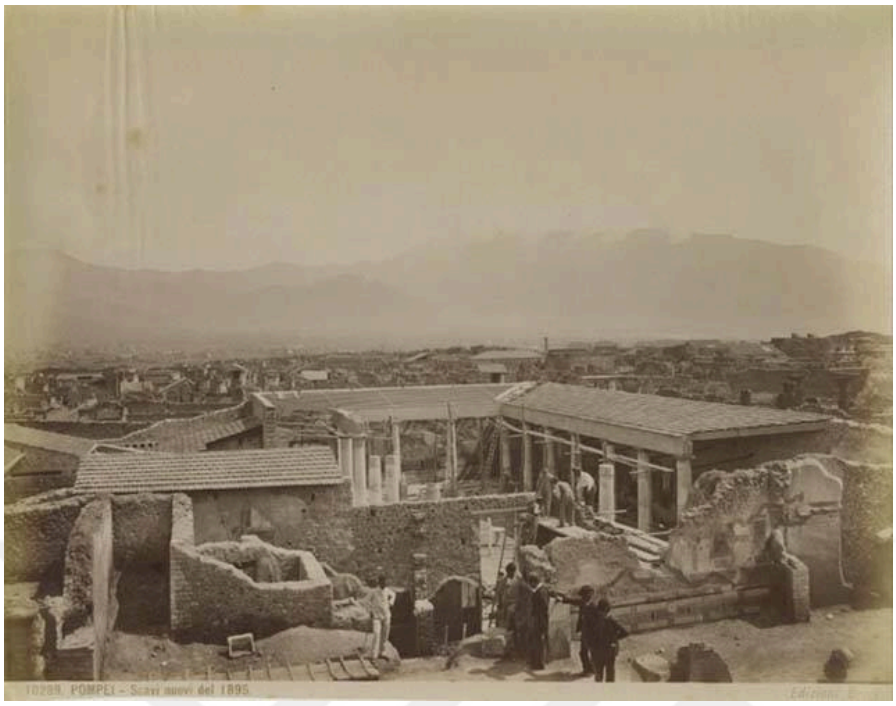


Figure 2. 73 House of the Vettii, Carlo Brogi, 1895
(Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org)

The nature of photographic representation had changed in the last decades of the 19th century, with the artists accentuating more the composition and context of the photographs. In other words, the photographers began to focus on the displacement of a scene. For example, by adding humans dressed in Roman *togas*, they aimed to create fictional atmospheres mimicking the ancient daily life. The *atrium* of the House of Vetti, for example, was used as a set to take photographs of a semi-nude male to be published in the March issue of the magazine *Schribner's* in 1898, with the label, *Pompeiian gentleman's home-life* (Figure 2.74). Wilhelm von Plueschow, who took the shot, was among the first artists to use photography as a medium to display the nude male for pure artistic and pleasure purposes. These photographs were different from the regular shots of domestic interiors. They created an artistic quality in favor of the figures, the models, and not just the ruins, for which the house served as a background scene and a stage; it can well be said that the models posed to look like the ancient sculptures that were displayed in the *atrium and peristyle*.

Figure 2. 74 Photograph displaying the *peristyle* garden of the House of the Vettii, Wilhelm von Plueschow, 1898 (Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org)

At the very beginning of the 20th century, came the colorful visualizations of the paintings through which the artists created their own fictional scenes, apart from depicting architectural realities in detail. The genre was introduced first in the villa representations (Figure 2.75).

Figure 2. 75 Illustration of the House of the Vettii, Frank Fox, 1918
(Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org)

Villa of Diomedes, The Villa of Diomedes (Figure 2.76) located just outside the walls of Pompeii at the Gate of Herculaneum, near the ancient coastline, was one of the largest residential edifices in Pompeii and was among the popular touristic destinations in the 19th century. The distinguished villa which was excavated between 1771-74, owes its name

to the inscription '*Marcus Arrius Diomedes*' which was written on a tomb found in front of the entrance; the tomb was interpreted to have belonged to the master of the house.

Figure 2. 76 Villa of Diomedes, views from garden, author's archive, 2017

Discovery of eighteen skeletons in the cellar, especially that of a young girl, which were well preserved, had created sensational news at that time: "Almost a century before the technique of making full plaster casts of the body cavities had been perfected, the solid debris here allowed the excavators to see the full form of the dead, their clothing, even their hair, molded into the lava" (Grant, 1971, p. 134).

Even though there was no supporting evidence the girl was identified as the daughter of the owner of the villa (Lazer, 2009). Fictional family stories were created upon the skeletons which motivated artists to narrate their own personal versions. For instance, in *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Bulwer-Lytton based his character Julia on the young woman found in the villa, who was apparently a wealthy one wearing several necklaces and gold ornaments (Zimmerman, 2008). The architecture of Villa of Diomedes was also reflected in Julia's house and especially in her bedchamber. The story inspired the famous novella, *Arria Marcella* written by Théophile Gautier and published in 1852 (Beard, 2013) as well. The vista opening towards to sea made this villa a more sophisticated one compared to the urban houses that lacked such perspectives of nature and landscapes. Grant defines this vista as one of the most agreeable vistas in the world and gives information about the architectural setting as such:

> The colonnaded entrance leads straight into the *peristyle*, an arrangement which, according to Vitruvius, is appropriate for a country villa (though in fact there are two main types, often merging, the *peristyle* villa and the more elongated type of portico villa). The south side of the *peristyle* is flanked by an apsed sunroom, and a lower level is adorned by the largest garden in the whole Pompeian region. Its trees, shrubs and flowers, grouped round a fountain, fish-pond and pergola (used as a summer dining-room), stood within a continuous colonnade. To the stroller within its shade, the space between each pilaster framed a different, delightful picture of land and sea; and the terraced belvederes at the corners of the walk, facing the coast, enjoy one of the most agreeable vistas in the world. (Grant, 1971, p. 134)

Carl Georg Enslen, one of the well-known artists of panorama painting, illustrated the villa in 1825 (Figure 2.77). This is one of the earliest visuals of the villa and its surrounding that showed it under excavation. The angle chosen by the artist was from the coast to the land, which allows to see how enormous the garden of the villa was. Enslen also inserted some human figures to the painting, probably representing the 19th century visitors, perhaps to provide a scale and demonstrate the vastness of the garden.

Figure 2. 77 Villa of Diomedes, Painting, Carl Georg Enslen, 1825 (Kockel, 2006, pp. 46-47)

While Sommer used the same angle to capture the villa (Figure 2.78), Robert Rive chose to photograph it by using another angle that stretched from one corner of the villa to the other (Figure 2.79). In the later works that date to the end of the century, on the other

hand, photographers like Rick Bauer chose to frame their representations by focusing on scenes (Figure 2.80). What draws attention in his 1870 shot is that some of the human figures that featured in Enslen's painting, seems to have been there in Bauer's photograph as well, as if Bauer used the same point of view (Figure 2.81). This may well demonstrate the interaction or influence among the visual artists of the period.

Figure 2. 78 Villa of Diomedes, Lantern Slide, Giorgio Sommer, ca. 19th c.
(Source: http://heir.arch.ox.ac.uk/)

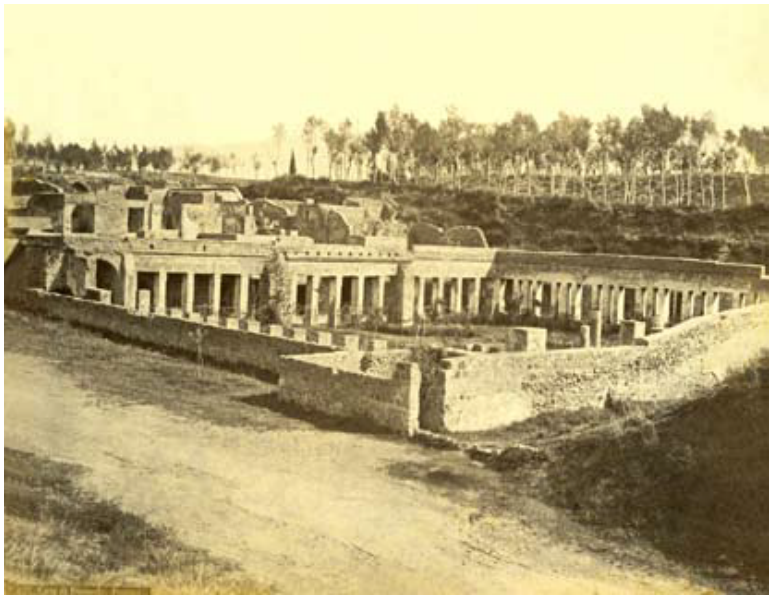


Figure 2. 79 Villa of Diomedes, Photograph, Robert Rive, ca. 19th c. (Fanelli, 2015, p. 145)

Figure 2. 80 Villa of Diomedes, Photograph, Rick Bauer, 1870
(Source: https://www.pompeiiinpictures.com)

Figure 2. 81 Human figures in Carl Georg Enslen's painting (1825) and Rick Bauer's photograph (1870), composed by the author

This section presented that Pompeii was exploited as a potential context to display antiquity in art and photography via the visual and spatial codes of antiquity that were revealed by the excavations. The codes were established through the common use of certain representational devices. The devices used for this purpose are: using the same pictorial codes and color codes, inserting human figures on the illustrations, creating depth in the scenes, using the same perspective and axial views, focusing on the

architectural components, and creating effects with various usage of background/foreground. The representations of Pompeii done in different art forms made use of a sequential order by using these devices. The artworks created a special 'scenography' through selected themes, no matter which device was used. Similar to the ancient approach of creating scenography in the context of domestic environment through architectural features, the artists adapted and composed domestic scenographies by representing architectural features as well. The themes composed by using the representational devices in paintings and photographs illustrate the different perceptions of the site in a number of ways: documentation, imitation and reconstruction. By capturing the actual states of the ruins and the excavations, photographs had functioned as a documentation method. For example, the photographs taken by Giorgio Sommer and Robert Rive aimed to display the actual state of the buildings at the time the photographs were taken. Imitation mostly featured as an approach in paintings; by adding color, depth and perspective, the artists imitated the actual state of the buildings and the environment. For example, while the illustrated view from the House of the Faun by Frank Fox presented an imitation, the photograph by Rick Bauer, which used the same perspective with Fox's painting, made no fictional creation and thus did a documentation. Reconstruction, on the other hand, was employed as a method of representation, by both painters and photographers. By adding personal interpretations, and indeed reconstructing ancient-like atmospheres, the artists produced fictional settings. Von Falke's House of Sallust Chromolithograph is one of a kind in this regard. Photographers who designed composition with human figures dressed like the ancients, too, reconstructed visual fictions. In this sense, Wilhelm von Plueschow's photograph, which was taken in the *atrium* of House of the Vettii, and showing a male dressed in Roman *toga*, exemplifies best the manipulation of the ruins as reconstructed settings in photography as well.

When the visuals of public buildings and houses are compared it is seen that houses, taken as the prototypes of Roman domestic architecture, provided a ground mostly for reconstructions. Domestic settings, in this regard, were chosen by the artists to create dramatic effects of ancient house interiors and lifestyles on the beholders. The visual images filtered through the eyes of the artists had indeed served as the mental images that

transcended the reality. Several factors triggered the artists to visualize the Pompeian domestic environments. There was an abundant number of unearthed houses, decorational objects and remains that formed a rich archaeological repertoire and attracted the artists. The richness of the domestic ruins, at the same time, provided an inspiring insight into the daily life of Pompeians, and indeed, attracted large numbers of visitors to the site, thus making them both actors or contributors in the artistic productions on the one hand, and consumers and clients of the art works on the other.

The realistic representations that presented actuality and hence have a documentary aspect, mostly in the form of photographic shots, and the figurative illustrations that depicted artistically pleasing creations which might be personally fabricated visualizations, served for purposes beyond a market demand: while becoming art works and commercial commodities of a special genre of historical representation they had repeatedly "recreated" Pompeii's architectural treasures at different levels. By taking the decorational fabric of houses as its primary focus the next section discusses how and in which ways the Pompeian domestic décor made an impetus for the visualization of the site in artistic spheres.

2.4.1 Domestic Décor: Artistic Fabrication in *Domus*

The *domus* was shaped by its social context. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (1994) states that "we must treat the house as a coherent structural whole, as a stage deliberately designed for the performance of social rituals, and not as a museum of artifacts" (p. 60). Many studies also emphasized that "the relative openness of the Roman elite house made it a stage for the theater that was aristocratic public display" (Riggsby, 1998, p. 53). The house of the Roman elite was part of the political stage where business and politics were discussed and carried out, and as such, expected to display not only taste and wealth but also status. According to Wallace-Hadrill (1994):

> Decoration could so enhance the value of a house that it might actually be bought for its adjuncts, marbles, statues, and painted pictures, and such was the value of a *pictura* that it could be an exception to the rule that everything attached to somebody's property belonged to that property. (p. 149)

The symmetry axis, which is clearly visible in several houses, determined both a physical and a visual route for the visitor who was either invited or uninvited. The situations of being invited/uninvited implies a sensitivity towards the definition and operation of public and private realms. The visual openness of the houses indicated that there was a desire to create an atmosphere suitable for conspicuous show, and to transform the domestic spaces into 'stages' where the rituals and household activities that were carried out could become observable. The devices used by the Romans to transform domestic spaces into stages so as to create the backdrops of social rituals manifested and operated in the construction of the appropriate decor and visuality.

2.4.1.1 Staging Rituals

The Romans gave importance to decoration because of the fact that they distinguished spaces according to their social significance. The space needed to be decorated appropriately to fit well for the assigned activity. After all, "the house was the locus of the owner's social, political, and business activities open both to invited and uninvited visitors" (Clarke, 1991, pp. 1-2). The quality of the spaces/stages set, in this respect, also attested and represented the social status of the owner. The rendering of high-status spaces with decoration had, therefore, the marginal aim of making the low-status areas 'invisible' to the visitor (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994). The decoration was thus used to separate parts of the house according to function, accessibility, social prestige, and spatial status.

Decoration was not only used to display luxury and distinguish spaces but was also an agent for viewer/spectator to understand the status of space. "Decoration with architecture is a method of fashioning space adequately for the social activity it is expected to contain, and specifically for the reception of visitors, and hence a way of displaying or laying claim to social rank" (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, p. 173). The corridors and passageways that were used most commonly by slaves or servants, for instance, often had humble decorations compared to the spaces used by the master and the household. The decoration in dynamic (*atrium*, *peristyle*) and static places (*tablinum, triclinium*) in addition, is also done in a manner that aimed for the viewer's quick recognition or prolonged

attention. Clarke (1991) defines the contribution of decoration in relation to the viewer's gaze as such:

> Whereas the *fauces-atrium-tablinum* axis and the walk around the *peristyle* addressed the walking spectator, the *triclinia, oeci,* and *exedrae* were places where one rested and looked out from his or her place on a couch. Dynamic, or walking, spaces announced the goal of the walk from the point of entrance, employing arranged views of terminus to prompt the visitor a she or she progressed through the spaces. Decoration in these spaces was tailored to quick recognition of simple patterns rather than long, tarrying analysis. In static, or resting spaces, the view out was of primary importance. Decoration within this kind of space tended to be complex, requiring the viewer's prolonged attention. (p. 16)

The context of decoration in the Roman villas was also organized according to the viewer's attention; utilizing visuality as a tool to set and distinguish status in this regard was similar in both the urban and rural contexts. In especially the seaside villas in Campania, the stronger axis for instance, opened towards the sea. What was different from an urban house is that "the visitor just threw a glance at the view through a window in the atrium' wall and he/she could only see the whole view when he/she was invited" (Clarke, 1991, p. 21).

In the domestic setting, in general, "the ensembles of painted, stuccoed and mosaic decoration participated in a coding process that modified, emphasized, and often personalized ritually defined spaces through perspective, color and the meanings of images included in the decorative schemes" (Clarke, 1991, p. 29). Whether it was a *domus* or an elite villa, at the focus of artistic representation was the spectator's gaze, which converted the domestic space into a stage. Accordingly, the aim of the artistic representation in the Roman domestic sphere was to organize and manipulate the perception of the viewer and this was done in a number of visual applications, such as illusion and allusion.

Architectural form and decoration in the Roman domestic space were foremost applied as a language or a social code to make 'allusion'. In his seminal book, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (1994) suggests 'allusion' as the most important technique to separate the public and private in the Roman house.

The public and private parts of the house were distinguished by means of both décor and architecture. Wallace-Hadrill identifies the distinctive physical features, the basic decorative and architectural elements that were used to mark this distinction as scale, column, material (marble), surface articulation (vault), wall paintings and floor mosaics. The most crucial aspect he emphasizes and highlights is the distinction between the concepts of 'allusion' and 'illusion'. While the term 'allusion' means a direct or implied reference to something or someone, the term 'illusion', apart from that, conveys a further meaning; creating a false impression of reality. According to Wallace-Hadrill (1994), "from the point of view of the social function of decoration, what matters are not the visual games played, but the associations evoked, by the decoration: it is power not of *illusion*, but of *allusion"* (p. 25). All decorational devices, including illusion and allusion, were utilized to stage the prominent social rituals and to achieve the associated levels of publicity/privacy in a spatial choreography.

The culturally prominent rituals for which domestic decoration was supportive and complimentary are 'banqueting' and '*salutatio*'. Roman banqueting was a ritual of festive banqueting. As the main social event in the wealthy Roman house and villa, it began in mid-afternoon and lasted into the night (Dunbabin, 1996). Described as a convivial space, the dining room was thus one of the significant spaces of the Roman house. Ancient literary sources describe the elite private banquets as a kind of feast for the senses, during which the host strove to impress his guests with the extravagant fare, luxurious tableware, and diverse forms of entertainment, all of which were enjoyed in a lavishly adorned architectural setting. Archaeological finds also attest that these were finely and often exquisitely decorated spaces. Significantly, the wall paintings on the walls of *triclinia* depicted contents related to mythological themes or scenes from the daily lives of the Romans.[42] They animated the walls, for the beholders who enjoyed the depicted narratives; the presence and admiration of the beholders, at the same time, justified the owners' deeds of self-promotion. What made these wall paintings often more exquisite than the others found in the same house, was the striking color combinations, figurative compositions that included humans. For instance, the wall paintings found in the *triclinium* of Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii depict the ritual of the initiation of women into a

[42] See Appendix C for the classification of wall painting styles.

special cult of Dionysus. While some scholars argue that the represented subject is related to the cult of Dionysus, others point out that the scene illustrates the marriage process of a young woman (Figure 2.82). Despite the controversy, the paintings which were applied as a continuous narration on all the walls of the *triclinium*, and applied with vivid colors, red being the dominating background color, must have created a very dramatic and suitable ambiance for convivial banqueting.

Figure 2. 82 Villa of the Mysteries, wall paintings in the Room of the Mysteries, author's archive, 2017

Scenes of banqueting also emerge as a common theme in the wall paintings of *triclinia*. They began to appear at the end of the 1st century BC and continued to be a popular theme, especially within the 3rd and 4th style wall paintings, until the end of the city in 79 AD. The theme might have been chosen as a representation subject in *triclinia*, to demonstrate the guests the idealized convivial behavior, to glorify the owner as the organizer of a ceremonial feast, to make self-representation, or to accomplish all these purposes at the same time (Dunbabin, 2005). An example is the *triclinium* in the House of the Chaste Lovers (Figure 2.83). The banqueting scenes which occupy the center of the

3rd style wall paintings, display two pairs at a drinking party. In order to create a vivid atmosphere for the beholder of the convivial activity, the banqueting scenes were always executed with the details of the atmosphere and showed couches, cushions and fabrics, wall hangings, three-legged tables, silverware, and other related objects. Such details, in addition, conveyed a sense of luxury to the viewer. The wall paintings, which made a direct or an implied reference to mythological and/or landscape narrations, moreover, had the potential to create allusions on the surfaces. In the confines of a domestic context, in this regard, the beholder could engage with the fabricated outdoor scenes.

Figure 2. 83 Indoor banqueting scene in *triclinium,* House of the Chaste Lovers (Dunbabin, 2005, p. 61)

From the ancient literary sources, especially the fictional *Cena Trimalchionis* (Trimalchio's Dinner) written by Petronius Arbiter, its is known that the dinner was conceived and organized as a festive event from eating to entertaining. The house owners, in this context, designed spectacles in which food, drink, furnishing, decoration and entertainment formed the content of the show. The latter was perhaps the most lavish aspect of the

festivity and took many forms from musical performances, acrobatic performance, dancing, combats of gladiators, pantomime and shows of wild trained animals to dramatic performances on poetry and history. For instance, in the case of Trimalchio's Dinner, "Trimalchio serves his guests numerous extravagant dishes, such as a roasted pig stuffed with sausages, a hare decorated with wings to resemble Pegasus, and various foods arranged in the shape of the twelve signs of the zodiac" [43] By its furniture and fine decoration *triclinium,* as a reception space, was undoubtedly among the impressively decorated parts of the house.

Salutatio-a formal morning greeting, which was staged in the house was another well-known daily ritual in ancient Rome. *Salutatio,* as understood from ancient literary testimony, took place every morning and enabled the dependents, called clients, visit the houses of powerful and prominent citizens to offer greeting, bring news, ask for favors, and be asked for favors in return. It was a manifestation of patronage, a fundamental institution of social interaction and communication between citizens of different statuses (*salutatee* and *salutator*). The ritual took place in the *atrium* and *tablinum*. While the *atrium* served as a reception space and waiting area, the *tablinum* functioned as the meeting space where the clients were received by the owner. In fact, the most known function of the *atrium* is *salutatio*. The ritual elevated the significance of the *atrium* and *tablinum*, as a performance suit.

When the clients had stepped into the house, they were exposed to the sequential order of the framed vistas that ran first from the *fauces* to *tablinum*. The focal point of the visitor's gaze, thus shifted from the entrance directly to the patron seated in the *tablinum*, while at the same time being exposed to the theatrical setting of the *atrium*. Like as a modern-day curator, the house owner arranged the *atrium* as an exhibition space to display artworks, including animated wall paintings, ancestral images, statuary, decorative pool, and patterned pavements. In some cases, wall paintings created *illusion*s/*allusions* through perspectives or painted architectural elements that aimed to imitate or fabricate three-dimensional spaces beyond the physicality of the domestic setting.

[43] Raff, Katharine. "The Roman Banquet." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/banq/hd_banq.htm (October 2011)

Atrium, tablinum, and *triclinium* are the spaces of transition, between public and private and privileged and non-privileged, in the Roman *domus*. By employing colored pictorial ensembles, some also featuring allusions and/or illusions, they created, not only physical stages but also virtual ones. If any of the domestic social rituals, salutation and banqueting, is accepted as a common performance by the host and the guest, both the house and its décor enabled them to engage in the fictional narratives presented on the virtual stages. The wall paintings, in this context, had a major effect on converting the architectural void into a stage of ritual performance.

2.4.1.2 Artistic Codes of Social Interaction

The Roman culture is not known for a strong desire for privacy from textual evidence but had an outer layer that was public (Riggsby, 1998). The concept of privacy in the Roman house is not directly comparable with the modern understanding, but it can be said that the Roman house offered a possibility for attaining privacy in a far greater level than in several other past societies. The differentiation between public and private spheres, in addition to organizing the location and the accessibility of spaces, were also done by decoration. The wall paintings, mosaic pavements, and architectural elements such as columns indicated the expected level of social interaction in the space. The *cubicula,* the small rooms found around the *atrium* or *peristyle,* are considered as having a relatively private use. While they do not exhibit a distinctive spaciousness and lack in-situ finds, they were comparable to the reception spaces in their decoration. As such, the room was distinguished often by its decoration and not by its size and thus were suitable to be used for different purposes, whether private or social, as discussed previously. Those located on the upper stories and in the back parts of the house could function as bedrooms having more physical isolation and privacy, while those around the *atrium* may have been used for private meetings or modest living rooms. Riggsby (1998) while discussing the possible functions of the room also describes its decorational aspect: "Cubicula, having a relatively less public nature were also places to display art, both paintings and sculpture, but to a privileged audience (not least the owner him or herself)" (p. 38). A lavishly decorated example is the *cubiculum* found in the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, located

north of Pompeii (Figure 2.84). This was a heavily decorated modest room, suitable to contain a few furniture. The decoration was based on creating an illusion on all of the walls, thus aiming to break their solidity. The decoration aimed to create visual ambiguities by means of making the painted architectural details look like real instances, and to tease the eye, with such details as rusticated masonry, pillars, and columns that casted shadows into the viewer's space like three-dimensional meanders.

Figure 2. 84 Villa of P. Fannius Synistor, *cubiculum* reconstructed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, (Pappalardo, 2008, p. 33)

2.4.1.3 Staging Luxury

Luxury is a social process that originates within an upper class, and then spreads down into the lower classes. Cultural studies demonstrated that appreciation and manifestation

of luxury was a strong motive in transforming the house into a stage. Ancient Romans was not an exception in this regard. Wallace- Hadrill (1994) states that "to traditional Roman morality, painted walls and mosaic carpeted floors spelled luxury" (p. 149). Luxury in decoration, in fact, had a major role in shaping the social environment of the Roman house, and the diffusion of art was its most outstanding manifestation.

Wall paintings, mosaics, and decorational objects were utilised as devices of luxury in the ancient Roman domestic realm. The luxury displayed by paintings manifested overtly in pictorial décors, and especially via mythological scenes. The mythological narratives which are frequently represented on the walls of Roman houses, are not only discussed as an aspect of luxury but also as connected to the desire of the Roman elite to acquire and display works of art pillaged from Greece in the late Republic (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994). According to Zanker (1998):

> The most obvious trappings of luxury-such as expensive marbles and precious metals, costly fabrics and dyes, rare gems and shells, but also culinary delicacies-were present in a house either in reality or in painted form, depending on the wealth and extravagance of the owner. At the same time the topoi of *luxuria* in the rooms' decoration were so intimately connected with scenes from myths and other highly prized emblems of classical culture that these two pillars of Hellenistic tradition always appeared together, at least in the world of symbolic forms. (p. 23)

The mythological scenes and figures depicted on the walls and mosaic floors and polychrome marble designs, therefore, were consciously selected to take the viewer into the world of Hellenistic culture. The Roman art which is argued to be an amalgam of Etruscan, Italic and, Hellenistic elements, glorified the Greek art in particular, and hence, associated it with intellectual pursuit, wealth and luxury. Pompeii, likewise, luxury was celebrated by the beauty of the decorational objects and household items, which included marble and bronze statuary, silver and gold cups, fine ware vases, lamps and fabrics. For creating a conspicuous display of wealth, the daily objects could be chosen from among the intricately designed and decorated items, some being exported material. The personal treasures and valuable belongings are kept in decorated wooden boxes that were displayed on tables. The wall paintings also glorified luxury at a personal level, and portrayed elite women wearing elegant dresses and precious jewelry. The "relative quantity of decorative

extravagance corresponded to a hierarchy of room purposes and an ongoing, deliberate escalation in the representation of private luxury" (Strocka, 2007, p. 302).

2.4.2 Captured and Framed Lives on Surfaces

"Walls often tell a complex history over the course of decades and even centuries; of decoration and redecoration, of adaptation and repair, especially in the wake of the earthquake damage that preceded the eruption" (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, pp. 149-150). Roman domestic space comes into being by treating all the surfaces, thus by wall paintings and mosaic decorations that work together to transform the space into a 'stage'. The viewer becomes a spectator in the domestic space which is decorated intricately with fine artistic representations. The characteristics, quality, technique and content of wall paintings in a particular type of room for example, clearly contextualized it as a monumental artwork that functioned not so differently than the opera backdrops that defined the drama settings. The wall paintings in this respect are not only the physical remains of a site but also the mirrors of the Romans' cultural, social and artistic concerns.

Several representational devices including 'perspective', 'depth', 'angle' and 'frame' were not only utilized in the setting of architectural layouts, but they were used in the composition and content of the wall paintings. Whereas some of them creates both the effects of 'illusion' and 'allusion', the others just aimed to create one particular effect. By creating the effects, the representational devices in the wall paintings enabled spectators to involve into virtual spaces through the views. The compositions and scenes of the paintings gave clues about the penetrability of space to the viewer when they merged with 'view-through' of the visual axis within the house that emphasized the sequence of the spaces, from the entrance to the *peristyle,* by providing an unblocked gaze into the house and that defined the way to move through the sequence of the architectural settings in the house (Figure 85). It was Heinrich Drerup who introduced and discussed the concept of *durchblick*-view-through by using the House of the Menander in his seminal article (Figure 2.86). Clarke (2014) elaborated further on the concept:

> A series of framing devices located on the visual axis constructs the view through the House of the Menander: the widened space between the columns on the axis becomes a kind of window when seen in combination with the low walls (*plutei*) between the columns and the architrave they carry (pp. 351-352).

Figure 2. 85 House of the Centenary, operation of "view-through", adapted by the author (Clarke, 1991, p. 18)

Figure 2. 86 House of the Menander, operation of "view-through", adapted by the author (Clarke, 2014, p. 351)

The 'view-through' device created by the axial sequencing of spaces between the entrance and garden was also applied in the wall-painting compositions. The 'view-through' effect in the paintings was used to create a spatial sequencing and thus to draw the viewer inside the painting (Figure 2.87). Depending on the usage of representational devices in order

to create 'illusion' or 'allusion', the view-through effect varied in the wall paintings styles (see Appendix C).

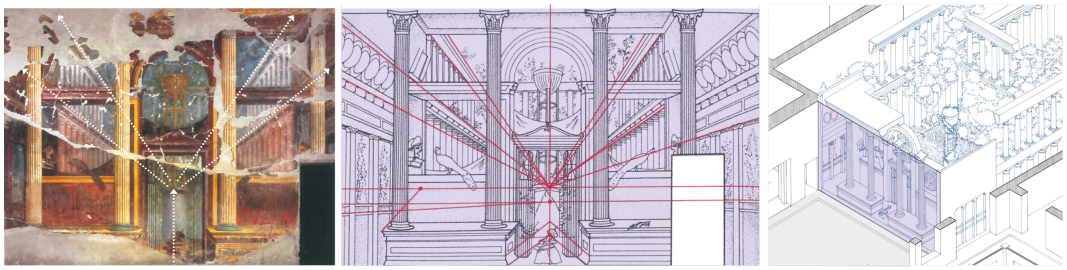


Figure 2. 87 View through effect, perspective, and imaginary spaces created beyond wall surfaces, adapted and composed by the author (Pappalardo, 2008, pp. 74-75)

> The first style creates an illusion, if no more than two-dimensional, of marble panels; the second extends illusion into the third dimension, setting up architectural vistas framed by columns; the third recedes from illusion, reducing the foreground of columns to "unrealistic" decorative motifs that simply frame panels; and the fourth partially returns the illusion, by employing elaborate, even fantastic, architectural vistas as the framework to panels (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, p. 25).

The language of illusion reached a more sophisticated level in the second style, through stage sceneries and paintings. "The link with scenography is a double one: it involves both scenographic *trompe-l'oeil* techniques of creating three-dimensional space and also allusion to the appearance of the stage…" (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, p. 27). The stages that incorporated illusion/allusion, as a mirror to make outside inside, aimed to mimick the public architecture. As seen in the second-style wall paintings in the *oecus* of House of the Labrinth, the walls opened up into *trompe-l'oeil* perspectives (Figure 2.88). The perspectives created virtual third-dimensional spaces, hence illusions, within the confined space. In fact, the greater depth the perspective created, the more prestige the room had acquired. The columns places inside the *oecus*, in addition, not ony framed the illusionary architectural scenes seen beyond but also, made an allusion to public context.

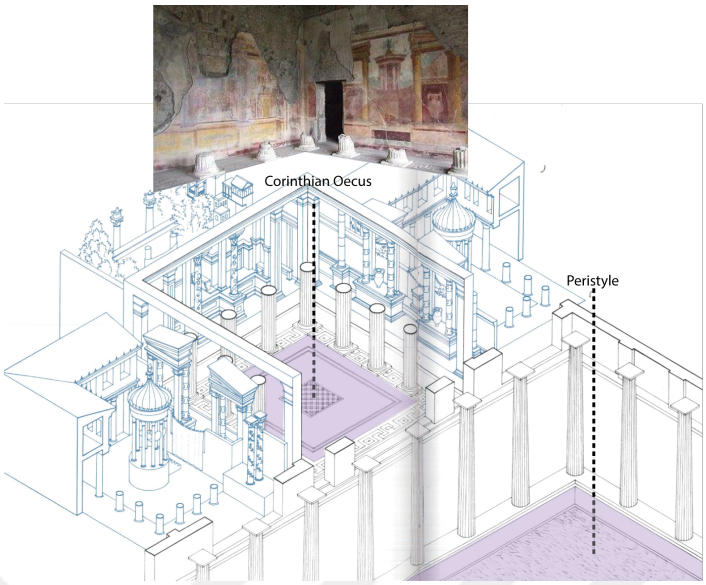


Figure 2. 88 Reconstruction of the three wall-paintings in the *oecus* of the House of the Labrinth displaying the virtual space created within the wall-paintings which extends away from the *oecus,* adapted by the author, (Pappalardo, 2008, p. 87)

The third style, unlike the second, rejected the architectural vistas created by perspectives and favored, instead, decorative frameworks which contained mythological themes. In this regard, the style did not aim to create illusion, but rather a back decor. While the first style used to decorate the public places in the domestic environment, like the *atrium* and *tablinum*, the third style was mostly used in relatively private places, such as *triclinium.*

By utilizing color, motif and framework together, the fourth style had partially returned to the theme of illusion. The color variations were used to establish hierarchies of spaces. The motifs, similar to the third style, were placed as the focal point of the painted frames. The frames, indeed, were the hallmarks of the fourth style decoration. According to Wallace-Hadrill, the architectural details which framed the central spaces and walls, also framed the social space of the rooms. He exemplified this in reference to the axial vista, in the shop near the House of the Menander: "painted architecture forms continuity with built architecture in framing social space…in which symmetrical vista from the front door passes through several doorways to culminate in the architectural "frame" painted on the wall of the main reception room…" (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, p. 33). The decoration, therefore, had framed both the owner and his social activity. The framing of architectural elements such as openings and doors, and the framing created on walls by painting along

the visual axis of the house, generated multiple and simultaneously occurring sequences; 'stage in a stage' and 'frame in a frame'.

The Fourth Style, which was mostly depicted architectural representations, contained 'scenographic' decorations in which the wall was opened up illusionistically by means of perspective architecture amid which figures are set as if in a real environment (Ling, 1991). The symbolic meaning of the wall painting within a 'scenographic' design was set not only with the composition but also the theme and the placement. The placement and the physical settings of the wall paintings in the house directed the perceptual experience. In the Fourth Style representations, illusion as mentioned before, received a theatrical form with the addition of human figures (Figure 2.89):

> Though the style is called theatrical, it is not a fact that the people in the scenes are actually supposed to represent people in a performance, but the fact that there are people appearing in the paintings makes this part of the style unique to others. Again, the scenes being played out are mostly of Greek mythology, which is drawn from all styles preceding it. (Barnes, 2008, p. 20)

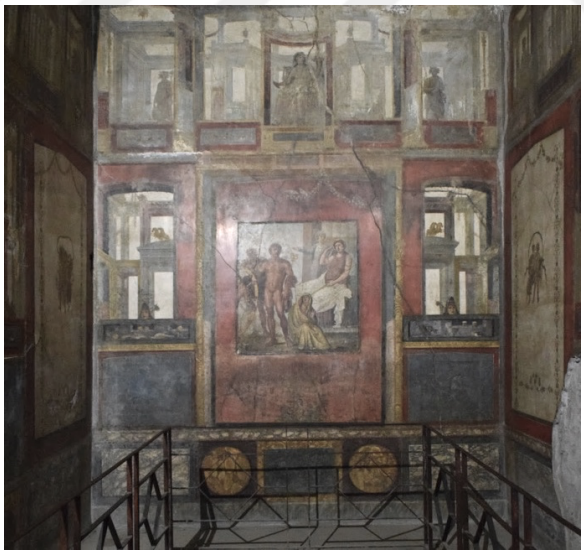


Figure 2. 89 Fourth Style, House of the Vetti, 1st century BC, author's archive, 2017

What is presented so far, relates the wall painting (all styles) intricately to the space and elevates them from being mere decorations to architectural representations for creating an enriched spatial atmosphere. 'Allusion', 'illusion', 'perspective', 'depth' and 'frame' are the basic representational devices that were used to guide architectural and spatial design.

By utilizing these devices, the artwork applied on the surfaces of the spaces in the Roman houses were elevated into powerful visual tools for demarcating spaces and rituals and their luxury and social interaction contexts.

Above all the wall paintings were utilized to capture the attention of the viewer in the domestic space, where the space is treated like a stage and the viewer as a spectator. In this regard, it can be stated that the Roman domestic space, in general, is designed to show a balance between utility, luxury, power and sociability. Respectively, the spatial organization of the domestic setting displayed the social status and satisfied the pleasure demands of the owner. The social status, both as class and wealth, is acknowledged only when the visitors (invited/uninvited) were made to see the spaces designed to reflect the socially privileged position of the owner, and perceived a spatiality beyond the walls. Visuality played a key role in this perception and was achieved by means of architectural devices used to construct both the real space itself and the illusionary further space created on its walls, and in some cases also on its floors. Lastly in this regard, it can be suggested that the organization of the house together with its decoration was an act of creating 'architectural scenography'.

2.5 Creating Architectural Scenography: Visual and Spatial Representation

The term 'scenography' originates from the Greek word *skēnographia* (a drawing in perspective), from *skēnē* (scene). By the mid 17th century, it was used to mean "the art of painting theatrical scenery according to the rules of stage perspective; the scenery thus created" (Aronson, 2018, p. 3). Scenography, the modernized version of the ancient concept, means 'painting-scene' and has become a widely utilized concept in the theater where it is used to mean 'setting the scene.' Despite its original and later meanings, the concept inherits a spatial narration and thus is closely related to architecture. Today, apart from theatrical studies, many art forms and disciplines, such as cinema and museology, use the word with reference to 'scene'.

In the visual studies concerning ancient architecture, the word *skēnographia* is mostly coupled with 'perspective', based on Vitruvius' testimony. It might be said that in the late

19th and early 20th century many scholars, especially *fin de siecle* art historians, following Vitruvius, studied ancient urbanism and architecture to introduce new concepts and suggest new interpretations. They did not negate the common belief of the era that approached the architectural aesthetics as innate and universal but they based their methods on the understanding of contemporary theories about perception. The architectural historian Auguste Choisy in his principal work *Histoire de l'architecture,* published 1899, claimed that the Acropolis of Athens was designed around the idea of a 'pathway' that aimed to create architectural vistas. The 'pathway', a pioneering term to indicate how vistas created spatial perception in ancient design, has been used also by other researchers such as art historian Margaret Lyttenton who is known with her seminal work *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity* in 1974. As cited by Paul Horrocks (2000):

> Lyttelton's view is that pathways become associated with axial planning, and that symmetrically planned buildings were designed to be experienced through transversal of the main axis through the manipulation of spatial volumes a tension is supposed to be created in the person experiencing the space, which in the hands of a perceptive architect allegedly drives this person through a spatial sequence. (p. 23)

The axial planning and its use to create a sequence, after it was asserted as such by Lyttelton, was admitted as a new topic in 1974. In 1986 William MacDonald, in his pioneering study of Roman Architecture coined the term 'armature', a milestone in Roman urban studies: "at the heart of MacDonald's survey of urban form was the concept of the urban armature- 'a clearly delineated, path-like core of thoroughfares and plazas'" (cited by Laurence and Newsome, 2011, p. 4).

> This feature created for a visitor to a city a sequential view of public monuments as they passed through the city. What this represents in terms of planning is a shift from geometric space based on a grid to an emphasis on experiential space, in which the seemingly unplanned or disorderly arrangement of monuments in terms of geometry had a spatial logic that was based on the movement along an armature or major street and the connectivity between monuments. (Laurence et al., 2011, p. 116)

The pivotal terms - 'pathway' by Choisy, 'spatial sequence' by Lyttelton, and 'armature' by MacDonald are strongly tied up with the spatial arrangements in ancient city planning. The excavations of several houses in Pompeii, which displayed a unique architectural design, brought new dimensions to the studies on Pompeian urbanism and architecture. The spatial organization of the houses, the apparent trends and preferences employed in

their architectural layout and how this was perceived became a major topic of interest and study, especially in the 20th century. It is widely accepted that archaeologist Heinrich Drerup's seminal article *Bildraum und Realraum* (1959), which highlighted the aspect of visual axes in the context of House of the Menander as a primary design tool, has become a pioneering study on visual and spatial studies. He conceptualised *'Durchblick',* the 'view through' which asserted that houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum were arranged with a series of framing devices to construct the effect of viewing within a spatial sequence (Horrocks, 2000, p. 35; Clarke, 1991, p. 14). Drerup also demonstrated that "in creating and staging prospects for the inhabitants of a room, Roman mural perspectival constructions mirrored the practices of Roman Domestic Architecture" (Jones, 2019, p. 158). Lise Bek, in her book *Towards Paradise on Earth: Modern Space Conception in Architecture: A Creation of Renaissance Humanism* (1980) looked at several houses in Pompeii, by following the theoretical framework of Drerup. She suggested that "interpreting doors, windows, and columns along a primary axis as components of "symmetrically-constructed planes" was to enhance "optical symmetry"" (Soren and Soren, 1999, p. 192). Franz Jung in his *Gebaute Bilder* (1984), published shortly after Bek, not solely addressed the visual axis itself but the views created by this axis. He termed 'built pictures' to suggest that "whole houses were designed in order to create structured pictures" (Horrocks, 2000, p. 43). In his influential work *Le rôle de la scaenographia dans les projets architecturaux du début de l'Empire romain* Pierre Gros (1984), a leading scholar in contemporary Vitruvian studies, criticized his predecessors, and suggested that for a research on view and perspective, '*scaenographia'*, as mentioned briefly by Vitruvius, emerges as a privileged mode of representation. "Gros gives the method for constructing visual axes as introducing firstly *sceonagraphia*. This indicates the composition of a view from a privileged point. Its perspective is formed by describing rays emanating from the eye of a person standing on this point" (Horrocks, 2000, p. 45).

All such terms as *durchblick,* visual axis, built picture, and *sceonagraphia*, which are used to analyse and interpret the visual repertoire of architecture in Pompeian domestic architecture, became the instruments which associated pictorial ensembles, visual taste and use of space in Pompeii context. The visuality in Pompeian houses, as mentioned above, was also widely analyzed via the sequences created with devices of axiality,

perspective and framing. By referring to the architecturally framed planes Clarke (1991) gave examples about the client's gaze focusing on the *paterfamilias* sitting or standing at the *tablinum,* and divided the sequences into three:

> The first frame was that of the *fauces*, of narrow width, sloping upward, and having a relatively low ceiling…From here a person would see the *tablinum* framed by the *fauces'* floor, walls, and ceiling. Engaged columns, engaged piers (*antae*), or painted decorative frames emphasized the opening of the *tablinum*, forming a second frame. Behind the *tablinum* a window or door created a third plane of focus, this time a framed view of the garden, or *hortus*, behind the *tablinum*…for to reach the *tablinum* the visitor had to walk around the *impluvium*, visually measuring the height and breadth of the atrium along the way. (pp. 4-6)

While Clarke defined this arrangement as the combination of sequences, Wallace-Hadrill used the word 'vista' to indicate how the axis was architecturally created and emphasized the role of symmetrical arrangement in achieving the desired look. The *tablinum,* unlike Clarke's defined endpoint for the observer, was not the endpoint of the vista according to Wallace-Hadrill (1994): "it passes through it, into the garden world of the *peristyle* or into an imaginary, painted garden, and even past that to the mountain peaks of the real natural world" (p. 45).

> The emphatic importance of this vista is revealed by its elaborate symmetrical framing, by means of doorways and columns round the sides, and focal objects along the central axis-the *impluvium* basin, a marble table, and a statue or shrine at the end. That this vista may not be geometrically symmetrical but only optically symmetrical- that is, symmetrical from the viewpoint of the observer in a given position-shows that the symmetry is not merely an architect's convenience but something designed to make an impression on the visitor. (Wallace-Hadrill, p. 45)

As mentioned by Dywer (1991) "*atrium* along with the *tablinum* was also an ideal theater for the *dominus* to keep watch over his adherents, his family, and his possessions" (p. 29). Although it is accepted that the grand vista between the *fauces* and the *hortus* is a recurrent one in several houses, it is not a permanent one, based on the excavations, particularly in Herculaneum. The findings "show that the *tablinum* was also regularly closed off from the *atrium* by a folding wooden screen which at the same time prevented visitors from seeing through into the house beyond the atrium" (Flower, 1996, p. 203).

As mentioned by Clarke (1991) there was a "view mania" in Pompeii, and this 'mania' reached its peak in the villa architecture, although the visual axis in the villas had begun from the *atrium,* and not from the *fauces*. Clarke, by taking Villa Oplontis as an example,

and defining the spatial sequence of the visual axis, argued about users 'finding' and 'losing' the axis by means of confronting certain architectural interventions:

> To reach the atrium from the north side of the villa, the visitor had to walk along the long, narrow, unlit corridors that flank rooms…The process has become one of finding the axis visually, then losing it in the dark corridors, only to realign oneself with the visual axis in the comforting symmetry of the traditional atrium…Although we do not know what view completed this grandiose visual axis, it must have been the ocean -framed, to be sure, with columns, piers, and windows. (p. 22)

The pictorial effects created by architectural devices had a major role on the prolonged attention of the visitor/viewer, and hence "the effect can be seen as a series of constructed tableaux or of symmetrically designed planes inviting the admiration of the viewer standing at the doorway" (Flower, 1996, p. 199). The *tablinum*, the location of the master of the house, "in a highly traditional prestige setting, which can be compared to an elaborate stage set" (Flower, p. 205) could be designated as the first visual border for the visitor before her/his attention was shifted towards the back of the house. To consolidate the position of the sitting/standing master in an architectural setting, the *atrium's* "entrance was often raised slightly, like a stage" (Flower, p. 205). The house itself was also described as "a stage deliberately designed for the performance of social rituals, and not as a museum of arti-facts" (Flower, p. 199).

The effort to create a 'stage' and '*mise-en scene'* in Pompeii, was a legacy left from the ancients. The phenomenon of 'staging', however, continued with the discovery of the site. In its second life, the whole city was turned into a stage, not unlike the framed architectural vistas that created stages in the ancient houses. The site of the ruins was thus perceived as a combination of various stages for the visitors, and this was manifested as such also by the artistic productions that followed. In its modern life, Pompeii was, indeed, represented as 'a stage in a stage.'

Around the 1830s, it became common that "prior experience of other forms of reconstruction- physical or fictional- often framed the experience of a visit to the ruined city itself" (Beard, 2013, p. 216). In 1835, a special night occasion was organized in Pompeii, and a gala dinner was served in the House of the Faun. As Beard (2013) cited:

> It featured lavish feasting, music, and dancing but not in this case any historical reenactment. In fact, the account ran, it was almost a profanation upon the Apical feasts of the former lords of these palaces to find half-a-dozen respectable gentleman in long-tailed coats, boots, and beaver hats, seated up supper in the same hall where many a guest had centuries before lolled in luxurious ease upon his coach, wrapped in the full and graceful folds of their picturesque costume. (p. 216)

In 1884, almost the same fictional atmosphere was staged, aiming to raise money for the victims of the earthquake on the island of Ischia. A 'theatrical show,' chariot races, a procession of Isis, and a mock marriage procession staged on the first day. On the second day, a funeral cortege, and on the third day a gladiatorial game was fictionalized (Beard, 2013)., Both these planned events and the staged excavations aimed to satisfy, in a way, the aesthetic taste of 19th century tourists. "A dig would be started in front of some visiting dignitary and, miraculously, a splendid discovery (best of all, perhaps, a skeleton) would be made, to the satisfaction of all concerned" (Beard, p. 221).

The 19th century artworks depicting excavations and visitors give an insight into how the tourists, especially the Victorians, were used as the figures in the staged events. Before the unearthed objects were collected in the museums, the houses of the aristocrats and elites displayed and 'staged' ancient objects; these houses themselves, could indeed, become subjects of paintings. One such example was illustrated by painter Pietro Fabris, who depicted a private concert party that took place in the drawing-room of the Neapolitan apartment of Lord Fortrose, a member of the Society of Dilettanti. Fortrose was together with his friends Sir William Hamilton and Gaetano Pugnani during the concert, which was given by two musicians, one being the young Mozart (Figure 2.90). The painting showed the collections of Greek and Roman artifacts which were displayed on the shelves in the classical style room, and "the paintings on the walls include copies of wall paintings found at Pompeii and Herculaneum" (Lamb, 2009, p. 116). The most impressive detail of the picture is that the artist also painted himself as working on the same picture (Figure 2.91). "This almost mise-en abyme structure is reinforced by the treatment of the room's décor" (Schnapp, 2013, p. 23). *Mise-en Abyme* (placed into the abyss) is a French term that refers to a work within a work, a play within a play, a book within a book, or a picture within a picture and was coined by Andre Gide in his novel *The Counterfeiters* in 1893. It is originally described as a coat of arms that appears as a smaller shield in the center of a larger one in the terminology of heraldry. The concept of *mise-en abyme* applies well to

discussions that focus on the art and architecture of Pompeii. In Pompeii, 'frame in a frame,' for example, best describes the scenography constructed in the houses via architectural features and also its intertwined relation to architecture. Architectural frames created the vistas along the visual axis, and these frames were further framed in wall paintings: this treatise was indeed nothing but a *mise-en abyme* (Figure 2.92).

Figure 2. 90 Painting depicting a private concert party that took place in the Neapolitan apartment of Lord Fortrose, Pietro Fabris, 1771 (Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery) (Dodero, 2019, p. 195)

Figure 2. 91 Close-up view from painting, Pietro Fabris, 1771, adapted by the author (Dodero, 2019, p. 195)

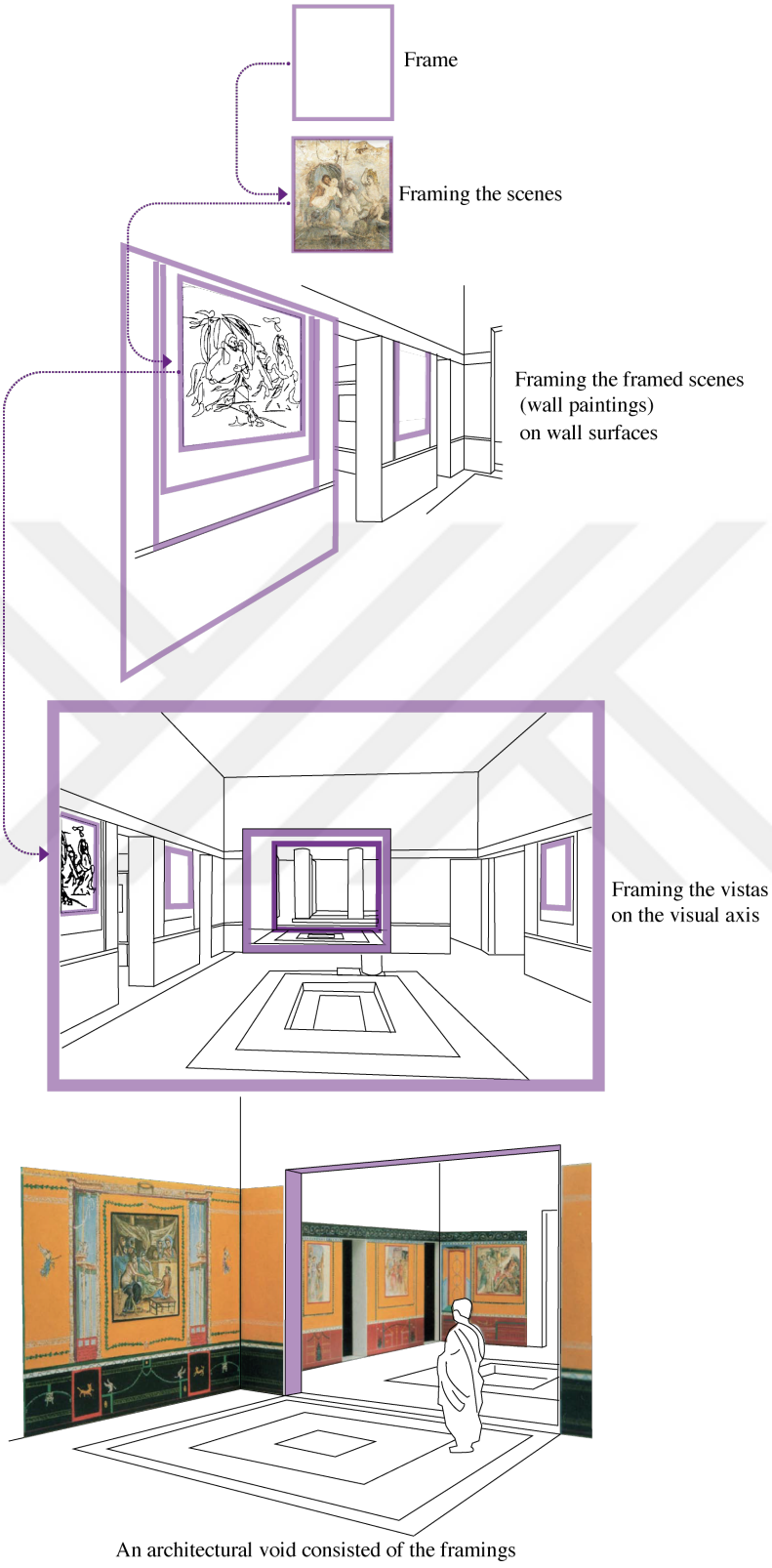


Figure 2. 92 "Frame in a Frame", graphic showing the concept of *Mise-en Abyme*, adapted from the author (Bergmann, 1994)

The framed architectural vistas in both the house and the wall paintings in Pompeii relied on referring to such themes and concepts as 'illusion', 'allusion', 'perspective', view-through', 'depth', 'pathway', 'armature', 'composed views', 'built pictures', 'sequences', '*mise-en scene'*, and '*mise-en abyme'*. These were actually the architectural, artistic and representational devices used to construct the visuality of the house, which determined, in turn, the use of space, its adornment and privacy requirements. The overarching concept to all is 'scenography'.

CHAPTER 3

FROM FACT TO FICTION: POMPEII on PAPER: "The Image"

3.1 Travel, Sightseeing and Visual Representation in the 19th c.

… the moment we set our foot in Pompeii, we are in a world of illusions.
Thomas Gray, 1830 [44]

Travel had a significant role in representing antiquity. In this regard, the initial representations on antiquity did not come into existence not only through the drawings of excavations or paintings, but also, under the scope of travel, it was represented by the personal productions such as letters, accounts, and guide books.

'Travel' became an upper-class engagement in Europe, starting from the 17th century. The most famous of all travel routes was the one covered by The Grand Tour that started to be used in the 17th century, from 1660 until the advent of large-scale rail transport in the 1840s. The traditional trip was associated with a standard route, which was a well-planned itinerary and typically included France, Holland, and Italy (Figure 3.1). The trip was not a short-term event and could last from several months to several years. Therefore, it required time, money, and dedication. The participants in this respect were not tourists in a sense today. The participants of the Tour joined it, in search of modern and ancient art and culture of Western civilization, to improve their language skills, to commission artworks, to acquire antiquities and souvenirs, and to gain knowledge about 'other' geographies in the continent, which otherwise remained unexplored.

[44] Coates, V. C. G., Lapatin, K. D. and Seydl, J. L. (2012). *The Last Days of Pompeii: Decadence, Apocalypse, Resurrection*. Getty Publications. p. 15.

Figure 3. 1 Possible route of Grand Tour starting from England to the Neapolitan area of Southern Italy (Source: http://dutchstudies2018.humanities.uva.nl)

Although the route changed in years, the British tourists usually began in Dover, England. They crossed the English Channel to arrive at Ostend in Belgium or at Calais or Le Havre in France, where they were usually accompanied by a tutor, servants, and French-speaking guides. The two alternative transportation destinations from this point onwards were either a riverboat trip as far as the Alps or land travel up to Seine, Paris, or Rhine and Basel. Upon arrival in Paris, the tourists typically rented an apartment to use for several weeks or months as they would make trips to the French countryside or Versailles during their stay in Paris. They could also sojourn in Switzerland, often in Geneva and Lausanne. The next destination after Paris was Italy and required crossing the Alps. In Italy, the tour started from Turin or Milan where the tourists could visit Leonardo da Vinci's 15th-century mural painting, and The Last Supper exhibited in the Convent of *Santa Maria delle Grazie*. They would then station in Florence for a few months to visit and study the Renaissance masterpieces such as Lorenzo Ghiberti's 'Gates of Paradise', a pair of gilded bronze doors, found at the north entrance of the Baptistery of San Giovanni,

Michelangelo's marble *Statue of David* located outside the *Palazzo Vecchio*, Fra Angelico's frescoes, Botticelli's paintings and other paintings in the Ufizzi Gallery, and ancient treasures such as the *Medici Venus*. The next destinations were Padua, Bologna and Venice. From Venice, the tourists moved on to Rome to study the ancient ruins and masterpieces of painting, sculpture, and architecture of Rome's Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque heritage. Rome was considered a beaten track of the Western European for travelers was, indeed, the final stop of the Grand Tour itinerary. The Italian peninsula became a more visited region in the 19th century. Travelers in this century, in addition to the sites already mentioned, also visited Naples, especially the excavated sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and Mount Vesuvius. Naples and Paestum were actually the last two stops of the tour before the tourists moved on to their return route: however, some could choose to continue further south to see Sicily, Malta and Greece as well. On the way back, the first stop was Innsbruck, then Vienna, Dresden, Berlin and Potsdam, from where the tourists traveled to Holland and Flanders, before returning to England across the Channel. Other destinations which might be covered by some of the participants also included Spain, Portugal, Germany, Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and the Baltic. Although in the 17th and 18th centuries the tour was organized for the young British elite male aristocrats, "alongside the English elite the wealthy classes of other mostly Protestant northern European countries also undertook so-called *Bildungsreisen* ('educational travel') and identified themselves as Grand Tourists" (Seeler, 2019). It is also known that from the second half of the 18th century, South and North American travel enthusiasts also did the Grand Tour.

The term 'Grand Tour' was introduced by Richard Lassel in 1670, in the French translation of his book *The Voyage to Italy*.[45] It was popularized by books such as *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy* published in 1722 by Jonathan Richardson and his son Jonathan Richardson the Younger, and *Coryat's Crudities* published in 1611 in Britain by Thomas Coryat. The latter is considered as one of the early examples

[45] Richard Lassel was an expatriate Roman Catholic priest. His book was first published in Paris then in London. He classified four thematic travels according to the purpose of the travel: intellectual, social, ethical and political. A contemporary essay that influenced and changed the society's understanding towards travel came from John Locke. In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke argued that knowledge came from external senses, and hence travel was a necessity to expand knowledge and nourish mind.

of travel literature that had an influence on making the Grand Tour a popular travel itinerary. While the Peace of Münster [46] in 1648, which terminated a long war period in Europe, led to an increase in the number of groups who wanted to do the Tour, it became popular in the 19th century. The organization of the Tour came to an end with the Napoleonic Wars that started in 1799 after the French Revolution ended.

Grand Tour was a transformative experience. During its early years, it was considered as an educational 'rite of passage' associated with British nobility. As Mori (2010) states; "The tour, a rite of passage for the scions of the nobility and gentry, required young men to travel in particular to France and Italy to acquire the social and culture polish that would make them 'complete gentlemen'" (p.151). It was organized for the young members of the European elite, those coming from the wealthy upper social class and reached the age of 21, who were accompanied by a cicerone.[47] In the 19th century, history and art had become part of the cultural education of the young British aristocracy. Before becoming landowners, the privileged young male members of the wealthy families received university degrees after visiting ancient sites to take classical education (Strong, 2014). The Tour was also open to young aristocratic women who could join the tour if they were sponsored by wealthy parents, or other benefactors. The Tour allowed young aristocrats to share the knowledge of history, archaeology, and culture they had acquired in the Tour. Besides, the Tour also provided them the chance to reinforce their social status as a person of culture and art, by exhibiting the antiquities they had acquired and collected during the Tour.

While the Tour was initially formulated as an 'educational trip' for the young members of the privileged classes, it had become an 'institution' by the 18th century (Occhipinti, 2011). The origin of modern educational travel was often associated with the Tour, while it is seen as a predecessor for modern leisure travel as well (Mori, 2010). It can also be said

[46] The Treaty of Peace was signed between the United Provinces of Netherlands and Spain at Münster on January 30, 1648. It was part of a larger agreement, known as the Peace of Westphalia, which brought the Thirty Years War to an end and also played a major role in establishing the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states within the context of international law.

[47] Cicerone or 'bear-leader' was the responsible adult, usually an academic or a schoolmaster, who accompanied, supervised, and gave lectures on art and antiquities to the young travelers.

that during this period, as the number of archaeological expeditions increased, the people paid more focus on the Mediterranean culture. Sicily, Greece and the African coasts, thus, became the popular sites to travel. During this period, as Cavaliero (2005) mentioned, "ruins assumed a magic of their own, sparking fewer elegies to past greatness and homilies about hubris, and more appreciation of their own stark beauty and appeal to the soul" (p.136).

The idea of a grand tour was developed out of curiosity for learning about other cultures in the 17th century. The spirit of the era, which was defined as 'romantic' (Concannon, 2013), opened the path to an obsession for 'collecting,' and the tourists returned home with works of art, books, scientific instruments, and cultural artifacts. They built and designed libraries, cabinets, gardens, drawing rooms, and galleries to display memories through collected objects. In other words, the itinerant objects created a 'Grand Tour market' in Europe. The small objects acquired during the Grand Tour were not only circulated in Europe. The 'architectural styles' seen in the cities visited, were transported to home cities and adapted in the houses of the tour participants. While French and Dutch cities were important destinations, Italy featured as more prominent because of the ancient ruins and examples of Renaissance architecture. The Roman-style villas designed by Palladio, in particular, became sources of inspiration and adaptation for the re-decoration of the homes of Grand Tour tourists. There was a vogue for decoration inspired by the ruins that were unearthed in the ancient sites under excavation. Encounters and interactions with ruins and antiquity through travel, furthermore, have led to the emergence of neo-classic architectural styles throughout Europe. The travel experience, indeed, changed the lifestyle, in particular, that of the British landowners, some of whom explicitly portrayed themselves as Roman senators (Stobart, 2017).

In the Bourbon Age, around the middle of the 18th century, visiting the Vesuvian Cities had already become a part of the 'Italian journey' in the Grand Tour. The Industrial Revolution that was in progress at about the same period, on the other hand, changed several aspects of daily life and resulted in the emergence of 'a bourgeois social class' who became attendees of the Grand Tour. Furthermore, around 1825, steam-power transportation opened the Grand Tour for public scale participation as it provided safe

and low-cost travel. Due to the reduced costs, travel was no longer considered a luxury that was previously enjoyed by a limited social group. Thus, both the form of travel and the profile of visitors had changed in the 18th century. In the late 18th century, the status of the tour changed firmly from being a privileged event attended by an elite minority to a regular pass-time activity to which members of both bourgeois and aristocratic class, including women, could participate. Apart from nobles and intellectuals, most of the visitors were from increasingly large but culturally less motivated social segments of the society, including entrepreneurs, bankers, retailers, military attaches, young ladies from respectable families, and young men who aspired to success. The social diversity of the participants demonstrates that from the second half of the 19th century onwards, the Grand Tour became associated more with leisure than cultural education. The original and classic Grand Tour had eventually changed with the emergence of new social categories of travelers who had different motivations: then the Tour became known as the Romantic Grand Tour (Ivanovic, 2008).

> Education as the purpose of travel was completely abandoned in favor of more 'exotic pleasures' derived from the romantic view of urban and rural scenery recognized as 'romantic revival'. The attribute 'Romantic' attached to the transformed Grand Tour emphasized the travelers' newly discovered interest in nature and the remnants of antiquity. This interest was governed by the desire to appreciate and understand what they encountered. These 'romantic travelers' preferred seclusion to guided tours and novel experiences to conventional mass-tourism experiences. This set the stage for the Romanticism Movement at the end of the 18th century, a movement which provided a new outlook on life and which emphasized emotion above rationality, and individualism above collectivism. (Ivanovic, 2008, p. 34)

The 18th century, also witnessed a massive growth in the production of printed material such as books and newspapers, and hence travel accounts and guidebooks. Some of the guidebooks republished in this period include *The Gentleman's Pocket Companion for Travelling into Foreign Parts* which was first published in 1722 and Thomas Nugent's book, *The Grand Tour containing an Exact Description of most of the Cities, Towns and Remarkable Places of Europe,* published in 1743 (Ryan, 2003). The romantic spirit of the era also gave way to the creation of a new genre in literature called 'Grand Tour Travel Literature.' Some of the existing travel-related literature was, indeed, a sort of documentation without making interpretations on the sites. Many travelers, on the other hand, preferred to share their experiences in the form of personalized accounts. The collector-travelers had a great

interest in science, culture, and antiquity. Owing to their passion, they promoted writings related to the Grand Tour (Bedin, 2017).

3.1.1 Travel Literature: Naples and Pompeii

The participants of the Grand Tour documented their picturesque journey by drawings and paintings; photography was not yet invented, and sending postcards was not a common practice at that time. Since drawing had a significant role in the education of the members of the aristocratic families, many Grand tourists kept sketchbooks and diaries in which they did etchings and engravings. The travel accounts prepared during the journey, whether providing actuality or fiction, became the bestsellers of the time. They were used as a medium to share both cultural information, and also philosophical, scientific and political opinions (Occhipinti, 2011). With travel becoming a cultural act of Enlightenment, the writers and intellectuals of the period became increasingly engaged with travel writing, in addition to producing autobiographies and novels that included observations and descriptions of the external world.

The accounts were the first-hand descriptions of the experiences of the places visited and made the knowledge gained circulate between different contexts. The Tour, indeed, led to the emergence of travel accounts as a literary genre with such writers as Joseph Addison, William Thomas Beckford, William Coxe, Elizabeth Craven[48], John Moore, Samuel Jackson Pratt, Tobias Smollett, Philip Thicknesse,[49] Arthur Young,[50] Lord Byron,

[48] Lady Elizabeth Craven, (1750-1828) best known for her travelogues, was an author and playwriter and traveled extensively in Europe, France, Italy, Austria, Poland, Bulgaria, Russia, Greece, and Turkey. She moved to and settled in Naples in her old age. In 1826, she wrote *Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach*, the authentic memorial of her adventures and observations about her travels, including France, Italy (Naples), Vienna, Poland, Constantinople, Prussia, Portugal, and Spain.

[49] Philip Thicknesse (1719-1792), a British author who wrote for *The Gentleman's Magazine*, was best known in his day for the two-volume *A Year's Journey Through France and Part of Spain in 1777*.

[50] An experimental farmer and agricultural writer Arthur Young (1741-1820) toured France in 1787, at the outbreak of the French Revolution. He made his reputation with a series of travel books, including assessments on the economic conditions in the countryside of England and Ireland (1768–80). His well-known account, *Travels During the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789, Undertaken More Particularly with a View of Ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, and National Prosperity of the Kingdom of France* was published in

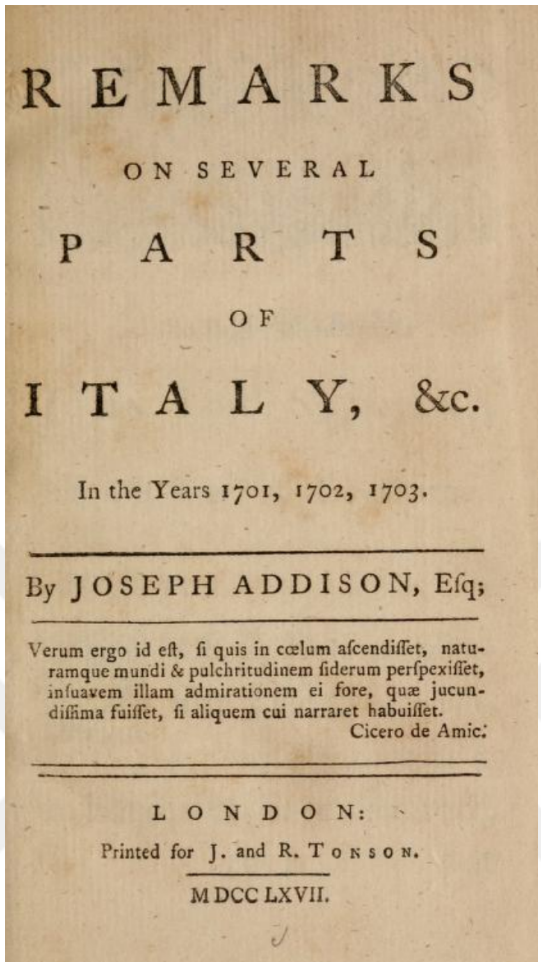
Thomas Pelham,[51] and Richard Pococke whose accounts and letters represent the travel genre produced between 18th and 19th century.[52] The letters written by sisters Mary and Ida Saxton of Canton, Ohio, in 1869, besides, provided an American contribution; the two had made a six-month-long trip in the Tour. This chapter presents selected examples of travel literature by those writers who visited Italy and Pompeii. It nevertheless provides a snapshot of this genre, which otherwise is extensively vast and diverse. The accounts show how Pompeii and the ruins which were under excavation became narrated and thus were then consumed as the visual representations.

***Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705)- *A Letter from Italy* (1704),** Joseph Addison (1672-1719), an English essayist, poet, statesman, and a leading contributor to the periodicals *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* is accepted as the founder of literary journalism in England. During a European Tour, Addison had visited France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, the German states, and the Netherlands. He published his Italian venture in two books: *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705) and the poetic epistle *A Letter from Italy* (1704) (Figure 3.2). He chronicled what he had seen as his purpose of visit to Italy was to write a book about the country; he described Rome as a huge museum (Speake, 2003). The books distinguish by the fact that Addison presented the actual state of the sites he had visited and, as such, did not include fabrications or fictitious remarks. For many years, the book had served as an indispensable source for travelers visiting the sites in Italy (Hulme, 2002).

1792. He traveled to Italy in 1789 but took more interest in writing about the state of the economy of the country.

[51] Thomas Pelham (1728-1805), a British politician, undertook the Tour and visited France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany between 1746 and 1750.

[52] "The more distinguished British visitors to Naples included Joseph Addison, George Berkeley, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Thomas Gray, Horace Walpole, James Boswell, Edward Gibbon, Samuel Sharp, Patrick Brydone, Dr. John Moore, Henry Swinburne, Martin Sherlock, and Hester Thrale Piozzi. Their French counterparts include Blainville, J.-B. Labat, Montesquieu, Étienne de Silhouette, de Brosses, Jean-Pierre Grosley, Richard de Saint-Non, Lalande, Duclos, and Dupaty" (Casillo, 2006, p. 181)



REMARKS

ON SEVERAL

PARTS

OF

ITALY, &c.

In the Years 1701, 1702, 1703.

By JOSEPH ADDISON, Eſq;

Verum ergo id eſt, ſi quis in cœlum aſcendiſſet, naturamque mundi & pulchritudinem ſiderum perſpexiſſet, inſuavem illam admirationem ei fore, quæ jucundiſſima fuiſſet, ſi aliquem cui narraret habuiſſet.
Cicero de Amic.

LONDON:

Printed for J. and R. TONSON.

MDCC LXVII.

Figure 3. 2 Book cover of Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, Joseph Adison, 1705
(Source: www.archive.org)

***Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents* (1783),** William Thomas Beckford (1760-1844) was an English nobleman, traveler, art collector, and writer and spent a large part of his life traveling in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Switzerland. Beckford is the author of several literary works such as *Memoirs of Extraordinary Painters* (1780), the Gothic novel *Vathek* (1786), and *Letters from Italy with Sketches of Spain and Portugal* (1834). He took the Grand Tour at the age of twenty-one with his tutor Lettice. They traveled down to Italy, arriving in Venice in 1780. He published the accounts of his travel in *Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents* in 1783, which contains a series of letters sent from various parts of Europe. "It seems to be one of the earliest texts to consolidate proto-Romantic components in a literary genre that is determined to be as empirical as possible: travel literature" (Baum, 2011, p. 35). Beckford organized his remarks in a format that gave occasional glimpses into his inner thoughts and dreams during the Tour, in addition to

his site accounts, showing how the inner progress of the author was shaped by his personal site explorations as well (Billi, 2003). The book therefore, is distinguished from the typical travel accounts. In terms of the language which switches between illusion and reality, the book was different from the other travel products (Moorman, 2015). He visited Pompeii in 1780.[53] The site then was under the control of Francesco La Vega, and just before Beckford arrived, it was opened to selected visitors who were expected to come on their own for the site excursion, that is, as casual visitors who were not accompanied by cicerones or guides. The excursion provided visitors an opportunity to see remains of the theatre, the Temple of Isis, the Herculaneum Gate, and the ruins of the Villa of Diomedes that lied outside the town. Beckford described his experience as a *reverie*, and he elaborated his views by such words as "tremendous spectacle of the eruption", "scene of ruins", "delightful scenery of nature". The letters that narrate the trip of Beckford to Pompeii start by giving information on the location of the ancient city. The author then talks about the route he followed by starting with the entrance, which lay near Stabiae. The first place he visited was the Gladiator's barracks, about which he wrote about the unearthed objects, like helmets and armors, which were apparently displayed on site. A section was reserved for the description of barracks' floor mosaics which was cleared from the rubbish and in excellent condition. He highlighted that many of the mosaics were transported from the site to be displayed at the Museum at Portici. Another ruin included in the letters is the Temple of Isis. While defining an unnamed small house and garden in the neighborhood of the Temple, Beckford quotes a passage from Sir. William Hamilton's account communicated to the Society of Antiquaries. It is noteworthy that he provided an imaginative description of the sacrificial rituals done in the Temple of Isis, a fictive narration that will be popular in various later visual and cinematic productions as well. Perhaps as proof of his reverie, at all the places he visited, Beckford had dreamed about the daily life routines of ancient Pompeians before the eruption:

> As I lingered alone in these environs sacred to Isis, some time after my companions had quitted them, I fell into one of those reveries which my imagination is so fond of indulging; and transporting myself seventeen hundred years back, fancied I was sailing with the elder Pliny, on the first day's eruption, from Misenum, towards Retina and

[53] Pompeii is the subject of the letters beginning from Letter XXIV, 9 November 1780.

> Herculaneum; and afterwards towards the villa of his friend Pomponianus at Stabiae…I turned my eyes upon this fair city, whose houses, villas, and gardens, with their long ranges of columned courts and porticos, were made visible through the universal cloud of ashes, by lightning from the mountain; and saw its distracted inhabitants, men, women, and children, running to and fro in despair. [54]

A View of Society and Manners in Italy, with Anecdotes Related to Some Eminent Characters (1781), John Moore (1729-1802), a Scottish physician and travel author, took the Grand Tour as a tutor to Duke of Hamilton. In 1772, Moore, the Duke of Hamilton, and his attendants left the continent. Then spent the next five years visiting France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy and residing in Paris, Geneva, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Naples, and Venice. "Moore's books based on his travels set a new tone for continental tourism-liberal, skeptical, well-informed without being pedantic" (Bohls and Duncan, 2005, p. 32). His works, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany* (1779), and *A View of Society and Manners in Italy, with anecdotes related to some eminent characters* (1781), are considered as significant sources for social historians. In his accounts of the Italian cities, he treated all the themes covered by the travel literature on Italy: the classical heritage, the Roman Catholicism, the insufficient commercial development, and the status of women (Fulton, 2014).

***Travels Through France and Italy* (1766),** Tobias Smollett (1721-1771) was a surgeon, writer, novelist, and editor. In 1763, he left England and traveled across France to Nice, and in 1764 he visited Genoa, Rome, Florence, and some other towns of Italy. The account of his journeys, *Travels Through France and Italy,* in which he described natural phenomena, history, social life, economics, diet, and morals of the places he visited, was published in 1766. The book contains forty-one letters, eight of which are on Italy. The account is a satire on both tourists, and a version of it was adapted in Laurence Sterne's novel *A Sentimental Journey* (1768). Smollett used a biased tone, which consists of both praise and satire. For instance, while talking about the gardens of Italy, he uttered that "the Italians understand, because they study, the excellences of art; but they have no idea of the beauties of nature" (Smollet, 2005, p. 329). With the same tone, he described the inn where he stayed and stated that "you must not expect cleanliness or convenience of any kind in this country" (Ferrari, 2013, pp. 76-77). Smollett's travelogue is an important

[54] The quotation derived from The Project Gutenberg's online ebook archive.
(Source: http://gutenberg.org/files/7258/7258-h/7258-h.htm)

one as it shows how first-hand experiences depicted both the beauties of the visited places and also contained sharp criticism from the eye of a sentimental traveler. The account provided details of the travel routes, descriptions about the places where Smollet had stayed, and depictions of locals (Ferrari, 2013).

***Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812–1818),** George Gordon Byron (1788-1824), a British romantic poet and politician, was twenty-one and a half years old when he left London for his Grand Tour in 1809. He is a pivotal figure in the history of the 19th century travel literature as his poetic travel narratives created an imaginative mapping of Europe in the early 19th century (Gephardt, 2014). Byron traveled around Europe, especially in Italy, first Venice, then Ravenna, Pisa, and Genoa, where he spent seven years. When residing in Italy, he began writing his masterpiece, *Don Juan*, an epic-satire novel-in-verse, loosely based on a legendary hero. Byron's travels fall into three distinct phases: the visit to southern Europe between 1809-1811; the journey through northern Europe to Italy in 1816; and the final adventure in Greece between 1823-1824. The fourth canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, which was published in 1818, was a meditation on Byron's experience of Italy: Venice, Arqua, Ferrara, Florence, and finally Rome. "He saw himself as "A ruin amidst ruins; there to track/ Fall'n states and buried greatness" (Speake, 2003, p.158).

> The sight of the ruin or dilapidation of man's greatest achievements stresses the feeling of debility in the individual soul facing the discrepancy between its boundless desires and its pathetic limitations. No longer are the ruins and decayed buildings emblems of past glory to be contemplated and emulated in the modern context. They have become metaphors of the human condition, helping to define the anguish which follows the Romantic realization …". (Churchill, 1980, p. 32)

When compared to other Grand Tourists who visited Italy, Byron's attitude to the ruins was different from them. According to his belief, grand monuments of past, such as the splendid palaces of Venice and the monuments of Ancient Rome inevitably and irretrievably lost. Even though he did not write about the observations on Pompeii, in general, his understanding of the ruined states buildings and monuments in Italy was a significant threshold on the writing of the Romantic authors.

***A Description of the East and Some Other Countries, Vol. II* (1745),** Richard Pococke (1704-1765) was an English clergyman and scholar who had visited France,

Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Hanover, as well as Prussia, Austria, and Greece. Prussia, Austria, and Greece were in fact not included in the traditional route of the British tourist, and hence were considered "exotic" for travelers (Speake, 2003). Pococke undertook two grand tours; the first was to France, and from France, he proceeded to Italy and saw Genoa, Tuscany, Venice, and Milan. The detailed accounts of his travels survived in a collection of letters written to her mother and their mutual uncle, as well as in a number of note-books. His book, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries, Vol. II and* published in 1745 contained accounts of his travel to Italy, and also included information on the flora, fauna, manner, and customs of the countries he visited. The part reserved for his visit to Naples contained descriptions about the routes, names of the places he saw and his experience of Vesuvius; he indeed, went to the crater of the mountain twice.

> I took some pains to observe the several streams of melted matter which run from Mount Vesuvius at several eruptions; they look black like melted metal and the cinders of a forge; such a current they call in Italian lava; I first observed them as I went around the bay by water to Capri. (Pococke, 1745, p. 204)

Pococke described the state of Vesuvius vividly, indicating that visiting Mount Vesuvius had already started in the 18th century before it became a popular stop of the Grand Tour in the middle of the 19th century. He gave detailed accounts of what he saw and hence accurate records of the site. In the section on Portici, for example, he provided several details about the site and the finds:

> Some time ago in digging at Portici, they found ruins underground and since that they have dug in search of antiquities; there are two entrances to the works, one by a well, and another from a hollow way to the west of it, by which I went into it, and saw some fresco paintings. In a court of the king's palace here, which is kept locked, I saw several fragments of statues and inscriptions, some of which were Greek. In the small theatre, there are some statues of men, most of the heads of them are bald. In a room where they repair the antiquities I saw some urns and beautiful feet of tables, some coarse mosaics and fresco paintings of boys. Many other things have been found here, which are not commonly shown, but they designed to have them all drawn, engraved and published. This is thought to be the ancient Herculaneum, part of which was destroyed by an earthquake. (Pococke, 1745, p. 204)

It is understood from such accounts that the antiquities were open only to a select group of visitors and not to the public yet during his visit. The book was also coupled with illustrations, but no visual was produced for his itinerary in Naples and Vesuvius.

***

The travel literature genre in the 18th century did not settle into a single style. In the case of productions on the Italian Peninsula, from Adisson to Pococke, it can be said that the travel literature genre had changed in terms of aim, content, and representation. While some of the traveler-authors chose to record only their experiences in a sentimental mood, the others were objective in what they have noted. For example, Beckford, besides giving descriptive information about his site visits, adorned his narration about the condition of the buildings and the site with imaginative descriptions and dreamings about how his daily life was conducted before the great tragedy. Smollett's travel account, on the other hand, consisted of objective first-hand observations on the site but included sarcasm.

As mentioned by Sherman (2002), travel writing was coupled with dualities such as "giving pleasure and providing practical guidance, between logging and narrating, between describing what happened and suggesting what could have happened" (p. 31). A common feature in all this writing is the fact they contained few visual materials and focused on the actual states of the cities since actual reporting played an essential role in the 18th century travel literature. The lack of visual material in the books of this period was, indeed, related to inefficient technology in printing and production of visual images. For example, maps, which are indispensable as visual supplements to travel narratives, were produced less common. The inadequate production of maps is related to two facts: it was expensive to produce them, and because they showed the borders of the states they were considered as secret documents and hence their production was not encouraged (Sherman, 2002). The demand for high-quality illustrations gradually increased in the later eras. The readers expected to see images in order to set their imaginations about what the authors depicted through words, thereby combining both the textual and visual information to create a vivid scenery of the cities which they did not visit.

3.2 Illustrated and Printed Media on Pompeii

Photography was used as an outstanding artistic device in the 19th century to visualize the travelers' first-hand experiences on Pompeii. The portraits of travelers taken in the ancient sites were no indifferent than those taken at the studios. They shared many common

features, like the arrangement of the frame, the usage of perspective, the preferred dressing code, and accessories.

Photographs, on the other hand, also enabled 'armchair travel' that eliminated the inconvenience, expense, and hardships of travel. Before photography, the 'other' parts of the world were mostly visualized by the stories and tales told. By the emergence of photography, not only the travel became more memorable but it became possible to take part in a 'virtual travel' as well (Pettitt, 2016).

Compared to the sketches, hand drawings, and technical drawings, the photographs had the potential to present the actuality with accurate details. They provided an opportunity for the traveler to be captured with the ancient ruins. Photograph, in this sense, became the primary visual tool and gave way to the production of different types of travel media, which combined textual evidence with photographic representations. Among this, the 'cheap travel literature,' that is, guidebooks, excursion flyers, and railway timetables, that emerged in the 19th century became quickly produced and distributed by the steam printing technology (Pearson, 2006). At the same time, views of the sites where the tourists traveled were produced in the form of engravings, lithographs, and photographs. The visual products were published in sixpenny weeklies, including the *Illustrated London News* (1842) and *Graphic* (1869) (Murray, 2016). Various forms of travel writing made use of photographs to enrich the texts:

> The hierarchy between text and image is fluid and largely dependent on the desires and inclinations of the individual reader/viewer. In lavishly illustrated magazines and albums, text can be relegated to a literary gloss on the image, and 'travel writing' must be regarded as subordinate to the work of visual representation. And yet the smallest textual intervention (a title, for example) could radically transform the viewer's reading of an ostensibly neutral documentary image. (Murray, 2016, p. 10)

The travel literature never acquired the status of a homogenous genre, and the authors used various methods to present the textual material, and stage its visuality, for which photography was one of the tools. Among the many such forms were memoirs, scenic tour journals, topographical essays, romantic narratives, exploration journals, and guidebooks.

The travel literature on Pompeii is abundant. For practical reasons, it is classified into two categories in this study: the 'site accounts' produced by architects, archaeologists, and historians for the travelers and the 'traveler accounts' produced by travelers (Figure 3.3).

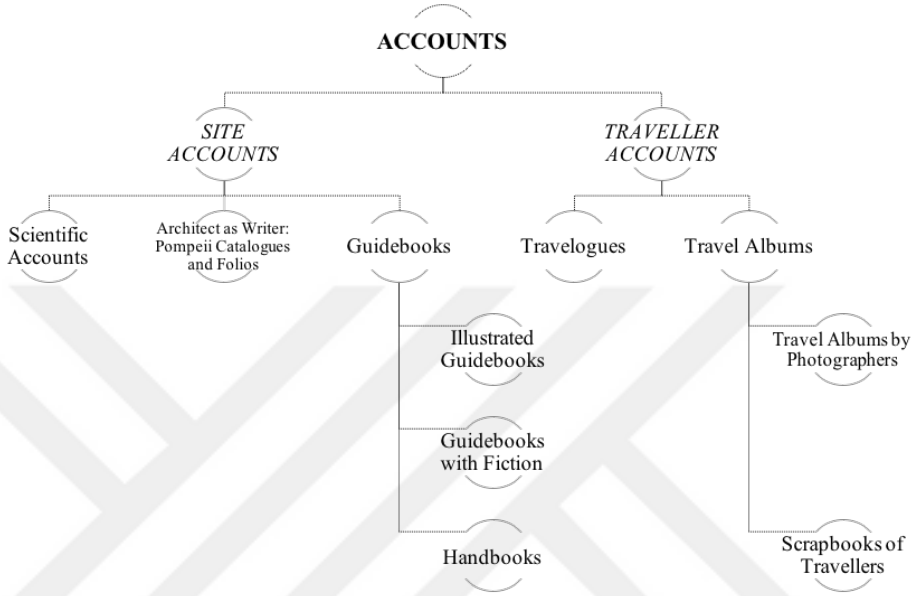


Figure 3. 3 Classification of travel literature, produced by the author

Site Accounts are those works that include the scientific accounts, written by architects, archaeologists, and historians and the guidebooks. The scientific accounts are not often considered as a literary genre, but they represent the literary productions before the emergence of guidebooks and, thus, are significant in that they provided a comparative bulk of written media on Pompeii in the 19th century. The guidebooks, on the other hand, served as the primary source to get information about the ancient sites and their architectural content. They provided the information collected from the scientific accounts and decorated the textual narrations with visuals. The illustrated guidebook, in this sense, was a production that presented the archaeological information by utilizing various types of visualizations from the sites. Here, the site accounts written by architects are presented to discuss the author-architect's contribution to the documentation of Pompeii and the spreading of the architectural representations to the outer world. The guidebooks are further classified into three depending on their content; the illustrated guidebooks, the guidebooks with fiction, and the handbooks.

Traveler Accounts refer to two types of book productions made by travelers: travelogues and albums. The travelogues presented the site-specific experiences of the travelers and included both texts and visuals. The travel albums were produced by the photographers and sold to travelers as souvenir items.

While the traditional Grand Tour emerged in Great Britain, the travel literature was not limited to English, and there were several publications and translations in other languages such as Italian, German, and French. However, the material printed in English was more in circulation among travelers. Therefore, the examples chosen for this study will focus on English travel books.

3.2.1 Site Accounts

The printed site accounts aimed to document and circulate the processed knowledge gathered from the excavations and were written by architects, archaeologists, and historians. The illustrated images had a significant role in transferring the visuality of the site. The visual material, which was framed in the accounts, and the selected images created a particular choreography. Even though the tone of the books was highly descriptive in presenting the factual information, they composed images and narration in such ways that each account had indeed constructed a particular scenario.

3.2.1.1 Scientific Accounts

***Account of the Discoveries at Pompeii: Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London* (1777),** The Grand Tour had changed its focus from education to leisure in the middle of the 19th century. With that change, a new type of tourist emerged: the 'collector.' The lure of the ancient was, indeed, a principal motive in accomplishing the Grand Tour, and in this sense, visiting archeological sites with the hope to see and collect antiquities made Italy an indispensable destination for travelers and tourists. Publications on the ancient sites, such as those by Sir William Hamilton, introduced ancient sites of Naples, especially Mount Vesuvius, which eventually became

a stop in the itinerary of the tour. Sir William Hamilton was a British diplomat, antiquarian, archaeologist, and volcanologist, and served as an ambassador to the court of Naples from 1764 to 1800. As an ambassador, Hamilton was expected to send reports back to the Secretary of State every ten days or so, to promote Britain's commercial interests in Naples, and to keep an open house for English travelers to Naples. He brought from Naples to England a vast collection, containing Greek vases and other antiquities that were introduced to the British audience by the publication of four illustrated volumes. He published the first volume entitled *Collection of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman antiquities from the cabinet of the Honorable William Hamilton* in 1766-67, the remaining three volumes were published between 1769-76.

Many collectors took Hamilton as an example and "viewed the Grand Tour as an important opportunity to collect antiquities, original art and copies of both" (Stobart, 2017, p. 8). Hamilton was honored in particular for his contributions to the study of volcanoes as well, acquiring the title 'the modern Pliny' for his studies on Vesuvius. He published a volume called *Observations on Mount Vesuvius, Mount Etna, and other volcanos* in 1772, followed in 1776 by a collection of letters about his studies on volcanoes to the Royal Society, *Campi Phlegraei: Observations on the Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies.* [55] It is accepted that with this book, "the volcano had become an established part of the European Grand Tour" (Mori, 2010, p. 172). While the main text of the book was reproduced from the letters, the plates which were drawn by the Anglo-Neapolitan artist Pietro Fabris who had worked in the site to illustrate them, proved to be the book's defining feature, which actually became more popular than the text itself. The text was accompanied by fifty-four lavish illustrations; five more illustrations were issued as a supplement in 1779. The plates contained close-up views of the eruption moments from different angles, and drawings of various rock samples. The hand-colored illustrations aimed to make readers experience the Vesuvius as an erupting volcano. The plates, however did not only depict Naples and Vesuvius, but also illustrated the excavations in Pompeii. The hand-colored paintings became very popular mainly because of their vividness and the drama they expressed. Hamilton himself believed passionately in the importance of careful and direct

[55] The area around Naples is locally called the *Campi Phlegraei*, or 'flaming fields', referring to the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius.

observation of natural phenomena, and *Campi Phlegraei* is intended to make the various aspects of Vesuvius' activity available to those who were unable to visit the volcano.

Although *Account of the Discoveries at Pompeii: Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London* (1777) gave information about the actual conditions of the ruins in detail, it was not written to produce a guidebook. Nevertheless, it served as a popular book for the promotion of Pompeii and its architectural features to the 'external' world. As an early account of the excavations, the book gave brief descriptions to the readers without any reconstruction and informed about the actual state of the ruins, which also showed the unearthed spots of the city on that day. The book, in a way, reanimated the components of ancient architecture with illustrated plates that were in the form of etchings. Each plate covered one page in the book, and the sketched views are numbered. Hamilton gave the definitions about the plates according to the number order. There exist no human figures in the illustrated plates; the only exception of a non-architectural detail is a skeleton that was depicted in the plate, which illustrated one of the baths. The book included the illustrated visuals of the Gate of Pompeii towards Stabia, Temple of Isis, the principal entrance to the city, The Villa Rustica located outside the city, and some unnamed streets and houses. As understood from the definitions given in the book, the excavated houses were not yet named in that time. The representations of some unnamed houses show that the wall paintings were not yet taken off from the site to be displayed in the museum in 1777 as well (Figure 3.4). Among all the illustrations, the only plan belonged to the Temple of Isis. A comparison of this very early plan with those of the later ones show some similarities; this is not surprising as the same angles and perspectives were used in all the published plans. Hamilton (1777) demonstrated the condition of the Temple of Isis, but also complained about the lack of awareness for the protection and the traveler profile:

> It is a pity that such monuments of antiquity as are not in immediate danger of suffering from the injuries of the weather, should have been removed from their places, where they would have afforded satisfaction and instruction to the curious who visit these antiquities. Many travelers have seen this chapel without knowing that it was certainly a chapel of Isis, and rebuilt by N. Popidius, after having been destroyed by an earthquake. (p. 10)

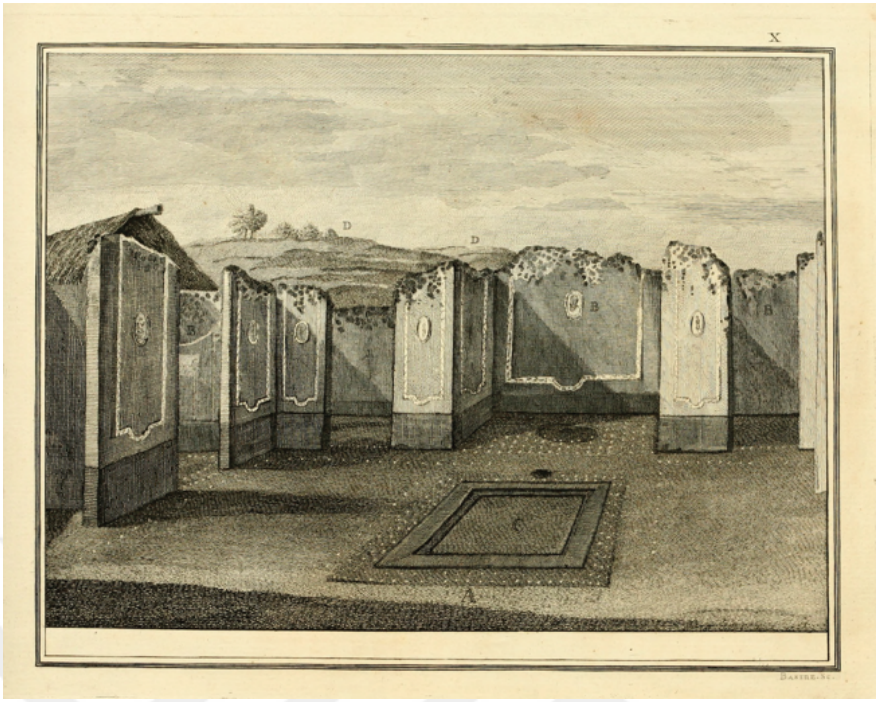


Figure 3. 4 Plate from the book, depicting a house, Account of the Discoveries at Pompeii: Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London, William Hamilton, 1777, Plate 10, p.13 (Source: https://babel.hathitrust.org)

Hamilton also included personal interpretations about the life in ancient Pompeii according to what he had documented in the site in his book. For example, he made observations on the architecture of the houses and stated that privacy had a major role in the design of the private architecture (1777). He connected this idea to the fact that there were few windows on the walls which had faced the street. As such, Hamilton introduced 'privacy' as a theme in the field of ancient domestic architecture as early as the 18th century. Hamilton's account was of primary importance for displaying the 'Pompeian scene' to the world in the 18th century. In order to make the scenes look alive to the readers, the textual information was combined with the 'framed images' which contained the snapshots of the excavated buildings. It is possible to say that the distribution of not only the textual but also the visual information about the site had an outstanding impact, and the account became a reference for the other writers who aimed to represent the visuality of the ancient site throughout 'framing the images.'

***Views of Pompeii* (1828),** In 1828, a book entitled *Views of Pompeii,* which included twenty-six lithographic plates depicting the ruins of Pompeii and a foldable map, was

published in London (Figure 3.5). The map showed the actual phase of the excavation and was drawn on stone by James Duffield Harding,[56] after the drawings of William Light. It was designed such that one page contained descriptions while the other illustrations. The book starts by describing the Villa of Diomedes and not the Forum, as one would expect, as the introductory example in the beginning (Figure 3.6). It suggests an itinerary between the Gate of Herculaneum and Gate of Nola, and its content was based on Sir William Gell's finds. From the Street of the Tombs to the Herculaneum Gate, Harding illustrated the street scene from two different points of view, one of which was closer to the gate than the other. By doing this, he created a sequence of zooming to the gate (Figure 3.7). The book has other novelties, such as the human figures that were used to enrich the images. Thus, it seems that the author did not aim to reconstruct an ancient scene, which otherwise might have included figures in ancient dresses, and provided descriptive accounts with no personal opinions. The plates included the illustrations of the following: Plan of Pompeii, Villa of Diomedes, Street of the Tombs, The Inn, Semicircular Seats, The Herculaneum Gate, View from the Herculaneum Gate, View from the Walls, Public Bake House, House of Caius Sallust, One of the Fountains at the Corner of the Street, Temple of Fortune, Entrance to the Forum, *Foro Civile* looking towards the Temple of Jupiter, *Foro Civile* looking towards Castell'a Mare, Basilica, Temple of Venus, Portico leading to the Temple of Hercules, Temple of Hercules, Temple of Hercules looking towards the Portico, Tragic Theatre, Comic Theatre, Temple of Isis, Temple of Esculapius and Sculptor's Shop, Amphitheatre and the Nola Gate.

[56] The British artist James Duffield Harding was a lithographer and landscape painter. He was admired by his contemporaries for his accomplished hand and exquisite landscapes.

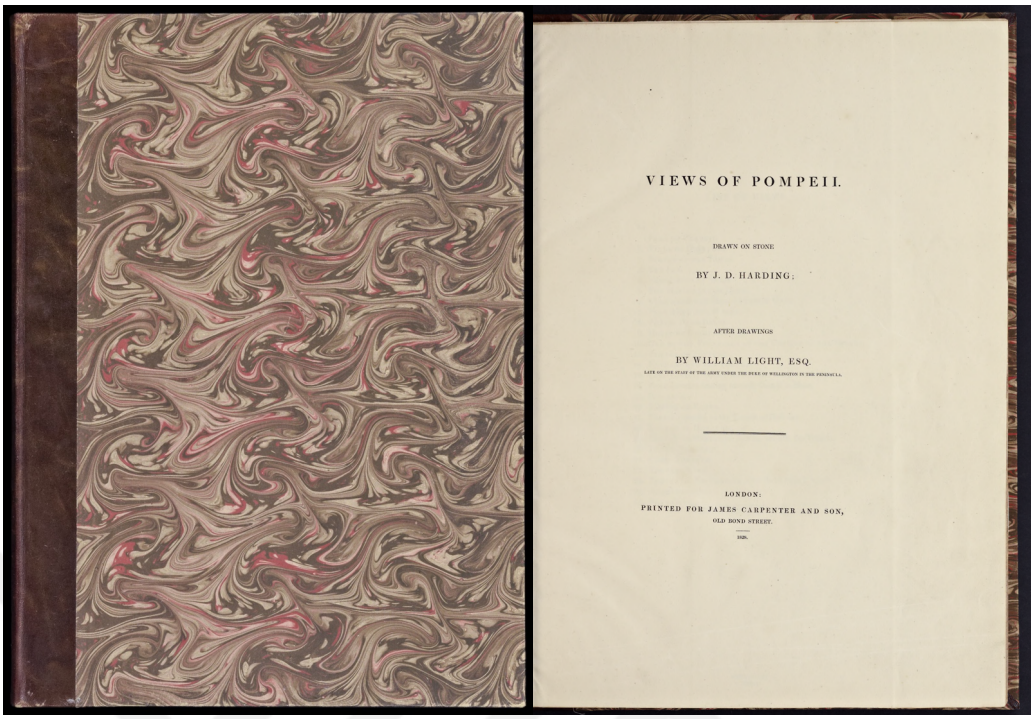


Figure 3. 5 Cover and introductory page of *Views of Pompeii,* James Duffield Harding and William Light, 1828

Figure 3. 6 First page of the book depicting the actual state of Villa of Diomedes, *Views of Pompeii*, James Duffield Harding and William Light, 1828

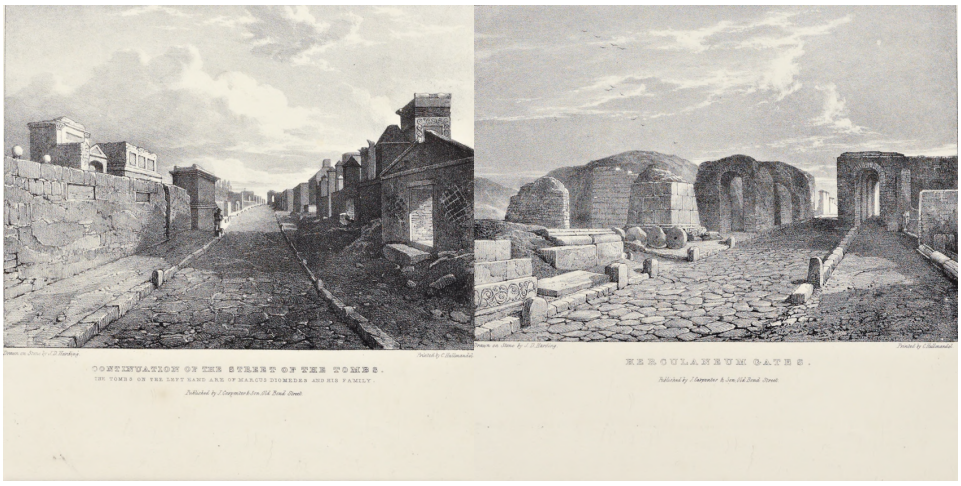


Figure 3. 7 Zoom from the Street of Tombs to the Herculaneum Gate, *Views of Pompeii,* James Duffield Harding and William Light, 1828

This account is an early example of the 19th century printed material that put human figures on the images and thus illustrated the ruins in a somewhat dramatic visuality. Adding human figures became a shared method in the later accounts, which feature reconstructed scenes of the ruins and buildings in frames. Harding's attempt to decorate the scene with humans, therefore, was a novelty in terms of the displacement of visuals, just like his method of illustrating the same street scene from different distances to give an effect of zooming, an effect similar to the one created by a camera.

***Pompeii: Its History, Buildings and Antiquities* (1867),** An account of the destruction of Pompeii, with full descriptions of the remains, the recent excavations, and an itinerary for the visitors, was edited by Thomas Henry Dyer in 1867. Dyer (1804-1888) was an English historian, antiquarian, and early photographer who made trips to Pompeii in the middle of the 19th century. He visited Pompeii in an active period of excavations, which was undertaken by Giuseppe Fiorelli, the excavation director who pioneered the method of making plaster casts from the remains of the bodies of the victims. Dyer published some other literary works on classical themes. However, his best-known works relate to his 'photo-documentation' of the ancient Roman sites, including *Pompeii, its History, Buildings and Antiquities* (1867), *Ancient Athens, its History, Topography, and Remains* (1873) and *On Imitative Art* (1882). *POMPEII: Its History, Buildings, and Antiquities* provides architectural descriptions that were meticulously illustrated and hence visualized with

eight engravings made on steel and wood, 277 woodcuts, a large fold-out map and a plan of the Forum. The author mentioned the chief sources he had consulted during the preparation of the book as *Les Ruines de Pompeii* by M. Mazois, the *Museo Borbonico,* a periodical publication at that time in Naples, *Pompeiana by* Sir William Gell, and *Pompeii* by Donaldson. Different from these accounts, the book gave information on the history of Vesuvius and Pompeii. The first part of the book was reserved for public buildings, while the second part focused on the private houses. The itinerary supported with an index of the principal objects given at the end of the book was "chiefly intended for those who can devote only a few hours to a visit to Pompeii, and wish to see the principal objects in the speediest and most striking manner" (Dyer, p. 573). The second chapter of the book is particularly significant, as it included thematic sections, such as 'domestic architecture,' 'Pompeian art,' and 'private houses,' subjects which are still studied.

The introduction of the first chapter was coupled with a vignette from Mazois's view of the City Gate of Herculaneum. Among the remarkable illustrations is a map of Bay of Naples published in the part *Historical Notice of Pompeii*, the Gate of Herculaneum in the part *Position of Pompeii*, Temple of Mercury and the view of the Forum looking towards the north in the part *Description of Temple*, view of the *tepidarium* in the part *Description of Baths*, view of the large theatre in the part *Theatres* and view of the Amphitheatre in the part *Amphitheatre*. The illustrations in the second chapter included: view of a cook's shop restored, view of the entrance to the House of Pansa, view of the entrance to the House of Sallust, summer *triclinium* in the small garden of the House of Sallust, *venereum* and *atrium* of the House of Sallust, House of the Tragic Poet restored, view of House of the Faun, *Atrium* of the House of Questor, view of the House of Cornellius Rufus, view of House of Lucretius, House of the Balcony, the portico of the Villa of Diomedes and view of the villa of Diomedes. Some of these illustrations were taken from the books that were already published, such as the House of the Tragic Poet, which was published as restored in William Gell's *Pompeiana*. By giving comprehensive information about the buildings unearthed, the book allowed readers to follow a route.

Dyer combined the textual information on the history of Pompeii with an image depicting the general view of the city. On the other hand, several images were ranging from the

plans of pavements and stepping stones, wall techniques, vignettes from the wall paintings, graffitis on the walls, section of the fountains, house utensils, bronze figures, jewels, ornaments of sacrifice, technical drawings of the porticos, and details of domestic furniture. Compared to the previous books, the author illustrated not only the well-known general views but also gave details about the small objects. The book made use of the information derived from the excavations, which had reached a sufficient peak in the second half of the 19th century. Due to the richness of the unearthed findings, the author popularized the small-scale objects as a theme of representation. Accordingly, not only the general scenes were framed, as was customary, but also the domestic objects, which enriched the visual repertoire of the illustrations. Dyer had illustrated the fresh archaeological data in the form of technical drawings and thus made further documentation.

***Pompeii Past and Present* (1884),** A new genre of accounts that developed in the late 19th century combined different representational media. In these, both the photographs showing the actual state of the ruin and the restoration sketches of its original elevation were shown together as a 'set'. An example of this genre is *Pompeii Past and Present,* published in 1884 (Figure 3.8). The book gave not only textual information but was also illustrated with the photographs of both the ruins and their restorations. It included 35 mounted albumen prints on 26 leaves. The book's letterpress was done by Eustace Neville Rolfe and was compiled with the assistance of Fiorelli's work, Dr. Smith's Dictionaries, and Dr. Ramsay's *Manual of Roman Antiquities*. The drawings were made by Luigi Fischetti, the architect, and director of the Naples Municipal School of Arts, on the spot. The authors claimed that the book offered vivid representations of Pompeii and hence left no room for imagination about how it looked in antiquity. In other words, they aimed to provide sufficient information to make the scenes alive. In the introduction part, Rolfe (1884) stated their purpose in using both the actual ruin state of the remains and their reconstructions as such:

> The object of this work is to give the general reader a popular idea of what Pompeii was before it was destroyed by the great eruption. Few people of the many thousands who annually visit the city have the time or the books necessary to enable them to understand what they see in the course of a morning's walk through the ruins, and we believe that to such, a work of this kind will be a real boon, by giving them a definite idea of the town such as they cannot obtain in the course of a cursory visit. Nor will those who have not

seen the city, and whose knowledge of it is confined to that charming work 'The Last Days of Pompeii,' fail to enjoy a study of the localities which will enable them to realize the scenes where the dramatic incidents of that interesting book are laid. (p. III)

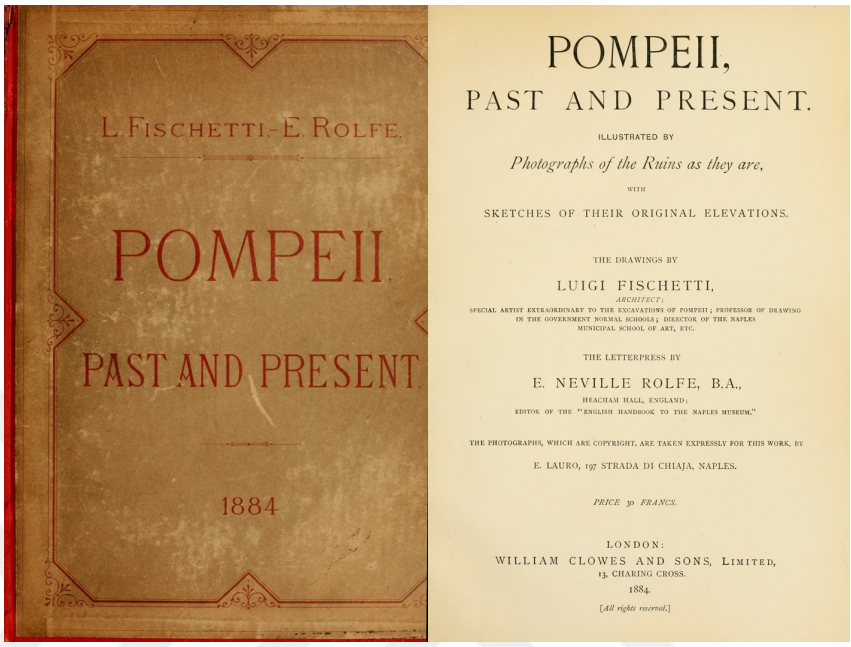


Figure 3. 8 Cover and introductory pages of *Pompeii, Past and Present,* Eustace Neville Rolfe, 1884

First describing the topography and history of Pompeii, the authors delved into the descriptions of the building types that included the temples, the basilica, the baths, the amphitheater, the building of Eumachia, and the private dwellings. They also criticized the non-scientific nature of the early excavations, which they supported by a quotation from Winckelman's observations about the site: "four generations after, we should still be searching in the ruins" (Rolfe, 1884, p. 7). According to them, only after 1860, the matter was taken scientifically at hand.

The Basilica or Law Court, Temple of Venus (Figure 3.9), Temple of Jove and Arch of Nero, Eumachia Building, Lesser Forum and Temple of Hercules, Temple of Fortune, House of the Faun, House of the Balcony (Figure 3.10), Stabian Baths, Temple of Isis, Entrance to the Triangular or Lesser Forum, Gate of Herculaneum, Street of the Tombs, and the Amphitheatre (Figure 3.11) were the buildings that were restored in the form of photographic layouts. Important urban happenings in the life of the ancient city, such as sacrifices, elections, funerals, riots, and destructions were also exemplified and coupled

with the images. The restoration images were done by using the angles captured in the photographs. While the photographs contained few or no people at all, the reconstructions were embellished with many human figures, most likely to animate the scenes.

Figure 3. 9 View of Temple of Venus and its reconstructed image, *Pompeii, Past and Present,* Eustace Neville Rolfe, 1884

Figure 3. 10 View of House of Balcony and its reconstructed image, *Pompeii, Past and Present,* Eustace Neville Rolfe, 1884

Figure 3. 11 View of Amphitheatre and its reconstructed image, *Pompeii, Past and Present,* Eustace Neville Rolfe, 1884

The authors (1884) included a destruction scene at the end of the book and noted that the scenes were represented as accurate as possible. The very last paragraph was reserved for Fiorelli's casting method, which is likely a conscious preference, as it was a groundbreaking method developed in the period when the book was written. The paragraph concluded with statements about the human remains covered with soft liquid mud, and it gave information about the process of covering the remains with plaster:

> This mud completely enveloped the bodies, and, hardening, formed an accurate mould, displaying every feature of the corpse. The flesh gradually wasted away, and the bones remained within the mould made by the bodies. When the hollows were come upon by the excavators the happy idea occurred to Professor Fiorelli to pour in some liquid plaster of Paris, and allow it to harden. When it was hard, the now dry mud was removed from it, and a perfect cast was obtained, consisting of the bones of the deceased Roman citizen, clad no longer in flesh, but in plaster of Paris, which had assumed the exact shape, not only of his face and body, but of every fold of his clothes. (Rolfe, 1884, p. 44)

The idea of concluding the book with the details of the casting method shares the same idea with producing reconstructed images. From ruins to reconstructed views, from flesh to plaster, the book shared an important premise: to reconstruct the life in Pompeii. The context, method, and format used in the book, in fact, is very much in line with the idea of 'recreating the past' which was highly populated in the 19th century via the artistic creations.

What is novel about the book, in addition, is that the 'reconstructed scenes' were used as the supporting visual tools for the narration. By combining and framing the actual state of the buildings and the imaginative reproductions together, the author staged a fictional narration to the readers, and in a similar vein, the page itself gained a 'performative' role. The sequences of the images created visual stimuli and new ways of seeing.

***Pompeii Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding* (1898),** The book was written by Carl Weichardt, a German architect and architectural painter, and published in 1898 is one of the prominent accounts on Pompeii (Figure 3.12). The author mentioned that the book, which provided reconstructed images like *Pompeii, Past and Present,* was written after a guided trip to the site and aimed to provide a partial glimpse into the ancient world:

> Give body to this shadow; to present, through the plastic reconstruction of the temples and the appearance of the dead city, a partial glimpse of the ancient world; to evoke in its reality what is no more than a dream hovering over the ruins; this is the purpose of this little book which will find, in the valley of the Sarno, the places to which it owes its birth. (Weichardt, 1898)

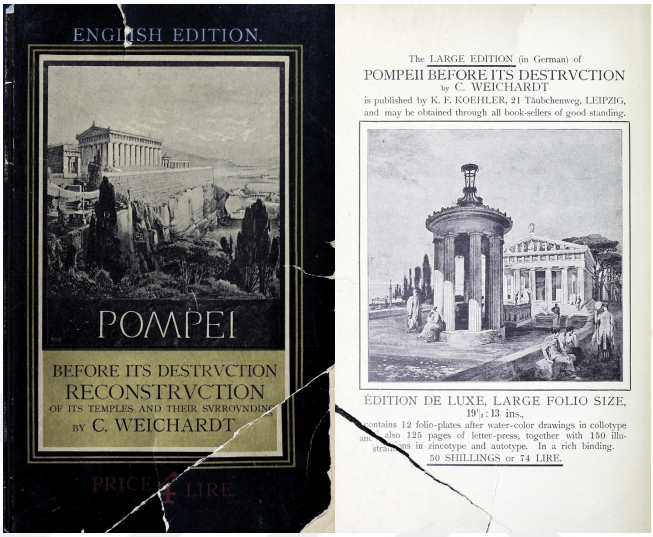


Figure 3. 12 Cover of the book with and an illustrated view, *Pompeii Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding,* Carl Weichardt, 1898

The book contained 12 folio-plates produced after water-color drawings in calotype[57], together with 150 illustrations in zincotype[58] and autotype.[59] The viewing points which were selected for the reconstructions were described in detail. The first chapter starts by describing Pompeii and the landscape, and included such information as the height of the lava-cliff which covered the city after the eruption; the following chapters focus on the temples and their characteristic features. The author also provides personal interpretations of the actual state of the ruins and makes comparisons between the ruins and restored views. An example is the Greek Temple:

> In comparison with such a view, the impression caused to-day is sad in the extreme. All is wrecked and, excepting a few final traces, blotted out and eradicated. The high temple

[57] The early photographic technique was invented by William Henry Fox in the 1830s and patented in 1841. "The calotype was among the first silver-iodized techniques that were created to be utilized as a negative in order to reproduce an image, multiple times from a single source" (James, 2007, p. 60).

[58] Zincotype is a print that was produced from etchings or engravings on zinc.

[59] Autotype is a photographic process for monochrome productions. The pictures are produced in one color or shades of one color by using a carbon pigment.

> is cast down, only the five mighty steps of the foundations thereof, a few column discs and some faint indications of the Cella-walls still rise above the level. (Weichardt, 1898, p. 58)

Similar to the other accounts of its period, the book contains reconstructions based on the same angles captured in the already published photographs. The Temple of Apollo (Figures 3.13, 3.14), Temple of Jupiter, Temple of Fortuna Augusta, Temple of Vespasian, Temple of Isis (Figures 3.15, 3.16), and Greek Temple are among the temples chosen for illustration. The human figures are inserted both in the actual and restored versions. The study differs from the previously produced books in terms of focusing only on temples. The author, in a sentimental mode, concluded the book with his impressions on what was left in the site after the destruction of Pompeii, and defined the ruins as "a depressing and painfully thrilling one":

> When the first curiosity has been satisfied, this wandering through the silent and unpeopled streets, over the uneven lava pavements, from one ruined house into another, soon produces fatigue, combined with a sense of horror, in the presence of the pictures of devastation by which one is surrounded. (Weichardt, 1898, p. 64)

Figure 3. 13 Actual view of Temple of Apollo, *Pompeii Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding*, (Carl Weichardt, 1898, p. 16)

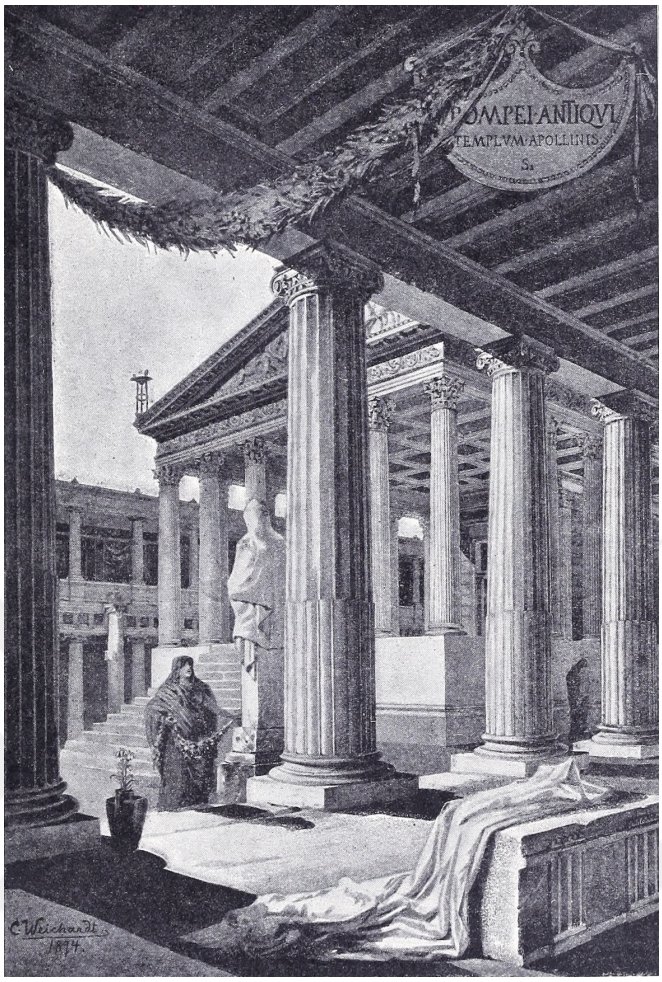


Figure 3. 14 Reconstructed view of Temple of Apollo, *Pompeii Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding,* (Carl Weichardt, 1898, p. 17)

Figure 3. 15 Actual view of Temple of Isis, *Pompeii Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding*, (Carl Weichardt, 1898, p. 52)

Figure 3. 16 Reconstructed view of Temple of Isis, *Pompeii Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding,* (Carl Weichardt, 1898, p. 53)

While Weichardt chose to stage the illustrations together with their reconstructed versions like Rolfe, the book specializes in the sense that it focuses only on one particular building type, the temples.

***

The textual content in the site accounts utilized images to directs the reader's gaze, and the images create the visual stimulus. The increase of the data coming from the excavations had an impact on the style of representations and the usage of visual sources. At the beginning of the 19th century, because the archaeological information at hand was not much; the books were prepared with descriptive texts and included few illustrated images. With more evidence at hand, the authors started to embed imaginative and

'fictional frames' into the texts. Such recreations challenged ways of seeing ancient Pompeii. While staging the aestheticized ruins was still a common theme in the visual media, the reconstructed images resulted in the production of fictional narrations that served to make the past alive. In line with technological progress, the production techniques of the visual materials had also changed. For example, the images used in Hamilton's book were in the form of etchings. The images used by Harding in his 1828 book were drawn on the stone while Dyer's book, which was published in 1867, consisted of illustrations that were in the form of an engraving made on steel and wood. Rolfe's book produced in 1884 featured albumen prints as opposed to the image used in Weichardt's 1898 book, which was produced as water-color drawings in collotype and the illustrations were in zincotype and autotype. In this regard, the representational character of the accounts was not only engaged with the creativity of the authors, but also closely related to the technological development of the 19th century, such as paper-making machinery and the rotary steam press, the reformed postal service, wood-cut illustrations, and cable telegraphy.

3.2.1.2 Architect as Writer: Pompeii Catalogues and Folios

The architect on the site had a leading role in the documentation process of the excavations. The books written by architects, in comparison to the guide books and travel albums illustrated with reconstructions and photographic images, were more scientific in their content as they included archaeological data. The guidebooks combined fiction and reality, whereas the architects prepared detailed maps and architectural plans to document the site. The illustrated images inserted on the pages of the accounts compiled by architects were also produced in a more technical style, showing accurate details from the sites. Therefore, while the guidebooks were filled with reconstructed images and/or photographs produced for a general audience seeking to be informed about Pompeii, the site architects' books targeted a select community who looked for comprehensive and accurate knowledge. The published excavation catalogs and folios, in this respect, include the depictions and descriptions of all the archaeological data, from small size utensils to wall-paintings. The well-known examples of this genre are written by the architects Francois Mazois, Thomas Leverton Donaldson, and Carlo Bonucci.

***Les Ruines de Pompei* (1824),** Francois Mazois published *Les Ruines de Pompei* in 1824, almost fifty years after Hamilton's pioneering work, *Account of the Discoveries at Pompeii: Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London.*[60] The work is considered as the first publication that covers all aspects of architecture in Pompeii (Moorman, 2015). Composed of two volumes, it focuses on architecture and urban planning. Compared to Hamilton's work, the book illustrated architectural details more accurately by presenting drawings of monuments and small details that were not previously published. Mazois provided a detailed architectural description of all the 55 illustration plates that ranged from small house utensils to longer sections on houses and showed such elements as street fountains, details of entrance doors, *lararia*, wall paintings of various styles, floor mosaics, column details, and excavation scenes. With plans, elevations, and sections, the illustrations truthfully portrayed houses, such as House of Pansa, House of Championnet, House of Actaeon, and Villa of Diomedes (Figure 3.17). The views from house entrances are noteworthy as they illustrated vistas through doorways that framed the perspectival views. For instance, those who looked at the illustrated view from the House of Pansa's entrance could see Vesuvius in the act of smoking; the view of the mountain which was located in the background was captured by following the perspective between two Corinthian columns. In the image displaying the elevated entrance of Villa of Diomedes, the view was arranged in order to frame the *peristyle* garden and the vista beyond it. The villa was one the first excavated buildings in Pompeii (1771-74), but featured in books almost a half-century later. Two human figures depicted sitting on the stairs, and a third one standing in the *peristyle* gave reference to the scale of the villa. The third illustration from the House of Championnet also highlighted the strong visual axis between the *fauces* and the garden. Several visualization methods are commonly used in these illustrations. In order to mimic the real conditions of the houses within their environments, the artist portrayed some areas in dark and created an effect of shadow. They also manipulated the light by adding a cloudy or a clear sky in the background.

[60] The well-known French edition of Francois Mazois' study of architecture and topography is included to the sampled English books as it represents a seminal study.

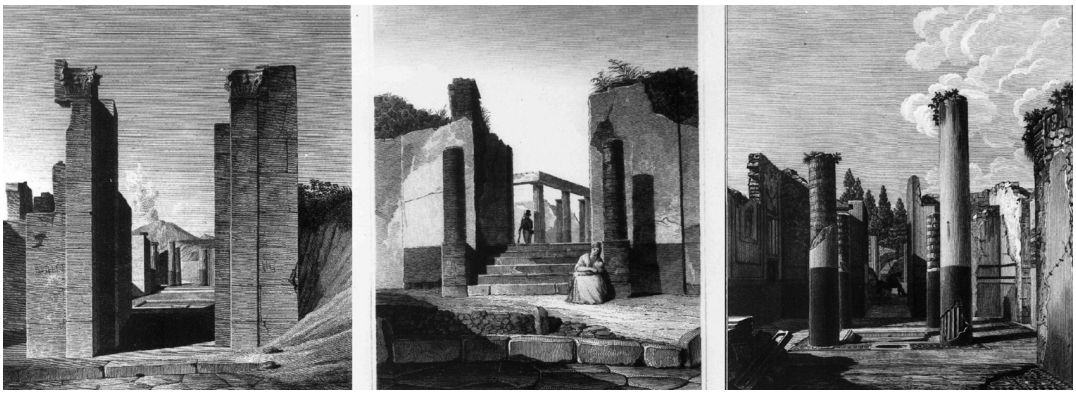


Figure 3. 17 Entrances from the House of Pansa, Villa of Diomedes and the House of Championnet, *Les Ruines de Pompei*, Francois Mazois, 1824

***Pompeii, Illustrated with Picturesque Views* (1827),** Architect Thomas Leverton Donaldson's *Pompeii, Illustrated with Picturesque Views* featured in 1827. The plates of this two-folio volumes were prepared by William Bernard Cooke, from the original drawings of Lieut. Col. Cockburn, of the Royal Artillery. The book included plans and details of both public and domestic edifices, which were recently excavated and gave a descriptive letterpress for each plate. As understood by an anecdote given in the preface that presented the aim of the author, Donaldson wrote this work not only from the eye of an architect but also of a traveler:

> I do not hesitate to present these plates to the public as faithful representations of the different parts of this remarkable and interesting city…My object was to represent Pompeii at large, and in its detailed parts, in their actual, existing state, after the lapse of so many ages, and as the eye of the traveler will now behold them. (Donaldson, 1827)

The book is dedicated to Mazois, and Donaldson (1827, p. 6) privileged *Les Ruines de Pompeii* as 'the superb work' in the list of sources he had used in the book. Compared to Mazois's book, Donalson's work contained more information on the history of Pompeii and Vesuvius, and different than the previously published works it included a map of Vesuvius and a complete plan of the excavated part of the city, taken from the accurate and detailed plan of Monsieur Antoine Bibent, a French Architect, who had prepared it according to his surveys (Figure 3.18). Compared to the current map of Pompeii, Bibent's map visualized approximately 15 percent of the uncovered area (some parts of the regions 6, 7, 8 and Street of Tombs towards to Herculaneum Gate). The *atri*a of the houses, which were accessed from the excavated streets, are also indicated with greater precision than in

the other previously drawn maps. The illustrations in the book, however, are more accurate than those prepared by Mazois. The first chapter of the first volume, "*Forum Nundinarium,*" cataloged the public edifices, the theatres, amphitheater, portico, the Greek Temple, and Temple of Isis. The second chapter gave information related to the Civil Forum and the adjoining edifices, the Grand Forum, Basilica, Temple of Venus, and Temple of Mercury. The second volume contains two chapters that feature the architectural details of the House of Pansa, House of Acteon or Sallust, a festive *triclinium*, Baker's Shop, Liquor Shop, Street Scenes and decorative and constructive details, objects and utensils from the museums, mosaic pavements, gates, tombs and parts of Villa of Diomedes.

Figure 3. 18 Detailed plan of Pompeii, from architect Monsier Antoine Bibent, *Pompeii, Illustrated with Picturesque Views*, Thomas Leverton Donaldson, 1827

***Pompei Descritta* (1827),** In 1827 the Italian architect Carlo Bonucci wrote *Pompei Descritta,* in which he gave reference to such earlier works as *Antiquites de Pompeja* by Piranesi (1804), *Les Ruines de Pompeii* by Mazois (1812), *Viaggio a Pompeii* by Romanelli

(1817), *Pompeiana* by William Gell (1818), and *Wanderungen durch Pompeji* by Luigi Goro (1825) (Figures 3.19, 3.20). A major novelty of the book is that it is not divided into sections and contains relatively few visual materials.

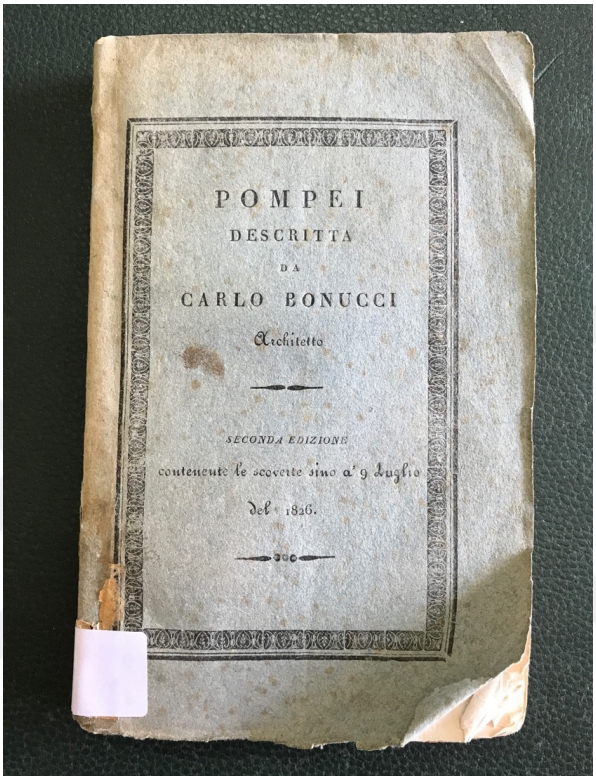


Figure 3. 19 Photograph showing the book cover of *Pompei Descritta*, Author's photograph archive, taken in 2017 at the library of Naples National Archaeological Museum

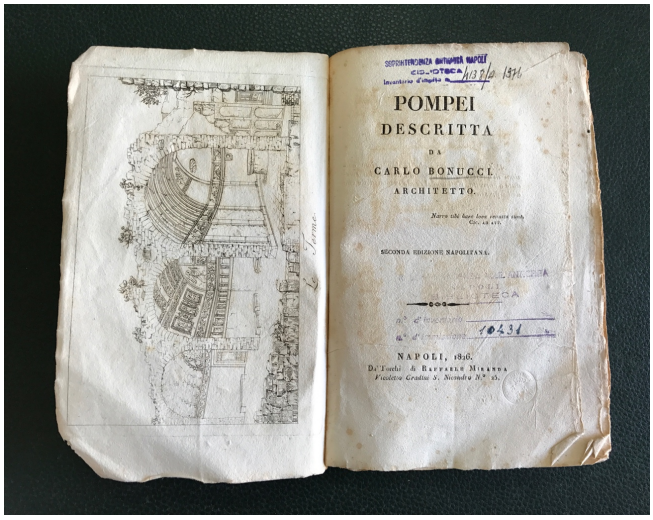


Figure 3. 20 Photograph showing the first pages, *Pompei Descritta*, Author's photograph archive, taken in 2017 at the library of Naples National Archaeological Museum

The production of guidebooks and site accounts reached its peak after Hamilton's book, *Account of the Discoveries at Pompeii: Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London,* was published. Travel literature was, of course, not limited to Pompeii and Vesuvius. Among the other travel accounts published between 18th and 19th c. are also the travel narratives of the Italian Peninsula in general and of Naples as well. The use of new visual materials, such as photographs, changed the way the books were designed and the contents they covered. The visual records of ancient Pompeii in printed media, give an insight about how the representation of the city and its architecture changed, and how the production and dissemination of visual media progressed from hand drawings and sketches to reconstructions and photographs.

3.2.1.3 Guidebooks

The early guidebooks of the 19th century produced to encourage travelers to partake in journeys, and the books, had served to assist them in such matters as how to get around in the region and site and know what was worth seeing. Some of the guides defined the ways of sightseeing complemented with maps and museum and gallery catalogs, and provided notes about the history of monuments and sites, recommended the scenic views, and gave practical advice. Using a guide also provided a practical and even an economic advantage in the sense that the traveler no longer needed the accompaniment of a tutor or guide. The guidebooks, besides, offered up-to-date and selected information. Compared with the scientific accounts which aimed to give as much detailed information as possible on the history and the architecture of the city, the guidebooks were specialized to give information about routes and travel tips to a specific reader- the traveler.

There were several types of guides, according to a bibliographical study made by Brand (1956), among which more than 220 publications were written by English writers on Italy between 1800 to 1850. These guides, apart from helping the travelers and tourists during their visit, became tools of transferring knowledge on Pompeii via the visual representations they contained. The following focuses on the illustrated Pompeii guides which prescribed ways of looking at 'ruins' in the 19th century and encoded a conventional Western view of antiquity:

> The demand for the sight of the real is pre-constructed by the tourist guidebook, or the reading of architectural history, or any of those other conditions of the gaze that characterize the object, like the picturesque or the sublime encoding the object and enabling the sublimation of desire in the now aestheticized object (Burden, 2015, p. 11).

Illustrated Guidebooks, In the 18th century, the guidebooks were prepared according to the European paradigm that advocated traveling for scientific purposes. For the Grand Tour of the first half of the 19th century, the guidebooks played a leading role in creating a passionate and romantic way of 'seeing', which eventually led to the emergence of a 'scenic tourism' (James, 2015). In time, the guidebooks became more elaborate and turned into a sophisticated medium of visuality. The illustrated guidebooks, as such, served as agents to provide a fascinating glimpse of the virtual and visual reality of the ancient past. The following section takes a sample of illustrated guidebooks to discuss how such books had functioned as the visual transmitters of ancient past in between actuality and fiction.

***Rambles in Naples* (1883),** Russell Forbes, a lecturer on Roman antiquities, wrote the archaeological, and historical guide *Rambles in Naples* in 1883.[61] The book was reprinted in 1893 and enriched with maps, plans and illustrations (Figure 3.21). At the preface, the author stressed the need for a practical guide:

> The want of a practical, handy, reliable guide has been long felt by visitors to Naples; and this is offered as a companion to our popular "Rambles in Rome." In this, the same system has been adopted: thus, those visitors who make a long stay in this delightful neighborhood can divide the Rambles to suit their convenience, and those who make a shorter visit can select the things most likely to interest them. (Forbes, 1893)

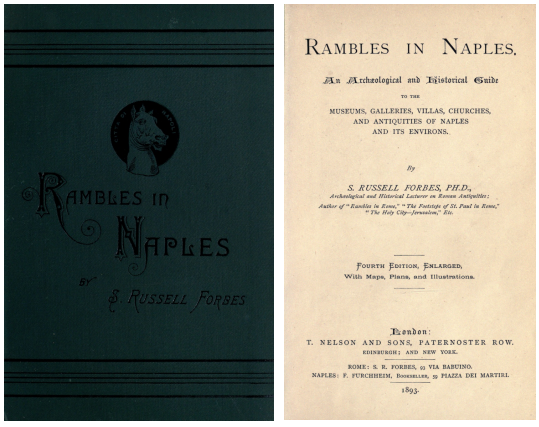


Figure 3. 21 Cover of the book *Rambles in Naples*, Russell Forbes, 1893

[61] He is also the author of *Rambles in Rome* (1882) and *The Footsteps of St. Paul in Rome* (1882).

The book begins with the railway route to Naples and ends with a Neapolitan Directory. It has six chapters, which are all entitled as Rome to Naples, *Ramble 1-2-3-4-5-6*, while the last chapter is named *Visitors' Neapolitan Directory*. In *Ramble* 1, a map of Naples is followed by the ground plan of the National Museum in Naples, and descriptions of the displays in the halls. Pompeii is the subject of *Ramble* 3, which contained a map of the city, a sketch map of its regions, and selected buildings (Figure 3.22). The chapter starts with a discussion on the exact date of the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum, followed by brief information on the history of Pompeii. *The Destruction of Pompeii* section is noteworthy as it includes the letter written by Pliny the Younger to Tacitus.[62] Like in the book *Pompeii Past and Present* (1884) by Eustace Neville Rolfe, the author describes the plaster casting method and specifies the plaster as "Plaster of Paris" in part titled *Synopsis of Principal Sights*. The book, apart from providing information about the previous works done in the site, also gives information on the current excavations. Forbes lists and ranks the finds according to his choice of interest. The plan of the House of Pansa, which was initially excavated in 1810 and later in 1813, 1827 and 1852, is used, for instance, as an example to show the layout of the houses in the city and included several details about the house. The visual content of the book included images of the plaster casts of human bodies, the Temple of Venus, Forum, Temple of Jupiter, Triangular Forum and Temple of Hercules, Amphitheatre, Baths, House of the Tragic Poet, plan of the House of Pansa, Street of Sallust (Figure 3.23), Herculaneum Gate, Street of Tombs, Villa of Diomedes, House of Balcony (Figure 3.24), and Vesuvius.

[62] Pliny the Younger, a lawyer, author and magistrate in ancient Rome, wrote hundreds of letters, of which two were addressed to the Roman historian Tacitus. The first described his uncle Pliny the Elder's journey at the time of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79. This letter is the first detailed account of the eruption.

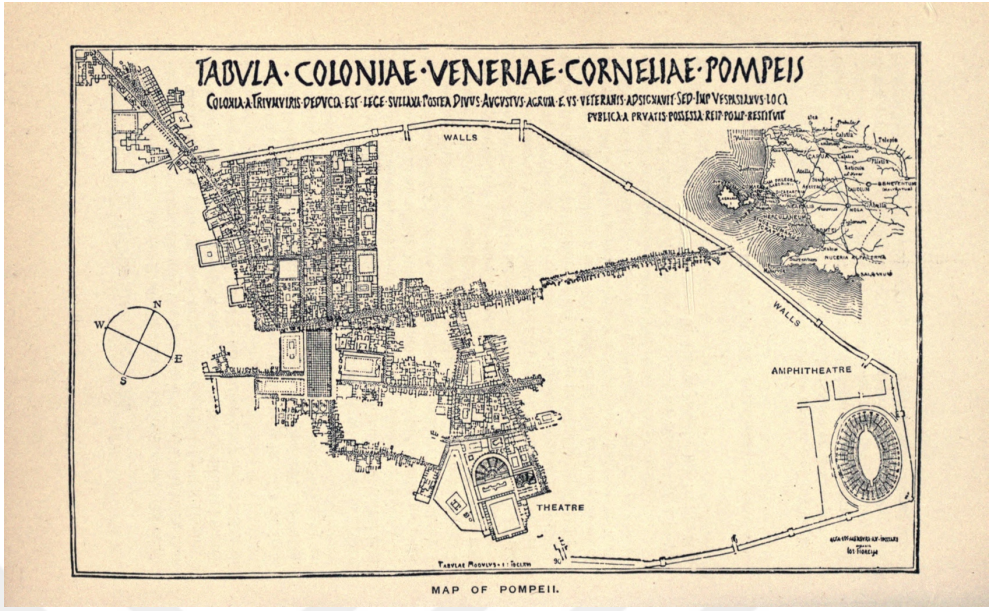


Figure 3. 22 Map of Pompeii from *Rambles in Naples*, Russell Forbes, 1893

Figure 3. 23 View of the Street of Sallust with a group of visitors, *Rambles in Naples*, Russell Forbes, 1893

Figure 3. 24 View of the Street of Balcony, *Rambles in Naples*, Russell Forbes, 1893

The descriptive information on the architectural edifices of Pompeii given in the third chapter includes a section called *The City of the Dead: Impressions,* in which the author expresses his comments on the architecture and life of Pompeii and makes comparisons between Pompeii and his time:

> What lessons might we not still learn from them, and the arrangement of their houses with their pleasant courts, where the dweller could warm himself in the winter's sun, or shade himself from the summer heats, the sparkling fountain refreshing the air around… Even the houses of the poorer class are nicely if inexpensively frescoed, looking cheerful and comfortable; and, after being buried so long, are far cleaner than many not a thousand miles away. Iron bedsteads and many domestic utensils show that we have not made much progress. In fact, they put more art into ordinary life and things in that easy-going time than we do in this express age. (Forbes, 1893, p. 86)

Ramble 4, gives information about the funicular which reached the top of the Vesuvius and describes its condition:

> The funicular railway up to the crater of Vesuvius is in full working order, and is a great success…The motion also is very gentle, and the effect is magnificent, if not, indeed, grandly awful, as, when hanging mid- way against the side of the cone, one looks from the window directly upwards or downwards along the line, which, its slight incline alone excepted, is perfectly perpendicular. Dismounting at a little station at the summit, one can scarcely be said to clamber to the edge of the crater, for the company have cut a convenient winding path, tip which all, except the aged, heavy, or feeble, can walk with ease. For the exceptions, the usual helps and chairs can be obtained. (Forbes, 1893, p. 89)

The book was based on the observations made by the author on the site, and thus is a distinguished work in terms of giving the subjective descriptions of the author. Despite being a scientific work, through the impressive usage of the language and images, it was easy to read and follow. In a similar vein, the images are illustrated more graphically with crosshatching lines that make the visuals abstract. It is also seen that the corners of the frames are rounded, to give them a circular form. The scenes in this respect look like paintings framed within a passepartout. Furthermore, some of them were populated with human figures who are all well-dressed and articulated with such details as a cloudy sky, flying birds, and the moon, such as the view from the Street of Sallust, which showed a crossing with a public fountain. The artist most likely aimed to create an emotional, even a romantic setting. Such details distinguish the book as an example that featured the framed scenes captured in the ancient city.

***Guide to Pompeii, Illustrated* (1900),** At the beginning of the 20th century, illustrated guide books were still produced and published by the Scafati press. *Guide to Pompeii*, *Illustrated,* one of the most popular guidebooks on Pompeii, was also published by Scafati in 1900 (Figure 3.25). The book which was illustrated by Francesco Morlicchio aimed to provide the reader with first insight information about Pompeii and its architectural features for a single day trip.

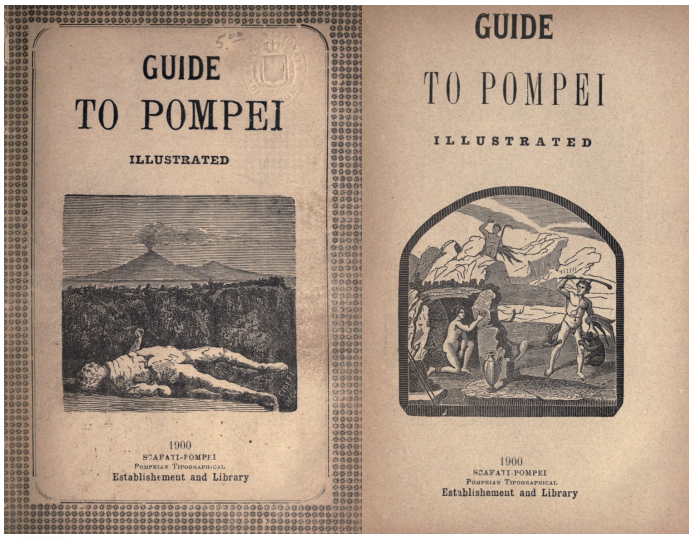


Figure 3. 25 Cover of the book illustrated with a human cast, *Guide to Pompeii, Illustrated*, 1900

The cover of the book featured a human cast, behind which was the view of smoking Vesuvius. The titles of the chapters were specified according to the region map of Pompeii, and the route given took this map as its reference. The itinerary given followed a route from the main gate to the street of the tombs; the last building to be visited on the route was the amphitheater. The addresses of the buildings were given in the form of region and island numbers, such as Region VIII - Island I - Decumanus Minor for the Basilica. Like *Rambles in Naples* published in 1883, the book utilized more graphical representation methods to illustrate the site (Figure 3.26). The visuals in this regard were prepared with the abstract depictions. The first visual in the part *Historical Notice* depicts an eruption scene which represents the last day of the city, showing suffering human figures, and erupting Vesuvius at the back. *The Preliminary Notice* part, unlike the other guides, defines the principal location of the houses in the city and concludes with a map that shows the sketch plan of the regions and islands. The map aimed for the visitors to orient themselves in the site easily and to organize their schedules in a limited time. The guide also helped the visitors about the selection of buildings to be visited in a single day. Unlike other guidebooks that provided an archaeological itinerary for visitors; however, this book lacked contemporary scientific information about the excavations. The guide presented the actual state of the ruins descriptively and did not include any personal comment, criticism, observation, and opinion.

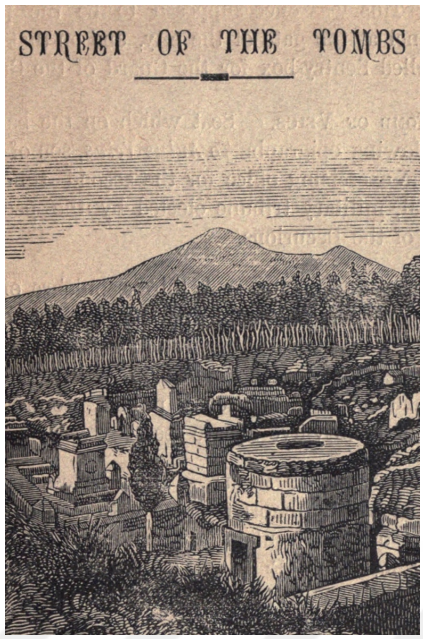


Figure 3. 26 Graphically depicted general views, *Guide to Pompeii, Illustrated*, 1900

The selection of a human cast for the book cover is undoubtedly a different choice in comparison to the covers of earlier books. Specific themes seemed to have gained popularity in time, such as the human casts that displayed the dying moments of the Pompeians at the time of the eruption. They were among the most interesting unearthed objects for travelers. The casts indeed became an element of the visual grammar of the site as soon as they were put into the exhibition.[63] Because the book encapsulated the travel time into a single day, it addressed 'mass tourism' based on seeing a variety of attractions in a limited time. This type of travel was conceptualized in a different format from the more scientific tourism that took place between the 18th and the first half of the 19th century.

***A Lightning Spark for Pompeian Visitors* (1929),** The illustrated guidebook *A Lightning Spark for Pompeian Visitors* is published in 1929. The book, which was designed in the form of a pamphlet, was written by Vittorio Macchioro in Naples. On the cover of the book was the cast of a dog, which was unearthed during the excavations at that time

[63] The casts of humans and animals are still exhibited in Pompeii. There are among the most notable items of the open-air exhibition, and compared to other excavated objects, receive more attention from the visitors.

(Figure 3.27). In the preface, the author mentioned that "this pamphlet is not intended at all to be regarded as a 'Guide to Pompeii'":

> No spot in the world is better adapted than Pompeii for this intimate penetration of Roman civilization, for in no other place can you observe and grasp it so completely as you can in Pompeii. And yet the books on Pompeii which are mostly read, - though often erudite enough and very interesting - present the dead City in its purely exterior aspect and from a strictly artistic and historic point of view, not troubling to lead the visitors beyond this cold and dead crust for him to reach up to and grasp the antique soul in all that it contains - be it good or ill - of real and live matter for us. (Macchioro, 1929, pp. 5-6)

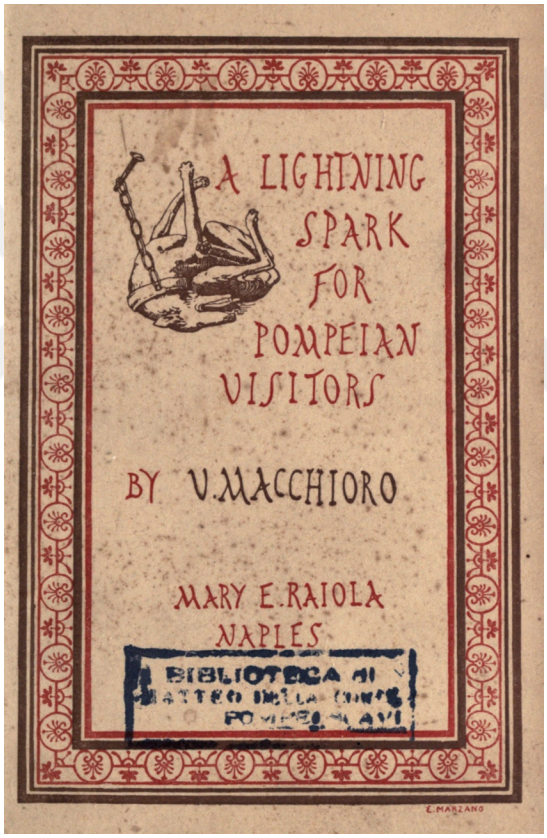


Figure 3. 27 Cover of the book with an illustrated animal cast, *A Lightning Spark for Pompeian Visitors*, Vittorio Macchioro, 1929

Macchioro aimed to give some prompting ideas to the visitors, thus named the book 'a kind of lighting spark,' and used the reconstructed images which were already published in the earlier books. The first illustration, like in the other guides, shows a destruction scene of Pompeii. All the illustrations are coupled with such emotional sentences, like, "The search for beauty dominates everywhere" (Macchioro, 1929, p. 19); this sentence

was used for the restored *atrium* view featured in William Gell's famous book, *Pompeiana.*[64] Gell, Fischetti (Figure 3.28), Weichardt, Couture (Figure 3.29), Gerome, Netti, Forti, and Muzzioli are the sources from which Macchioro collected the visuals and combined them in his work.[65] The introductory paragraphs contain several personal comments in the form of comparisons between the "Pompeians" and "us", and demonstrates that Pompeii had been viewed by the author in a more subjective manner, compared to the other similar books. One other noticeable difference from the other similar book works, is the section titles which are organized thematically; *The best way to understand Pompei, The very soul of Pompei, How did the Pompeians view life?, What was the Pompeians' faith?, and How did the Pompeians consider death?*

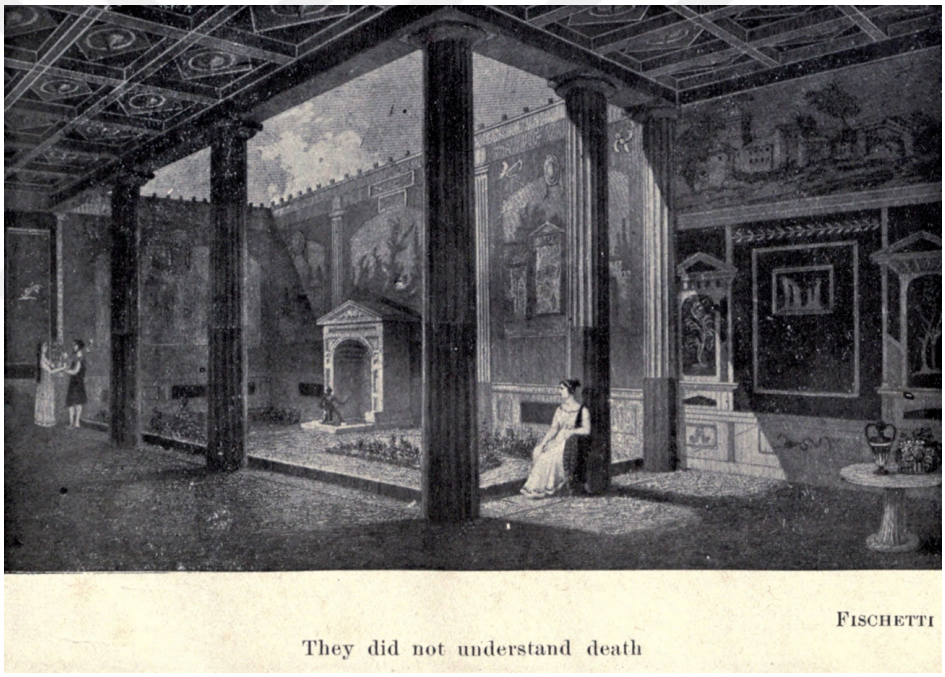


Figure 3. 28 Reconstructed interior scene, *A Lightning Spark for Pompeian Visitors*, Vittorio Macchioro, 1929

[64] The subsequent version of William Gell's book *Pompeiana* was first published in 1832.

[65] Fischetti's illustrations were used in Neville Rolfe's book *Pompeii, Past and Present,* published in 1884. Carl Weichardt's book *Pompeii Before Destruction: Reconstruction of the Temples and Surroundings* was produced in 1898. The oil on canvas painting, *The Romans of the Decadence,* was painted by Thomas Couture in 1847. Jean-Leon Gerome, was the painter of *Pollice Verso* in 1872. Francesco Netti, painted *Gladiatorial Combat During a Dinner at Pompeii* in 1880. Edouardo Ettore Forti painted several Pompeian scenes circa between 1880-1920 including *Carpet Merchant in Pompeii, The Carpet Seller, Pompeians Gathered at a well, Pompeian Love Song, Pompeian Lulaby, The Road to Pompeii, Roman Storyteller in a Pompeian interior,* and *Veduta di Pompei.* Giovanni Muzzioli painted *In the Temple of Bacchus* in 1881, which was used as a visual material in the book *A Lightning Spark for Pompeian Visitors,* published in 1929.

Figure 3. 29 Reconstructed interior scene with human figures, *A Lightning Spark for Pompeian Visitors*, Vittorio Macchioro, 1929

Macchioro (1929) had put forward that Pompeii was indeed different from how it appeared to the observer at first sight, and to understand Pompeii one had to look for details and search for its scientific and artistic value. According to him, to learn and observe most, all tourists had to look for the most characteristic houses and the monuments.

The visual sources of the book were collected from various other guidebooks and works of painters. The book cover depicting an animal cast is reminiscent of the cover of the Scafati Guide to Pompeii, which also displayed a human cast. By illustrating one of the iconic representational objects from the ancient site, the two examples, taken together, show that the book covers were designed to call the reader's attention. The illustrated images used in the book contained several human figures, not only to give a scale to the buildings, as was the case in the photographs but rather to populate a 'spectacle' on the daily life, architecture, and domestic interiors of Pompeii. The images were displayed in a more detailed way and showed reconstructed scenes from daily life. It is clear that the book did not aim to transfer the textual knowledge via a documentary type of visuals. The most outstanding characteristic of the book is the 'reconstructed scenes', which opened ground for the combination of fact and fiction.

***Guidebooks with Fiction- Three Hours in Pompeii* (1907),** A completely different guidebook was written by N. Scotti and published in 1907 (Figure 3.30). The word "real" used in the title refers to the content of the book, which combines scientific information and fiction together for the first time. The fictional aspect of the book comes from the usage of the novel *The Last Days of Pompeii.* The word 'harmony' in the title underlines the mutual use of fictive and actual in a complementary combination, which is reflected in the sequence of the pages as well. The title of the book was given such that it caught the readers' attention at first sight, and it outlined the essentials for a short visit to the site. The main premise behind is that it promised an actual and an easy to use content, that is, a kind of documentary. The visuals chosen to depict the ruins do not vary and composed of only photographs; there are no illustrations, reconstructed images, or drawings in the book.

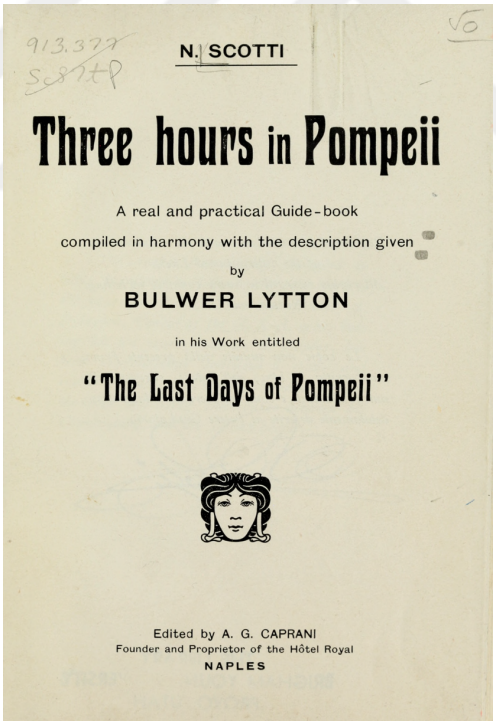
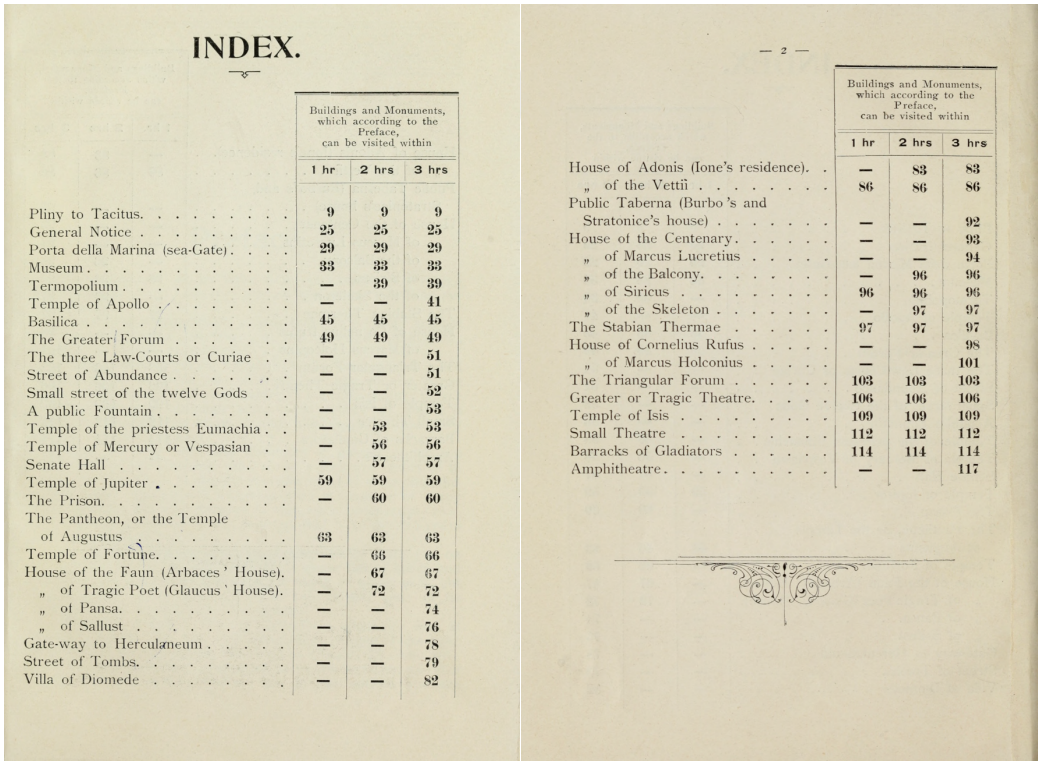


Figure 3. 30 The cover page of the book, *Three Hours in Pompeii,* N. Scotti, 1907

The index of the book is placed before the preface, and the subjects are categorized according to the time spans required to visit different parts of the site; its practicality comes from such details like time management (Figure 3.31). He (1907) emphasized that

because the books which gave information about Pompeii's origin and history had already been published and read, the author avoided the useless repetitions Scotti (1907) also informed why he included the novel 'The Last Days of Pompeii':

> We have taken the opportunity of including in our Guide-book all the most interesting paragraphs of that splendid work, Bulwer Lytton's, The Last Days of Pompeii, which refer to monuments, houses, streets etc.: so that the visitor in going around the ruins with our book, not only can take a greater interest, (than he generally does with all other Guide-books published up to now), but can mentally picture the Romans, and realize what is described and related in that classic work. (p. 6)



INDEX.

	Buildings and Monuments, which according to the Preface, can be visited within		
	1 hr	2 hrs	3 hrs
Pliny to Tacitus	9	9	9
General Notice	25	25	25
Porta della Marina (sea-Gate)	29	29	29
Museum	33	33	33
Termopolium	—	39	39
Temple of Apollo	—	—	41
Basilica	45	45	45
The Greater Forum	49	49	49
The three Law-Courts or Curiae	—	—	51
Street of Abundance	—	—	51
Small street of the twelve Gods	—	—	52
A public Fountain	—	—	53
Temple of the priestess Eumachia	—	53	53
Temple of Mercury or Vespasian	—	56	56
Senate Hall	—	57	57
Temple of Jupiter	59	59	59
The Prison	—	60	60
The Pantheon, or the Temple of Augustus	63	63	63
Temple of Fortune	—	66	66
House of the Faun (Arbaces' House)	—	67	67
„ of Tragic Poet (Glaucus' House)	—	72	72
„ of Pansa	—	—	74
„ of Sallust	—	—	76
Gate-way to Herculaneum	—	—	78
Street of Tombs	—	—	79
Villa of Diomede	—	—	82

	Buildings and Monuments, which according to the Preface, can be visited within		
	1 hr	2 hrs	3 hrs
House of Adonis (Ione's residence)	—	83	83
„ of the Vettii	86	86	86
Public Taberna (Burbo's and Stratonice's house)	—	—	92
House of the Centenary	—	—	93
„ of Marcus Lucretius	—	—	94
„ of the Balcony	—	96	96
„ of Siricus	96	96	96
„ of the Skeleton	—	97	97
The Stabian Thermae	97	97	97
House of Cornelius Rufus	—	—	98
„ of Marcus Holconius	—	—	101
The Triangular Forum	103	103	103
Greater or Tragic Theatre	106	106	106
Temple of Isis	109	109	109
Small Theatre	112	112	112
Barracks of Gladiators	114	114	114
Amphitheatre	—	—	117

Figure 3. 31 Index of the book, *Three Hours in Pompeii,* N. Scotti, 1907

The book began with the letter sent by Pliny the Younger to Tacitus, included in the part entitled *The Destruction of Pompeii.* It is followed by *General Notice* that provided information about the general arrangement of the houses in Pompeii. This section provided information about *Porta Della Marina*, Museum, *Thermopolium*, Temple of Apollo, Basilica, Greater Forum, Street of Abundance, Small Street of the Twelve Gods, Temple of the Priestess Eumachia, Temple of Mercury or Vespasian, Senate Hall, Temple of Jupiter, prison, Temple of Augustus, Temple of Fortune, Gateway to Herculaneum, Street of

Tombs, Stabian Thermae, Triangular Forum, Greater or Tragic Theatre, Temple of Isis, Smaller or Comic Theatre, Barracks of the Gladiators, and the Amphitheatre, for which the excavation dates, region, and *insula* numbers are also given. The author used Lytton's book as a source for the examples of private architecture and defined the houses according to the owners/characters in the book *The Last Days of Pompeii*. The House of the Faun (House of Arbaces in the book) (Figure 3.32), House of the Tragic Poet (House of Glaucus in the book) (Figure 3.33), House of Pansa, House of Sallust, Villa of Diomedes (House of Julia in the book), House of Adonis (House of Ione in the book), House of the Vettii, House of the Centenary, House of Marcus Lucretius, House of the Balcony, House of Siricus, House of the Skeleton, House of Cornelius Rufus, and House of Marcus Holconius are among the examples of domestic architecture briefly explained in the book with quotations extracted from *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Indeed, the buildings which took part in Lytton's book are coupled with the paragraphs from the book. This method of coupling the given information with quotations from another book is used for almost all the buildings:

> Note. According to Lytton's work, Sallust read the letter, sent by Nydia, a little before Glaucus and the lion were taken into the arena. Readers will remember that Sallust lost no time in saving Calenus from the subterranean prison into which he was thrown by Arbaces. He arrived just at the moment when the assembly was momentarily awaiting the death of Glaucus! The following extract from The Last Days of Pompeii refers to this episode:
>
> > Remove the Athenian! he cried; haste he is innocent!
> > Arrest Arbaces the Egyptian. He is the murderer of Apaecides. Art thon mad, O Sallust! said the praetor, rising from his seat. What means this raving?
> > Remove the Athenian! Quick! or his blood be on your head. Praetor, delay, and you answer with your own life to the Emperor! I bring with me the eye- witness to the death of the priest Apaecides. Room there-stand back- there he sits! Room there for the priest Calenous!
> > (Lord Lytton's Last Days of Pompeii Book V. Ch. IV.)
>
> But Vesuvius, giving, in that instant, the signal for the end of Pompeii, set free prisoners and beasts! - patricians and slaves- The earthquake! the rain of boiling water with the dense darkness, obliterated all social distinctions! In that horrible upheaval of nature lasting three days, Pompeii, and many other flourishing cities, were buried beneath the ashes, and all traces of them lost, under this new surface of fire!... (Scotti, 1907, p. 119)

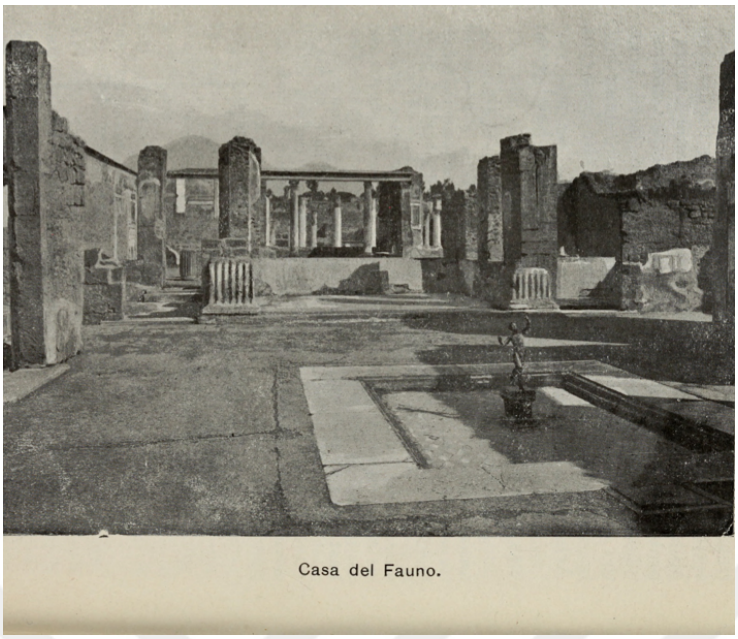


Figure 3. 32 Photograph showing the House of the Faun, *Three Hours in Pompeii,* N. Scotti, 1907

Figure 3. 33 Photograph showing House of the Tragic Poet, *Three Hours in Pompeii,* N. Scotti, 1907

The book used only the most recent photographs of the buildings. Unlike other guides, however, the photographs contained few humans as posing in front of the ruins. The first image of the book is a scene of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, and was labeled as "first symptoms of the eruption of 79 A.D." It is followed by a panoramic photograph of the site. Many of the photographs used are the copies of the already published. But there are also photographs showing the workers at the act of digging and excavating, and those

from the museum which are inserted on the pages. A schematic plan is used as a reference to show the general arrangement of the houses. In addition, three topographical plans of the ruins are given in a pocket at back cover; it is noted that the maps enabled the visitors to see 'the most interesting' places. This kind of hybrid product, which combined the novel with guide and text with the photograph, demonstrated the targeted interaction between the verbal, visual, and material.

***Handbooks, Baedeker's Southern Italy And Sicily* (1867)** Handbooks are the guides that were written on the purpose of giving practical information to the readers. The handbook on Italy, which was well-known in its period, was published by Karl Ludwig Johannes Baedeker (1801-1859) in 1867. Baedeker was the founder of a German publishing house who set the standards of guidebooks for the use of the tourists. He wrote and published books only about the places he had visited. In 1836, he published *The Traveller's Manual of Conversations in Four Languages, English, French, German, and Italian, with Vocabulary, Short Questions Etc.* The book contained lists of vocabulary and several sentences in order to help travelers to communicate. The British travelers could purchase the book from the Baedeker's bookshop in Koblenz, on their way to Switzerland. The manual gained an immense success and many editions are published. The detailed city maps, the actuality of information, and visuals, and practical usability of Baedeker's books were appreciated by the travelers. The first Baedeker travel guide in English appeared in 1861, after Karl Baedeker's death. Titled *Baedeker's Southern Italy And Sicily: A Handbook for Travelers* the book gave information about the hotels, routes, transportation schedules, and architecture, included few images, and its third part was reserved for Southern Italy and Sicily. A site plan showing enumerated buildings is accompanied by the architectural layout of the House of Pansa (Figure 3.34), which is chosen as the representative example of domestic architecture in Pompeii. It gave information on the urban layout and houses, decoration, and construction techniques. It highlighted the following edifices: the walls, shops, Basilica, Temple of Venus, Forum, Temple of Mercury, Temple of Jupiter, Temple of Augustus, *Thermae*, House of the Tragic Poet, House of Pansa, House of Sallust, Herculaneum Gate, Street of the Tombs, Villa of Diomedes, House of Meleager, *Fullonica*, House of the Faun, House of Marcus Lucretius, House of Epidius Rufus, House of Siricus, House with the Balcony, Forum Triangular, Great and Small Theatres, Temple of

Esculapius, Temple of Isis and Amphitheatre. Baedeker (1867) explained how his guides oriented the visitors on the site as such:

> The guides usually conduct visitors from the forum to the E. into the Strada dell' Abbondanza, and to the theatres and Amphitheatre, and then return through the street Augustales to the Fortuna street, where they keep their stock of photographs and souvenirs. They next show the street which is now in course of being excavated, running towards the Vesuvius gate, and beyond it the Mercuries street, and they end with the Herculaneum gate and the street of Tombs. (p. 124)

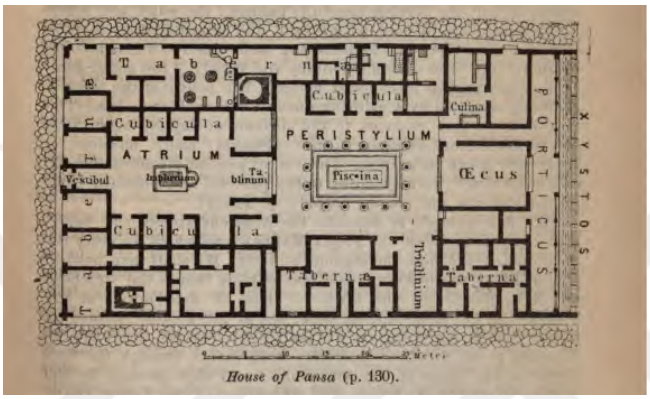


Figure 3. 34 Plan of the House of Pansa, *Baedeker's Southern Italy And Sicily: A Handbook for Travelers*, Karl Ludwig Johannes Baedeker, 1867

3.2.2 Traveler Accounts

The travelers collected their site experiences in personal accounts, which constitute a genre in travel literature. These accounts are often named as travelogues and had many forms; they could be produced as a diary, an album or an illustrated book, which consisted of illustrated images and/or photographs depicting the travel. The authorship of these publications is diverse, ranging from the books written by men and women who made personal journeys and the journals of navigators and explorers (Liedke, 2018). The travelers transferred their first-hand experience and the knowledge they accessed in the sites to the readers through texts and richly illustrated visuals. In this sense, the traveler accounts included detailed information about the sites and the people and the customs of whom the travelers had encountered. The travelogues and travel albums were produced both by travelers and photographers. In the latter case, they assumed, in addition to a site-promotion function, a commercial and consumption value as well.

3.2.2.1 Travelogues

The travelogue refers to a genre that consists of the narrative texts that depict a travel. Before printed and became available for the public, the travelogue remained as a private account, giving information about the visited public places. The travelers' experiences were rendered through the images, which enabled them to stage a play on a thematic travel in a 'foreign setting'. The travel accounts had a similar structure in which narratives were constructed to display memory. As autobiographical works, the travelogues constructed their narratives, and it was excepted the readers to fill the narrative gaps (Behdad, 2013). The travelogue opened a subjective ground to the author, who in general, established their opinions in the form of linking them to oppositions and dualities; such as 'the past and the present', 'classical and modern', 'harmony and chaos', and 'the south and the north'. Ali Behdad (1994) in *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* has suggested that in the middle of the 19th century, the travelogue was replaced by the tourist guide. He argues that the difference between the two types of travel writing lay on the 'situation of the speaking subject'. While the travelogue directly addressed its author, the tourist guide was prepared under the authority of an editor or a publisher (Behdad, 1994; Byerly, 2013). Since the guidebooks were not personally authored in the same way the travelogues were, they used a more descriptive tone. The travelogue, whereas, was as a personal fabrication, and its tone was the first-person subject 'I', which allowed the author to narrate experiences in a more subjective, imaginative, and creative way. This creativity resulted in the production of a variety of representations that shaped the visual index of the books.

***Italian Pictures* (1870),** Samuel Manning (1821-1881), a baptist minister, author, editor, and traveler, composed the illustrated book *Italian Pictures* in 1870 (Figure 3.35). Manning visited England, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Egypt, and America and wrote and edited a series of richly illustrated books describing his travel adventures and the places he had visited in the late 1800s. *Italian Pictures* included chapters arranged with such titles as 'Rome and the 'Romans', 'Naples and Pompeii', 'Florence, Pisa and Genoa' and 'Northern Italy'. At the beginning of the book Manning (1870) commented on the changing nature of modern travel:

> Revisiting Italy after an absence of some years, one is constantly struck by the fact that if modern travel has gained immensely in speed, comfort, and punctuality, it has lost a good deal in picturesqueness and variety… Travelling now-a-days is apt to be come tedious in its monotony. Its mechanical regularity leaves little room for adventure. Railways are alike all over Europe, and the Italian *ferrovie* differ from those of other countries only in their intolerable slowness. The *stazione* at Capua or at Pompeii might be a station at Wapping, but for its greater dirt and discomfort. (p. 11)

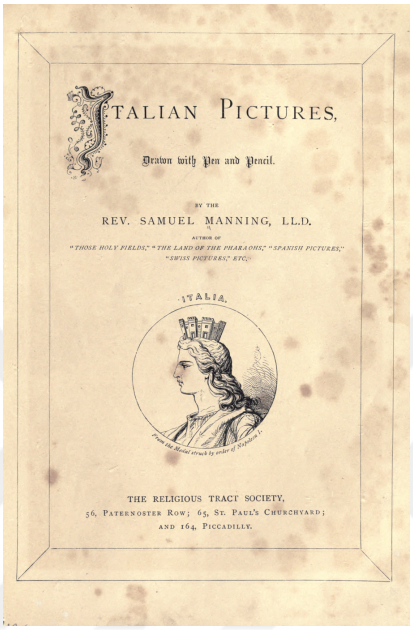
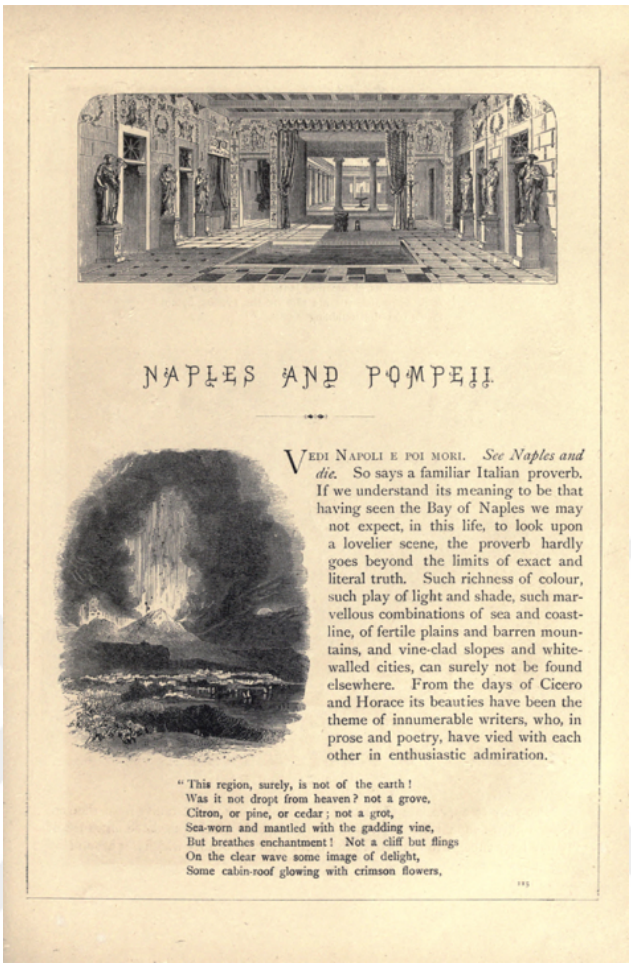


Figure 3. 35 Introductory page*, Italian Pictures*, Samuel Manning, 1870

The first page of the 2nd Chapter, *Naples and Pompeii,* starts with a visual, the reconstruction of the *atrium* of the House of Pansa placed above the title, and the text begins with the well-known Italian proverb *VEDI NAPOLI E POI MORI* (See Naples and Die) (Figure 3.36). The second image, which is placed on the same page, depicts the eruption of Vesuvius. Both images are among the most illustrated scenes from Pompeii and must have been chosen for a specific reason, most likely to capture the attention of the reader. The introductory sentences praise the beauties of Naples and convey a positive message about the city. The author, however, would make a harsh criticism on the architecture of Naples in the following pages:

> Apart from the beauty of its site, and the magnificent collection of works of ancient art in the *Museo*, there is not very much in Naples itself to attract or detain the visitor. The remains of classical and medieval antiquity are few and unimportant. Its churches are devoid of architectural merit, and their decorations are in the worst possible taste. (Manning, 1870, p. 123)



NAPLES AND POMPEII.

VEDI NAPOLI E POI MORI. *See Naples and die.* So says a familiar Italian proverb. If we understand its meaning to be that having seen the Bay of Naples we may not expect, in this life, to look upon a lovelier scene, the proverb hardly goes beyond the limits of exact and literal truth. Such richness of colour, such play of light and shade, such marvellous combinations of sea and coast-line, of fertile plains and barren mountains, and vine-clad slopes and white-walled cities, can surely not be found elsewhere. From the days of Cicero and Horace its beauties have been the theme of innumerable writers, who, in prose and poetry, have vied with each other in enthusiastic admiration.

"This region, surely, is not of the earth!
Was it not dropt from heaven? not a grove,
Citron, or pine, or cedar; not a grot,
Sea-worn and mantled with the gadding vine,
But breathes enchantment! Not a cliff but flings
On the clear wave some image of delight,
Some cabin-roof glowing with crimson flowers,

Figure 3. 36 Introductory page of the chapter *Naples and Pompeii*, with illustrated interior view of House of Pansa and view towards Vesuvius, *Italian Pictures*, (Manning, 1870, p. 113)

An illustrated image of the general view of Pompeii is also given in the chapter, most likely to share the first impression of the author upon entering the city as a traveler with the readers:

> But we must leave Naples and proceed to Pompeii. It is with a strange feeling that one goes to the railway-station and asks for a return ticket to a city which was in its glory when our Lord was upon earth, which passed out of existence when the Apostle John was yet living, and which is now being disentombed after an interment of eighteen hundred years. Stranger still is it to step out of the train into Pompeii itself, and in a few second find oneself in the silent streets of the long-buried city. (Manning, 1870, p. 138)

The chapter is followed with the panoramas and views of Naples (Figure 3.37), as well as items that came from Pompeii and Herculaneum and kept in the collection of Naples Archaeological Museum. A general view of Pompeii was included among the visuals in

the book with a note mentioning that it was reproduced from a photograph. The panoramic photographs showing the looming Vesuvius at the background were a popular theme among the photographers, like Giorgio Sommer and Edmond Behles. The illustration was probably based on the photograph taken ca.1865 by the Sommer&Behles studio, which was founded by the partnership of Sommer and Behles. The illustration, which was a detailed drawing made use of perspective, light, and shadow to offer the viewer a snapshot that almost converged to the reality in photographs. The Vesuvius Gate (excavated in 1811) is the focal point in the illustration while the Vesuvius Street leading to the gate divides the composition into two. Each half displays the ruined state of the architectural fabric in Region 5. The gate, depicted almost 50 years after its first discovery, offers a frame within a panorama opening towards Vesuvius. The tiny human figures placed in the composition and illustrated among the ruins shows that the intention of the author was to present Pompeii not as a 'dead city' but rather a live one; the illustration in this respect manifested that the resurrected city was now visited and experienced.

Figure 3. 37 General View of Pompeii produced from a photograph, *Italian Pictures*, (Manning, 1870, p. 138)

After introducing the city, the book continues with the images of major public buildings, selected houses, street scenes and casts of dead bodies which include; Gate of Nola and Gate of Herculaneum, Amphitheatre, Small Theatre, *peristyle* of the House of the Questor, baker's oven, *tepidarium* of the Public Baths, garden and fountain of the House of Lucretius, reconstructed view from the *atrium* of House of Pansa (Figure 3.38). The chapter also gives brief information about the architectural features and artworks, especially the graffiti found on the walls. The author summarizes his impressions of Pompeii in two sentences that highlight the perceived duality between ancient and modern: "Our first thought in visiting a gallery of antiquities is, How ancient! - our second, How modern! Nowhere is this more, true than in Pompeii" (Manning, 1870, p. 143).

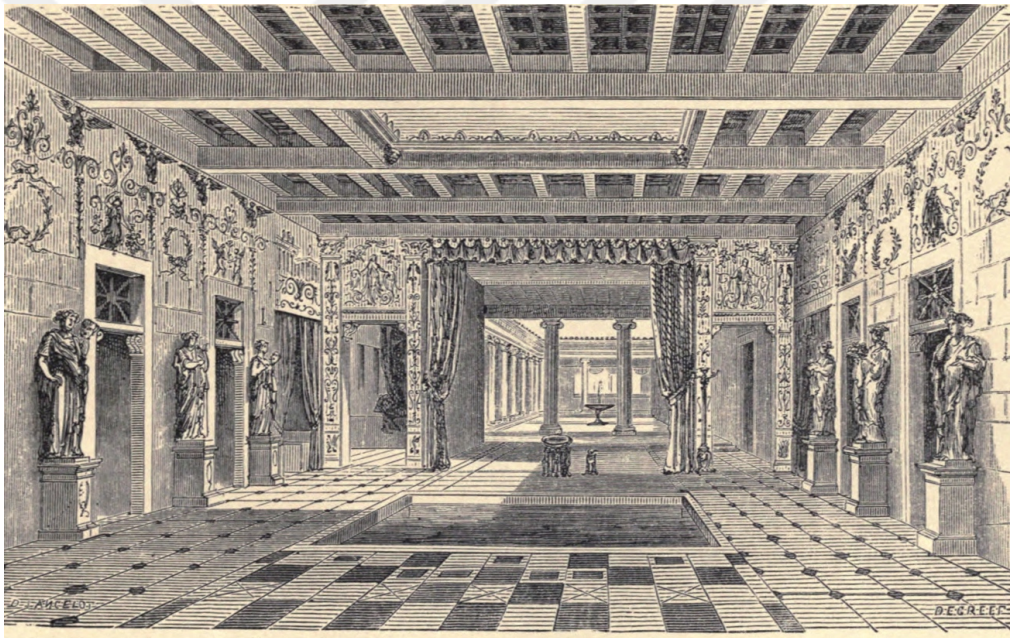


Figure 3. 38 Restored view from the interior of House of Pansa, *Italian Pictures*, (Manning, 1870, p. 151)

The illustrations which were drawn by pen and pencil were enriched with human figures, like the panorama illustration, to give a vivid sense of being in various Pompeian environments (Figure 3.39). Manning highlighted the scientific explorations in the site by giving basic information about the excavation processes, like clearing a street, searching for remains, carting away the rubbish, and the casting technique of Fiorelli, all illustrated by images.

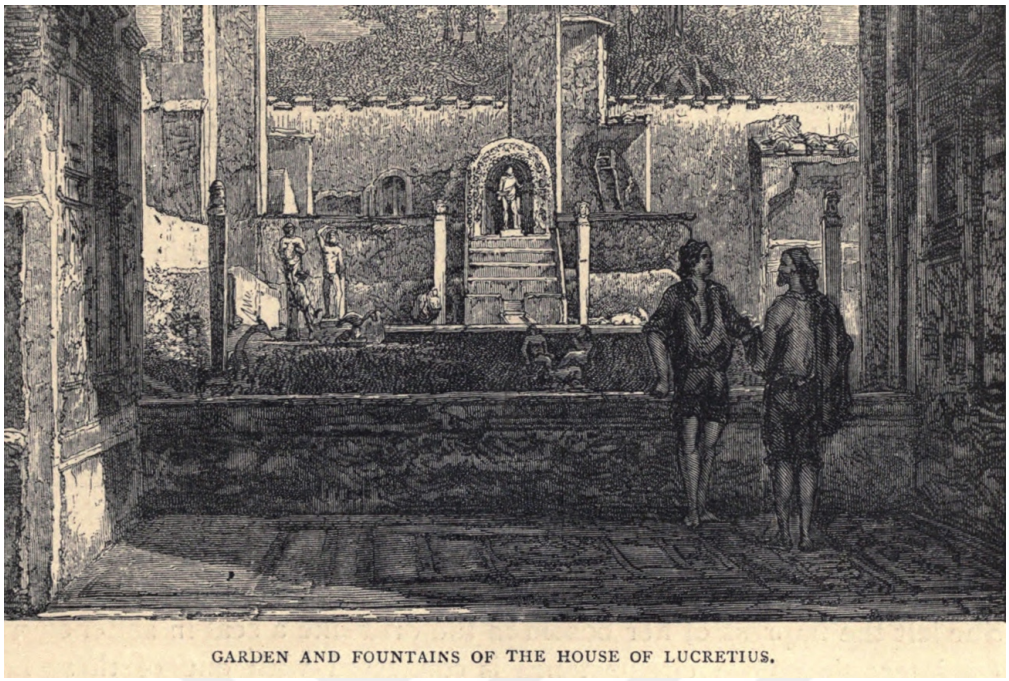


Figure 3. 39 Human figures inserted into an image, *Italian Pictures*, (Manning, 1870, p. 149)

Different than the conventional guidebook formats of the period, which contained images on one page and the textual information on the other, the Manning's travelogue used them both on a single page, and in a way personalized the content. The visual medium, which was composed of reconstructed scenes, is another marked aspect of the book.

Pen Sketches **(1899),** American writer Finley Acker wrote a book about the sites he had visited, such as Pompeii and Vesuvius, Cairo, Venice, Jerusalem, and Damascus in 1899, with devoted chapters illustrated with creative pen sketches (Figure 3.40). The book, as customary in the guidebooks, aimed to provide brief general information about the sites and addressed the general audience, but it differed from them in terms of its illustration style, as implied in the title (Figure 3.41). The author illustrated the visual material more graphically and hence prepared the images in small sizes and with few details. The visuals on Pompeii included the Herculaneum Gate, House of Cornelius Rufus, a restored interior view of an unnamed house (Figure 3.42), a baker's shop, Temple of Isis, Amphitheater, Temple of Mercury and the Forum. The author did not specifically target to visit the ruins in the Vesuvian sites but was somewhat interested in involving the local

and cultural atmosphere; he was attracted more to seeing the Neapolitan locals who formed music bands and staged on-site concerts together with little children. As understood from the book, such happenings, which were planned like ceremonial events, actually took place at each stop of the itinerary. Fond of local attractions, Acker also provided a vivid picture of the transportation between the railway and the cone of Vesuvius (Figure 3.43):

> The distance from the terminus of the railroad to the mouth of the crater is several hundred feet. The ascent is extremely steep. The ground consists of fine, loose ashes, and the wind generally blows at so furious a rate as to threaten the unceremonious uplifting of the traveler and depositing him somewhere near Naples. The guides have a trick of rushing you up at so rapid a rate that you become, in a few moments, thoroughly exhausted, and pant as though nearly all the breath had left your body. In this helpless condition, you gladly cling to the strap which the guide offers (fee, two francs), or allow yourself to be hoisted upon the shoulders of two guides (fee, four francs), or tumble into a sedan chair carried by the guides (fee, twenty-five francs), to aid you in reaching the summit. (Acker 1899, p. 107)

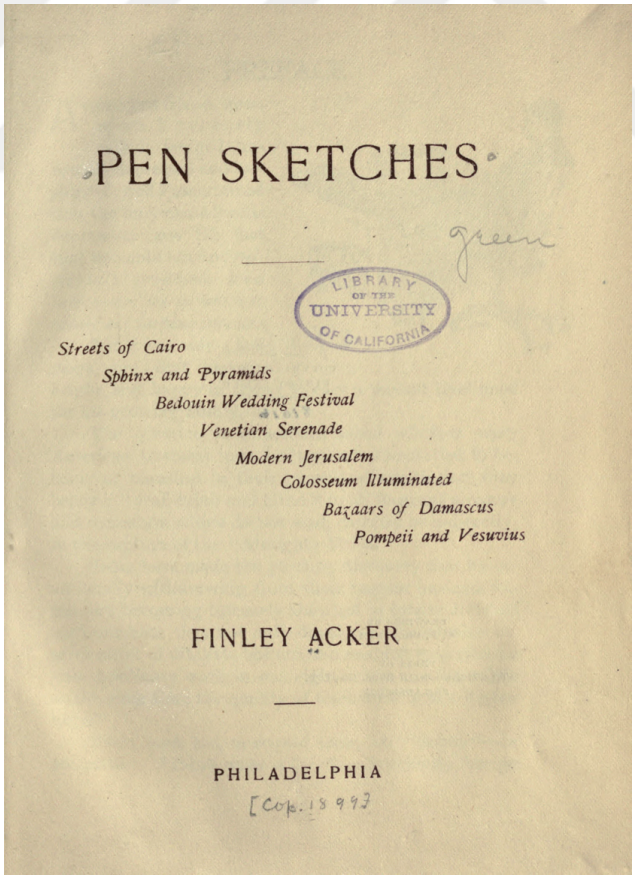


Figure 3. 40 The first page of the book, *Pen Sketches*, Finley Acker, 1899

Figure 3. 41 Title of the chapter on Pompeii, written with an original font, *Pen Sketches*, (Acker, 1899, p. 95)

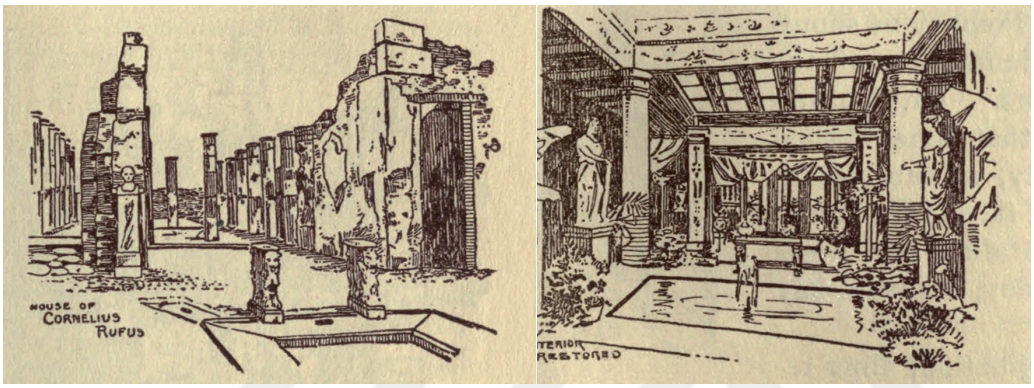


Figure 3. 42 Actual interior and a restored interior, *Pen Sketches*, (Acker, 1899, p. 97)

Figure 3. 43 Condition of the site and methods of transportation to Vesuvius, composed by the author, *Pen Sketches*, (Acker, 1899, pp. 107-108)

By taking the visual archive and the framed scenes of the book into consideration, it is seen that the dominant aesthetic of the reconstructed versions of the ruins continued to be privileged among the images. Perhaps, to make the reader imagine what the author had experienced during his trip, interesting themes, such as transportation to the cone of Mount Vesuvius, were also illustrated. It can be stated that the visual representations used in the book had shifted, in terms of purpose, from documenting the actual site to visualizing the experience of travel. In that, the graphical illustrations created a distinguished visual vocabulary. Even though the book reflects the mental pictures of the

author's journey, its visuality conveys a more fictional narration. This book is one of the few examples where visuality features as a prominent contributor to the content narration; this is perhaps what the author had also wanted to share with the readers as he named the first part of the title of the book as "Pen Sketches".

***Roman Holidays and Others* (1908),** William Dean Howells, an American novelist, literary critic and playwriter, wrote in 1908 the illustrated travel book, *Roman Holidays and Others* that contained two chapters on Italy: *Naples and her Joyful Noise* and *Pompeii Revisited* (Figure 3.44). The author had visited Pompeii two times as a tourist [66], and the travelogue compares these visits:

> That sad population of the victims of the disaster, restored to the semblance of life, or perhaps rather of death, in plaster casts taken from the moulds their decay had left in the hardening ashes, had much increased in the melancholy museum where one visits them the first thing within the city gates. But their effect was not cumulative; there were more writhing women and more contorted men; but they did not make their tragedy more evident than it had been when I saw them, fewer but not less affecting, all those years ago. (Howells, 1908, pp. 57-58)

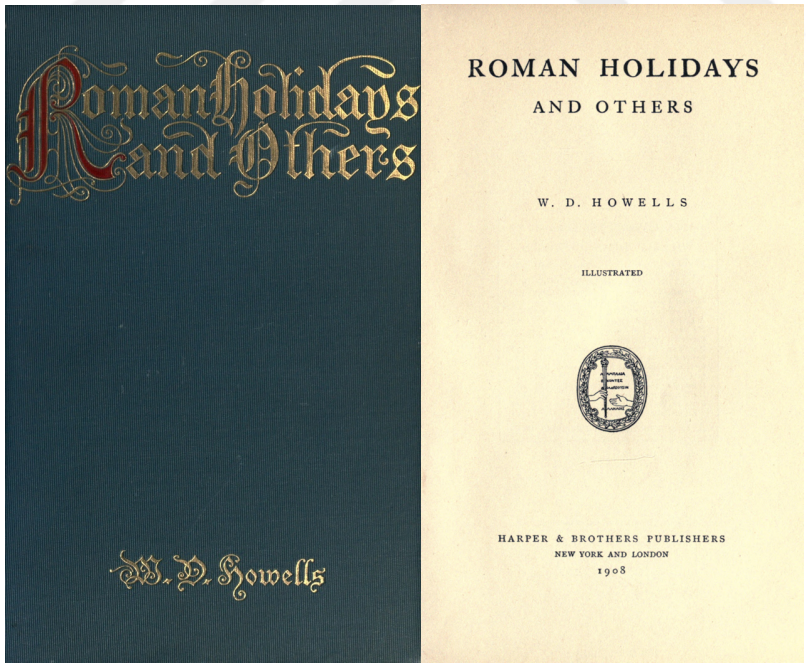


Figure 3. 44 Cover of the book, *Roman Holidays and Others*, William Dean Howells, 1908

[66] Many American writers had lived in Italy during the years of unification of Italy which happened finally in 1861, and after Rome had become the capital of the Kingdom of Italy in 1871. Among them were William Dean Howells, Margaret Fuller, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Mark Twain and Henry James.

The 303 pages long book includes relatively few and selected illustrations (52 in total), in comparison to the similar publications, many of which were in the form of stereographs. The author did not take photographs but selected images from an archive of stereographic images to choreograph the textual information. Howells preferred to include well-known visuals such as street scenes, general views, and views from monumental buildings, most likely not to surprise the readers with less known visuals and buildings. The part related to his visit to Pompeii shared Howells' observations, suggestions, and subjective experiences. For example, he noted the necessity of using a guide book during a site visit and thus advised visitors to take a guide book written in English, and also emphasized the archaeologist's role in conveying accurate information about the ancient buildings and stated that; "visitor must take the archaeologist's word for the fact" (Howells, 1908, p. 58). One of the two illustrations placed on the pages is a photograph that shows the excavation scene in Region 5, the other a view from the Street of Tombs (Figure 3.45). This late 19th century photograph is by an unknown photographer and was taken circa 1896. It shows the columns from the *peristyle* garden of the House of Orion, and the second style wall painting in the Corinthian *oecus* of the House of the Silver Wedding which was partially excavated in the 1890s.

Views from excavations were a popular theme among the artists. The representations of excavations as illustrations had indeed served to stage the field studies on paper. As discussed in Chapter 2, it was done first in the *Temple of Isis* painting by Pietro Fabris in the 18th century. (see Figure 2.25). 19th century photographers likewise captured similar shots of excavations and discoveries. The essential themes in the paintings and photographs are the stage-like depiction of the scenes. Accordingly, workers were shown as doing the excavation, while a group of spectators as keenly interested and watching the unearthing of the ancient treasures. In this sense, it can be argued that the excavations, apart from unearthing artefacts, also created a visual impetus, for exploring the unknown.

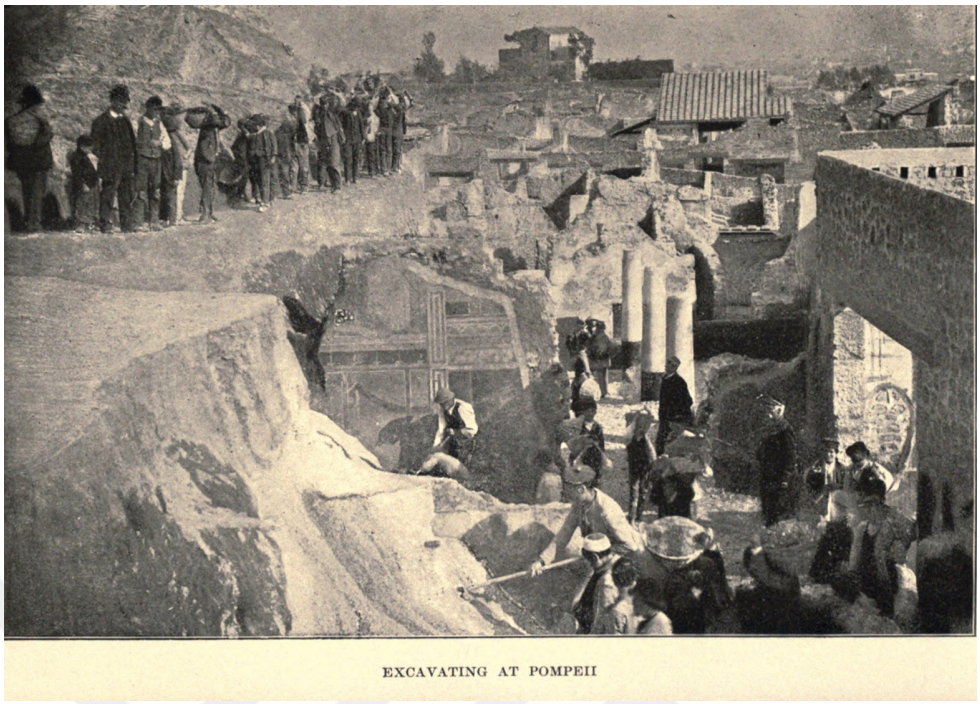


Figure 3. 45 Photograph showing the process of excavation, *Roman Holidays and Others*, William Dean Howells, 1908

3.2.2.2 Travel Albums

> The albums that were made before 1850 are – generally speaking – more playful with paper as a material, more aware of their own comic potential, and more open to the plethora of printed matter and printed images in all the variety that was becoming available in that period. The tension between ephemeral and fixed forms of print culture in the period 1800– 50 is a creative one, and is constitutive of simultaneously emerging literary forms of travel writing. The novelty of the circulating, ephemeral and miscellaneous paper forms of the periodicals of the 1810s and 1820s created a new aesthetic of mobility and encounter, feeding the album craze and setting travel writing afloat in new directions. (Pettitt, 2016, p. 37)

The "travel album" was a personal production of travel documentation and, as mentioned by Pettitt, displayed the travelers' visual repertoire. Representing the informative and artistic versions of travel literature, they took many forms, from simple guidebooks and scrapbooks to elaborately illustrated prints (with drawings or photographs), in time. In the 19th century, it was common for tourists to buy an album, diary, or scrapbook as a travel accompaniment and to personalize it during or after the journey. The albums contained photographs of the most popular sites, while the diaries and scrapbooks were used to take notes and write about the site experiences or to paste photographs. The photographs used in the personal albums acted, foremost, as a remembrance of the travel,

and also as a personal archive open for the inspection and view of those who did not visit the sites presented in the albums.

The travel albums are analyzed under the two categories; the albums produced by a photographer and sold as a souvenir object to the traveler, and the albums which were composed by the travelers themselves to share the travel agenda. Although the travel albums, especially those written by the travelers, had served as a powerful visualization medium to stage travel to those who did not visit the sites, they are seen as personal touristic memoires and thus are relatively less studied in terms of their content and visuality. In this respect, few examples are processed as archival material; the known examples constitute a small sample and are accessible often through the online databases of special auctions.

Travel Albums Produced by Photographers, As the excavations revealed the hidden context of Pompeii, it became a regular practice for photographers to capture the ruins and the finds. In the 19th century, Pompeii had become an attractive destination for the photographers who were enthusiastic about taking landscape shots, panoramic views of scenery, ancient ruins and archaeological artefacts. The striking outcome of the historical photographs was their contribution to the visuality of the site that continues to echo in today's visual repertoire of Pompeii. The earliest photographs were the commercial ones and they were framed almost in the same angle. Thus, there existed dozens of photographs similar to each other. By compiling the works of particular artists in a travel album indeed enabled people to recognize the style of the artist among the several similar images. The albums, as a *memento* of the travel were sold to the travelers and had served as promotional tools for future travels. Many of the images published in the albums, including general views (*panorama generale*), plaster casts of humans and animals, entrance views of houses, interior views of the museums, views of the iconic public buildings became more known and popular with their appearance in these albums. The albums could be reprinted, often with different cover designs and images, to meet the growing demands of the increased numbers of travelers (Figure 3.48). In the reprinted versions, the images could also be classified under special themes.

The photograph albums presented a choreography of the selected images in a thematical order and hence created a visual aesthetic; even today this visuality orients our perception of Pompeii. Modern visitors, for example, prefer to capture the views of the ancient without people, like the 19th century photographers did.

Both the photographs and the albums formed a unique genre of a visual aesthetics:

> For foreigners, the allure of Italy rested in its ancient monuments and its status as the cradle of classical culture. Working outdoors, or *en plein air*, amidst archaeological ruins presented numerous challenges to the photographer, who had to transport all of the necessary equipment, including heavy wooden box cameras and costly and volatile chemicals, to each location… For travelers and artists, paper photographs fit neatly into albums and portfolios compiled on journeys and admired as souvenirs and artistic studies. (Beth, 2017)[67]

Before the opening of studios, the travelers could purchase photographs, entire series or selected pieces, from bookstores, or art supply shops and brought them together in an album. The establishment of photography firms such as "Giaocchino Altobelli (1814–1879) and Pompeo Molins (1827–ca. 1893) in Rome, Giorgio Sommer (1834–1914) in Naples, the Fratelli Alinari (active 1854–1920) in Florence, and Carlo Naya (1816–1882) in Venice" (Beth, 2017) in the 1850s triggered the development of photography industy in Italy, and thus enabled to make several productions.[68]

***Souvenirs de Voyages* (circa 1870-1885),** Giorgio Sommer was among the pioneering image-makers of Pompeii, and his albums had reached many destinations by the travelers. Sommer's well-known travel album *Souvenirs de Voyages* includes photographs taken in Pisa, Sorrento, Capri, Salerno, Messina, Palermo, and Naples in Italy between 1870-1877 and is an outstanding example of its kind (Figure 3.46). The 80 pages long album compiled 66 photographs. Each photograph has a sepia tone and covers one page. The album is 31

[67] Saunders, Beth. "The Rise of Paper Photography in Italy, 1839–55." In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.
http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/rppi/hd_rppi.htm (April 2017)

[68] There is a vast amount of albums produced by travelers, most of which are not organized in a chronological order in the archives. The albums also feature in auctions or antique book sellers, inwhich case they are not recorded as an archival item and their presence is known only to those collectors who are interested in acquiring them. The examples chosen for this study represent a sample of the well-known and studied albums which were prepared to be sold to travelers as souvenirs.

cm in width and 42 cm in length, almost in A3 paper size, showing that such albums were not intended to be moved around but rather kept and displayed. The photographs included views of Naples, funicular to Vesuvius, crater of Vesuvius, panorama of Pompeii, the Forum and the human casts (Figure 3.47). It does not contain descriptions and dates of buildings; information about the subject and/or object captured in the shot is given in the captions and name of the photographs are mentioned on the images. Despite the lack of textual material, the photograph album had facilitated the visual engagement with the site, and thus constructed a vivid picture of it to those who had never been there before.

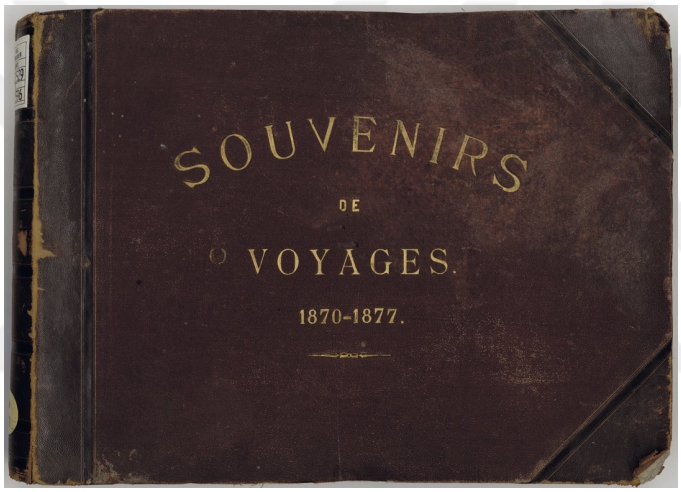


Figure 3. 46 Cover of *Souvenirs de Voyages,* Giorgio Sommer, circa 1870-1885 (Source: https://gallica.bnf.fr)

Figure 3. 47 Views of funicular and crater of Vesuvius, *Souvenirs de Voyages*, Giorgio Sommer, circa 1870-1885 (Source: https://gallica.bnf.fr)

Sommer's 1930 dated album, *Pompei,* would focus on the popular wall-paintings of Pompeii and present 12 frescoes which also featured in the scientific publications and guide books of the period (Figures 3.48, 3.49).

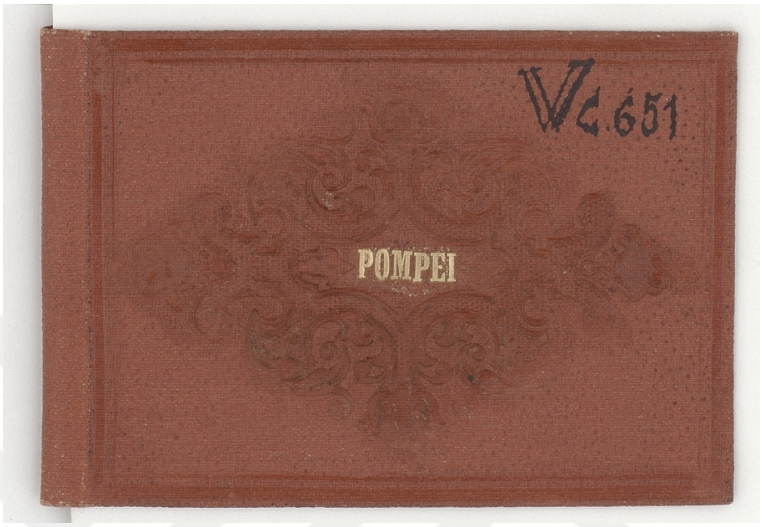


Figure 3. 48 Cover design of a photograph album produced by Giorgio Sommer in 1930
(Source: https://gallica.bnf.fr)

Figure 3. 49 Pages displaying the angel frescoes, *Pompei*, Giorgio Sommer, 1930
(Source: https://gallica.bnf.fr)

Souvenir de Pompei, Photographer Achille Mauri's (1806-1883) *Souvenir De Pompei* is known as one of the albums that promoted Pompeii in the market "Photographers,

especially, Giorgio Sommer, Achille Mauri, Michele Amodio, and Roberto Rive showed great inventiveness in marketing an increasingly canonical series of Pompeii views" (Dwyer, 2010, p.41). The undated album was produced in the second half of the 19th century, and presumably in the artist's studio in Naples. The first page of the book illustrated, in a way reproduced, the canonic theme of the destruction of Pompeii and showed a group of Pompeians trying to escape in the foreground and the erupting Vesuvius in the background (Figure 3.50). The image, indeed, was an imaginary drawing that served as an introduction to the actual situation of the remains shown in photographs. In terms of content the drawing shared similar features with the painting *The Last Day of Pompeii* (between 1830 and 1833) by Karl Briullov (see Figure 2.8). By displaying the human figures in the act of escaping from the natural disaster, Brullov had conveyed emotions of awe and fear. He used striking colors to animate the destruction. The drawing illustrated at the cover page in Mauris's album too shows escaping figures including people carrying sacks that represented personal belongings, a mother and her child, and a dog, details that dramatized the agonizing moments. Vesuvius as a reminder of the great decadence was also portrayed at the background of the illustration. The book consisted of 25 albumen prints which displayed various scenes from the site, including the casts of a human and a dog. The casts of the victims of the catastrophe became one of the most popular archaeological displays for the visitors, starting from the 1870s, when Fiorelli developed the technique. From then on images of cast were used in various books, from guides to photography albums. Most likely, Mauri, used the cast photographs on the cover of his book to attract the attention of travelers as well.

Figure 3. 50 Undated souvenir album by Achille Mauri
(Source: www.worthpoint.com)

***Album Pompei* (circa 1875),** The renowned Italian photographer Roberto Rive's photograph album, dated to circa 1875, collected the photographs filtered by Rive's lens (Figure 3.51). Rive had a studio in Naples from the early 1860s to 1889, and his photographic productions are among the first examples which displayed the architectural remains, sculptures and frescoes. When he was doing business in Naples, the director of the excavations in Pompeii was Fiorelli (1863 -1875); thus, Rive captured several photographs of the casts produced by Fiorelli's technique. The album consisted of 50 images, including general views, street vistas, images of temples, amphitheatre, small theatre, houses and human castings. It also contained a photograph from Naples Museum which showed the exhibition cabinets of the findings from Pompeii (Figure 3.52). The book contained only photographs, so there were no maps, technical drawings or texts. Each photograph (10,5 cmx14,5 cm) had a sepia tone and is placed in the middle of the pages that were 19 cm wide and 25 cm long. As such, the pages are smaller than A4 paper size, which made the album an easily portable one. Compared to the almost A3 size album of Giorgio Sommer, Rive's album could be kept in libraries, displayed at houses and carried from one place to the other. Such small size and light albums, thus, transferred more the visual repertoire of Pompeii. Striking feature of the album is the font used at the cover page. The first letter of the word 'P' was drafted like a picture that combined graphically several visual codes of Pompeii including columns, view towards Vesuvius, and Vesuvius with smoke.

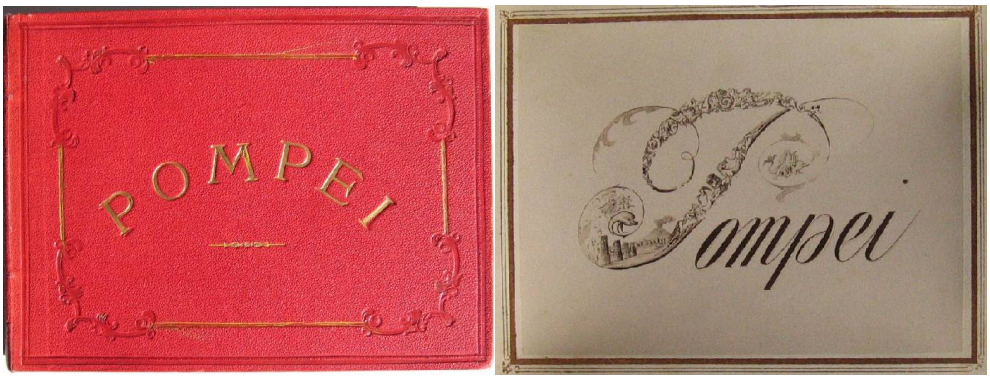


Figure 3. 51 Cover and the first page, *Pompei*, Robert Rive, circa 1875
(Source: www.annona.de)

Figure 3. 52 Naples Museum, showing exhibition cabinets, *Pompei*, Robert Rive, circa 1875
(Source: www.annona.de)

***

The photograph albums preserved the memories of travelers and created a particular visual repertoire. Photographers did not only filter images via their lenses, but also, contributed to the creation of 'icons' and 'symbols' in the visual representations of Pompeii. Among the recurring photographic visuals for example, are human casts that became iconic reminders of the Pompeians buried alive and hence symbol of the catastrophe. Mount Vesuvius is the reminder, par excellence, of decadence. The panorama views are essential to the albums, and within the vistas opening towards Vesuvius, they symbolized the destruction of an architectural unity. With the mass production of albums, these images were transformed into mental pictures on behalf of the travelers. The shots evoked a kind of nostalgia for the lost world of Pompeii, and encapsulated the visual narration of the extraordinary story of the 'double life' of Pompeii before destruction and after excavation.

Scrapbooks Produced by Travellers, The 19th century travel albums became varied by the production of new formats of albums, such as cut-and-paste albums. These albums provided blank pages to be personalized and designed by posting images or postcards, and they were sold to the tourists in Italy (Murray, 2016). They enabled the traveler to construct a personal fictional narrative by the help of photographs. The albums produced as such naturally assumed more of a hybrid character then a documentary one, in which the content of photographs was arranged, ordered or put together according to the travelers' site perceptions and narrations.

The word 'scrapbook' which began to be used in the 1820s was a travel diary format developed out of the earlier standard travel books and print albums (Pettitt, 2016). For the travelers, a scrapbook was a kind of personal pictorial travel journal which contained sheets with prints, landscape sceneries, personal photographs, photographs of cities and artworks, maps, hand-colored illustrations and alike. The 19th century travelers produced them with the purpose of recording their journeys.[69] The custom-made scrapbooks began to be produced from the 1810s onwards, and gained popularity especially among the Victorian ladies, who combined their memoirs and knowledge of ancient sites with handicraft practices, as seen in the covers which were designed mostly with Victorian ornaments.[70] The photographic technology enabled to produce newly types of printed media that hybridized the scrapbook and the photograph album, starting from the 1870s. The scrapbook production shared similarities with todays collage techniques in the sense that it allowed to create a composition by using different types of visuals, such as photographs, postcards, portraits, drawings and sketches which could be cut and pasted onto the pages. The scrapbook type of albums did not focus on a particular city or a site, as the owners decorated them with images and texts that represent the cities they had

[69] There are countless numbers of scrapbooks which especially show snapshots of America. An early known American scrapbooker and inventor of scrapbooking supplies was Mark Twain who carried scrapbooks on his travels and collected souvenirs, clippings and pictures. Another well-known figure is Frederick Nixon-Nirdlinger, a theater manager, who produced scrapbooks during his grand tour to Western Europe, Egypt and Greece in 1909.

[70] Scrapbooks produced by women became more common in the 19th century. There exist anonymous travel albums in Sir Harry Page Collection (kept in the Manchester Metropolitan University Special Collections) which consists of nearly 300 albums and common place books that were produced by women (Pettitt, 2016).

visited during their travel. In this sense, Pompeii featured as one of the travel destinations among other cities in the known scrapbooks.[71]

The three volumes scrapbook of Roger Björnstjerna, a Swedish general, exemplifies the format of these albums in terms of design and content. Björnstjerna made his scrapbook during the grand tour he took in Europe between 1857 and 1859. The album contains 329 sheets and includes hand-colored drawings, some maps, and photographs from the visited cities. A map showing the destinations and a list of the places visited are put into Volume 1, followed by a collage of calling-cards and photographs of Björnstjerna and his travel companion (Figure 3.53).

Figure 3. 53 Pages of travel album in the form of a scrapbook, Roger Björnstjerna, between 1857-1859 (Source: www.bukowskis.com)

The page from Björnstjerna's pictorial travel album is a good example to understand the creative vision of travelers. In scrapbooks, the travelers could curate personal experiences on pages, which meant that through such personalized creations their status could shift from a traveler to a designer. The pages, thus, served as a design medium to display different visual media from maps and photographs to drawings. Similar to the aesthetic choreographed by photographers for the travelers in the photograph albums, the

[71] The archival research done so far tracked no scrapbooks produced specifically on Pompeii.

scrapbook albums produced by the travelers had created a unique visual aesthetic; it did not feature as a combination and order of selected photographs, but was more of a hybrid montage of various types of images produced in different media.

***

The guidebooks and illustrated books, whether fictional or scientific in content, produced information about Pompeii from the visual and written records taken from the site. They had one thing in common: all were designed according to a 'sequence or choreography', which was created by the collation of visual material. The way the visual material was used in the books associated with travel shows that there was a progress in representation from the 18th to the 19th century. The first illustrated books, such as those written by Sir William Hamilton, aimed to report and thus used technical drawing as a way of visualization. The first technical drawings included scaled plans, maps of streets, buildings, and Vesuvian landscape. They were the snapshots of the excavations, and thus, without any reconstruction they visually reported the discoveries and the unearthed urban fabric. With the accumulation of information that came from the excavations become sufficient enough to produce 3d images of the ruins, starting with the middle of the 19th century, it became common to produce engravings that depicted the actual state of the site, as seen in the works of James Duffield Harding and Thomas Henry Dyer. In their work, for example, Gate of Herculaneum, view of the large theatre, Amphitheatre, view of a cook's shop, House of Sallust and Villa of Diomedes feature as the illustrations prepared in the form of 3d drawings. Such books represent scientific accounts, one of the types in the genre of travel literature. In the next phase came the photographs which enabled the authors to use them as visual sources. The production of reconstructions from the captured images, that came into use around 1880s enabled the beholder, traveler/visitor/tourist, to have an impression of the past and hence to compare it with the present state of the ruin/site. Such reconstructions began to appear in scientific publications. The publication of novels in which Pompeii appeared as the main setting and the eruption as the leading theme influenced many authors, including those of guidebooks, who used them as references in association to the illustrations they had used; thus, a genre which combined fiction and reality was created. Hybrid in nature these

productions took the form of guidebooks and provided a visual representation of Pompeii that built mental images about the lost city and its life at different levels of reconstruction.

The way visual material was used also changed the development process of representational media and techniques. While the first photographic representations of the site were produced to show images of the actual state of the site, the later examples assumed a graphical character with abstract lines and less details. Between photograph and illustration, the later representations intended to create sceneries of abstracted architectural environments rather than to document. Several artists used photographs as a base for their illustrations. The creators, nevertheless, represented similar contents that varied mostly in details irrespective of whether it was a photograph or an illustration. For example, they used nearly the same viewing angles but added details. An early panoramic photograph of Pompeii through *Via di Mercurio,* for instance, was illustrated also by Samuel Manning in his book *Italian Pictures* (1870) who photomontaged two human figures on the street. In most cases the same group of buildings, streets and archaeological artefacts were visually narrated, which included Temple of Isis, Amphitheater, Forum and examples of domestic architecture such as Villa of Diomedes, House of Sallust, House of the Faun and House of the Balcony.

Examples of printed and illustrated media on Pompeii is discussed in a thematic framework that classified the productions first as Site Accounts and Travel Accounts, based on the purpose of production and content. Further categories are made to demonstrate the diversity of production under both types. Considering the vast number of examples of printed and illustrated media that focused particularly on Pompeii or included it as a part/chapter, a thematic categorization proved to be the most useful and appropriate method of presentation and analysis, in comparison to a chronological survey. A framework based on the latter, would also illustrate the changes in the representation of the ancient site. But a chronological approach would result in a less comprehensible content about the nature of these publication, as it would not allow to make a reading of the printed productions in terms of type characteristics and thus to make comparisons on visual content, production technique, purpose of production, graphic design and document value. In the illustrated books, all images, irrespective of format - sketch,

engraving, drawing or photography, interacted with each other. The thematic categorization of the illustrated book productions provides a basis for understanding how the interaction between images is constructed and how this visual representation evolved from "fact" to "fiction" over time. By examining the illustrated books produced by travelers and for travelers it is seen that the images representing 'reality' paved the way to create a fictional atmosphere. Over time, this visually created atmosphere had become an inspiration for the spaces described in novels. In other words, visual fiction prepared ground for literary fiction.

The organization of images and texts, the selection of visuals, addition of details, the inclusion of reconstructions and graphic design, from size and text style, to book cover suggest that these books were carefully 'choreographed' by their authors. Yet, the change in the nature of the representational media produced on ancient Pompeii in print form and its increasing diversity towards the end of the 19th century opened a path towards developing new methods of visualization, of both the site and its architecture. In this context, *Pompeiana,* is accepted as the first archaeological guidebook prepared specifically on Pompeii. The book merits to be introduced and discussed in some detail, as it also established ground to argue how scientific material gave birth to fictional narrations.

3.3 "*Pompeiana*": The First Archaeological Guide Book on Pompeii

Pompeiana was produced by archaeologist William Gell (1777–1836) who had attended the Jesus College at Cambridge before studying art at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1804 (Harris, 2007). Classic was a popular field of study in Cambridge at that time, and Gell received a good education on ancient languages and literature:

> Whatever the source of Gell's artistic skills, they completed the technical triad on which his later work was based: topographical expertise, knowledge of classical literary sources, and ability to sketch quickly and accurately, aided by an unusually strong visual memory that enabled him to record sites long after seeing them. (Thompson, 2019, p. 18)

He started to attend the meetings of the Society of Dilettanti as a member in 1807. The central aim of the Society was to acquire new knowledge: "Curiosity is a desire and a passion: a desire to see, learn, or possess rare, new, secret or remarkable things" (Redford

2008, p.12). In 1830, Gell became the resident corresponding member and a resident minister plenipotentiary of the Society in Naples (Lazer, 2009):

> This society was formed in 1734 by a group of gentlemen who wished to educate the cultivated English public and encourage them to develop a taste for the classical art that they had admired during their travels in Italy. The Society of Dilettanti provided assistance to members of the British aristocracy who wished to establish collections of antiquities whilst on their obligatory Grand Tour. (Lazer, 2009, pp. 7-8)

Gell was sent to Naples with the mission to report on the studies and the ruins in the ancient sites; "each month Gell wrote to Society a scholarly report describing the latest archaeological discoveries- a diary also laced with gossip about the reliably colorful doings of Neapolitan high society" (Harris, 2007, p. 161).

Gell's travels to the classical sites began with Athens and in the late 1800s, at a time when the Parthenon friezes were about to be transported to the British Museum by Lord Thomas Elgin (Thompson, 2019, p. 19). In 1804, his detailed survey on the topographical exploration of Troy, *The Topography of Troy,* in 1806, *The Geographies and Antiquities of Ithaka* were published (Thompson, 2019, p. 20). He published the first edition of *Itinerary of Greece*, which narrated his travels in Greece in 1810, and its revised version organized under different subtitles in 1819 (Thompson, 2019, pp. 22-23). In 1814, he was appointed as the chamberlain to Queen Caroline Bonaparte Murat, the financial supporter of the French excavations in Pompeii during the early 19th century exacavations. The queen was apparently a passionate fan of antiquity, like most of the other royal family members of the European courts:

> In 1813, she instituted an excavation in the street which runs from the southeast angle of the Forum towards the theatre … The walls around the city were laid bare. In Spring 1813 the greater portion of the Street of the Tombs was cleared. The Forum and Basilica were further cleared, and clearing of the great Amphitheatre had begun. (Harris, 2007, p. 152)

Gell published *Pompeiana: The Topography of Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii* in 1817 (Figure 3.54). Since the site was not yet introduced to the English-speaking audience at that time, except Sir William Hamilton's book, it gained an immediate reputation after its publication (Harris, 2007). Besides being the first archaeological guidebook on site (Moorman, 2015) it collated "the first relatively accurate accounts to appear in English"

(Laidlaw, 2007, p. 624; Cornell and Lomas, 1995, p. 185). As Judith Harris (2007) mentions "it was the first scientific description of Pompeii to appear in half a century" (p.161). Shelley Hales and Joanna Paul (2011) states the novelty of Gell's study as such:

> The urge to full reconstruction is first seen on paper, as in the engravings for Gell's Pompeiana, which play an important role in shaping responses to Pompeii. The ambitious rebuilding projects that followed were designed to encourage the feeling of even greater proximity to a coherent past; even as the process of reconstruction itself necessarily mediates that access in profound ways. (p. 7)

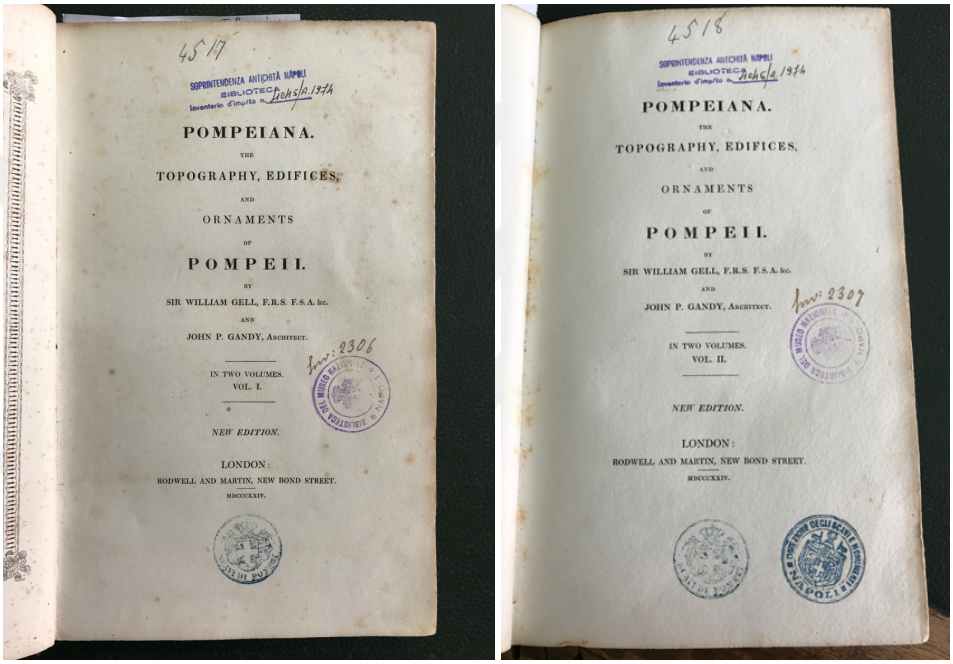


Figure 3. 54 Book covers of Volume 1 and Volume 2, *Pompeiana,* William Gell, 1832

Gell's work was reprinted and circulated among the public thanks to the development of new printing press technologies. Until the 1800s, the illustrations used in the books were produced in the form of copper-plate engravings and were limited to 300 copies. The instrument called 'steel-plate intaglio' which was invented in Gell's time, on the other hand, allowed "…pictures to be reproduced by the thousand in exquisitely fine linear detail, with cross-hatching and stipple" (Harris, 2007, p. 162). *Pompeiana*, in this respect, became available in the market for all those interested in the site. The original book was a single volume work of 486 pages with 77 plates. Three visuals were used as introductory images; panoramic view of Pompeii, map of Campania and plan of the excavated city as

of 1819. The map of Campania aimed to show the reader the location of Pompeii within a broader context. The plan of the excavated part of the city showed the unearthed parts of the city and helped the reader spot the buildings, which were also illustrated in the plates, on the map. Each title in the book is coupled with the images of the vignettes displaying figures from the paintings in Pompeii. These vignettes depicted mythical figures and added an aesthetic aspect to the pages; in a way, they greeted the readers. Each plate was a full-page engraving showing paintings of general views of the city and the buildings (Figure 3.55), maps, architectural plans, section drawings, drawings of the tiles and ornaments, imitation of the paintings on the walls of the houses and public buildings, restoration paintings of interiors and excavation views (Figure 3.56). The paintings framed the views in wide angles, without isolating public buildings and houses from their context in the landscape, which enabled readers to perceive the entire urban fabric. Most of the illustrations were black and white. As an essential feature of the engraving technic, sharp lines were used, and the paintings had both hatched and plain areas.

Figure 3. 55 Engraving of general view of Pompeii, Volume 1, *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1832*,* author's photograph archive, taken in 2017 in the Library of Naples National Archaeological Museum

Figure 3. 56 Excavation view, Volume 2, *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1832*,* Author's photograph archive, taken in 2017 in the Library of Naples National Archaeological Museum

The original book included eighty-one visuals showing Vesuvius and the ruins, a fold-out map and reconstructions of houses and temples. [72] "Some of the illustrations were by architect John P. Gandy, co-signer of the book, but Gell was responsible for most, which he made using a camera lucida, a lightbox like the one built in the 17th century by that Vesuvius enthusiast Kircher" (Harris, 2007, p. 163).

The illustrations were made on-site by *camera lucida,* "an instrument that enabled the draftsman to trace an image onto paper, thereby controlling scale and dimension" (Thompson, 2019, p. 58). According to Jason Thompson (2019), Gell explored the importance of visual material in portraying the ancient site and hence made use of it extensively:

> Gandy did his literary work well, but Pompeiana's value lies primarily in its illustrations, which are organized topographically so that the reader seems to stroll down a Pompeian street, looking into various houses along the way. Detailed maps provide orientation. Inclusion of contemporary people in the compositions enhances the powerful sense of

[72] The subsequent version of the book published in 1832 contains eighty-nine plates.

> immediacy conveyed by the sharp engravings. Ruins are usually accurately depicted, but Gell also made imaginary reconstructions with ancient Romans going about their daily affairs. Past and present blend together. Besides being a scholarly landmark, Pompeiana provided a rich source for the decorative arts at a time when classical motifs were much in vogue. (p. 59)

There are ten chapters in the first volume, and with the exception of two houses the volume mainly focuses on the public buildings. The chapters in the first volume are organized as; "General Plan", "Chalcidicum", "Forum Pantheon or College of the Augustales", "Temple of Fortune", "Women's Baths", "House of the Tragic Poet", "Fullonica and House of the Fountain". Volume 2, on the other hand, alongside the descriptions of plates and vignettes, focused only on two dwellings: "The House of the Second Fountain" and "The House of the Dioscuri".

The third edition of *Pompeiana,* which contained information on the newly excavated and unearthed buildings and included seventy-seven plates depicting the actual state of the site and some restored buildings were published in 1852. The first plate of this edition is a map of the excavated city in 1817 which was followed by etymological information on Pompeii. In the first volume, the sections are arranged under titles as "Public Ways and Tombs", "Street of the Tombs", and "Walls", while in the second volume the content focuses more on domestic architecture and contains the following chapters: "Houses" (Villa Suburbana, House of the Vestals, House of Surgical Instruments, House of Sallust, House of Pansa), "Forum", "Temples", "Theatres and the Definition of Vignettes". All the chapters are elaborated by illustrations. This version, in comparison to the previous two, provides a more comprehensible content for the reader as there are much more visuals and both the visual and textual narrations are more clearly done. For example, some restored versions of the previously published ruins are provided with captions, such as "Entrance to the city from Herculaneum restored", "Restoration of the atrium in the house of Sallust", "Restoration of the atrium in the house of Pansa", "South end of the forum restored", and "restoration of the north end of the forum".

Besides providing a textual content that is structured with well-defined narrations, *Pompeiana* introduced a new medium of artistic representation through which new scenes are fabricated according to the restored versions of the illustrations in the book:

> Underlining the specific characters of Roman architecture, Gell was particularly interested in the domestic sphere and wall-paintings, executing numerous copies of wall decorations… An ancestor of photography and an instrument of analysis, the survey was also conceived as a record of the heritage. Aware that the remains were decaying and crumbling, as was already noticeable in the wall paintings, W. Gell attached particular importance to the documentary work and the rendering of the colors, with drawing providing a trace of what was fated to disappear. (Desselas, 2015, p. 120)

Gell's particular interest in visuality resulted in the creative production of plates, which was also mentioned in the diary he kept on site. In the 1832 version of *Pompeiana*, the influence of this diary can be seen in the way the illustrations were prepared (Figure 3.57). Some of the images were produced directly from the sketches in the diary (1830) and labeled as, "Part of the street of the Mercuries and the adjacent houses" (Figure 3.58), "View from the door of a house", "*Chalcidicum*" (Figure 3.59), "Statue of Eumachio" , "View from the roof of the *therme*" (Figure 3.60), "Vault of the *Tepidarium*" (Figure 3.61), "The *Cave Canem* Mosaic", "The plan of the House of the Tragic Poet" (Figure 3.62), "Fountain of the *Fullonica"*, "Fountain of Shells", "The House of Second Fountain" (Figure 3.63), and "The plan of Street of Mercuries".

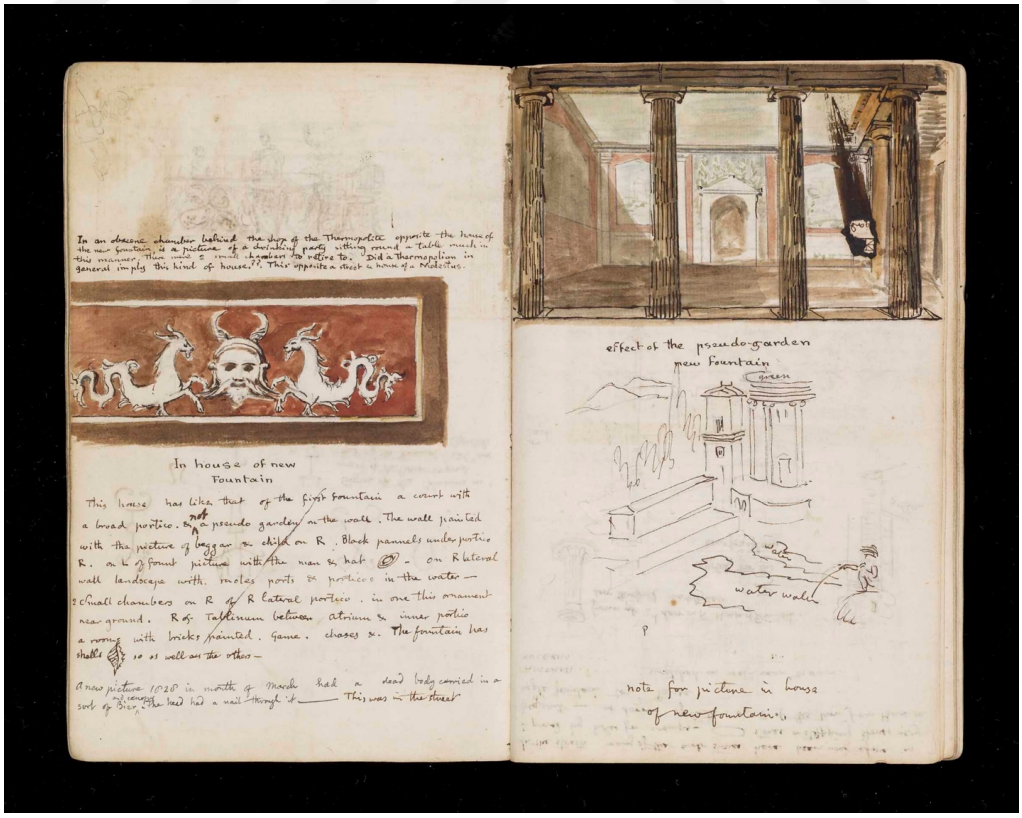


Figure 3. 57 Example of a page order from the diary, William Gell, 1830

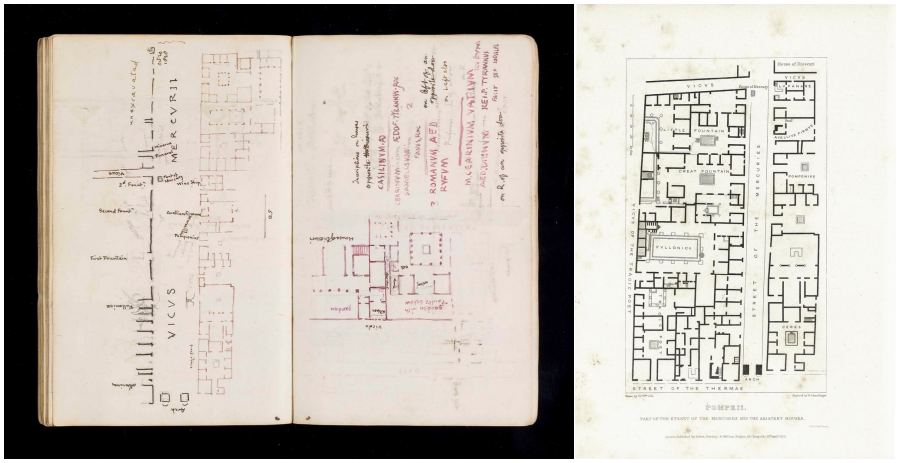


Figure 3. 58 Drawing of the Street of the Mercuries in the diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1830; William Gell 1832, p. XXV at preface

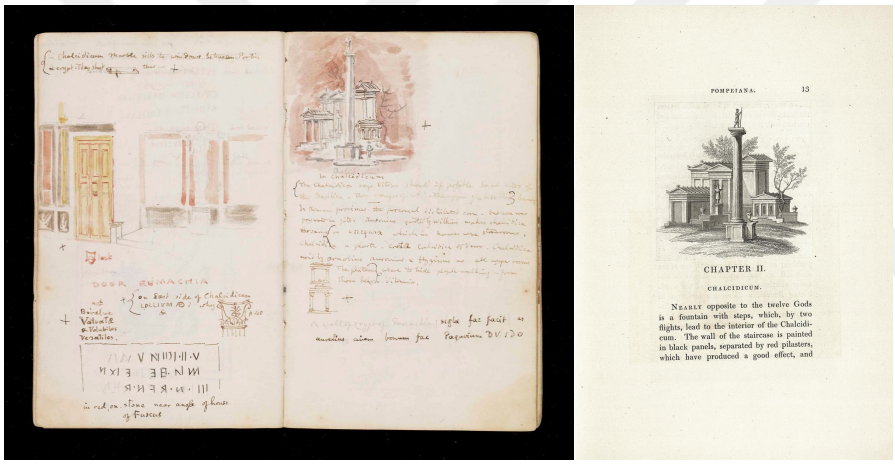


Figure 3. 59 Drawing of the *Chalcidicum* in Gell's diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1830; William Gell, 1832: V. 1, p. 13

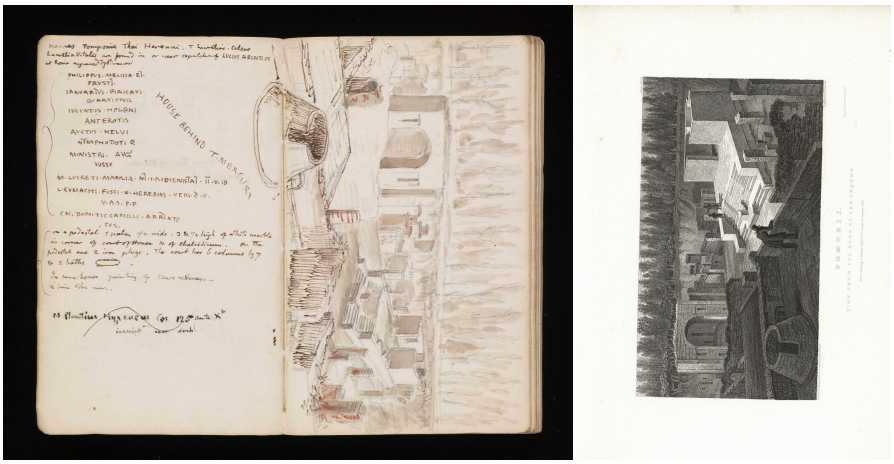


Figure 3. 60 View from the roof of the *therme* in Gell's diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana*, (William Gell, 1830; William Gell, 1832, V. 1, p. 82

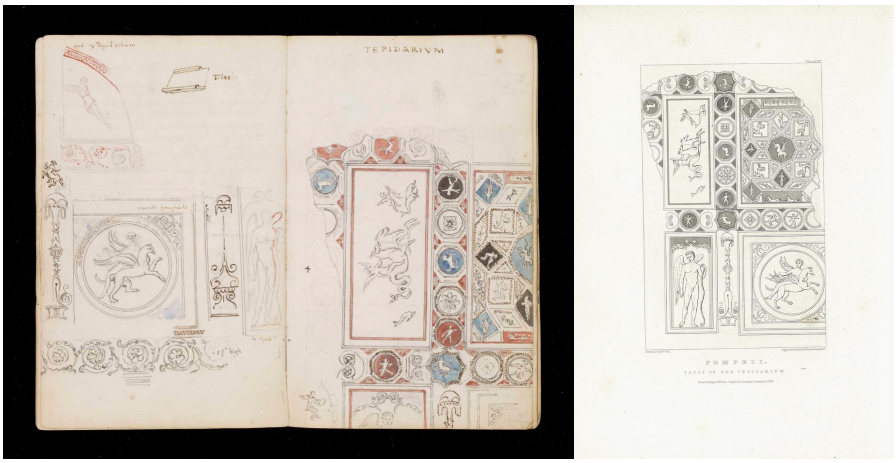


Figure 3. 61 Detail drawing of the vault of the *tepidarium* in Gell's diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1830; William Gell, 1832: V. 1

Figure 3. 62 Plan of *the House of the Tragic Poet* in Gell's diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1830; William Gell, 1832: V. 1

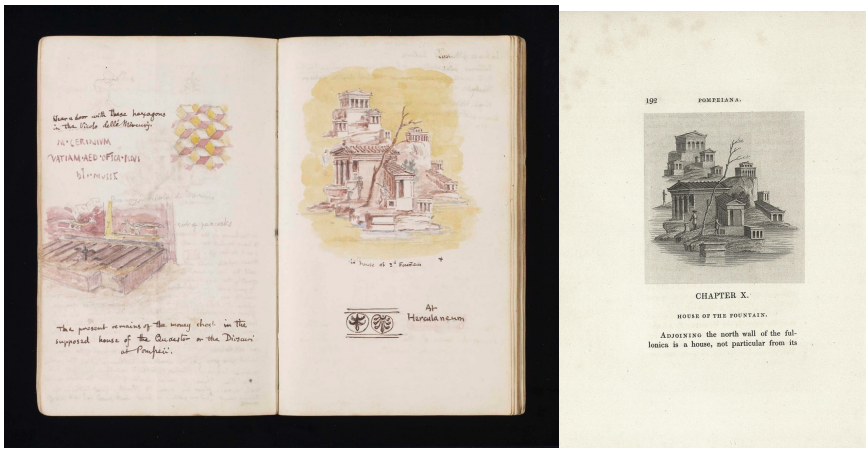


Figure 3. 63 View from House of the Fountain in Gell's diary and its illustrated version in *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1830; William Gell 1832: V. 1, p. 192

A comparison between the plates in *Pompeiana* and the images in Gell's diary shows that they are quite similar, which demonstrates how successful Gell was in sketching and visually narrating the ruins. The common method of sketching in both is intended to represent the characteristic features of the subject, and reflect the mood of a certain moment. Gell made sketches not only to frame the abstraction of subjects, but he also gave details which came to life with the chosen color schemes. It is noteworthy that even in the smallest details, Gell used the contrast of light and shadow. Furthermore, important dates are noted, and in some detail drawings measurements are given. Despite the fact that the images in the diary are colored, they create the same effect of the black and white engravings done for the book. It is later understood that the colors used in the detailed drawings are indeed the actual colors of the ruins. It is also seen that Gell had made a list of the organization of the plates he planned to use in the book in his diary. Although the order of images in *Pompeiana* does not follow exactly the list in the diary, the diary has a consistent narration in itself.

There exist several works on Pompeii and its architecture prior to *Pompeiana.* They were also visualized with illustrations. The question is then; what makes *Pompeiana* different than the other works. First of all, the combination of images and texts is quite comprehensible for the readers who wanted to get a brief knowledge or the tourists who wanted to be guided on their trip to the site. Second, all the illustrations, from small details to buildings themselves are depicted in an accurate way. In the preface of Volume 1 in the 1832 edition, the merit of the book is mentioned as such:

> The favourable manner in which the former part of this work was received by the Public has been sufficiently demonstrated by the extensive circulation and rapid sale of two editions, which seem to have found their way, not only to every part of Great Britain, but even to the Continent, where the collection of Pompeiana has been noticed with approbation in many of the literary journals.

Prior to Gell's *Pompeiana,* the accurate reconstructions of the interior views were not many. Gell documented the architectural features of the houses, and then these visuals are enriched with human figures and turned into reconstructed images. Although the images were fictionalized as such, the basis of the reconstruction came from the actual data gathered from the site; this type of visual production influenced the representations produced in the future guidebooks, especially around the 1880s. Several books used the

reconstruction scenes in *Pompeiana* as visual sources. Hence, the first archaeological guidebook which was designed to include a combination of architecturally depicted visuals led to new ways of narrating the site. Constructing fiction upon the architecture of the site was one such novelty. The architectural imagination in this respect, created a new instrument of expression in historical fiction. The most significant achievement of the book is the data it fabricated for *The Last Days of Pompeii,* a fiction produced by Sir Bulwer Lytton in 1834. The book overlapped 'fact' and 'fiction', and offered readers an opportunity to take part in a reconstructed narrative of antiquity which they did not experience before.

3.4 Constructing Fiction upon Architecture of Pompeii

The excavations of ancient cities and their gradually emerging archaeological context in the 18th century gave rise to an interest in Ancient Greek and Roman culture. Antiquity received much attention as an academic research field during the Enlightenment period, because it was seen as a repository of the ancient roots of Western civilization. Respectively, the discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum fed the zeitgeist and enthusiasm of the European Enlightenment.

The regular flow of information from the excavations of the ancient Neapolitan sites in the 19th century, made the scholars and history enthusiasts of the period engage with and write more intensely about antiquity. A common theme in all was the comparison between past and present, for which the Campanian cities yielded an extraordinarily rich material evidence:

> In the nineteenth century, the feeling that the ancients were really much like us sometimes goes hand in hand with the tendency to idealize the past, to contrast it with the humdrum present. This may seem paradoxical-one of those cases of two inconsistent attitudes being held together in a single mind-but the paradox is not really so very difficult to resolve: the more one revered the ancients, the more exciting it was to discover that one had something in common with them. (Jenkyns, 1995, p. 144)

Fictions in which Pompeii featured as the main setting, started to appear in this context and particularly after William Gell introduced the sites to a wider audience with *Pompeiana.* It can be said that the restored images used in the book made a strong influence on the

populace and were taken as evidence and used as a tool to connect the past and present. "Visual reconstruction" served for the revitalization of the ancient world, and was utilized as an effective way to relate with the past. As such it has became an intensively used theme in fiction, in especially the Victorian world:

> Victorians were acutely aware of the past, and "in almost every area of Victorian intellectual life, one encounters a preoccupation with ancestry and descent, with tracing the genealogy of the present in the past, and with discovering or creating links to a formative history". But if one important strand in nineteenth-century culture was its historicism, Victorian thought was also drawn to the search for the transcendent and that which could resist the power of time. It was in response to the conflict of those two impulses that the most important Victorian historical fiction was created. (Bowen, 2002, p. 244)

The Last Days of Pompeii is a Victorian novel written by Edward Bulwer Lytton in the 19th century. Lytton wrote the novel after a trip to Pompeii. "The Last Days of Pompeii brings the ruins to life by narrating a sensational, melodramatic love story set against the backdrop of the doomed city" (Wyke, 2013, p. 270). The main characters of the book are Glaucus, Ione, Nydia, and Arbaces. An Athenian man, Glaucus, falls in love with Greek Ione, while the blind flower seller girl Nydia is desperately in love with Glaucus. Arbaces, an Egyptian priest responsible from the Temple of Isis, murders Ione's brother and accuses Glaucus for the crime. Arbaces plots this because of his jealousy of the love between Ione and Glaucus. Nydia helps Glaucus and Ione on the 'last day of Pompeii', rescues and manages to board them on an escaping ship, after which she is drowned. The book narrates a love story that took place in ancient Pompeii with the aim to revive the ancient past in the eyes of the beholder. According to Goldstein (1979) this is purely a Victorian novel:

> Lytton's novel, then, is typically Victorian in the way it devalues the hedonistic or Epicurean vision in favor of restraint, duty, compassion, and a life of service to a spiritual ideal. Lytton does not wish to preserve the beauty of Pompeii in the heart of the reader, but to rescue from decay the higher affections which resisted that beauty. (p. 235)

3.4.1 A Victorian Look at *The Last Days of Pompeii*

Ancient history was most productively utilized as a framework in fictions and movies as they transformed the ruins into reconstructed settings with the aim to animate the ancient past. The beholders encountered neither with a total fiction nor a pure documentary, but

a pseudo-reality. As Bowen (2002) states, "The greatest difficulty of writing historical fiction is that of creating a flexible yet authentic historical idiom for periods and countries that have to be imagined, not seen or heard" (p. 245). This, however, did not pose a problem in Sir Bulwer Lytton's case because he was guided by William Gell during his trip to Pompeii. *Pompeiana* which served as an essential guide for the site visitors, also inspired Lytton's most famous work, *The Last Days of Pompeii*.

The novel tells a story that takes place in the 1st century B.C Pompeii, before and during the eruption, but is essentially a disaster narrative: "*The Last Days of Pompeii* registers social and political change as natural disaster, and presents the energies of the urban masses as purely destructive" (Daly, 2015, p. 18). Pompeii played a major role in the volcano narrative. While Lytton based his story on a volcano narration he also focused on details of everyday life to depict the private life and domestic architecture. By recalling William Gell's *Pompeiana*, he made a footnote-laden account which depicted everyday life in Pompeii (Daly, 2015). The novel included several visual depictions that helped to bring the site to the sight of both visitors and the readers. The readers, like the actual visitors, were made part of the ancient scenery; in a way, the novel acted as a background to make them penetrate into Pompeii, just like in the photographic posing of the tourists which enabled them to engage with the ruins.

The Last Days of Pompeii was published in three volumes in London in 1834. The book begins with a dedication letter to William Gell, highlighting the importance of his guidance during the visit. It tells about the daily routine of the Pompeians and describes the architectural features of houses, streets and the city in a detailed account from Lytton's perspective which was shaped with Gells's support. What makes the descriptions in the narrative interesting and valuable is the fact that Lytton had actually visited Pompeii, saw the excavations and created the spatial background of his book accordingly:

> Inspired by Briullov's painting, advised by the archaeologist Gell, Lytton had looked at the ruins and, through his craftsmanship, imagined Pompeii as if new and whole once more. On a canvas, as huge as Briullov's, he peopled his historical novel with believable characters who lived in the houses Gell showed him. The novel skilfully exploits Gell's maps and reconstruction drawings of Pompeii while offering a vivid description of the volcanic eruption worthy of Briullov. (Harris, 2007, p. 168)

The remaining part of this section, provides an outline of the architectural depictions in the 1834 edition of *The Last Days of Pompeii*. The book has three volumes; the first volume contains Book 1 and Book 2, the second volume contains Book 3 and some parts of Book 4, and the last volume contains the remaining parts of Book 4, and Book 5. All the books from 1 to 5 are further divided into chapters. The first edition did not contain visuals but vivid descriptions made by author. The first illustrated version of the novel is published in 1834. In the *Illustrated Sterling Edition* [73], there are seven illustrations; each covering the full page. The first page of the book contains the photogravure of the blind girl Nydia taken from Carl Bodenhausen's painting (Figure 3.64). The second image displays an interior scene, and named the *Ideal Interior of a Pompeian House* (Book 2, Chapter 5) (Figure 3.65). This image refers to the text which tells about the conversations taking place in the *peristyle* garden of Glaucus' House. The fourth image is a photograph taken from the Forum (Book 3, Chapter 8), and unlike the previous example, it was not used as a reference to the story mentioned in this chapter; the story takes place in the house of Arbaces and there is no description about the Forum. The fifth image is a photograph from the House of Sallust (Book 4, Chapter 7), and is used as a reference to the story told in the chapter. The photograph of the Temple of Apollo is the sixth image (Book 5, Chapter 4). The last image which is on the last page of the novel is a photograph showing the ruinous state of House of Pansa (Figure 3.66). The last chapter is about the state of Pompeii after destruction, in which the author describes the ruinous state of domestic and public buildings: The last image, therefore, was deliberately chosen to display the ruins to the reader and to act as a reminder of the disaster.

[73] The work contains two novels written by Bulwer Lytton: *The Last Days of Pompeii* and *The Disowned*. (Source: www. archive.org)

Figure 3. 64 Photogravure displaying blind girl Nydia, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Edward Bulwer Lytton, 1834

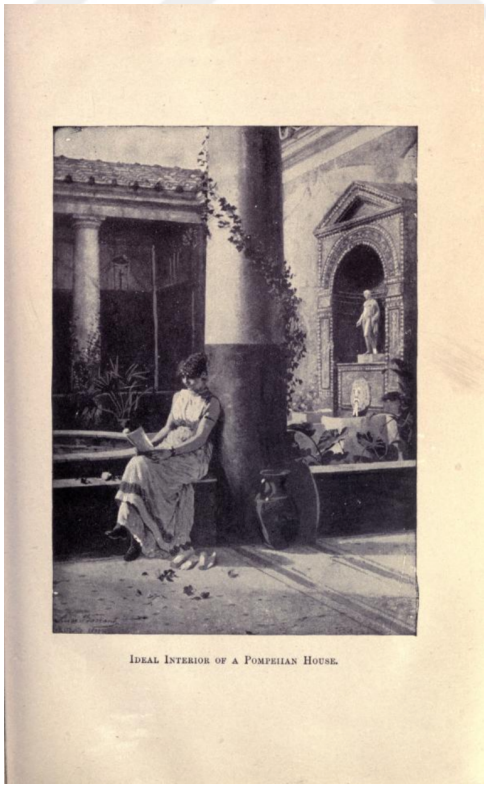


Figure 3. 65 Illustration of *peristyle* garden, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Edward Bulwer Lytton, 1834

Figure 3. 66 last image from the illustrated version, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Edward Bulwer Lytton, 1834

The publication of the first edition in 1834 was followed by several editions published by different publishers almost every year. The characteristic feature of these books was that they contained very few visual materials which were used as frontispieces. For example, on the front pages of the book in 1839, there are two images inspired by the story narrated. The first image displays Glaucus and Nydia together in an interior; the second illustrates an amphitheater scene in which a lion, a fighter, and spectators are shown (Figure 3.67). While a romantic ambiance was set in the first image, the second focused, in contrast, on the fatal fight between a wild animal and a fighter. The two images are a preview of the story told in the book. In the frontispiece of the edition published in 1850 Nydia and Ione are shown together in an indoor setting (Figure 3.68). The image shows such elements as a wall painting, column, statue, table, seating unit, vase and textiles together in a single illustration to visualize the vivid architectural depictions in the novel. The frontispiece of the 1879 edition is different as it featured a photographic image (Figure 3.69). The 19th century witnessed the increased use of photographs as a means of representation. This affected not only the travel literature produced on Pompeii, as discussed in the previous section, but also changed the representation methods used to illustrate the novels. In the 1879 edition of *The Last Days of Pompeii*, unlike the earlier editions which featured images related to the story, a photograph of the general view of Pompeii was used as the opening image.

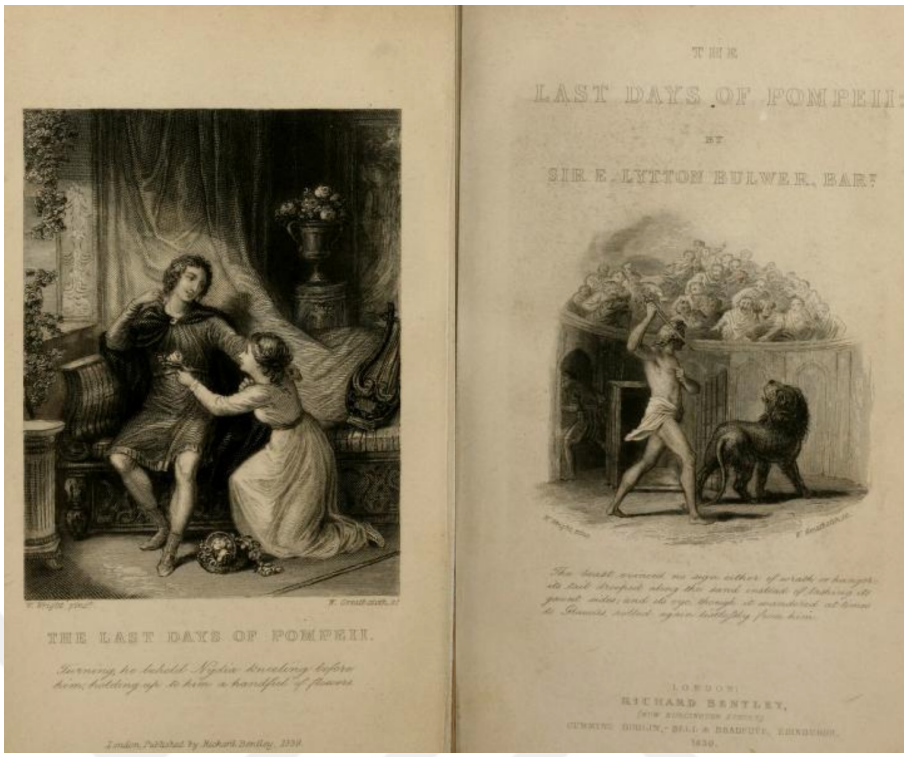


Figure 3. 67 Frontispiece of the novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Edward Bulwer Lytton, 1839

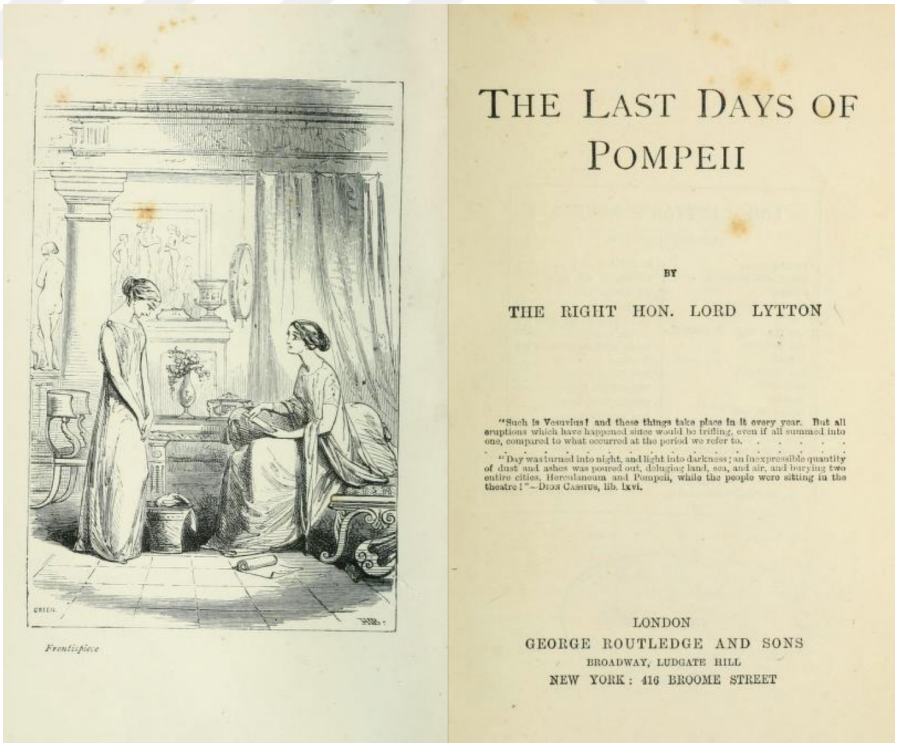


Figure 3. 68 Frontispiece of the novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Edward Bulwer Lytton, 1850

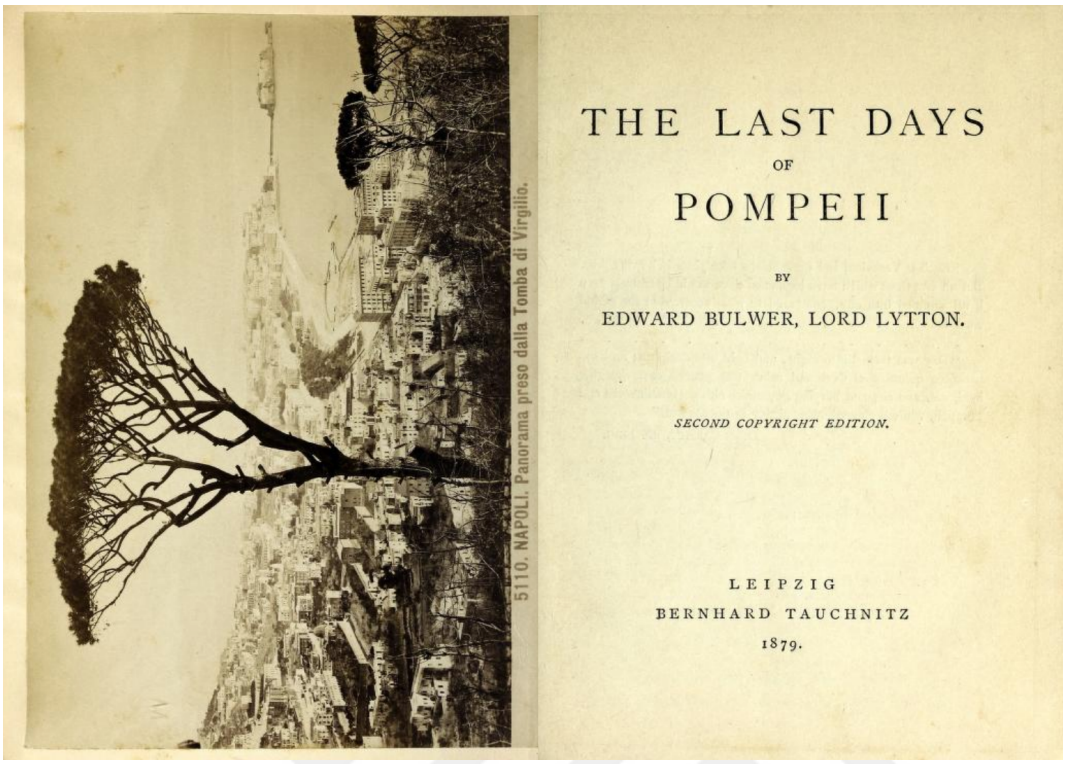


Figure 3. 69 Frontispiece of the novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Edward Bulwer Lytton, 1879

The first literary depictions of architectural features come in Vol. 1 B. 1 Ch. 2, entitled *The Blind Flower-Girl, And the Beauty of Fashion. The Athenian's Confession. The Reader's Introduction to Arbaces of Egypt:*

> Pompeii was the miniature of the civilization of that age. Within the narrow compass of its walls was contained, as it were, a specimen of every gift which luxury offered to power. In its minute but glittering shops, its tiny palaces, its baths, its forum, its theatre, its circus—in the energy yet corruption, in the refinement yet the vice, of its people, you beheld a model of the whole empire. It was a toy, a plaything, a show box, in which the gods seemed pleased to keep the representation of the great monarchy of earth, and which they afterwards hid from time, to give to the wonder of posterity—the moral of the maxim, that under the sun there is nothing new. (Lytton, 1834, pp. 20-21)

Lytton's use of such words to describe the city as; 'the miniature of the civilization'. Accordingly, Pompeii was a modest replica of Rome with its urban planning, public buildings and dwellings. This is presumably why Lytton used some of the actual dwellings found in Pompeii as his characters' houses. For instance, for Glaucus he chose the House of the Tragic Poet (House of the Dramatic Poet) which is seen by many, a prototype of Pompeian domestic architecture. The house which is located on the main street leading

to Forum was excavated between 1824 and 1826, and named after the discovery of a floor mosaic *emblema* in the *tablinum* which portrayed a dramatist and a group of actors. The house typically has an *atrium* and a *peristyle* courtyard, and became well-known by its wall paintings that depicted mythological scenes, and mosaics.

The title of Chapter 3 in Vol. 1 B. 1, *Parentage of Glaucus-Description of The Houses of Pompeii-Classic Revel,* also shows how the author used the architecture displayed in the site as a direct reference for the organization of the book and the introduction of the character of Glaucus. Lytton consciously makes his first reference to the elegant residence of Glaucus and not to his personality and power, suggesting that he was well aware of the fact that the house in Pompeii was a place of self-representation, power and status. Lytton describes the beauty of the house and gives information about its actual state at that time, by such details like the faded colors of the walls and walls without paintings:

> HEAVEN had given to Glaucus every blessing but one: it had given him beauty, health, fortune, genius, illustrious descent, a heart of fire, a mind of poetry; but it had denied him the heritage of freedom. He was born in Athens, the subject of Rome. Succeeding early to an ample inheritance, he had indulged that inclination for travel so natural to the young, and had drunk deep of the intoxicating draught of pleasure amidst the gorgeous luxuries of the imperial court.
>
> He was an Alcibiades without ambition. He was what a man of imagination, youth, fortune, and talents, readily becomes when you deprive him of the inspiration of glory. His house at Rome was the theme of the debauchees, but also of the lovers of art; and the sculptors of Greece delighted to task their skill in adorning the porticoes and *exedrae* of an Athenian. His retreat in Pompeii—alas! the colors are faded now, the walls stripped of their paintings! - its main beauty, its elaborate finish of grace and ornament, is gone; yet when first given once more to the day, what eulogies, what wonder, did its minute and glowing decorations create - its paintings - its mosaics! Passionately enamoured of poetry and the drama, which recalled to Glaucus the wit and the heroism of his race, that fairy mansion was adorned with representations of AEschylus and Homer. And antiquaries, who resolve taste to a trade, have turned the patron to the professor, and still (though the error is now acknowledged) they style in custom, as they first named in mistake, the disburied house of the Athenian Glaucus 'THE HOUSE OF THE DRAMATIC POET'. (Lytton, Vol. 1 B. 1 Ch. 3, 1834, pp. 31-32)

In the same chapter (Chapter 3), Lytton describes the architectural layout of the house as well. But this time he uses a descriptive tone. The plan of the house is explained briefly by using an itinerary that referred to the axial spatial alignment which began from the entrance and culminated in the garden at the back of the house, thus portraying a typical Pompeian residence. Lytton also elaborates on the luxury and elegance of the houses; according to him all the house plans, despite minor differences were same and elegant. When he had visited the city only a small part of the city was excavated and the houses

that were found until then were not distinguished much in their decoration; the subsequent exavations would yield modest and less pretentious.[74] He must have assumed that a clear description of the spatiality of the houses presented in the novel, would make the readers mentally reconstruct them more easily. Although the book is a fictional narration, the way its language is set and the content is designed, both as text and image, it gave the reader a chance to comprehend the reality and the actuality of the matter, and that made the narration stronger in terms of its structure and theme:

> Previous to our description of this house, it may be as well to convey to the reader a general notion of the houses of Pompeii, which he will find to resemble strongly the plans of Vitruvius; but with all those differences in detail, of caprice and taste, which being natural to mankind, have always puzzled antiquaries. We shall endeavor to make this description as clear and unpedantic as possible.
>
> You enter then, usually, by a small entrance-passage (called *cestibulum*), into a hall, sometimes with (but more frequently without) the ornament of columns; around three sides of this hall are doors communicating with several bedchambers (among which is the porter's), the best of these being usually appropriated to country visitors. At the extremity of the hall, on either side to the right and left, if the house is large, there are two small recesses, rather than chambers, generally devoted to the ladies of the mansion; and in the center of the tessellated pavement of the hall is invariably a square, shallow reservoir for rain water (classically termed *impluvium*), which was admitted by an aperture in the roof above; the said aperture being covered at will by an awning. Near this *impluvium*, which had a peculiar sanctity in the eyes of the ancients, were sometimes (but at Pompeii more rarely than at Rome) placed images of the household gods…
>
> Right opposite the entrance, at the other end of the hall, was an apartment (*tablinum*), in which the pavement was usually adorned with rich mosaics, and the walls covered with elaborate paintings…These rooms all opened on a square or oblong colonnade, technically termed peristyle…
>
> At the end of the peristyle was generally the kitchen. Supposing the house was large, it did not end with the peristyle, and the center thereof was not in that case a garden, but might be, perhaps, adorned with a fountain, or basin for fish; and at its end, exactly opposite to the *tablinum*, was generally another eating-room, on either side of which were bedrooms, and, perhaps, a picture-saloon, or *pinacotheca*…
>
> At Pompeii, a second or third story was rarely of importance, being built only above a small part of the house, and containing rooms for the slaves; differing in this respect from the more magnificent edifices of Rome, which generally contained the principal eating-room (or *caenaculum*) on the second floor…
>
> The reader will now have a tolerable notion of the Pompeian houses, which resembled in some respects the Grecian, but mostly the Roman fashion of domestic architecture. In almost every house there is some difference in detail from the rest, but the principal outline is the same in all. In all you find the hall, the *tablinum*, and the peristyle,

[74] Bulwer Lytton made tours to Italy in 1833 and 1834. At the time of his visits, only a vast part of the Regions 6, 7, and 8 were excavated; Regions 1, 2 (except Amphitheatre), 3, 4, 5 and 9 were not yet excavated. The houses that had been excavated until then include House of Sallust, House of Pansa, Villa of Diomedes, House of the Tragic Poet, House of the Large Fountain, and House of the Faun.

> communicating with each other; in all you find the walls richly painted; and all the evidence of a people fond of the refining elegancies of life. The purity of the taste of the Pompeians in decoration is, however, questionable: they were fond of the gaudiest colors, of fantastic designs; they often painted the lower half of their columns a bright red, leaving the rest uncolored; and where the garden was small, its wall was frequently tinted to deceive the eye as to its extent, imitating trees, birds, temples, etc., in perspective—a meretricious delusion which the graceful pedantry of Pliny himself adopted, with a complacent pride in its ingenuity… (Lytton, Vol. 1 B. 1 Ch. 3, 1834, pp. 32-39)

In Chapter 7 (Vol. 1 B. 2), *The Solitude and Soliloquy of The Egyptian - His Character Analyzed,* Lytton departs from the domestic environment to elaborate on how it feels to live close to Mount Vesuvius. From the sea to the mountain, the vivid imagery created by the author keeps alive the enthusiasm of the reader from the eyes of the characters:

> He turned his gaze from the city and the ocean; before him lay the vineyards and meadows of the rich Campania. The gate and walls—ancient, half *Pelasgic*—of the city, seemed not to bound its extent. Villas and villages stretched on every side up the ascent of Vesuvius, not nearly then so steep or so lofty as at present. For, as Rome itself is built on an exhausted volcano, so in similar security the inhabitants of the South tenanted the green and vine-clad places around a volcano whose fires they believed at rest for ever. From the gate stretched the long street of tombs, various in size and architecture, by which, on that side, the city is as yet approached. Above all, rode the cloud-capped summit of the Dread Mountain, with the shadows, now dark, now light, betraying the mossy caverns and ashy rocks, which testified the past conflagrations, and might have prophesied—but man is blind—that which was to come! (Lytton, Vol. 1 B. 2 Ch. 7, 1834, pp. 278-279)

Vol. 2 B. 3 Ch. 1, *The Forum of The Pompeians- The First Rude Machinery by Which the New Era of The World Was Wrought* contains depictions on the most illustrated area of the city, the Forum. Lytton's comparison is accompanied by opinions about the nature of public buildings in Pompeii. For him, all were decorated extensively, as in the houses, and thus had served as a 'real home'. In here, Lytton provides a comparison, one more time, of the past and present by exemplifying Paris and Italy to show that the ancients were not much different in their daily life and emotions.

> IT was early noon, and the forum was crowded alike with the busy and the idle. As at Paris at this day, so at that time in the cities of Italy, men lived almost wholly out of doors: the public buildings, the forum, the porticoes, the baths, the temples themselves, might be considered their real homes; it was no wonder that they decorated so gorgeously these favorite places of resort—they felt for them a sort of domestic affection as well as a public pride. And animated was, indeed, the aspect of the forum of Pompeii at that time! ... (Lytton, Vol. 2 B. 3 Ch. 1, 1834, p. 3)

In his study upon late antiquity in English novels Richard Jenkins reflects on this as such:

> In the nineteenth century, the feeling that the ancients were really much like us sometimes goes hand in hand with the tendency to idealize the past, to contrast it with the humdrum present. This may seem paradoxical-one of those cases of two inconsistent attitudes being held together in a single mind-but the paradox is not really so very difficult to resolve: the more one revered the ancients, the more exciting it was to discover that one had something in common with them. (Jenkins, 1995, p. 144)

In Chapter 6 (Vol. 2 B. 3), *The Porter- The Girl and the Gladiator,* the narration moves to the well-known Villa of Diomedes which is located on the Street of the Tombs. The villa, like the residence of Glaucus, is an elaborate one and is depicted as a luxurious mansion. The villa's grandeur testifies the wealth acquired by the owner. Located in a panoramic site, the terraces were placed to maximize the views opening towards the sea. The large suburban villa is one of the largest residences in Pompeii, and it does not have an axial *domus* plan. Lytton did not give detailed information on the layout, but in order to make the reader animate the house he chose to display the scenes that take place in the *cubiculum*. Chapter 7 (Vol. 2 B. 3), *The Dressing Room of a Pompeian Beauty - Important Conversation Between Julia and Nydia,* takes place in the Villa of Diomedes and provides a detailed panorama of the *cubiculum* that belonged to Diomedes's daughter Julia:

> THE elegant Julia sat in her chamber, with her slaves around her—like the cubiculum which adjoined it, the room was small, but much larger than the usual apartments appropriated to sleep, which were so diminutive, that few who have not seen the bed-chambers, even in the gayest mansions, can form any notion of the petty pigeon-holes in which the citizens of Pompeii evidently thought it desirable to pass the night. But, in fact, 'bed' with the ancients was not that grave, serious, and important part of domestic mysteries which it is with us. The couch itself was more like a very narrow and small sofa, light enough to be transported easily, and by the occupant himself, from place to place; and it was, no doubt, constantly shifted from chamber to chamber, according to the caprice of the inmate, or the changes of the season; for that side of the house which was crowded in one month, might, perhaps, be carefully avoided in the next.
>
> There was also among the Italians of that period a singular and fastidious apprehension of too much daylight; their darkened chambers, which first appear to us the result of a negligent architecture, were the effect of the most elaborate study. In their porticoes and gardens, they courted the sun whenever it so pleased their luxurious tastes. In the interior of their houses they sought rather the coolness and the shade.
>
> Julia's apartment at that season was in the lower part of the house, immediately beneath the state rooms above, and looking upon the garden, with which it was on a level. The wide door, which was glazed, alone admitted the morning rays: yet her eye, accustomed to a certain darkness, was sufficiently acute to perceive exactly what colors were the most becoming—what shade of the delicate rouge gave the brightest beam to her dark glance, and the most youthful freshness to her cheek.
> On the table, before which she sat, was a small and circular mirror of the most polished steel: round which, in precise order, were ranged the cosmetics and the unguents—the perfumes and the paints—the jewels and combs—the ribands and the gold pins, which

> were destined to add to the natural attractions of beauty the assistance of art and the capricious allurements of fashion. Through the dimness of the room glowed brightly the vivid and various colorings of the wall, in all the dazzling frescoes of Pompeian taste. Before the dressing-table, and under the feet of Julia, was spread a carpet, woven from the looms of the East. Near at hand, on another table, was a silver basin and ewer; an extinguished lamp, of most exquisite workmanship, in which the artist had represented a Cupid reposing under the spreading branches of a myrtle-tree; and a small roll of papyrus, containing the softest elegies of Tibullus. Before the door, which communicated with the cubiculum, hung a curtain richly broidered with gold flowers. Such was the dressing-room of a beauty eighteen centuries ago. (Lytton, Vol. 3 B. 3 Ch. 3, 1834, pp. 100-103)

By describing the room as 'negligent', Lytton underlines the darkness which stems from the design itself; the porticos and the gardens are, thus, the only places that took direct daylight in the villa. The presence of a slave around her mistress is another detail used by Lytton to convey the atmosphere of the room. The vivid imagery and interpretation presented by Lytton is reminiscent of the language and technique used by the 19th century romantic painters, named as Neo-Pompeian painters overlapping with the Neo-Grec movement of classicism, to illustrate the ancient interiors. They painted, in particular, scenes of the everyday life in ancient Rome based on the discoveries of the excavations conducted in the Campanian sites.[75] Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, who was born in Netherlands but won success as an artist in Britain, was among these painters. Alma-Tadema was one of the celebrated and leading figures in the genre and painted vivid and colorful scenes that showed aspects of ancient daily life. His works influenced much of the later visual representations that reconstructed the ancient life on a canvas (Figure 3.70). Alma-Tadema created his hallmark by the visual grammar he used, which included views of the sea, marble surfaces, statues, artifacts, and ancient Roman figures dressed colorfully.

[75] See Moser, S. (2019). *Painting Antiquity: Ancient Egypt in the Art of Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Edward Poynter and Edwin Long.* Oxford University Press, USA. and Lippincott, L. (1991). *Lawrence Alma Tadema: Spring.* Getty Publications, Malibu.

Figure 3. 70 *The Vintage Festival* (1871) by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema showing an interior scene which was set in the villa of Marcus Holconius Rufus, a prominent citizen of Pompeii (Source: www.ngv.vic.gov.au)

Alma-Tadema's paintings that showed Pompeian interiors, most likely, was not much different than what Lytton had imagined. As Lytton mentioned, 'Pompeian taste' showed itself especially in the colors chosen in the wall frescoes. The *cubiculum* narrated by Lytton, indeed, takes the reader's attention to the architectural features of the space.

Lytton mentions about the Villa of Diomedes in Chapter 3 (Vol. 2 B. 4), *A Fashionable Party and a Dinner a La Mode in Pompeii,* as well, to make a comparison between a suburban villa and a town mansion. In this part, architectural descriptions continue to be the highlighted narrations. The visual axes that were used in the planning of the Pompeian houses and discussed extensively as the distinguishing aspect of Roman *domus* in modern scholarship was also emphasized by Lytton, who prefers to use the word 'communicate' instead of 'connect' to accentuate that the spaces visually communicated with each via architecture and decoration:

> As Diomed's villa is one of the most considerable in point of size of any yet discovered at Pompeii, and is, moreover, built much according to the specific instructions for a suburban villa laid down by the Roman architect, it may not be uninteresting briefly to describe the plan of the apartments through which our visitors passed.
>
> They entered, then, by the same small vestibule at which we have before been presented to the aged Medon, and passed at once into a colonnade, technically termed the peristyle; for the main difference between the suburban villa and the town mansion consisted in placing, in the first, the said colonnade in exactly the same place as that which in the town mansion was occupied by the atrium. In the center of the peristyle was an open court, which contained the *impluvium*.

***

Let him then first imagine the columns of the portico, hung with festoons of flowers; the columns themselves in the lower part painted red, and the walls around glowing with various frescoes; then, looking beyond a curtain, three parts drawn aside, the eye caught the *tablinum* or saloon (which was closed at will by glazed doors, now slid back into the walls). On either side of this *tablinum* were small rooms, one of which was a kind of cabinet of gems; and these apartments, as well as the *tablinum*, communicated with a long gallery, which opened at either end upon terraces; and between the terraces, and communicating with the central part of the gallery, was a hall, in which the banquet was that day prepared. All these apartments, though almost on a level with the street, were one story above the garden; and the terraces communicating with the gallery were continued into corridors, raised above the pillars which, to the right and left, skirted the garden below. (Lytton, Vol. 3, B. 4 Ch. 3, 1834, pp. 221-223)

In the chapter 11, (Vol. 3 B. 5), *Chapter the Last- Wherein All Things Cease,* in the last volume*,* Lytton composes a narration about the destruction and decadence of the city, accompanied by architectural illustrations. As understood from his descriptions, the 'decadence' does not only refer to the end of the city together with its habitants, but also to the start of its unearthing. The poetic narration and the expressions used in this chapter actually serve, apart from dramatizing the catastrophe, to reconstruct the demolished, and hence the invisible architecture, on pages as swell:

Nearly Seventeen Centuries had rolled away when the City of Pompeii was disinterred from its silent tomb, all vivid with undimmed hues; its walls fresh as if painted yesterday—not a hue faded on the rich mosaic of its floors—in its forum the half-finished columns as left by the workman's hand—in its gardens the sacrificial tripod—in its halls the chest of treasure—in its baths the strigil—in its theatres the counter of admission—in its saloons the furniture and the lamp—in its triclinia the fragments of the last feast—in its cubicula the perfumes and the rouge of faded beauty—and everywhere the bones and skeletons of those who once moved the springs of that minute yet gorgeous machine of luxury and of life!

***

The houses of Sallust and of Pansa, the Temple of Isis, with the juggling concealments behind the statues—the lurking-place of its holy oracles—are now bared to the gaze of the curious. (Lytton, Vol. 3 B. 5 Ch. 11, 1834, pp. 309-311)

Bulwer Lytton was a passionate antiquarian. Therefore, it is not surprising that he wanted to 'recreate' the past and 'juxtapose' it on the present.[76] He used William Gell's *Pompeiana*, the first archaeological handbook that scientifically presented Pompeii, and collected information about the ruins to construct the architectural settings in the book. Lytton had

[76] For further information about Lytton see Goldstein, L. (1979). "The Impact of Pompeii on the Literary Imagination", *The Centennial Review* 23 (3), pp. 227-241; Jenkyns, R. (1995). "Late Antiquity in English Novels of the Nineteenth century", *Arion* 3 (2/3), pp. 141-166; Mitchell, L. (2003). *Bulwer Lytton: The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Man of Letters*. Bloomsbury Publishing: London.; Goldhill, S. (2012). "A Writer's Things: Edward Bulwer Lytton and the Archaeological Gaze; or, What's in a Skull?", *Representations* 119 (1), pp. 92-118.

visited the city, experienced the site and combined 'fact' and 'fiction', to make his narration a live one. In other words, he used the scientific information that came from the field of archaeology to fabricate a fictionalized history. His keen passion to animate the past, also shaped his way of life. He furnished his residence, the Knebworth House, in the typical Victorian style in which two skulls named after the characters in the book was exhibited as accessories (Figure 3.71). The skulls, moreoever, were unearthed from Pompeii; John Auldjo who was a friend of Bulwer Lytton from Cambridge, brought them in 1856 (Goldhill, 2012).

> Inside the standard, large, upright display cabinet is a smaller Victorian glass case designed to sit on a desk. There are two skulls in it, which are labeled as the skull of Arbaces and the skull of Calenus. That is, the visitor is presented with the bodily remains of two of the leading characters of The Last Days of Pompeii. (Goldhill, 2012, p. 93)

Figure 3. 71 View of the Banquetting Hall from the Minstrel's Gallery in Knebworth House (Source: www.knebworthhouse.com)

Goldhill (2012) states that the installation of skulls in a glass cage is a self-presentation of the writer in his own home which served as a suitable setting for a celebrity-author; in the 19th century England it is known that the writers were approached like superstars, and thus their homes later became sites of pilgrimage. The installation, apart from being a tool of self-presentation, can also be seen as a reflexive gesture of recreating the story of a fictionalized novel in a present world.

Auldjo, in a letter that addressed Lytton mentions how the perception of Pompeii has changed after the publication of *The Last Days of Pompeii*:

> Will it not gratify you to know that people begin to ask for Ione's house—and that there are disputes about which was Julia's room in Diomed's villa—Pompeii was truly a city of the dead—there were no familiar spirits hovering over its remains— but now—you have made poetical its very air—you have created a new feeling in its visitors. In the dusk, wandering through its deserted streets, the rapt antiquarian startles at the rustling of the olive leaves and fancies he sees the shade of Arbaces the Egyptian beneath the luxuriant festoons, or the peasant girl tramps her way home, singing her evening song, pictures to himself Nydia, feeling her way through the forum and crying, "come, buy my flowers" (Goldhill, 2015, p. 15).

Some English writers had already visited Pompeii, before the publication of the novel. But it was Lytton's romantic imagination that had recreated "the last days of Pompeii" and became the most influential work ever created on antiquity in the entertainment media as well. "Bulwer Lytton's novel brought together the Pacini and Auber strands of volcano narrative, and it was to have an influence on all subsequent volcanic entertainments – fictional, dramatic, operatic, pyrotechnic, and filmic" (Daly, 2015, p. 36).

3.5 Staging the Ruins: Photograph as a New Representation/Narration Media in Travel

The early traveler-authors of the 18th century shared their experiences with texts and by books, while the later travelers with visual tools and displayed not only their experiences but also their presence in places where they had visited. The photographs were taken as proof for the traveler who wanted to state: "I was there".

Antiquity, "rediscovered" via photography in the 19th century, testified the survival of the past into the modern era. Louis Daguerre invented the daguerreotype in 1839, and then Louis Henry Fox Talbot announced the discovery of the photographic process using a negative and a paper-based imaging operation (Salem, 2018). These innovations led to an increase of demand for 'place images', a demand that was fed and supported by the advances in technology, such as wet collodion, dry collodion, albumen prints, stereographs, carbon prints, and photogravures. The demand also led to the establishment of photograph studios in both the destination countries and London. The studios

produced images captured from ancient sites and architecture. The first architectural photographs of ancient ruins in Italy were published in Rome.

The Scottish-born Robert Macpherson was among the most accomplished early photographers who cataloged more than four hundred photographs taken from Rome and its environs. In a way, he made the camera a new media to 'present the past' and thus popularized ruin photography as a genre. His photograph showing Colosseum is an example of how he and the early 'ruin photographers' took shots of ancient buildings to create 'constructed images of antiquity':

> Photographs of the building, like Macpherson's, generally depict its most ruined side, where the upper arcades had been destroyed, leaving an evocatively uneven silhouette. One could hardly ask for a more effective visual metaphor for "decline and fall." Once again what we are seeing is not a disinterested, objective view of the ancient site but an image that has been carefully constructed to convey a particular interpretation of an ancient culture. (Llyons, 2005, p. 17)

Photography became a superior tool of representation for archaeology, which was at its birth as a discipline in the middle of the 19th century. The camera provided an opportunity to depict the past and thus played a significant role in the visualization of antiquity. Antiquity back then, was seen as a source of satisfying personal aesthetic and emotional experience, an authoritative symbol of communal identity, and finally, a mass-produced commodity and photography became engaged with it more than any other tool did previously.

Cameras became an inseparable travel accessory in the 19th century. The travel documentation included recording, and visualizing the buildings, ruins and natural settings with notes and photographs. In the early examples, it is seen that the photographers took shots of the ruins without any human figures. Human figures, in particular the Grand Tourists, began to feature in the shots starting from the middle of the 19th century. Like some of the contemporary painters, mentioned in the 2nd chapter, photographers presented the ruins in a modern composition to create a visual message that juxtaposed different elements of the 'present' and the 'past'. For example, in his 1884 engraving *The Festival of Pompeii, the Circus of Gladiators*, which recreated a gladiator game watched by a Victorian audience, Auguste Louis Lepère portrayed both human figures

dressed in ancient costumes and also an audience in 19th century dresses in the same scene (see Figure 2.36). The ruins, indeed, acted as a 'décor' in this shot. Giorgia Alù (2008) in the book titled *Beyond the Traveller's Gaze: Expatriate Ladies Writing in Sicily (1848-1910)* mentions that through the visualizing mechanism of the camera, the world was re-staged and the travel photographs modified the function of paintings:

> Travel photographs are scrutinized at home (the point of departure and return), after the conclusion of a journey. They are generally meant to evoke past moments and experiences lived in a place which is geographically distant from home. Going through photographs taken abroad, the traveler-viewer recalls (with nostalgia or regret) fragments of a past reality which has got a tenuous relationship to the present, s/he can position him/herself in opposition to Other left behind. In this way travel photographs mark an absence. (p. 133)

The shots of ruins proved that "the archaeologist *was there and found this"* as well (Llyons, p. 25). Views of ancient buildings featured in the early photography were used to illustrate and document research expeditions, and created a further genre; the photo-documentary. The photograph, in this sense, was not only a real-time presentation of the captured view but also a medium of representation. As ruins were legible in their context, the shots provoked, at the same time, an act of reading history layer by layer. They allowed the beholder to see a composition together with the real state and the ruined state of the buildings and sites; it was a juxtaposition of the historical layers. As such, photography became appreciated both as an ideal memory item and also a companion to archaeological publications.

The first views from Pompeii were produced as daguerreotypes[77] by Alexander John Ellis in 1841. During his tour of Italy, he took daguerreotype panoramas, landscapes, and architectural views, and acquired 159 photographic works. The photographs were composed according to the rules and traditions used in the medium of painting, in this sense the views demonstrate a reciprocal link between painting and photography. For

[77] Daguerreotype is the first photographic process invented by Louis Jacques Mande Daguerre in 1839. The technique was to sensitize to light a highly-polished silver surface that was on a copper plate by exposing it to iodine fumes; the plate was exposed in a camera and was developed with mercury vapor. Daguerreotypes were unique images that could appear as positive or negative, depending on how the light hit the surface.

instance, a daguerreotype image that displayed a view from the Basilica and the Forum was a composition and representation of the *vedutisti* tradition in painting. (Cassanelli, 1997) (Figure 3.72).[78] Eight of the photograph series portrayed Pompeii, its then well-known public edifices and places including The Temple of Jupiter, The Forum from different angles, The Basilica, and The Street of Tombs. His project of publishing engravings from daguerreotypes, and compiling them in a book, to be titled *Italy Daguerreotyped,* however, was never achieved. In 1849 Stefano Lecchi, an Italian photographer produced 41 salted paper prints from Pompeii and assembled them in a photograph album. The commission was given to Lecchi by the government with the purpose to document the excavations at Pompeii. The monuments captured were selected by Lecchi. Similar to Ellis' method, his works were influenced by the *vedutisti* tradition.

Figure 3. 72 Daguerreotype image by Alexander John Ellis in 1841, showing The Forum from south east (Source: https://www.ssplprints.com)

In the second half of the 19th century, the director of the Royal Museum in Naples and superintendent of excavations, the Principe di San Giorgio, Domenico Spinelli, initiated the comprehensive photographic documentation of Pompeii, the photographs displaying the antiquities at the site became empirical documents (Llyons, 2005). In the 1860s,

[78] Veduta is a highly detailed large-scale painting or print of a city, and the painters who worked in this style are called *Vedutisti.*

photography had become a regularly used documentation tool in excavations. Giuseppe Fiorelli, the excavation director of Pompeii (1863- 1875), was the leading figure who used it extensively. He shared his sensational discovery of producing human plaster cast techniques, for example, through photography. "In the hands of the tourist-voyeur, cadaver photographs licensed a morbid spectacle of writhing victims that were de rigeur in souvenir albums" (Llyons, 2005, p. 54). The photographic documentation of Pompeii, beginning from the 1860s, also owes a lot to Giorgio Sommer. His collaboration with Giuseppe Fiorelli paved the way for him to become the principal architectural photographer of Pompeii, who photographed all the major excavations, and also the collection at Naples Museum. Sommer established a photography studio in 1857. Sommer's studio also produced a colorful version of the photographs by the support of colorists who added watercolors on the black and white prints (Figure 3.73). These productions aimed to elaborate on the beholders' experiences and to increase the quality of the photographs. An example of this is the photograph that shows the remains of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta with tourists who posed at the high podium of the temple.

Figure 3. 73 Hand-colored albumen silver print from Temple of Fortuna Augusta, about 1870s, (Lyons, 2005, p.199)

At the end of the 19th century, photography was firmly established as the new representation media and hence visual evidence of travel. Pompeii and Mount Vesuvius had become popular photographic backgrounds for the travelers before they were utilized as background scenery in the movies of the 20th century. The travelers documented their first-hand site experiences in their travel books and by photographs that contained their poses. The photographs provided an opportunity to use them as visual materials for the books, which were authored by travelers to become part of the frames from the middle of the 19th century onwards.

Among the themes captured by the photographs taken in Pompeii were familiar compositions such as group or single portraits taken in front of the ruins, group portraits were taken on Mount Vesuvius, and also the poses that showed how the visitors went up to the mountain.

Posing at Mount Vesuvius, Both Mount Vesuvius and the transportation endeavor up to its crater became popular photographic themes for tourists and photographers. Vesuvius did not offer an easy reach and climb. Before a funicular was put into operation in 1880, access to the crater was done either on foot, horseback, or sedan-chairs, the latter being the most comfortable.

The adventurous climb to the mountain was captured in one of Giorgio Sommer's photographs. The photograph showed the transportation of a lady by a sedan chair carried by four men (Figure 3.74). A detail that draws attention in such photographs is the travel clothes of the tourists. The participants of the tours were dressed in the best-aestheticized costumes of the Victorian and then Edwardian society, despite the dangerous and challenging mountain climbing. It is, indeed, known that the aristocratic ladies gave importance to the visual quality of dressing and thus followed a special dress-code for every occasion from meetings and balls to dinners in the Victorian age. Travel, in this respect, had also become a special occasion to dress appropriately. As such, unlike today's travel wardrobe based on being comfortable, the Victorian travelers prioritized an appropriated look as they expected to be photographed.

Figure 3. 74 Group of visitors photographed by Giorgio Sommer, (De Carolis and G. Patricelli, 2003, p. 18)

The mountain was a natural formation and not a ruin. Nevertheless, the photographs that captured both the mountain and the ruins in the ancient city with people share common features. For example, the photographic order of men and women are very similar, in which women appear, generally, on the front line.

Sommer, in another photograph of 1892, labeled as *Eruzione del Vesuvio, Cratere* (Eruption of Vesuvius, Crater), pictured a group of tourists who had posed at the crater during their visit to Pompeii (Figure 3.75). The photographic frame was organized by Sommer in order not to focus on the poses of travelers but rather capture the landscape from a wide-angle, which shows the top of the mountain, and the frame aimed to display the picturesque beauty of the landscape. The sedan chair also features as a common theme in both of the photographs taken by Sommer, most likely to illustrate the transportation method. In both shots, furthermore, the posing arrangement and the location of people were set by the photographer, as understood from the fact that they were directly looking at the camera, and from a cinematic perspective, they were breaking the fourth wall.[79]

[79] The fourth wall is an imaginary wall that separates the audience from the action taking place in a play or film. As the actor talks directly to the audience or looks directly to the camera, this action entitles 'breaking the fourth wall.' Moreover, by directly addressing the audience the actor, indeed, acknowledges the fictionality.

Figure 3. 75 *Eruzione del Vesuvio, Cratere* (Eruption of Vesuvius, Crater) by Giorgio Sommer (http://www.kulturpool.at)

The sedan chair had actually remained as a transportation method well in the early 20th century as well. A notable set of photographs that prove the use of sedan chairs in this period was taken at the Basilica in Pompeii in 1923. The work is a gelatin silver print photograph that shows Frank Carpenter, a visitor to the site, being carried in a sedan chair by two carefree natives (Figure 3.76).

Figure 3. 76 Frank Carpenter, a visitor to Pompeii on a sedan chair, 1923. (Source: www.loc.gov)

Giorgio Sommer took one of the early photographs of the funicular in 1892 (Figure 3.77).[80] This albumen print showed a group of tourists on their way to Vesuvius. The shot showed the funicular on the move as opposed to most of the other funicular photographs that showed it at the lower station, and often in a static pose.

Figure 3. 77 Funicular to Vesuvius, by Giorgio Sommer, 1892
(Source: http://www.kulturpool.at)

Mountain climbing, in fact, became practiced as a 'travel event' in the Victorian world since the 19th century. Among the mountains conquered in this sense were Mont Blanc (Italy), Snowdon (Great Britain), Ben Nevis (Great Britain), and a few Lakeland peaks. Vesuvius became a new destination for mountaineering, but not because it provided Alpine climbing, but it offered a picturesque landscape. Its rising popularity was also closely related to the romantic trajectory of the era that had begun to circulate in the European context at the end of the18th century. As suggested by McNee (2017), mountaineering was a motive for romantic transcendence.

[80] Transportation to Vesuvius became more manageable after a funicular was put into operation in 1880. It had two separate tracks, one for each of the two counterbalanced cars. The original cars were renewed after a renovation in 1889 and were introduced to the public with the names 'Etna' and 'Vesuvio.' The transportation of visitors to the top of the mountain by the funicular became a commonly depicted theme in postcards and photographs. It became so popular that Luigi Denza composed a Neapolitan song named *Funiculi, Funiculà* to commemorate the opening of the funicular (Harris, 2007, p. 190).

> Meanwhile, the disparate group of writers and artists that would retroactively come to be known as the Romantic movement was depicting mountain landscapes in ways that celebrated rugged, irregular nature and often emphasized the subjective experience of the human visitor to the mountains…All contributed to a growing interest in mountains both at home and abroad, while the end of the Napoleonic wars, the introduction of regular cross-Channel steamers, and improved rail networks in Britain and on Continental Europe allowed more visitors to travel to mountainous areas. (pp. 6-7)

Although the picturesque setting of Vesuvius had attracted visitors, it was not the sole reason of their interest. Vesuvius was not only a mountain with a scenic view but was a mountain which destroyed a city in a day; a locus which attested the tragic end of the city narrated in later stories of decadence and fall.

An undated albumen print containing photographs of Giorgio Sommer, Giovanni Crupi, Wilhelm von Gloeden, Francesco Ciappei, Alfred Noack, and some other anonymous photographers are among those photographic works that captured group portraits on Mount Vesuvius (Figure 3.78). In these works, the location of posing and the frame were arranged by the photographer to capture both the site and the mountain at the back. Such a photograph, dated to 1888 and credited to Giorgio Sommer, shows the Brazilian Imperial Family, a crowded group who had posed at the mountain, apparently demonstrating the overseas popularity of the ancient sites in Italy (Figure 3.79). As mentioned by Anita Correia Lima de Almeida (2017) Vesuvius, which did not escape the avid gaze of the Rio press, was presented to the public in Rio de Janeiro through the news (the earliest news dates back to 1812) in the press, and with cosmoramas and other optical entertainment devices that displayed the eruption of Vesuvius. The imperial couple, Teresa Cristina Maria, who was born as the Princess of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and Emperor Dom Pedro II of Brazil, had visited the ruins of Pompeii. As with many other visitors did, they also showed a particular interest in Vesuvius. The emperor himself also narrated the imperial couples' travel in his diary. During their visit, the imperial couple was photographed with their entourage. The twisted ground of solidified lava visible at the foreground and the vapors, the so-called fumaroles, in the background of the image, contextualize the group in the volcanic landscape. At first sight, the group follows, at least in part, the traditional arrangement of human figures in the 19th photography, with the men standing behind and women sitting comfortably in the front row. The women were seated on chairs, probably those used by the porters mentioned in the emperor's diary.

Figure 3. 78 Group portrait at Vesuvius, Giorgio Sommer, 1883
(Source: www.commons.wikimedia.org)

Figure 3. 79 Brazilian Imperial Family at Vesuvius, Giorgio Sommer, 1888
(Source: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321479058)

Posing in Person, The personal poses taken at Vesuvius resembled those taken in the studios in certain ways. According to Alù (2008), by putting themselves on display, the self-portraits of the travelers and indeed the travel itself express self-definition and self-exploration, and though the camera's eye the traveler became an 'object' of the photographic self-representation:

> These photographs portray the social status and the Northern culture of the individual…Photographs, then, conveyed the self-image of the middle-class across space and time. These middle-class photographic portraits, taken during a journey abroad, mediate between the private and the public. Like photographic portraits taken in a studio, these pictures standardized their subjects' manners, dress, postures and expressions, becoming images of Self and simultaneously an advertisement for a wole social group. (pp. 138-139)

The poses were arranged by the photographers according to the gender of the subject. Particularly, "the majority of female sitters did indeed pose very gracefully to create images of politeness and decorum, rarely gazing directly at the camera but rather looking to one side to present an image of feminine shyness and delicacy" (Yen, 2014, p. 134). Male posing, on the other hand, was different in the sense that the posed figures looked directly at the camera. The issue of looking or not looking at the camera, is apparently related to the cultural norms that assigned different roles to man and woman, and which elevated the male as the dominating and socially powerful figure in the society.

In the shots taken at Pompeii, too, the frames were arranged such that the camera did not focus on the travelers. As a background, the ancient structures were given priority over human figures; this may well have been a personal choice of the posing figure as well. One of the photographic prints of this kind, which was probably taken in 1888, showed Alexander Graham Bell among the ancient ruins of Pompeii (Figure 3.80). The photograph was labeled, *Rear view of Alexander Graham Bell entering ruins of Pompeii*, and captured Bell while he was stepping into the *atrium* of an ancient house. He was photographed from a distance that showed him from his back; though his face is not visible, the frame put the ruins and the human figures into scale.

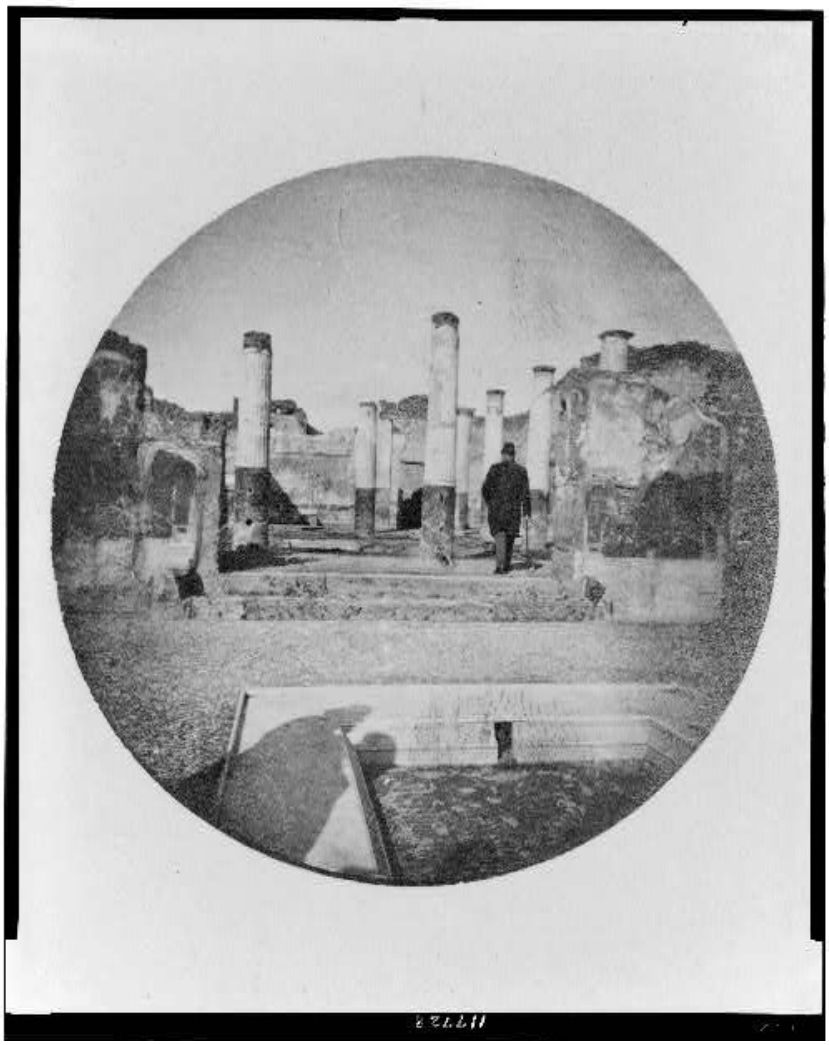


Figure 3. 80 Alexander Graham Bell entering the ruins of a house in Pompeii, Unknown Artist, 1888 (Source: www.loc.gov)

An undated photograph, credited to Sir John Linton Myres, a British archaeologist and photographic documenter, shows Sophia Myres, wife of the artist, in the *peristyle* courtyard of a house in Pompeii (Figure 3.81). Myres visited the excavations conducted in 1904 in Cyprus and traveled in the Mediterranean, which led to the creation of a vast collection of photographs that documented the digs as well as the local scenery and culture. By 1900, Myres helped the organization of the image collections in several libraries (Harlan, 2009). Mrs. Myres was captured standing at the corner of the print in an elegant dress and hat, slightly looking to the camera in front and to the columns of the *peristyle*. She was placed in a frame that showed her and the columns in perspective. A noticeable detail in the photograph is that she was holding a book, probably a guidebook of the city.

Figure 3. 81 Sophia Myres photographed in Pompeii, Sir John Linton Myres, Date Unknown
(Source: http://heir.arch.ox.ac.uk/)

In an undated lantern slide, a female visitor was similarly placed in the perspective of a street scene. The unnamed, elegantly dressed woman carrying an umbrella was captured in the act of walking in *Via della Fortuna,* one of the well-known streets of Pompeii. She was shot at the crossing of Nola Street, where there was a public fountain (Figure 3.82). This is one of the many iconic street views of Pompeii. The frame also shows the deep wheel tracks left by the carts and the stepping stones used by the ancient Pompeians to cross the streets without having to set foot on the road. There are two human figures seen at the other end of the street, but since they feature small silhouettes, they do not shift the focus from the woman. Most likely, the lady had also visited House of the Tragic Poet, House of the Faun, House of the Vettii, Temple of Jupiter, Basilica, and Amphitheatre as they were already excavated and cleared during that time.

Figure 3. 82 A woman's photograph at the crossing of *Via della Fortuna* and Nola Street*,* Artist Unknown, Date Unknown (Source: http://heir.arch.ox.ac.uk)

Another lantern slide depicts a similarly well-dressed lady with an umbrella in the act of reading at the stairs of the Temple of Isis (Figure 3.83). The work is credited to York & Son in/before 1890. Posing with a book was a common theme used in the studio shootings as well. Reading was considered as a virtue for the Victorian women, and it is not surprising that it was made part of travel as well:

> Books were considered as the moral agents of Victorian women, capable of modifying their tastes and even character. The majority of the sitters either held or read a book - though there seemed to be no particular book that was recommended for holding in photographs - or they stood with books, bookshelves or a writing desk in the background, suggesting that middle-class women wanted to promote the image that they were well-educated and enjoyed reading and writing. (p. 135-136)

Figure 3. 83 A woman's photograph taken at the stairs of Temple of Isis, York & Son, circa 1890 (Source: http://heir.arch.ox.ac.uk)

It is possible that the woman was reading a guidebook. The guidebooks began to be published and available around the middle of the 19th century, after which they become a demanded travel accessory. It is striking that the photograph framed the full view of the temple, and thus the photographer directed not only the posture but the location of the woman in order to capture a shot that showed the entire structure. The temple had become a popular background for photographers in the 1850s and featured in several studies. The small temple dedicated to the Egyptian goddess Isis and located just behind the Large Theatre was revealed almost intact. Perhaps due to its well-preserved state, it was used as a recurring visual image in the illustrated guides and personal accounts as well.

In the later part of the 19th century, the temple would become a spatial theme for the authors who had created fictional narratives of Pompeii.

Group Portraits, In the photographs of the late 19th century, it becomes more apparent that making the past alive via using the ruins as a backdrop became an established desire. The archaeological remains were used as a 'décor,' and the poses are given also aimed, apart from being memorable evidence of the tour, to recreate the past and hence to juxtapose the past onto the present. An undated photograph that shows the east side of the Temple of Apollo is an example of how the ruins were utilized as stages in the group portraits (Figure 3.84). The shot is also framed to include, apart from the building, a marble statue of Hermes or Mercury. The statue was later removed to be displayed in the Naples Archaeological Museum, and in this sense, the photograph documented how statues could be displayed on site, sometimes in-situ, in the 19th century before becoming exhibition objects in the museum. The figures had posed differently, did not stand at the same distance from the camera, and the women stood between the men. The shot was arranged to capture the complete view of the architectural scene of the building, which was in a good but ruinous state. The column which featured in the middle of the photograph was the focal point and, thus, some of the figures stood around it, not to stay isolated in the perspectival vista. Another undated photograph (taken probably between 1880 and 1900) is a notable example that shows how the Temple of Isis had served as décor for a group of visitors (Figure 3.85). The photograph shows a well-dressed group posing on the steps and porch of the temple. The photograph was a close-up shot that focused on the travelers' poses rather than the building at the background, and thus neither the podium nor the temple is seen completely in the frame. It is apparent that the lady standing at the back deliberately posed to show the book she was holding in her hand to the beholder. This book could well have been an early guidebook, an indication of guided tours organized for Pompeii. There were printed guides available on the site which gave practical information about visiting the ruins, such as Scafati guides and the handbooks, including Murray's Handbook.

Figure 3. 84 Looking towards the east side of Temple of Apollo, Artist Unknown, Date Unknown (Source: https://www.pompeiiinpictures.com)

Figure 3. 85 Group of tourists posing in front of Temple of Isis, Artist Unknown, circa 1880-1900 (Source: http://www.loc.gov)

Evidence for the use of guide books comes from another photograph of the late 19th century (Figure 3.86). An analysis of the high-resolution version of this original photograph showed that on the cover of the booklet was the image of the first human

cast made by the excavator Fiorelli in 1863.[81] The booklet is then compared with the copies of the Scafati guide. It is found that the book cover seen in the photo matched the first edition of the Scafati guide book. This discovery dated the booklet to 1875 when the original edition had first come out. The photograph, in this respect, must have been taken between c. 1875 - early 1880s. It captured a man holding, presumably, the original Scafati guide of Pompeii, together with a group who posed at The Temple of Isis. The photograph is a close-up view of the travelers, for which the temple served as a décor. The photograph aimed clearly, to document the travelers' presence in the site and served as a tool for self-representation.

Figure 3. 86 Group of tourists with a man holding Scafati Guide in front of Temple of Isis, Artist Unknown, circa 1875 - early 1880s (Source: www.pompeiiinpictures.com)

The late 19th century travel witnessed three parallel developments: the emergence of photography as a new visual medium of site and self-representation, opening of travel agencies, and production of travel books. The later photography on Pompeii demonstrates, apart from several details, the use and production of books as travel media.

[81] Information is taken from the internet site, *Pompeii in Pictures*.
Source: https://www.pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/R8/8%2007%2028%20p1.htm

The travel guides that became available compiled monuments, vistas, and natural wonders and helped to contextualize the city with its history and architectural features and hence, functioned as the primary source of information during the site visit. The guidebooks of Pompeii, in this sense, provided significant assistance in the site during the visit. The travelogues written by the information taken from the guidebooks and the site visits were the personal compilations and represented the end-products of the journey. The agencies, photographs, and books made the travel experience into antiquity in different but complementary forms. The well-illustrated buildings in the books were also favored as backgrounds to capture the photographic frames of the visitors of the Grand Tour among the ruins. In most of them the ruin that formed the background is used just as a surface in front of which the travelers/tourists had posed. In some photographs on the other hand, it is possible to see that the visitors had become more engaged and interacted with the ruin, by means of leaning on columns and sitting on stairs. In such frames, the ruins were actually utilized as a 3d décor, that presented depth and perspective. In other words, while the posed figures looked like as if they were photomontaged in an organized frame in the early photographs, they became part of the environment in the later ones.

***

As discussed in the second chapter, *domus* was designed to perform efficiently various daily rituals. The residents of the house, like actors, played their roles in a framed stage. The framed stage was constructed by such architectural components as the columns, wall-paintings, openings, and the decoration and the visual axis created by these components transformed the house into a 'stage'. For example, several wall-paintings portrayed real descriptions of the life in Pompeii. As such, the first 'frame' in ancient Pompeii, was created with wall-paintings. When this frame was placed on the wall, it became a 'frame in frame'. The house, displayed a combination of frames, the major of which was defined by the visual axis between the entrance and the *hortus* at the back.

The photographs and illustrations, which became the new visual media in the 19th century, were used to 're-frame' what had been already framed in the past. The spatiality of the ancient *domus* that featured as a three-dimensional *Mise-en Abyme* in the past, was

constructed as a two-dimensional representation on paper. The most important contribution to the visualization of Pompeii and 'framed scenes' came from the travelers, foremost from the participants of the Grand Tour. The photographs and the visual materials produced by the site visitors were utilised as a representational medium, that put Pompeii on stage.

The travel guides contextualized the city's history and architectural features. They provided significant assistance for the travelers. The travelogues were the personal compilations and the end-products of the visits. Whether the guides and illustrated books were fictional or scientific in content, they contained information related to the visual and written records from the site. One thing was common in these books; they had a 'sequence or choreography'. In this regard, the authors made choreographies about the composition of images and texts, the selection of visuals, addition of details, inclusion of reconstructions and graphic design, font size and style. These books were designed to create a sequential order through combination of visual materials such as photographs, engravings, etchings, paintings, and technical drawings. From the 18th to the 19th century, the method of visual representation witnessed changes. In this regard, the first illustrated accounts aimed to report the site, and hence they contained technical drawings such as plans, maps of streets, and architectural drawings of buildings with almost accurate depictions. In order to report what was unearthed, drawings displaying the reconstruction of the buildings and the city were done. In the middle of the 19th century, the scientific information that came from the site reached a sufficient level to imitate the actual state of the city before the eruption, thus, drawings of reconstructed views became more common. In this sense, the reconstructed interior scenes in the book *Pompeiana* had a significant contribution to the creation of the reconstructed drawings; several books used the reconstructed scenes in *Pompeiana* as visual sources. The major achievement of this guide is the data it had fabricated for *The Last Days of Pompeii*. The book offered readers an opportunity to take part in the reconstructed narrative of Pompeii, an imaginary journey they did not experience before. Constructing fiction upon the architecture of the site was a novelty of the novel, which can be described as a hybrid production. It used the illustrations of the guidebooks as its visual and spatial reference and blended fiction and reality. The illustrated books, by offering reconstructions of Pompeii at different

levels, indeed, built the mental pictures of Pompeii. By carrying the guides, the illustrated books, photographs, and travel albums, the travelers transferred the knowledge from region to region, and hence created a visual, textual, and verbal network of information.

The early traveler-authors of the 18th century shared experiences with texts and by books, while the later travelers with visual tools through which they displayed not only their experiences but also their presence in the places they had visited. Towards the end of the 19th century, photography emerged as a medium that could capture actuality and thus represent reality; the visual artists used photograph as a base to make reconstructions. The photographs were utilized as a proof by the traveler to say: "I was there". The illustrated buildings in the books, in this respect, were preferred as the background setting for the visitors.

The purpose of producing a visual material had changed from acquiring a documentary image to becoming a fictional tool to depict historical (re)constructions and narrations. The moving image, a novelty developed at the end of the 19th century, formed a totally new and powerful visual genre of real-life representation. Movies became a medium to capture scenes in an artistic way, whose representational potential relied on creating 'stage in a stage'. In this regard, Pompeii provided an exquisite material for the films to (re)construct antiquity. The illustrations displaying Pompeii, which were framed in the scientific publications, guidebooks, travel albums, travelogues, and novels until the late 19th century, became the visual sources imitated by the cinema. As such, Pompeii became re-framed on the screen one more time. The movie adaptations of the novel *The Last Days of Pompeii*, in this context, are considered as the first productions about antiquity and architecture and daily life in Pompeii in silent cinema. The films gave a second life to the narration of Pompeii.

CHAPTER 4

FROM FACT to FICTION: POMPEII on SCREEN: "The Moving Image"

Fantasies frozen on a strip of celluloid, permanently embalmed in time.
Fantasies boxed in a can, locked in space.
Fantasies one can take on a trip.
Fantasies to travel with. Fantasies of travel.
Film can - the perfect suitcase.
Giuliano Bruno

Chapter 3, presented and discussed how Pompeii was visually represented in different types of 2d media, such as paintings, photographs, travel albums, illustrated images published in scientific publications, and illustrated guidebooks. Pompeii's visual representation on paper reproduced a way of looking at antiquity. These successively flourished visual representations influenced the early cinema producers and paved the way for Pompeii to become both a theme and a setting in the early films that displayed antiquity on screen. In the early years, film producers were inclined to stage the popular classic subjects to the audience in order to create an impact of 3d visuality, to satisfy the expectations of the spectators and to legitimize cinema as a new medium. In this sense, Pompeii shined out as a perfect case. The visual repertoire of the site was already become internationally public through publications, guidebooks, travel albums, and artworks. The images shared in such media, provided shots of both the ancient ruins and also the reconstructed scenes of daily life and as such enabled the reader and the beholder to take place in the scenes represented and depicted. Although cinema was inspired by previous forms and subjects of visual representations, it provided the audience a total sensory experience that had never been practiced before; cinematic interpretation, in this respect, took the representation of Pompeii a step further.

Before cinema gained primacy as a medium both of mimicking reality and also presenting reality itself, other artistic devices were utilized to do the history-telling and visualization of ancient cities. The cinematic vision represents the ultimate advancement and expansion

of the visual culture that radically transformed the ways of seeing. In this sense, cinema introduced distinctive and novel features that enabled to rediscover and also to represent ancient cities in new perspectives. This chapter, accordingly, discusses how ancient Pompeii and its architectural features have been transferred into moving images and were re-produced in the 19th century silent films.

There exists a substantial amount of work that studied modern architecture in the context of cinema, within which the silent films are less exploited.[82] By taking the silent films into its focus in this context, this chapter asks and discusses the following: In which ways the early visual tools opened ground for the birth of cinema, and consequently how this new medium became engaged with antiquity? How the architectural illustrations of printed media became a source or an inspiration for the production of cinematic visual codes to display antiquity? In what ways the settings used in the silent films, entitled *The Last Days of Pompeii*, represented the architecture of Pompeii? What are the shared characteristic features of the silent films and illustrated images in terms of constructing the scenography of Pompeian architecture?

4.1 Cinematic Antiquity

Whenever you make a historical film, whether it is set two decades or two centuries in the past, you are referring to the present.
Humberto Solas

Bakker (2008), in his book *Entertainment Industrialized the Emergence of the International Film Industry, 1890–1940,* states that the innovative medium of cinema spread and was adopted throughout the Western world more quickly than the steam engine or the railroad. Although the circulation of cinema was a rapid one, its emergence took a long time, for

[82] The leading publications which cover modern architecture in the context of cinema are: Albrecht, D. (1987) *Designing Dreams: Modern Architecture in The Movies*, London: Thames and Hudson; Neumann, D. (ed.) (1996) *Film Architecture: Set Designs from Metropolis to Blade Runner*, Munich: Prestel; Penz, F. (1997) *Cinema and architecture: Melies, Mallet-Stevens, Multimedia*, London: British Film Institute; Lamster, M. (2000) *Architecture and Film*, New York: Princeton University; Pallasma, J. (2001) *Architecture of Image: Existential Space in Cinema,* Helsinki: Rakennustieto; Bruno, G. (2002) *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film*, London: Verso; Krause, L. (2003) *Global Cities: Cinema, Architecture and Urbanism in a Digital Age*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

which the early visual devices that started to be used from the 17th century onwards served as the precedents. One of the first such devices was the 'magic lantern', a preliminary version of the slide projector that was invented in the 17th century. The device was named as such because the spectators had thought that the images were created by magic. Magic lanterns came in a variety of sizes and shapes, yet there were basically two types: lanterns for children and lanterns for adults. Magic lanterns commonly used glass slides [83], which were made from drawings or paintings, and lit up by a lantern or candle light and projected on a wall. In order to achieve projection without distracting borders or frames of the images, black color was chosen as a background to block the light. The projections were often animated and accompanied by music to amuse the audience, and they were mostly projected by itinerant showmen who told stories about the projected images. From the second half of the 19th century, the reproductions of the photographic views of buildings and ruins began to be used as themes in the colored or black and white glass slides. "Typical thematic series for magic lanterns included views of Graeco-Roman sites, the Holy-Land Tour and Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities, and cities such as, *inter alia*, Rome, Pompeii, Athens, Jerusalem, Damascus, Antioch, Thebes, Karnak and Petra" (Morcillo and Haneswort, 2015, p. 2) (Figure 4.1).

[83] There were several types of lantern slides, including hand-painted slides, printed slides which were used in children's toy magic lanterns, *decalcomania* or *chromolitho* slides which were prepared by a technique of transferring pictures from a specially processed paper to surfaces, photography slides, slides prepared from drawings, hand-colored black and white slides, color photographic slides, mechanical slides, and slip slides. (Source: www.magiclanternsociety.org)

Figure 4. 1 Magic lantern slide displaying a street scene from Via Stabia in Pompeii, Pompeii Past and Present, York and Son Company, in/before 1890. (Source: http://heir.arch.ox.ac.uk/)

Another early device that changed the spectators' ways of seeing was the 'panorama'. The panorama consisted of the painted vistas applied on the interior walls of a naturally lit bespoke rotunda building built for this purpose (Morcillo and Haneswort, 2015).[84] The panorama aimed to give the viewer the experience of being physically present in the depicted scene, which displayed a landscape, a city, a battle, or a historical event. An outstanding example of a the 19th century panorama building was the one opened in Leicester Square in 1793. The building which was designed by Robert Mitchell and made up of two different levels, was built to exhibit the Robert Barker's panoramic paintings which depicted views from the hills around Edinburgh (Figure 4.2). "The long path that separated the two platforms was infact designed to plunge spectators into darkness and, by obliterating the memory of the first, prepare them for a second illusion" (Comment, 2012, p. 24). In comparison to the other rotundas of the period, this panorama was believed to provide the most realistic display. The panorama was developed into further sophisticated types, called *pleoramas* and *padoramas,* which could make simulations on water

[84] For more information about panorama, see *Canvas Documentaries: Panoramic Entertainments in Nineteenth-century Australia and New Zealand* (Mimi Colligan, 2002).

(Morcillo and Haneswort, 2015). Though panoramas were created for entertainment purposes, they also served to shape a 'collective visual recognition' and a 'mental image'. Morcillo and Hanesworth (2015) in *Imagining Ancient Cities in Film* state their significance as such:

> These expensive and artistically demanding spectacles anticipated even more the enormous possibilities of cinema in their capturing of the marvels of the world and in their recreations of the events and places of the past. Thus, by the time cinema came to the fore, the inhabitants of industrialized cities had already participated in collective visual recognitions of present and historical urban environments, and in the notion of spectacle with which they were inextricably attached. (p. 3)

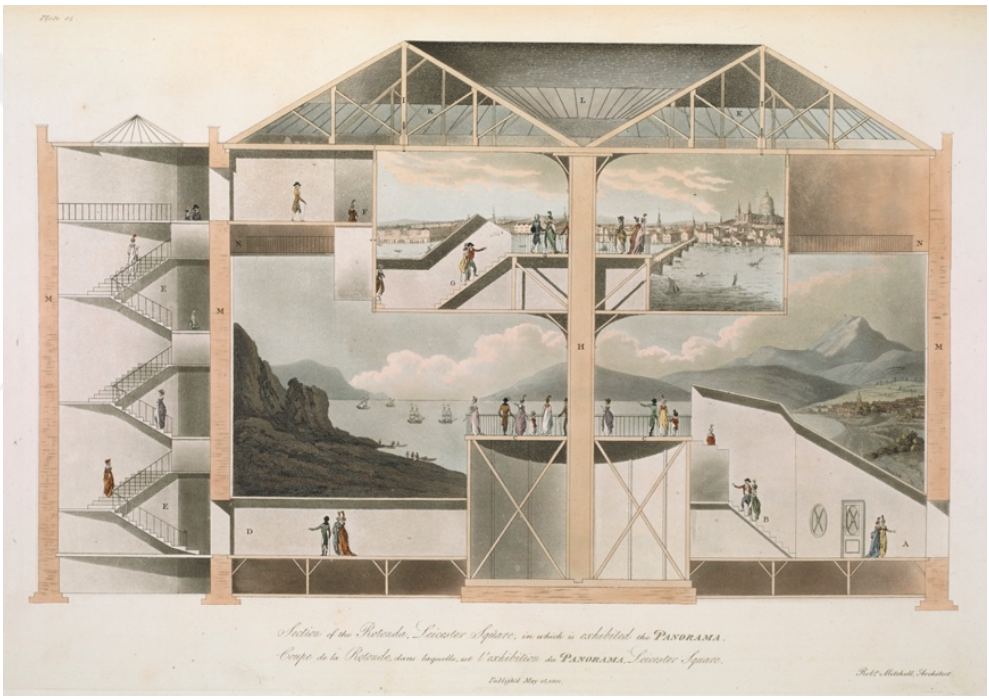


Figure 4. 2 Aquatint showing a cross-section drawing of the Panorama building in Leicester Square, Robert Mitchell, 1793 (Source: www.bl.uk)

Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre introduced *diorama* in Paris in 1822. The device was a three-dimensional exhibit, often miniature in scale, and was usually housed in a cubicle and viewed through an aperture. The novelty of the *diaroma* was that it introduced light as an aspect of visual perception (Figure 4.3). Coined by Daguerre, the *diorama* was indeed an illusionistic representation that used effects created by light and "could set stories in motion and which made ancient cities and their iconic buildings both the dynamic settings for and the protagonists of moving tales" (Morcillo and Haneswort, 2015, p. 2). *Dioramas*

usually showed important social events, military themes such as naval battles and subjects related to travel. Daguerre, for example, staged the dioramic scenes of views, interiors, and landscapes, including the pictures from the Valley of Sarnen, Tomb of Charles 5 at Holyrood, and Basilica of Saint Peter.

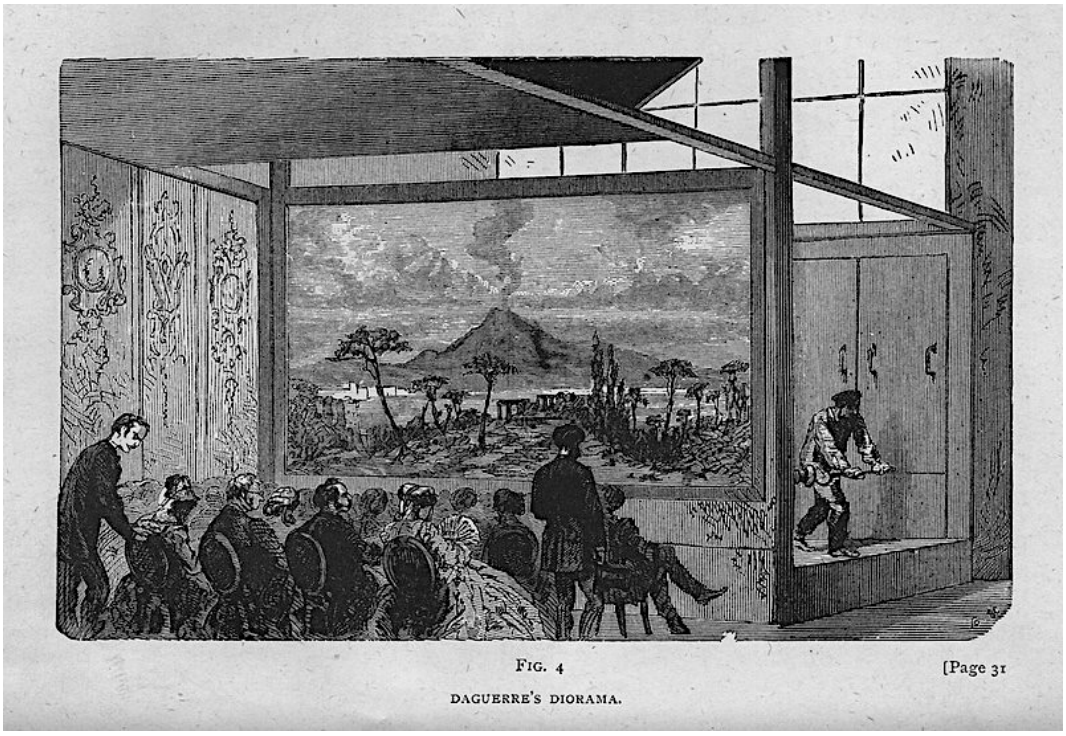


Figure 4. 3 Engraving showing a group of spectators watching Daguerre's diorama, circa 1877 (Tissandier, 1878, p. 31)

Several such visual and audio-visual devices that were developed in the course of the late 18th century and early 19th century, as the *eidophusikon* (1781), the *phantasmagoria* (1792), the *ergoscopia* (1805), the *panorama* (1787), the *diorama* (1822), and many other -ramas (like the *myriorama* (1802), *pleorama* (1831), *neorama* (1827), and alike), thus gave rise to the emergence of spectacular. They enabled to design and realize spectacular experiments related to stage events. Through theatres and operas, the metropolises of Europe turned into grounds for experimental visual performances, where the physicists, engineers, painters, and set designers had developed techniques to create settings (Röttger, 2017). Through such technological advancements and associated spatial and architectural developments that the 19th century witnessed the birth of "modern visual mass culture" (Röttger, 2017).

Among the visual devices invented in the 19th century, photography was the most effective and accelerated the birth of modern mass culture and cinema. According to Bakker (2008), the birth of cinema was related to seven significant technologies, ideas, and concepts. The first was the invention of photography in the 1830s, the production of which was done by taking pictures on a negative image, which reproduced the bright parts of the subject as dark and the dark parts as light areas, and then reproducing them in the form of positives. The second innovation was the invention of Kodak pocket camera by George Eastman while the third the roll film, which enabled to take as many pictures as possible by using the same film without changing. The invention of celluloid had a significant consequence as it was a robust material, compared to paper, and was more suitable to produce the large rolls used in the film camera. The fifth development corresponds to the invention of the motion picture camera, which could take pictures at high speeds. The concept of projection and projection of photographic slides were the sixth achievement. The final achievement was the 'slicing', which was a major development because of its ability to slice views into small dissections (Bakker, 2008).
From the early devices of the 17th century to the more complicated devices of the 19th century, the context defined by moving vision and image had created a fruitful field of production for cinema: representation of historical stories and events were among the most popular subjects adapted to be screened by these devices. In the early days, it was believed that the cinema could be used as a conveyer of history. Rosenstone (2015) in his analysis on the roles of historian and filmmaker states that "a French critic in 1908 saw one of the major tasks of this new medium as being 'to animate the past, to reconstruct the great events of history'", and supports the role of history in cinematic production:

> Through film, the reader would receive 'a vivid and complete expression' of the past; they would be 'present at the making of history'. More recently, the late French critic Roland Barthes wrote that attending a screening of Battleship Potemkin was like 'sitting at the balcony of history', watching the past unfold. (p. 185)

As Barthes described, sitting at the balcony of history and watching the past indeed became a form of historical representation. In line with this thought, the cinema had actually created an illusion of travel through time and space. The represented historical events and places in the cinema, as such, established an opportunity to visit unknown places in the form of a visual voyage done by watching instead of walking. The cinema,

not only appeared as an 'illusion of travel', but was also considered as the 'illusion of truth'. Rosen (1984) who exemplified the proximity between history and cinema, pointed out the illusion defined by Stephen Heath as such:

> …The story orders the film, patterns, identifications, defines a movement and a continuity, holding the spectator to them for completion and the illusion of 'truth.' Which illusion is a constitutive tourniquet: film is like history, absent in the representation, in the past presented; history is like a film, another genre but the same narrative patterns, the same familiarity, without problem or division. (pp. 18-19)

The flirt between cinema and history had begun immediately after the invention of cinema. Fantoni (2015) in his article *A Very Long Engagement: The Use of Cinematic Texts in Historical Research* gives a vivid instance of how the cinema could be used as a method of historical documentation and states that:

> As early as 1898, the Polish cameraman and employee of the Lumière Company, Bolesław Matuszewski, argued for the establishment of a 'Cinematographic Museum or Depository' where footage documenting historical events could be stored on behalf of scholars and students of the future. The use of the filmic image as historical documentation was a fairly intuitive idea. If history's most sacred duty was to avoid that 'what has come to be from man in time might become faded', to quote Herodotus of Halicarnassus, what could be better than a tiny band of celluloid which constituted, in the words of Matuszewski, 'not only a proof of history but a fragment of history itself'? It can be seen that Matuszewski had an essentially positivist attitude towards cinema: film was much more that a mirror of reality to him, it was reality itself… (p. 19)

According to Rosen (1984), cinema as an imaginary signifier should catch the parallels with historiography. "History films are perhaps a branch of historiography, as Pierre Sorlin suggests, as films based upon historical events help to shape what he calls a country's 'historical capital', that is the historical heritage of a country" (Fantoni 2015, p. 27). On the contrary to the Rosen's idea and Sorlin's suggestion, however, cinema was never seen and approved by academia as an accurate medium of documentation of the historical past. Rosenstone (2015) points out the academia's anti position against the potential of film to present history, and uses the work of French historian Marc Ferro's as an example: "in the English translation of his 1977 collection of essays, *Cinema et Histoire*, the title of the last chapter poses the question: 'Does a Filmic Writing of History exist?' For most of the essay, Ferro's answer is 'No'" (p. 186). The negative attitude of academia toward film as a documentation medium has changed in the 1980s, with the publication of *The Film in History* by Pierre Sorlin, who questioned the role of dramatic

features in restaging the past. Sorlin indeed regarded the possibility of film to convey history. However, by acknowledging the potential of film in making the past alive through reconstructed worlds, one should bear in mind that the 'history film' and the 'historical film' are two different media in terms of their content. While the history film is a genre produced to depict the historical events in the past, the historical film is another genre that dates back to the earlier years, specifically to the era of the silent movies. Rosenstone (2013), while defining the characteristics of a history film, emphasizes that it must be accepted as "a visual, aural, and dramatic presentation" like "any work of history does". According to his view, a history film can be identified as a combination of two similar media; written history and film analysis:

> The mode of telling the past in a story with a dramatic arc, created so as to get and hold the viewer's attention; the demand of drama for a plot that condenses a large number of characters into a few, in order to highlight certain political or social positions; the wholesale invention of dialogue, or the creation of symbolic figures or situations that bring together characters who never actually met in the past (intellectual historians do the same when they bring into debate the ideas of people who lived centuries apart) – all such moves must be seen not as mistakes, as a falling away from the (supposedly) purer truths of written history – whose truths, as theorists from Hayden White on have been showing for some time now, are also shaped by the demands of literary form. They are, rather, a necessary part of the fictional structure that allows a film to put the world of the past on the screen in the form that has made sense to the West (perhaps to the whole world?) ever since the time of Herodotus: that is, as a story with a beginning, a middle, and an end. (pp. 84-85)

In *Writing History in Film,* Guynn (2006) also illustrates the similarities between history and fiction. He points out that history, like fiction, is anecdotal, and hence, attracts readers' attention by telling stories. The difference, according to him, is in the control mechanisms used in each medium; while the 'truth' controls the historical narration, 'verisimilitude' controls the fictional. One step further from telling a story, the "historical narrative" is the essential structure for historical discourse. Guynn (2006) further highlights the importance of the visuals for narration:

> The historical imagination is based then on images that are not memories of the events themselves, but representations that are made "in the image of our memories." Without the capacity to visualize the succession of events in his imagination and by reference to the stock of remembered images he possesses the historian would be unable to construct a historical analysis of events. (p. 44)

The above-referred scholarship that discusses the relation between film and history has focused on demonstrating how similar the two media are in terms of creating a narration upon historical facts. No matter how successfully they complemented each other, in this sense, it is noteworthy to state that the history film is a construct representation, and the end product is a filtered visual from the eyes of the filmmaker, even if it is entirely based on the 'truth' derived from the past. In the early years of cinema, that aimed to construct a representation, the classic stories and ancient cities constituted a considerable part of the story-telling in the films. The cinematic screen introduced antiquity to the audience, just after a year of the official release of the cinematograph.[85] The 1896 dated Lumière production *Néron Essayant des Poisons sur des Esclaves* (Nero Testing Poison on His Slaves, by Georges Hatot) showed a story about Neronian Rome, and is considered as the first cinematic glimpse of the antiquity on the screen (Morcillo and Hanesworth, 2015). The 'historical', thus, featured as an attractive topic in the production of moving image.

The immediate association of moving image to historical subjects, that is, the motive behind staging antiquity in cinema was, undoubtedy, triggered by the archaeological discoveries around the Mediterranean and the Middle East (Michelakis and Wyke 2013). The excavations created a fruitful and yet un-explored context for narration and representation on screen. The visual knowledge of the ancient cities, which came from the archaeological discoveries and excavations, hence, now began to be staged to the public through silent films.

4.2 Silent Films: A Brief History of the Genre

According to the taxonomy identified by Charles Barr, the silent films had three phases: The Primitive Phase (the early experimental period of cinema from the middle of the 1890s to 1907); the Transitional Phase, the period between 1907 and 1918 wherein films became lengthier and studio practices had evolved, and the Early Studio Phase that corresponds to the period between 1918 and 1927) (Barr, 1997).

[85] Cinematograph is a film camera, which shows motion-picture films. It also serves as a film projector and printer. The first known use of cinematograph dates back to 1896.

In the primitive phase, the filmmakers, in search of the possibility of filmmaking, traveled to many cities to make recordings. During this period, the public attention relied not only on the fascinating subjects covered by the cinema but also on the sensation that "living pictures" were "moving" on the screen. The spectator's demand changed soon after, and the filmmakers were urged to develop new variations of moving pictures, including the 'topicals' which recorded significant events such as the funeral of Queen Victoria in 1901, and dramatic or comic 'made up' films (Ede, 2010). In this phase, since the actors had directly looked at the camera, their performances were evaluated as being 'theatrical'. Moreover, because the early filmmakers prior to 1907, were inspired by the visual texts from the theatre, their work had inherited aspects of theater rather than a cinematic syntax. In general, the films were produced as a combination of black and white stills, even though the hand-colored frames could already be processed in 1896. The copies of films were colored frame by frame with delicate brushes, and the result was seen as spectacular and amazed the spectator. The primitive phase of the cinema was actually characterized by '*tableau* or proscenium arch shot'.[86] The earliest films that belong to this period consisted of a single shot and were only one minute long; only in 1905, the length could be increased, between five to ten minutes. Because the production technique was based on individual shots, the causality of the story could not be inserted into the scene in terms of cinematic interventions; the films of this period, in this respect, are criticized as being 'non-cinematic'.

During the second phase, in the transitional cinema period, the operation of the film industry had changed; production, distribution, and exhibition became separated operations, and the films were no longer based on the textual knowledge which was familiar to the audience. A number of developments occurred in the film business. The propagation of cinema as a visual medium was accelerated by the introduction of nickelodeons in 1908.[87] They were located at almost every corner of the streets (Figure

[86] *Tableau* or *proscenium* arch was a style of shot in which the filmmakers located the camera in a proper distance to capture the entire body of the characters and the spaces above them.

[87] The nickelodeon was an early motion-picture theatre which was dedicated to showing films, usually ten to fifteen minutes long. Among the variety of subjects shown were comedies, melodramas, dance performances, short narratives, and the views from trains.

4.4). At the beginning of the transitional period, the '9-foot line' [88] shot became a common practice. In 1911 came the three-quarter shot. [89] With a closer frame and emphasis on the characters, this shot opened a pathway to the development of the so-called "star system" and the phenomenon of "celebrity". The period also witnessed innovations in the editing process, especially with the use of point-of-view shot (POV). One of the fundamental editing techniques, this shot is used to show what a character is looking at. The shot creates an effect that enables the spectator look through the eyes of the characters in the film, and as such, places the spectator in the position of the actress/actor. David Llewelyn Wark Griffith is a leading figure in the development of film editing processes. One of the methods he introduced was to break the scenes into shots to display closer views of faces, gestures, and props (Bordwell, 1997).

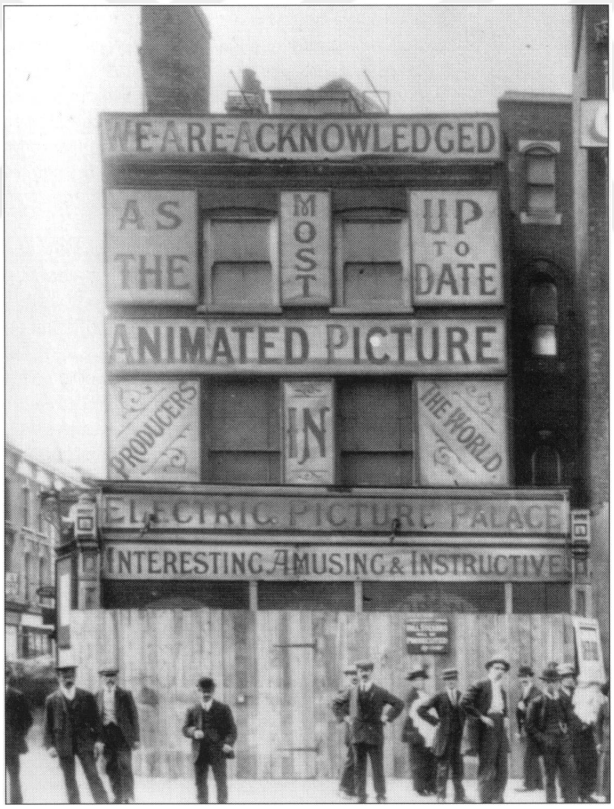


Figure 4. 4 Photograph showing a nickelodeon in London, ca. 1915, (Burrows, 2003, p. 71)

[88] The camera is located 9 feet from the front or working line.

[89] It is also known as the medium long shot. It frames the three-quarter of an actor's body.

The early 1910s witnessed the arrival of 'feature-length' films, which had a running time of 90 minutes or more and handled more complex stories in order to cover the specified time. The increase in the running time of the films gave way to the development of narrative techniques. Early 'Feature-length historic films' were produced between 1911 to 1914. The Italian and French film industries, in particular, started to target an audience who would be interested in products that released historical subjects. As Wyke (2013) argues, history was both a productive theme for feature-length films and also an adaptable subject for national discourse narration:

> History, especially the kind that was ideologically aligned with nationalist discourses, was considered the best subject matter for longer films of greater narrative complexity. History was already infused with political and ethical lessons and came conveniently packaged in the form of respected plays and novels and resplendent paintings. Historical films could be marketed, therefore, not merely as popular entertainment, but also as high art and an education in politics, religion or morality. Multi-reel films like *Les Misérables* (1912, dir. A. Capellani), *Quo Vadis?* (1913, dir. E. Guazzoni) and *Cabiria* (1914, dir. G. Pastrone) were quickly bought up for distribution in the United States and exhibited in plush motion-picture palaces throughout its major cities. (pp. 278-279)

A novel progress in the history of film making is the development of dark studio in 1913, which provided a collaborative medium among producers, designers and photographers. The studios enabled filmmakers to control more the condition of the films. Furthermore, the films could become more sophisticated with regard to the assemblage of shots and scenes by the special effects added in the studios. The invention and use of applying color tonalities in the late 1910s is another milestone that triggered further innovations in the field of cinematic coloring. According to Tom Gunning (1986), the primitive phase of the cinema was a 'cinema of attractions', while the transitional cinema a 'cinema of narrative integration.' The narrative, the storytelling, and the script became the backbone of the visual spectacle. In this regard, the narrative structure had a recognizable beginning and an end, and as such could lead the spectators to create meanings in films.

Barr's (1997) third phase in the history of silent films corresponded to the Early Studio Period when the talkies were put into use, and the cinema became an autonomous art. The films were produced in studios and were often described as 'classic.' While the color and widescreen format technologies progressed further, the major innovation in this period was the sound. There were two main reasons to produce films in the studio; it was

apparently more economical than filming in outdoor spaces, and the producers could have more control over the conditions of films. The studio system also paved the way for improving the technical aspects of the set constructions. In the early years, cinema was criticised as being theatrical and illusionistic. The studio system, in this respect, improved the effects and set designs.

In the early years of silent films, the sound was lacking, and the film was expected to become a visual spectacle. This impelled artists to explore the design methods to construct accurate sets. In this sense, the silent films depicting antiquity were always engaged with the architectural features or architectural representations of cities; in fact, their impact relied on architectural and spatial representations which would establish visual codes that are derived from antiquity itself.

4.3 Architecture in the Making of Historical Film

> *The term cinema signifies an architectural space in which we become part of a visual system that allows us to perceive a sensation of movement and in which we are moved.*
> *Koeck 2012, p. 5*

> *If the city is the place where 'things happen', cinema is the medium that captures its ephemeral movements.*
> *Morcillo and Hanesworth 2015, p. 1*

Cinema's relation to history has been an issue of discussion since the time film had become an artistic production. Marnie Hughes-Warrington (2007) in *History Goes to the Movies, Studying History on Film* examines the relation between cinema and history and states that, "viewers have more sense of historical films as representations than other history media such as museums or books" (p. 3). Owing to the fact that films allow spectators a sensory experience, they offer a more impressive and memorable representation than any other history media. Whether on a page or a screen, *historical* was presented through common and overlapping features. Rosenstone (2006) in his seminal work *History on Film/Film on History*, highlights the resemblances as such:

> …Solid world of history on the page and the equally familiar but more ephemeral world history on the screen are similar in at least two ways: they refer to actual events, moments, and movements from the past, and at the same time they partake of the unreal and the fictional, since both are made out of sets of conventions we have developed for talking

> about where we human beings have come from (and also where we are and where we think we are going, though this is something most people concerned with the past don't always admit). (p. 2)

It is often argued that the scholarly consideration of history and film has developed as a study field since the 1970s, when scholars such as Marc Ferro and Pierre Sorlin first sought to integrate film as a context to the mainstream historiography (Rosenstone, 2015). As stated by Rosenstone, the possibility that film could be a way of doing history was first raised within academia through the publication of *Cinema et Histoire* (1977, translated as Cinema and History in 1988) by Marc Ferro. The publication of the journal *Film and History* in 1971, in this regard, is a milestone and contributed much to the scholarly debate on the relationship between film and history. The journal published reviews, survey articles, and pedagogical suggestions that enhanced film's role as a research and study medium in academia. Creative monographs and film reviews are published in other journals as well, such as *The American Historical Review*. The noteworthy studies among the books are; *The Film in History: Restaging the Past* (1980) by Pierre Sorlin and *Image as Artefact: The Historical. Analysis of Film and Television* (1990) by John E. O'Connor. While O'Connor recognizes film as a "representation of history," an "evidence for social and cultural history," an "actuality footage as evidence for history" and sees "the history of the moving image as industry and art form," Sorlin and Ferro supported the idea that the films are more of a representative of the time of production than the time told in the story (Hughes, 2007). During the 1980s and 1990s, multiple monographs and more specialized journals, such as *Screening the Past*, began to be published. These publications highlighted that cinema is indeed, a suitable medium to (re)present historical inquiry, and thus motivated scholars from various disciplines to use film as a visual source.

Based on the works of Ferro (1977) and Sorlin (1980), the film came to be accepted as a 'historical diegesis'. [90] In line with this belief, how the diegesis could be transferred to the audience began to question, which eventually was related to the creation of impressing

[90] The word diegesis refers to the way the film is narrated in relation to fictional time, space, characters, and events and is a spatio-temporal world created in the film industry. In this regard, the historical diegesis (historical narrative) denotes the fictional representations of historical subjects.

set designs and representation of architecture. Architecture indeed correlated strongly with film from the birth of the cinema in 1895.[91] When the film stole the role of photography as a document at the end of the 19th century, the relationship between film and architecture became mutually reinforced. In 1900, Auguste and Louis Lumière brothers, who are known as the pioneers of filmmaking, combined a catalog of more than 2000 short documentary films that contained scenes from several cities around the world. They used the city as a tool to narrate urban character, and for this purpose, they shot streets showing architectural styles, squares, and avenues crowded with people and cars. The most popular themes in these films were arrivals, departures, street scenes, panoramas, and processions. "The city street was a particularly privileged setting for action in early cinema. Many city films integrated shots of city streets as a recurring motif without advancing the narrative" (Mennel, 2008, p. 7). The Lumiere operators traveled around the world between 1896 and 1903 and filmed almost the same scene that showed the arrival of a train to various cities such as La Ciotat (France), New York City, Melbourne, Cairo, Kingstown (Ireland), Nagoya (Japan) and Tel Aviv (Groo, 2019).[92] Filming the arrival of a train was a conscious choice as it publicly highlighted the technical innovations of the industrialized world and in this sense, the trains entering the urban space was an iconic image of modernity. The Lumiere operators traveled outside Europe, to Mexico, Venezuela, Egypt, and Tunisia and filmed these cities as well. For example, ancient Egypt, the *Sphinx*, and the pyramids appeared on a film screen in 1897 with the film *Les Pyramides* shot by Alexandre Promio for the Lumiere Company (Lant, 2013). These films included street-scenes and several impressing compositions, and as such, provided remarkable documentary-style portraits. The content that elaborated on the ancient and modern cities, and the industrialized world as a motive for the rapid process

[91] The significance and role of architecture in the history and production of cinema has been studied by several scholars. Among the leading works cited by Koeck (2012, p. 3) are; Albrecht (2000 [1986]); Weihsmann (1988); Neumann (1999); Clarke (1997); Thomas and Penz (1997); Konstantarakos (2000); Lamster (2000); Vogt (2001); Sanders (2001); Shiel and Fitzmaurice (2001); Barber (2002); Dimendberg (2004); Marcus and Neumann (2007); Brunsdon (2007); Mennel (2008); Webber and Wilson (2008) and Koeck and Roberts (2010).

[92] Lumiere brothers sent dozens of operators to record and exhibit films around the world. The operators sent back the films which were captured in these locations, and the selected films among them had entered the Lumiere catalog. The most prominent camera operators were "Marius Chapuis (Russia), Francis Doublier (Russia, the Netherlands, Germany, India, and China), Francois-Constant Girel (Germany, Switzerland, France, Japan), Felix Mesguich (France, Russia, Canada, United States), Jean Alexandre Louis Promio (Spain, England, Italy, United States, Egypt, Turkey, Sweden), Marius Sestier (India, Australia), and Gabriel Veyre (Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Japan, Vietnam)" (Rossell, 1998, p. 136).

of urbanization has become an indispensable subject in films. In this sense, these films would later be appreciated as the early documentaries and the first instances representing cities and their architecture in their actual states on the screen:

> When the pioneers of film captured moving images of cities, during a time when cinematic apparatus recorded only images without sound, filmmaking was a light and mobile practice that was often carried out in the bustling streets and landscapes of the metropolis. This scopic affinity between medium and place can perhaps be explained by the fact that the emerging modern city seemed to naturally complement the ability of the cinematic apparatus to capture the city's defining characteristics: its architectural forms, movements, illuminations and, of course, its people. Film- arguably better than any other medium-seems to be able to engage with the city's physical disposition, its simultaneity, temporality and ephemerality in ways that had hitherto only been imagined. (Koeck, 2012, p. 8)

In the 1910s and 1920s, documenting cities and their urban realities became widespread among filmmakers who had developed a great interest in using the city as a symbol of modernity. The 1920s witnessed the emergence of a new genre called "city symphonies", which referred to the urban documentaries with no stars, characters, and plots. *Rien Que Les Heures* (Alberto Cavalcanti, France, 1926), *Berlin, Symphony of a Great City* (Walter Ruttmann, Germany, 1927) and *Man with a Movie Camera* (Dziga Vertov, USSR, 1929) are the representatives of the city symphonies which focused on screening the conditions of urban living (Penz, 2003). In these films, the directors relied on camera edits to reflect the shapes of buildings, roads, and the movement of crowds and trains. Montage and juxtaposition of images, in this respect, characterize the technical features of the genre. Walter Ruttmann, for instance, had edited images of wheels and pistons of several factories to display the city life of Berlin.

The contributions of architects to the film productions as set designers also began in the 1920s; the buildings designed by architects began to feature in the films of this period:

> Prominent examples include the architects Hans Poelzig, who built the set for Carl Boese's and Paul Wegener's expressionist film classic, *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* (1920); Robert Mallet-Stevens who worked on the set design for Marcel L'Herbier's film, *L'Inhumaine* (1924), and whose architecture featured in Man Ray's surrealist film, *Les Mystères du Château de Dé* (1928/29); Le Corbusier who collaborated with Pierre Chenal on the documentary film, *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (1929); and László Moholy-Nagy who contributed a special effects sequence to Alexander Korda's futuristic feature film *Things to Come* (1936). (Koeck 2012, p. 9)

It is known that the leading architects of the 1920s and 1930s, such as Le Corbusier, Robert Mallet-Stevens, and Hans Richter had propagated modernism on the one hand and made predictions about future cities on the other. Their ideas, works, and actions influenced the filmmakers as well. The fascination with the city had increased the production of films that encapsulated the dynamics of modern city life. For instance, Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (Germany, 1927) was inspired by the works of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (Penz, 2003). In the context of science fiction, films on the futuristic city began to be produced as a genre from the 1920s onward. The futurist tendencies of the period were reflected in the medium of cinema through architectural representations. In the 1930s, when the film industry had become sufficiently developed to design and construct sets as the accurate architectural representations of the places screened in order to narrate/represent the past, and with the collaboration of architects, the historical film got closer to reality.

The 1940s witnessed technical developments that changed the studio system. The sets were transformed from studios to the streets. Iconizing the city as a film set had consequences on the national cinemas as well. Taking the camera to the street gave birth to the French New Wave (*La Nouvelle Vague*) movement which was represented by François Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard, Claude Chabrol, Éric Rohmer, and Jacques Rivette, who stood in a reactionary position towards the studio system of the French cinema in the 1930s. By avoiding the studio productions, they could explore and record actual locations in the cities, and thus utilize architecture. Various types of buildings, including apartment blocks, social housing units, university buildings, business, and industrial buildings, and airports, were filtered by the camera in the New Wave films in order to construct thematic subjects such as construction, the opposition of new and old, and the appearance of the new buildings. The urban film sets provided an excellent opportunity to represent the streets and cities' architecture, which often served not as a background but as a foreground.

While the films produced during the period of French New Wave gave importance to urban city life, the films produced, especially in the second half of the 20th century, focused on suburban life. *La Haine* (1995), and Clockwork Orange (1971) were the outstanding

examples, which used suburbs as a location of the shot and made use of architecture to demonstrate the fictional narrative. The other remarkable examples from around the mid-century architectural films were produced by the French filmmaker, actor, and screenwriter Jacques Tati who persistently utilized representations of architecture in his films. Tati used the city and its surroundings as a potential instrument to display modernity in such films as *Jour de fête* (The Big Day, 1947), *Mon Oncle* (My Uncle, 1958), Play Time (1967), and *Trafic* (Traffic, 1971).

Since cinema was seen as an instrument and representation of "modern times," starting from the Lumiere Brothers, who fetishized the train as a symbol of technical progress and industrialization, the relationship between architecture and film questioned, in general, the modern architectural movement and rapid urbanization. Most of the academic studies, thus, focus on the role of architects in film production or the films inspired by the works of architects. However, while some films of the late 1920s are accepted as "architectural films," it is often overlooked that the early silent historical films, which showed ancient cities, indeed represented architecture. In this regard, it can be said that the pioneering cinematic works of the early 20th century did not essentially differ much from the textual and visual productions done by the grand tourists to document their experience of the visited cities in terms of production methods. Both the grand tourists and Lumiere Brothers' camera operators followed the same route, which started from the popular European capitals such as London and France, reached the ancient cities in Italy and Greece, and finished in the 'exotic' cities of the East. The tourists, in fact, produced the first visual accounts of several cities, which were later featured in the cinema. In between the two, the images produced by the travelers were transformed into mental images and thus a collective memory, by way of visual devices such as panoramas, dioramas, stereoscopes, and magic lanterns. These devices created historical authenticity. Cinema as the final stage of this visual transmission, "has provided modern audiences with a visual and experiential understanding of the ancient world which has yielded a sort of 'public cultural memory,' a 'deep-felt memory' of a past through which they have not lived" (Morcillo and Hanesworth, 2015, p. 8). Staging the ancient cities, ancient architecture and ancient life in the form of moving images on the screen became the most effective way to recreate the memory of antiquity. The silent films in this regard, allowed the beholders

to become "pseudo time travelers" to antiquity. Through films, the spectators assumed the position of the 18th and 19th century travelers, and likewise, discovered the "scenes" from the cities. In this regard, the catastrophic end and fortunate re-discovery of Pompeii made the city a perfect subject of narration of the ancient past; through various versions of this narration on screen, antiquity was broadcasted to the outer world and to a much wider and socially diverse audience.

4.4 "Moving" Through Pompeii

The narration of Pompeii was "constructed" in three phases. The first phase corresponds to the rebirth of the site by its discovery. All sorts of endeavors, from random digging and unsystematic recording to the archaeological excavations and scientific accounts, to unearth the city which stayed buried under the eruption material of Vesuvius for centuries, had first presented Pompeii to the public. The second phase was built by the public, by the visitors who were keenly interested in engaging with antiquity, and who produced several types of travel documentation from travel accounts, letters, and travelogues to photographs. They not only documented their first-hand experiences of the site but also genuinely 'represented Pompeii.' The third phase corresponds to the period of pure documentation done in the form of representation of 'fact' by such means as guides and illustrated books and then was combined well with the 'fiction'. By overlapping the layers between fact and fiction, the cinematic field made "moving" in Pompeii possible. In the first phase, the actor was the "explorer/discoverer" of the site. In the second phase, the tourist became an actor, as a "real traveler", and thus produced personalized representations, while in the third phase the beholder, as a "time traveler" became the actor. The beholder, though not literally visited the site, took the position of a traveler via the moving images that created an opportunity to virtually experience the ancient site. In line with the idea of becoming a pseudo traveler, Bruno (1997) sees cinema as a 'haptic' experience to make a 'time travel'. She claims that "cinema makes a psycho-geographic appeal to tactility and other senses through an array of sensual encounters through which we encounter cinema, including film itself, architecture and travel" (Williams, 2012, p. 100), and according to him Naples was "toured, represented, and pictured" several times,

and "cinema has continued this type of journey, producing its own *grand tour"* (Bruno, 1997, p. 47).

Because producing visual media on touristic contexts and in historical accounts had a long tradition, and done in the form of printed, painted and photographic media, it is unavoidable that the ancient cities such as Pompeii became subjects also for "explorations and analyses of historical authenticity, especially in relation to set design and the production of *mise-en-scène* and its accurate or, more often, inaccurate nature" (Morcillo and Hanesworth 2015, p. 3). At the very beginning of the 20th century, when Pompeii narratives had become a subject in cinema, "its audiences (particularly in Britain and America) were already equipped with an array of reconstructions of Pompeii and conventions of "presentist" interpretation to which they might expect the scenography to correspond" (Wyke 2013, pp. 275-276). Notably, for the Victorians, ancient history was a key to understand and critique the present human nature, as Victorians adopted the "Ancient Greeks as proto-Victorians" (Richards 2009, p. 6); Victorian Britain in this context, had developed a great interest and demand in the representations of ancient sites in films.

In the early years of cinema, the audiences favored films that featured melancholy, drama, and loss, things that were comparable to daily life. The feelings were highly coupled with the films that depicted the recovery of the past by featuring the ruins. Pompeii, in this respect, was a potent agent; because it was destroyed by a devastating volcanic explosion, it could add a powerful ingredient of melancholy to the reception of antiquity (Williams, 2012). With Pompeii, the destruction and disaster narration related to human condition became a very popular theme in the silent cinema. Pompeii's disaster story could well be retold in various fictional narratives to convey tragedy and drama to the audiences. In the 18th and 19th century paintings, tones of red color and devastated images of architectural elements were used to display the eruption scenes and hence the drama. The silent films of the 20th century, likewise, used red-tinted frames and certain pictorial codes in architectural settings that were designed as such to display tragedy, drama, destruction, and end.

The history of film production in Italy establishes a framework to understand how Pompeii had become a subject of fictional narration in the silent film era and later. In the early years of cinematic production in Italy, from the first appearance of *'Cinematographe Lumiere'* in Rome (1896) to the year 1905, the studio system was not conducted as a business. The Italian cinema productions, as an industrial business began relatively late compared to the productions of other countries. France, Germany, Britain, and Denmark, for example, were already actors in the film industry, when the first Italian fiction film, *La Presa di Roma*, *20 Settembre 1870* (The Capture of Rome, 20 September 1870) directed by Filoteo Alberini, appeared in the Italian market in 1905 (Usai, 1997). The distribution of cinema in between the two dates was actually done by photographers, by performers who commuted between cities, and by the owners of cafes or clubs where the cinematic shows were displayed to audiences. In a short time, the entrepreneurs had first built permanent moving-picture houses in the buildings' arcades and later big cinemas, which were opened in Naples, Florence, Rome, and Milan. After 1905, the cinema had become an industry in itself and became a widespread phenomenon.

The history of early film production in Italy can actually be classified into two periods, starting from 1905. The first period, between 1905-1914, was considered as a decade of growth, during which two-thirds of the silent films were produced. In the second period between 1914-1929, in line with the outbreak of World War I in Europe, the output collapsed. In the first period, the stationary studios, which were located in different cities in Italy, served as the main production facilities.[93] The pioneering studios were *Comerio* (Milan), *Ambrosio* (Turin), *Itala* (Milan), and *Cines* (Rome) and produced documentaries. The camera operators were sent to places of natural beauty and places affected by natural disasters that had not yet been explored as a subject by film production companies, such as *Pathe´, E´clair,* and *Gaumont*. Ancient Greece and Rome became the stars of this period. Historical sets were constructed to narrate antiquity in its own spatial settings. Called 'Italian Historical Epic', this new genre gained immediate recognition and success as a

[93] "In Rome: the Alberini & Santoni studio (1905), which changed its name to Cines in April 1906; in Milan: the companies owned by Adolfo Croce and Luca Comerio (the latter became SAFFI–Comerio in 1908 and then Milano Films in late 1909); in Turin, which was the real capital of Italian cinema in the period of its creation: Ambrosio (1905), Aquila Film founded by Camillo Ottolenghi (1907), Pasquali and Tempo (1909), and Carlo Rossi & Co., formed in 1907 and renamed Itala Film in May 1908 at the behest of Giovanni Pastrone and Carlo Sciamengo" (Usai, 1997, p.124).

cultural phenomenon. The pioneering and successful example of an Italian historical epic from this period is *La Caduta di Troia* (The Fall of Troy, directed by Giovanni Pastrone and Romano L. Borgnetto for Itala Film) which was released in 1911 and gained massive success across Europe and America. The success of the film depended much on the construction of the sets that imitated classical architecture. Two other remarkable examples of the same genre were *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* (produced by the studio *Ambrosio*, 1913), which was adapted from the novel *The Last Days of Pompeii* by Bulwer-Lytton (published in 1834), and *Quo Vadis?* (produced by the studio *Cines*, 1913) adapted from Henryk Sienkiewicz's novel with the same name *Quo Vadis?* (published in 1896). The genre reached its peak in 1914, with the film *Cabiria* (produced by the studio *Itala Film*), which was credited to Gabriele D'Annunzio, the most celebrated Italian poet of the period. The film gained an overwhelming and instant success not only in the Italian film market but also in the United States. These three outstanding examples of the first period of Italian silent cinema shared common features: their titles were taken from the works of classical literature; in order to legitimize the cinema as a new field in the artistic sphere; they focused more on the creation of *mise-en scene* and historical setting (Marlow-Mann, 2016). With the outbreak of World War I and the superior power gained by American productions in the European film market, the Italian silent film industry's expansionist attitude, which targeted to become well-known in the European cinema market, came to an end. The second phase of the early Italian cinema, thus, corresponded to the war, during which, films of documentary nature that elaborated war as a theme, replaced those of the historical epic type in the Italian film market. In 1919, following the end of the war, the *Unione Cinematografica Italiana* (Italian Cinematographic Union) was established, with the aim to support the large film companies. The Union, however, could not become a remedy, and the output decreased rapidly. Although the number of films had increased between 1919 to 1921, their cinematic and content quality were low. The last instances of the artistic grandeur in the Italian silent era are represented, one more time, by the historical films, such as a new version of *Quo Vadis?* (produced by the studio *Unione Cinematografica Italiana*, 1924), and a new version of *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompeii* (produced by the studio *Societa Anonima Grandi Film,* 1926).

The era of silent film in Italy came to an end in 1930, with the production of the first Italian film with sound, *La Canzone Dell'amore* (The Love Song, produced by the studio *Cines*). Before the end of the Italian silent cinema, the films about Pompeii had already become the milestone. The cinematic representations of Pompeii were already in circulation and had achieved great popularity and success before the talkies arrived in the film production market. It can be argued that the silent film producers who lacked the support of sound had to impress the audience more persuasively, by the quality of the set designs. In this respect, the set designs were inspired by the architectural features of the ancient city and were constructed almost accurately to illustrate a vivid atmosphere. When viewed from this aspect, it can well be argued that Pompeii and its architecture, had become a visual phenomenon that was disseminated through drawings, artworks such as opera decors, paintings, and photographs, and illustrated publications in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries; in the early years of the Italian cinema this visuality became a continuously restaged phenomenon.

4.4.1 *The Last Days of Pompeii* as a Movie

Long before it inspired a movie title, the novel *The Last Days of Pompeii* was consumed both as a title and a subject in various artworks. It featured first in Giovanni Pacini's opera, *L'ultimo Giorno di Pompei,* produced in 1825 to celebrate the name day of Queen Maria Isabell and premiered at the *Teatro San Carlo* in Naples. Alessandro Sanquirico designed the stage sets that, in a way, documented the architecture of Pompeii. Sanquirico, who had a good knowledge of classical antiquity, selected reliable perspective views in the stage designs and most likely also referred to the pioneering work of Charles-François Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompei,* the first two volumes of which were published in 1824. The books had attracted the attention of the intellectual circles and aroused an interest in the recovery of the buried city and its wonders (Ferrero, 2015). The opera spectacle, mentioned in some detail the second chapter, presented the catastrophic demise of Pompeii in the form of stage performance and gained considerable success and popularity. It was staged in several theatres in Italy until the 1850s. Details and technical features of Pacini's opera sets inspired many other set designers in the opera world; the

device which was used in the last scenes of Pacini's opera to create an eruption scene, for example, became a model gadget to accomplish this function in other operas.

The spectacle *L'ultimo Giorno di Pompei,* popularized Pompeii and the volcano narrative in circles other than the opera. Novelists, poets, dramatists, and composers, elaborated the Pompeii narrative in many forms. Among them were the narratives which associated the fate of the ancient city with Christianity and moral issues. "In most of these novels, Christianity was seen as a remedy to the tyranny and corruption of the pagan empire" (Richards 2009, p. 8). Thomas Moore's *The Epicurean*, a novel which was published in 1827, is one such example that dwelt on Christianity and decadence. The American author Thomas Gray's historical novel, *The Vestal, or a Tale of Pompeii*, had a similar religious tone and was also influenced by Pacini's opera. Published in Boston in 1830, the novel was organized as the account of a visitor who had a manuscript titled *A Tale of Pompeii* by a Catholic Priest. The poetic elaboration of the volcano narrative and Pompeii is to be found in the long narrative poem, *The Last Night of Pompeii* (1832), written by the American poet Sumner Lincoln Fairfield. The poem "enfolds the destruction of the city in a Christian moral schema that is presumably supposed to act as a warning to the unrepentant masses in the present" (Daly, 2015, p. 31). The primary characters in the poem are a noble Pompeian woman and a priest of Isis, and as expected, the story comes to an end with the eruption of Vesuvius. The poem featured close descriptions of the life, buildings, artifacts, and volcano.

Pacini's opera sets provided inspiration for the famous Pompeii painting of the Russian artist Karl Pavlovitsj Briullov. The sketch of the painting, in particular, resembled the eruption scenes illustrated by Sanquirico. Briullov made the huge Pompeii canvas between 1830 and 1833, which was first shown to the public in his studio at Rome, and then traveled to Milan in 1834 and to the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg as its final destination. The dramatic composition and the imagination put together in the painting had influenced Bulwer-Lytton and had certainly an impact on his novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, the first fictional literary work on Pompeii (see Figure 2.8). "In Milan, Bulwer-Lytton was struck by Briullov's canvas, and immediately wanted to start a novel about the

same dramatic topic" (Moormann, 2015, p. 224). As quoted by Richards (2009), Bulwer-Lytton commented on the Briullov's imaginative painting as such:

> This picture is full of genius, imagination and nature. The faces are fine, the conception grand. The statues toppling from a lofty gate have a crashing and awful effect. But the most natural touch is an infant in its mother's arms- her face impressed with a dismay and terror which partake of the sublime; the child wholly unconscious of the dread event- stretching its arms towards a bird of gay plumage that lies upon the ground struggling in death, and all the child's gay delighted wonder is pictured in its face. This exception to the general horror of the scene is full of pathos, and in the true contrast of fine thought. (p. 11)

Bulwer-Lytton's encounter with Briullov's painting paved the way for authoring the most popular work of the author, the best seller Victorian novel of the era, *The Last Days of Pompeii*. The book was published in London in 1834, and translated into several languages; the children's version of the book was written by Adrien Lemercier in 1841 and also became very popular in France (Moormann, 2015). As stated by Daly (2015), "while Bulwer Lytton devotes considerable energy to capturing the details of everyday life in Pompeii in August, 79 CE, every page moves us towards a Briullovian moment of disaster" (p. 36). Daly also (2015) notes the sources of inspiration in Bulwer-Lytton's novel and states that:

> Bulwer Lytton draws not only on Gell, Briullov, and his own experience of Pompeii, but on much of the other Vesuvian material that we have encountered. Among the most obvious sources are Pacini's *L'ultimo giorno*, with its love triangle and climactic eruption; Moore's *Epicurean* with its clash of faiths; Gray's *The Vestal*, with its oppressed Christians, and amphitheater spectacle; Sumner Lincoln Fairfield's *Last Night of Pompeii*, with its seduction scene, cowed lion, and Christian lovers who escape to worship their god elsewhere; and the marriage of populace and volcanic energy in Auber's *La Muette de Portici*, or its various London imitations, with which we know Bulwer Lytton was familiar as chair of the Select Committee on Dramatic Literature in 1832. (p. 38)

The novel became so famous and attracted international attention that it gave many works of art, opera and film both its name and subject. William Randolph Rogers, an American sculptor who lived and worked in Italy, went so far as to make a statue of one of the protagonists in the novel, *Nydia, the Blind Girl of Pompeii* (model 1855, carved 1860). The neoclassical sculptors of the 19th century, like Rogers, had sought striking subjects that enabled them to create accomplished handling of the human form and technical understanding of the medium of marble; and via these to convey an influential moral message (Kelly, 2000). Many operas with the same name as the book was composed,

Errico Petrella's *Jone o L'ultimo Giorno di Pompei,* which adapted the story in the novel and premiered in 1858 in the Scala in Milan, being an early example. The operas, which followed the script-line of the novel, were produced not only in Italy but also in France and Germany as well. Victorin Joncières' opera *Le Dernier Jour de Pompéi*, which used the same plot with the novel, was staged in *Théâtre Lyrique* in Paris in 1869 (Moormann, 2015). The two early operatic spectacles bearing the same name of the novel and staged in Germany were August Pabst's and Reinhold von Montowt's *Die Letzten Tage von Pompeji*. Pabst's opera was staged in *Königlich Sächsisches Hoftheater* in 1851 in Dresden, and Montowt's version was performed in *Theater der Casino-Gesellschaft* in 1900 in Lübeck (Griffell, 288).

Pompeii and its destruction, based on the novel, was adapted to theatrical performances in the 19th century and met with the audience several times, particularly in England. Named as 'toga novel' by Richards (2009), *The Last Days of Pompeii* was staged in London three times. The first one was as a three-act drama by John Baldwin Buckstone, who adapted the plot and showed it the Adelphi Theatre in 1834. Newspapers like *The Examiner* (1834) praised the scenic arrangement of the stage while *The Morning Post* (1834) had reported about the staged events; "the entire proportions of the stage were developed with the best effect, and after being the stage of the gladiator's fight it becomes the scene of the catastrophe, namely, the complete destruction of the city of Pompeii" (Richards, 2009, pp. 61-62). Even though *The Morning* Post praised the production, it criticized the visual aspects of the film in terms of the fact that the scenery was not depicted correctly, the costumes were not gorgeous and costly, and the machinery was not produced perfectly. The second opera was staged by Edward Fitzball in The Royal Victoria Theatre in 1825, who adapted the plot under the title *The Last Days of Pompeii or the Blind Girl of Thessaly*. The scene paintings done by Charles Marshall were highly praised, and it was argued that the role of the scene-paintings was indeed more effective than the role of the actors. A third version was staged in The Queen's Theatre in 1872 by Henry Labouchere. Unlike the earlier two versions, this play was adapted with the permission of Bulwer-Lytton, and hence the actors used the original dialogues in the novel. As early as The English play-writer, Louisa Medina took the original plot from the novel, and performed an American version in the Bowery Theater in New York in 1835. Her title of the play

was *The Last Days of Pompeii: A Dramatic Spectacle, taken from Bulwer's Celebrated Novel of the Same Name,* thus openly advertising the play by emphasizing both the author and the book in the title. A comedy version of the book's narrative was staged in 1872 by Robert Reece, who adapted the script as a burlesque show and named it *The Very Last Days of Pompeii.* Shown in the Vaudeville Theatre on the Strand in London, the parody closely followed the script line of Bulwer-Lytton's novel except its end. Perhaps as an ironic gesture of the parody, Reece did not end his show with Vesuvius's eruption and focused instead on the Pompeian luxury, the death scenes in the amphitheater, and the love affairs between characters (Moorman, 2014).

Before the cinema superseded, both the indoor live stage performances like operas, theatres, and outdoor live performances like *pyrodrams* [94]as well as such mechanical visual shows as panoramas and *diaromas* served as popular mass entertainments. The earliest Pompeii panorama was the one installed by Robert Burford in Leicester Square and Strand in London in 1825. The panoramas include the views of Temple of Jupiter, Temple of Mercury, Basilica, Herculaneum Gate, House of Pansa, gate of the Forum, and the crater of Vesuvius (see figure 4.90).[95]

The most celebrated example of a *pyrodrams* featuring Pompeii was put together by the British entrepreneur James Pain. One of Pain's shows, an elaborate outdoor theatrical spectacle with fireworks, and athletic and dance performances took place in Manchester in 1879 and was watched by 25,000 spectators. The show was later staged several times in New York. "By 1914, Pain had organized dozens of successful spectacles on nearby Coney Island, with 1,300 "meticulously costumed actors" playing the inhabitants of Pompeii" (Moormann, 2015, p. 382) (Figure 4.5). The sets and costumes, in addition, were also archaeologically and historically accurate (Richards, 2009). The set décor had consisted of the 3d façades of buildings, including Temple of Isis, which were placed next

[94] Unlike panoramas, which were shown in special installments in towns and villages, and were visited over long periods by increasing numbers of people due to their popularity, *pyrodrams* were singular onstage representations shown in huge spaces that took the form of *tableaux vivants*, with hundreds of actors accompanied by music and enlivened by fireworks. (Moormann, 2015, p. 381)

[95] The two panoramas are used as visual sources in part titled *Convergent Scenography of Pompeian Architecture: Images from Illustrated Books and Set Designs of Early Films.*

to each other in a random fashion. The shows had displayed spectacular contexts, such as the rituals at the Temple of Isis, gladiatorial games, parades of circus animals, eruption of the volcano, escape from the disaster, and the collapse of the buildings. The lavish shows organized by James Pain had first appeared in London and then in New York, later toured cities like Forth Worth (Texas) (Daly 2015) (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4. 5 Silver printing-out paper showing a panoramic view from *The Last Days of Pompeii*, James Pain's Spectacle on Coney Island in 1903 (Source: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2007663416/)

Figure 4. 6 *The Last Days of Pompeii* at Manhattan Beach, illustration in *Harper's Weekly* in 1885, (Daly 2015, p. 43)

Among all types of works and productions, from painting to set designs, which took Pompeii, its architecture, and daily life as a theme, the most influential work, undoubtedly, was the novel produced by Bulwer-Lytton. The fashion for narrating and encapsulating the ancient Roman life in novels had actually begun with Bulwer-Lytton, and was followed by General Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur* (1880) and Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis?* (1896). All of these were reprinted, translated, adapted, staged, and screened several times in the 19th century. An estimate of 200 novels about the life of the Ancient Romans was written by the British and American authors between the 1820s and 1914. The general audience was familiar with Roman history and ancient cities because history was taught as a subject in the education system of the 19th century. The popular historical sites, such as Rome, Venice, and Florence, were among the popular travel routes.

The discoveries in Pompeii, which unearthed and revealed its architectural fabric, gave artists a literal force to resurrect the past in the present (Wyke 2013). In this regard, by "reviving, creating, peopling, repairing, reanimating, traversing, and awakening the ancient past", Bulwer-Lytton's novel *The Last Days of Pompeii* encapsulated and resurrected the buried life of Pompeii and its architecture in present time (Wyke, 2013, p.267). The novel made Pompeii and its decadence a perpetual subject for the early films produced both at the end of the 19th century and also in the 20th century (Appendix D). Whether the genre of the films ranged from historical epic and documentary to television series,[96] decadence and resurrection remained as two consistent themes. Pompeii provided the richest context to animate the ancient past to a world audience and the cinema created, and presented its visual codes (Figure 4.7). There exists an abundant number of films on Pompeii, in both the 19th century and the modern era. The next section focuses on the relatively less studied silent films, the curation, restoration, and exhibition of which have only been done in recent years. The silent films had become instrumental in familiarizing with antiquity, which was among the distinctive features of cinema since its birth. The discussion follows centers on the intersection of Pompeii as presented in the silent films and as revealed as a city.

[96] See Appendix D for detailed information about the television series that featured representations of Pompeii.

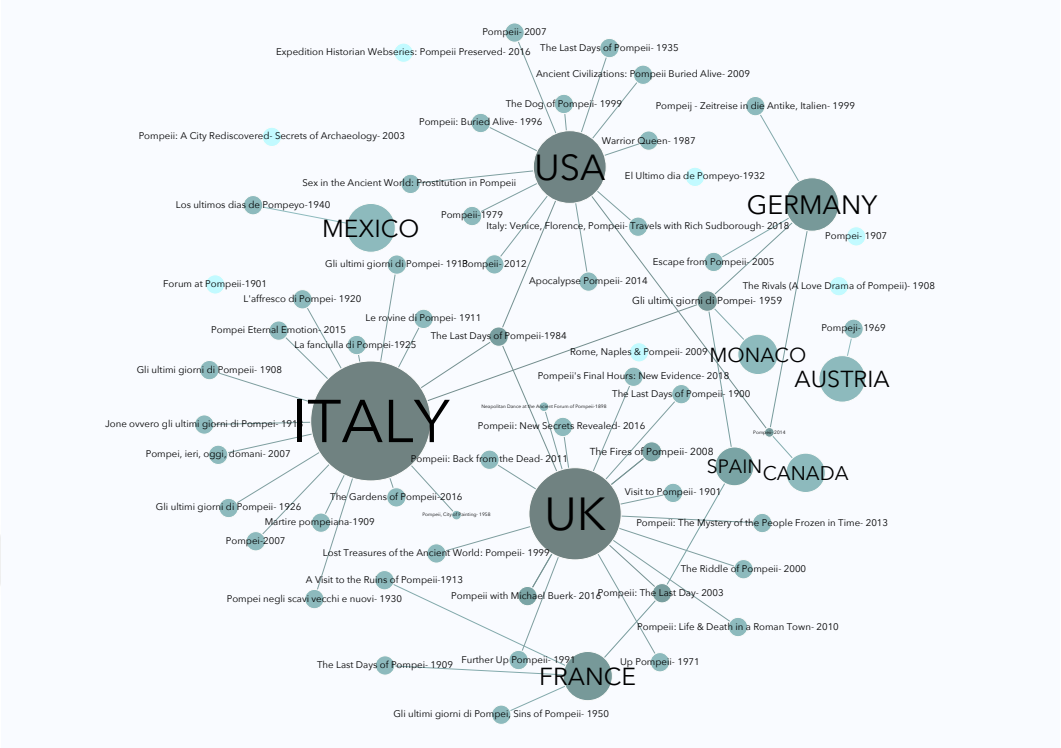


Figure 4. 7 Graphic showing the regional distribution of production companies, illustrated by the author from the on-line databases of the British Film Institute and the Internet Movie Database

4.4.2 Talking Images: Pompeii in Silent Films

Silent cinema is strictly speaking a misnomer, for although films themselves were silent, the cinema was not.
Yacavone 2015, p. 5

At the turn of the 19th century, Pompeii was the richest ancient archaeological context to elaborate and narrate the past. Besides, the archaeological uniqueness of the city made the site and its vanished inhabitants popular subjects for the cinema. The genre of the silent films produced in this era was often fictional, though travel films and documentary footages were also not uncommon.

Pompeii became an "experimental case" in the early cinema. It became a pivotal subject, especially for the Italian film industry. The first known narrative film on Pompeii, named *The Last Days of Pompeii,* dates back to 1900.[97] Not based on Bulwer-Lytton's novel, this

[97] Although there are articles which give W. R. Booth's film reference as the first fiction film on Pompeii, the archival research shows that no film or video material related to Booth's film is held by the archives.

was a five-minute-long short silent film that showed the 'pagan sinners' who had suffered the consequences of the eruption of the volcano (Guardiola, 2015). It was directed by W. R. Booth, who was one of the pioneers of the British cinema. The film focused on the destruction of the city by Vesuvius and showed people fleeing the eruption.

There are four silent films based on the novel *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834); *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* (Ambrosio Production House, directed by Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi) and filmed in 1908, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* (Ambrosio Production House, directed by Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi) and filmed in 1913, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* (Pasquali Film Company, directed by Giovanni Enrico Vidali) that dates to 1913, and *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* (Società Anonima Grandi Films, directed by Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone) and produced in 1926.[98]

These four silent films are analyzed in detail in the following section to argue and illustrate in which ways the architecture of Pompeii provided background and setting for silent films. The section also includes a part on the examples of non-fictional footage, which represents the films produced during the site visits by travelers and royal sightseers. As examples of silent moving images, these are also analyzed to contextualize and frame a comparative understanding of architectural features' use as a background. Claiming that Pompeii was already designed as an 'architectural stage,' the section aims to analyze the ways of restating architecture through silent films.

Film analysis is traditionally done by looking at semiotics, narrative structure, cultural context, and *mise-en scene*. For the purpose of the argument, the analysis elaborates on the *mise-en scene* of the selected silent films and analyzes the compositional elements such as décor, setting, lighting, space, costume, and acting. *Mise-en scene* analysis deals with the elements that are unique to the film. In order to compare Pompeii's architectural reality to its spatial representation in the films, the analysis focuses more on décor and space. Because all these four silent films had the same narrative structure, both décor and space can be examined under the same themes. Indeed, taken together, it can be said that in all

For W. R. Booth's entry, see Barnouw 1981; Gifford 1987; Wyke 1997: 278; Harris 2007: 207; Guardiola 2015: 186; Wyke 2019: 455.

[98] For the briefly written synopsis of *The Last Days of Pompeii*, see Appendix E.

the films, the architectural features of Pompeii are displayed in typical scenes. The analysis is done for five types of scenes that are common to all films; the outdoor scenes, including the street views and The Forum, the interior scenes (House of the Tragic Poet, and Villa of Diomedes), scenes from the Temple of Isis, scenes from The Amphitheatre, and the decadence scenes (Figure 4.8). Different color tints and tones are used in different scenes, and this is one of the distinguishing aspects of the films. Tinting and toning came into use as methods of adding color to the cinematic productions in the silent era, and resulted in a color-coding; deep purple or blue for night, red for fire, green for forest views, and yellow for a sunny day. Not necessarily the outdoor scenes were shot in the outdoor; they could be recorded in the studios. The captured scenes chosen to be exemplified in each category are organized in sequential order, that is, the archive of the films is deconstructed by converting the moving images into images, and then ordering these images in a sequential order. [99]

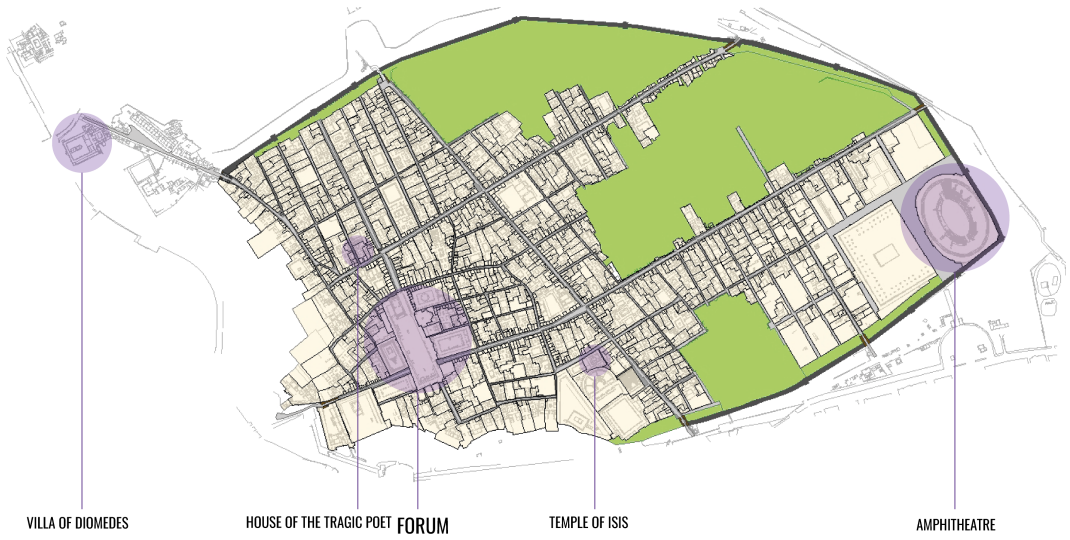


Figure 4. 8 Places narrated in the films, produced by the author

[99] The 1926 version of the film is watched by the author in the archive of the British Film Institute; the graphic of deconstructed scenes displaying the frames of the film, however, could not organize because of the copyright issues.

4.4.2.1 *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* – 1908

The well-known buildings of Pompeii were already excavated in 1908. For example, the Villa of Diomedes was unearthed between 1771 and 1774; the House of the Tragic Poet in 1824; the House of the Faun between 1830 and 1832 and the House of the Vettii between 1894 and 1895. These were iconic residential buildings in terms of their design, and as such, from the tiny details to architectural layout, they were published and represented a lot in various media. In this respect, their visuals created the mental image of a Pompeian domestic setting and hence became the reference context for the set designs of the silent movies. In other words, the most remarkable discoveries of the ancient city were already made before the production of the early silent films. The archaeological discoveries, therefore, provided the visual material, that served as a representation of the factual information, for the construction of the set designs in the early era of the moving pictures.

The Turin based production house *Ambrosio* (*Società Anonima Ambrosio*) released the silent film *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* in 1908 in Italy and France. In 1909 the film was released in Germany, Austria, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America and gained both domestic and international success. The 35mm film was directed by Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi with the contribution of photographer Giovanni Vitrotti and was 17 minutes long. It presented a narration which was composed from the script line of the novel *The Last Days of Pompeii*. It constructed a sequence of imagined scenes according to the information produced from the architectural features of the ancient city and created a unique 'tectonic' by juxtaposing references from various disciplines and their thematic subjects, including archaeology, literature, architecture, and cinema. Layer by layer, the film built a composition to resurrect the life in Pompeii.
The film begins within the introduction of the main characters to the audience: Nidia, Glauco, Jone, Apoecide, and the villain Arbaces (Figure 4.9). The storyboard gives information about the next scene in the form of a summary.

Figure 4. 9 Introduction of the lead characters in the opening scenes, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908, graphically composed from the captured scenes by the author

The film displays several scenes, including the street scene from the Forum, the interior scene from the house of Glauco, the interior scene from the house of Jone, the scenes from the outside and inside of the Temple of Isis, the scene from the Amphitheatre, the scene from the cave of the magician, and the outdoor scene showing the sea coast (Figure 4.10). The scenes, except for the last one that shows the escape from the city by the sea, were captured in the studio of Ambrosio Film Company.

Figure 4. 10 Graphic showing the sequential order of the film in reference to the chosen scenes, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908, composed by the author from the screen shots taken from the film

Outdoor Sequences, There is only one scene displaying a street view in the film. Following the opening sequences, the audience meets all the characters in this street frame, illustrates the reconstructed image of the Forum, as understood from the perspective showing Mount Vesuvius in the background (Figure 4.11). The actors stand in front of the background while the perspectival view, which opens to a vista towards Vesuvius, gives depth to the scene. As mentioned in the third chapter, in the opening pages of his novel, Bulwer-Lytton described Pompeii as a 'show box' with "its minute but glittering shops, its tiny palaces, its baths, its forum, its theatre, its circus", and this scene which shows several human figures in a street creates, indeed, such a vivid atmosphere and illustrates the daily life as an ongoing show.

Figure 4. 11 Street scene where the all characters are seen together, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908, screen shot from the film by the author

Interior Sequences, The film contains three domestic interior settings; the House of Glauco, the House of Jone, and the place where the blind girl Nidia lives, of which the first two are analyzed. The design of the protagonist Glauco's elegant retreat is based on the House of the Tragic Poet, which was constructed as a set in the film (Figure 4.12). The House of the Tragic Poet is one of the actual and then completely excavated dwellings in Pompeii and was defined as a 'fairy mansion' by Bulwer-Lytton in his novel:

> His retreat in Pompeii—alas! the colors are faded now, the walls stripped of their paintings! - its main beauty, its elaborate finish of grace and ornament, is gone; yet when

first given once more to the day, what eulogies, what wonder, did its minute and glowing decorations create - its paintings - its mosaics! Passionately enamoured of poetry and the drama, which recalled to Glaucus the wit and the heroism of his race, that fairy mansion was adorned with representations of AEschylus and Homer. (Lytton, Vol. 1 B. 1 Ch. 3, 1834, pp. 31-32)

Figure 4. 12 Plan of House of the Tragic Poet, produced by the author

The camera is located at the right-hand side of the scene to provide a depth of the garden from which the Vesuvius is seen in the background (Figure 4.13). The vista towards Vesuvius is seen behind the half-open curtains and is the same vista used in the opening street scene. In the actual house, however, the *peristyle* garden was designed as an enclosed volume in which it was not possible to see Mount Vesuvius. The Doric style columns, the wall paintings, the decorative furniture such as the reclining chair, and the curtains, which are used to provide spatial separation in the dwelling, despite inaccurately placed and portrayed, all show that the effort was put to display architectural reality and its tectonic. In the novel, Bulwer-Lytton briefly explained the domestic arrangement of the house by using an itinerary that referred to the axial spatial alignment that began from the entrance and culminated in the garden at the back of the house. This visual axis was commonly highlighted in the early illustrations of the house that featured in the visual media prior to the cinema. In the film, on the other hand, it is not possible to sense the axial view as the camera focuses on a single reconstructed view, showing only a part of the house. In other words, by using an angle that did not focus on the axial sequence from the entrance to

the back of the house, the cinema, as the new visual medium of representation, challenged and changed the conventional way of capturing ancient Pompeian domestic architecture and thus visually engaging with its sequential spatiality.

Figure 4. 13 House of Glauco designed according to the House of the Tragic Poet, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908, screen shot from the film by the author

The second interior scene is captured in the House of Jone (Figure 4.14). Bulwer-Lytton left the identification of Jone's house to the imagination of the readers. N. Scotti (1907), in his well-known fictionalized guide-book *Three Hours in Pompeii,* took Jone's house as the House of Adonis according to the distance between the house and the other houses mentioned in the novel. Although it is unknown whether the house was taken as a model or not in the film, it can be said that the guidebook, was published a year before the production of the film, and hence might have an effect. The atmosphere created on the scene actually resembles Julia's house, the Villa of Diomedes that Bulwer-Lytton depicts in detail. The film shows a decorated set featuring a *peristyle* garden opening outside, in which the 'luxury' portrayed in the novel is accentuated. Jone is shown sitting with slaves around (Figure 4.15). The columns are decorated with garlands and flowers, and three statues, two of which are painted on the colorfully illustrated background surface, complete the décor. The statues are located in different positions with respect to the camera; therefore, it is possible to see the one on the right side only when the camera was turned from left to right at the end of the scene, which is also used as a signifier to close the scene.

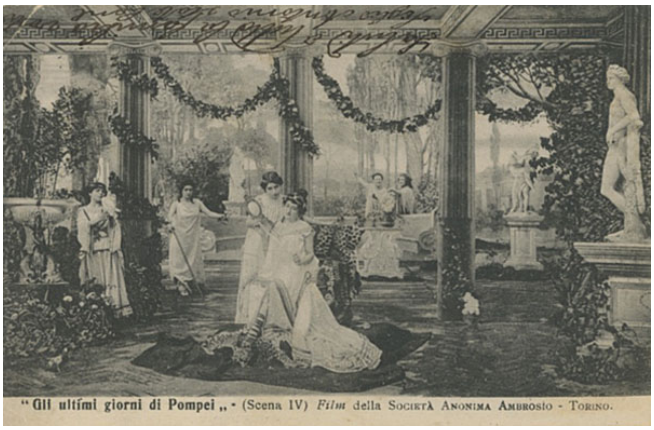


Figure 4. 14 Jone and her slaves shown in the set design, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei,* Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908*,* (Source: https://sempreinpenombra.com/2008/11/05/il-cinematografo-nel-1908/)

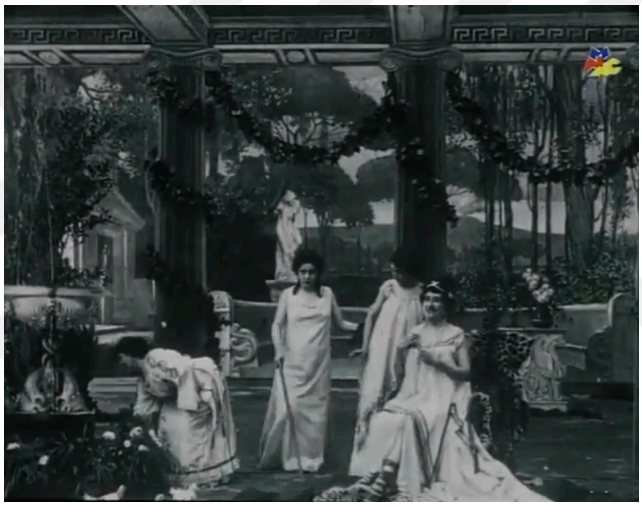


Figure 4. 15 Jone and her slaves shown in the set design, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei,* Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908, screen shot from the film by the author

What is striking about the interior scene of Jone's house and the outdoor backdrop is the existence of a semicircular seat. These kinds of semicircular seats were among the most illustrated urban furniture from Pompeii in the 19th century artworks. For example, the open-air seating arrangement named Priestess Mamia's *exedra*, located on the *Via dei Sepolcri,* just outside the gate leading to Herculaneum had a semicircular shape and was depicted in many artworks, such as *Road of Tombs* by Jacob Philipp Hackert in 1793 (Figure 4.16), *An Exedra* by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema in 1869 (Figure 4.17), and *Outside the Gate of Pompeii* by John William Godward in 1905 (Figure 4.18). The semicircular marble seating unit shown in the scene of the film was similar to the *exedra* seating painted by Alma-Tadema; the angle and the finishing details are almost the same in both. Another striking

detail in the interior scene of Jone's house is that the set design was composed of three vertical painted décor elements located at different distances with respect to the camera; the view towards Vesuvius at the back, the painted *exedra* décor in front of this, and the painted view that shows the columns and the ceiling at the forefront (Figure 4.19). Actors moved among these two-dimensional surfaces, and hence the movement of the camera was limited to shoot a particular area. The backdrop showing the Vesuvius in Jone's chamber scene is also used as a décor in the next scene, which shows Arbaces and Nidia on their way to the Temple of Isis.

Figure 4. 16 Painting showing the circular seating unit, *Road of Tombs,* Jacob Philipp Hackert, 1793 (Lindeman, 2017, p. 76)

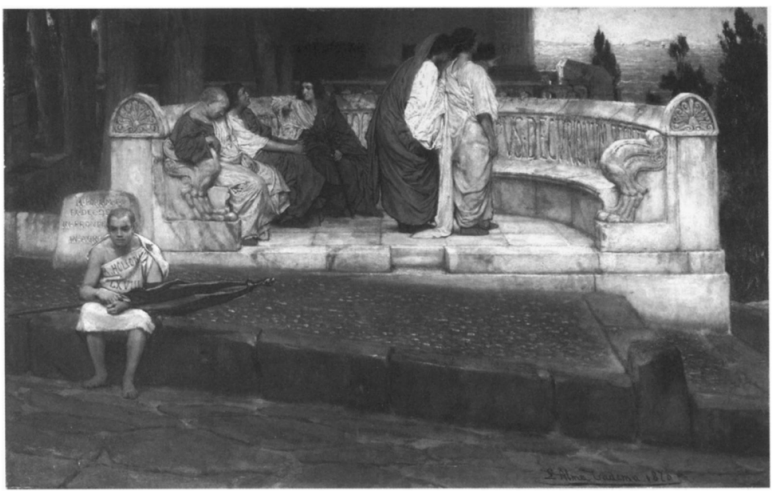


Figure 4. 17 Detail showing the circular seating unit, *An Exedra*, Lawrence Alma-Tadema, 1869 (Whalley, 2005, p. 261)

Figure 4. 18 Painting showing the circular seating unit, *Outside the Gate of Pompeii*, John William Godward, 1905 (Source: www.mutualart.com)

Figure 4. 19 The backdrop used in several scenes, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908, screen shot from the film by the author

Temple of Isis Sequences, The scene of Arbaces and Jone takes place in the Temple of Isis (Figure 4.20), which is one of the most commonly depicted and reconstructed urban artifacts by artists. In Bulwer-Lytton's novel, it was described as a small but graceful temple. As mentioned in the novel, there were two statues inside the temple: Isis and her companion mystic Orus. In the film's related scene, on the other hand, only the statue of Isis is displayed in the room while the second statue is placed outside the entrance (Figure 4.21). The wall paintings on the décor depict a ceremonial event related to the cult of Isis. The red color tinting was deliberately used in the scene as a sign to demonstrate the secret nature of the cult in Pompeii. According to several scholars who criticized the novel, Bulwer-Lytton praised the religious themes in accordance to Christianity, and in this

respect, presented the cult of Isis an un-appropriate belief; according to his narration, the Temple of Isis was not a pleasant place to conduct rituals and hence the villain of the film is chosen to be a priest of this temple. The color scheme used in the scene sequences, in this sense, may well have been chosen to convey the ethical and moral messages or to hint for the catastrophe that was about to come to the audience. For example, reddish colors are used more towards the end of the story, when things are getting complicated, decadence is at high, and the tragedy is on its way.

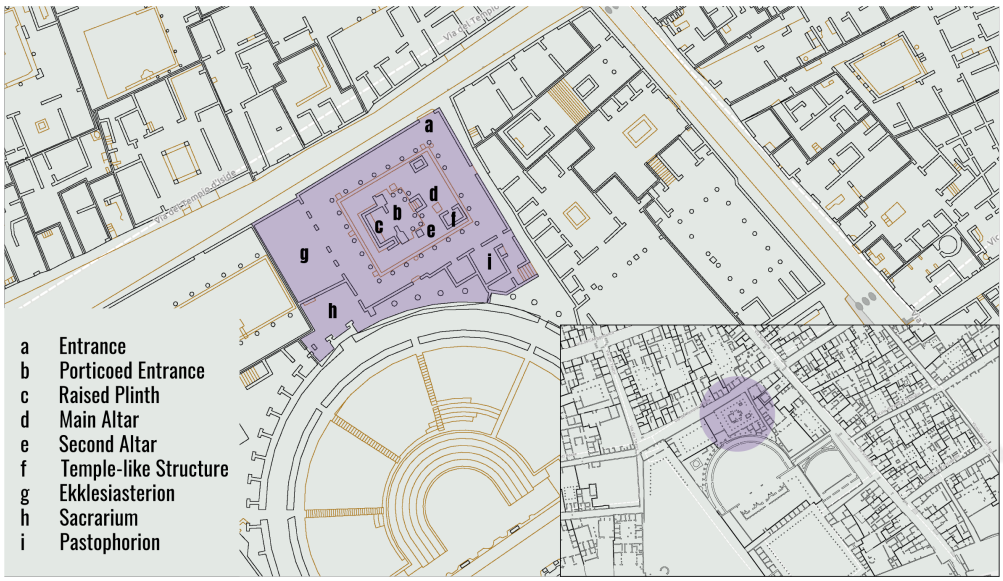


Figure 4. 20 Plan of the Temple of Isis, produced by the author

Figure 4. 21 Interior décor created for the Temple of Isis, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908, screen shot from the film by the author

Amphitheatre Sequences, The scene shows Glauco waiting to enter the arena of the amphitheater before his fight. In the background is the smoking Vesuvius which is giving signs of eruption (Figure 4.22). Similar to the paintings that are discussed in the second chapter, the dangerous presence of Mount Vesuvius is painted as a backdrop in almost every scene in the film to act as a reminder of the upcoming catastrophe.

Figure 4. 22 Amphitheatre scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908, (Muscio, 2013, p. 162)

Decadence Sequences, The time of destruction is reflected in several scenes, including the street scenes and an interior scene from Jone's house (Figure 4.23). The most illustrated architectural element in the representations of Pompeii by far are columns, which are utilized as a metaphor of the 'architectural decadence' in the city. Hence, the falling columns in the eruption scenes signify both physical and moral devastation.

Figure 4. 23 Scenes in Jone's villa during the time of destruction, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908, screen shot from the film by the author

In the closing scenes, Glauco and Jone are shown escaped from the disaster with the help of the blind girl Nidia, who drowns herself after saving their lives, as also narrated in the novel. The scene shows Nidia surrounded by flowers floating on the surface of the water, a scene, which is similar to the depiction of Ophelia in a painting by Sir John Everett Millais, dated to 1851-52 (Figures 4.24, 4.25). Millais must have been influenced by Shakespeare's play *Hamlet*, which is accepted as one of the most poetically written death scenes in the history of literature. The resemblance of details between the last scene and the Ophelia painting suggests that the film could well have derived information both from the literature on Pompeii and also from other genres of literature, and used well-known classical works to construct metaphors and hence to reinforce the narration.

Figure 4. 24 Scene displaying Nidia surrounded by flowers, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908, screen shot from the film by the author

Figure 4. 25 *Ophelia*, Sir John Everett Millais, 1851-52, (Tate Britain), photograph taken by the author in 2018

The *mise-en scene* analysis shows that the spaces and places seen in the film never truly mirror the spatial reality; the film signifies the representation of Pompeii's architectural space and becomes part of a visual system that allows the spectator to perceive the ancient atmosphere. Because of the fact that the cinematic apparatus of the film could only record images and not sounds, the films had to come into prominence with their decors and to which extent these decors imitated the architectural reality. In this regard, it is noteworthy to highlight that some of the set designs used in 1908 dated *Gli Ultimi Giorno di Pompei* were not special to the film; the same backdrops were used in the different films produced by the Ambrosio Company. Therefore, it can well be argued that the film was composed to exhibit the ongoing engagement with representing and rewriting the past, which was connected to ways of history-making in the 19th century. In this regard, it certainly did not aim to produce an authentic interpretation. It was also a visual for entertainment.

The film was an early 'experiment' of the Italian film industry in terms of framing the ancient world via Pompeii. As mentioned by Ventura (2015), "this film led to the cinematographic crystallization of a whole series of stereotypes in antiquity, inherited from the literature and painting of the previous decades, which provide an essential frame of reference for reconstructions of ancient world" (p. 238). By developing a cinematic narration on Pompeii for the first time, the film gave rise to feature-length movies that adapted the same story from Bulwer-Lytton's novel.

4.4.2.2 *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* -1913

Two versions of *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* (1908), based on the same script-line of Bulwer-Lytton's novel, were released in 1913. The first version was a 56 minutes long silent film produced by the production house *Ambrosio* (*Società Anonima Ambrosio*), which also released the 1908 version and directed by Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi. Though it was an Italian production, it was first released in the USA on 13 August 1913, and then in Italy. The film was released later in France, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and United Kingdom in 1913 and in Japan in 1922, gaining huge success in both Italy and abroad.

The film consisted of a series of single-shot scenes taken by a largely static camera, and the *mise-en scene* of the film was created with substantial outdoor stages as well as exterior settings. The film represents a step forward in terms of organizing movement within a field of focus; that is, the camera captured movement within a narrow but deep space rather than within the flat composition of a frame. Indeed, compared with the 1908 version, the location of the actors from front to back on the right side of the frame was more effective in terms of 3-dimensionality as it allowed the spectators to perceive distance and depth.

The film follows the basic outline of the narration in the novel with storyboards that appear on the screen before every scene. Using storyboards to give information about scenes was a method commonly adapted in silent films. There are both interior and outdoor scenes, such as the outdoor scenes showing the *Domitia* Street, the tavern of Burbo, and the Forum; the interior scenes from the houses of Glauco, Jone, Arbaces, and Claudius (friend of Glauco), and both the interior and exterior scenes from the Temple of Isis, and the Amphitheatre (Figure 4.26). Various colors are used in the film, as above mentioned, to distinguish the spatial and emotional character of the scenes; for example, yellow and green tinting was used in the indoor and outdoor scenes while the red tint was used to display the eruption scenes at the end (Figure 4.27).

Figure 4. 26 Sequential order of the film showing the chosen scenes, Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, composed by the author from the screen shots taken from the film

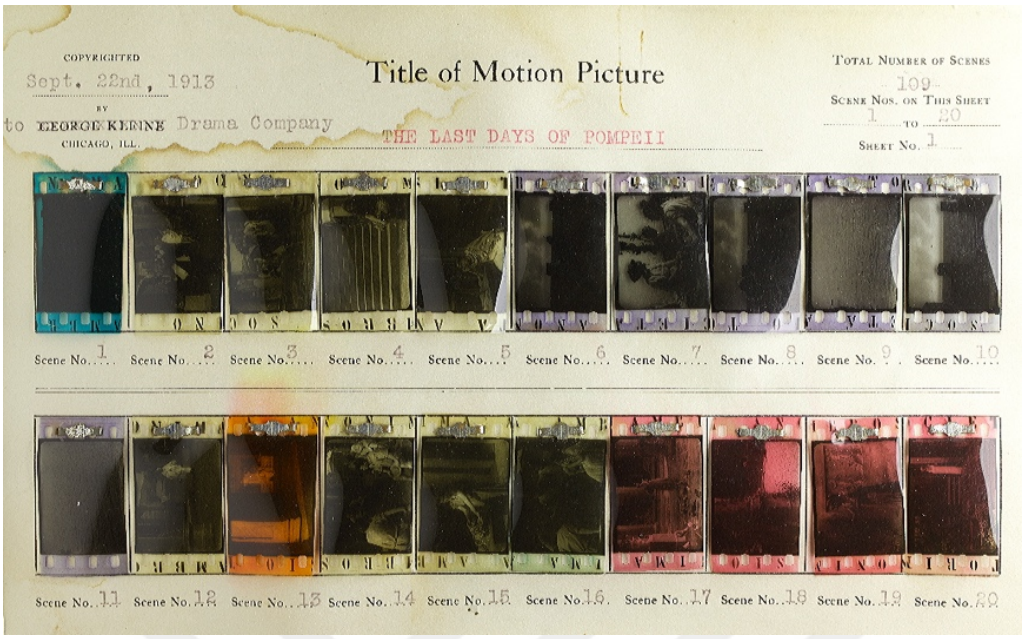


Figure 4. 27 Color negatives of the film produced by George Klein in USA under the title of *The Last Days of Pompeii* (Source: www.filmcolors.org)

Outdoor Sequences, This part analyzes four outdoor scenes; the *Domitia* Street, an unnamed street, the street where the Tavern of Burbo was located, and the urban *exedra*, which was also used as a décor in the 1908 version. The scenes use different backgrounds and décors to animate a variety from life in the streets of Pompeii. The first scene which displays an outdoor setting shows the *Domitia* Street crowded with people. The director most likely aimed to animate and bring the streets of Pompeii into life in the very first scene, to engage the audience with the vitality of the city before the eruption (Figure 4.28). Different from the 1908 version, the characters are not introduced in a frame at the beginning but shown together in the opening street scene. Along with a perspectival view of the street, the sets were organized to show the actors in the act of walking. Costumes and hairstyles are designed, most likely, in reference to the statues unearthed by excavations, and their subsequent representations in the paintings that illustrated human figures. In Pompeii, shops were usually found on both sides of the house entrances, and the street scene in the film contains a view with a shop decor.

Figure 4. 28 Street scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

The second outdoor scene shows Nidia on her way to home (Figure 4.29). The iconic features of the Pompeii streets are produced as part of the décor in the scene, such as a street fountain. The fountain had a lion head relief, from the mouth of which flowed water and was most likely designed in reference to the fountains situated in the streets, including *Via Stabiana, Via dell'Abbondanza, Via di Nocera, Via Della Fortuna,* and *Via di Mercurio*. The public fountains in Pompeii are distinguished with their fancy animal head reliefs with water flowing from their mouths, like dog, lion, bull, and panther, or reliefs of gods and goddess such as Venus, Minerva, Mercury, and Silenus, and mythological creatures including gorgons and satyrs and nymphs. The most represented fountain relief in the artworks is the lion head, which is also used in the film.

Figure 4. 29 Street scene showing the typical features, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

The third outdoor scene takes place in the street, where the tavern of Burbo was located (Figure 4.30). The scene is a crowded one to reflect that the taverns were places of socializing. The decor is designed to give a perspective and opens to the street in order to show the relation of the tavern to the street. The scene also features a temple with ten columns in the background, which is actually a false view, as the only temple with ten columns on its front facade in Pompeii is the Doric Temple located in the Triangular Forum, and because of the surrounding buildings around the temple, there is no way to see the temple in such a perspective.

Figure 4. 30 Tavern of Burbo, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

The fourth outdoor scene displays the iconic urban furniture, the semicircular seat, which was also used as a painted image in the décor of the 1908 version. A reconstructed version of the same type of *exedra* is used in the film's outdoor scene where Glauco and Jone meet (Figure 4.31). Apparently, some of the decoration elements shown as a 2-dimensional image in the previous film are now reconstructed as a 3-dimensional object that made the sets look more realistic.

Figure 4. 31 Semicircular seat, *exedra*, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

Interior Sequences, There are two domestic interior settings in the film; the house of Jone, and the House of Glauco (The House of the Tragic Poet). The scenes take place in different parts of the houses, including *cubiculum*, *atrium*, and the *peristyle* garden, and their analysis considers how such themes as displaying luxury, banqueting, dining, and reclining were presented.

The first interior scene comes with the entrance of Jone's house (Figure 4.32). While the scene shows the depth of space to the spectator, the way actors do not make any contact with the décor located at the far back and just pass in front of it demonstrates that the décor of the setting was actually composed of painted surfaces. However, the movement of the actors, the set décor, and lighting, taken together, are arranged to make the background elements visible and create a spatiality in the scene. The setting does not represent the typical house entrance, which was brought to light by the excavations and discussed in the second chapter. The entrance is located off-centered as oppose to the typical Pompeian house entrances placed right on the axis that culminated in the back garden. The shadows and lights seen between the two massive columns at the entrance demonstrate that a large and open outdoor set design is used, as opposed to the artificial lighting commonly used in the studio houses of the silent film era. Natural lighting and open sets must have contributed considerably to create a more vivid architectural atmosphere.

Figure 4. 32 Interior scene staged from entrance, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

The second interior scene from Jone's house shows a bathing setting, one of the most attractive and illustrated themes, especially for the 19th century painters whose works include representations of ancient Roman daily life. The scene is symmetrically organized between two massive columns, and with the help of a geometric floor mosaic, it creates a perspective that stretches from the bathing pool to the arched gate at the back (Figure 4.33). The fountain of the pool is very similar to the one used in the street scene that featured the blind girl Nidia. A set of curtains hung between the columns and at the arched gate suggest that textiles were used as spatial separators when the bathers demanded privacy and/or invisibility.

Figure 4. 33 Bathing scene in the house of Jone, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

The interior décor of the house of Glauco takes the reconstructed interiors of the House of the Tragic Poet as a model. The first interior setting shows the *peristyle* courtyard (Figure 4.34). The geometric mosaic floor, the fountain decorated with flowers, the vases that stood on bases, the statues, and the fence that defines the central garden are the elements used to create the domestic scene. Nidia is shown feeding the birds in the foreground. Birds were depicted in several wall-paintings in Pompeii, indicating that they were considered as a significant component of nature and landscape, and could well be kept at homes together with other domestic pets. It is seen that in the last few decades before 79 AD., covering the garden walls with large paintings that displayed garden views with trees, rare plants, birds, and sculptures, became fashionable in Pompeii. The large-scale depictions of nature must have influenced the 19th century artists who had included bird figures in their paintings that illustrated ancient daily life. Nidia, shown as feeding birds in the garden scene, in this sense, is a reference both to the ancient landscape wall-paintings that adorned the *peristyles* and enhanced the garden settings in the houses and also to the later representations.

Figure 4. 34 Reconstructed *peristyle* garden, based on the House of the Tragic Poet, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

The second interior scene from the same house displays the *atrium* (Figure 4.35). The backdrop seen beyond the *atrium* is the one used in the scenes that showed the entrance of Jone's house. The method of using the same backdrops in multiple scenes was applied

in the 1908 version as well. The architectural and decorative elements are deliberately put in front of such backdrops to conceal the half-constructed state of sets. The *peristyle* garden is depicted with rectangular columns, unlike the *atrium* scene, which was arranged by circular columns. Accessories such as sculptures, herms, flowerpots with hanging plants, flowers fallen on the floor are ensembled to create a romantic ambiance. The half-open curtain seen at the back is a painted décor and was used to add a richness to the interior while at the same time also demonstrated to the audience that the rooms could attain visual privacy via such textile separators.

Figure 4. 35 Reconstructed *atrium* and *tablinum*, based on the House of the Tragic Poet, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

The third scene from the interior of Glauco's house shows the entrance, which is symmetrically framed between two marble columns (Figure 4.36). A marble bust that stands on a marble pillar on one side of the entrance door, which is flanked by flower

pots, is almost the same with the marble herm, which stood on a pillar, was decorated with a twining ivy, found in the *peristyle* garden of the House of the Vettii.

Figure 4. 36 Entrance of the Glauco's house, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

In general, in all the scenes showing the interiors, wooden doors and curtains are used to separate spaces and different parts of the house. Wall paintings that belong to the other part of the house and seen beyond the curtains are also drawn on the décors of the related scenes (Figure 4.37). Marble is one of the most lavishly used materials, both as wall and floor coating and also in columns, busts, sculptures and flower pots and stands.

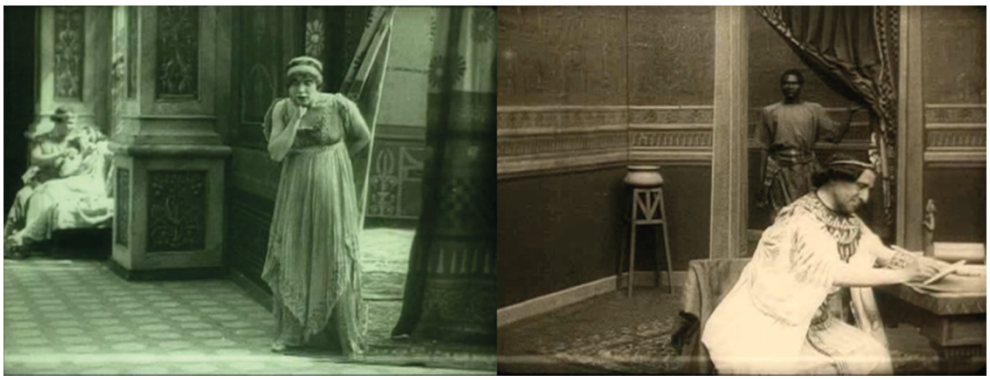


Figure 4. 37 Wall paintings seen behind the curtains, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

Temple of Isis Sequences, The Temple of Isis scene is created with a painted backdrop. The Isis statue seen in the foreground is located in front of a painted décor that constructs a perspectival arrangement of columns and gives depth to the scene (Figure 4.38). A marble balustrade defines and separates the area of the statue from the entrance. The following scenes in the sequence, show the performance of an Isis ritual by a crowd, which involves dancing, taking place in the temple, around the statue, and outside the entrance. The overflowing of the ritual participants to the street could be a thought given detail as it explicitly provides the message that the cult had a considerable impact in Pompeii. This is, undoubtedly, one of the impressing scenes in the film in terms of the crowd of actors, and the variety of costume designs (Figure 4.39). The small but finely designed temple is described in detail in the novel by Bulwer-Lytton who gives an architectural account of the interior:

> That edifice was then but of recent erection, the ancient temple had been thrown down in the earthquake sixteen years before, and the new building had become as much in vogue with the versatile Pompeians, as a new church or a new preacher may be with us…As Arbaces now arrived at the rails which separated the profane from the sacred place, a crowd composed of all classes, but especially of the commercial, collected, breathless and reverential, before the many altars which rose in the open court. In the walls of the cella, elevated on seven steps of Parian marble, various statues stood in niches, and those walls were ornamented with the pomegranate consecrated to Isis. An oblong pedestal occupied the interior building, on which stood two statues, one of Isis, and its companion represented the silent and mystic Orus. pp. 67-68

Figure 4. 38 Temple of Isis, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

Figure 4. 39 Ritual performance in Temple of Isis, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913

A striking detail in the scene is the oriental carpets placed on the floor, a detail, which is not included in the novel. The use of oriental carpets in the scene could have been related to the fact that Isis was an ancient Egyptian goddess, and Egypt was associated with the 'orient' in the 19th century, from where several oriental gods were imported to Europe. The image of plants and flowers wrapped around columns and sculptures added a romance to the scene; ivy apparently had served as a symbolic element to portray antiquity as a romantic period as the nostalgia for antiquity was a strong one in the 19th century.

Amphitheatre Sequences, The Amphitheater sequences take place just before the decadence scene. An eye-catching detail in the scene displaying a spectacle taking place in the *arena* is the presence of a large crowd, and the gladiators who are passing in front of this crowd before the show started (Figure 4.40). The scene, most likely, is an outdoor shot with constructed stairs that give access to the spectator area seen in the front. The crowd seen in the background, on the other hand, is a painted decor. The architectural

features of the arena are not an accurate representation of the Amphitheater in Pompeii, such as stairs are different than in the real case. The destruction of Pompeii scenes starts in the arena, while Glauco is waiting for a fight. The eruption is made manifest by the red toning used in a particular shade in the frame.

Figure 4. 40 Spectacle in arena, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, composed by the author from the captured scenes in the film

Decadence Sequences, The destruction of Pompeii is actually shown in three spaces: the *arena*, the Forum (Figure 4.41), and Jone's house. Common in all scenes is collapsed architectural elements, falling columns, people running away from the eruption, and the smoke seen in the background. As claimed by Dorgerloh (2013), "its dramatic climax combines the decisive circus scene with the eruption of Vesuvius in such a way that real shots of flowing lava with firework explosions and collapsing architecture were edited together in quick succession" (p. 237). An irony in the Forum's destruction scene is that the crowd is shown as running towards the Vesuvius and not away from it. This might have been a conscious choice to elaborate the erupting Vesuvius at the back. The ruined state of the Forum is displayed to the spectators in the next scenes (Figure 4.42). The closing scene of the film differs from the 1908 version in that it shows the erupting Vesuvius from the seaside; in the first version, Glauco and Jone were shown escaped from the disaster with the help of Nidia, and no scene displayed the view of Vesuvius from the bay.

Figure 4. 41 Forum of Pompeii during the eruption, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

Figure 4. 42 Destruction of buildings and architectural elements and Forum, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

The film, similar to the previous version, received a huge success. Two letters prove the success of the film; one was sent by a marquis to the Queen of Italy to invite her to the film's first screening in Turin, and the other by a pastor in the Church of Saint Peter to George Klein who was a crucial figure in the establishment of the film industry in America and imported the first version of 1913 *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* from Italy. The pastor had watched the film in Minnesota in 1913 and praises it "as a triumph of motion picture science" in his letter (Figure 4.43).

Her Majesty, the Queen, would like to have an exhibition of the moving picture, "The Last Days of Pompeii," at the Royal Castle of Stupinigi. Please let me know, if it is possible, what evening would be most convenient for you.

With my best regards,

MARQUIS GUICCIOLO,
Gentleman in Waiting to the Queen Mother.

My dear Mr. Kleine:

I certainly enjoyed your production of "The Last Days of Pompeii." It is a triumph of motion picture science. The student who knows the history of the times can behold graphically and truthfully the realization of the history of that early period. The expense of the film must be enormous, but the beauty and high character of the work must eventually recompense the producer.

Yours sincerely,

DAVID J. MORAN,
Pastor, The Church of St. Peter.

St. Paul, Minn.
December 13, 1913.

Figure 4. 43 Reproduction of the letters written shortly after the release of *The Last Days of Pompeii*-1913 in Italy and the USA, adapted from the book Kleine's Cycle of Film Classics by the author, (Hughes, 1916, p. 43)

The success of the film was mentioned in the popular magazines of the period, including *The Popular Electricity and the World's Advance,* both published in Chicago (Figure 4.44). An article published in 1913 and looked at the film stills of the film under the title of "Motion Pictures". It gave brief information on the production and commented that: "some idea of the scenic beauty and elaborate costuming of the Bulwer Lytton novel in picture form can be obtained from the accompanying pictures which are exact reproductions of strong scenes in the film". [100]

[100] (Source: https://archive.org/details/popularelectric619131chic/page/901)

MOTION PICTURES 901

Scene in the Temple of Isis

Entrance of the Gladiators

Nydia and Ione in the Home of Glaucus

Nydia Prepares to Escape

"LAST DAYS OF POMPEII"

The picture going public will shortly be offered in the larger theaters of the country the six reel film production "The Last Days of Pompeii" which was filmed in Italy by the Ambrosio Company and which George Kleine, owner of the great "Quo Vadis?" pictures, has purchased outright for presentation in America. In the opinion of many who have seen the film

Figure 4. 44 Magazine page on *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi, 1913 (Source: https://archive.org/details/popularelectric619131chic/page/901)

A vivid account of the success of the film in London is given by Ian Christie (2013) who mentions that even the schools and colleges were encouraged to take the students to the film:

> …Ambrosio's new 6,000 ft. version of *The Last Days of Pompeii* (*Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei*) opened exclusively at the West End Cinema in Coventry Street, with 'specially composed music' performed by 'a full orchestra', and all seats bookable, at prices ranging from one shilling to an astonishing ten shillings and sixpence. Schools and colleges were encouraged to inquire about special prices for group visits to 'Lord Lytton's classical masterpiece' (p. 116).

The *mise-en scene* analysis shows that the 1913 version made progress in terms of constructing more detailed settings when compared to that of the 1908 film. The sets were organized with imitation of architectural features, such as floor mosaics, wall

paintings, statues, furniture, and decorative elements. The film follows the same story-line with the previous version, but because of the fact that the length of this film is much more than the previous one (56 minutes as opposed to 17 minutes), there exist more scenes with both outdoor and indoor settings. The crowds of actors, used especially in the scenes depicting the ritual in the Temple of Isis, and the gladiatorial fight in the Amphitheatre, enabled the spectators to watch the more impressive and eccentric aspects of the ancient life of Pompeii. The focus on the powerful impact of the actors, the fusion of the private and public life in the indoor and outdoor settings, the imitated architectural artifacts reveal a much more aestheticized form of representation of Pompeii. The aestheticization of this representation is achieved by using the luxury theme, the romanticization of the atmosphere with plants and various decoration items, and the creation of a hybrid decor by using two-dimensional surfaces and three-dimensional décor elements. As the film received international success, it came as no surprise that a third version of *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* was released in the same year.

4.4.2.3 *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* -1913

The second film from 1913, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, was released by Pasquali Film, directed by Giovanni Enrico Vidali, and was 95 minutes in length.[101] As mentioned by Stähli (2012), this production, like the first version produced by the Ambrosio Company in 1908, was shot on three-dimensional sets:

> The Rodolfo and Vidali films were both shot on three-dimensional sets that carefully reconstructed Pompeian architecture, streets, house interiors, and furniture rather than merely using painted backgrounds: some exterior scenes of the Vidali version were even shot in authentic locations at Pompeii. Both films stage the destruction of Pompeii as a spectacular climax, Vidali film by using actual footage from an eruption of Mount Vesuvius. (p. 81)

By following the script of the novel, this version is shot in spatial settings that are designed according to the information gathered from the archaeological sources, and hence are more accurate representations of the ancient city. The film opens with the introduction

[101] The film was restored in 2008 by *Museo Nazionale del Cinema in Torino* and *Cineteca del Comune di Bologna* in collaboration with Film Museum, British Film Institute, and *Deutsche Kinemathek Museum Für Film und Fernsehen,* with the aim to preserve and promote the silent films produced by Turin companies.

of characters, as in the 1908 version. The characters, however, pose in front of constructed set designs rather than blank surfaces (Figure 4.45). Different from the previous two versions, a female character named Giulia, daughter of Diomedes, is added to the script as a friend of Glauco; some of the interior scenes take place in the house of Giulia (Villa of Diomedes) (Figure 4.46). The sequences examined in the film include the scenes of outdoor, domestic interiors, the Temple of Isis, the Amphitheatre, and the decadence, as was done for the first two versions (Figure 4.47).

Figure 4. 45 Introduction showing the characters in *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, composed by the author from the captured scenes in the film

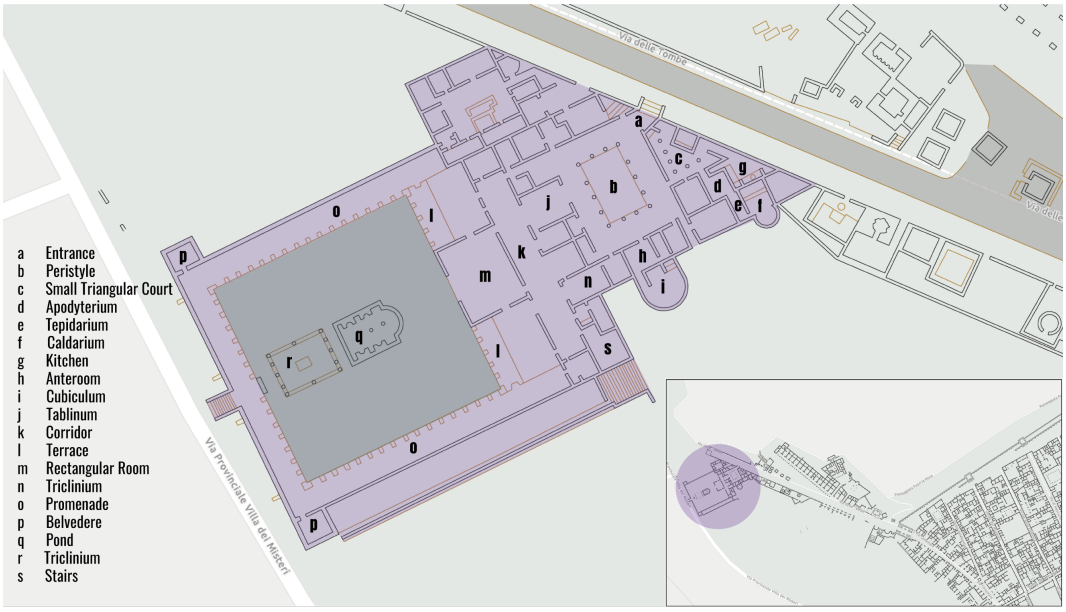


Figure 4. 46 Plan of Villa of Diomedes, produced by the author

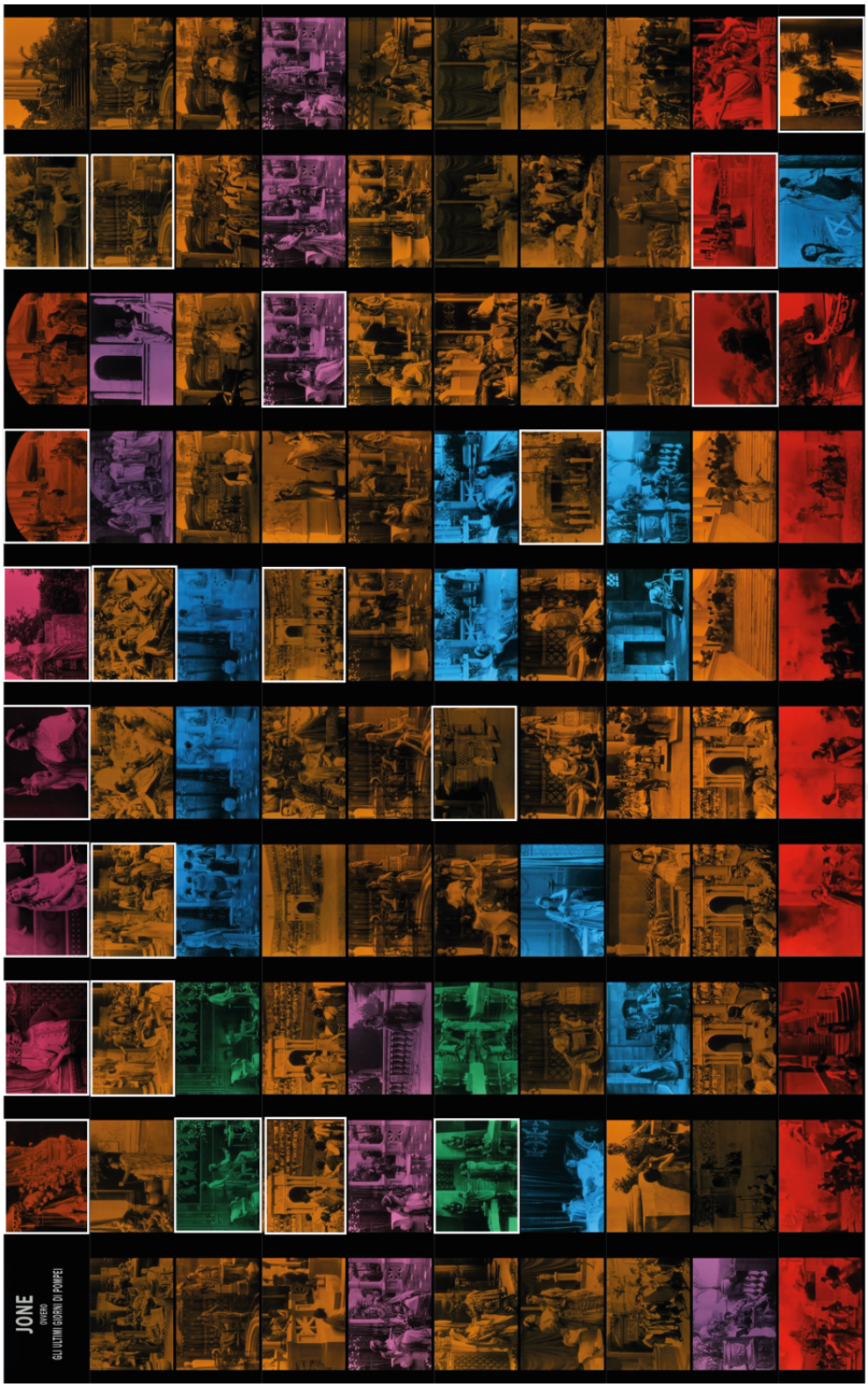


Figure 4. 47 Image of the sequential order of the film showing the scenes chosen to exemplify, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, composed by the author from the screen shots taken from the film

Outdoor Sequences, There are three outstanding outdoor scenes in the film; the first features at the beginning, where the introductory storyboards are followed by the scene that shows the smoking Vesuvius in the background. The framing method used in the scene is similar to the framing of stereograph cards; the frame had a circular border at the top (Figure 4.48). Like in the previous two movies (1908 original version and the first 1913 adaptation), the characters are shown in a street scene, nearby the Forum, which is composed by such architectural elements as monumental columns, stairs, urban furniture such as seating units, greenery, and statues, thereby portraying the Forum as the socializing and meeting space of Pompeii. The second outdoor scene displays a view from another, unnamed street (Figure 4.49). A stepped terrace decor in this scene set shows a group of figures watching the events taking place in front of them as the spectators of a film. The scene was carefully designed to demonstrate that the streets of Pompeii were social places to meet and watch, and like the Forum, they were the showcases of the city. In the third outdoor scene, the camera frames a semicircular seating unit placed as urban furniture in front of the entrance of the house of Arbaces, where Arbaces and Jone meet (Figure 4.50). The *exedra*, which was situated within a décor of plants, trees, and statues, has a relief of a woman with a goat and is accompanied with a live goat. Including live animals into the scenes, most likely, had served to fulfill the desire of the directors to reflect the possible urban instances from ancient Pompeii.

Figure 4. 48 Scene framed as a stereograph card, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

Figure 4. 49 Street scene, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

Figure 4. 50 Semicircular seat at the entrance of the house of Arbaces, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

Interior Sequences, There are several interior scenes from the houses of Arbaces, Giulia, Jone, Glauco Glauco's friend. The reconstructed sets are the *cubiculum* in Glauco's house, which refer to the spatial layout of the House of the Tragic Poet, and the *peristyle* in Jone's house. As different from the earlier versions, the first interior scene takes place in the house of priest Arbaces and shows feasting in the flamboyant domestic atmosphere (Figure 4.51). Domestic events performed in reclining positions, such as resting and dining, are among the most popular and illustrated themes from the daily life of ancient Pompeii and is often elaborated with a crowd of actors in the scenes. The tradition of dining in a reclining position that dates back to the ancient Greeks continued in the ancient Roman period with such changes as the participation of women. Furthermore, from Greece to Rome, reclining had also become an elite practice. The banqueting scene

shown in the film reflects well the elite nature of the practice and is reminiscent of the similar scenes depicted in the artworks of the 19th century (Figure 4.52). The scene is shaded with a dark yellow tint and has several reconstructed elements, such as the monumental circular columns, curtains that are hung between columns, couches used for reclining, small domestic utensils, vases, carpets on the floor, and the statues. The slaves serving the guests, furthermore, make the scene more alive and realistic. All together, the setting creates a vivid, rich, and colorful atmosphere, as illustrated in the paintings.

Figure 4. 51 Banqueting scene, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

Figure 4. 52 Herod's Birthday Feast displaying a Roman feast scene, Edward Armitage, 1868 (Source: www.the-athenaeum.org)

A second vividly narrated feast in the film takes place in the *triclinium* of the house of Giulia. The scene shows Glauco and his friend Giulia in the foreground and a two-story-high colonnaded garden in the background, which confirms the archaeological evidence that many *triclinia* opened into the *peristyle* gardens (Figure 4.53). Despite the differences in details, both of the feasting scenes animate one of the most admired aspects of Roman upper-class life luxurious, conspicuous, and joyful consumption of food and drink.

Figure 4. 53 Banqueting scene, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

The second interior scene sequences show the house of Glauco. The scene is about Glauco making the blind girl Nydia his slave and taking her to his house. The events take place in the *atrium* of the house, which is reconstructed as a replica of the House of the Tragic Poet with some differences (Figure 4.54). The *impluvium*, for example, has a circular form and lacks the corresponding roof opening above, the *compluvium,* as opposed to the actual house that has a rectangular *impluvium* and a *compluvium*. Furniture and accessories in the *atrium*, such as *a herm*, statue, *cline* table, curtains, and some other marble pieces are arranged to create a strikingly similar setting displayed in the 19th century paintings, though it is known that herms were mostly placed outdoors, rather than indoors in the known examples. The wall-paintings with a rectangular pattern, however, is a false representation

and does not belong to the wall-paintings found in the House of the Tragic Poet. Throughout the film, though the scenes differed in content, it is noteworthy that the same objects are used as furniture.

Figure 4. 54 *Atrium* set design, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

The third domestic interior shows Jone's bed-chamber, the *cubiculum*, which looks like a re-construction based on Giulia's bed-chamber in Villa of Diomedes (Figure 4.55). Giulia was the daughter of the wealthy Diomedes and had a *cubiculum* with a view of the garden in the villa. It was a dark space appropriated for sleep, which was also identified and described as such by Bulwer-Lytton who gave several vivid details, from small-scale utensils standing on the dressing table, such as the circular mirror made of steel, the cosmetics, the *unguents*, the perfumes, the paints, the jewels, combs, the ribands, and the gold pins, to the furniture. Bulwer-Lytton (1834) depicts the dressing room of Julia as located before entering the *cubiculum;* "before the door, which communicated with the *cubiculum*, hung a curtain richly broidered with gold flowers", and describes further the material characteristics of the objects, such as the mirror which was made of polished steel and flowers made of gold as a proof of the ancient Roman love of luxury in domestic space. The scene displays a seated noble mistress holding a mirror and accompanied by her slave; a composition replicated from some well-known 19th century paintings (Figures 4.56). Other details chosen to display the luxurious decoration of the *cubiculum* were the

marble furniture, a statue, a small table, and personal items such as boxes of various sizes displayed on the table. The scene has a painted décor at the back that illustrates large scale female figures and is an imitation of the wall paintings found in the Villa of Mysteries, an urban villa located just outside the Herculaneum Gate and excavated almost four years before the production of the film. The female figures portrayed on the walls of both the villa and the *cubiculum* scene, at the same time, have a strong similarity with the dancing women figures painted on the Attic red-figure vases that date from the mid 4th century BC (Figure 4.57).

Figure 4. 55 Bedchamber of Jone, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, screen shot from the film by the author

Figure 4. 56 Painting displaying a mistress and her slave, *In the Roman Palace*, Ettore Forti, before 1897, (Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:In_the_Roman_Palace_by_Ettore_Forti.jpg)

Figure 4. 57 Dancing scene on an Attic red-figure vase of mid 4th century BC
(Source: www.perseus.tufts.edu)

Amphitheatre Sequences, There are two scenes displaying amphitheater. The first depicts the chariot races which took place in the amphitheater. It is seen that, in this huge outdoor scene, the real horses are used. The crowd of spectators is shot from different angles, perhaps to show how such mass spectacles constituted a significant place in urban life and attracted all the populace (Figure 4.58). The second scene presents events, including a circus performance with a real elephant, that took place in the arena during a gladiatorial combat. Glauco was sent to the arena to fight, for which a real lion and tigers were released from their cages. The scene shows Glauco standing in the arena surrounded by wild animals. The film certainly represents a much expensive production then the previous films, with its 3-dimensional settings of gigantic décors and reconstructions, a large number of actors forming crowds, and the use of live wild animals.

Figure 4. 58 Arena scenes, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei,* Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, composed by the author from the captured scenes in the film

Temple of Isis Sequences, Different than the depictions of the Temple of Isis in the previous two films, the scene shows not only the interior of the temple and the performance of the cult ritual but its exterior, which is not an accurate reconstruction in comparison to the actual architecture of the temple (Figure 4.59). The decor seen in the outdoor scene is not similar to the real facade of the temple. The entrance of the temple is reached by a path surrounded by sculptures on both sides and Arbaces is shown walking in the middle of the path extending towards the entrance of the temple, which accentuated him as the authority of the temple. In the interior sequences, a reflective floor material, not used in the earlier versions, catches the eye. The material enables to see the reflections of the actors doing the ritual dance performance. The mirrored and doubled view of the actors reinforced the mystical atmosphere attributed to the temple.

Figure 4. 59 Scenes from the sets of the Temple of Isis, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei,* Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, composed by the author from the captured scenes in the film

Decadence Sequences, The end of the film, as expected, takes place in the Amphitheater, where the terror and horror created by the eruption of Vesuvius before the beginning of gladiatorial combats are staged as the last scene. The set decoration used in the first scene to depict the street context is re-used, this time with a bunch of people watching the erupting Vesuvius. The red shaded frame used in the earlier versions is also used here and further elaborated with a heavy smoke signifying altogether, fear and decadence (Figure 4.60).

Figure 4. 60 Eruption of Vesuvius, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei,* Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, composed by the author from the screen shots of the film

While the end of the film is not different from the earlier versions and narrates the violent destruction of the city, it depicts a new episode showing Jone and Glauco living in Greece ten years after the catastrophe. The scene shows a view that opens to the garden and orients the gaze of the spectator to the memorial statue of Nidia, the blind girl who saved their lives (Figure 4.61). Whether the statue is a real monument or an actress posing as the blind girl is hard to clarify. In the previous films, the story was closed with the eruption of the volcano and the death of Nidia, whereas this version gives a message that a new life is possible after the great disaster. This narrative distinguishes the film from the first three versions in the sense that it presents a section from the new life of the characters after the great decadence and hence symbolizes the resurrection of the life in Pompeii. Therefore, it challenged the generally accepted idea that the time had frozen in Pompeii with the eruption of the volcano.

Figure 4. 61 Sculpture of the blind girl Nidia in the new house of Glauco and Jone in Greece, *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Giovanni Enrico Vidali, 1913, adapted from a captured scene by the author

The film, as accomplished by the previous versions, enabled spectators to become pseudo time travelers to Pompeii before the eruption of the Vesuvius and to meditate on the fate of the ancient city. The idea of resurrecting the life of Pompeii found an echo in the scenes and setting of the film as well; the scenes were choreographed to display the life after the eruption and to show a glimpse of the afterlife of Pompeii. The *mise-en scene* analysis of the film shows that there was a remarkable effort to imitate the buildings and architectural and urban features of Pompeii in the set designs. The representations of some of the highlighted themes, such as banqueting, shared common features with the same themes depicted in the artworks. Both the film and the 19th century painting, in this respect, shared a considerable degree of scenographic likeness in their representation of domestic architecture, furnishing, costume, and daily life. For example, the banqueting scenes from the poses, dressing, and dramatic gestures of the actors to the decoration of the space and event and representation of both slaves and masters were also highly illustrated as such in the 19th century paintings. The silent films, in particular this second 1913 version, derived the visual codes used in the set designs from the artworks that took Pompeii as a subject in the 19th century. Compared to the previous versions, the color schemes used for tinting the frames in this film exhibit a variety, for example, dark green is used for the interior sequences and the purple tint for the scenes recorded in the outdoor. Like its predecessors, the other hand, the film is characterized by the "tableau" or "proscenium arch shot", which shows the actors' entire bodies as well as space above and below them. This shooting technique enabled the spectator to perceive the depth of the field in the sets. Through the selection of the plot places (*atrium*, *cubiculum* and *triclinium* in private architecture, streets as public space and Forum, Temple of Isis, and the Amphitheater as public edifices); the arrangement of furniture sets in relation to the action taking place in the scene (the combination of seats, chairs, tables, and personal accessories as in the *cubiculum* sequences or seating units in urban scenes); the painted decor to give the effect of the painted walls of the actual houses' interiors; and the spatial ornamentation complemented with pictures, sculptures (*herms* and statues), green elements, curtains and fabrics and other minor details, the film, like the previous versions, represented Pompeii and its daily life before the eruption by creating its own particular visual imagery and narration. The colossal amphitheater scene prepared by a reconstructed 3-dimensional décor and enhances by live animals is, by far, the most remarkable part of the film. On

the other hand, bathing scenes, which have a potential to attract the attention of the audience and featured in the early three films, are not included into the scenario of this film. The leading stage that undertook the task of impressing the audience and creating a memorable spectacle is chosen to be the amphitheater scene.

4.2.2.4 *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* -1926

The 1926 production of *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* was released by the production house *Società Anonima Grandi Films* and directed by Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone. A noticeable detail about the 181 minutes long film is the fact that the Pompeian scenography was designed by the architect Vittorio Cafiero (Wyke, 2013) and the costumes were designed by Duilio Cambellotti, who "was a first-rate artist, the most outstanding representative of art nouveau in Italy" (Pucci, 2013, p. 254). With over a thousand scenes and two hundred captions, the film was physically colossal: "with its playing time of more than three hours and a total of 1395 takes (many of them hand-colored) it was not only one of the longest and most lavish, but also one of the most expensive (production costs totaled seven million lira) Italian movies realized to date" (Stahli, 2012, p. 82).

Like the previous three versions, the film set its story by following the script-line of the novel, and every scene is coupled with the storyboards, which gave brief information upon the next scene and quotes from the novel.[102] Much more accurate sets were designed that represented the reconstructed architectural layout of the city and its buildings in fairly true details. In this regard, it can be stated that with the increasing production film-production technologies in time, the mutual relation between 'fact' and 'fiction' came closer with regards to architectural interpretation. The Forum, the Amphitheater, the streets of Pompeii, the Temple of Isis, the Temple of Jupiter, the House of the Tragic Poet, Villa of Diomedes, and the Basilica and the Stabian Baths as newcomers were among the architecturally prominent set decorations. As different than the earlier set designs; however, there were close-up views that focused more on the interiors and that

[102] The film is accessed and watched at the British Film Institute's archive, but due to the copyright rules using screenshots is not possible. Therefore, it is analyzed through the still images taken from the online databases.

even in the outdoor scenes, such as those taken in the Forum area, Mount Vesuvius, the signifier of the danger and destruction, was not placed at the background in the opening sequences. Due to its more accurate set designs, influenced from the available reconstructions of Pompeii and its daily life in various visual media, the film indeed establishes a framework for the understanding how the silent cinema had accomplished forward towards featuring fiction within its real place of birth and took a step forward from its 'premature' phase.

The opening scene reflects the Stabian Baths on the screen, with the following script placed on the storyboard; "At the Stabian baths the youth, the manhood of Pompeii, found space to exercise their energies in healthful sport". A feature that distinguishes this version from the others is that the exercise grounds of the Stabian Baths are shown as a set for the first time to the audience (Figure 4.62). The scene, which shows many people in the acts of chatting, passing, or doing sports, is designed to show the importance of this place in the daily life of Pompeii. After the opening sequence, the camera focuses on the protagonist Glauco and shows him in the act of throwing a disc (Figure 4.63). Glauco's bodily movement resembles much the sculptures that show the ancient Greek athletes throwing a disc, for example, the *Discobolus of Myron*, which was completed at the beginning of the classical period and displays a discus thrower (Figure 4.64). The analogy shows that the imitations used in the films are based on ancient artworks.

Figure 4. 62 Scene showing the exercise ground of the Stabian Baths, (Pesando, 2006, p.40)

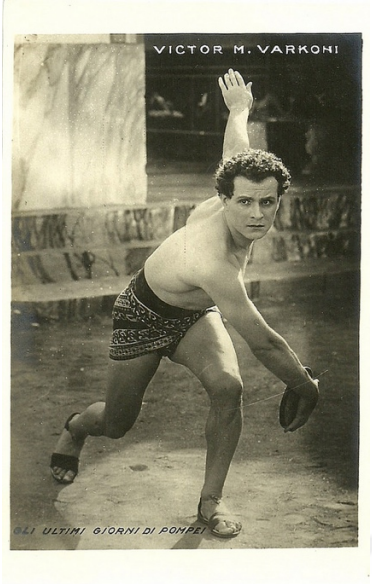


Figure 4. 63 Italian postcard by C. Chierichetti, showing Glauco training at the exercise ground of Stabian Baths, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone, 1926
(Source: https://filmstarpostcards.blogspot.com/2015/10/gli-ultimi-giorni-di-pompei-1926.html)

Figure 4. 64 The Discobolus of Myron, (Source: https://www.britishmuseum.org)

Outdoor Sequences, A well-designed street set, most likely replicating the Mercury Street, one of the popular streets of ancient Pompeii, introduces the urban atmosphere and two of the main actors, the blind girl Nidia and Glauco to the audience (Figure 4.65). The scene also displays a public fountain in the foreground, and a shop and graffiti on the background, the iconic features of the streets in Pompeii. The meticulous illustrations of the graffiti indicate that the directors aimed to reconstruct the streets as they looked

like in the ancient times, as more alive and vivid with realistic details. The same décor is seen from a different angle in another street scene (Figure 4.66).

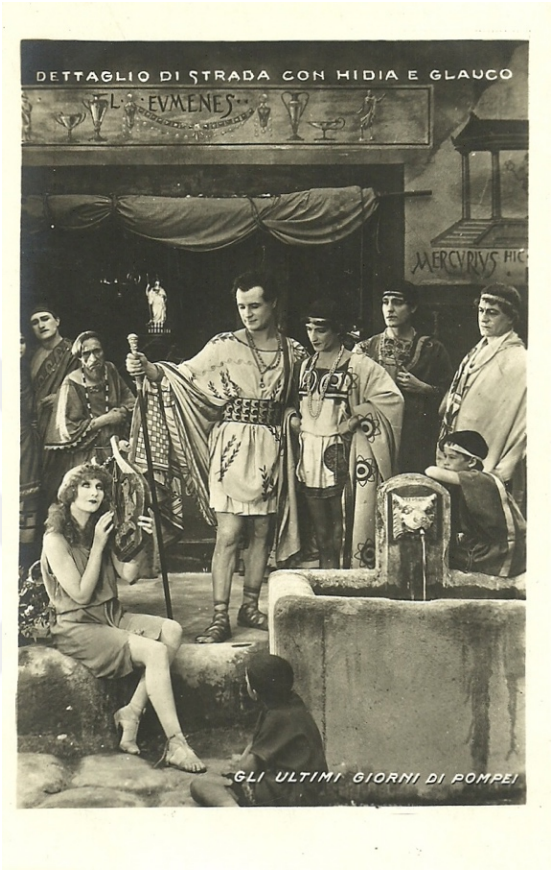


Figure 4. 65 Italian postcard by C. Chierichetti depicting the street scene with fountain, wall paintings and graffities, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone, 1926
(Source: https://filmstarpostcards.blogspot.com/2015/10/gli-ultimi-giorni-di-pompei-1926.html)

Figure 4. 66 German postcard by Ross Verlag, showing the same street from a different angle, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone, 1926
(Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/truusbobjantoo/29422603171/in/photostream/)

The tavern of Burbo, which featured in the 1913 version by Ambrosia Company, is staged as an outdoor scene in this production as well (Figure 4.67). The scene shows the tavern at the street corner, and a crowd of figures that includes children, people in the act of working and passing, and animals. The wall-painting seen on the décor is a replicated version of the snake paintings found on the *lararium* of an unnamed excavated house and is displayed in the Naples Archaeological Museum today. In the painting, the two *lares*, which were holding horns and dishes, are positioned on two sides, and the head of the family who makes offerings to the gods between them (Figure 4.68).

Figure 4. 67 Italian postcard by C. Chierichetti showing the Tavern of Burbo with a view of the street, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone, 1926
(Source: https://filmstarpostcards.blogspot.com/2015/10/gli-ultimi-giorni-di-pompei-1926.html)

Figure 4. 68 *Lararium* painting, found in an unnamed house in Pompeii
(Source: https://www.ancient.eu/image/9711/pompeii-fresco-with-lares/)

The Forum scene is among the spectacular sets of the film. Although the frame is suitably arranged to provide a vista towards Vesuvius, the mountain is not displayed in the background; the scene instead features some of the public edifices in the Forum area, as well as, a crowd seen in the foreground (Figure 4.69). The Temple of Jupiter, the Triumphal Arch of Augustus, and *Forum Olitorium* (vegetable market) are reconstructed as the architectural settings, which share common features with the two-dimensional reconstructions published in illustrated books. The Temple stands on a podium and has rows of steps running along the whole façade, looking onto the Forum. It is a *prostyle* temple with six Corinthian columns at the front and five at the sides. Originally there were two triumphal arches located at the two sides of the temple; in the film, only the arch at the west side of the temple is shown, while the second arch is placed to form the northern entrance to the Forum. The scene, in fact, elaborates on the monumentality of the public spaces via the colossal columns and statues of the temple and the arch as well as the two-story colonnade that establishes a perspective. The temple is emblematic in terms of its location with Mount Vesuvius looming behind it. Using the reconstructed the temple as a set is a conscious choice in order to display the state of the temple before and after the eruption. Forum *Olitorium* was a two-story open portico that faced the Forum square; in the film, it was depicted as having eight brick columns. As the representations and details of the colonnaded buildings in the scene match the archaeological findings, the scene comes closer to reality and appeal more dramatically to the audience.

Figure 4. 69 Italian postcard by C. Chierichetti showing the set design of The Temple of Jupiter in the Forum, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone, 1926
(Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/truusbobjantoo/33140014871)

Interior Sequences, Significant interior scenes are set at the house of Glauco (based on the House of the Tragic Poet), House of Jone and the Stabian Baths. The interior set design of Glauco's house bears a strong resemblance to the reconstructed images which were produced in the artworks of earlier decades. This setting, in comparison to the earlier versions, however, is the most effective and accurate creation of the House of the Tragic Poet in terms of its decoration and architectural features (Figure 4.70). The setting is arranged such that, the audience could perceive the visual axis that was established between the *atrium, tablinum*, and the *peristyle*. This is made possible by arranging a symmetrically organized frame and placing the iconic *lararium* with a small marble statue of a satyr bearing fruit as the focal point. The scene consists of various decoration elements such as masks, curtains, wall paintings and marble statues, tables, and stools; the luxury of the interior is conveyed, especially with the use of marble objects. Plants hanging down from vases and climbing around columns are also represented so as to reflect the fact that nature was part of the ancient domestic environment and which made the setting a romantic one.

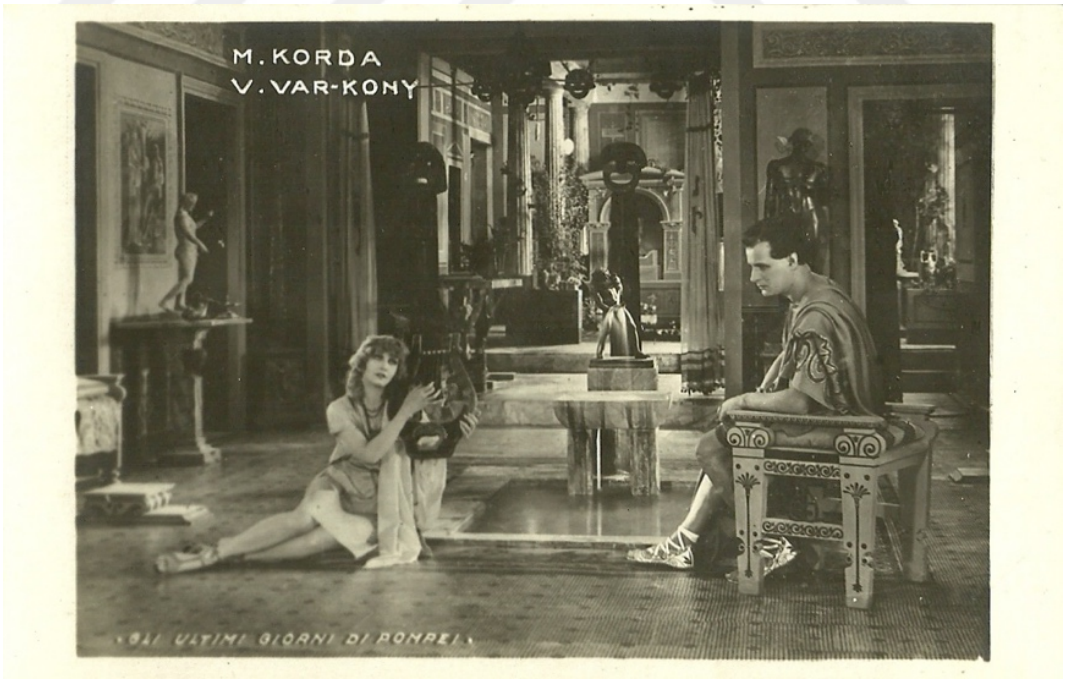


Figure 4. 70 Italian postcard by C. Chierichetti showing the interior scene from the house of Glauco, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone, 1926
(Source: https://filmstarpostcards.blogspot.com/2015/10/gli-ultimi-giorni-di-pompei-1926.html)

A comparison between the real state of the house and its set version makes it apparent that the wall painting seen on the left side of the film frame is not painted correctly. While the painting in the set displays a mythological scene, it was not the one found in the House of the Tragic Poet. There is a mythological panel on this wall, depicted "the Wrath of Achilles which has been ignited by Agamemnon's removal of his Briseis; this is the true subject of the Iliad" (Bergmann 1994, p. 237). In this regard, this is one other example that demonstrates how from the perspective of cinematic vision, the silent fiction films represent a composed narration that juxtaposes a fiction upon a fact, and as such, cannot be securely approached as a documentary per se. In the case of Pompeii, the fiction is borrowed from the printed media, the novel and the photographs and the illustrated media, the paintings and drawings, while the 'fact' is gathered from the archeological data. The interior scene constructed as Jone's house exhibits similarities with the House of the Tragic Poet. In a similar vein, the scene is framed between two columns; this time, the focal point at the background being a sculpture, and the visual axis leading to the *tablinum* and the garden beyond made perceivable to the beholder (Figure 4.71). The symmetrical arrangement of the setting and the column pairs that act as a frame in each of the spaces seen in the perspective enables to differentiate clearly the spatial sequencing in the house: in the foreground is the *atrium* volume defined between two columns, and then through the opening on the wall, the spectator looks at the so-called *tablinum* which is located at the far back from the point of the camera. The wall-paintings, mosaic floor, statuary, the *impluvium* with a fountain, curtains at the entrance of the *tablinum*, and the elaborate stool on which Glauco sits are the other charms of the *atrium* that make the scene closer to the depictions of the 19th century painters of this genre.

Figure 4. 71 German postcard by Ross Verlag showing the interior scene from the house of Jone, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone, 1926
(Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/truusbobjantoo/28880466543)

Bathing scene is among the elaborate interior scenes (Figure 4.72). The scene is also displayed in the first version produced in 1913, where Jone was shown at the bath with her slaves; the curtains were used to provide privacy and separated the bath from the other parts of the house. Unlike the other version, which showed a private bath, the bathing scene in this film takes place in the Stabian Baths. The reconstruction of the baths to include both male and female sections is based on the published plan and description of the Stabian Baths: architect Vittorio Cafiero[103] reconstructed the richly decorated exteriors and interiors according to the published material: the open-air bath (*natatio*) located on one side of the gym, was surrounded on three sides by a portico, and was covered with marble-like the annexed rooms; the female *calidarium*, covered with a barrel vault had stucco decorations and frescoes on the walls, small niches in one wall to store clothes, on one side a bathtub (*alveus*) and on the other the ablution bath from which spurted lukewarm water (*labrum*). Cafiero exhibited great talent in grasping the sense of cinematographic subjects; he linked the decors not only to places and times but also to the character and climate of the city. The bathing scene can be seen as a reflection of

[103] The Italian architect and scenographer Vittorio Cafiero had designed several stages for theatres before his collaboration with Amleto Palermi.

Cafiero's success in set design. The ambiance created in the scene, indeed, strongly connects to the 19th century paintings (see Figures 2.29, 2.30), which represent the nude and sensual women to create erotic atmospheres. By focusing on the female nudity, "the film appeals to its spectators with overwhelming visual and voyeuristic pleasures" (Stahli, 2012, p. 83). The hairstyles the fluid texture of the costumes of the figures and their act of posing provides an insight into the director's response and reflection to the life of Pompeii capsulated in one of the most eccentric places of ancient socializing – the baths.

Figure 4. 72 Bathing Scene, Stabian Baths, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone, 1926 (Pesando, 2006, p.40)

Amphitheatre Sequences, The most impressive feature of the film is the authentic representations of the buildings, costumes, and lifestyles. The set of the amphitheater scenes was designed likewise and referred to the architectural features of the amphitheater in Pompeii (Figure 4.73). As applied in the previous version, the method used to convey a realistic representation of the atmosphere in the public edifices to the audience was to fill the scene with crowds. Also used in this film, the crowd of spectators was shown as escaping from the amphitheater at the end of the film, a scene that played an influential role in conveying the fear created by the eruption of Vesuvius.

Figure 4. 73 Amphitheatre Scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone, 1926 (Source: https://muromaestro.files.wordpress.com/2020/01/1926-5.jpg)

Decadence Sequences, In line with the previous versions, the catastrophic demise of Pompeii is displayed to the audience through devastation and destruction of such architectural elements as falling columns and collapsing roofs, and the scene from the house of Glauco is a remarkable one that re-animates not only the destruction of the life in Pompeii but also its architecture (Figure 4.74). The Temple of Jupiter and the Basilica, likewise, are shown as falling into pieces by the massive destruction caused by the trembling earth in another scene.

Figure 4. 74 Italian postcard by C. Chierichetti showing the destruction in the house of Glauco*, Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Amleto Palermi and Carmine Gallone, 1926
(Source: https://filmstarpostcards.blogspot.com/2015/10/gli-ultimi-giorni-di-pompei-1926.html)

Compared to the earlier screen adaptations, this version is the most outstanding one in terms of its almost close-to-accurate set designs. The scene displaying the interior of the

house of Glauco bears a likeness to the House of the Tragic Poet in its visual continuity; the camera angles chosen in this sense enables to see the visual axis that connects the *atrium* to the garden at the back. The film set itself apart from the previous versions in presenting the public architecture with even-more-accurate representations. The fact that some of the scenes, including the *Terme Stabiana* (Stabian Baths), were shot in real locations in Pompeii, and thus the film accidentally documented the paintings which are lost today also distinguishes the film. In this regard, for the first time, a silent film on Pompeii turned into a source of knowledge, "fiction becomes a source for archaeological research" (Guardiola, 2015, p. 187). Despite all the realistic set designs and the rich casting, the film did not gain success in Italy and abroad and was even referred to as "the last days of the Italian cinema" (Ventura, 2015, p. 340). Wyke (2019) emphasized that the underlying cause of the film's failure is an ideological one because the publicity of the film had a decisively fascist tone. She stated that "its representation of the nation's heritage was further compromised, in the view of one indignant fascist critic, because the necessity of finding co-funding abroad had obliged the production's employment of German and Austrian actors in some of the lead roles" (p. 460).

With this last example released in 1926, the silent films under the title of *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompeii* came to an end. The same title would be used again for the first feature-length movie produced with sound in 1935.

The frames captured from the four adaptations of *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, demonstrate a recurring stereotypical visual language. The films, indeed, generated the visual and representational codes and, hence, symbols of antiquity; monumentality, decoration, vegetation and garments (Ventura, 2015). The visual codes are represented in the films by architectural elements used as props. For example, the representation of monumentality on the scene is maintained by the use of columns/colonnades, scale and perspective richness captured by visual and spatial continuity, and the use of expensive and luxury materials such as marble, both as wall covering and furniture. The monumentality is, therefore, represented with an emphasis on physical magnitude and magnificence, as well as the aesthetic and elegance of luxury materials and items. The use of paintings, statues, curtains, furniture, and small-scale objects such as jewelry boxes, vases, and house utensils

are the components of decoration and represented the items of luxury. For example, the settings of the lady's chamber (*cubiculum*) in the films were all lavishly embellished with flowers and garlands, furnished with the replicas of the unearthed furniture and personal objects, and contributed significantly to elevating luxury as an aspect of ancient Roman daily life. Based on fictionalizing the atmosphere as close to its ancient counterpart, the objects unearthed in the excavations helped the directors compose a realistic spatial narration of domestic decoration and accessories. In addition, water elements such as small pools, sprinklers, fountains, and *impluvium* were commonly used to elaborate further the spatiality of the scenes. Representation of vegetation is mostly done by taking nature inside; plants like ivy wrapped around columns, flowers hanging down from vases, flowers fallen on floors, trees, and plants in the *peristyle*s, and garlands are used as vegetation ensembles. Every scene, whether it was staged as an indoor or an outdoor scene, displayed vegetation, trees and plants, in the background. The columns were often decorated with garlands; images of columns with garlands were also commonly used in the early guidebooks, and travelogues embellish the buildings in a sense that a festive event was being held at that time. The garments worn by the actors contributed to the scenes, perhaps more than the actors themselves, as complementary decors. The realistic imitations of costumes, jewelry, and hairstyle modeled from the depictions found on archaeological material, in this respect, truly animated the actual ancient settings on screen, and had formed a category in the recurrently used visual codes.

Even though the scenes were captured in different indoor and outdoor places/sets, both settings had shared a common visual coding to articulate luxury, elite taste, and architectural aesthetics, to internalize nature, and to romanticize antiquity. In every scene, to give a sense of depth, the camera was located at a selected angle that created perspective. The vista defined by the location of the camera often opened towards Vesuvius. Noteworthy is the fact that the background decors had perspectival paintings as well. The most visualized architectural elements used to create depth and perspective were the column and the colonnade.

The way the visual codes and their constituent elements were brought together determined the degree of likeness to the actual private and public architecture in Pompeii.

For example, the set of the House of Jone, constructed in the 1913 film *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* allows making a glimpse into the garden at the back, as was the case in an actual Pompeian house, a remarkable instance that exemplifies how the visual codes were harmonized and embedded in the design of interior scenes. Several of the furniture that is painted or built in the sets were reconstructed from the archaeological findings unearthed in Pompeii and the surrounding sites, and provided a repertoire for the filmmakers. For instance, a replicated *cartibulum,*[104] often unearthed in the gardens of the houses, including House of Cornelius Rufus, House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto, and House of Octavius Primus, was used in some interior scenes of both versions produced in 1913. The *cartibulum* was one of the most illustrated ancient furniture, and the excavations attested that they were mostly placed in the *atria.* Lawrence Alma-Tadema did several paintings that illustrated versions of this table, such as *Glaucus and Nydia* (1867), *A Roman Art Lover* (1868), and *The Sculpture Gallery* (1878) (Blom 2016, p. 190) (Figure 4.75). Another commonly imitated ancient Roman furniture is the *mensa delphica,* a round table made of bronze or marble with three or four legs decorated with such carved animals head as lions and panthers (Figure 4.76). The table, indeed, had become iconic representative furniture of the domestic interiors in the silent films.

Figure 4. 75 Film stills and paintings displaying *cartibulum*, (a) Interior scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 (b) Interior scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, 1913 (c) *A Roman Art Lover*, Lawrence Alma-Tadema, 1868 (d) *Glaucus and Nydia,* Lawrence Alma-Tadema, 1867 (e) *The Sculpture Gallery*, Lawrence Alma-Tadema, 1878

[104] *Cartibulum* is a rectangular table with a solid base, decorated with reliefs depicting figures and animals, such as griffins.

Figure 4. 76 Interior scene showing a *mensa delphica,* the iconic round table, adapted from a captured scene from the film *Jone Ovvere Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* (1913) by the author

An apparent outcome of this examination that looked at a sample of the silent films on Pompeii is that the sets were designed under the influence of the available artworks, including paintings, photographs, and also the images published in various printed media that were produced before the cinema came forth. The films used the visual codes derived from those previous representations that were produced, according to their purpose and media, in different forms and contents. From the first version (1908) to the last version (1926), the set decorations in the silent films came close to architectural reality also because of the development of studios. The studios allowed designers to create and construct well-crafted imitations that took reference to the architectural and archaeological knowledge provided by the excavations and a vast repertoire of visual representations.

4.4.2.5 Documentary Footage on Pompeii

The archival research unveils that Pompeii was already exploited as a subject in the short footages produced before the release of the first version of *The Last Days of Pompeii* in 1908. These footages, yet, had received less attention in the context of research on silent films. Pompeii featured in *Neapolitan Dance at the Ancient Forum of Pompeii,* a two minutes long footage, filmed by William Kennedy-Laurie Dickson and produced by British Mutoscope & Biograph Company in 1898. Dickson was on a tour of Italian destinations on his way to Rome to film the Pope. The film features an open-air public performance,

a traditional Italian *tarantella*, which was a popular depiction in the art of the period as well, in a scene that takes place in the Forum and shows the Arch of Tiberius in the near distance and the Arch of Caligula in the background (Figure 4.77).[105] A traditional tarantella performance was also captured by the pioneering photographer Giorgio Sommer in 1870, who is well-known with his albumen prints on Pompeii and Vesuvius (Figure 4.78). The film starts with the performance of the dancers who were dressed in traditional costumes. As mentioned in the synopsis of the film, the dance was accompanied by the march of a group of performers who were mimicked a troop of soldiers. Although the film was shot from a far distance, Mount Vesuvius is visible as a silhouette in the far distance. In the years when the footage was recorded, the Forum was completely excavated. The scene frames the north side of the Forum, including the views of Temple of Jupiter, and the two honorary arches. The temple, with the majestic Vesuvius in the background, dominated the Forum. The view in the footage was also represented in several artworks due to the fact that it offers a good perspective to display Vesuvius. The view framing the temple and arches are indeed, among the iconic views in Pompeii representations. The film can be categorized under the documentary genre because it recorded a dance performance, a military parade, and showed the architectural situation of the Forum area in 1898.

Figure 4. 77 Images showing the *tarantella* performance at the Forum of Pompeii, *Neapolitan Dance at the Ancient Forum of Pompeii*, William Kennedy-Laurie Dickson Dickson, 1898, composed by the author from the captured film frames, 2018, British Film Institute Southbank Mediatheque

[105] *Tarantella* is a traditional Italian folk dance in which the dancer and the drum player try to upstage each other by dancing faster and longer or playing faster. The performance is usually accompanied by a mandolin, a guitar, an accordion, and tambourines.

Figure 4. 78 Albumen silver print showing tarantella performers with Vesuvius at the back, Giorgio Sommer, 1870 (Source: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/305832)

The short footage *Visit to Pompeii* was produced in 1901 by Warwick Trading Company and displayed the panoramic views of the city. Produced by Charles Urban and photographed by George Albert Smith, this eight-minutes long film belongs to the genre of travelogue film as it recorded a travel. The captured moving images are organized, including two parts; the first part shows the ruins of Pompeii from the Forum area, the second a tour to Vesuvius by the funicular. The film opens with a view towards the Temple of Jupiter at the Forum and the Vesuvius at the back. As in all types of visual representations produced in various media, Pompeii was introduced to the audience with a Vesuvius background (Figure 4.79).

Figure 4. 79 Forum scene, *Visit to Pompeii,* Warwick Trading Company, 1901, screen shot by the author from the film watched at the British Film Institute Southbank Mediatheque in 2018

With this iconic view, the camera rotates clockwise to show the facades of the *Macellum*, the Temple of Lares, the Temple of Vespasian, the Building of Eumachia, *Comitium*, and the municipal offices (Figure 4.80). When the camera gets *Via Dell'Abbondanza* into sight, it becomes possible to see the site workers who carried away the volcanic material with baskets on their shoulders and were supervised by a man. The scene splits with a view of Vesuvius and moves into the next scene, which presents the ruined state of the city from an elevated perspective.

Figure 4. 80 Façade views from the Forum, *Visit to Pompeii,* Warwick Trading Company, 1901, screen shot by the author from the film watched at the British Film Institute Southbank Mediatheque in 2018

After screening the Basilica, the scene captures almost the same view in the opening scene, but the frame in this scene is filled by several people (Figure 4.81). The last building camera tours in the Forum is the Temple of Apollo, which displays the site workers, among whom is a child laborer standing on the steps of the temple (Figure 4.82). The closing scene of the first part features a view from the on-going excavations in 1901, probably, showing regions 5 and 6 which were under excavation at that time.

Figure 4. 81 Forum scene with people, *Visit to Pompeii,* Warwick Trading Company, 1901, screen shot by the author from the film watched at the British Film Institute Southbank Mediatheque in 2018

Figure 4. 82 Temple of Apollo, and the workers on the steps of the temple, *Visit to Pompeii,* Warwick Trading Company, 1901, screen shot by the author from the film watched at the British Film Institute Southbank Mediatheque in 2018

After lava views taken from the edge of the mountain, the second part opens with views of lava seen at the skirts of Vesuvius and the funicular scene, which shows how it operated (Figure 4.83). The weather is windy and smoky, as described by the Grand Tourists, who used the funicular or the sedan chair to reach the cone of the mountain.[106]

[106] Though funicular was more in demand, the sedan chair was still in use in 1901, see Chapter 3 for transportation to Vesuvius.

Figure 4. 83 Funicular station, and the funicular Etna, *Visit to Pompeii,* Warwick Trading Company, 1901, screen shot by the author from the film watched at the British Film Institute Southbank Mediatheque in 2018

Similar to the 19th century travel photographs discussed in the third chapter, the film displays well-dressed travelers, the Victorian visitors who aesthetically pose in front of the ruins as well (Figures 4.84, 4.85). Their elegant dresses that shine in the ruinous atmosphere, indeed, create an ironic situation. The Victorian ladies, in particular, used to reserve separate dresses for every occasion, and the film shows examples of the travel ensembles, the relatively dark-colored dresses topped with hats that were decorated with feathers or flowers (Figure 4.86). The well-dressed visitors, in fact, aestheticized the look of the ruins; for example, the two ladies posing next to the massive columns that stood in front of the Basilica and the three visitors seen at the junction of *Via Dell'Abbondanza* and the Forum. The latter group posed directly at the camera, which suggests that they could have voluntarily contributed to the film as a walker on taking shots of ruins with tourists, in both photography and short footages could have aimed, apart from providing a scale for the ruined and roofless buildings, to document real-time and firsthand site experiences.

Figure 4. 84 Two ladies in front of the Basilica, *Visit to Pompeii,* Warwick Trading Company, 1901, screen shot by the author from the film watched at the British Film Institute Southbank Mediatheque in 2018

Figure 4. 85 Victorian tourists visiting Pompeii, *Visit to Pompeii,* Warwick Trading Company, 1901, screen shot by the author from the film watched at the British Film Institute Southbank Mediatheque in 2018

Figure 4. 86 Elegant Victorian lady in a dark color suit, wearing a hat decorated with flowers and carrying a purse posing among the ruins, *Visit to Pompeii,* Warwick Trading Company, 1901, screen shot by the author from the film watched at the British Film Institute Southbank Mediatheque in 2018

It is known that in the 1920s, a number of short footage films were produced to document the excavations and the royal site visits. These moving images were usually coupled with storyboards that informed about the coming scenes. The short footages offered an opportunity to become an eyewitness of the actual state of the excavations and the revealed architectural features at that time. *The Relic of a Great Calamity*, which visualized the architectural scenery of Pompeii by moving images in 1926, is one such example (Figure 4.87). Opened by a storyboard and a general view from the city, the documentary displayed such buildings and public areas as Forum, Arch of Nero, Amphitheatre, Temple of Apollo, House of the Vettii, and House of the Golden Cupids.

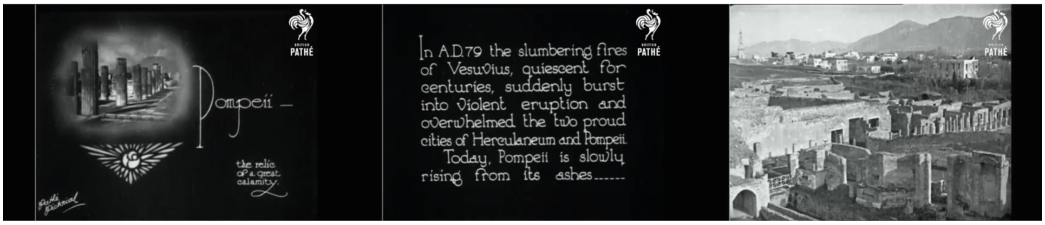


Figure 4. 87 Opening scenes from the short footage documentary, *The Relic of a Great Calamity*, 1927, composed by the author from the screen shots of the film, 2018, online British Pathe Archive

Two further short footage films that were produced in about the same years document the Spanish and Italian royals visit to Pompeii. The first, named *Royal Sightseers*, recorded the visit of King Alfonso XIII of Spain and Queen Ena in 1923 (Figure 4.88). In the first film, the camera captured the Forum vista opening to the Vesuvius. The royals and members of the royal party were shown in the well-known arteries such as *Via dell'Abbondanza*, *Via Marina*, and *Via di Mercurio*. Although the iconic houses such as House of the Tragic Poet, House of the Faun, and Villa of Diomedes were among the popular places to visit in Pompeii back than and presumably, were also visited by the royal entourage, the film did not include any views about visits to houses.

Figure 4. 88 Visit of King Alfonso XIII of Spain and Queen Ena to Pompeii, *Royal Sightseers*, 1923, composed by the author from the screen shots of the film, online British Pathe Archive

The royal visit to Pompeii by the King of Italy in 1927 is documented with a 1.23 minute-length film titled *King of Italy* (Figure 4.89). The footage consisted of several scenes that depicted the new excavations of the time. One of the scenes shows the king and a group from his entourage taking down a staircase to reach the excavation level and start the first

official dig. As understood from the storyboard, at the time of the king's visit, a new excavation had just started in the area.

Figure 4. 89 Visit of King of Italy, 1927, composed by the author from the screen shots of the film, online British Pathe Archive

4.5 Convergent Scenography of Pompeian Architecture: From the Images in the Illustrated Books to the Images in the Set Designs of Early Silent Films

The media of visual representation created particular 'visual codes', depending on how they displayed facts and linked them to fiction. Codes were utilized to reconstruct particular buildings and spaces according to the attributed and targeted themes of representation. For example, monumentality was attributed to such public buildings edifices as temples and Amphitheater, which were displayed with elaborate sets that were designed with several architectural details and filled with actors. In the private sphere, monumentality is often manifested with lavishly illustrated and reconstructed spaces of ritual and social interaction such as *atria*, *cubicula*, or *triclinia*. In the course of time, from the first to the fourth film discussed here, it is seen that some buildings are illustrated and screened more, such as Temple of Isis, Amphitheater, House of the Tragic Poet, and Villa of Diomedes. It can also be argued that, because the script of all four films was mainly based on Bulwer-Lytton's novel, and did not radically change in terms of the narrated story in this sense, the films are distinguished in the visualization details of the reconstructed spaces and the scale of casting. The choices and details, on the other hand, are made and determined on the knowledge generated at the site and transferred to the

screen by various actors; the archaeologist, site director, the artist (painter/photographer), the visitor, the author (travelogue/guidebook author/academic publication/novelist) and the film director. Nevertheless, it is often the case that the more impressive ruins, in terms of decoration, scale, look and eccentricity in its function, had served as the contexts to be represented on page and on screen: such as the Forum which was a must-see area on the travel route of the site visitors and that features in all the films, and the Temple of Isis; or the House of the Tragic Poet which became a model house for its elaborate mosaic pavements and wall-paintings, and the Villa of Diomedes which was an ample residence with an impressive garden setting. The same applied for the choice of urban spaces, such as streets. Of all the streets in the city, *Via dell'Abondanza* was the most illustrated because of the fact that it is among the major arteries; it passed through the Forum and culminated in the Amphitheater. Because many of the public facilities were also built along this axis, on both sides, the street was an excellent case to reflect the everyday life in representations.

The books written by Jean-Baptiste Claude Richard Saint-Non (*Voyage pittoresque ou descrption des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, 1782), William Gell (*Pompeiana*, 1817), Francois Mazois (*Les Ruines de Pompei*, 1824), William Bernard Cooke (*Pompeii, Illustrated with Picturesque Views, 1827*), James Duffield Harding (*Views of Pompeii*, 1828), Thomas Henry Dyer (*Pompeii: Its History, Buildings and Antiquities* , 1867) and Carl Weichardt (*Pompeii Before Its Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surrounding,* 1898), in particular, became the inspirational sources for the authors, artists and directors of the 19th century, who were keenly interested in representing antiquity and ruins, and hence Pompeii for that matter.[107] Because these books were rich in visual content for displaying the iconic buildings of Pompeii, many of the set designs in the silent films took the illustrations in these books as a reference. There were other references to look for the representation of Pompeii, for example, the panoramas that can be considered as the first compelling attempts to produce an almost perfect illusion on the spectators via painted images. The most celebrated panorama installed by Robert Burford in 1824, in this regard, featured views of the Temple of Isis, Tragic Theatre, Covered Theatre, Small Forum, and Vesuvius (Figure 4.90). Another well-known Pompeii panorama from the 19th century is prepared

[107] The books and their visual content see Chapter 3.

by the German artist Carl George Enslen in 1928, who "divulgated the panorama throughout Germany, and there was a large Franco-Belgian production in later decades" (Moormann, 2015, p. 381) (Figure 4.91). In terms of perfectly drawn perspectives, quality of color, and above all the liveliness of the scenes, Enslen had produced an impressive visual repertoire that illustrated a vivid Pompeii. The text, which accompanied the visuals, gave further details and information to the spectators.

Figure 4. 90 Panoramic view of Pompeii, Robert Burford, 1824, photograph taken in 2017 by the author from the original version of the book, The Library of Naples National Archaeological Museum

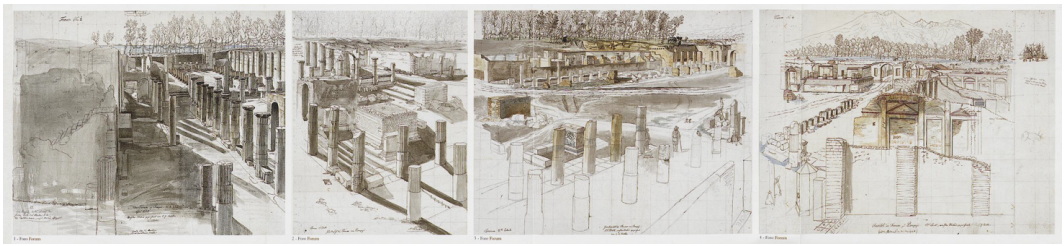


Figure 4. 91 Panorama view of Pompeii drawn, Carl George Enslen, 1928
(Source: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglitData/tmp/pdf/kockel2006.pdf)

Pompeii's first stage display was the opera *L'Ultimo Giorno di Pompei,* the sets of which were designed in the form of hand-colored aquatints done by the Italian scenic designer, architect, and painter Alessandro Sanquirico. The painted sets bear a considerable

resemblance to the images found in illustrated books. One example is the set illustration titled *Ingresso a Pompei dalla Parte di Porta Nolana* (the entrance to Pompeii on the site of Porta Nolan) which was a mutated version of the plate titled *Vue des Nouvelles Découvertes Faites Dans le Faubourg Occidental de Pompéi* (View of New Discoveries Made in the Western Suburb of Pompeii), drawn by Charles-François Mazois and published in his book *Les Ruines de Pompei* (Figure 4.92). Sanquirico reconstructed the structures, which were actually the tombs lined along the Street of Tombs, seen in the close-up view of Mazois's plate, and re-illustrated the view by hypothetically completing the structures and adding human figures dressed like Pompeiians. The result was a more vivid, close to real and rich setting, indeed, a visual narration in its own right.

Figure 4. 92 View of New Discoveries Made in the Western Suburb of Pompeii, Charles-François Mazois, 1824 (left); The Entrance to Pompeii on the site of Porta Nolan, Alessandro Sanquirico, 1827 (right) (Source: https://www.clevelandart.org/events/exhibitions/last-days-of-pompeii/slideshow-giovanni-pacini-opera)

Another example from Sanquirico's aquatint set designs is *Giardino della Casa di Diomedes Presso Alle Mura di Pompei* (Garden of the House of Diomedes at the Walls of Pompeii) which shares common details with the plate drawn by Jean-Baptiste Claude Richard Saint-Non, *Maison de Campagne Située Près de L'ancienne Ville de Pompeii* (Country House near the Ancient City of Pompeii) (Figure 4.93).

Figure 4. 93 Country House near the Ancient City of Pompeii by Jean-Baptiste Claude Richard Saint-Non, 1782, (left); Garden of the House of Diomedes at the Walls of Pompeii by Alessandro Sanquirico, 1827 (right)

The first version of *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1908) displays a panoramic background view, similar to the panoramas found in the illustrated books. The panorama painting in the film was designed by artists Decoroso Bonifanti and Ettore Ridoni (Figure 4.94). Common to the two panoramas featured by Burford and Enslen and the panorama used in the film are, depth of view, reconstructed *exedra* paintings, perspectival views of a temple, statues, depiction of vegetation and landscape, and the Vesuvius seen at the far back. Despite the changing sequences in the film, it is recognizable that the same panoramic background is utilized in almost every frame as a backdrop.

Figure 4. 94 Panorama painting used as the background, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* (1908), Decoroso Bonifanti and Ettore Ridoni, (Blom, 2016, p. 190)

The scenes in the silent films presented an illusion of depth and perspective by background paintings. For this, they adapted the illustrations of the architectural

reconstructions published in the printed media. These imaginary illustrations had a performative role as they aimed to recreate the spatial atmosphere described in the excavation accounts. It is no coincidence that the early filmmakers preferred to use the illustrated images which were already familiar to the audience. In this regard, the street scenes, for instance, had the same perspectival understanding with the images in the illustrated books. With painted or reconstructed urban and domestic furniture, architecturally realistic and rich indoors and outdoors were animated.

The 1908 and 1913 (Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi) versions of Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei exemplify the resemblance of the street scenes in the films, and the images in illustrated books (Figure 4.95). The two-point linear perspective used to establish perspective in both media, in this regard, is one obvious similarity. The street scenes in both films present a likeness, for example, to a drawing in Pompei Before Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surroundings (1898), written by Carl Weichardt (Figure 4.96), and to a sketch drawn by Finley Acker in Pen Sketches (1899) (Figure 4.97). The streets of Pompeii, as in today, were spaces of social contact and presentation and exhibited a variety of "forms of street-oriented communication, which stretched from concrete shapes of monuments, sidewalks, houses, paintings, and inscriptions to personal appearances, clothing, personal interactions, and laws" (Hartnett, 2017, p. 297). In Pompeii, every street had its drama as understood by the paintings, political messages, and graffiti found on the facades of houses and shops. Outdoor benches, street fountains, and altars were the focal points where the neighborhood interacted with each other. In this respect, Weichardt's illustration presents a collage of the drama of the streets by composing by such street features as wall paintings and architectural engravings seen on the facades, statues, ruts, and cavities in the pavements, decorated pavements and several people conducting business or just passing. The dramaturgy of the street scenes in the films was not different in composition than the reconstructed street images featured on the pages of the illustrated books; those images, as well, displayed the streets as spaces to meet and socialize.

Figure 4. 95 Street scenes from *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompeii* (left from 1908 version, right from the first version in 1913), composed by the author from the screen shots of the films

Figure 4. 96 Reconstructed street view, *Pompei Before Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surroundings*, (Weichardt, 1898, pp. 38-39)

Figure 4. 97 Sketch by Finley Acker after Carl Weichardt's illustration, *Pen Sketches*, Finley Acker, 1899, adapted by the author from the book

Several settings and spatial details displayed in the films imitated the actual situations and, in a way, correlated the past with the present, for example, the urban *exedra* seen in both 1908 and 1913 versions. These semicircular seats were usually placed on the streets with tombs, "where the deceased remains are buried, the custom being to use them in memory of the individual on festival days and anniversaries" (Whalley, 2005, p. 258). In Pompeii, *exedra* was found on the Street of Tombs, the Stabian Street, and the street outside Herculaneum Gate as well as in the private *peristyle* gardens. Since the furniture and accessories used in the films such as *exedra* was produced with reference to the items found in the excavations, they gave the audience information about the actual furnishing of the houses and urban spaces. Although *exedra* was an outdoor seating arrangement, it was used as an interior furnishing in the silent films; the directors must have used it to elaborate the spatiality of the scenes or even monumentalize an otherwise ordinary private space. The illustrations of the street views in the books of William Gell (*Pompeiana*, 1824), William Bernard Cooke (*Pompeii, Illustrated with Picturesque Views*, 1827), William Light and James Duffield Harding (*Views of Pompeii*, 1828) included *exedra* seen from different perspectives (Figures 4.98, 4.99, 4.100) while a detailed drawing is also published in the Scafati Guide. The semicircular seat was shown as a painting in the panoramic background of the 1908 film, whereas it was built as real furniture for the actors to sit on in the later three versions (Figure 4.101).

Figure 4. 98 *Exedra* outside the gate of Herculaneum, *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii*, William Gell, 1824

Figure 4. 99 *Exedra*, illustrated in Pompeii, *Illustrated with Picturesque Views*, William Bernard Cooke, 1827

Figure 4. 100 Plate showing the *exedra* on the Street of Tombs, *Views of Pompeii*, William Light and James Duffield Harding, 1828

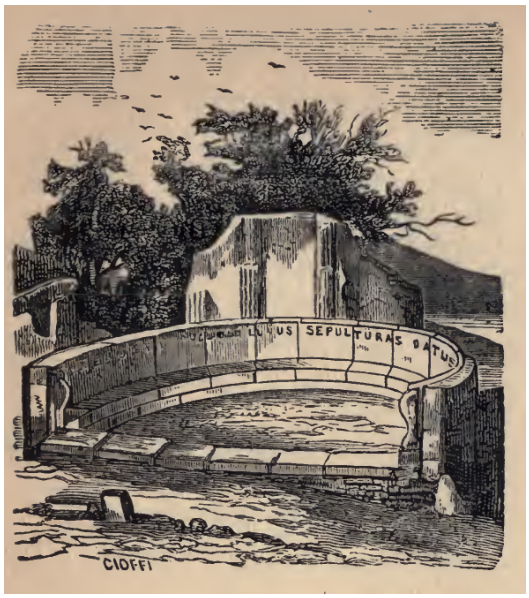


Figure 4. 101 *Exedra* illustration (monument of Mamia), *Guide to Pompeii* (Scafati Guide, 1900, p. 111)

When compared to the later three films, the décor of the 1908 version of *Gli Ultimi Giorni*

di Pompeii can be said to represent the archaeological situation more accurately. The Amphitheater scene arranged in a two-point perspective view is an example, where the background featured a painted Vesuvius as a signifier of the coming apocalyptic eruption; the perspective is a correct representation of the actual relationship of the building and the mountain (Figure 4.102). Further examples of similar two-point perspective views towards the mountain from the Amphitheater are found in William Bernard Cooke's book (Figure 4.103) and among Luigi Fischetti's photographic images (Figures 4.104, 4.105).

Figure 4. 102 Amphitheater scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, Arturo Ambrosio and Luigi Maggi, 1908, (Muscio, 2013, p.162)

Figure 4. 103 Engraving showing the entrance of the *arena* in the Amphitheatre, *Pompeii, Illustrated with Picturesque Views*, William Bernard Cooke, 1827

Figure 4. 104 Photograph from the Amphitheater, *Pompeii Past and Present*, Luigi Fischetti, 1884

Figure 4. 105 Illustration of the eruption scene in the Amphitheater, *Pompeii Past and Present*, Luigi Fischetti, 1884

Forum is one of the recurring spaces in both the illustrated images and films. The Forum was surrounded by a number of monumental public buildings and was the center of political, commercial, and religious life in Pompeii. In the 19th century paintings, the Forum is depicted in an angled view with respect to the Vesuvius in the background; in the reconstructed illustrations of the Forum that are published in the books, on the other hand, the Temple of Jupiter is brought forth in the perspective, and thus suppressed the Vesuvius seen at the background. The constructed images of the Forum in the books of Fischetti (Figure 4.106), Gell (Figure 4.107), and Weichardt (Figures 4.108, 4.109) had used similar visual codes, with some differences in the design of the columns of Temple of Jupiter and the location and form of the flanking sculptures, which were attentively embedded in the 1926 film (Figure 4.110). The set was designed as an almost exact replica of the view illustrated in Fischetti's book. The scene was filled with a crowd to accentuate the fact that the Forum was the center of life in ancient Pompeii.

Figure 4. 106 Reconstruction of the Forum, *Pompeii Past and Present*, Luigi Fischetti, 1884

Figure 4. 107 View of Forum, *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1895
(Source: https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008559359/page/n383)

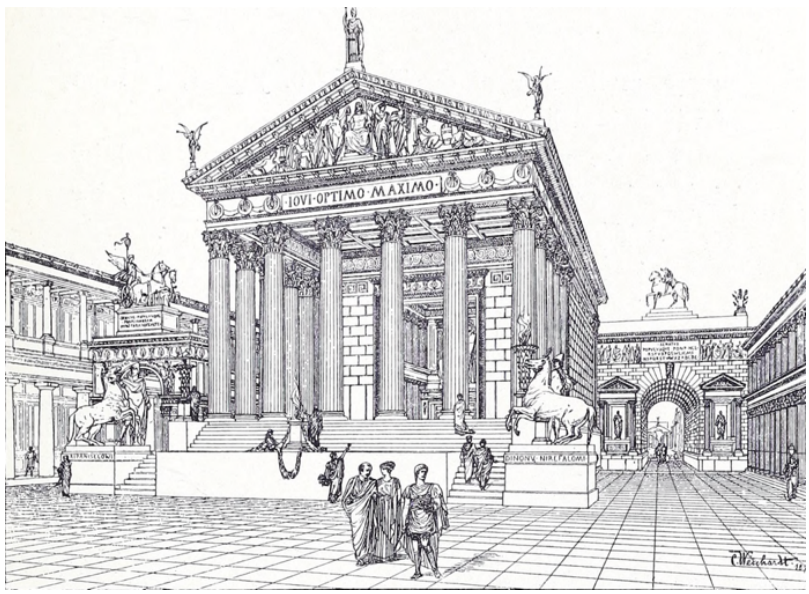


Figure 4. 108 Reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter, *Pompei Before Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surroundings*, (Weichardt 1898, p. 21)

Figure 4. 109 Reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter, *Pompei Before Destruction Reconstitution of the Temples and Surroundings*, (Weichardt 1898, pp. 24-25)

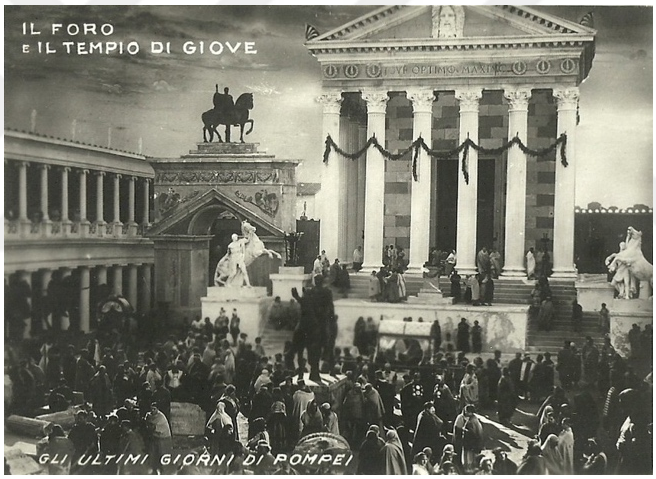


Figure 4. 110 Décor of the Forum, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompeii*, 1926

In terms of set quality and likeness, the latest version of *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* released in 1926, consisted of more artistically and accurately drafted scenes. The power of the film, indeed, comes from the proper processing of the architectural representations, for which the street scenes designed in detail is an example. The street scene shows the blind girl Nidia playing an instrument (Figure 4.11). The scene which is composed of two archetypical urban elements of ancient Pompeii, a shop front (Figure 4.112) and a street fountain (Figure 4.113), most likely, visualized the illustrations in Francois Mazois' pioneering book-*Les Ruines de Pompéi*, and Henry Dyer's, *Pompeii: Its History, Buildings and Antiquities*.

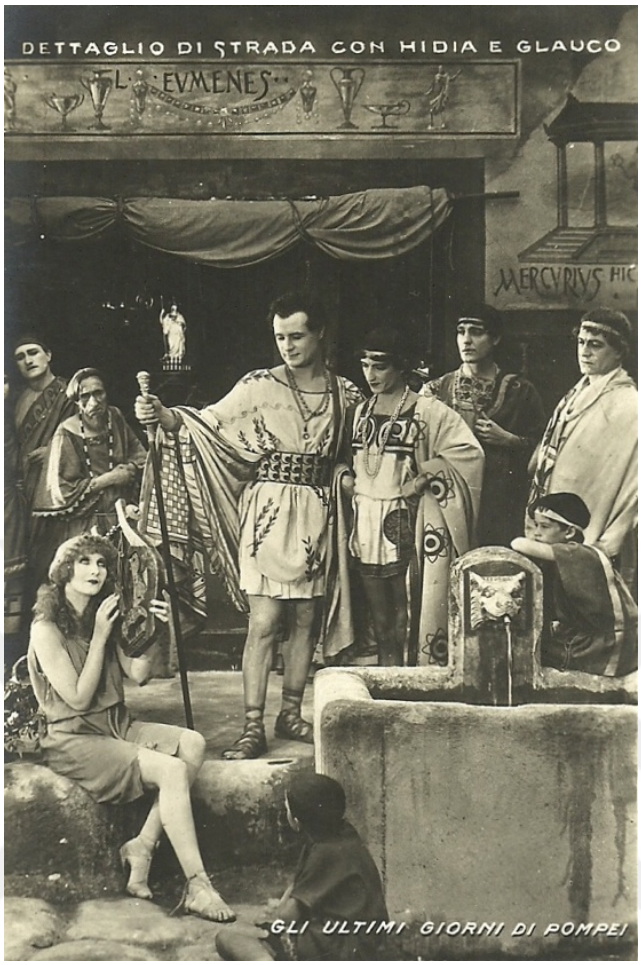


Figure 4. 111 Street scene, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei,* 1926

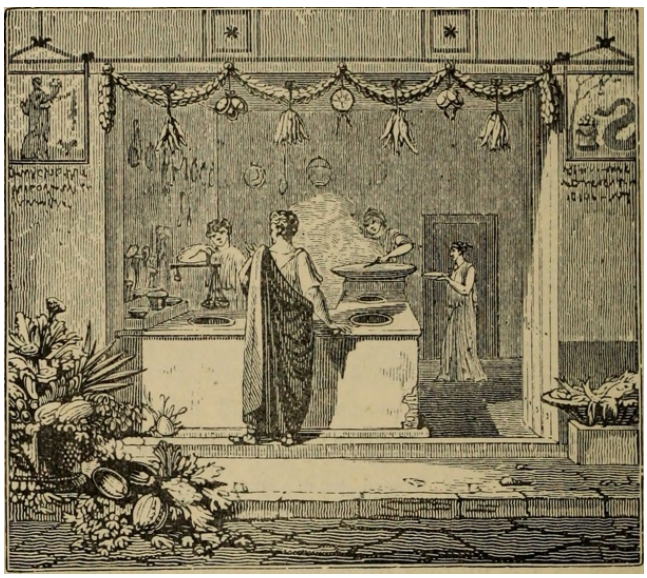


Figure 4. 112 View of a shop, *Pompeii; Its History, Buildings and Antiquities*, Thomas Henry Dyer, 1887, (Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/internetarchivebookimages/14772675102/in/photostream/)

Figure 4. 113 Street fountains, *Les Ruines de Pompéi*, Francois Mazois, 1824, composed by the author

The second chapter demonstrated how the architectural layout of the interiors exhibited axial planning that dictated spatial sequencing. The 'architectural scenography' of the Pompeian *Domus*, in addition, also relied on the harmony of spatial decoration that could be applied to generate 'illusion', 'perspective' and 'depth'. Looking at the scenography of the interiors in all of the four films, it can be argued that these three themes were elaborated in the set designs as well. As argued by Drerup, *durchblick*, or "view through" applied in the planning of the private setting enabled the users to experience the spatiality of the *domus* as a framed and staged context. The term actually refers to the spatial sequencing of an architectural setting through frames and along axes in a painting, to draw the viewer inside a painted three-dimensional world/perspective, which is exemplified by the second style wall-paintings. The silent films, likewise, made use of depth, perspective, and illusion in their pictorial décor, which imitated the architectural décor of the public and private architecture in Pompeii via book illustrations. By looking at the still images that formed the decors in the interior scenes of the silent films, it can be stated that the first three films used painted backgrounds and as such created illusionary depths and perspectives, while the last film used reconstructed and physical elements that created actual depth and perspective. The two-dimensional canvases that covered the background in the first three films served as a medium to create a three-dimensional setting. Comparing the stills with illustrations provides an insight into similar interpretations between the interior scene in the 1926 version, and the illustrated interiors in *Pompeiana* since Gell was particularly interested in the domestic sphere and wall paintings. Most of the interior scenes, indeed, were inspired by the reconstructed interiors of *Pompeiana*. They mimicked the visual codes shown in the illustrations of the book; an architectural

ambiance similar to those in the book reconstructions was imitated in the interior scenes of the films. The first editions of *Pompeiana* included three illustrations that displayed reconstructions of domestic spaces; *atrium* in the House of the Tragic Poet (Figure 4.114), garden in the House of the Second Fountain (Figure 4.115), and Corinthian *peristyle* in the House of Dioscuri (Figure 4.116). Further editions of the book included two more reconstructed plates, *atrium* in the House of Pansa and *atrium* in the House of Sallust. Among the illustrations, the restored view from the House of the Tragic Poet, which had served as an agent between reality and antiquity for several decades, played a major role in reanimating the interior scenes and was used as a model to create fictional environments in paintings, illustrations, and films. The reconstructed view showed the architectural setting of the *atrium*, *impluvium*, *tablinum*, and *lararium*, and garden in a single-point perspective. From wall to floor, all the elements, including wall paintings, floor mosaics, columns, furniture, small domestic objects, plants in the garden, curtains, and costumes of the figures, were illustrated in detail. A comparison between the interior illustrations of *Pompeiana* and film still proves that the scenes composed the visual codes derived from the book images in order to create a vivid architectural environment.

Figure 4. 114 Reconstructed interior scene in House of the Tragic Poet, *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1832

Figure 4. 115 Reconstructed interior scene in the House of the Second Fountain, *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1832

Figure 4. 116 Reconstructed interior scene in the House of Dioscuri, *Pompeiana*, William Gell, 1832

Benefitting from the technological developments in production techniques the 1926 dated *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* offered a much impressive and persuasive Pompeii setting to the audience. The details of the constructed interior scenes unveil how the moving images reflected on the screen and the still images drafted on the pages performed together to visualize the architecture and life of the ancient city (Figure 4.117).

Figure 4. 117 Domestic interior scenes from the house of Glauco, based on the House of the Tragic Poet, composed by the screen shots from the four adaptations of *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*

The destruction and the tragic end of Pompeii is the most dramatic scene in all the films, and for that matter, its representations employed a more emotional tone, reflected foremost by color and images of smoke and dust, as was the case in the paintings of the 18th and 19th centuries (Figure 4.118). For this purpose, in particular, tones of red, grey, and black are used. The volcanic catastrophe, leading to the destruction of the city, is evidently featured in the visual repertoire of various books. The tragedy was dramatized in the silent films by color as well; the destruction scenes and collapsing architectural elements were invigorated with red-tinted frames. While the moving images, staged the tragic end of the city as dramatic as possible on the one hand, they gave Pompeii a second life as realistic as possible by making narrations from diverse visual sources on the other.

Figure 4. 118 Destruction scene, *Pompeii Past and Present*, Luigi Fischetti, 1884

Until the cinematic vision came forth, the representation of Pompeii shuttled between two-dimensional and three-dimensional media. The beholders 'traveled' visually in the site with such productions that depicted decadence, destruction and resurrection of Pompeii in dramatic compositions, as illustrated books and photographic prints and albums that documented the ruins in different formats and the novels, operas and theaters that constructed fictional narratives. Before the city was sealed off by the volcanic debris and froze in time, it was functioning like a big theatrical setting that was composed of stages in both the urban space and the private architecture. The ancient Romans had used devices of framing, and decoration to transform spaces into stages, which manifested in a more monumental and sophisticated level in domestic architecture.

As discussed in the second chapter, the architecture of Pompeii had a scenography of frames and vistas arranged in sequential order, best exemplified in the private architecture. The urban spaces and houses were planned to function as stages in which users were both participants and spectators; taken together, the city was the ultimate stage of urban daily life. This stage stopped functioning in AD 79 and lay dormant until the 17th century. The excavations done in the course of the next two centuries fostered a growing interest in Pompeii. Starting from the middle of the 18th century, the excavations began to be documented properly and, most importantly, the reports became published and accessible. The ruins unleashed a veritable passion for the Grand Tourist and the site visitor. Through time, travelers who had visited Pompeii for various reasons became the agents in its resurrection. Their site experiences and observations were rendered by the images they produced for their travelogues. The printing press, indeed, also easier access to the visuals of the archaeological content of the ancient city. Hence, representing, reconstructing, and resurrecting the life of the dead city became possible in media that ranged from painting and drawing to photography and panorama.

There existed a reciprocal connection between the visual and the textual data in these productions. The guidebooks choreographed their content by using both texts and images. When fictional narrations of Pompeii featured in operas and theaters, the city caught the attention of a wider audience. The death city's story eventually became one of the most influential narratives from the spectrum of the ancient world. In this regard,

Bulwer Lytton's novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, represents the reception of antiquity into the world of fiction. The most outstanding feature of the novel is the role given to architectural representation. The author, in order to create a truthful atmosphere, made vivid descriptions of houses, public edifices, and urban spaces. These descriptions were based on the data gathered from the illustrated books, especially from *Pompeiana,* the first archaeological guidebook written in 1817 by William Gell and illustrated by John Gandy. The novel, in this respect, is juxtaposed 'fact' onto 'fiction.' The profound impact of the novel opened the ground to artistic adaptations and performative productions. The novel was adapted to operas, theatres, panoramas, *pyrodramas*, and silent films.

Illustrated and fictionalized books of all sorts, from published travelogues and photograph albums to guide books, and screenings in pre-cinematic devices became the primary sources in the production of films. In this sense, a comparative study between the moving images/films and the still images/book illustrations demonstrates that the circulating visuals of Pompeii in art and print media had shaped and channeled the representations in the medium of cinema. The silent films created visual stimuli and challenged the static representations of the city. The films provided a fascinating glimpse of the architecture and life of Pompeii. To do so, they utilized 'representational codes' that are derived from the already produced visuals such as drawings, etchings, photographs, and paintings. The ruins were also captured by short documentary footage, with the aim to record the site, excavations, and royal visits.

In the silent film era, the cinema had become a new medium of mass entertainment. Faced with an unprecedented demand, the early cinematic productions elaborated on the historical themes, which were already known to the audience. Among them, history featured as a subject of increasing interest, as it appealed to the rising and spreading antiquarianism and historicism in the 19th century. In this context, the early cinema, which took the ancient past as its setting and scenario, had served as an agent to engage with the antiquity in a more popular way. From the perspective of the spectators, those films gave an opportunity to travel far back in history and recollect the memories of the ancient past. The gradual recovery of Pompeii, in this respect, represents a breaking point in the genre of historical films. The recording, documentation, and visualization of the site by various

actors who produced images by using different representational media made Roman antiquity a particularly attractive subject in the early silent films.

Painted artworks, travelogues, and other personal site documentations, excavation reports and scientific publications, and guidebooks produced during its gradual discovery, illustrated and narrated Pompeii visually on pages, and contextualize its two-dimensional representations. In operas, theaters, panoramas, and *pyrodramas* that followed, the narration of Pompeii gained a three-dimensional aspect. When photography came into the scene, it enabled Pompeii to be captured as a three-dimensional entity within two-dimensional frames. The cinema that came last in the sequence allowed to animate the city both through images and moving images.

It would not be an overstatement to suggest that in the silent films on Pompeii, the most outstanding and creative appearances belonged to the architectural representations and not to the actors. The daily life in the city, which had been practiced in "staged" contexts in antiquity, was indeed, re-staged in several contexts by the visual productions of the printed media in the later centuries. The "re-staging" became a repeated phenomenon by the introduction of moving images. The essential feature of the Pompeian architecture, 'the framed vista' in this regard, became captured and 're-framed' on the screen.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In the 19th century, Pompeii was a passionate subject for excavators, authors, travelers, and artists. The ancient city was commonly and repeatedly memorialized with its tragic end caused by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 AD. The city froze under the volcanic debris until it was accidentally discovered at the end of the 16th century. It owes its extremely well-preserved status, ironically, to this volcanic blanket. The first official excavations on-site began to be conducted in the 18th century; the first systematic open-air excavations got a start around 1750. Archaeology, at that time, assumed a disciplinary status and began to be approached as a scientific field; yet, it was not an easy task to unearth not a single object but a whole city. The methodological uncertainties, in this respect, led the archaeological research aim to 'collect' antiquities in the first half of the 18th century. In the second half of the century, whereas, the first systematic digs began, for scientific methods began to be used; the period represents the first phase of transferring the information gathered from the excavations had started through producing drawings, maps, and then publications. The documentation produced in such media were technical in certain aspect and aimed to understand and explore the content of the city. The archaeological work conducted was far from the precision of today's methods and was pursued in a rather fast manner, but yet, it was oriented to reveal not just items and decorative features but the architecture as well. The unearthed treasures gradually came into view and knowledge of the European intellectual, aristocratic and royal circles. The members of these societies, especially in Britain, exhibited a more passionate antiquarian attitude towards collecting the ancient treasures. In that regard, Sir William Hamilton promoted the classical culture and its visuality in Britain by his publications Collection of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman antiquities from the cabinet of the Honorable William Hamilton, Campi Phlegræi: Observations on the Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies, Account of the Discoveries at Pompeii: Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London, and letters, which he produced between 1764 and 1800, and also

guided the aristocratic visitors to Naples and Campanian sites. With Hamilton, indeed, Pompeii began to be represented visually by diverse authors, in different media, and for various purposes. In the 19th century, the celebrated work of Francois Mazois' *Les Ruines de Pompeii*, the first series of engravings on the city that consisted of architectural drawings, was published in 1824. Hamilton's and Mazois' publications on the ancient accelerated the dissemination of knowledge beyond the Italian periphery, and Pompeii became a stop in the Grand Tour route.

The ancient city became a Grand Tour attraction during an age of revolutions that transformed ideas about the role history should play in shaping the present. 19th century also witnessed the excavations of the most iconized houses, such as the House of Pansa, the House of the Tragic Poet, and the House of the Faun, and the monumental public buildings, including Basilica, Temple of Apollo, Temple of Venus, Temple of Jupiter, Stabian Baths, Amphitheater, Large Theater, and Odeon. As understood from the information compiled in the books, among the buildings, significantly, Temple of Jupiter, Stabian Baths, Theaters, Amphitheater, Villa of Diomedes, and the House of the Tragic Poet were the popular destinations to visit. Some of the objects unearthed during the excavations were exhibited in-situ, while some were stored and exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples, which was among the places visited by tourists. The condition of the city, which was well-preserved enough to inspire and direct the reconstructions, had a visual appearance reminiscent of outdoor decorations.

In the first half of the 19th century, the ancient city and the disaster story became an inspirational source in several domains of art. Giovanni Pacini's 1825 dated opera *L'Ultimo Giorno di Pompei* (*The Last Days of Pompeii*) became Pompeii's first stage appearance to the public. In 1829, the Russian painter Karl Pavlovic Briullov depicted the destruction scene of Pompeii in a detailed and dramatically colored composition, including human figures and architectural elements, on a vast canvas, and titled it *The Last Day of Pompeii*. In 1834, using the same title of the opera and the painting, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton adapted the tragic story of Pompeii into a novel. The novel not only become a best-seller in Britain but also a source of script and story, site information, and architectural visualization for the future representations of the city. Striking about the novel is that

Lytton fictionalized the novel's plot on the factual data presented in the book *Pompeiana* written by archeologist Sir William Gell and illustrated by architect John P. Gandy in 1817. As such, the novel was approached and utilized as a 'novelized archaeological handbook' for readers and visitors.

In the second half of the 19th century, the site director Giuseppe Fiorelli divided Pompeii into regions and developed a referential system. He also created a technique to preserve the human and animal casts uncovered by the excavations. The unfortunate human and animal bodies that displayed the agonizing last moments of the victims were casted by a method introduced by Fiorello and arranged as an on-site exhibition. They became one of the favorite attractions for travelers to Pompeii, and for the Pompeian exhibitions that would be organized all over the world. The site directors that came after Fiorelli followed his footsteps and conducted the excavations systematically. Among them, Amedeo Maiuri had completed the excavation process of the other well-known buildings, including the Villa of the Mysteries and the House of Menander. He furthermore, brought a new aspect to in-situ/on-site representation by displaying the artifacts in glass cages placed inside the houses. By turning the spaces into the fictional settings/decors, he used the ruins as the background. The objects exhibited belonged to the buildings in which they were exhibited. By displaying the artifacts in-situ, according to Maiuri, the city of dead could turn into a living one. The artifacts that had been left from the ancient life needed to be displayed to define the settings of a second life.

In the 19th century, while the city was being gradually excavated on the one hand, the city and its surroundings were elevated to an artistically inspirational source to stage on the blank surfaces of the canvases and the pages on the other. In this regard, the artists used public and domestic buildings as backgrounds. In the early phases of the representations, the actual state of the ruined city was the depicted theme. In the following decades, the artists favored enriching their paintings by adding ancient human figures and reinforcing their visual narrations by drafting architectural elements, and hence, creating fictional atmospheres. In the early 19th century paintings, the Vesuvius was visually elaborated as the reminder of the great apocalypse, by means of using combinations of striking colors, such as various tones of red, and often illustrating it in the act of smoking; in the later

examples, too the mountain would stay as an essential component of the background scenery in the paintings. The difference between the two periods laid in the fact that in the later 19th century paintings, the architecturally visualized ruins were made the focal point of the paintings. The most visualized public edifices, in paintings and colored etchings, are the forum, the basilica, the temples, the theaters, the baths, and the amphitheater.

On the other hand, the urban fabric of Pompeii came into existence through its domestic architecture, and the houses, which had survived in an unprecedented amount and variety, staged their scenes to the outer world as artistic creations. What made the architecture of the standard Pompeian Domus quite inspirational for the art sphere is the fact that it was not used only as a home. It was conceptualized and designed as a multi-functional private setting to perform rituals. To accomplish this, the house was planned to create a scenography by means of sequences of vistas opened through structural frames. This scenography was interpreted in the visual representations of the site under particular themes that were attributed to different parts of the house. For instance, the artists displayed the banqueting scenes in the *triclinium*, and to illustrate luxury as a theme in their setting; they painted it together with a lavishly decorated *atrium* or a *peristyle* garden. The House of the Tragic Poet became a model house to exemplify the Pompeian domestic environment, following William Gells's *Pompeiana*, which included richly illustrated scenes from the house. In 1832, among the illustrations in *Pompeiana*, a reconstructed scene with human figures and seen from an *atrium* view was shared with the public. A replica of the House of Pansa, another well-illustrated Roman aristocratic residence, was built in the USA in 1889. The House of the Faun, the majestic house of Pompeii in terms of having two grand *peristyle* gardens and rich decorated spaces, became the focus of representations after its excavation in 1829-1833. The house contains, among others, the most intricate mosaic pavement, called the Alexander Mosaic, found in Pompeii. The House of the Vettii was used as another representative house, as it displayed a version of the spatial aesthetics that defined the architectural character of the *domus* within the richly decorated rooms and wall paintings. The house featured as a subject of re-animation and re-creation in several painted and illustrated artworks. The largest residence in Pompeii turned out to be the Villa of Diomedes, after its excavation between 1771 and 1774. However, the

house earned a reputation with the sensational discovery of eighteen human skeletons in its cellar, which obviously became a potential visual theme. The artists also combined their interpretations with the artistic fabrication seen in the houses, such as, the wall paintings applied on many of the wall surfaces in the reception and ritual areas and which reflected the cultural preferences and artistic tastes of the house owners. They also integrated the mosaic pavements and stucco reliefs that made the representations of domestic spaces transform into 'stages', in the artworks.

In the 19th century, the representations of the Pompeian scenes came in several forms, ranging from oil paintings on canvas, etchings, engravings, hand-colored engravings, albumen silver prints, gelatin silver prints, aquatints with hand-coloring and photostats to photographs. Even though each medium set its own method of creating the visuals, they shared standard features, such as the same pictorial and color codes, creating depth in the scene, and using the same perspective and axial view. Furthermore, they added imaginary details, like human figures, which were made part of the illustrations.

All the representations produced in different art domains, from opera sets and paintings to colored illustrations in the 19th century, worked as active agents to propagate the cultural and architectural knowledge extracted from the excavations in Pompeii. Another agent that contributed to the spread of the Pompeii phenomenon was 'the traveler'. The traveler can be identified as a distinct category from the 17th century onwards when travel became an elite-class engagement in Europe. The travelers who traveled for several reasons, ranging from education and collecting ancient treasure to satisfy antiquarian interests and curiosity, had circulated and transferred the factual and fictional data out of Italy. In this regard, The Grand Tour emerged. This was a planned itinerary that included visiting France, Holland, and Italy and provided its participants an opportunity to discover ancient sites and contemporary cultures. Besides being a recreational activity, it created a market for ancient objects of taste. The travelers transported itinerant objects from region to region, and thus created a Grand Tour Market in Europe. The interested parties decorated their houses not only with these objects but also with the architectural styles, brought back by the travelers and adapted in their houses. In the 19th century, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Mount Vesuvius became the must-see stops on the tour's route.

The travel phenomena of the 19th century led to the emergence of genres called 'travel literature', and 'travel account', which narrated the first-hand observations of travelers, whether in the form of documenting the actual state of the cities or fictionalizing the travel content, and whether in a sentimental way or within a purely objective perspective. The books that belonged to these genres became the best-seller printings of the time they were produced. In the 18th century travel writing, the characteristic feature of the books was that they were produced without the assistance of visual material to guide the destinations. Throughout time, the genre's aim, content, and representation had changed. In the 19th century, to create a vivid atmosphere, the authors began to illustrate their works with images and photographs, juxtaposed with textual information.

The travel literature on Pompeii, is indeed, a vast mine. However, in general, the productions can be classified as the 'site accounts', produced for travelers and other interested parties that include scientific accounts and guidebooks, and the 'traveler accounts' produced by the travelers themselves, which include travelogues and travel albums. The site accounts placed a distinctive type of cognitive achievement at the heart of archaeological progress and documentation. The traveler accounts combined detailed information about the sites, the people whom the travelers encountered, and the cultural customs of the region. These publications had shared common features; by their selection and order of the illustrated visuals inserted on the pages, they created a peculiar sequence and choreography. The 'page', therefore, not only became a medium to document the actuality, but also gained a performative value, and thus became a ground to transfer the visual vocabulary of Pompeii. The visualization methods used in the printed material, on the other hand, had phases; in the first phase, the images were illustrated more technically, such as the book written by Sir William Hamilton. Hamilton used documentary kind of illustrations that showed the actual state of the buildings without reconstructions. In the second phase, when the information gathered from the excavations became sufficient, roughly in the first half of the 19th century, the engravings came into use. In the third phase, within the arrival of photography in the 1840s, the travel albums bega to be produced. In the last phase, the reconstructed images, which had used the actual photographs and the other published visuals as a basis, produced the particularly exclusive visual offering with the sequencing of scenes, that were designed with carefully layered

pictorial components. Used in the guide books, the travelogues and the novels, their visuality was utilized to visualize epic and to stimulate epic visions.

Among all the publications, the most outstanding and inspirational source was *Pompeina,* authored by Sir William Gell in 1817, 1832 and 1852. The book it accepted as the first archaeological guidebook, underlining the specific features of the Pompeian architecture. It mediated between the fictional narrations and reconstructions, juxtaposing past and present together. Its value lay on the visual sources produced for the book; they offered impressing creativity to address the perception of the readers and viewers. The most significant success, achieved by *Pompeiana*, on the other hand, was the data fabricated, which became the foundation of the novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, which, too, overlapped fact and fiction. The novel, indeed, revived the past and protected it in the eyes of the beholder. It relied on a love triangle between the characters Glaucus, Ione, and the blind girl Nydia. Yet, it was more than a melodramatic love story set against the backdrop of the doomed city; it was an architectural spectacle that gave the reader a chance to experience the vivid atmosphere of Pompeii before the last days of decadence. What made the novel an iconic production is the fact that it would be repeatedly referred to as a source of script, setting, and decor in the silent films of Pompeii, that featured at the beginning of the 20th century.

***

In the 20th century, it created not only a new way of seeing but also a new visual way of presenting history. Acting as an imaginary signifier, cinema promised an illusion of travel through time and space. Among the history contextualized and represented was antiquity, which provided rich material in terms of the classic stories and ancient cities that indeed corresponded to a considerable part of the story-telling in the early years of cinema. Even though the beholders did not visit the ancient sites, they took the position of the 19th century travelers and did a 'virtual voyage', created by the moving images on the screen. As put forward by Bruno (1997), the cinema produced its own 'grand tour'.

The cinematic screen introduced antiquity to the audience first in the form of silent movies, from the short productions of 17 minutes to longer versions of 181 minutes. At the turn of the 19th century, Pompeii had an enormous power for narrating and animating the ancient past; the archaeological richness, the unique value of the site, made the city and its inhabitants a popular subject for the silent films. The first versions of the silent films were the early footages of about 2 minutes, called the travelogue genre that documented the visitors' experiences at the ancient site. Shot at the end of the 19th century, before silent films came into prominence, they presented the first moving images of the site. During the early and experimental years of cinema, the titles of the historical films were taken from the classic literature; in the case of Pompeii, the films adapted the title of the novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii*. The films harmonized the 'visual codes' derived from antiquity; that is from the ancient architecture itself, and the previous visual representations that featured in paintings and books. In order to robust the creative vision that aimed to link facts with fiction, the visual codes were embedded into the scenes, as two-dimensional and three-dimensional decors. Through time, the codes that made up the scenes in the silent films became 'representational codes' of specific themes that actually characterized the ancient houses and public buildings of Pompeii, such as monumentality, decoration, vegetation, and garments. Pompeii became the most potent instrument to recall the ancient past and animate it through the reconstruction of daily life and architecture by sequences of moving images. As such, it was exploited as a selling subject in both Italy and elsewhere.

***

By looking at the contexts of visual representation on Pompeii, the study elaborates the visuality of spatiality and provides two main arguments: the architecture of the ancient city was already designed and decorated as an 'architectural stage' and the ruins, in this respect, presented an extremely rich spatial and ornamental visuality, topped with the vista of majestic Vesuvius, that provided a tempting opportunity for archaeological exploration as well as artistic depiction and marketing; several actors served as 'visual conveyors' in the recognition, historicizing the visual narration of the ancient city. Both arguments claim that the stages, which were composed of and formed the urban and architectural character

of the ancient city by the Pompeians themselves, repeatedly became '(re)-staged' via visual representations and their producers.

The first argument elaborates on creating reconstructed stages within the ensembles of ancient 'architectural scenographies.' The fact that the ancient site and especially the domestic architecture were designed as spatially and visually constructed stages in antiquity, led scholars set their frameworks of discussion on themes of spatial and visual analysis and interpretation; such as 'pathway,' 'armature,' 'composed views,' 'built pictures,' 'sequences,' and *'Mise-en Scene.'*[108] I suggest to add the concept of "architectural *'Mise-en Abyme'*" to this list. The concept, as introduced in the study, is used to decipher the architectural tectonics of the stage, and I use it in particular, to accentuate the situations of 'frame in a frame' and 'stage in a stage.'

In the sphere of artistic depiction, that makes the first argument, the Pompeian scene was (re)staged to the outer world, in four phases. In the first phase of representation, the domestic realm of the ancient site, the *architectural mise-en abyme* was created by assembling the wall paintings to create 'illusion' and 'allusion,' these built pictures guided the beholders through different rooms, story scapes, spatial and temporal realities, and across different genres and levels of meaning. Composed with the culturally acknowledged and known pictorial codes, the sequencing of the scenes on the walls created a confined and continuous narration; in this regard, the ancient wall painting itself was the first frame to reconstruct a stage. The walls on which these paintings were applied constituted the second frame. With these painted walls, wall openings, and the vistas created along the visual axis of the house that aligned *fauces*, *atrium*, *tablinum*, and *peristyle* on a line, the ancient Pompeians had constructed several structural and visual frames and scenes. The domestic unit, in this respect, was an abode of performance, ritual and stage, an ensemble of architectural and decorative elements that operated to make each house a representative setting. Seen in this perspective, it can be stated that the urban layout was indeed a composition of the framed vistas, formed in both the private and public edifices, thus making both spheres monumental in different ways.

[108] For more information, see Chapter 2.5, "Creating Architectural Scenography: Visual and Spatial Representation".

The second phase of the representation corresponds to the period of excavations. The archaeological works, from the digs to the museum exhibitions, (re)staged the architectural stage that consisted of a multitude of juxtaposed framed vistas to the public and visitors. At this phase, the staging was put into practice in two ways; through the open-air excavations and the illustrated images in the scientific books, guidebooks, and travelogues that gave textual and/or pictorial information about the unearthed findings. Considering the page as a surface and container the bordered illustrations that featured on these pages, indeed created further representational frames. Through these framed images, the readers offered a choice to engage with the scene described and drafted.

In the third phase, when the Pompeii phenomenon was firmly established as an archaeological asset and a travel destination, came its artistic representations. The artists interpreted Pompeii by the frames they created within the borders of etchings, engravings, paintings, and photographs, all of which became a source of further inspiration and gained an artistic and aesthetic value in terms of encapsulating both the actual representations and reconstructed versions. The careful composition and *deep-space tableaux* created in the artworks brought the ancient scene of Pompeii vividly back to life. The artistic creations broke the traditional methods of historical representation by putting modern people at the forefront and hence by blending past and present. By capturing the scenes/constructed scenes, photography played a crucial role in framing the already illustrated and familiar scenes.

The fourth phase witnessed the narration of Pompeii in the context of performative arts; a platform that challenged the existing ways of seeing across the spectrum of representations in the 19th century. Demonstrating the broad compass of receptions of the ancient city, operas, theaters, pyrodrams, and films narrated Pompeii as both fact and fiction; the balance in between and the degree of truth/accuracy/fabrication depended on the interpretation of the producers. Especially in the field of cinema, the transposed stories and elements of the ancient world which were filtered through the camera's lens, both close-up and distance, became framed on the screen. What is very intriguing in the staging antiquity through films is that antiquity legitimized itself through cinematic

spectacle. Since cinema was a total sensory experience, it could offer a better and more realistic reconstruction of antiquity than theatre, opera, and painting (Wyke, 2012).

There were various 'actors,' whom I conceptualize as 'visual conveyers,' constructed representational stages, played in stages, and transferred knowledge. In this regard, I classify the visual conveyers into four categories. The first actors were the ancient residents of Pompeii; by creating epic visions, they played their roles in the social rituals that took place on the architectural stages of the domestic and public environments. The second actors appeared after the first official digs and included the site directors, archeologists, and architects who first opened the hidden context of the Pompeian stage to the world. In line with cultural tourism and travel in the 19th century, the third group of actors was the traveler, author-traveler, and author, who provided a ground to transform the visual representations of Pompeii in an international milieu. The fourth group consisted of artists, painters, photographers, and directors. All the visual conveyers created the mental pictures of Pompeian visuality, and by filtering the images through their poetic, dramatic, and creative lenses, they evoked a kind of nostalgia for a city frozen in time.

Overarching observations related to the visual analysis is that: various forms of representations had always interacted with each other; each representation was indeed an inspirational source for the other and the representations shuttled between two-dimensional and three-dimensional creations. For instance, the book framed the three-dimensional perspective of the buildings on a two-dimensional page, while, the films first created cinematic voids within the decors, and then displayed them on the two-dimensional screen.

***

A 'visual repertoire' of illustrated representations has accumulated on the ancient city Pompeii, in the period between the start of the official digs in the 18th century and the 21st century. Today, the city displays itself as being a 'site of the exhibition' rather than a 'site of the excavation.' In this regard, the site is more open to new artistic and visual

experimentations, that occur in many instances, from world-traveling 3d exhibitions and animations to on-site installations. Not surprisingly, the modern representations, share common features with those of the earlier eras; the Pompeii phenomenon reveals the articulation of the same themes. A current such project demonstrates the omnipresence of the Pompeiian scene and hence makes a good complimentary conclusion to the study. In February 2019, an event called *In the Volcano* was held by artist Cai Guo-Qiang in the Amphitheater, and the works created during the event are displayed at the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (MANN). The works are located in different parts of the Museum, from the Farnese Collection to the frescoes section, from the *atrium* to the mosaic collection; the arrangement evidently showed that it aimed to display the past and present together. For the event, different sizes of canvases and the copies of the statuary from the Museum's collections, including the replicated versions of the Venus Callipigia, the Farnese Hercules and Atlas, and the bust of Pseudo-Seneca are brought to the site and placed at the center of the Amphitheater. The event had three phases; "The Fabric of Civilization", "Sigh", and "Excavation". First, small explosions disrupted the works which were manipulated with different colors of gunpowder and covered with canvases. Second, fireworks lined up along the canvas point towards the sky as an analogy of erupting Vesuvius. It is explained that the second phase of the explosion marks the artist's first attempt to "paint" on canvas with fireworks. In the last phase, the team, in order to imitate the excavation of archaelogical ruins, the team unveiled the coverings. After the end of the explosion, it is seen that the colorful powder covered the statues and left a 'trace' on the objects (Figure 5.1). The idea behind the event is remarkably reminiscent of the idea behind the early artistic creations, which aimed to resurrect the life in Pompeii with colorful and vivid interpretations on canvas, page, stage, and screen. Though produced in the context of different agendas, the process that led to the end-products of this event and those of the earlier centuries are comparable. The modern artworks created by artist Cai Guo-Qiang came to life after an 'explosion', just like the artworks of the 18th and 19th centuries that came into being after the eruption of Mount Vesuvius.

Figure 5. 1 Farnese Hercules after explosion
(Source: http://pompeiisites.org/en/comunicati/in-the-volcano-cai-guo-qiang-and-pompeii/)

The study presents an engaging range of case studies, demonstrating the broad compass of presentations of Pompeii in publications and fiction. By taking illustrated representations and silent films as its primary object, it provides a framework for discussing the architectural history of ancient Pompeii through images and moving images. In today's academia, the boundaries between disciplines have begun to disappear, giving way to permeability. In addition, there has been an increasing amount of literature on Reception Studies that enrich the interactions of the classical canon with an array of continually evolving artistic forms, a process, which is directly shaped by the themes derived from the classical canon, including novels, poetry, television series, and films. In this regard, and based on this reciprocal connection, it is hoped that this study will provide a stimulus for further creative scholarship among works of architectural history, visuality, and cinema. Given all that mentioned so far, I assert that there is no context in architectural history that came so close to staging its architectural scenes in a way similar to cinematic creations than Pompeii. The corpus of the visual narrative of Pompeii does not just illustrate or animate 'ruins'; it is a composed *'architectural mise en abyme'* created through representations of 'stage in a stage in a stage…'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acker, F. (1899). *Pen sketches- Streets of cairo, sphinx and pyramids, bedouin wedding festival, venetian serenade, modern Jerusalem, colosseum illuminated, bazaars of Damascus, Pompeii and Vesuvius*. Philadelphia: The Mclaughlin Bros. Retrieved from https://archive.org/ (Original work published 1899).

Ackerman, J. (1990). *The villa, form and ideology of country houses*. London, England: Thames and Hudson.

Aldrete, G. S. (2004). *Daily life in the Roman city: Rome, Pompeii and Ostia*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Allison, P. (1999). *The archaeology of household activities*. London, England: Routledge.

Allison, P. (2001). Using the material and written sources: Turn of the millennium approaches to Roman domestic space, *American Journal of Archaeology,* 105 (2), 181-208. Retrived from https://www.jstor.org/stable/507270

Amery, C. & Curran, B. (2002). *The lost world of Pompeii*. Los Angeles, California: Getty Publications.

Baedeker, K. (1867*). Baedeker's Southern Italy And Sicily: A Handbook for Travelers.*

Bakker, G. (2008). *Entertainment industrialized, the emergence of the international film industry, 1890-1940*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Banham, J. (Ed.). (1997). *Encyclopedia of interior design*. London, England: Routledge.

Barnes, A. (2008). *Paintings in Roman Pompeii: Differences in Public and Private Areas of the Home.* (MA. Thesis). Western Oregon University, Oregon.

Barr, C. (1997). Before blackmail: Silent british cinema. In R., Murphy (Ed.). *The british cinema book* (pp. 5-16). London, England: BFI.

Barta, T. (Ed.). (1998). *Screening the past: History since the cinema.* Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Baum, C. (2011). Ruined waking thoughts: William Beckford as a visitor to Pompeii. In S., Hales and J., Paul (Eds.). *Pompeii in the public imagination from its rediscovery to today* (pp.34-47). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Beacham, R. (2013). Otium, opulentia and opsis: Setting, performance and perception within the *mise-en-scène* of the Roman house. In G. W. M., Harrison and V., Liapis (Eds.). *Performance in Greek and Roman theatre* (pp. 361-408). Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Beard, M. (2010). *Pompeii: The life of a Roman town.* London, England: Profile Books.

Beard, M. (2013). Taste and the antique: Visiting Pompeii in the nineteenth century. In C. C., Mattusch (Ed.). *Rediscovering the ancient world on the bay of Naples, 1710-1890* (pp. 205-228). New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Bedin, C. (2017). The neoclassical grand tour of Sicily and Goethe's Italienische Reise. *Alman Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi,* 1 (37), 31-52. Retrived from https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/332390

Bergmann, B. (1991). Painted perspectives of a villa visit: Landscape as status and metaphor. In E. K., Gazda (Ed.). *Roman art in the private sphere* (pp. 49-70). Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.

Bergmann, B. (1994). The Roman house as memory theater: The house of the tragic poet in Pompeii. *The Art Bulletin,* 76 (2), 225-256.

Billi, M. (2003). Dreams, waking thoughts and incidents: Beckford's grand tour as personal and cultural rite of passage. In C., Nocera, G., Persico and R., Portale (Eds.). *Rites of passage: Rational/irrational natural/supernatural local/global* (pp. 69-74). Italy: Rubbettino Editore.

Bischoff, U., Hipp, E., & Nugent, J. A. (Eds.). (2006). *From Caspar David Friedrich to Gerhard Richter: German paintings from Dresden.* Los Angeles, California: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Blom, I. L. (2016). The second life of Alma-Tadema's paintings. In P., Trippi, & E., Prettejohn (Eds.). *Alma-tadema: At home in antiquity* (pp. 186-199). Munich: Prestel.

Bohls, E. A., & Duncan, I. (Eds.). (2005). *Travel writing 1700-1830: An anthology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bomgardner, D. L. (2013). *The story of the Roman amphitheatre*. London: Routledge.

Bonucci, C. (1827). *Pompei descritta da Carlo Bonucci architetto*. Da'torchi di Raffaele Miranda.

Bordwell, D. (1997). *On the history of film style*. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press.

Bowen, J. (2002). The historical novel. In P., Brantlinger & W., Thesing (Eds.). *A companion to the victorian novel* (pp. 244-259). Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Brooks, J. (2017). *The lure of Italy: Artists' views*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Bruno, G. (1997). City views: The voyage of film images. In D. B., Clarke (Ed.). *The cinematic city* (pp. 46-58). London: Routledge.

Burrows, J. (2003). *Legitimate cinema: Theatre stars in silent british films, 1908-1918*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Carlà, F., & Goltz, A. (2015). The late antique city in movies. In M. G., Morcillo, P., Hanesworth & Ó. L, Marchena. (Eds.). *Imagining ancient cities on film: From babylon to cinecittà* (pp. 202-226). New York: Routledge.

Carpiceci, A. C., Banti, M. & Giorgi, S. (1977). *Pompeii, 2000 years ago*. Bonechi Edizioni Turismo: Viale Ariosto.

Casillo, R. (2006). *The empire of stereotypes, Germaine de Staël and the idea of Italy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cather, S. (Ed.). (1992). *The conservation of wall paintings*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Cavaliero, R. (2005). *Italia romantica: English romantics and Italian freedom*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

Christie, I. (2012). Introduction: In search of audiences. In C., Ian (Ed.). *Audiences: Defining and researching screen entertainment reception* (pp. 11-22). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Christie, I. (2013). Ancient Rome in London: Classical subjects in the forefront of cinema's expansion after 1910. In P., Michelakis & M., Wyke (Eds.). *The ancient world in silent cinema* (pp. 109-124). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Churchill, K. (1980). *Italy and English literature 1764–1930*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ciarallo, A. (2006). *Scienziati a Pompei tra settecento e ottocento*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Clarke, D. B., & Doel, M. A. (2006). From flatland to vernacular relativity: The genesis of early English screenscapes. In M., Lefebvre (Ed.). *Landscape and film* (pp. 213-243). London: Routledge.

Clarke, J. R. (1991). *The houses of roman Italy, 100 BC-AD 250, ritual, space and decoration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clarke, J. R. (1998). *Looking at lovemaking: Constructions of sexuality in Roman art, 100 BC-AD 250*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clarke, J. R. (2003). *Art in the lives of ordinary romans: Visual representation and non-elite viewers in Italy, 100 BC-AD 315*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clarke, J. R. (2009). Domestic decoration: Mosaics and stucco. In J. J., Dobbins & P. W., Foss (Eds.). *The world of Pompeii* (pp. 323-335). New York and London: Routledge.

Clarke, J. R. (2013). Domus/single family house. In R. B., Ulrichand & C. K., Quenemoen (Eds.). *A companion to Roman architecture* (pp. 342-362). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Clarke, W. B. (1853). *Pompeii: Its Destruction and Re-discovery*. London (published anonymously).

Coates, V. G. (2012). On the cutting edge: Pompeii and new technology. In V.C., Gardner Coates, K. Lapatin, & J. L. Seydl (Eds.). *The last days of Pompeii: Decadence, apocalypse, resurrection* (pp. 44-51). Los Angeles: Getty Publications.

Conolly, P. (1990). *Pompeii.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cooke, W. B., Donaldson, T. L. & Cockburn, J. P. (1827). *Pompeii, illustrated with picturesque views*. Retrieved from https://babel.hathitrust.org (Original work published 1824).

Cooley, A. E. & Cooley, M. G. L. (2013). *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A sourcebook*. London: Routledge.

Daly, N. (2015). *The demographic imagination and the nineteenth-century city*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Albentiis, E. and Foglia, A. (2009). *Secrets of Pompeii: Everyday life in ancient rome*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

De Carolis, E. and Patricelli, G. (2003). *Vesuvius, AD 79: The destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Desselas, H. (2015). A city to be drawn, architects and topographers in Pompeii. In M., Osanna, M. T., Caracciolo & L., Gallo (Eds.). *Europe and Pompeii 1748-1943* (pp. 117-124). Milano: Electa.

Dobbins, J. J. & Foss, P. W. (Eds.). (2009). *The world of Pompeii*. London: Routledge

Dobran, F. (2006). *Vesuvius: education, security and prosperity.* Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Dorgerloh, A. (2013). Competing ancient worlds in early historical film: The example of Cabiria (1914). In P., Michelakis & M., Wyke (Eds.). *The ancient world in silent cinema* (pp. 229-246). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1996). Convivial spaces: Dining and entertainment in the Roman villa, *Journal of Roman Archaeology,* 9*,* 66-80.

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (2005). *The Roman banquet: Images of conviviality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dunstan, W. E. (2010). *Ancient Rome*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Dwyer, E. (1991). The Pompeian atrium house in theory and practice. In E., Gazda (Ed.). *Roman art in the private sphere: New perspectives on the architecture and décor of the domus, villa, and insula* (pp. 25-48). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Dwyer, E. (2010). *Pompeii's living statues: Ancient Roman lives stolen from death*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Dyer, T. H. (1867). *Pompeii: Its history, buildings, and antiquities. An account of the destruction of the city, with a full description of the remains, and of the recent excavations, and also an itinerary for visitors*. Retrieved from https://archive.org/ (Original work published 1867).

Ede, L. N. (2010). *British film design: A history*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Evans, J. D. (Ed.). (2013). *A companion to the archaeology of the Roman republic*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Facos, M. (2011). *An introduction to nineteenth-century art*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Fantoni, G. (2015). A very long engagement: The use of cinematic texts in historical research. In M. C., Jennie & M., Fearghal (Eds.). *Film, history and memory* (pp. 18-31). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ferrari, R. (2013). 'Under British eyes': Italy in Edison's and Smollet's travel writing. In A., Yarrington, S., Villani &J., Kelly (Eds.). *Travels and translations: Anglo-Italian cultural transactions* (pp. 67-84). New York: Rodopi.

Ferrero, M. V. (2015). L'ultimo giorno di Pompei nell'immaginazione di Alessandro Sanquirico, *Music in Art*, 40 (1-2), 79-97. Retrived from https://www.jstor.org/stable/musicinart.40.1-2.79

Flower, H. I. (1996). *Ancestor masks and aristocratic power in Roman culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Forbes, S. R. (1893). *Rambles in Naples, an archaeological and historical guide to the museums, galleries, churches, and antiquities of Naples and its environs*. T., Nelson and Sons,

Paternoster Row. Retrieved from https://archive.org/ (Original work published 1893).

Foss, P. W. (2009). Rediscovery and resurrection. In J. J., Dobbins & P. W., Foss (Eds.). *The world of Pompeii* (pp. 28-42). London: Routledge.

Fredrick, D. (2003). Grasping the 'pangolin': Sensuous ambiguity in Roman dining. *Arethusa,* 36 (3), 309-343.

Fulton, H. L. (2014). *Dr. John Moore, 1729–1802: A life in medicine, travel, and revolution*. Newark: University of Delaware Press.

Gell, W. and Gandy, J. P. (1852). *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii* (3rd edition). London: Baktholomew.

Gephardt, K. (2016). *The idea of Europe in british travel narratives, 1789-1914*. New York: Routledge.

Goalen, M. (1995). The idea of the city and the excavations at Pompeii. In T. J., Cornell & K. Lomas (Eds.). *Urban society in Roman Italy* (pp. 185-206). London: Routledge.

Goldhill, S. (2012). A writer's things: Edward Bulwer Lytton and the archaeological gaze; or, what's in a skull?. *Representations,* 119 (1), 92-118.

Goldhill, S. (2015). *The buried life of things: How objects made history in nineteenth-century Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goldstein, L. (1979). The impact of Pompeii on the literary imagination. *The Centennial Review,* 23 (3), 227-241.

Grant, M. (1971). *Cities of Vesuvius: Pompeii and Herculaneum*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Grau, O. (2003). *Virtual Art: From Illusion to Immersion*. Boston: MIT Press.

Gros, P. (1984). Le dessin d'architecture dans les sociétés antiques. *Actes du colloque de Strasbourg*, 26-28 janvier 1984, Leyde, 1985, 231-253.

Guardiola, R. R. (2015). "It is like Soho, only bigger": Doctor who and modern interpretations of Pompeii. In M. G., Morcillo, P., Hanesworth & Ó. L., Marchena (Eds.). *Imagining Ancient Cities on Film: From Babylon to Cinecittà* (pp. 184-201). New York: Routledge.

Guhl, E. K. &Koner, W. D. (1876). *The life of the Greeks and Romans: Described from antique monuments*. Chatto & Windus.

Guynn, W. (2006). *Writing history in film*. London: Routledge.

Güven, S. (2004). Bir Dionysos ayininde zaman ve mekan. *Sanat ve İnanç*, 1, 287-294.

Hales, S. & Paul, J. (Eds.). (2011). *Pompeii in the public imagination from its rediscovery to today*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hannany, J. (Ed.). (2013). *Encyclopedia of nineteenth-century photography*. London: Routledge.

Harris, J. (2007). *Pompeii awakened: A story of rediscovery*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Harrison, S. (2011). Bulwer-Lytton's the last days of pompeii: Re-creating the city. In S., Hales & P., Joanna (Eds.). *Pompeii in the public imagination from its rediscovery to today* (pp. 75-89). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hartnett, J. (2017). *The Roman street: Urban life and society in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Henes, M., & Murray, B. H. (Eds.). (2016). *Travel writing, visual culture, and form, 1760-1900*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Horrocks, P. (2000). *The architecture of the forum of Pompeii*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Adelaide, Adelaide.

Howells, W. D. (1908). *Roman holidays and others*. New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers. Retrieved from https://archive.org/ (Original work published 1908).

Hulme, P. & Youngs, T. (Eds.). (2002). *The cambridge companion to travel writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ivanovic, M. (2008). *Cultural tourism*. Cape Town: Juta and Company.

Jacob, S., & Colpaert, L. (2017). From Pompeii to marienbad: Classical sculptures in postwar european modernist cinema. In S., Jacobs, S., Felleman, V. Adriaensens, and L., Colpaert (Eds.). *Screening statues: Sculpture in film* (pp. 118-136). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Jacobs, S. (2011). *Framing pictures: Film and the visual arts*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Jameson, J. H., Ehrenhard, J. E., & Finn, C. (Eds.). (2003). *Ancient muses: Archaeology and the arts*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Jenkyns, R. (1995). Late antiquity in English novels of the nineteenth century. *Arion,* 3 (2/3), 141-166. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/20163576

Jones, N. B. (2019). *Painting, ethics and aesthetics in Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kessler, F. (2012). The gentleman in the stalls: Georges Méliès and spectatorship in early cinema. In C., Ian (Ed.). *Audiences: Defining and researching screen entertainment reception* (pp. 35-44). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kleiner, F. S. (2016). *A history of Roman art* (2nd ed.). Boston: Cengage Learning.

Laidlaw, A. (2007). Mining the early published sources problems and pitfalls. In J. J., Dobbins & P. W., Foss (Eds.). *The world of Pompeii* (pp. 620-632). London: Routledge.

Laurence, R. (2010). *Roman Pompeii: Space and society*. London: Routledge.

Laurence, R., & Newsome, D. J. (Eds.). (2011). *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and space.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Laurence, R., Cleary, S. E., and Sears, G. (2011). *The City in the Roman West, c. 250 BC–c. AD 250*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lazer, E. (2009). *Resurrecting Pompeii*. London and New York: Routledge.

Light, W. and Harding, J. D. (1828). *Views of Pompeii*. Retrieved from https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/ (Original work published 1828).

Lindeman, C. K. (2017). *Representing duchess Anna Amalia's bildung: A visual metamorphosis in portraiture from political to personal in eighteenth-century Germany*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Ling, R. (1991). *Roman painting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ling, R. (2007). Development of Pompeii's public landscape in the Roman period. In J. J., Dobbins & P. W., Foss (Eds.). *The world of Pompeii* (pp.119-128). London: Routledge.

Lockhart, J. G. (1838). *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart (Vol. 1)*. Edinburgh: R. Cadell.

Londré, F. H., (1999). *The history of world theater: From the english restoration to the present*. New York: The Continuum.

Lyons, C. L., Papadopoulos, J.K., Stewart, L.S., & Maszak, A. S. (Eds.) (2005). *Antiquity and photography: Early views of ancient mediterranean sites*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

MacBean, A. (1773). *A Dictionary of ancient geography*. London: G. Robinson.

Macchioro, V. (1929). *A lightning spark for Pompeian visitors*. Retrieved from https://archive.org/ (Original work published 1929).

Magill, F. N. (1999). *Dictionary of world biography, Volume 4: The 17th and 18th centuries*. New York: Routledge.

Maiuri, A. (1951). *Guide-books to the museums, galleries and monuments of Italy-Pompeii*. Rome: La Libreria Dello Stato.

Manning, S. (1870). *Italian pictures, drawn with pen and pencil*. Retrieved from https://archive.org/ (Original work published 1870).

Marlow-Mann, A. (2016). Whose heritage? *noi credevamo* (we believed) and the national, regional and transnational dynamics of the risorgimento film. In P., Cooke & R. Stone (Eds.). *Screening european heritage: Creating and consuming history on film* (pp. 45-60). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mau, A. (1982). *Pompeii: Its life and art*. New Rochelle: Caratzas Brothers.

Mayer, E. (2012). *The ancient middle classes: Urban life and aesthetics in the Roman empire, 100 BCE–250 CE*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mazois, F. (1824). *Les ruines de Pompéi*. Librarie de Firmin Didot frères. Retrieved from https://archive.org/ (Original work published 1824).

McKay, A. G. (1998). *Houses, villas, and palaces in the Roman world*. Baltimore: Thames and Hudson.

McNee, A. (2017). *The new mountaineer in late victorian Britain: Materiality, modernity, and the haptic sublime*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Michelakis, P., & Wyke, M. (Eds.) (2013). Introduction: Silent cinema, antiquity and 'the exhaustless urn of time'. In P., Michelakis and M., Wyke (Eds.). *The ancient world in silent cinema* (pp. 1- 24). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mills, V. (2016). Photography, travel writing and tactile tourism: Extra-illustrating the marble faun. In M., Henes & B. H., Murray (Eds.). *Travel writing, visual culture, and form, 1760-1900* (pp. 65-86). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Montègre, G. (2012). Science et archéologie au siècle des Lumières: Pompéi et la vision de l'antique dans les Ephémérides du naturaliste François de Paule Latapie. In *Du voyage savant aux territoires de l'archéologie: Voyageurs, amateurs et savants à l'origine de l'archéologie moderne, collection De l'Archéologie à l'Histoire* (pp. 127-148). Paris: De Boccard.

Moormann, E. (2009). Villas surrounding Pompeii and Herculaneum. In J. J., Dobbins & P. W. Foss (Eds.). *The world of Pompeii* (pp. 435-454). London: Routledge.

Moormann, E. (2015). *Pompeii's ashes: The reception of the cities buried by Vesuvius in literature, music, and drama*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Mori, J. (2010). *The culture of diplomacy: Britain in Europe, c. 1750-1830*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Morris-Suzuki, T. (2005). *The past within us: Media, memory, history*. London: Verso.

Murray, B. H. (2016). Introduction: Forms of travel, modes of transport. In M., Henes & B. H., Murray (Eds.). *Travel writing, visual culture, and form, 1760-1900* (pp. 1-20). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cassanelli, R., Ciapparelli, P. L., Colle, E. & David, M. (2002). *Houses and monuments of Pompeii: The works of Fausto and Felice Niccolini*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Nichols, M. F. (2017). Domestic interiors, national concerns: The pompeian style in the United States. In K., Stackelberg & E., Macaulay-Lewis (Eds.). *Housing the new Romans: Architectural reception and classical style in the modern world* (pp. 126-152). New York: Oxford University Press.

Nilsen, M. (2017). *Architecture in nineteenth-century photographs: Essays on reading a collection*. London and New York: Routledge.

Occhipinti, E. (2011). *Travelling in and out of Italy: 19th and 20th-century notebooks, letters and essays*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Orr, D. G. (1972). *Roman domestic religion: A study of the Roman household deities and their shrines at Pompeii and Herculaneum*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Maryland, Maryland.

Özgenel, L. (2008). A tale of two cities: In search for ancient Pompeii and Herculaneum. *METU JFA*, 25 (1), 1-25.

Özgenel, L. (2000). Between public and private: Investigating privacy in the Roman domestic context. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

Pearson, R. (Ed.). (2006). *The victorians and the ancient world: Archaeology and classicism in nineteenth-century culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge Scholar Press.

Pesando, F. (2006). Shadows of light: Cinema, peplum, and Pompeii. In P. G., Guzzo (Ed.). *Stories from an eruption: Pompeii, Herculaneum, Oplontis: A guide to the exhibition* (pp. 34-43). Milan: Electra.

Petersen, L. H. (2011). *The freedman in Roman art and art history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Peto, H. (2005). Shadows from Pompeii and the work of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema. *Garden History*, 33 (2), 256-273.

Pettitt, C. (2016). Topos, taxonomy and travel in nineteenth-century women's scrapbooks. In M., Henes & B. H., Murray (Eds.). *Travel writing, visual culture, and form, 1760-1900* (pp. 21-41). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Poehler, E.E., Flohr, M., & Cole, K. (Eds.). (2011*). Pompeii: Art, industry, and infrastructure.* Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Pucci, G. (2013). Peplum, melodrama and musicality: Giuliano L'apostata (1919). In P., Michelakis and M., Wyke (Eds.). *The ancient world in silent cinema* (pp. 247-261). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Redford, B. (2008). *Dilettanti, the antic and the antique in eighteenth-century England.* Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Richards, J. (2009). *The ancient world on the victorian and edwardian stage*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Riggsby, A. M. (1997). Public and private in Roman culture: The case of the *cubiculum. Journal of Roman Archaeology,* 10, 36-56.

Roettgen, S. (2013). German painters in Naples and their contribution to the revival of antiquity, 1760-1799. In C. C., Mattusch (Ed.). *Rediscovering the ancient world on the bay of Naples, 1710-1890* (pp. 123-140). New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Rolfe, E. N. (1884). *Pompeii, past and present*. Retrieved from https://archive.org/ (Original work published 1884).

Rosen, P. (1984). Securing the historical: Historiography and the classical cinema. In P., Rosen & P., Mellencamp (Eds.). *Cinema histories, cinema practices* (pp. 17-34). Frederick: American Film Institute.

Rosenstone, R. A. (2013). The history film as a mode of historical thought. In R. A., Rosenstone & C., Parvulescu (Eds.). *A Companion to the historical film* (pp. 71-87). Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rosenstone, R. A. (2015). Reflections on What the Filmmaker Historian Does (to history). In J. M., Carlsten& F., Mcgarry (Eds.). *Film, history and memory* (pp. 183-196). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Röttger, K (2017). Technologies of spectacle and 'the birth of the modern world', a proposal for an interconnected historiographic approach to spectacular cultures. *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis,* 20 (2), 4-29.

Rowland, I. D. (2014). *From Pompeii: The afterlife of a Roman town*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Sarat, A. D., Wolfson, B., Dole, C., Hayashi, R. & Poe, A. (Eds.). (2015). *The time of catastrophe: Multidisciplinary approaches to the age of catastrophe*. New York and London: Routledge.

Scafati Pompeii. (1900). *Guide to Pompeii, illustrated.* Pompeian Tipographical Establishment and Library. Retrieved from https://archive.org/ (Original work published 1900).

Schnapp, A. (2013). The antiquarian culture of eighteenth-century Naples as a laboratory of new ideas. In C. C., Mattusch (Ed.). *Rediscovering the ancient world on the bay of Naples, 1710-1890* (pp. 13-34). New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Scotti, N. (1907). *Three hours in Pompeii, a real and practical guide-book compiled in harmony with description given by Bulwer Lytton in his work entitled "the last days of Pompeii"*. Retrieved https://archive.org/ (Original work published 1907).

Sear, F. (2002). *Roman architecture.* London: Routledge.

Sider, D. (2005). *The library of the villa dei papiri at Herculaneum*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.

Skeat, W. W. (1884). *An etymological dictionary of the english language*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Smith, F. W. (1891). *Handbook of the Pompeia: A reproduction of the house of pansa at Pompeii, buried by Vesuvius a.d. 79: A grand Roman house, illustrating the art, architecture, mythology, and customs of the Roman empire*. Retrieved from https://archive.org/.

Smollet, T. (2005). *Travels in France and Italy*. New York: Cosimo Classics.

Soren, D. and Soren, N. (1999). *A roman villa and a late roman infant cemetery excavation at poggio gramignano (lugnano in teverina)*. Roma: L'erma Di Bretschneider.

Speake, J. (2003). *Literature of travel and exploration: An encyclopedia*. New York: Fitzroy Bearborn.

Stähli, A. (2012). Screening Pompeii: The last days of Pompeii in cinema. In L., Kenneth, J. L., Seydl & V., Coates (Eds.). *The last days of Pompeii: Decadence, apocalypse, resurrection* (pp. 78-88). Los Angeles: Getty Publications.

Starke, M. (1837). *Travels in Europe*. London: John Murray.Retrieved from https://archive.org/.

Stobart, J. (Ed.). (2017). *Travel and the british country house: Cultures, critiques and consumption in the long eighteenth century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Strobel, H. A. (2005–6). Royal "matronage" of women artists in the late-18th century*, Woman's Art Journal,* 26 (2), 3-9.

Strocka, V. M. (2009). Domestic decoration painting and the "four styles". In J. J., Dobbins & P. W. Foss (Eds.). *The world of Pompeii* (pp. 302-322). London: Routledge.

Stulik, D.C, & Kaplan, A. (2013). *The atlas of analytical signatures of photographic processes: Cyanotype*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Swanzy, W. W. (1889). *Pompeii, Evelyn and other poems*. New York: G. W. Dillingham.

Tarabra, D. (2008). *European art of the eighteenth century*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Tashiro, C. (1996). When history films (try to) become paintings, *Cinema Journal*, 35 (3:19), 19-33.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin (1987), New Series, 45 (3).

Thompson, J. (2019). *Queen Caroline and Sir William Gell, a study in royal patronage and classical scholarship*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tobin, R. (1990). Ancient perspective and Euclid's optics, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 53*,* 14-41.

Tuck, S. L. (2015). *A History of Roman Art.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Urry, J. (1999). Sensing leisure spaces. In D., Crouch (Ed.). *Leisure/tourism geographies: Practices and geographical knowledge* (pp. 34-45). London: Routledge.

Ventura, F. S. (2015). Pompeii in film. In M., Osanna, M. T., Caracciolo, & L., Gallo (Eds.). *Pompeii and Europe, 1748, 1943* (pp. 336-343). Milano: Electa.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1994). *Houses and society in Pompeii and Herculaneum.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1996). Engendering the Roman House. In D., Kleiner and S. B., Matheson (Eds.). *I Claudia, women in ancient rome* (pp. 104-115). New Haven: Yale University Art Press.

Weichardt, C. (1898). *Pompéi Avant sa Destruction: Reconstitution de ses Temples et de leurs Environs*. Librairie Etrangere.

Williams, M. (2012). *Film stardom, myth and classicism: The rise of Hollywood's gods*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Winckelmann, J. J. (2011). *Letter and report on the discoveries at Herculaneum*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.

Winkler, J. J. & Zeitlin, F. I. (Eds.) (1992). *Nothing to do with dionysos? Athenian drama in its social context*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Winkler, M. M. (Ed.). (2001). *Classical myth and culture in the cinema*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wyke, M. (2013). Silent laughter and the counter-historical: Buster Keaton's three ages. In P., Michelakis and M., Wyke (Eds.). *The ancient world in silent cinema* (pp. 275-296). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wyke, M. (2013). *Projecting the Past: Ancient Rome, Cinema and History*. London: Routledge.

Wyke, M. (2019). Mobilizing Pompeii for italian silent cinema, *Classical Receptions Journal*, 11(4), 453-475.

Yegül, F. & Favro, D. (2019). *Roman architecture and urbanism: From the origins to late antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yacavone, D. (2015). *Film worlds: A philosophical aesthetics of cinema*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Zanker, P. (1988). The power of images in the age of Augustus. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Zanker, P. (1998). *Pompeii: Public and private life*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Zarmakoupi, M. (ed.) (2010). *The villa of the papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, reception, and digital reconstruction*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

URL Sources

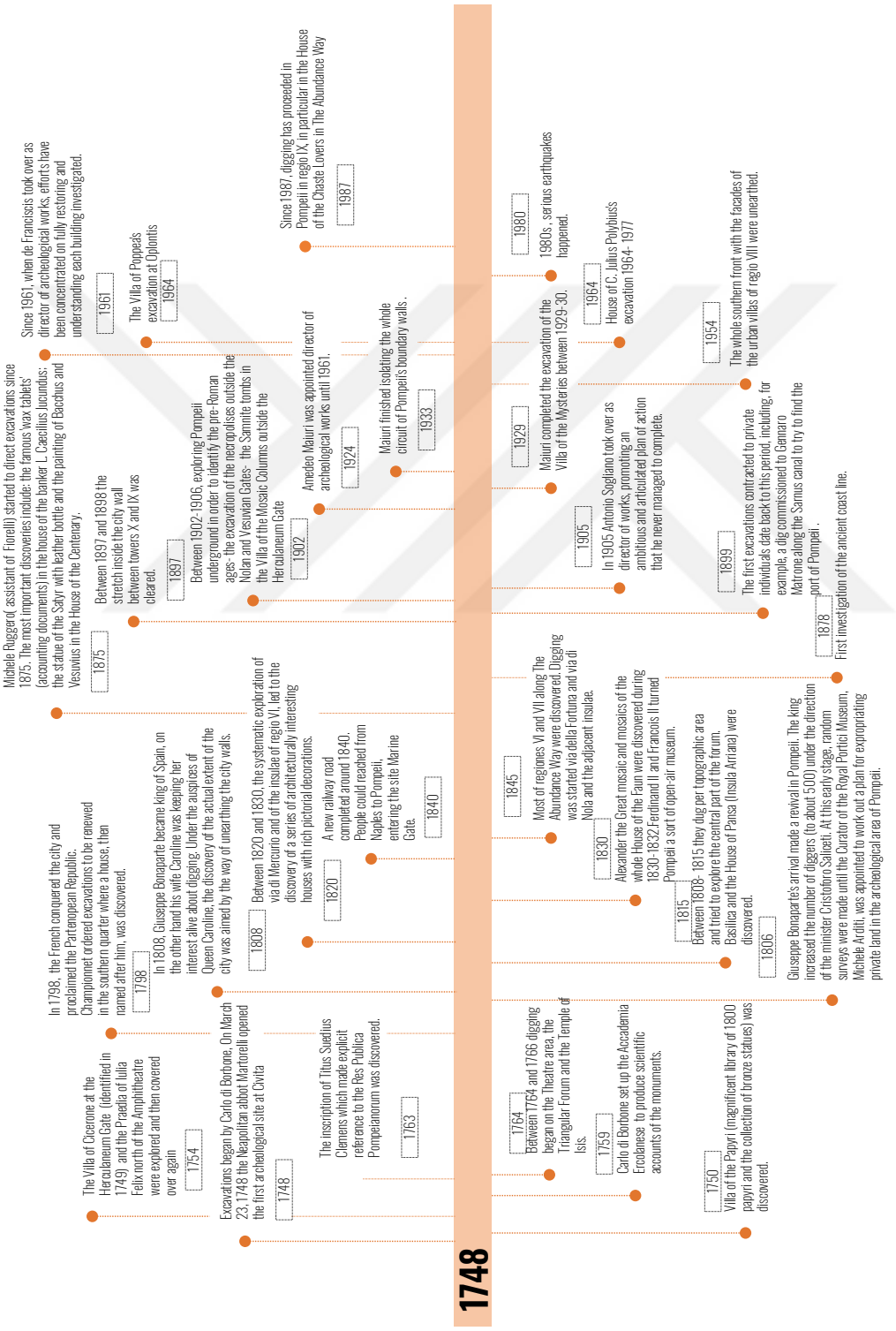
http://archive.org/details/gri_33125008559359, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/guidetopompeiiil00scafiala, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/handbookofpompei00pomp, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/handbookofromeca00john_0, last visited: July 2020.

http://archive.org/details/lastdaysofpompei01lyttuoft, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/lastdaysofpompei02lyttuoft, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/lastdaysofpompei03lyttuoft, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/lesruinesdepompi00mazo_2, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/lightningsparkfo00macciala, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/pensketchesstree00ackerich, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/pencilitalian00mannrich, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/pompeiibeforeits00weic, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/pompeiievelynoth00swan, last visited: July 2020.
https://archive.org/details/pompeiiitshisto02dyergoog, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/pompeiipopular00neviiala, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/romanholidaysoth00howeiala, last visited: July 2020.
http://archive.org/details/threehoursinpomp00scotiala, last visited: July 2020.
https://ancient.eu/image/9711/pompeii-fresco-with-lares, last visited: June 2020.
https://annona.de/alben/Rive%20Roberto%20Album%20Pompei/index.html, last visited: June 2020.
https://archive.org/details/handbookofpompei00pomp/mode/2up, last visited: June 2020.
https://archive.org/details/palacepark00Phil/page/n47/mode/2up, last visited: June 2020.
https://archive.org/details/pompeiipastprese00fisc, last visited: June 2020.
https://archive.org/details/ramblesinnaplesa00forbiala, last visited: June 2020.
https://art.famsf.org/anonymous/theatre-pompeii-19633037888, last visited: June 2020.
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=gri.ark:/13960/t40s00r15&view=1up&seq=1, last visited: June 2020.
https://bl.uk/collection-items/section-of-the-rotunda-leicester-square, last visited: June 2020.
https://bukowskis.com/en/auctions/597/77-the-pictorial-travel-journey-scrapbook of-roger-bjornstjerna-s-1827-1910-grand-tour-in-europe-1857-1859, last visited: July 2020.
https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100236188, last visited: June 2020.
https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100818249, last visited: June 2020.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sommer,_Giorgio_(1834-1914)_
_n._343_Anfiteatro_(Pompei).jpg, last visited: June 2020.
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84477564.item, last visited: June 2020.
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531370230.item, last visited: June 2020.
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k106986n, last visited: June 2020.
https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb42625683k, last visited: June 2020.
https://clevelandart.org/events/exhibitions/last-days-of-pompeii/slideshow-giovanni-pacini-opera, last visited: June 2020.
https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:3873831, last visited: June 2020.
https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e4-37d7-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99, last visited: June 2020.
http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglitData/tmp/pdf/gell1832bd1.pdf, last visited: June 2020.
http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglitData/tmp/pdf/gell1832bd2.pdf, last visited: June 2020.
http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglitData/tmp/pdf/kockel2006.pdf, last visited: June 2020.
http://dutchstudies2018.humanities.uva.nl/index.php/2018/10/14/the-grand-tour/, last visited: June 2020. http://filmcolors.org, last visited: June 2020.
https://filmstarpostcards.blogspot.com/2015/10/gli-ultimi-giorni-di-pompei-1926.html, last visited: July 2020.
http://getty.edu/art/exhibitions/pompeii/interactives/opera/index.htmlhttp://heir.arch.ox.ac.uk, last visited: June 2020.
https://thegetty.tumblr.com/post/31478846840/glaucus-and-nydia-1867-lawrence-alma-tadema-the, last visited: June 2020.

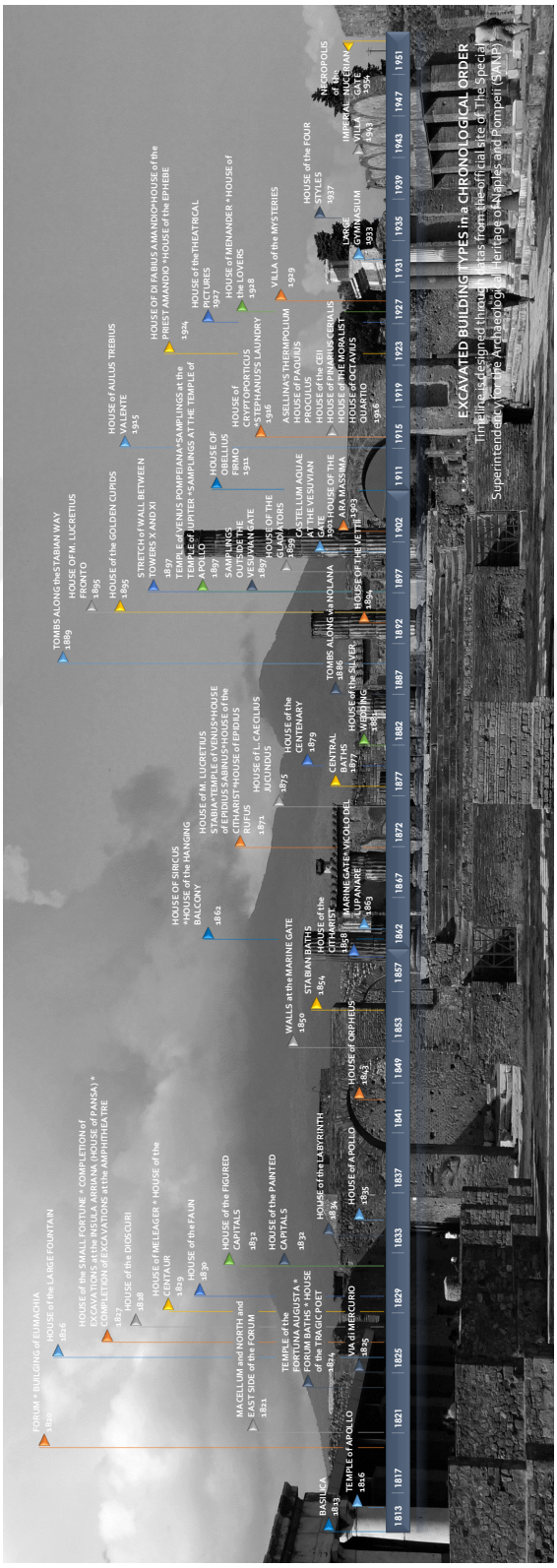
https://herculaneum.uk/Maps/Plan%20Herculaneum%201758%20Villa%20Ercolanese%20dei%20Pisoni%20(dei%20Papyri)%20Weber.jpg, last visited: June 2020.
https://knebworthhouse.com/amazing-interiors/, last visited: July 2020.
http://kulturpool.at/plugins/kulturpool/showitem.action?itemId=4295193798&kupoContext=default, last visited: June 2020.
http://kulturpool.at/plugins/kulturpool/showitem.action?itemId=4295193819&kupoContext=default, last visited: June 2020.
https://metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/305832, last visited: June 2020.
http://metmuseum.org/toah/hd/banq/hd_banq.htm, last visited: June 2020.
http://metmuseum.org/toah/hd/rppi/hd_rppi.htm, last visited: June 2020.
https://moma.org/collection/works/48018, last visited: June 2020.
https://muromaestro.files.wordpress.com/2020/01/1926-5.jpg, last visited: June 2020.
https://mutualart.com/Artwork/OUTSIDE-THE-GATE-OF-POMPEII/EB2FE3D84F9F46A1, last visited: July 2020.
https://ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/3699/, last visited: June 2020.
https://pompeiiinpictures.com, last visited: July 2020.
http://pompeiisites.org, last visited: July 2020.
https://sempreinpenombra.com/2008/11/05/il-cinematografo-nel-1908/, last visited: June 2020.
https://ssplprints.com/image/112713/ellis-alexander-john-pompeii-the-forum-from-the-south-east-angle-1841http://the-athenaeum.org, last visited: June 2020.
https://wga.hu/html_m/b/bonomi/packing1.html, last visited: June 2020.
https://worthpoint.com/worthopedia/antique-albumen-prints-photographs 1776053885, last visited: June 2020.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lEy00E-GSUo
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7OjaZVLbthU&list=PLt0FZQCmrC013pY-xxKpCIaRSffWTYGbY&index=6
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MoZHuoNtHDw&list=PLt0FZQCmrC013pY-xxKpCIaRSffWTYGbY&index=10&t=0s
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mF5MIb035_c&list=PLt0FZQCmrC013pY-xxKpCIaRSffWTYGbY&index=12&t=0s
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EATt71x6wVk&list=PLt0FZQCmrC013pY-xxKpCIaRSffWTYGbY&index=20&t=0s
https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x659xar

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A TIMELINE OF DISCOVERIES AND EXCAVATIONS



APPENDIX B CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF EXCAVATIONS



APPENDIX C CATEGORIZATION of WALL PAINTINGS

The wall paintings of Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae were admired for nearly a century and a half after their discovery without being stylistically categorised. It was Mau who first stated that it was possible to distinguish stylistic periods in the wall paintings, based on the observations of a relative chronology and precise typological gradations in the late 19th century. In 1882, he published a large corpus, identifying at least four styles (named as First, Second, Third, Fourth Style). However, the dates of the transitions from the First to the Second Style and from the Third to the Fourth Style are now thought to have happened approximately two decades earlier than Mau's chronology (Dobbins and Foss, 2009).

To remind briefly; the First Style imitated slabs of colorful marble (Figure 1), the Second Style added architectural motifs and landscapes for the sake of giving an illusion of depth (Figure 2), the Third Style included a type of fantasy architecture which was often used to frame a picture (Figure 3) and the Fourth Style which included elements referring to the Second Style was a continuation of the Third Style in which architectural elements became more wiry and the pictures got smaller or disappeared (Figure 4) (Conolly, 1990).

Figure 1. Photographs displaying the wallpainting styles, author's archive, 2017, (a) The First Style, House of Sallust, 4th century BC, (b) The Second Style, Villa of the Mysteries, 2nd century BC, (c) The Third Style, House of the Vetti, 1st century BC, (d) The Fourth Style, House of the Vetti, 1st century BC

First Style Wall-Painting

The First Style (ca.200-60 B.C.) survived in the form of painted plaster and stucco. It has a flat surface with marble blocks with various colors and types on painted plaster. House of the Trident (Delos), House of the Comedians (Delos), House of Sallust (Pompeii) and Samnite House (Herculaneum) are the prominent examples of the first style (Ling, 1991, pp. 12-22).

Second Style Wall-Painting

The Second Style used painted columns in front of marble surfaces. In the early period of the Second Style, before the middle of the first century B.C., the stone walls of the First Style painting were preserved, yet in an imaginary foreground and the columns seemed to break through the picture surfaces. In the architectural vistas, deeply receding colonnades and projections of column bases into the viewer's space became commonplace. Often the wall was no longer acknowledged and simply embellished. The Second Style is best exemplified in the wall paintings of Villa of the Mysteries near Pompeii and the Villa of Publius Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale.

"Accordingly, the Second Style gradually develops into complex architectural systems that open up the illusion of space between the columns into a view of landscape or architecture beyond- the *durchblick* or view-through" (Fredrick, 2003, p. 325). Allusion and sequence, were achieved by such devices as perspective and depth and in particular with painted columns and colonnades. When the viewer looked at such paintings obliquely, he/she saw the gradual contraction of colonnades, roofs and floors to the apex of a cone; "this illusion, which is reproduced in the porticos painted on Roman walls from the mid-first century B.C., became a popular device used to suggest depth and distance in landscapes" (Bergmann, 1991, p. 60).

Effects of perspective is discussed by Panofsky who used the terminology of ancient optics. In his 1927 essay, *Die Perspektive als 'Symbolische Form'*, Panofsky stated that the ancient painters did not develop a central point projection because of the conflict between the basic principles of classical optics which is the proportionality of apparent magnitudes

and their visual angles. He termed this tenet as 'angle axiom' and pointed out that it is affirmed in the Euclid's optics which he translated as "the apparent difference between equal magnitudes seen from unequal distances is by no means proportional to these distances" (Tobin, 1990, p. 14).

Third Style Wall-Painting

In the Third Style, the wall turned into a flat surface supported by columns and panels. The remarkable examples of the first phase of the Third Style are seen in the Villa Imperiale and House of Spurious Mesor at Pompeii, and Villa of Agrippa Postumus at Boscotrecase. Examples of the Second phase are found in House of Epidius Sabinus, House of Sulpicius Rufus, House of J. Caecilius Lucundus, House of M. Lucretius Fronto, House of the Orchard at Pompeii, and House of the Priest Amandus at Boscotrecase.

"While treating most of the wall as a flat surface, The Third Style places in its center a new kind of perspectival slot or hole, a mythological or pastoral scene with its own recessional space" (Fredrick, 2003, p. 325) (Figure 2.84). According to Ling (1991):

> The painting of the third style manifests itself chiefly in a reaction against effects of volume, space and atmosphere: witness the treatment of the fantastic architecture in the frieze and the upper zone with its fragile but firmly rendered forms and total lack of aerial perspective. The figure-painting too largely eschews effects the volume and space… The small cupids, landscape vignettes, Egyptianising figures, griffins and such like which appear in the middle of fields are reduced by their isolation and the unreality of their colored backgrounds virtually to the role of abstract ornaments… Above all, they are rendered in a style that subordinates plastic form to precision and clarity of outline. (p. 57)

Fourth Style Wall-Painting

The Fourth Style combined the features of the earlier three styles. It used the perspectival architectural systems of the Second Style with the mythological scenes of the Third Style (Fredrick, 2003, 325). During the Fourth Style (ca. A.D. 20-79), there was a revival of interest in the simulation of depth on the painted wall and the depiction of fantastic panoramas, as well as a revived emphasis on narrative painting. The Fourth Style has two phases: the first phase is called transitional and early phase while the second style called mature period. The examples of the first phase can be seen in Tuscanic Collonade in

Herculaneum, House of the Mirror, House of Caecilius Lucundus, House of the Menander, House of Neptune at Pompeii, House of the Vettii and House of the Prince of Naples at Pompeii, and Villa Varano and Villa San Marco at Stabiae. The examples of the second period can be seen in House of Pinarius Cerialis, House of Apollo, House of the Vettii, House of the Dioscuri, House of Loreius Tiburtunus, House of M. Fabius Rufus, House of the Red Walls, House of the Centenary in Pompeii and House of the Stags in Herculaneum. In addition to the 'scenographic' decorations repeating schemes of 'wallpaper' patterns are used in the walls. The remarkable examples are in House of Pinarius Serialis, House of the Gilded Cupids, House of the Coloured Capitals and House of the Ceii at Pompeii, and Villa Varano at Stabiae.

APPENDIX D LIST OF FILMS ON POMPEII

DATE	TITLE	REGION	DIRECTOR	GENRE	FILMING LOCATIONS	TYPE	PRODUCTION COMPANY
1898	*Neapolitan Dance at the Ancient Forum of Pompeii*	UK				Footage	British Mutoscope & Biograph Company
1900	*The Last Days of Pompeii*	UK	Walter R. Booth	Drama		Short	Robert W. Paul
1901	*Visit to Pompeii*	UK		Documentary			Warwick Trading Company
1901	*Forum at Pompeii*	UK		Documentary		Short	Warwick Trading Company
1907	*Pompei*	France		Documentary		Short	
1907	*Pompei*	France	Giovanni Vitrotti	Documentary		Short	
1908	*Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompeii*	Italy	Arturo Ambrosio, Luigi Maggi				Società Anonima Ambrosio
1908	*La rivale (Scene di vita di Pompei) The Rivals (A Love Drama of Pompeii)*			Drama		Short	Società Italiana Cines
1909	*Martire Pompeiana*	Italy	Giuseppe de Liguoro	Drama		Short	SAFFI-Comerio
1909	*The Last Days of Pompeii*	France		Drama		Short	Raleigh et Robert
1911	*Le Rovine di Pompei*	Italy		Documentary		Short	Latium Film
1913	*Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*	Italy	Mario Caserini, Eleuterio Rodolfi	Adventure, Drama			Società Anonima Ambrosio
1913	*Jone Ovvero Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*	Italy	Ubaldo Maria Del Colle, Giovanni Enrico Vidali				Pasquali e C., Vay e Hubert
1913	*A Visit to the Ruins of Pompeii*	France		Documentary		Short	Pathé Frères
1920	*L'affresco di Pompei*	Italy	Edmond Épardaud				Unione Cinematografica Italiana
1925	*La fanciulla di Pompei*	Italy					Lombardo Film
1926	*Gli ultimi giorni di Pompeii*	Italy	Carmine Gallone, Amleto Palermi	Drama, History			Società Italiana Grandi Films
1930	*Pompei negli scavi vecchi e nuovi*	Italy					Istituto Luce
1932	*El último dia de Pompeyo*	Spain	Francisco Elías				
1935	*The Last Days of Pompeii*	USA	Ernest B. Schoedsack, Merian C. Cooper	Adventure, Drama	Bronson Caves, Bronson Canyon, Griffith Park - 4730 Crystal Springs Drive, Los Angeles, California, USA RKO-Pathé Studios - 9336 Washington Blvd., Culver City, California, USA (studio)		
1940	*Los Ultimos Días de Pompeyo*	Mexico	Rafael E. Portas	Comedy, Drama			
1950	*Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei-Sins of Pompeii*	France, Italy	Marcel L'Herbier, Paolo Moffa	Drama, History	Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, Rome, Lazio, Italy (studio) Cinecittà Studios, Cinecittà, Rome, Lazio, Italy (studio) Studios de Saint-Maurice, Saint-Maurice, Val-de-Marne, France		
1958	*Pompei città della pittura (Pompeii, City of Painting)*	Italy				Short	
1959	*Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*	Italy, Spain, Germany, Monaco	Mario Bonnard	Action, Adventure, History	CEA Studios - Madrid, Spain (studio) (as Cinematografia Española Americana) Cinecittà Studios, Cinecittà, Rome, Lazio, Italy (studio) Pompeii, Italy		
1969	*Pompeji*	Austria	Jörg A. Eggers	Documentary		TV	

1971	*Up Pompeii*	UK	Bob Kellett	Comedy	Elstree Studios, Borehamwood, Hertfordshire, England, UK		
1979	*Pompeii*	USA	Seth Hill	Documentary, Sci-Fi		TV Series	
1984	*The Last Days of Pompeii*	Italy, UK, USA		Action, Drama, History, Romance	Pinewood Studios, Iver Heath, Buckinghamshire, England, UK (studio) Pompeii, Naples, Campania, Italy (location) Civitavecchia, Italy	TV Mini-Series	
1987	*Warrior Queen*	USA	Chuck Vincent	Drama	Rome, Lazio, Italy		
1991	*Further Up Pompeii*	UK	Ian Hamilton	Comedy		TV Movie	
1996	*Pompeii: Buried Alive*	USA		Documentary, History, Mystery		TV series	
1999	*The Dog of Pompeii*	USA	Garett Thomas	Drama	Half Moon Bay, California, USA San Carlos, California, USA San Francisco, California, USA	Short	
1999	*Lost Treasures of the Ancient World: Pompeii*	UK		Documentary		Video	
1999	*Pompeij - Zeitreise in die Antike, Italien*	Germany	Jens Dücker	Documentary			
2000	*The Riddle of Pompeii*	UK	Gary Johnstone		Pompeii, Naples, Campania, Italy	TV Movie	
2003	*Pompeii: The Last Day*	UK, France, Spain	Peter Nicholson	Drama, History	Monastir, Tunisia Ealing Studios, Ealing, London, England, UK Empire Studios, Latrach, Tunisia Hammamet, Tunisia	TV movie	
2003	*Pompeii: A City Rediscovered- Secrets of Archaeology*			History		TV series	
2005	*Escape from Pompeii*	Germany	Stuart Evans, Jean Flynn	Animation, Adventure			
2007	*Pompei, ieri, oggi, domani*	Italy		Drama	Bulgaria, Italy	TV Mini-Series	
2007	*Pompei*	Italy		History, Romance	Empire Studios, Hammamet, Tunisia (studio) Monastir, Tunisia	TV Mini-Series	
2007	*Pompeii*	USA	Bunker Seyfert	Action, Thriller	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA	Short	
2008	*The Fires of Pompeii - Doctor Who series 4 episode 2*	UK	Colin Teague	Adventure, Drama	Cinecittà Studios, Cinecittà, Rome, Lazio, Italy	TV series	
2009	*Rome, Naples & Pompeii*		Kevin McCloud	Documentary			
2009	*Pompeii: Buried Alive- Ancient Civilizations*	USA		Documentary, Biography, History			
2010	*Pompeii: Life & Death in a Roman Town*	UK	Paul Elston	Documentary, History		TV movie	
2011	*Pompeii: Back from the Dead*	UK	Paul Elston, Steffan Boje	Documentary, History		TV movie	
2012	*Pompeii*	Trinidad and Tobago, USA	Mark Thomas	Drama, Romance		Short	

2013	*Pompeii: The Mystery of the People Frozen in Time - Pompeji: Az idő fogságában rekedt emberek rejtélye*	UK	Chris Holt	Documentary, History		TV movie	
2014	*Pompeii*	Canada, Germany,USA	Paul W.S. Anderson	Action, Adventure, Drama	Cinespace Film Studios, Toronto, Ontario, Canada		
2014	*Apocalypse Pompeii*	USA	Ben Demaree	Action, Adventure, Drama	Sofia, Bulgaria (studio) Pompeii, Naples, Campania, Italy (location)		
2015	*Pompei Eternal Emotion*	Italy	Pappi Corsicato		Pompeii, Naples, Campania, Italy	Short	
2016	*The Gardens of Pompeii- Pompei - I Giardini dell'Ozio*	Italy	Simona Risi	Documentary		TV Movie	
2016	*Pompeii: New Secrets Revealed*	UK	Ian A. Hunt				
2016	*Pompeii with Michael Buerk*	UK		Documentary		TV movie	
2016	*Expedition Historian Webseries- Pompeii Preserved Part One*		Kim Childers			TV series	
2018	*Pompeii's Final Hours: New Evidence*	UK		History		TV Series	
2018	*Italy: Venice, Florence, Pompeii- Travels with Rich Sudborough*	USA				TV series	
2019	*Les Dernières Heures de Pompéi* *Last Hours of Pompeii*	France, Italy, Japan,USA, Belgium	Pierre Stine	Docu-fiction			Gédéon Programmes, Parc archéologique de Pompéi, CuriosityStream, AT-Prod, RAI - Rai Radiotelevisione Italiana, RTBF - Radio Télévision Belge Francophone, NHK Japan Broadcasting Corp

APPENDIX E SYNOPSIS OF THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII

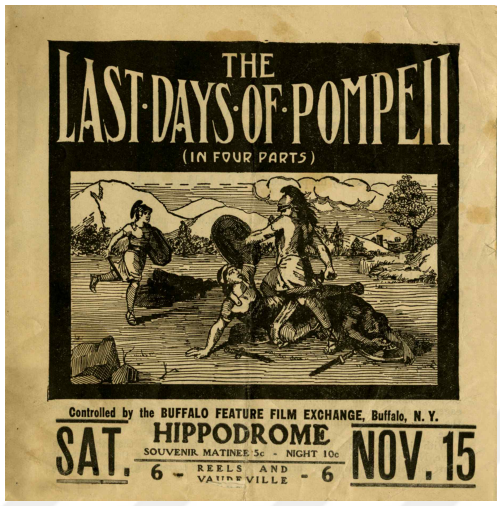
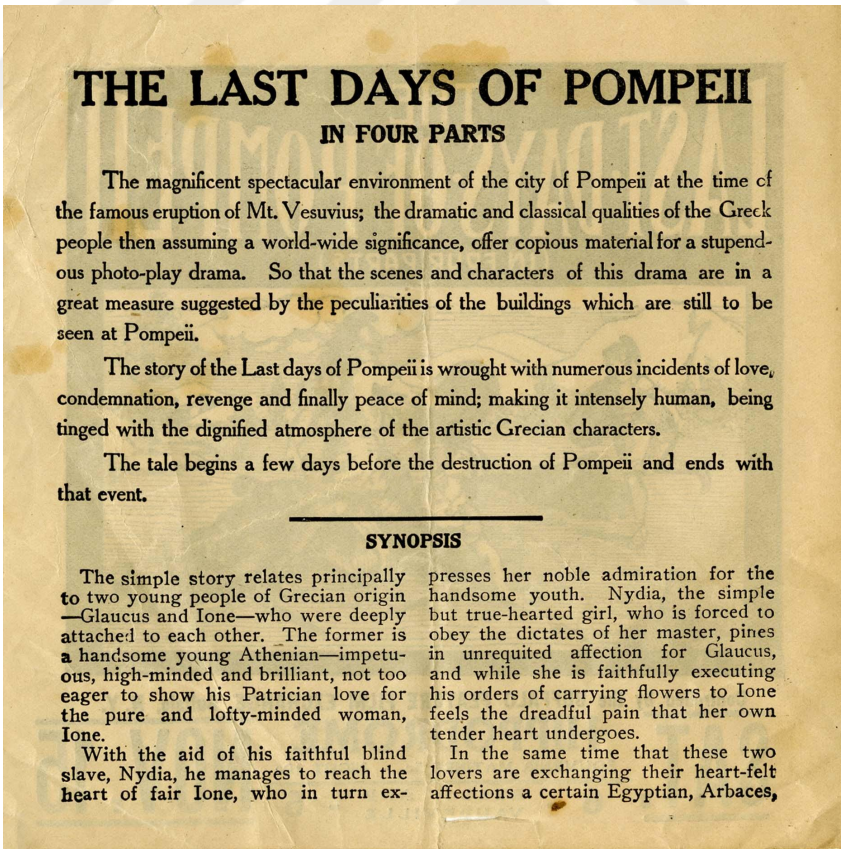


Figure 1. Advertisement for *The Last Days of Pompeii* in four parts at the Hippodrome, circa 1910-1919, Unknown Publisher, (Source: www. speccoll.library.arizona.edu)



THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII

IN FOUR PARTS

The magnificent spectacular environment of the city of Pompeii at the time of the famous eruption of Mt. Vesuvius; the dramatic and classical qualities of the Greek people then assuming a world-wide significance, offer copious material for a stupendous photo-play drama. So that the scenes and characters of this drama are in a great measure suggested by the peculiarities of the buildings which are still to be seen at Pompeii.

The story of the Last days of Pompeii is wrought with numerous incidents of love, condemnation, revenge and finally peace of mind; making it intensely human, being tinged with the dignified atmosphere of the artistic Grecian characters.

The tale begins a few days before the destruction of Pompeii and ends with that event.

SYNOPSIS

The simple story relates principally to two young people of Grecian origin —Glaucus and Ione—who were deeply attached to each other. The former is a handsome young Athenian—impetuous, high-minded and brilliant, not too eager to show his Patrician love for the pure and lofty-minded woman, Ione.

With the aid of his faithful blind slave, Nydia, he manages to reach the heart of fair Ione, who in turn expresses her noble admiration for the handsome youth. Nydia, the simple but true-hearted girl, who is forced to obey the dictates of her master, pines in unrequited affection for Glaucus, and while she is faithfully executing his orders of carrying flowers to Ione feels the dreadful pain that her own tender heart undergoes.

In the same time that these two lovers are exchanging their heart-felt affections a certain Egyptian, Arbaces,

Figure 2. Synopsis of *The Last Days of Pompeii*, circa 1910-1919, Unknown Publisher (Source: www. speccoll.library.arizona.edu)

THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII

the guardian of Ione and the villain of the story, under a cloak of sanctity and religion, indulges in low and criminal designs. He possesses a strange love for his ward, and while Ione does not feel altogether kind towards him, still she shows signs of gratitude for his past seemingly tender care for her.

With this attitude toward him Arbaces is not entirely pleased with Ione, and secretly plans to force his love upon his fair ward. By means of trickery the Egyptian invites the blind servant to administer a love potion to her good master, claiming that in that event Glaucus would immediately shower his affection upon her and forget the beautiful Ione.

Nydia, quite innocent and unable to perceive the treacherous intent of the cruel Arbaces, obeys him, and with the assistance of the witches administers a maddening potion instead, which suddenly enrages Glaucus and turns him into a raving madman.

Arbaces planned well so far, for he had just secretly murdered Apaecides, the brother of Ione, and when the populace learn of the condition of Glaucus resolve that the Athenian in a fit of insanity was responsible for the murder. Glaucus is imprisoned and condemned to appear in the arena with the hungry lions ready to devour their victims.

After being placed for days in the

THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII

gloomy and narrow cell in which the criminals of the arena await their last and fearful struggle, the unfortunate Athenian was brought before the thousands of mortals awaiting the gruesome spectacle. The people seemed to have little or no compassion for the hopeless youth, and instead there appeared one unanimous feeling of expectant joy as the hungry lion made his way toward the powerless victim.

The lion suddenly snuffed the air and made a wild dash, but not on the Athenian. The crowd grew resentful at the seeming cowardice of the beast, when suddenly a youth rushed into the midst of the amphitheatre and madly raised his hands in silence. "Remove the Athenian," he cried; "he is innocent. Arrest Arbaces, the Egyptian; he is the murderer of Apaecides."

Wild confusion occurred for the moment, and when Apaecides was given a chance to defend the accusation against him there instantly appeared a strange and glittering glow in his face that put a horrible shudder into every mortal frame in that vast assembly.

Then, after a sudden, dead, terrorizing silence, there arose an amalgamation of sharp shrieks and fierce yells that drowned the uppermost noises of any clamor and confusion heard before.

Beyond that vast amphitheatre could be seen the flaming eruption of Mount Vesuvius, surging forth with a maddening noise. Women shrieked, fainted; men by the thousands clamored for safety.

There was no thought of Glaucus or Arbaces now—the only feeling that was left in the hearts of the fateful throng resolved itself into one maddening rush for self-preservation.

Pompeii, which but a few brief moments ago stood in magnificence from the uppermost view of the amphitheatre, now appeared an indescribable mass of chaos and confusion. Men, women and children trampled upon one another; thousands upon thousands could be seen now turning sharply into fallen ruins, now running insanely into

Figure 3. Synopsis of *The Last Days of Pompeii*, circa 1910-1919, Unknown Publisher (Source: www. speccoll.library.arizona.edu)

THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII

fathomless eruption. Such discord and confusion, such terrifying looks can only be imagined by witnessing the wonderful reproduction in the human and everlasting photo-drama.

But during the horrible turmoil there could be seen the suffering figures of Ione and her lover. Upon cinders and molten rocks, alongside of gigantic fallen pillars, these two unfortunate creatures could be seen making their way on—they knew not where, and in the midst of their mystery they plainly caught the face of Arbaces coming from behind some ruins that almost crushed him.

The villainous Egyptian stood facing the two lovers for a few moments, and with a treacherous look summoned enough physical courage to thrust the weak and powerless Glaucus aside, and as Arbaces was about to embrace Ione the earth beneath him opened with a horrible gash and swallowed the infamous serpent.

With limbs trembling and just enough power to lift up the pitiful girl, who had fainted to the ground, Glaucus picked her up tenderly and with unsteady movements carried her far into the open road until they appeared alone, away from the ruined city.

All during this frightful event, Nydia, alone and forsaken, groped her way through the fallen ruins. As for herself she cared not, but her thought was centered on Glaucus—her only hope was to find him once more and to tell him how happy she felt that his innocence of the murder was brought about.

As if by magic, Glaucus, almost unable to believe his own eyes, saw the figure of his faithful blind girl majestically approaching him. With outstretched arms he bade her tell him why she had been so kind and good to him, but with the answer choking in

THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII

her throat the poor girl led the true lovers towards the shore in safety. In the darkness they put forth to sea, but as they cleared the land and caught the new aspects of the mountains, its channels of molten fire threw a partial redness over the waves.

Ione, entirely worn out and exhausted, slept on the breast of her lover, who soon joined her in her dreams; but the fair Nydia found no rest nor peace. Softly, and almost trembling with strange emotions, she silently walked into the depths of the waters until her beautiful form was drowned by the gushing torrents of the illuminated sea.

When Glaucus awoke from his sleep he gently touched Ione's arm. She awoke. Both gazed at each other, wondering, fearing. Then they wept in silence. They surmised the fate of Nydia, and as their little vessel drifted away from the ruined city they could see nothing but the seething, almost incessant smoke of ashes from the remains of the trampled inhabitants and their equally unfortunate homes.

We are led through the various points of interest in this photo-play—from the beginning of the beautiful romance of the lovers into the intricate plottings of the villain—until we reach the inexhaustible confusion of the wild, maddening inhabitants of Pompeii.

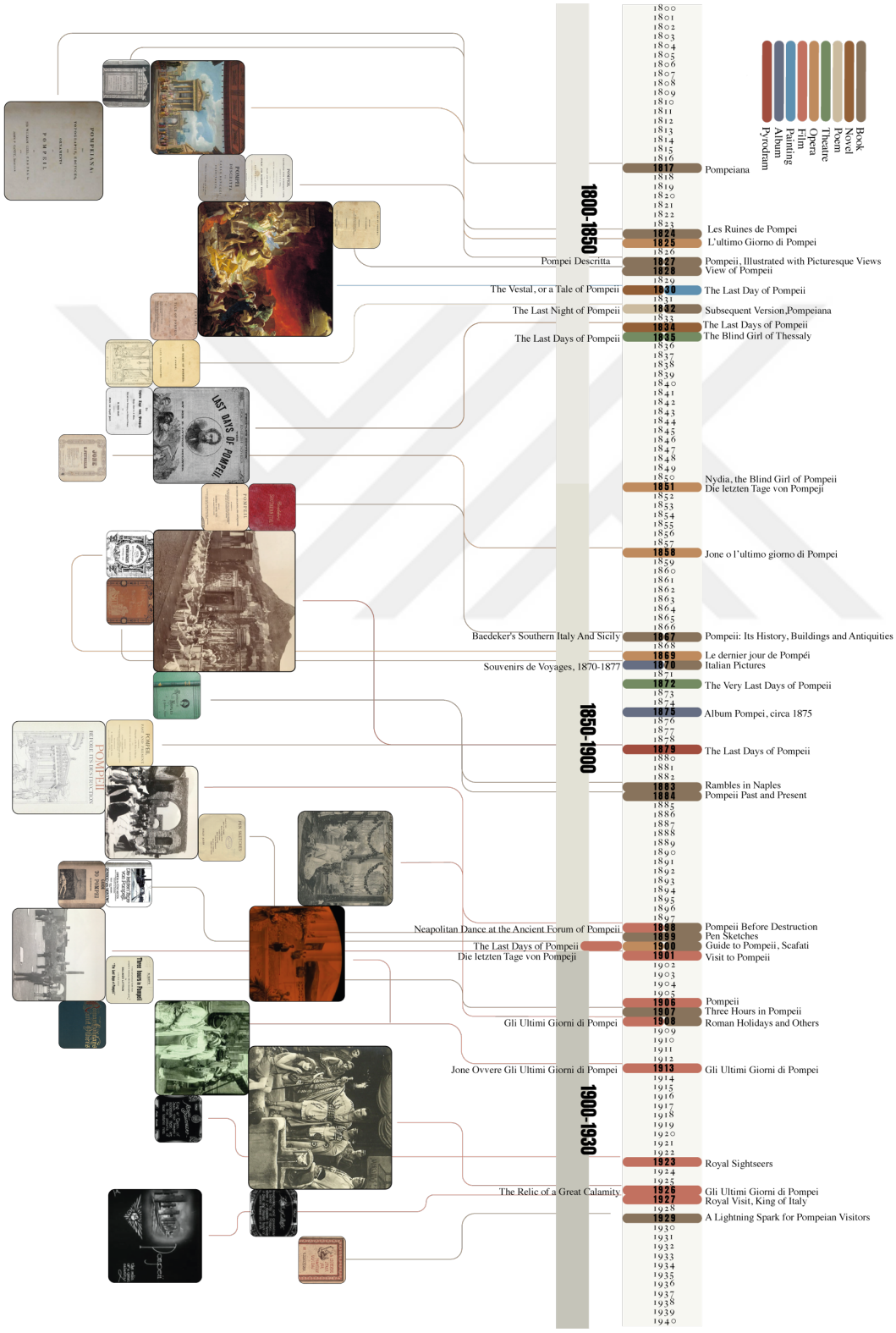
The story, full of learning and spirit, is not only a charming story, but contains a gorgeous spectacle of the beautiful city of Pompeii; its magnificent amphitheatre, its luxurious and classical buildings, its baths full of color and architecture.

The insane multitude at the time of the volcanic eruption brings to the eye a feeling of terror and awe—a sensation that can always be remembered and which no adequate words can describe.

In brief, it is a photo-drama never to be forgotten when once seen.

Figure 4. Synopsis of *The Last Days of Pompeii*, circa 1910-1919, Unknown Publisher (Source: www. speccoll.library.arizona.edu)

APPENDIX F CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF BOOKS and ARTWORKS ON POMPEII



APPENDIX G CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Atacan, Aylin
Turkish (TC)
atacanaylin@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
PhD	Program of Architectural History Middle East Technical University	2020
MS	Program of Architecture, Faculty of Architecture Gazi University	2012
BS	Faculty of Architecture Anadolu University	2009

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2014-2019	Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture	Research Assistant
2015-Present	Atelier IvI	Co-founder
2013	Anadolu University, Faculty of Architecture	Visiting Instructor
2009-2012	Erk Mimarlık	Architect
2009	Anadolu University	Project Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Beginner Spanish and Italian

PUBLICATIONS

Atacan, A. (2016) "Rethinking the House in Roman Context from the Perspective of Film Studies", *Art Sanat Special Issue*, pp. 19-30.

Atacan, A. (2019) "Ankara as a Cinema Set; Reading Architectural History of the city through 'Ankara Films'", *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 7(1), pp. 125-146.

PRESENTATIONS

2019- "Bir Sinema Seti Olarak Ankara; Ankara Filmleri", Presentation organized by The Architects' Association 1927, 15 January, Ankara

2018- *"Ankara as a Cinema Set; Reading Architectural History of the city through 'Ankara Films'",* VEKAM Research Award Presentations / Organized by Koç University, 29 November, Ankara

2018- *"Framing the Alienation Problem of Modern Architecture Within Jacques Tati's Architectural Trio: Mon Oncle, Playtime, Traffic"*, Moving Images-Static Spaces: Architectures, Art, Media, Film, Digital Art and Design / Conference organized by Architecture Media and Politics Society (AMPS) (İstanbul Altınbaş University), 12-13 April, Istanbul

2015- *"Rethinking the House in Roman Context from The Perspective of Film Studies*", HISTART'15 / III. History of Art Conference organized by DAKAM (Eastern Mediterranean Academic Research Center), 9-10 October, 2015, Istanbul

EDITORIAL

2017- Symposium Papers, METU Architectural History Graduate Symposium *Spaces/Times/Peoples: Domesticity and Architectural History*, Redaction

Ongoing- Symposium Papers, METU Architectural History Graduate Symposium *Spaces/Times/Peoples: Nostalgia and Architectural History*, Editor

Ongoing- Symposium Papers, METU Architectural History Graduate Symposium *Spaces/Times/Peoples: Nature and Architectural History*, Editor

ORGANIZATIONS

2019- METU, *Architectural History Programme 30th Year Events*, Committee Assistant

2017- International Exhibition- Modern Architectural Heritage Exhibitions- *Lost and at Risk: The Modern Heritage of the Capital Ankara, 1927- 1939*, Member of Organizing Committee

2017- METU, Architectural History Graduate Symposium- *Spaces/Times/Peoples: Nature and Architectural History*, Member of Organizing Committee

2017- National Exhibition, METU Museum, *Eyes on Lycia*
2015- METU, Architectural History Graduate Symposium- *Spaces/Times/Peoples: Nostalgia and Architectural History*, Member of Organizing Committee

AWARDS

2017- Koç Üniversitesi Vehbi Koç Ankara Araştırmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi (VEKAM) Research Award

2018- Design Competition of Ankara Regional Innovation Agency, Jewellery Design, 1st Grant

APPENDIX H TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışma, 19. yy sonu ve 20. yy erken döneminde Pompeii antik kentinin 'mekan', 'görüntü' ve 'hareketli görüntü' olarak sınıflandırılan üç tema altında mimari temsiller yoluyla nasıl ifade bulduğunu, ve bu mimari temsillerin Pompeii dışında, farklı coğrafyalar arasında nasıl aktarıldığını yorumlamayı amaç edinir. Bu zaman dilimi, fotoğraf ve film yoluyla yeniden şekillenen mimari temsillerin ortaya çıkışına tanık oldu. Mimari gerçekliğin görsel bir yolla aktarılmaya çalışıldığı 19. ve 20. yy temsil ortamı günümüz dijital teknolojilerinin kullanılmasıyla elde edilen sonuç ürünlerinin sağladığı temsiliyet biçiminden oldukça farklıydı. Bu fark teknolojik gelişmeler eşliğinde ortaya çıksa da, en önemli değişim bahsi geçen yüzyıllarda görsel malzemenin farklı coğrafyalara yayılma hızı ve bu yayılmaya bağlı olarak farklılaşmış temsil biçimleri ile ilintiliydi. Örneğin bilginin farklı coğrafyalara aktarımını sağlayan taşıyıcılardan biri olan turist, Pompeii ziyareti sırasında aldığı seyahat albümleri vasıtası ile antik kenti ve onun mimarlığını anlatan bilgiyi bir yerden başka bir yere transfer etti. 19. yy'da şehirler kentsel gerçekliğin bir yansıması olarak ifade bulan 'mimari sahneler'ini temsiller yoluyla özellikle Avrupa'da geniş bir kitleye sundu. Pompeii, iyi korunmuş dokusu ve küller altında saklı kalmasının sebebi olan trajik hikayesi ile 19. yy'da en çok ilgi çeken antik kentti. Pompeii'nin yok olma ve yeniden varolma ile eşleşen hikayesi onu seyahat rotaları üzerinde bir cazibe noktası haline getirdi.

16. ve 19. yy aralığını kapsayan zaman diliminde, kazara yapılmış keşifler, sistemli bir şekilde yürütülemeyen kazılar, daha sonra 'arkeolojik keşif' kavramı odağında bilimsel yöntemler ışığında yapılan kazılar Pompeii'nin kompoze edilmiş anlatısını ve onun modern zamanlardaki mimarlık tarihini şekillendirdi. Yıllar içerisinde kent, birden çok gelişme paralelinde bir turistik değer kazandı. 1880 yılında uygulamaya konulan füniküler servisi, ve 19. yy'da düzenlenen turlar bu gelişmelerin başında geliyordu. Seyahat edenlerin kent ile ilgili tecrübelerini aktarması yolu ile, Pompeii antik kentinin 'kültürel' olarak farklı coğrafyalara yayılımı gerçekleşti. 19.yy erken dönemlerinde, kazılar yoluyla açığa çıkarılan bilgi özellikle sanatın farklı dallarında üretilen eserler ile yorumlandı. Bu eserler belirli kişiler tarafından finanse edilip onların koleksiyonunda yer aldığından ya da müzelerde sergilendiğinden dolayı geniş bir kitleye yayılarak tanınma imkanı bulamadı. 19. yy boyunca

antik kente dair görselleri barındıran kitaplar basıldı, ve bu kitaplarda yer alan ikonik temsiller kente özgü bir algılama biçimi yarattı. 19.yy sonunda yeni ortaya çıkan bir medya olan sinema, ve onun temsil biçimi olan filmler Pompeii'nin daha önce sanat çevreleri tarafından yorumlanan temsillerinden 'görsel kodlar' yarattı, ve bu kodlar vasıtası ile kent ve günlük hayata dair konuları işledi. Henüz deneysel bir aşamada olan sinema, sessiz filmler yoluyla seçilmiş belirli bir zamanı dondurarak, muhafaza ederek ve sahneleyerek aslında izleyiciye bir çeşit görsel seyahat imkanı sundu. Pompeii kentinin mimari bileşenler yoluyla çerçevelenen sahneleri, kazılardan sonra imajlar, fotoğraflar ve resimler yolu ile, 19. yy sonunda ise filmler yoluyla yeniden çerçevelendi ve yeniden sahnelendi.

Bu bağlamda, tezin ilk amacı değişen mimari temsilleri yorumlama konusunda bir anlayış geliştirmektir. Bu amaçla tez şu soruları görüş alanı içerisine alır ve işaret eder; temsil biçimlerinde yer alan görsel kodlar nasıl üretildi, antik kentin kalıntıları nasıl bir estetik fenomene dönüştü, imajları kendi bakış açıları ile yorumlayan ve filtreleyen aktörler kimlerdi, kent kendi görsel repertuarını nasıl derledi ve oluşturdu, mekanın sanat eserleri yolu ile yeniden üretilmesinde farklı mecralar arasında çakışan temalar nelerdi, temsillerin üretildiği mecraların kullandığı tematik ve anlatıma dayalı yakınsamalar nelerdi, metinler yolu ile aktarılan veri, görsel malzeme ile nasıl birleştirildi ve bir araya geldi, ve son olarak 'antik sahne' yeniden nasıl sahnelendi.

Pompeii mimarlığı ve Vezüv yanardağının patlaması sonucunda küller altında kalmasından önce varolan antik yaşantısı, kazılardan sonra her dönemde etkisini gösteren, ve konu olarak işlenen bir tema oldu. 18. yy ortalarında kazılar sistemli olarak belgelenmeye başlandı, en önemlisi ortaya çıkan veri basılı kaynaklarda yer edindi. Bu nedenle Pompeii ve mimarlığı, antik dönemi ve günlük hayatı betimlemek için potansiyel bir enstrüman olarak sanatın farklı disiplinlerine konu oldu. Sanatçılar kendi kurguladıkları temsilleri halka güçlü ve inandırıcı bir anlatı inşa ederek aktarmak için anlatılarını temellendirecekleri bir platform aradı. Kazılarda ortaya çıkarılan bulgular ve eserler bu bağlamda sanatçıların antik yaşantının yeniden canlandırılmasına dair yorumlamalarını destekleyecek bir malzemeye dönüştü. En önemlisi, kazılar Pompeii kentindeki 'görsel fenomen'in ortaya çıkışına yardımcı olacak bir ortam hazırladı. Sadece bir objenin değil tüm kentin kazılıyor

olması, Pompeii'nin diğer arkeolojik kazı alanlarından farklı bir değer kazanmasına vesile oldu. Açık havada yapılan ve izlenebilen kazılar kentin bir sahneye dönüşmesini sağladı.

Çok çeşitli kaynaklardan yararlanan bilim insanları, Pompeii mimarlığı üzerine yaptıkları araştırmalarında farklı temalar kullandı. Bazı araştırmacılar sadece kentsel planlama ve mimari yapılaşma üzerine odaklanırken, diğerleri sosyal hayat ve mimarlık arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiyi kavramaya, Pompeii'de yaşanan sosyal hayatın mimari kurgularda ne denli etkin bir rol oynadığını anlamaya çalıştı. Bu araştırmaları tetikleyen görüşler arasında en önemli etkiye sahip olan Pompeii antik kentinin Roma'nın mikro-kosmos'u olduğunu destekleyen ve Pompeii mimarlığını Roma mimarlığını değerlendirmede kullanılacak bir prototip olarak kabullenen görüştü. Kenti, Roma'nın minyatür ölçekte var olan bir uyarlaması olarak kabullenen araştırmacılar, araştırmalarının teorik boyutlarını bu görüş üzerine kurguladı. Bu bağlamda tezde yer alan literatür taraması bölümlerin organize ediliş biçimini takip ederek yapıldı ve üç kısıma ayrıldı; kentin mimarlığı üzerine üretilen yayınlar, seyahat üzerine üretilen ve görsel malzeme ile zenginleştirilen yayınlar ve son olarak Pompeii'yi konu edinen sessiz dönem filmlerini analiz eden yayınlar. Bu çalışmalarda mimarlık, imaj ve hareketli imaj arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki ve üst üste çakışan bu ilişkinin disiplinlerarası boyutu kapsamlı bir şekilde analiz edildi.

Birinci bölümde, 'alan' bir temsil biçimi olarak yorumlandı; kent mimarisi, konut mimarisi ve mimari bileşenler yoluyla günlük ritüellerin gerçekleştirilmesine olanak sağlayan bir 'sahne' olarak kabul edildi. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill'in Pompeii temsillerinde yer alan görsel kodların oluşturulmasında 'mimari sahnelemelerin' nasıl yapıldığına dair kapsamlı bir çerçeve çizdiği *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (1994) adlı kitabında belirttiği gibi konutun çeşitli temalar altında 'okunabilir' bir kurgu oluşturduğundan yola çıkıldı. Bu bağlamda, tezin omurgası antik ritüellerin canlandırıldığı mimari sahnelerin görselleştirilerek temsil edilmesi üzerine inşa edilir. Wallace-Hadrill'in görüşlerini destekler nitelikte, Bettina Bergmann (1994) *The Roman House as Memory Theater: The House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii* adlı makalesinde, yayınlarda ve sanat çevrelerinde en çok görselleştirilen konut olan *House of the Tragic Poet'i* çalışmanın odağına yerleştirir ve mimari hafızanın 'sekans' ların ornanizasyonu yolu ile üretildiğine dikkat çeker. Bu mimari sekansların üretildiği ilk ortam illüzyon ve yanılsama yoluyla sahneleme üzerinde önemli

bir etkiye sahip olan duvar resimleridir. Roger Ling'in (1991) *Roman Painting* adlı kitabında belirttiği gibi bu artistik üretimler renkli süslemeleri ve betimlediği ihtişamlı sahneler ile duvarların farklı bir biçimde algılanmasına olanak sağlar. Özellikle, dördüncü stil duvar resimleri perspektif ve derinliğin kullanılış biçimi nedeniyle, duvarların ötesinde hayali mimari hacimler yaratır ve bu algılama biçimi *'Durchblicke'* olarak adlandırılır. Bu düşünce ile bağlantılı olarak evin mimari planının kurguladığı *fauces*'tan *tablinum*'a kadar uzanan görsel aks üzerinde yaratılmaya çalışılan mimari sekansların, duvar resimleri gibi küçük ölçekli mimari bileşenler yoluyla da kurgulanmaya çalışıldığı söylenebilir. Duvar resimleri Pompeii mimarlığının belki de en önemli bileşenleridir; 1880'lerde August Mau tarafından sınıflandırılan bu resimler, o tarihten itibaren araştırmalara konu olmuştur ve bu çalışmalar duvar resimlerinin sınıflandırılmasına odaklandığı için oldukça teknik bir uslüp kullanılarak yazılmışlardır. Öte yandan, günlük yaşam pratikleri ve sosyal temalar üzerine odaklanan yeni yayınlar, bu teknik üslubun kırılmasına olanak sağladı ve bunun sonucunda antikitede görsel kültür ile ilgilenen ve temsiller üzerine yorumlamalar getiren yeni bir alan ve bu alanın çeşitli temalar ile süslenen repertuarı akademinin ajandasına giriş yaptı. Bu bağlamda antik kent üzerinden üretilen ve mekânsal organizasyonla ilişkilendirilen özel ve kamusal alan, lüks ve ziyafet gibi çeşitli temalar çalışmaların eksenini belirledi.

Yapılan yayın taramasında elde edilen veriler doğrultusunda Pompeii'nin bütün mimari bileşenleri yardımıyla, zaten sahnelenmek üzere tasarlandığını kabul eden bu çalışma, antik kentin kazılarla yeniden açığa çıkarıldıktan sonra kendini yeniden nasıl sergilediğini ve sahnelediğini konu edinir. Bu bağlamda kentin ortaya çıkarılmasından sonraki ilk sahnelenişi açık hava kazıları yoluyla oldu ve kısa bir süre sonra kent hakkındaki bilgi aktarımı arkeologlar, kazı sorumluları, ziyaretçiler, yazarlar ve sanatçılar eliyle gerçekleşti. Örneğin, 19. yy'ın önemli ressamlarından olan Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Pompeii ve Roma sakinlerinin günlük hayatlarını betimleyen sahneler resmetti ve bu yol ile yanardağ patlaması sonrasında küller altında gömülü kalan Pompeii kentine ikinci bir hayat bahşetti. Bu dönemde Pompeii'yi eserlerinde konu edinen sanatçıların yegane amacı antik dönemi çağtıştıran görsel kodlar yaratarak kenti ve içerisinde süregiden hayatı yeniden canlandırmaktı. Bu artistik yaratılarda en çok kullanılan yöntem Vezüv'ü içine alan bir perspektif kurgulamak ve yanardağı felaketi hatırlatan bir temsil aracı olarak arka plana yerleştirmekti. Alan yazım taramasında elde edilen verilere göre, Pompeii'nin resim olarak

temsil edilmesi üzerine oldukça fazla çalışma yapılmıştır, fakat imajların seçimi ve düzenlenmesi yoluyla kendi koreografisini üreten resimli kitaplar ve seyahat kitapları üzerine yapılan yayın sayısı oldukça yetersizdir. Bu bağlamda çalışma bu kitapları görsel malzemenin toplandığı bir arşiv olarak kabul edip, Pompeii mimari sahnesinin iki boyutlu bu mecrada yeniden nasıl sahnelendiği üzerine sorular sorar. Pompeii'nin kağıt üzerindeki temsileyitini seyahat literatürü üzerinden denetlemenin başta gelen sebebi: bu türün Pompeii'nin ilk arkeolojik rehberi olarak nitelendirilen ve William Gell tarafından kaleme alınan *Pompeiana* adlı kitabın ortaya çıkmasına öncülük etmesidir. *Pompeiana,* daha sonra Sir Bulwer-Lytton'ın kaleme aldığı *The Last Days of Pompeii* adlı romana ilham kaynağı oldu ve bu roman Pompeii'yi konu edinen kurmaca yapıtların, özellikle aynı adı taşıyan sessiz filmlerin ortaya çıkışı için bir zemin hazırladı.

20.yy sonlarında Pompeii mimarlığının teknik bir veri olmadığı, bundan ziyade görsel bir arşiv kurguladığı konusu araştırmacılar tarafından gündeme getirildi. 21. yy'da *Classical Reception* alanında yapılan çalışmalarda görülen artış görsel temsiliyet biçiminin vurgulanmasının önemini ortaya koydu. 2012 yılında J. Paul Getty Müze'si tarafından düzenlenen *The Last Days of Pompeii: Decadence, Apocalypse, Resurrection* adlı sergi ve bu sergi sonrasında serge ile aynı başlık adı altında derlenen kitap antik kentin modern tahayyüller içindeki potansiyeline işaret etti ve resim, baskı, heykelden, tiyatro gösterileri, fotoğraf ve filme kadar uzanan çeşitli sanat alanlarındaki Pompeii temsillerine dair güncel bir tartışmayı dile getirdi. 2015 yılında Eric M. Moormann, Pompeii'nin çok çalışılmış ve tüketilmiş bir konu olduğu fikrinin aksini savunarak, *The reception of the cities buried by Vesuvius in literature, music, and drama* adlı kitabında, Pompeii ve Herculaneum'u konu edinen romanlar, şiirler, kısa hikayeler, filmler ve televizyon şovları gibi 250 sanatsal yapıtı inceledi ve Pompeii'nin görsel zenginliğine işaret ederek hala orijinal metinlerin üretilebileceğinin altını çizdi.

Pompeii'nin görsel temsilleri üzerine olan ilgi zamanla artsa bile, antik dönemi Pompeii'nin trajik hikayesi ile birleştirerek sahneleyen, kenti, mimarisini ve yaşayanlarını konu edinen filmler üzerine yapılan çalışmaların ortaya çıkması özellikle son 20 yıllık sürece denk gelmektedir. Elbette, filmlerin bir temsileyet biçimi olarak akademik çalışmalarda bu denli geç konu edilmesinin arkasında belirli gerekçeler vardı, bu

gerekçelerden ön önemlisi restorasyonu yapılan malzemenin çok az oluşuydu. Sessiz döneme ait bu filmler Avrupa ve Amerika'da yer alan arşivlere dağılmış durumda ve farklı yerlerde filmlerin farklı parçalarını bulmak mümkün. Oldukça kırılgan materyale sahip olan bu film stoklarının restore edilmesi çok fazla teknik çalışmanın yürütülmesi sonucunda olabilir. Restorasyon sürecinin başlatılmasını zorlaştıran bir diğer neden filmlerin çoğunun belli bir ulusun kültürel mirası kapsamına dahil edilememesi; örneğin, İngiliz film arşivinde yerini alan binlerce filmin çoğu İtalyan ya da Fransız yapımı ve aynı zamanda Almanca altyazılara sahipler.

Bu filmlerin restorasyonu gerçekleştirildikçe yapılan araştırmalar bilim dünyasında yerini almaktadır. Bu bağlamda, 1997'de Maria Wyke tarafından derlenen *Projecting the Past: Ancient Rome, Cinema and History* diğer çalışmaların önünü açan önemli bir kaynaktır. Wyke'ın alana katkı sağlayan ikinci önemli girişimi Pantelis Michelakis ile birlikte yürüttüğü *The Ancient World in Silent Cinema* adlı araştırma projesi ve bu çalışmanın sonuç ürünü olarak derlenen *Antiquity in Silent Cinema* adlı kitabıdır. Bu proje, sessiz sinemada antik medeniyetlerin temsil edilişine dair ilk büyük ölçekli, disiplinler arası ve işbirlikçi çalışmayı üretmeyi ve hem sinemanın geçmişle olan ilişkisini hem de eski çağların modern çağlardaki cazibesini yeni anlayışlar oluşturarak kavramayı amaçlar. Derlenen kitapta yer alan ve Ian Christie tarafından kaleme alınan *Ancient Rome in London: classical subjects in the forefront of cinema's expansion after 1910* başlığını taşıyan makale *The Last Days of Pompeii* filminin farklı versiyonlarını tartışma içerisinde örnek olarak kullanmaktadır. 2012'de Adrian Staehli tarafından yazılan *Screening Pompeii: The Last Days of Pompeii in Cinema* adlı makale Pompeii ve sessiz dönem filmleri arasındaki ilişkiyi konu edinen bir diğer önemli çalışmadır, bu çalışma kapsamında Harvard Film Arşivi *The Last Days of Pompeii*'nin 1926 versiyonunun gösterimine ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Pompeii'nin ekran uyarlamaları ve sessiz dönem üretimleri üzerine çalışmalar yapan İtalyan araştırmacılar da bulunmaktadır; 2005 yılında *Rianimare l'antico per produrre spettacolo, Le scenografie de Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei* adlı makale Maria Luisa Neri tarafından üretilirken, 2015 yılında *Pompeii in Film* adlı makale Francisco Salvador Venture tarafından kaleme alındı ve *Pompeii and Europe 1748-1943* adlı derleme kitapta yerini aldı. Yapılan araştırmalara göre sessiz filmler ve Pompeii temsiliyeti üzerine üretilen son örnek 2019 yılına aittir. Maria Wyke tarafından kaleme alınan

Mobilizing Pompeii for Italian Silent Cinema başlıklı makale *The Last Days of Pompeii* başlığını taşıyan dört filmi çalışmanın odağına yerleştirir ve yorumlar.

Pompeii ve sessiz filmlerde temsiliyeti üzerine yapılan çalışmalar incelendiğinde araştırmacıların toplumsal cinsiyet, ulusal kimlik, sınıf sorunu ve etnik yapı gibi temalar üzerine yoğunlaştığı gözlemlense bile sadece mimarlık tarihi perspektifinden bakan ve mimari temsillerin sahnelenmesi ile ilişkilenen çalışma henüz üretilmemiştir. Bu bağlamda, tez bu boşluğu doldurmak adına Pompeii mimarlığının ekran uyarlamalarında nasıl yorumlandığını açığa çıkarmayı amaç edinir. Fiziki, yazılı ve görsel malzemenin bir araya getirilerek tartışılması Pompeii'nin görsel repertuarının nasıl oluştuğuna dair daha geniş bir tarihsel çerçeveden bakma imkanı sunar. Pompeii kentinin mimari ve kentsel tasarımının 'derinlik', 'iliüzyon', 'sahne', '*mise-en scene*' ve '*mise-en abym*' gibi temaların organizasyonuyla kurulan sekanslardan oluştuğu varsayılarak, tez boyunca yapılan karşılaştırmalı çalışmalar bu temaları ve mimari temsil ortamlarında buldukları karşılıkları ortaya çıkarmaya yöneliktir. Çalışma kitaplardaki imajları ve erken dönem filmlerini odağa yerleştirir, bu doğrultuda arşiv ve yayın taraması yapar. Üç ana bölümden oluşan tezde her bölüm için farklı bir araştırma yöntemi izlenmiştir. Örneğin, 3. bölüm içerisinde basılı malzeme içerisinde yer bulmuş imajları yorumlamak için seyahat kitapları üzerinden bir araştırma yürütülürken, hareketli imajların analizini içeren 4. bölümde film arşivlerinde araştırmalar yapılmıştır. Pompeii mimarlığının görsel olarak temsil edildiği imajların yer aldığı kaynaklar 2017 yılında Napoli Arkeoloji Müzesi Kütüphanesi ve arşivinde yapılan çalışma ve çeşitli internet arşivlerinden ulaşılabilen kitaplar üzerinden yapılmıştır. Çalışmada kullanılan, alanda çekilmiş fotoğraflar 2017 yılında yapılan saha gezisi sırasında elde edilmiştir, grafik çizimler bu fotoğraflar üzerinden üretilmiştir. Analiz edilen sessiz filmler 2018 yılında Londra'da yer alan İngiliz Film Enstitüsü Arşivi'nde ve bazı filmlerin dijitalleştirilmiş versiyonlarını izleme imkanı sunan İngiliz Film Enstitüsü *Mediatheques*'te yapılan çalışmalar sonucunda seçilmiş ve tezde yerini almıştır. Bunun yanısıra internet üzerinden erişim sağlanabilen *British Pathe, Istituto Luce Cinecitta* ve *Eye Film Institute* arşivleri de taraması yapılan önemli arşivlerdendir.

Representation of Ancient Pompeii: "The Site" olarak adlandırılan 2. bölüm Pompeii anlatısının nasıl ortaya çıktığını kavramak amacıyla kentin ve yapılan kazıların tarihi üzerine

genel bir bilgi vererek başlar. Pompeii'nin kentsel şeması ve özellikle de konut mimarlığı görsel ve mekansal temsiller yoluyla kendini dış dünyaya tanıtır. Bu bağlamda, şehircilik perspektifinden bakarak, oldukça fazla temsil edilmiş kamusal yapılar, resimler ve fotoğraflar gibi farklı temsilleri karşılaştırılarak yorumlanır. Konut mimarisinde ise, *Domus*'un mimari sekanslardan oluşan bir kompozisyon olduğu kabul edilerek, duvar resimleri gibi en küçük ölçekteki mimari bileşenlerde yaratılan sahneleme biçimleri deşifre edilir. Çalışmada örnek olarak ele alınan konutlar, sanat çevrelerince en çok konu edilmiş ve aynı zamanda 'kurgu' yapıtlarda da kullanılmış olanlar arasından seçilir. Bu bölümde kullanılan görsel malzeme genel olarak sanatçılar tarafından üretilen çalışmalar, alanda çekilen fotoğraflar ve bu fotoğraflardan üretilen grafik çizimlerdir. Sanatçılar tarafından üretilen eserler kitaplarda yer alsa bile, görsellik üzerine inşa edilen bu tezde okuyucuya daha nitelikli görseller sunmak adına bunların seçimi yüksek çözünürlükte örnekler barındıran internet arşivlerinden yapılmıştır. Kazılardan sonra gelen yıllar boyunca antik kent, hikayesini ve görsel arşivini oluşturmaya devam ederken, bu arşivin yayılmasında bazı aktörler etkin rol oynar, bu bağlamda bu bölümün aktörleri alanı kazanlar, direktörler, ve görsel temsilleri üreten artistlerdir.

From Fact to Fiction: Pompeii on Paper: "Image" olarak adlandırılan 3. bölüm Pompeii'nin görsel temsiliyetinin basılı medyada nasıl yeniden yorumlanarak konu edinildiğine odaklanırken, bu görsel temsiliyetin *The Last Days of Pompeii* romanı örnek alınarak kurgu türündeki eserlere ne ölçüde ilham kaynağı olduğu tartışılır. Bu bölümde 19. yy' da özellikle Büyük Britanya ulusunun antik eser koleksiyonerliği ve bu eserleri sergileme çabası öncülüğünde gerçekleştirdikleri seyahatler sonucunda antik kentten elde ettikleri bilgiyi nasıl yaydığı üzerinde durulur. 17. yy'da başlayan ve 19. yy ortalarına kadar süren *Grand Tour* seyahat üzerine üretilen kitapların doğuşuna neden olmuş, seyahat edebiyatı, bir tür olarak literature dahil edilmiştir. Bu kitaplardan Pompeii'yi konu edinenler sayfalar içerisinde imajlar yoluyla farklı görsel temsiliyetlerin ortaya çıkmasına öncülük etmiştir. Bu kitapların görsel malzemesini oluşturan çerçevelenmiş imajlar yoluyla kent ve mimarisi kitabın kendi koreografisi içinde yeniden sahnelenmiştir. Farklı görsel malzememin kullanıldığı kitapları daha iyi bir analiz yöntemiyle irdelemek adına, bu çalışmada örneklenenler, seyahat edenlere bilgi vermek adına üretilen alanı tanıtan kitaplar ve seyahat edenlerin kendi tecrübelerinden yola çıkarak kaleme aldıkları seyahat yazıları

olarak ikiye ayrılır. Bu bölümde bilginin aktarılması ve Pompeii'nin görsel bir fenomen olması hususunda görev alan aktörler yazarlar ve seyahat eden kişilerdir.

From Fact to Film: Pompeii on Screen: "Moving Image" olarak adlandırılına 4. bölüm Pompeii'nin ekran üzerindeki temsiline *The Last Days of Pompeii* adını taşıyan erken dönem filmlerinden bir seçki yaparak odaklanır. Francois Penz (2017)'in dile getirdiği film kazara da olsa kendi arşivini üretir anlayışından yola çıkarak, incelenen filmlerin her biri bir arşiv olarak ele alınmış, ve bu arşivlerde yer alan haraketli imajlar dondurulup imaja çevrilmiş, böylece filmin kendi arşivi parçalanmıştır. Bu dondurulan imajlar bir önceki bölümde konu olarak ele alınan ve kitaplarda yer alan imajlarla birlikte yorumlanır. Antik dönemde zaten sahnelenmek üzere kurgulanan kent ve konut dokusunun filmler yoluyla yeniden sahnelenişi, filtrelenişi, ve yorumlanışı bu bölümde tartışılan konulardandır, ve film analizleri yoluyla mimari sekanslar ve mimari çerçeveler ortaya çıkarılır.

Conclusion, bölümünde alanın kendini sahnelemesi, imajlar yoluyla sahnelenmesi ve hareketli imajlar yoluyla yeniden üretilip sahnelenmesi arasındaki söylemsel yakınsamalar, ve görsel stratejiler değerlendirilerek elde edilen veriler doğrultusunda bir antik kentin yıkıntılardan yeniden var edildiği, ve temsiller yoluyla ikinci bir hayat kazandığı tartışılır.

Antik kent Pompeii Vezüv dağının M.S 79 yılında patlaması sonucunda uzun bir süre küller altında gömülü kalmıştır, bu nedenle Pompeii'den bahsederken akla ilk gelen yanardağın sebep olduğu trajik hikayesidir. Öte yandan ironik bir biçimde iyi korunmuş bir kent olması durumunu küller altında muhafaza olmasına borçlu. Pompeii 18. yüzyılda sistemli bir şekilde kazılmaya başladı, 1750'lerde ise ilk açık hava kazıları gerçekleştirildi. Bu dönemde arkeoloji bir bilim olarak kabul edilmeye başlanıyordu, fakat Pompeii'de tecrübe edilen durum sadece bir objeyi değil, bir kenti yer üstüne çıkarma çabası arkeolojinin o güne kadar tecrübe ettiği en zorlu çalışmaydı. 18. yüzyılın ilk yarısında yapılan kazılar antik objeleri toplamak üzerine kurgulandığı için, bu dönemde kazılar yeterli bilimsel yöntemler kullanılmadan yürütüldü. Bilimsel yöntemler devreye girdiğinde ve kazılarda elde edilen veriler belirli bir doygunluğa ulaştığı noktada, buluntular çizimler, haritalar ve basılı kaynaklar yoluyla oldukça teknik bir içerikle beraber aktarıldı. Bu gelişmelerle birlikte bu alışılmışın dışındaki kazılar ve kazılarda ortaya çıkan eserler

özellikle antik eserleri toplama konusunda tutkulu olan Avrupalı entelektüel ve aristokrat çevrelerin görüş alanı içerisine girdi. Bu bağlamda, Napoli'ye elçi olarak görevlendirilen Sir. William Hamilton antik kentin kültürünü ve görselliğini yazdığı mektuplar ve kitaplar aracılığıyla Büyük Britanya'ya tanıttı, aynı zamanda Pompeii'ye gelen ziyaretçilere eşlik etti.

19. yüzyılda Pompeii'nin mimari çizimlerinin olduğu ilk gravürler Francois Mazois tarafından yazılan *Les Ruines de Pompeii* kitabında yerini aldı. Hamilton ve Mazois tarafından üretilen çalışmalar Pompeii üzerine üretilen bilgini İtalya sınırlarını aşarak farklı coğrafyalara yayılmasına öncülük etti ve Pompeii *'Grand Tour'* rotasında yerini aldı. 19. yüzyıl aynı zamanda en çok ikonlaştırılan House of Pansa, House of the Tragic Poet, ve House of the Faun gibi mimari yapıların ortaya çıkartıldığı zamanlara tanıklık etti. 19. yüzyılın ilk yarısında, kent ve trajik hikayesi bir çok sanat ortamı tarafından konu olarak ele alındı ve sanatçılar için bir ilham kaynağı oldu. Pompeii ilk kez 1825 yılında, Giovanni Pacini'nin yarattığı opera *L'ultimo Giorno di Pompei*'de sahnelendi. 1829 yılında Rus ressam Karl Pavlovic Briullov *The Last Day of Pompeii adlı* eserinde insan figürleri ve mimari özellikler ile detaylandırılmış, yanardağ patlaması sonrasında yaşanan dehşetin kurgulandığı bir sahne resmetti. 1834 yılında opera ve resim ile aynı adı taşıyan döneminin en çok satan romanı Sir. Edward Bulwer-Lytton tarafından kaleme alındı, ve kurgu türündeki bu roman gelecek temsil biçimlerinin önünü açtı. Bu romanın en kayda değer özelliği alandan elde edilen bilimsel bilginin aktarıldığı Sir. William Gell'in *Pompeiana* adlı kitabındaki bilgiler üzerinden kurgulanmış bir hikaye üretmesiydi ve bu yönüyle kitap Pompeii üzerine 'romanlaştırılmış ilk arkeolojik rehber' olarak kabul edildi.

19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında kazıları yöneten Giuseppe Fiorelli antik kenti alanlara ayırdı; kazılarda çıkarılan insan ve hayvan kalıntılarını muhafaza etmeye olanak sağlayan bir bilimsel bir kalıp çıkarma yöntemi geliştirdi. İnsan ve hayvanların Pompeii'de yaşadıkları son dakikaları ve ölmeden önce aldıkları pozisyonları canlandırmaya imkan sağlayan bu teknik, seyahat edenlerin ve dünyanın büyük ilgisini çekti. Fiorelli'den sonra kazıları yönetenler, onun açtığı yolda, ayak izlerini takip ederek ve bilimsel yöntemler kullanarak kazıları yönettiler. Fiorelli'den sonra kazı tarihinde etkin rollerden birine sahip olan direktör Amedeo Mauiri oldu; bu döneminde *Villa of the Mysteries*'in kazısı yapıldı. Mauiri

alan içerisinde objeleri cam kafesler içerisine yerleştirerek sergiledi ve kazılardan elde edilen malzemeyi sergileme biçimini bir adım ileri taşıdı.

19. yüzyılda antik kent bir taraftan kazılırken, diğer taraftan kentin görsel zenginliği sanat ortamlarında temsiliyet kazandı. Sanatçılar kamusal yapıları ve konutları çalışmalarında arka planlar olarak kullandı. Sanatçılar, temsillerin ilk safhalarında kazılardan sonra ortaya çıkan görüntüleri olduğu gibi aktarırken, ilerleyen safhalarda daha canlı bir anlatım yaratmak adına antik kentte yaşayan insan figürlerini, mimari ortamın içine yerleştirerek betimledi. 19.yüzyıl erken dönemi resimlerinde, büyük trajedinin hatırlatıcısı olan Vezüv yanardağı özellikle kırmızı renk kullanılarak resmedildi. Sonraki örneklerde, Vezüv hala betimlemesi yapılacak kadar önemli bir unsur olsa da, sanatçılar odak noktalarını mimari olarak görselleştirilmiş yıkıntılara yerleştirdi. Bu dönemde en çok temsil konusu olan kamu yapıları Forum, bazilika, tiyatrolar, amfitiyatro, tapınaklar ve hamamlardı. Öte yandan Pompeii'nin oldukça iyi korunmuş konutları da artistik yorumlamalar ile görsel temsil dünyasında yer edindi. Standart bir Pompeii *domus*'unu ayrıcalıklı kılan onun sadece sığınma amaçlı inşa edilmemiş olması, ritüellerin sahnelenmesine elverişli mimari kurgularla tasarlanmasıydı. Bu bağlamda konut kendi sahneleme biçimini mimari olarak çerçevelenmiş sekanslar üzerinden üretiyordu. Sanatçılar temsillerini evin çeşitli bölümlerine atfedilmiş aktiviteler üzerinden görselleştirdi. Örneğin bir ziyafet sahnesine vurgu yapılmak istendiğinde seçilen mekan *triclinium* oldu. Zarafete ve lükse bir gönderme yapılmak isteniyorsa *atrium* ve *peristyle garden* kullanıldı. *House of the Tragic Poet* en çok yorumlanan ve resmedilen konut olma özelliğine sahipti, *Pompeiana*'da bu konutun insan figürleri eklenerek yeniden canlandırılan iç mekan görseli halka sunuldu. Oldukça fazla görselleştirilen bir diğer konut olan *House of Pansa*'nın replikası 1889 yılında Amerika'da inşa edildi. *House of the Faun*, en karmaşık ve iyi korunmuş antik mozaik olarak adlandırılan *Alexander Mosaic* ve sahip olduğu zengin mimari özellikler nedeniyle bir çok sanat eserinde yeniden yorumlandı. Pompeii'deki en büyük plana sahip olan konut olarak nitelendirilen *Villa of Diomedes* kazılarda ortaya çıkan on sekiz iskelet ve bunun yarattığı sansasyon nedeniyle ün kazandı. Sanatçılar duvar resimleri ve mozaik süslemeler gibi Pompeii halkının kültürel ve artistik zevklerini yansıtan mimari bileşenleri de bir görsel temsil aracı olarak kullandı. 19. yüzyılda Pompeii sahnesinin sanat eserlerinde temsiliyeti kanvas üzerine yağlı boya resimler, gravürler, el boyaması gravürler, akuatintler, ve fotoğraflar gibi

farklı formlar alarak devam etti. Her sanat mecrası görselleştirme için kendi yöntemini kullansa da, kullanılan görsel kodlar ve renk kodları, sahneye derinlik kazandırmak, aynı perspektifi ve açılımı kullanmak hepsinde görülen ortak özelliklerdendi.

Bu dönemde Pompeii'nin kültürel ve mimari bilgisi artistik yaratılar aracılığı ile yayılsa da, aynı zamanlarda görsel malzemeyi taşıyan başka bir aktör seyahat eden kişiydi. 17. yüzyıldan başlayarak 'seyahat' eğitim amacıyla, farklı coğrafyalardan antik objeler toplamaya olanak sağladığı için ve bir merak unsuru olduğu için Avrupalı üst sınıfın deneyimlediği bir olgu halini aldı. 'Grand Tour' bu bağlamda seyahat rotaları arasında en popüler olandı. Bu turu deneyimleyen ziyaretçiler antik kentleri ve kültürünü keşfetme şansını yakaladı, seyahat ettikleri coğrafyalardan ana vatanlarına taşıdıkları objeler ise Avrupa'da bir *Grand Tour* piyasasının ortaya çıkmasına neden oldu. Sadece objeler değil gidilen şehirlerde görülen mimari üsluplar devşirilerek, dönülen yerde adapte edildi. Özellikle 18. yüzyıl'da seyahat fenomeni seyahat literatürü olarak adlandırılan bir türün ortaya çıkmasını sağladı. Yazarlar ister gezdikleri yerleri salt bilgi veren bir tonla yazıya döksünler, ister kurgulayarak anlatsınlar, seyahat türü içerisinde üretilen ve basılan kitaplar dönemin en çok satanları oldu. 18. yüzyıl üretimlerinin ortak özelliği görsel malzeme ile çesitlendirilmemiş olmalarıydı. 19. yüzyılda, okuru daha fazla etkilemek ve gerçekçi bir atmosfer yaratmak adına, yazarlar yazılı bilgiyi imajlar ve fotoğraflarla kompoze ederek okuyucuya sundu. Pompeii'yi konu alan kitaplar imajların seçimi ve düzenlemesi doğrultusunda ortak özellikler paylaştı, ve her kitap kendine özgü bir bilgiyi sahneleme biçimi yarattı. Bu vesileyle sayfalar bilginin aktarıldığı bir dökümantasyon aracı olmanın ötesinde bilginin imajlar yoluyla çerçevelenip sahnelendiği bir araca dönüştü ve böylece Pompeii'nin görsel grameri transfer edilmiş oldu. İlk aşamada üretilen imajlar oldukça teknik detaylara sahipti, ikinci aşamada gravürler ortaya çıktı, üçüncü aşamada fotoğraflar kitaplarda malzeme olarak kullanıldı ve sadece fotoğrafları içeren albümler ortaya çıktı, en son aşamada sanatçılar tarafından fotoğrafların altlık olarak kullanılması ile üretilen yeniden canlandırma görseller görselliğin mimari temsillerin yaratıcı gücü ile birleşerek aktarılmasına olanak sağladı. Bütün bu basılı malzeme arasında en önemli yere sahip olan *Pompeiana* idi. Kitabı diğer örnekler arasında önemli kılan görsel malzemeyi etkileyici bir şekilde kullanma biçimi olsa da, bunun da ötesinde en etkileyici özelliği gerçek ve kurguyu, geçmiş ve şimdiki zamanı harmanlayarak Pompeii'yi okuyucuya sunan *The Last Days of*

Pompeii adlı romanın ortaya çıkması için bir zemin hazırlamasıydı. Kitap Pompeii sakinlerinden Glaucus, Ione ve Nydia arasındaki aşk üçgenini konu alıyordu, fakat melodramatik bir aşk hikayesi olmanın ötesinde yarattığı mimari atmosfer ile okuyucuya Pompeii'nin son günlerinin yaşandığı zaman dilimini canlandırma şansı verdi. Romanın en önemli etkisi 20. yüzyıl başında üretilen sessiz filmlere konu olmasıydı.

20. yüzyıl başlarında erken dönemini yaşayan sinema disiplini seyirciye zaman ve mekan arasında görsel bir yolculuk yapma imkanı sundu, ve yeni görme biçimleri üretti. Bir temsil oluşturmak amacıyla sinema, klasik hikayeleri ve antik şehirleri konu edindi. İzleyici gerçek anlamda antik kentlere yolculuk yapmasada, hareketli imajların ekrana yansıtılması yoluyla görsel bir yolculuk tecrübe etti. Giluana Bruno'ya göre sinema bu yolla kendi *Grand Tour*'unu oluşturdu. Sessiz filmler üretilmeden önceki ilk çalışmalar seyahat filmleri türü altında Pompeii'yi ve kenti ziyaret edenleri sinematik bir çerçeve içerisinde sergiledi. Pompeii kazılardan sonra geçmişin yeniden üretilmesi için potansiyel güce sahip bir temsileyete dönüştü, ve bu nedenle Pompeii ve trajik hikayesi sessiz dönem filmlerine uyarlandı. Sinema sanatı ilk yıllarında halkı eğlendirmek için kullanılan bir araçtı, ve kendini bir sanat dalı olarak meşrulaştırmaya çalışıyordu. Bu bağlamda filmler, izleyicinin, sinemanın ortaya çıkışından önce aşina olduğu tarihsel temaları ve çok bilinen hikayeleri entegre etme yoluna girdi. Pompeii'nin bir çok mecrada temsil edilen trajik hikayesini filmlere uyarlamak aslında sinemanın kendini meşrulaştırma çabası içerisinde yer alıyordu. Pompeii'yi konu edinen filmler *The Last Days of Pompeii* romanından senaryolaştırdı ve romanla aynı adı alarak seyirci ile buluştu. Kurgu ve gerçeklik arasındaki ilişkiyi kuvvetlendirerek aktarmak adına filmler, antik dönem temsillerinde, Pompeii'nin filmlerden önce temsil edildiği sanat eserlerinde, ve kitaplarda yaratılan görsel kodları harmanlayarak yeni bir temsileyet sundu. Anıtsallık, dekorasyon ve antik dönem kıyafetleri bu kodlardan bazılarıydı. Geçmişi ve antik yaşantıyı yeniden canlandırmak için kullanılan Pompeii, bir konu olarak sadece İtalya'da değil farklı coğrafyalarda da kullanıldı.

Pompeii'nin görsel olarak temsilinin değişen nosyonunu göz önünde bulundurarak, bu çalışma boyunca iki ana tartışma yürütülür. Bunlardan ilki; Pompeii kentinin zaten antik ritüllerin gerçekleştirildiği bir sahne olarak tasarlandığı ve kazılar ile yeninden ortaya çıkışından sonra da, zaten varolan mimari sahnenin sanat mecralarınca yorumlanarak

yeniden sahnelendiğidir. İkincisi; bu yeniden sahnelemeler, kronolojik bir dizim ile art arda getirildiğinde Pompeii üzerine üretilen bilgi ve temsillerin aktarılmasında rol oynayan aktörlerin varlığının ortaya çıkmasıdır. Pompeii'yi mimari sekansların toplamı olarak değerlendiren araştırmacılar, bu sekansları ortaya çıkarmak için 'armatür', 'kompoze edilmiş görünümler', 'yapılı resimler', 'sekanslar' ve '*mise-en scene*' gibi kavramları üretmişlerdir. Tez Pompeii sahnesinin mimari tektoniğini ortaya çıkarabilmek adına 'sahne içinde sahne', 'çerçeve içinde çerçeve' anlamına gelen *Mise-en Abym* terimini kullanır.

Pompeii temsillerinin dört safhası vardır. İlk safha Pompeii'nin küller altında kalmasından önceki dönemi kapsar. Pompeii'de mimari *Mise-en Abyme* en küçük ölçekli bileşenlerden olan, mimari resimler, perspektif ve derinlik kullanarak bir yanılsama yaratan duvar resimleri ile başlar. Bu resimler konutun farklı bölümlerinde bakan kişiye farklı hikayeler ve anlamlar sunar. Duvarlarda çerçevelenen sahneler Pompeii'yi bir sahneye dönüştüren ilk aşamadır. Bu resimleri çerçeveleyen duvarlar ise bir sonraki *mise-en abyme*'in ikinci aşamasıdır. Resimleri çerçeveleyen duvarlar ve açıklıklar yardımı ile *fauces*'tan *tablinum*'a kadar uzanan görsel aks üzerinde mimari sekanslar oluşur. Bütün bu elemanların ve sahnelerin birleşiminden oluşan mimari planın çizdiği sınır, başka türlü bir çerçeveleme biçimi yaratır. Bu bağlamda bütün kent, içiçe geçmiş çerçevelerden ve sahnelerden oluşmuş bir kompozisyondur. Temsillerin ikinci safhası kazıların yürütülmesi ile başlar. Açık havada yürütülen kazılar buluntuların sahnelenmesine olanak sağlarken, Pompeii'yi konu edinen kitaplarda yer alan görsel malzeme başka türden bir sahnelemenin gerçekleşmesinin önünü açar. Üçüncü safhada; Pompeii üzerine üretilen bilgi yorumlamaya açık hale geldiğinde mimari sahneler sanatçılar tarafından sahnelendi, yeniden üretilen ve sanatçının değerlendirmesi doğrultusunda çerçevelenen görsel malzeme böylece artistik bir değer kazandı. Dördüncü safhada performansa dayalı sanatlar aracılığıyla temsil edilen konu, daha önceki görme biçimlerine meydan okurcasına varolan görsel malzemeyi yeniden kurguladı. Özellikle fimlerde, kamera lensi tarafından filtrelenen imajlar ekranda çerçevelendi. Antik dönemi konu edinen sessiz dönem filmlerinin sinemaya en önemli katkısı yeni ortaya çıkan bu mecranın kendini meşrulaştırması için aradığı zemini antik dönemde bulmasıydı. Sinema bütün duyuları harekete geçiren bir tecrübe yaratmasından dolayı, Pompeii ve mimarlığını kendisinden önce varolan ve

performansa dayalı olan opera ve tiyatro gibi diğer artistik üretimlerden daha etkileyici bir şekilde sahneledi.

Bütün bu safhalarda görsel temsillerin oluşturulmasına ve taşınmasına aracılık eden aktörler vardı. İlk aktörler antik ritüelleri konutlarında ve kamusal yapılarda gerçekleştirerek mimari sahneleri kullanan Pompeii halkıydı. Arkeologlar, kazı yöneticileri ve mimarlar ilk sistemli kazıların yürütülmesiyle Pompeii'nin saklı içeriğini ortaya çıkarmakta rol aldı. Seyahat edenler, seyahat üzerine yazılar üretenler ve yazarlar ise Pompeii'de ortaya çıkarılan görsel malzemeyi farklı coğrafyalara yayarak, onun uluslararası bir etkileşim kurmasına aracı oldu. Sanatçılar, fotoğrafçılar ve yönetmenler yorumlarını katarak oluşturdukları kurgular ile kenti ve mimari bileşenlerini hafızalarda yer eden ikonlara dönüştürdü. Bütün temsil biçimleri birbirini takip ettiği gibi, karşılıklı bir iletişim içerisindeydi. Farlı yöntemler, farklı sahneleme biçimleri ve farklı çerçeveleme yöntemleri ile şekillenen görsel temsiller ikinci boyut ve üçüncü boyut arasında gidip geldi. Örneğin, kitaplarda kullanınlan imajlar, konutlara ait perspektifleri iki boyutlu sayfa düzleminde çerçevelerken, filmler dekorlar yoluyla önce kendi üç boyutlu hacimlerini oluşturdu, sonra bu hacimler içinde kurgulanan sahneleri iki boyutlu ekran üzerinde çerçeveledi.

Sonuç olarak, tez Pompeii'nin mimari temsillerinin görsel bir malzeme olarak nasıl yorumlandığını ve aktarıldığını tartışır. Resimli seyahat kitaplarını ve sessiz filmleri çalışmanın odağına yerleştirme amacı bu farklı temsil biçimlerinin konu edindiği Pompeii mimarlığını ve mimarlık tarihini disiplinlerarası bir karşılaştırma yaparak yorumlamaktır. 21. yüzyılda disiplinler arasındaki sınırlar erimekte, farklı disiplinler bu sayede birbiri ile sıkı ilişkiler örgütlemektedir. Özellikle klasik temaları artistik temsilleri üzerinden tartışmayı amaç edinen *Classical Reception* çalışmalarının sayısının gün geçtikçe çoğaldığı bu dönemde, tezin mimarlık tarihi alanında yapılacak disiplinlerarası çalışmalar için bir örnek teşkil edeceğini umut ediyorum. Bütün bu çalışmaların sağladığı veriler ışığında hiçbir mimarlık pratiğinin Pompeii'de uygulanan kadar sinematik bir kurguya sahip olmadığını, Pompeii'nin zaten sahnelenmek için kurgulanan bir kent olduğunu düşünüyor ve son sözler olarak şunları aktarıyorum: Pompeii'nin görsel anlatısı sahne içinde sahneler barındıran kompoze edilmiş bir '*mimari mise en abym*'dir.

APPENDIX I TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences ■

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : ATACAN
Adı / Name : AYLİN
Bölümü / Department : MİMARLIK TARİHİ/ ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English) :

BETWEEN IMAGE AND MOVING IMAGE: REPRESENTATIONS OF POMPEII IN ILLUSTRATED BOOKS AND SILENT FILMS OF 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURY

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ☐ **Doktora** / PhD ■

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. /** Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. ☐
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years. *** ☐
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months**. ***** ■

***** *Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir.*
A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.

Yazarın imzası / Signature ..... **Tarih** / Date ……