Archaeology and Tourism in the Early 20th Century: Pompeii Through a Photographic Archive

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND TOURISM IN THE EARLY 20\textsuperscript{TH} CENTURY: POMPEII

THROUGH A PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE

By

Rebecca A. Salem

A THESIS

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND TOURISM IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY: POMPEII
THROUGH A PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE

Rebecca A. Salem, M.A.

University of Nebraska, 2018

Advisor: Effie Athanassopoulos

Held at the University of Nebraska State Museum, the Iain C.G. Campbell collection contains thirty-nine photographs taken at Pompeii and Athens, forty-six postcards from multiple archaeological sites around the Mediterranean, and two Roman style lamps. Dating to the early nineteen hundreds, this collection was brought to Nebraska by Iain C.G. Campbell, the son of Gladys Annie Campbell née Theophilus, the original collector and the woman who is thought to be shown in two of the photographs from the collection. Campbell moved to Nebraska after his marriage to Gladys Perry, a native Nebraskan, and brought with him his mother’s collection. Donated to the museum in 1973, it is this collection that this thesis centers around, presenting and analyzing the material from multiple perspectives.

Travel throughout the Mediterranean has been present from antiquity to the present day. The discovery and excavation of archaeological sites and their promotion as must visits during the period of the Grand Tour established cities such as Pompeii and Athens as popular destinations for travelers coming from around the world. Due to this global impact on diverse cultures anthropology has taken strides to understand practices related to both the tourists and hosts. The Campbell collection fits within the study of objects accumulated by travelers for their larger understanding as objects of memory and presentation as proof of exploration and travel.
To make the Campbell collection more accessible, the photographs, postcards, and lamps have been digitized using both traditional scanning for the 2D objects and photogrammetry to create 3D models of the lamps. Using Geographic Information System’s (GIS) ability to map the locations of the photographs and formulate routes using Network Analyst, the photographs in the city of Pompeii were mapped and a possible route for the 1900s visit was formed. With the digital products of the collection, a narrative website was formed using Scalar to present the collection online.
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Introduction

People have always been on the move. From the earliest point of migration, to covering short distances to meet another group of people or returning to a food source, people have needed to go from place to place. Travel became essential for commerce, military conquests, and even sports. An example of the later can be seen in the travel of athletes to Olympia to partake in the games, traditionally ascribed with the origin date of 776 BCE. A distinction becomes apparent between travel for more pleasurable reasons to that of business. In Latin, the word *otium* is used for leisure, its opposite being *negotium* meaning business; words that Pliny the Younger, writing in the first century CE, makes clear distinction of (*Ep.* 1.3.3). Over the centuries travel turned into a recreation and learning experience producing the world of the Grand Tour and further excursions of the aristocracy based on leisure. During the nineteenth century, a transformative process would occur in which travel became more available for the middle classes, the naissance of mass tourism. Few people on the planet today have not been impacted by tourism in some manner, be it as the host or guest, or both. Given the cross-cultural interactions and global impact of tourism, anthropology provides a strong methodological framework in which to examine tourism.

One of the most infamous natural disasters of antiquity, the eruption of Mount Vesuvius on the 24th of August in 79 CE buried the port city of Pompeii with meters of ash and pumice. Nearly two millennia later the uncovering of the ancient city revealed statuary, painted walls, mosaic floors, and mostly intact structures for various activities. At the early onset, Pompeii was not visited by many, but the dispersal of images and artifacts throughout Europe drew people to the site. Eventually, a change in power and a change in the site’s directorship allowed Pompeii to be open to everyone that could get
there. In the early 1900s a young woman would travel to Pompeii and to other cities in the Mediterranean. As many tourists do, she assembled a collection of personal photographs, postcards, and purchased objects to bring back home with her. Today this collection has become known as the Campbell Archive and is held in Lincoln, Nebraska. These souvenirs held an importance as they passed from the mother’s possession to her son and they were amongst the belongings that he moved from England to the United States. As he and his wife had no children they donated much of their personal property. The Campbell Archive is held in both the University of Nebraska State Museum (UNSM) and the University of Nebraska – Lincoln’s (UNL) Department of Anthropology.

This thesis aims to examine the Campbell Archive within the frameworks of the anthropology of tourism and the historical development of tourism, especially travel to Pompeii. Due to the inaccessibility of the collection to the great majority of the public, a digital component was developed to display the contents of the collection and their interpretation online. Using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), photogrammetry, and the publishing platform Scalar has allowed the material elements to be presented virtually.
Chapter 1: Tourism and the Anthropology of Tourism

Definition of Tourism

Before considering a historical or anthropological approach to tourism an understanding of just what tourism is must be established and this definition is one that has multiple interpretations. Perhaps the most cited and formal definition is offered by the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO) in 1963 which was approved in 1968 by the World Tourist Agency. Approached from the perspective of an international tourist, they are defined as “temporary visitors staying at least twenty-four hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following headings: (a) leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study religion and sport); (b) business (family mission, meeting)” (IUOTO 1963: 14). Written in the jargon of an international organization, the definition lacks the dimensionality appropriate for approaching tourism from multiple perspectives.

In 1974, the first national academic symposium was held on tourism in Mexico City and the resulting publication in 1977, with its second edition printed in 1989, has become a foundational text in approaching tourism from an academic perspective. In this publication, Smith (1989) proposes that tourism is the product of leisure time, discretionary income, and positive local sanctions. This definition is rather formulaic and sets a simple standard for recognizing tourism. From this definition, Smith produces five categories of tourism activities. First, ethnic tourism, which allows for visitors to observe and possibly participate in the “quaint” customs of indigenous peoples that often live in locals far from the tourists’ home nations. In these circumstances house visits are

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1 All dates are CE unless otherwise indicated.
common as is the buying of local wares that are often being made in front of the travelers themselves. What distinguishes ethnic tourism from the next category, cultural tourism, is ethnic tourism’s remote nature and is often the much more “off the beaten path” experience. Since the publication of Smith’s chapter many of these ethnic tourism experiences have converged into cultural tourism due to increased access to places throughout the world.

Cultural tourism, according to Smith, is a more established version of ethnic tourism, whereby guests see a “peasant” culture functioning as usual with their daily chores and production of goods, all while within a bus ride away from a resort or contemporary hotel. Environmental tourism, transports the willing to what are considered to be alien landscapes or locations within nature that not typical scenes. More recently this has been defined as eco-tourism. The next category is historical tourism, which Smith describes as the “Museum-Cathedral circuit that stresses the glories of the past” (1989: 5). This category invites tourists to see the locations of key events in history and has one of the most developed tourist industries moving it. Arguably the most developed form of tourism is that of recreational tourism. Perhaps best epitomized by the slogan ‘What happens in Vegas stays in Vegas,’ recreational tourism allows its participants to escape to an away from home freedom at locations where there are often slopes, sand, and seas. Spas, golfing, good food, and other luxuries have developed the experience to be one that tourists clamber for. Smith’s outline for tourism provided a framework in which others could use to describe the situations that their research focused on, but it lacked the more academic focus that was needed for legitimacy of the work.
In 1984, one of the earliest researchers to approach tourism from anthropological or sociological conceptions, Erik Cohen, constructed an eight category typology of tourism delineating different types of activities or purposes: tourism as commercialized hospitality; tourism as democratized travel; tourism as a modern leisure activity; tourism as a modern variety of the traditional pilgrimage; tourism as an expression of basic cultural themes; tourism as an acculturative process; tourism as a type of ethnic relations; and tourism as a form of neocolonialism. Cohen’s categories incorporate much more of the academic approaches that are granted by anthropology and sociology, but, as is often common not everyone is in agreement and some advocate for simpler definitions that allow for more flexibility.

Burns (1999) presents four primary elements of tourism: travel demands, tourism intermediaries, destination influences, and the range of impacts the previous three lead to. This approach allows the different concepts to combine and overlap encouraging a more holistic approach to tourism. Burns’ definition does not necessarily define tourism but rather considers things that can be considered under that term. Urry (2002) gives more refined definition writing, “Tourism is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated work and organized work. It is one manifestation of how work and leisure are organized as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in ‘modern’ societies” (p. 2). In this definition tourism is a modern concept that is related to Smith’s earlier recreational travel category. Since the 1963 IUOTO definition, no other strict definition has been applied to tourism on the international level. This uncertainty to the definition has led anthropologists to have an uneven ground to start approaching the topic.
In a more simplistic, but realistic definition Burns (2004) defines tourism as involving travelling, a temporary situation, and having a voluntary aspect. This definition permits a range of study of actions that involve these three facets without limiting or requiring categorization of the method. More recently, in his edited volume from 2012, Peter Robinson does not try and narrow down tourism to one definition, rather he provides thirty-four different types of tourism as key concepts and gives definitions for what each type is. There are further types of tourism identified in the index additionally. Some of the forms of tourism include arts tourism, tourism for business, dark tourism, genealogical or ancestral tourism, literary tourism, medical tourism, sex tourism, spa tourism, sports tourism, wildlife tourism, and even wine tourism. It would seem that in the current era of scholarship that the definition of tourism is quite lenient and would depend on the type of tourism that the tourist is practicing.

**Historical Development of the Anthropology of Tourism**

Despite the magnitude of tourism in the world and its impact on travelers and hosts, tourism as studied from an anthropological perspective has been slow to develop. Commonly proposed is the concept that: “Anthropologists and tourists seem to have a lot in common” (Stronza 2001: 261). There is a similarity in studying a population as an ethnographer to traveling to see a group of indigenous people as a tourist (Nuñez 1989; Burns 2004). Originally, anthropologists viewed tourism as an area of frivolous study and not worthy of scholarship. Burns (2004) recognizes that there was a widespread lack of awareness of the impact and significance of tourism around the globe. Given anthropology’s research focuses on rituals and ceremonies, human interactions, and
cross-cultural aesthetics it is surprising that it took anthropology as look as it did to begin to explore the field (Graburn 1989).

While the first study of tourism from a historical perspective is Pimlott’s 1947 publication, The Englishman’s Holiday: A Social History (Anderson et al. 2017), the first cultural approach is Nuñez’s 1963 article: Tourism, Tradition, and Acculturation: Weekendismo in a Mexican Village. The article describes a pattern of leisure on weekend visitations of Guadalajaran residents traveling to the lake-side village of Cajititlán in the 1960s. These holiday-goers brought with them modern luxuries such as speedboats, radios, barbeques, and luxury beach homes and businesses in the area responded with the construction of stores and restaurants. In an effort to make the area safer and more pleasant for tourists, new laws were put into place, such as no public urination or drunkenness. These changes altered the social dynamics in the city considerably bringing local rival gangs to lay claim to resources that benefited business that buy in and harm the others that did not (Nunez 1963). Though not in an anthropology journal this article started a trend of looking at places, people, and cultural practices influenced by tourism. Established in 1973 The Annals of Tourism Research is the premier journal for publication concerning tourism studies; however, the first anthropological article was not published in it until 1977, and it was not until the 1980s that an article concerning tourism was published in an anthropological journal (Burns 2004). Smith’s edited volume (see above) in 1977 was one of the first texts to present tourism as a field of study in anthropology and its second edition appearing just a little over a decade later in 1989 is a testament to the changing dynamics in the field.
In recent decades, tourism has begun being recognized as a major field within anthropology, one with great potential for expansion. Courses are now taught on the subject. Textbooks such as Burns’ (1999) *An Introduction to Tourism & Anthropology* addresses anthropology, tourism, tourist culture, and how these different aspects fit together. Despite greater interest tourism, Stronza (2001) identifies only two dominant perspectives that anthropologists have taken towards studying tourism, the first investigates the origins of tourism and the second analyzes the impacts of tourism. This narrow perspective leaves a lot of gaps in research and understanding. Given that Franz Boas advocated a holistic approach to anthropology, how is it possible that connections are failing to be recognized? Scholarship in the future needs to look at hosts, tourists, and the touristic operators collectively rather than as singular factions (Burns 2004).

**Brief Overview of the Anthropological Practice**

Given the multifaceted definition of tourism and the nature of the discipline of anthropology it is understandable that the practice of studying tourism from an anthropological perspective has since branched out into a deluge of studies. New projects have been formed for the purpose of studying tourism and earlier research projects are being revisited to consider tourism as an element. In fact, it is becoming rare to see a major publication on a culture without an element of tourism represented, whether the members of that community be the hosts or the guests. In setting the framework in which to examine the Campbell archive, this section will present elements of the anthropology of tourism relevant to the study at hand.

For MacCannel (1984), tourism is a unifying force that has the ability to bring people together with the possibility to collectively define events, places, and symbols that
are recognized as important and meaningful in some manner. Through travel, the tourist sees these in person and through this shared experience with others, whether it be during their partaking or afterwards through conversation, photographs, and souvenirs, is able to “reassemble the disparate pieces of their otherwise fragmented lives” (MacCannell 1973, p. 593). A very psychological analysis of the tourist, but it does account for the collective that is formed amongst those who have shared experiences. Additionally, there is an element of authenticity that comes from legitimizing your travel in having accomplished what you sought to and in sharing the experience with others.

The presence of artifacts or images as souvenirs testifies to a person’s journey to that location (Adler 1989). Kovacs writes, “Functioning as both tangible reminders of the journey and as simulacra of the original, art objects increase the significance of the original site as a locale of preeminence in the tourist’s search for the ‘authentic,’ out of reach of modern society (2013, p. 29). Great prestige can come through travel and a probable consequence of that prestige is status (Correia & Moital 2009). Photographs, postcards, and mass produced souvenirs can be classified as tripper-objects, object’s whose meaning is determined by their final resting spot with a personal or sentimental value attached, one not publically valued (Lury 1997). Some tourists strive to improve their regard through their travel experiences, as if one were a member of an elite or secret club to say you have been to a specific country or seen a specific spectacle. To satisfy a requirement of social or monetary value, the objects would be what Lury (1997) would classify as Traveler-objects, unique, rare, or precious goods purchased with their intended social meaning attached.
A traditional study of anthropology has been that of ritual and its associated practices. Graburn describes tourism as a modern ritual process, the modern secular equivalent of religious pilgrimages and annual festivals in earlier traditional and non-secular cultures (1989). For Graburn this new, contemporary ritual of tourism reflects the values of freedom, health, nature, and self-improvement that society holds. Drawing on Durkheim’s defined concepts of the sacred and the profane, Graburn finds the ritual function of tourism in society, especially in its role in building and maintaining a collective consciousness (1915). He considers souvenirs as the totems of this modern ritual and through a connection to such an object, people can strengthen their connection to each other. As an example, hardly anyone who has been to Pompeii will restrain themselves from speaking about that experience when confronted with an image or object of Pompeii. Through their communication about their role as a tourist on that ritual of travel they can strengthen their ties with others who also traveled to Pompeii through their communal experience.

Another approach towards tourism comes in light of post-colonialism and labels tourism as the “vanguard of neocolonialism.” This classification stems from evidence that shows that while tourism can bring economic stimulus, the majority of profits do not typically remain local benefiting that population, but rather are distributed to large industry leaders in countries abroad (Nash 1989). Tourism is a key form of economic capital for many indigenous groups coping with changing lifestyles and the pressures of globalization, often associated with tourism impacts. Further, the stereotypical American tourist traveling to a foreign country expects to speak English, be able to order a cheese-burger with fries, and a stay in a recognizable hotel chain, in a room that could be found
replicated throughout the world. This tourist demands that their expectations, whatever they may be, are met. Nash follows Malinowski who described the world during the colonial period as a period of contact and change consisting of three orders of sociocultural reality: the native or traditional, the modern or industrial, and the transitional (1945). For much of the developing world that has tourism this paradigm fits and many parts of the world are striving to find their own place. Later this was expanded upon by Said (1978) who emphasized the colonial aspect to perceptions of those not from the same land and the marginalization of those such people through the impact by the westerner. As resorts are constructed and the increase in tourism begins, the local labor decreases and the local population is introduced to a wage labor that does not pay more than enough to live on. Despite this local populations become dependent on their paychecks and do not return to their traditional or even pre-tourism work. Applying Malinowski’s theory further, the formed contrasts of the authentic to the inauthentic, the natural to the fake all act as a powerful operator of semiotics within tourism and contribute to its understanding (Culler 1981).

A common criticism of tourism as a whole is the concept of commodification of culture, whereby the guests to foreign destinations share their culture with the hosts and little by little the host culture manifests into a different culture that may still hold some of its original qualities, but greatly incorporates elements of the guests’ culture. Often referred to as acculturation, this process considers urban tourists as “donors” that interact with host populations in “recipient” cultures and results in a social and cultural change (Nuñez 1963). Tied to this is the concern that host or recipient cultures will lose their own cultural identity. Another consequence is the possibility that the manifested culture
from this blend can end up as a formation of what is deemed valuable by the guests.

Tourists have what Urry calls a “tourist gaze” that is a romantic and collective view of a destination (2002). These gazes are in a sense replications of the television commercials or published ads that present a series of images that the tourist sees before their trip and therefore expects those conditions upon arrival. This, if not handled competently, can lead to the formation of prepackaged ethnic stereotypes. In their edited volume, *Tourism Imaginaries: Anthropological Approaches*, Salazar and Graburn (2014) explore these fabrications around the globe. Here they conceptualize imaginaries to be “socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people’s personal imaginings and that are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices” (Salazar 2012, p. 841).

A further example of this can be seen in Wynn’s *Pyramids and Nightclubs* (2007) where she outlines two different Egypts: first as a backdrop to a film with the ancients walking around their tremendous monuments and the other the modern city in which contemporary global culture mixes with a recently conflicted past. On the reverse, the formation of a collective cultural identity can become an empowering mode of self-representation allowing locals to choose how they would like to be represented, and modifying for alterations over time (Cohen 1988).

**A Short History of Tourism**

Travel, in the basic definition, through the movement of a person or people has occurred with the movement of people from place to place for sustenance or protection, developing into more systematic travel for trade or work. Tourism has origins extending back to antiquity. Accounts describe emperors, citizens, and writers’ journeys throughout the ancient world (Casson 1994). First century BCE to first century CE geographer and
historian Strabo traveled around the Mediterranean with the purpose of writing about the geography of region which he wrote in the seventeen books of his *Geographica*. In the second century Pausanias’ wrote his ten book work *Descriptions of Greece* where he recounts his travels and what he saw while travelling through different cities and regions of Greece. During the Medieval period, travel as tourism manifested to religious pilgrimage. Routes were established such as the *Camino de Santiago* (Way of Saint James) across northern Spain to reach the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Pilgrims would collect shells from the shores near the end of their destination as a badge of honor for the completion of their journey. Pilgrimage badges became popular throughout the majority of mainland Europe and into the east (Spencer 2017, Vikan 2011). Pilgrimages for religious purposes continue to this day, including the Haji, the pilgrimage to Mecca, a journey that began as early as the eighth century and is one of the five pillars of Islam.

A product of the Renaissance, what would later become the Grand Tour developed during the sixteenth century through scholarly and civil training (de Saint Victor 2009). Queen Elizabeth I needed diplomatic civil servants to the crown who knew the art of conversation, and those who could be her ambassador or those on missions in foreign courts. These men were to be well versed in foreign languages, customs, and have international friends that could come to their aid when abroad (Brodsky-Porges 1981). Producing such distinguished English gentlemen came from education and time spent abroad. Typically, due to the time away and the social status needed to be chosen for such study required that the young diplomatic trainee come from wealth and an elevated social status. With time this international study abroad became somewhat more standardized.

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2 For a history of the study of the Grand Tour see Ceserani, Caviglia, Coleman, De Armond, Murray, and Taylor-Poleskey 2017, 427-29.
and by the seventeenth century a more defined route had been formed, at this point more classically orientated due to the influence of Classical and Renaissance interests (Towner 1985). During the seventeenth century, water transport was heavily influential in the areas traveled to and the journey typically consisted of travel down through central France on the Saône and the Rhône and then taking in the monuments of Southern France and then crossing into Northern Italy and further down the Italian peninsula via the Po River. For the return journey, travel proceeded up through Germany on the Danube and the Rhine and then across the Low Countries before returning to England. For such a journey, nearly three years were required, as long periods of time were spent in universities and other learning centers (Burke 1968).

From 1714 to 1740 as many as forty percent of international travelers were students traveling for educational purposes and a further thirty-five percent were traveling as tutors, but during the period of 1781 to 1791 the figure sharply declined (Towner 1985). By the 1780s participants of the Grand Tour were no longer the aristocracy, but included more of the professional middle class. By the 1830s the average travel duration had declined to just four months (Towner 1985). The Grand Tour in the later part of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century shifted its focus away from the antique to the Romantic focusing on the scenic landscape with its wild nature and picturesque Medieval Towns (Towner 1985). Routes changed at this time, but the primary countries that were traveled to were still France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Countries, with extensions to Spain and Portugal or the Middle East. The end of the Grand Tour has many arguable dates, the earliest date given for the conclusion is 1796 when Napoleon invaded Northern Italy, but travel resumed following the
Napoleonic wars; later dates extend the time to the advent of railroads in the 1840s and with the increase of middle class tourism throughout the later part of the nineteenth century (Hom 2013; de Saint Victor 2009; Towner 1985; Brand 1957).

Grand Tour tourism was about establishing the norms and genres of representation; it laid out what places were not to be missed and what a person should see (Lofgren 1999). The purpose was to visit the notable museums, meet the ‘right’ people, study at the most esteemed colleges, and to see the noteworthy sites and monuments. A student would return to student an enculturated member of high society. Souvenirs acquired throughout the journey ranged from tailor made clothes to art purchased by the aristocracy for their English estates. Prints or smaller items were also purchased and returned with their owners to England. An example of this can be seen in the acquisition of lattimo plates with depictions of Venice as described by Charleston (1959). The time spent away from home, the cost of such a journey and proper instruction, and the need for such an experience was certainly not for the masses, but rather for the more discerning family.

During the late eighteenth century, wealthy aristocrats in England began to visit thermal baths as a treatment for illness or general wellness; first in Scarborough and then other locations, such as Bath, Buxton, or Harrogate (Urry 2002). This transitioned into trips to the sea-side and a desire to travel to warmer places. Over time the possibility for more people to take such jaunts became possible with the introduction of an affordable mode of transportation found in the railroad. One individual, Thomas Cook (1808-1892), would single handedly change the way that people thought about travel indefinitely.
A cabinetmaker by trade and a Baptist preacher and pamphlet publisher, Thomas Cook took it upon himself to organize a journey to a temperance meeting in 1842. Due to the response and the financial gain from his efforts Cook expanded his tour offerings and by 1845 trips were taken in England and Scotland, not just for purposes of attending temperance meetings but for leisure travel (Graburn 1989). By 1864, Cook led the first tour into Northern Italy. Reaching Italy had been a goal of Cook, given the country’s strong connection to the Grand Tour (Hom 2015). He wished to make Italy accessible to the middle-class so they could accumulate the aesthetic education that previously only the aristocratic elite had received in the centuries prior.

As precursors to Eurail and Traveler’s Checks, Cook developed coupons that were valid for trains, hotels, and food around 1864 (Hom 2015). This system helped to develop not only tourism infrastructure, but general infrastructure in the countries that Cook traveled to, especially in Italy. By 1868 the coupons were valid as far south in Italy as Naples and Pompeii. One key factor to Cook’s success was the rapid expansion of the railway network throughout Europe. It facilitated quick and relatively affordable movement to many locations that previously would have required significant effort to reach. Some of Cook’s tours resembled paths of the Grand Tour, but rather than taking months or years they were compressed into week long periods. Cook turned tourism into an indicator of modernity and civility, “institutionalizing it within daily life” (Hom 2015 p. 92). Travel continued like this for nearly a century with some interruptions due to non-positive local sanctions that would not permit leisurely visitation. With the advent of Cook’s tours, tourism for the masses had arrived.
Tourism as a global phenomenon came about after World War II with rising standards of living, a shortening of the work week, longer paid vacation time, and greater improvement and development of transportation modes. The 1960s and the economic boom especially within the United States radically increased tourism. With women in the work place families found they had more disposable income and as a pleasurable break from work they traveled. A sense of the increase can be seen in the numbers of international tourists. In 1950 there were only 2.3 million international tourists, in 1960, 75.3 million; in 1970 169.0 million and in 1980, 291 million, not including domestic travelers (Cohen 1984). The 1980s saw tourism as a mass phenomenon and during the 1990s tourism became a global phenomenon. Today tourism is an extremely complex industry with niche markets within it.

More locations around the world have become common tourist destinations. Noronha (1977) outlines the development of tourist destinations as having first a discovery phase with a few visitors looking away from the main holiday locations. This progresses to a local response and initiative to attract more tourists, leading to the third state of institutionalization, the formation of a new Cancun, Miami, Phuket, or Ibiza. Tourists are motivated by a plethora of reasons to travel including an escape from the monotony of life and busy cities, nostalgia for a lost paradise, social prestige, a need for relaxation, and a sense of exploration. Stronza (2001) argues that the centuries of leisure travel have formed a sort of social dictate whereby tourists move through “vactionscapes” depending on their desires. This can come from the pre-packed all-inclusive resort such as Sandals or Beaches, the theme park visit for the entire family to locations such as
Disney World and LEGOLAND, or looking at the more niche markets that cater to those looking to go off the beaten path.

One of the great ironies of tourism is that by being a tourist, the tourist destroys what they seek. If people long for an isolated and undiscovered location to explore they are not likely to be the first ones there and tourists do not like the presence of other tourists; it removes the uniqueness of their experience. Culler puts this more eloquently: “The true age of travel has, it seems, always slipped by; other travelers are always tourists” (1981: 130). When a prospective tourist asks for a destination with good accessibility and connections they do not realize that this makes their choice accessible and an easy connection for the masses. Despite these negations tourism thrives as an industry and one that countries around the world are promoting.

**Travel to Athens and Greece**

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, travel to Greece had been a fashionable destination as stop of the Grand Tour or for more leisurely travel, but visitation was rather tenuous given the nation’s political history. From 1456 to 1821 the country was held by the Ottomans who limited access to the country and foreign leisure travel was not encouraged. For this reason, Greece was less visited than Italy or the countries of northern Europe (Etienne & Etienne 1990). From 1751 to 1753 James Stuart, a painter, (1713-1788) and Nicholas Revett, an amateur architect, (1721-1804) traveled throughout much of what constitutes modern mainland Greece identifying, drawing, and measuring the great monuments. Following these initial years, they traveled to many of the islands of the Aegean, returning to London in 1755. Their research had been subsidized by the Society of the Dilettanti, headquartered in London, and in 1762 the
society published Stuart and Revett’s work as *The Antiquities of Athens and Other Monuments of Greece*. Widely disseminated throughout the western world at the time, the publication only encouraged travel to Greece for those wishing to see the antiquities romantically represented in Stuart’s illustrations found throughout the volume. Part history and part fiction, Father Jean-Jacques Barthélemy’s 1788 book, *Voyage of the Young Anacharsis*, tells the story of a Scythian traveling throughout Ancient Greece; a journey that referred to real sites and buildings. Readings of both research and fictional texts such as these prompted travel to Greece. With the later decline of the Ottoman Empire in the late eighteenth century travel to Greece became more feasible. A consequence of this influx in access led to the exportation of antiquities to other major European powers, most famously the Parthenon Marbles acquired by Lord Elgin.

The influx in tourists that publications drew came to an abrupt decline in the early nineteenth century. Lasting from 1821 until 1828, the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire resulted in the formation of the official autonomous state of Greece and opened the door for visitation, increasingly coming from Northern Europe and the United States. A sign of greater interest in the antiquities and establishment of formal Greek recognition came in 1837 with the founding of the Greek Archaeological society and the opening of the University of Athens. Further foreign schools were established in Athens for the study of the ancient Greeks with the French school (*École française d'Athènes*) founded in 1846, the American School of Classical Studies in 1882, the British School at Athens in 1885, and he German School of Athens (*Deutsche Schule Athen*) in 1896. A draw for tourists and an establishment of tourism infrastructure came with the opening of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens in 1889.
These academic institutions quickly began conducting archaeological excavations at sites that would later become some of the largest tourist destinations in the country: the French excavations at Delphi, beginning in 1893, the German excavations at Olympia, commencing in the 1870s, and the American School at Corinth, beginning in 1896, and later at the Agora in 1931. Drawing international attention were the first modern Olympic Games, held in Athens in 1896 (Young 2004). These games began a renaissance of travel to Greece as the twentieth century began. Despite these developments for travel and research in Greece, and especially Athens, guidebooks published into the early twentieth century, such as the Guide Joanne, included precautionary warnings to tourists traveling to Greece given the political and social situation (Fougères 1909). Officially recognizing an influx in tourists and the need for more structural infrastructure and planning, in 1914 the Bureau for Foreigners and Tourism Expositions was formally created under the advisement of the finance minister, Andreas Michalakopoulos (Vlachos 2015). The establishment of this governmental office is indicative of the awareness given to the influx in the number of tourists arriving in Greece in the first decades of the twentieth century.

**The Search for Pompeii**

Knowledge of the location of Pompeii was not lost following the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE. The late twelfth to early thirteenth century *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows the locations of not only Pompeii, but also of modern-day Herculaneum, Stabiae, and Oplontis (Talbert 2010). Early digging at Pompeii occurred by the end of the fifteenth century with finds of various fragments of capitals, reliefs, inscriptions,
columns, and bases (Mattusch 2013). Officially, excavations at the site began in 1748 just 200 meters from the Temple of Fortuna Augusta. Much of the history of travel to Pompeii runs parallel to the ongoing excavations of the city with access to the city affected by the progress and expanse of the excavations.

In 1734 Charles VII (formerly Charles of Bourbon, 1716-1788) claimed a military victory and gained the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Not recognized as an entirely legitimate holder of the throne, Charles did whatever he could to establish his Kingdom as one of international recognition (Cooley 2003). An element of this approach was to form impressive cultural institutions and when it was discovered, Pompeii, known as *La Civita* at this time, provided a wealth of sculpture and other forms of art for the royal collection. Roque de Alcubierre (1702-1780), a member of the Royal Military Corps of Engineers, was placed with the task of constructing a palace for the King of Naples in Portici and during the work finds from what would later be identified as Herculaneum began to surface. He was also encouraged to begin excavations at *La Civita* which prompted the excavations there. Early visitors to the site included the aristocracy of Europe, including the Hapsburg Emperor Joseph II, however without a connection with the Bourbon court access to the archaeological sites was difficult to obtain. Early publications such as Otavio Antooio Bayardi’s 1752 *Prodromo delle antichità d’Ercolano* slowly disseminated images of discoveries, but the majority of the finds remained undisclosed.

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3 For more information on early discoveries at Pompeii see Cooley 2003 and Özgenel 2008.
4 Formerly Charles of Bourbon. Charles VII was a son of Philip V of Spain and Elisabetta Farnese of Parma.
When Charles VII became Charles III of Spain in 1759 he left Ferdinand (1751-1825), his eight-year-old son, under the care of the grand chamberlain (*maggior domo maggiore*), the prince of San Nicandro, Domenico Cattaneo (1696-1781). Correspondence between Charles III and the Prince of San Nicandro demonstrates that Ferdinand visited an established museum to see treasures from Pompeii in June 1763, including the mosaic signed by Dioscorides of Samos found in the so-named Villa of Cicero (fig 1.1) (Knight 2013). They also went to see the excavations in Pompeii of the Temple of Isis in November of 1765.

Alcubierre became more of a treasure hunter than an archaeologist, but gradually more scientific approaches to excavation started to emerge. In 1755, excavations at *La Civita* were headed by another engineer, Karl Weber (1712-1764), who systematically unearthed areas section by section (Parslow 1995). From 1757 to 1792 *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte (Antiquities of Herculaneum Exposed)* was published with permission from the Bourbon Kings. It was a text that began a Neoclassical movement due to the images’ influence of craftsmen, scholars, and visitors (D’Amore 2017). Despite the dissemination of images, access to the sites was restricted by the Royal court and only those with close connections could gain a permit to visit.

In August of 1763 an unearthed inscription containing the words *Rei publicae Pompeianorum* identified the site as Pompeii, a city recorded by Latin authors, notably Pliny the Younger who describes the eruption his letters (*Ep. 6.16, 6.20*). Charles III kept an eye and an ear on the progress of the excavations and finds at Pompeii through the prime minister Bernardo Tanucci (1698-1783). An academic committee of fifteen, the *Reale Accademia Ercolanese di Archeologia*, was formed and given the task of
publishing the finds (Mattusch 2015). Between 1757 and 1792 eight volumes of *Le Antichità di Ercolano esposte*, were published, with images of finds throughout the Bay of Naples. Two thousand copies were made, but they were not for public distribution as they were gifted primarily to the nobility of Europe. Seeing such images, aristocrats were inspired to travel to the Bay of Naples and it became added to the Grand Tour routes of the day. At the death of Weber in 1764, Francisco La Vega (d. 1815) was placed in charge and continued Weber’s systematic excavation techniques. Under La Vega both the Odeon and the Temple of Isis were discovered, and later the gladiator’s barracks. The primary purpose of excavations still was the acquisition of gold, silver, and art and once a building’s purpose had been established the excavations stopped and moved on to the next structure (Etienne 1992). When Ferdinand gained the throne, his wife Caroline encouraged and financed further excavations leading to the discovery of the Villa of Diomedes in 1771.

In 1808 Joachim Murat and Queen Caroline, the sister of Napoleon I, took control of Naples. Caroline had a keen interest in archaeology and spent excessively on further uncovering of areas of Pompeii. The limits of the city were defined, work on the amphitheater and basilica progressed at a faster rate, and the outer wall near the Via Consolare was unearthed. When the Boubons returned to power there was a decrease in interest, but the site was made more accessible to visitors and the rate of publications increased (Kovacs 2013). Pompeii became a must-see site on the Grand Tour and Europeans and Americans flocked to the city to experience walking the ancient streets and see the uncovered structures. Artists were drawn to the city to paint the Romanic ruins and the work in progress. Amongst the produced works was Jacob Phillip Hacket’s
1799 painting “The Ruins of Pompeii,” which depicts the excavated Odeon, the Temple of Isis, and the gladiator’s barracks (fig. 1.2). Other notable visitors such as Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Charles Dickens, Mark Twain, and many others made the journey to see the city (Rowland 2014). A popular attraction was the staging of excavations through the reburial of previously discovered artifacts. Put on for prestigious visitors who would come to sit and watch the excavations and miraculously a tremendous find would be made in quick and dramatic fashion (Zimmerman 2007).

With the death of La Vega, Antonio Bonucci was put in charge, but with only thirteen assistants. Despite the shortage of staff, work continued at Pompeii and by 1823 the forum was excavated, as well as the remaining areas of the theater area, gladiator barracks, the western wall, and the Herculaneum Gate with the Street of the Tombs heading north. Under the reigns of Shortly after, further excavations yielded significant finds, most notably the House of the Tragic Poet and the Alexander Mosaic in the house of the Faun. At this point the directors began to consider making the buildings more presentable, leaving less to the imagination. Previously, tourists had walked around amongst rubble and building outlines with no identification and piles of earth all around the buildings. Clearing of excess debris and some reconstruction occurred, to the level that novelist Alexander Dumas (1802-1870) was able to live in the House of the Faun for a short period of time while writing Caligule (Beard 2013).

In 1839 the Circumvesuviana, a railroad network around the Bay of Naples, was inaugurated (fig. 1.3), allowing for tourists and local residents to move along the coast, thus offering easier access to Pompeii (Rowland 2014). Guseppe Garabaldi (1807-1882)
entered Naples in 1861 and offered the directorial position of Pompeii to Alexander Dumas, who accepted the role for only a short period of time, mainly due to a lack of popular support. Shortly after, Victor-Emmanuel II placed Guiseppe Fiorelli (1823-1896), in charge of the overall excavations at Pompeii. Great strides in the history of archaeology can be seen here, as Fiorelli insisted upon more systematic approaches towards the unearthing of the city (Etienne 1992, Cooley 2003). He is also responsible for laying out the *insulae* system of numbering and reduced ceiling collapses by removing soil upon buildings and away from the walls. In 1863 Fiorelli devised a way to fill in the gaps in the soil left by deceased people, animals, and other biological materials (such as wood for tables or door frames) with a method of plaster casting. This method provided the public with casts of the poses of the last movements of citizens’ lives in 79. A brothel, a bakery, and the House of Caecilius Jucundus were all unearthed before Fiorelli became the director of the museums. Under Fiorelli the site became the most accessible in its history through the establishment of permanent hours, set rates, and access for scholars. Additionally, public performances, such as the 1862 performance of Douizetti’s opera *The Daughter of the Regiment*, were held in Pompeii’s theater.

In 1864, Thomas Cook began to offer an optional one-and-a-half-day excursion south of Rome with a full day devoted to Pompeii and Herculaneum and just a half a day for Naples (Kovacs 2013). During the 1860s, coinciding with the arrival of mass tourism and the institutionalizing of the National Museum in Naples as a public museum, foundries begin to appear in Naples that acquired permits to mold and copy works within the museum’s collections (Kovacs 2013). Companies such as G. Commer & Figlio and the Chiurazzi Foundry gained permissions to create casts of museum collections and were
able to reproduce the originals in bronze (with a variety of patinas) to sell not only tourists, but to museums and other public institutions around the world (Kovacs 2013). Small souvenir shops near the entrances to Pompeii and within the modern town of Pompeii sold a variety of replicated objects including vases, mosaics, all with images or concepts of Pompeii, a trend that has continued to this day. An entry ticket to Pompeii cost two francs (free admission on Sunday) which included the accompaniment of a guide to direct the visitors around the city and open the locked doors of the buildings. The 1880s brought the discovery of cemeteries outside of the cities southern gates and the beginning of consolidation and restoration, in situ, of over 600 paintings. 

By 1890 over half of what is currently exposed in Pompeii had been excavated and by the end of the century there were nearly fifty thousand visitors to Pompeii each year (Beard 2015). From 1893 to 1901 Giulio de Petra directed Pompeii and under him the house of the Vettii was excavated (1894-1895) as well as the house of Lucretius Fronto and the temple to Venus Pompeiana, the tutelary goddess of the city. Restoration of roofs, the covering of atria and peristyles, and the recreation of inner gardens were the primary conservation and interpretation efforts. Ettore Païs worked on northern section in the period of 1901 to 1905, completing the areas adjoining the Via Stabiana and the Via di Nola. Immediately following Païs, Antonio Soglano devoted his directorship to restoration and conservation. From 1910 to 1924, Vittorio Spinazzola excavated the Via dell’Abbondanza as far as the Sarnian Gate, linking the city center with the amphitheater which had previously been disconnected due to the unexcavated farm land in between; up to that point access was provided only via a small path (Beard 2013). All these efforts made for a more enjoyable and interpreted visit for travelers. In the early twentieth
century visitors were able to walk in buildings and see paintings and a few select works of art still on display. Pompeii had been made accessible for all who were able to get there. While further works have continued and conservation and preservation have become even more important in Pompeii, it is at this point that is relevant for this thesis.

*The Last Days of Pompeii*

Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s (1803-1873) 1834 publication,* The Last Days of Pompeii* tells the story of interlocking love triangles on the eve of Pompeii’s doom (fig. 1.4). The characters, Glaucus the noble Greek, Ione the beautiful Greek, Apaecides the priest of the Cult of Isis, Arbaces the Egyptian, and Nydia the blind slave, are set within the world of Pompeii during the eruption and deal with depravity and decadence. Using real locations within Pompeii due to Bulwer-Lytton’s earlier visit, *The Last Days of Pompeii* became the most popular novel of its time and inspired travelers to visit Pompeii where they could walk around and see where their favorite characters lived and the dramatic scenes were set. The main character of the novel was Glaucus whose house was finely based on the House of the Tragic Poet. Within the text, Bulwer-Lytton’s writing tangents away from the narrative to provide descriptions of the setting, but in the second person explaining to the reader who they would navigate around the setting for the book if they were physically in Pompeii.

“You enter by a long and narrow vestibule, on the floor of which is the image of a dog in mosaic, with the well-known words “Cave camen,” or “Beware the dog.” On either side is a chamber of some size; for the interior house, not being large enough to contain the two great divisions of private and public apartments” (Bulwer Lytton 1834 p. 22).

Further in the passage, Bulwer-Lytton references the locations of paintings from the house that are now at the museum. Additionally, references are made to engravings
published in *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii* published between 1817 and 1832 written by Sir William Gell (1777-1836), a member of the Society of the Dilettanti and Bulwer-Lytton’s guide at Pompeii, and illustrated by the architect John P. Gandy (1787-1850).

The impact of the novel, beyond encouraging travel, was substantial as the book became a definitive guide to Pompeii, as well as a history of the site. In his 1855 novel *The Newcomes* William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863) writes of his traveler to Pompeii saying, “the young man had read Sir Bulwer Lytton’s delightful story, which has become the history of Pompeii, before they came thither, and Pliny’s description, *apud* the guidebook” (418). Zimmerman recognizes that in referring to the letters of Pliny describing the eruption to Tacitus in this way, Thackeray places Pliny’s first-hand account of the event below *The Last Days* in quality and then Thackeray equates Pliny’s letter to the quality of a guidebook (2007). Designed by Digby Wyatt, the Pompeii Court (fig. 1.5) at the Crystal Palace, both Hyde Park and Sydenham Hill, replicated a domestic space based on none other than the House of the Tragic Poet (Hales 2006). In contrast to the Greek and Roman courts, the Pompeii court was a great success and the 1854 Routledge guide said, “the idea of reproducing an accurate representation of a Pompeian house is among the happiest and most successful of the measures adopted” (Macdermott 1854 p. 127), additionally the guide book included a quote from *The Last Days* describing the eruption as it happened.

Also greatly influenced by the text were the arts. In December of 1834, a play, written by John Baldwin Bucksonte, premiered at the Adelphi Theater in London and in January of 1835 a play written by Fitzball premiered at the Royal Victoria Theater; both
plays were based on *The Last Days* (Harris 2007). In 1858 the opera *Ione, o L’ultimo diurno di Pompei* (Ione, The Last Days of Pompeii) premiered at La Scala in Milan with the lyrics written by Giovanni Peruzzini and the music by Errico Petrella. The artist Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836-1927) painted his “Glaucus and Nydia” in 1867 (fig. 6) based on two of the principle characters in the book. Early cinema adapted a version of *The Last Days* appearing in 1900 by Robert William Paul and directed by William Booth. Of the art requested to be restituted to Pompeii under De Petra it was only the *Cave Canem* mosaic from the House of the Tragic Poet, which Bulyer Lytton references, that was replaced *in situ* (Beard 2013). Well into the 1930s *The Last Days* remained the most popular guide book for the site of Pompeii (Zimmerman 2007).

The ability for a book to encourage travel to alternative locations is not unheard of, historically religious texts have been inspiring voyages to the Holy Land for millennia. Certain authors have inspired travel to their hometowns, worthy of note is Stratford-upon-Avon, England home of William Shakespeare (Herbert 2001). Other books have prompted travel to visit locations described in novels, such as Transylvania, Romania from Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*. More recently Elizabeth Gilbert’s 2006 memoir (film in 2010) *Eat Pray Love* prompted travel to Italy, India, and Indonesia and Cheryl Strayed’s 2012 (film in 2014) *Wild: From Lost to Found on the Pacific Crest Trail* which encouraged many to hike the western coast of the United States. Other books with later film adaptations have encouraged travel, such as *The Da Vinci Code, The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, the James Bond franchise, and the Harry Potter series (Beeton 2012).

Designed specifically for travel, non-fiction authors have written guide books for excursions around the world. The earliest account of guides or descriptions of the sites of
southern Italy come from Charles-Nicolas Cochin and Jérôme Charles Bellicard’s 1754 (in both French and English) *Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d’Herculanum / Observations upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculaneum*. Early guide books such as these encouraged travelers to partake in the journey as they were supplied with directions for how to get around the regions that guides were created for. Karl Baedeker, a mid to late 19th century guide book writer published multiple editions of his *Italy: Handbook for Travellers*. The series covers multiple regions of Italy and even supplies multiple pages guiding a visitor around Pompeii (Kovacs 2013). With such a guide a visitor could move throughout the site with information about the different structures right in their pockets. Brand (1956) provides a bibliography of travel literature about Italy from English writers from 1800 to 1850 resulting in a bibliography of over 220 different publications. Guidebooks were extremely liberating for early tourists as they no longer needed a guide or tutor for accompaniment (Palmowski 2002). Still today thousands of guides are published in multiple languages about places all over the planet, encouraging travelers to continue going forth with their journeys.
Chapter 2: The Campbell Collection

The Campbell collection consists of a series of thirty-nine personal photographs, forty-six purchased postcards, and two oil-burning lamps of Roman style. The photographs and postcards are held in UNL’s Department of Anthropology and the lamps, donated by the Campbells, are held in the UNSM storage facilities, located on the fifth floor of Nebraska Hall in the Anthropology collections.

History of the Collection

In the early years of the twentieth century a young woman by the name of Gladys Annie Theophilus traveled to the Mediterranean to visit Italy, Algeria, and Greece. Born in Port Elizabeth in 1883, this South African-born-British resident had moved to England before the outbreak of the Second Boer War. She would eventually marry a glass merchant by the name of Arthur Colin Clyde Campbell with whom, in 1911, she would move with to Green Croft house on Bricket Road in St. Albans, just north of London. In June of 1912 the couple would welcome their son, Iain Colin Gordon Campbell (fig. 2.1). It is because of I.C.G. Campbell that the knowledge of his mother’s visit to Pompeii has emerged as a narrative through her photographs and purchased souvenirs from the trip.

Campbell graduated from the University of St. Andrews in 1935 and moved to Istanbul, Turkey to pursue a career in archaeology working on the excavations of the Great Palace. Slowly pushed out of his role due to his inexperience in running and archaeological project, Campbell remained in Turkey where he became a teacher for an English boy’s school in Izmir. It was there that he met Gladys Perry, a young woman from Nebraska who was conducting missionary work with the Congregational Church.

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5 The dating of the trip is uncertain, it was either in 1903 or 1905 based on the photographs. The locations of the trip are based on the locations shown in the photographs and from the postcards.
The couple got married in 1943 in Izmir and spent several more years living in Turkey. In the years after the end of the Second World War the couple moved to Campbell’s native England and began planning for their move to the United States. After a brief period in Michigan, where Campbell began work on a doctoral dissertation on Byzantine Istanbul but never completed it, the couple moved to Glady’s native Nebraska where they would remain for the rest of their lives. Campbell became a reverend at the Congregational Church in Weeping Water. In 1973 the couple donated to the University of Nebraska State Museum two Roman lamps with their names listed as the donors and the collector recorded as the mother of I.C.G. Campbell, Gladys Annie Campbell née Theophilus (Loeber 1973a & 1973b) (figs. 2.2 & 2.3). Additionally, the collection of photographs and postcards were given to Dr. Peter Bleed of the Department of Anthropology at UNL. It is this small collection of mementos that moved from England to Nebraska that this thesis considers.

**The Photographs**

In total the Campbell collection includes thirty-nine photographs, which can be divided into two distinct groups (app. A 1-39). Thirty-two of the photographs were taken throughout the ancient city of Pompeii and the other seven were taken in Athens. All the photographs have been developed to a printed format and then centrally affixed to individual pieces of heavy cardstock. The front of each of the photograph cards has a label in the bottom left corner identifying the photograph’s location. Written in cursive the labels are in French, distinguished by the spelling of both Pompéi and Athènes. Additionally, on the top right of each card is a number, though they are not in a correct
numerical sequence given the photograph’s locations. The numbers are one through forty, but card number thirty-seven is absent.

Thirty-two of the photographs come from Pompeii which reveal that a lot of ground was covered on the day the photographs were taken (app. A. 1-32). Based on identifiers in the photographs, such as architectural features and layouts, pavement stones, and streets, the locations for the photographs can all be accurately identified. Looking at the distribution of the photographs on a map, the visit consisted of traveling to nearly every area of the site except for the southeast corner of the city. Several of the photographs were taken in or near the Forum of Pompeii, including a view of the Street of Mercury leading towards the Arch of Caligula (app. A. 2), and images of the Marcellum (app. A. 4 & 10), the Temple of Jupiter (app. A. 3 & 13), the Temple of Vespasian (app. A. 31), and the Temple of Apollo (app. A. 20). Northwest of the Forum photographs were taken at Porta di Ercolano (app. A. 8 - 9). Photographs taken with the domestic residences of the House of the Vettii (app. A. 25, 27, & 28) and the House of Pansa (app. A. 22, 23, & 26) were taken in the area north of the Forum. Three of the photographs come from the House of the Vettii, De Petra’s showpiece for the excavations under his supervision; the house had only been excavated in the mid-1890s and then fully restored.

The only photograph taken northeast of the Forum, and at the greatest distance away from Porta Marina, is the photograph taken on Via Nola looking down the road to Porta Nola (app. A. 7). East of the Forum, photographs were taken at the Stabian Baths (app. A. 18), the House of Cornelius Rufus (app. A. 5, 15, 24, & 32), and at the Bakery of

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6 Pansa was a character that was included in Bulwer-Lytton’s *The Last Days of Pompeii*. 
Popidius Priscus (app. A. 12). Ten of the photographs were taken in the southern region of Pompeii in the area surrounding the theaters. Only one photograph was taken in the Large Theater (app. A. 14), but others around were taken in the theater’s Quadriporticus (app. A. 21), of the Triangular Forum (app. A. 6), on Via Stabiana (app. A. 11), of the Temple of Isis (app. A. 16 & 19), and in the House of Holconius Rufus (app. A. 29-30).

Captured in the photographs are viewpoints looking at the interiors of buildings, down streets, and of specific features within and around these elements. Statuary was of particular appeal, such as the photograph of the interior of the House of Holconius Rufus, where there is a statue of a little boy leaning on a column holding a goose with his left hand and holding a vase in his right hand that water could have poured through (app. A. 29). Another example can be seen in the image showing the altar in the Temple of Vespasian (app. A. 31). Unlike a set of photographs or postcards that were purchased as a prefabricated set, some of the buildings with multiple photographs have images that are blurry, as can be seen in the images of the House of Cornelius Rufus (app. A. 5). A reason for this could be that there were multiple images taken, but despite the blur of the images the photographs were kept and displayed as the others. Despite the fact that the photographs were taken in the early twentieth century, when archaeological excavations were ongoing, no photographs display the excavations. It is possible that the areas were inaccessible or that they were not of interest to the visitors.

Within the collection a single woman is featured in two of the images, the photograph featuring the view up the Via Nola where she is shown standing looking towards the gate (app. A. 7); the second photograph features her seated in a chair in the large theater (app. A. 14). Based on the information known about the collection, this
woman is believed to be Gladys Anne Campbell née Theophilus. Additionally, in the photograph of the large theater, a man is shown in a resting lean against a half-wall. He is wearing leather shoes, light colored pants and shirt, holding a jacket, with a cap upon his head. Identification of this individual is unknown, but it could be possible that he was one of the porters that was hired to carry the chair around Pompeii.

Numbered thirty-three through forty, with a missing thirty-seven, the seven photographs from Athens follow the Pompeii photographs in the numbered sequence (app. A. 33-39). The photographs come from only two locations, the Acropolis and the Archaeological Site of the Olympieion (fig. 2.4). From the Acropolis, two photographs are taken from within the Parthenon, one photograph shows the Erechtheion, and the last image is a landscape view looking east on the Acropolis showing fragments of buildings strewn about. From the Olympieion area two of the photographs show the remaining standing columns of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, while a single photograph shows the Arch of Hadrian from a westward looking viewpoint. There is an individual person standing at a distance from the photographer in front of the Arch of Hadrian, but the person does not appear to be posing or looking towards the camera.

1839 is the date customarily given for the invention of photography as Louis Daguerre reported the invention of the daguerreotype and in England Fox Talbot reported the discovery of a photographic process using a negative and a paper-based imaging operation. Photography removed the skepticism that spawned from drawings or paintings of scientific specimens or areas from different parts of the globe (Crawshaw & Urry 1997). By 1848 photographs were begin taken at Pompeii and the site quickly became a favorite of early photographers (Harris 2007). Pompeii offered a range of scenes
including images of ongoing excavations, images of a singular artifact, long street views, and sweeping landscapes over the ruins and of Mount Vesuvius. Visual images of places to the experience and memory of previous travel. They offer visual evidence that you have been to a destination, adding validity to a spoken story or experience (Crawshaw 1994). Discourses of seeing frame the city of Pompeii as images of antiquities, ruins, and pavements have been disseminated since the eighteenth century. The travel photographer and the tourist engage with this discourse mimicking or altering the images to frame their own experiences (Crawshaw & Urry 1997). An example can be seen in the decision to capture an image of Theophilus sitting in the litter; an experience that she wanted to remember and display.

The Postcards

Different from the photographs, the forty-six postcards from the Campbell collection were pre-fabricated and sold, either as single cards or in sets. It is not clear if the postcards were all purchased at the same time or if they were acquired at different locations. Ten of the postcards are further images of Pompeii (app. B. 14-23), three are from Paestum (labeled as Pesto) further south on the Italian peninsula from Pompeii (app. B. 24-26), two from Segesta, Sicily (app. B. 12-13), twenty from Agrigento, also in Sicily (app. B. 27-46), and eleven from Tebessa, Algeria (app. B. 1-11) (fig. 2.5). Like the photographs, the postcards are labeled, but rather than hand labeling the cards were printed with the descriptions on them. Both the Paestum and Segesta cards are labeled on the front with the name of the monument or description in Italian. Appropriately the monuments and views on the Tebessa cards are labeled in French on the front.

\[^7\] At the time, French Algeria.
Pompeii, the cards are labeled on the back with the name of the image on the front in English. The Agrigento postcards have their backs labeled with a description of the front picture, here both in English and Italian.

Handwritten notes were scribbled onto the backs of a few of the cards. The back of the ‘House of the Tragic Poet’ postcard from Pompeii has “These pictures of Pompei in Italy, the town that was supposed to be covered up by lava from Visuvius” written in cursive (fig. 2.6). In the same handwriting the House of the Vettii postcard has “I’ve been to all these places in Pompei” written on its back (fig. 2.7). On the reverse side of the image of the “Remains of a roman house and the panorama of the town” postcard from Agrigento, “pictures of the town where we landed in Sicily” has been written in cursive (fig. 2.8). The majority of the postcards also have a handwritten numbering system on the back of the cards that is different from the numbers that the cards had been assigned by the original publishers.

In 1840 the first postcard was sent to Theodore Hook of Fulham, London using a black penny stamp (Wiloughby 1992). Early postcards were made of lithograph prints, wood cuts, small pieces of paper, and were usually hand colored. In 1861, John P. Charlton of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, received a copyright for a post card that quickly was transferred over to a Mr. H.L. Lipman. This early postcard concept was replaced shortly after in the United States when, in 1873, the government issued postcards with pre-paid postage already affixed to the card (Staff 1979). Privately made postcards requiring postage were introduced in Austria in 1869; these cards allowed for individuals, companies, or tourist destinations to make their own card to sell. By 1870 these cards

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8 Original spelling kept.
were all the rage throughout Europe (Edwards 1996). Around 1900 postcards with photographs on the front became popular, often with the photographs printed on a film stock paper and distributed as sets of photographs or sold individually. As the majority of the postcards that are part of the Campbell collection have assigned numbers and printed descriptions it is likely that they were sold as a set, while those that are few in number, such as those from Segesta or Paestum, were purchased individually.

The Roman Lamps

Terracotta Lamp

UNSM’s catalogued item A.73.76 is a terracotta lamp with a singular mouth, a filling hole, two ridges, and a handle on the back (fig. 2.2) (Loeber 1973a). For classification purposes it is a plain, concave discus lamp, with a volute nozzle, covered in a red slip (Cannizzo 2007). The discus type of lamp emerged in Italy around the end of the first century BCE and came in decorated and undecorated forms. The product was mass produced in molds and became increasingly common throughout the Imperial period (Bailey 1963). To form such a lamp, there would be two molds, one for the bottom and one for the top parts of the lamp. These two parts would later be merged to form the lamp in its entirety. Reliefs became increasingly common on the discus type, as the flat surface near the pour hole provided a perfect canvas to decorate, but plain ones are also extremely common due to their ease of manufacture and affordability at the time.

Evidence at Pompeii has shown that terracotta lamps were both locally and regionally produced, as well as imported from other regions of the empire (Bailey 1987). In the city proper of Pompeii there were at least two terracotta production centers that could have produced terracotta lamps (McCallum 2011). The terracotta factories in
Pompeii are noted for their products being of a fine quality and containing few inclusions within the fabric, similar to the UNSM lamp (Broneer 1930). Additionally, Peña and McCallum’s 2009 article collected fabric descriptions of most terracotta wares produced in an area they designate the “Pompeii extended economic territory” (PEET) and concluded that the majority of the terracotta products of simple function found within the PEET were also produced within this zone. There is a small imprint on the bottom of the museum lamp, but no characters can be identified to identify a manufacturer to prove more conclusively that the lamp was manufactured in Pompeii. It is possible that the lamps do not date to antiquity and are replicas or reproductions from the early twentieth century (see below).

_Bronze Lamp_

A bronze lamp, item A. 73.2.95, is described as having a bulbous center with a spout that is rather high (fig. 2.3) (Loeber 1973b). Bronze lamps are found far more infrequently, compared to their terracotta parallels. Throughout antiquity, lamps made of various metals were an expensive luxury item, causing them to be a rare commodity. This particular bronze lamp has a small lid on the top that is attached to the main body of the lamp with a knuckle and pin hinge to allow it to open and close. With the spout being placed at such a height it would have allowed for the wick to be somewhat higher than the fuel in the reservoir below which would have slowed the fuel to the flame and thus allowing a slightly longer burn from the fuel inside. The small stem at the bottom of the lamp would have allowed the lamp to either sit on top of a rod or fit inside of a larger shape to hold it in place. Thus, the lamp could be elevated above a pan or elevated even higher to illuminate a room (Oras et al. 2017).
Lamp Usage

In use in Europe since at least the second millennia BCE, lamps produced during the Roman period were already quite standardized in shape and style. Terracotta lamps are the most commonly found types, in either hand-made, wheel-made, or mold-made forms, while various metal lamps are often associated with higher class citizens and are less common (Bailey 1863). Lamps from the Roman period are frequently found in archaeological excavations and regularly included in publications for specific sites or museum collections, a catalogue of the entire collection of discovered lamps from this period has so far been too large to publish (Harris 1980). Despite this, lamps have become one of the more valuable artifacts as the different types of lamps are sufficiently differentiated so that they can be identified with ease and therefore establish their chronological placement and approximate date (Broneer 1930).

Lamps in antiquity had three roles: use for private or public illumination, as a votive, or serving a funerary function (Bailey 1963). Most common are the lamps used as a light source, as no matter one’s social class lamps were one of the few sources for illumination. Any oil lamp must have four features: a receptacle for the fuel, a wick, the actual fuel, and an uninterrupted air source. All other features of a lamp, whether it be decoration or additions, are simply refinements and enhancements (Bailey 1963). Roman lamps carried on from a Hellenistic tradition and kept many of their characteristics. Key among those are the shoulder and the cover over the interior space, often called a discus, to keep the oil contained within the vessel (fig. 2.9). In the center of the discus would be a hole for the pouring in of oil. Some lamps have ledges to insure that the oil was directed towards this center space. Not all lamps had handles to carry the lamp, as frequently
lamps were hung from ceilings or mounted on staffs to reduce the need of surfaces and to light a greater volume of space. The nozzle of the lamp with the “mouth” is where the wick would have been inserted and where, when the wick was alit, the flame would be. If a lamp has multiple mouths it can hold more wicks to produce more light, however the fuel will be used more rapidly this way. The fuel, predominantly olive oil, was retained within the center of the vessel with the wick submerged within the oil.

The 20th Century Collection in Perspective

The Campbell collection consists of personal photographs, purchased postcards, and Roman lamps. Taken from the perspective of anthropology, these objects can tell us a great deal about their purpose and their role in the life of G.A. Campbell née Theophilus. Photographs and souvenirs are tangible objects that the tourist can continually look up and recall the lived memory associated with that object (Culler 1981). The objects themselves have a life history, in which they represent the narrative of that former place; they are the catalysts for the formation of les lieux de mémoire (Van Dyke 2008). For Graburn these forms of objects are totems, a physical form that provides a connectedness to others based on their relationship to that form (1989). For MacCannell they are markers of the authentic and the collectivity of tourism (1984). Furthered by Culler, these markers form a semiotic structure of the tourist attraction, in which the object represents a sight and that sight provides information about its origin, representing something more than just itself (1981). What that object recalls depends on the viewer. In having these objects Theophilus communicated her visit to the city and allowed for a place of memory to form.
Other forms of communication that stem from such objects are prestige and authenticity. Displaying souvenirs and photographs can act as a marker of prestige leading towards a possible elevation of status (Correia & Moital 2009). Displaying objects from and portraying Pompeii communicates that the owner has been there and had experiences at the foreign destination. As traveling through Europe still required a certain amount of wealth in the early twentieth century, these objects can represent her social position as being able to have such experiences. Regarding authenticity, reproduced souvenirs and photographs are in themselves inauthentic, however they represent authenticity through their acquisition (Lury 1997: 79). The Campbell collection consists of what Lury defined as tripper-objects, objects that do not have a monetary value, but rather have a value attached to the person that acquired them and is determined by their final resting spot.

In one of the photographs (app. A. 7), Theophilus sits in a chair that is equipped to be held up by two poles running parallel to each other. One man would be positioned in front of the chair and another would be behind the chair and would be able to lift the chair off the ground. This mode of transportation existed as a mode of travel for Roman elites two thousand years ago and in the early twentieth century the experience was revived to offer an authentic experience to visitors of Pompeii. This adds an additional layer to the intended message of that photo in that not only does it communicate her holiday to Pompeii, but also her partaking in an ancient experience replicated for her in the modern age. The chairs were known as sedan chairs or portantine. It was well marketed in guidebooks about the region not only as a mode for getting around Pompeii, but also as a means for ascending Mount Vesuvius. When Sir Walter Scott visited
Pompeii in February of 1832, just six months before his death, he was led around the ancient city in a sedan chair so that he could see the site as his physical limitations at the time would have prevented such an affair (Beard 2013).

Photographs of certain events that would have occurred while on the tour and of certain attractions are noticeably absent from the collection. For example, there is not a clear indication which entrance was used to enter the city. Most likely they entered the city at Porta Marina as from the 1840s the railroad station in Pompeii was closest to that gate (Beard 2013). Further, Fiorelli had established a site museum at Porta Marina as a first stop when entering the city and to hold the casts that were being produced. The alternative to this entrance would be at Porta Ercolano. However, guidebooks suggested entering at Porta Marina. The photographs that are taken of Porta Ercolano are of the gate itself and of the area just outside the gate. Based on these images it is likely that the gate was included in the tour of the city, but that did not extend north, up the Street of the Tombs. Further evidence to support entry at Porta Marina is a photograph from 1910 of a woman in a portantini in front of the gate of Porta Marina (fig. 2.10). Though non-conclusive, it may have been possible that the acquisition and return of such equipment was at that gate.

Two of the most popular tourist sites of the modern era are also not shown, the city’s brothels and the amphitheater (Wallace 2015). The reason for the absence of photographs of any houses of ill repute can be explained rather easily due to the fact that from the eighteenth to later twentieth centuries women were not allowed into such establishments. From his publication Innocents Abroad, quite aptly named given the
circumstances, Mark Twain describes the situation and the scenes that women were to be prevented from seeing.

“In one house (the only building in Pompeii which no woman is now allowed to enter) were the small rooms and short beds of solid masonry, just as they were in the old times, and on the walls were pictures which looked almost as fresh as if they were painted yesterday, but which no pen could have the hardihood to describe; and here and there were Latin inscriptions – obscene scintillations of wit, scratched by hands that possibly were uplifted to Heaven for succor in the midst of a driving storm of fire before the night was done.” (1875 p. 240)

Although the Amphitheater was fully excavated by 1827 Theophilus did not capture any photos of it. The map of Pompeii in the Forbes guidebook from 1893 (fig. 2.11) shows that while the amphitheater itself was excavated, the area connecting it to the main part of the city remained as farmland, with only a small path connecting the two areas. The description in the guide book reads, “The Amphitheater is at some little distance from the present excavations at one corner of the city,” and goes on to provide the seating capacity, date, and references a passage from Tacitus concerning the 59 CE gladiatorial uprising (Forbes 1893 p. 64; Tac. Ann. 14.17). Baedecker, in his 1872 guide writes, “The Amphitheater, [is] situated at the S.E. extremity of the town, and detached from the other ruins. From the Stabian Street it is attained in about 8 min., the route traversing the still unexcavated quarters of the town, the surface above which is still employed as arable land” (136). While it could be possible that Theophilus did visit the amphitheater, and did not take a photograph of it, it is more likely that it was not a planned stop. Wallace records that modern visitors that enter from the western gates, such as Porta Marina or the entrance at the Villa of the Mysteries, do not often make the journey all the way to the southeast corner of the city due to time or distance (Wallace 2012).
By the beginning of the twentieth century archaeological sites around Greece were open for visitors due to archaeological projects conducted by the international schools based in Athens. In the Campbell Archive only photographs from the city of Athens are included. From the Italian portion of the collection, the photographs come from Pompeii and the postcards come from other locations in both mainland Italy and Sicily, as well as Algeria. No record of Gladys Annie Campbell née Theophilus traveling to other locations in Greece exists within the collection. It would appear that her she visited the city of Athens and did not take excursions to sites further afield on the mainland or to the many islands accessible from Athens. A reason for this may have been a lack of tourism infrastructure for facilitating travel to more remote places. Within the Collection’s photographs from Athens the locations in Athens is rather limited. The photographs come from only two locations: the Acropolis and the area of the Olympieion. At the time of the visit there were other monuments that could have been visited in Athens. Among these are the Roman Agora, excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1837 to 1845 and again in 1890 to 1891, Hadrian’s library, and the Temple of Hephaestus, exposed on the Agoraios Kolono hill and in the early twentieth century was being used as an archaeological museum. Yet, only photographs come from the two sites.

As described above, the photographs were mounted on cardstock for better presentation and protection from bending or creasing. In order to have the photographs framed by the cardstock and look more aesthetically pleasing, they were cropped from their original printing size and then attached to their mounts. For this reason it is not possible to accurately determine what type of camera was used to take the photographs as
the borders are not present and the negatives did not survive as part of the collection.9

Based on the size of what remains of the photographs, they were most likely taken on a large format 5 x 7 inch (13 x 18 cm) camera, and the prints themselves would be 1:1 contact prints from a 5 x 7 negative. Given the outdoor setting of the photographs it is probable that Theophilus had English invented calotypes, also known as paper based negatives, a photograph printing negative/positive process that allows for multiple copies of the same negative. Additionally, this process allows for advanced preparation and the ability to print the photographs after their taking rather than on the spot. This would fit well with the number of photographs at Pompeii and the relocation of the camera from Pompeii to Athens.

Another option for taking personal photographs was the individual portable Kodak camera introduced by George Eastman in 1888. This early personal camera was hand held and came preloaded with a 100-exposure roll of flexible film. This allowed the user to take 100 photographs of what they wished and simply returned the camera to Kodak for the development and printing of the photographs with $10. When completed, the printed photographs and their negatives were returned to the owner with a fresh roll of film for more photographs. It is estimated that by 1989, just ten years after the release of the first Kodak camera that over 1.5 million roll-film cameras had been sold to individuals to take their own photographs (Fineman 2004). This resulted in the birth and proliferation of personal photo albums appearing in the family home. Theophilus, traveling in the early 1900s, could have purchased such a camera for her travels, sent her film in for development, and then received the printed photographs at her home. Given

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the cropping of the photographs the method of production of the photographs cannot conclusively be known, but there are possibilities for Theophilus possessing a camera of her own and bringing it with her on her journey.

In addition to the photographs that were taken at Pompeii, Theophilus felt inclined to purchase additional postcards; for Athens this is not the case. The Campbell collection has seven photographs from Athens, but no postcards of Athenian sites, nor of sites elsewhere in Greece. Given postcards’ proliferation throughout Italy and into Europe as a major form of communication during the nineteenth century they would have been available in Greece at the time of Theophilus’ visit. A few possibilities exist for the lack of postcards, beginning with the possibility that she did not buy them, followed by the explanation that Theophilus had indeed purchased postcards but had either posted them to friends or family and there were none left for the collection, or they simply were not retained in the collection over time. Postcards provide their purchasers with idyllic images of cityscapes, landscapes, people, or monumental buildings, usually key identifiers of the location visited. Images on postcards are taken by photographers who plan and wait for the ideal image they are wishing to capture and therefore are often of better quality than an amateur’s attempts at photography. For the sites in southern Italy Theophilus may have chosen to purchase postcards due to their picturesque images rather than carry a bulky camera during her sightseeing.

**Replicas, Forgeries, and Souvenirs**

A possibility exists that the Campbell collection’s two Roman style lamps were not made in antiquity, but rather are reproductions produced around the time of their purchase in the early twentieth century as tourist souvenirs. With the emergence of mass
tourism and tourists from the middle class traveling throughout Europe the demand for souvenirs increased, a popular form being replications of antiquities (Jones 1990). Firms such as the Chiurazzi Foundry, de Angelis & Son, and Sommer & Son produced replicas or imitations of material found from ancient sites and museum collections. The presence of reproductions of lamps from antiquity in museums and personal collections is well documented (Bailey 1960). Hayes even includes a section titled “Fakes and Reproductions” in the catalog for the Royal Ontario Museum in which he presents all the lamps known to be counterfeit or those not made in antiquity (1980). Similarly the British Museum lists a nineteenth or twentieth century mold-made reproduction lamp matching the Loeschcke VIII type of Roman lamp (1983,0728.5). As all that is known is that Campbell presumably received the lamps from his mother who visited Pompeii in the early 20th century, there is a chance that when she purchased the lamps she believed that they were either real or knowingly purchased replicas. Further testing of the lamps themselves might allow for their authenticity to be confirmed, but until that is conducted there is still a bit of a mystery regarding the lamps’ genuineness.
Chapter 3: Visualizing the Experience

Why Digitize?

Digital Humanities (DH) has emerged in and is expanding throughout multiple branches of the social sciences, arts, and humanities. As an umbrella term, DH covers a broad spectrum of digital skills, technologies, and methodologies to find innovative solutions to assist with answering research questions and prompt new questions. Over the past few decades, several have demonstrated the usefulness of DH within the study of historical tourism. Some of these include Mapping the Republic of Letters (http://republicofletters.stanford.edu) at Stanford University, the Interactive Nolli Map Project (http://nolli.uoregon.edu/) from the University of Oregon, and Richard Talbert’s Peutinger Map digitally published with Cambridge University Press. My thesis project uses a variety of digital methodologies to find a way to answer research questions concerning the Campbell collection and then find a way to display the results and images on a digital platform. I employed Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to map the photographs within Pompeii, photogrammetry to generate 3D digital models of the lamps, and 3D printing to create tangible lamp productions.

GIS Applications

An initial goal of this project was to identify the locations of the photographs on a map of Pompeii to have a visual reference for the distribution of the photographs throughout the ancient city. The Campbell photographs were linked with the photograph set taken in 2010 by a University of Nebraska – Lincoln undergraduate student, Maria Bender, resulting in a tremendous asset for understanding the photographs relations to one another, the ancient city, and visual change over time of a photograph’s location.
Additionally, the mapping of photograph locations allowed me to generate a possible route the Campbell’s (and other tourists of the early twentieth century) took throughout Pompeii.

I employed Geographic Information Systems (GIS), specifically ESRI ArcGIS 10.3, software, to give spatial reference (i.e. georeference) to the photographs. To begin designating photo locations, I overlaid a shapefile of Pompeii onto a base layer of satellite imagery. The shapefile from the Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project (PBMP) was generously provided by Dr. Eric E. Poehler of the University of Massachusetts Amherst. The PBMP shapefile displays Pompeii in its current excavated form, so the unexcavated and excavated areas differ from the mid-1900s photographs, but despite these differences I was still able to match photograph locations to the shapefile.

An advantage of the Pompeii shapefile is its detail including crossing stones, arches, and buildings with associated attribute data (e.g., building names), which all proved beneficial when identifying photograph location, and particularly for identifying more precise locations of the photographer. I digitized a new shapefile of points to designate the location for each of the original 32 photograph locations and symbolized them the map with a bold color for easy identification (fig 3.1).

In order to hyperlink both the 1900s and 2010 collections photographs to their corresponding point, they needed to be externally hosted on a server. Flickr, an online image and video hosting service, was chosen for this purpose due to the ease of access and the ability to not display the images publically. Within ArcGIS, using ‘Identify,’ I selected each point and linked them to the appropriate hyperlinks. Thus, when a user hovers the cursor over the point or clicks on the point the two links are visible and the
user can choose whether to view the early 1900s or 2010 photos (fig. 3.2). With this arrangement, not only are the locations of the photographs apparent, but the images associated with the specific locations are easily accessible.

Using the points established for each photograph location, I created a possible traveling route through Pompeii using vector-based GIS. To begin a cost network was established using the Network Analyst Toolbar, which solves routing problems, and then a new Network Dataset was created in ArcCatalog with a walk time attribute at a leisurely pace of one mile per hour and the distance attribute set to miles. As the original shapefile for Pompeii had its roads established as formed polygons it was necessary to turn the polygon roads into lines and add them as an attribute. A Costshed, boundaries between potential areas in which the cost of travel exceeds a certain threshold (Whitley and Hicks 2003), was calculated by establishing polygon Service Areas for the thirty-two photo points with the tolerance set to forty feet. The Service Areas dataset was exported as a separate shapefile. With the origin point of the journey into Pompeii established outside of Porta Marina (as discussed in chapter two), an OD Cost Matrix (calculates cost from each origin to each destination) was made for the path of travel in Network Analysis and the corresponding data set was exported (fig. 3.3). The Service Areas and Cost Matrices were merged and then intersected with the data. The last stage in forming a route was done in Network Analyst where the merged Service Areas and Cost Matrices and the photo point dataset were added and then the route was solved.

The final product presents a possible route with an origin point at Porta Marina taken through Pompeii by Theophilus in the early 1900s (fig. 3.4). The GIS maps I produced show the distribution of the photograph locations throughout the city and the
route includes all these points. It was due to this visualization that I realized that while Theophilus visited much of Pompeii, she did not visit the southeast corner—most likely because this area was not yet excavated. Wallace shows, through the study of modern tourists to the site of Pompeii that similar stops and routes taken today (2012). There are of course the impacts of closures of buildings or restoration or archaeological work in certain areas that will direct the path of tourists, but the general paths and points of attraction are similar in the early twentieth century to that of the early twenty-first century. Another example of a route through Pompeii using GIS can be seen in Poehler’s creation of a journey for his fictional character Sabinus, mulio (mule/cart driver) to process his mules through the streets of Pompeii (2017). Here the purpose was to show the functioning capabilities of the road network, but illustrates the usefulness of GIS to generate potential routes through Pompeii, and other ancient cities, nonetheless.

3D Modeling

Creating 3D models of the two Roman lamps from the Campbell collection allows them to be displayed in a digital format, a format that does not reduce them to 2D objects and allows the viewer to interact with them (Malloy and Milic 2018, Morris 2018, Garstki 2017). Photogrammetry provides a low-cost and time-efficient format for taking a 3D object and replicating it in a 3D format for digital display; thus, I selected this method to create 3D digital models of two Roman lamps to allow scholars and the public to have access to them via the internet, view them from multiple perspectives, and perform metric analysis. Regarding the photography procedure, I employed a methodology and setup similar to the one laid out by Porter, Roussel, and Soressi in their 2016 article “A Simple Photogrammetry Rig for the Reliable Creation of 3D Artifact Models in the Field.” In
order to begin this process, a rig was set up to take precise and ordered photographs, perfect for small object photogrammetry. Surrounded by a black background, a white turntable with black paper covering the top was placed on a table. Additionally, a miniature Agisoft 12bit, 16 inch target print set was placed on the turntable for greater accuracy when rendering the model in PhotoScan Pro (Sapirstein 2016). Placing the terracotta lamp in the absolute center of the turntable, I took photographs of the terracotta lamp, rotating the turntable at a set interval to acquire twenty to forty pictures per complete turntable rotation. The camera, a Nikon D7100, was positioned on a stationary tripod to capture the images using a remote and the height of the tripod was adjusted four times to try and capture the object from multiple views in order to ultimately render a better model. The ISO was kept at 100, the shutter speed at 1/10, and the f-stop at 22 to keep the object in focus. Once the photographs were complete of the top of the lamp it was flipped it over, re-placed in the center, and then more photographs of the lamp were taken, this time I needed only three height adjustments for the camera. This process was then repeated for the bronze lamp. Slight differences for this object included securing the lid of the lamp with conservator’s wax to keep it shut and to place it on a circular ring to keep it stable as we rotated the turntable.

Following the photography, I used the software PhotoScan Pro to generate 3D models of both lamps. In order to generate the models, procedural steps were taken. For the terracotta lamp 185 photos were imported into Photoscan and all 63 of the Agisoft targets from the printed set were detected. Importing a black mask removed the majority of the black background for the image when the tolerance was set to eighteen and applied to all cameras. The next step was to divide the photographs into two separate chunks, the
“top” containing the first set of photographs that were taken of the lamp sitting on its base and the “bottom,” when the lamp was resting on the nozzle and handle. Following these steps, I used the standard workflow for generating a model in Photoscan Pro, completed twice for the top and bottom chunks. First, I ran the camera alignment at “high” accuracy, with generic pair preselection, 30,000 key points, 5,000 tie points, and the “constrain features by mask” box checked. Errors were checked and then six scale bars were added to the separate chunks. Using set distances established on the target sheet, the scale bar accuracy was set to .000002m. Cameras were optimized and then the top and bottom chunks were run separately for their dense clouds and for their mesh construction. Again, the mask was imported, but this time from the model itself to ease the later combination of the two chunks.

To merge the two chunks, I aligned them at the highest accuracy with 50,000 points. The next step was Merging the actual chucks, making sure to check the “merge dense clouds” and “merge models” boxes. Next, I constructed the dense cloud, which at medium settings produced a high quality 3D point cloud. Finally, I built the mesh and quickly generated the 8192-pixel texture, and the model was complete. No holes were present and in the final textured rendering of the model accurately represented that of the actual terracotta lamp.

The final step was to create orthophotos of different viewpoints of the lamps and to apply different visualization techniques to the lamps in Meshlab—an open source software that assists with processing and editing 3D triangular meshes. I exported the model as a .ply file from Agisoft for use in Meshlab. Generating the orthophotos was a smooth procedure following the reorientation of the model through turning the scale bars.
on and off again. Multiple views (screenshots) were taken to better show the various sides and viewpoints of the terracotta and bronze lamps. For the terracotta lamp the radiance scaling (a technique to enhance the depiction of surface shape under arbitrary illumination) settings “Lit Sphere” (fig. 3.5) and “Color Descriptor” (fig. 3.6) allowed the ridges on the discus to appear quite prominently and to demonstrate the depth of the filling hole. The Color Curvature (APSS) allowed the scratches and imperfections of the surface to appear more readily (fig. 3.7). For the bronze lamp the scaling settings produced very different results from the terracotta lamp. The Phrong shader allowed for imperfections in the surface to appear (fig. 3.8) and the Radiance Shader emphasized the parts and construction of the lid and clasp (fig. 3.9). Even with the use of visualization techniques the impression in the shape of an extended oval on the bottom of the terracotta lamp did not enhance to a point where it was possible to see more than with the naked eye. It does not appear that there are any markings within the impression and none of the shaders or color effectors enhanced this feature to see any markings either. The overall application of photogrammetry and extended shading affects allowed me to generate 3D digital models that enriched the study and presentation of the objects in the Campbell collection in a way that would not have happened otherwise (Rabinowitz 2015).

3D Printing

3D printing in beginning to provide archaeologists and museums with a unique ability to replicate objects from site finds or any institution around the world (Birchnell and Urry 2016, Di Giuseppantonio Di Franco et al. 2015). Due to the fragility and conservation requirements of archaeological objects, and just for fear of any accidental breakage, finds and collections are not often able to be handled. Using a 3D printer to
replicate an object for handling for educational or research purposes allows for greater engagement with an object. As the Campbell collection uses a digital platform for display there is no engagement with the objects themselves beyond the 3D models. The ability to print out one of the lamps from the Campbell collection allows those looking at the collection to have the ability to print their own lamp. As a trial, I used the model generated in Photoscan Pro and a 3D printer to produce a small replica of the terracotta lamp. To prepare the 3D model for 3D printing, I created a .psx version of the lamp with a higher level of texture and with the ‘fill holes’ function enabled. Hole filling is essential because it fills the empty spaces so the 3D printer does not have to attempt to produce gaps in the model. The .psx file was exported as a .slt file and sent to a 3D printer (Spring 2015). Using a Ultimaker 2+ 3D printer, a smaller scale model of the terracotta lamp was produced in a white material (fig. 3.10). The scaling back of the object’s size was due to the size of the printer itself and the time necessary to produce a model. Additionally, it required less material for production. Given that the model is formed based on a 3D model produced from photographs of an original object, the 3D model represents a meta-model for the original object.

**Scalar**

A goal of this project was to form a digital exhibit for the presentation of not only the materials of the Campbell Collection, but the research associated with them. The Campbell Collection is not on display and remains inaccessible. Given the rather small size of the collection, it is not likely that it will be exhibited in the museum and it does not mesh well with any of the current permanent exhibitions at the UNSM Morrill Hall, which focus primarily on the natural history of Nebraska. Developing a digital exhibit of
the materials makes the collection accessible and available to other researchers and the public.

*Scalar*, an open sourced online publishing platform, was chosen for its ability to host various forms of digital media in both 2D and 3D formats. Using Create UNL (createunl.com), a service provided to encourage web literacy by UNL, an account was created (http://scalar.usc.edu/works/icg-campbell-archive/index). *Scalar* acts as a web authoring page in the form of a book with chapters and pages to present research in a story-telling format. A table of contents allows the viewer to choose one of the topics and go directly to that page. From the individual page, other pages can be connected. For example, the Campbell Collection acts as the parent page and the pages for the Photographs, the Postcards, and the Lamps are linked directly. There are further links from each of these children pages, making them the parent pages. The paths that are created to connect the pages can been seen in the relationship tree visualization (fig. 3.11). When the page becomes live it will appear in searches done by others, be in scholars or those with interest in the subject matter. Additionally, the site allows for comments from viewers to be made. These can be used as a resource for suggestions or other ideas for further research with the collection.

*Scalar* allows for the presentation of both 2D and 3D visualizations. The 3D models of both the bronze and terracotta lamps created using photogrammetry are externally hosted on *Sketchfab*. With the placement of *Sketchfab* hyperlinks on the *Scalar* page for the lamps the 3D models are part of the digital exhibit. For those wishing to interact in a tangible way with the objects, there is the possibility to print the models with a 3D printer (as the attempt above demonstrates). The production of a tactile
representation of a lamp in accurate rendering would allow for handling without threatening the integrity of the object. As a further point, it would allow the visually impaired to interact with the object and gain a sense of its size and shape.
Conclusions

When Gladys Annie Campbell née Theophilus visited Pompeii at the onset of the 20th century, Pompeii had been operating as a tourist site for over one hundred years. Available to her were trains to get her there, tour guides to allow her access, and guide books to lead her around. Evident from the materials associated with her visit, it was possible to take photographs throughout the day and to buy souvenirs, including the postcards and the lamps, genuine or not. Over one hundred years after Theophilus’ visit to Pompeii her collection of mementos provides the current generation the opportunity to understand her experience and historical situation of tourism leading up to her travels to several sites around the Mediterranean.

Possibilities for applying anthropological methods to tourism are nearly endless as the relationships between hosts, guests, and now tourist companies present multiple dynamics that affect billions of people. In its short history, anthropologists engaging with tourism have tended to look at tourism from either the origins of tourism or at the hosts, while neglecting the other. Given anthropology’s holistic approach and ability to look at and incorporate multiple elements, this is something that can and should be rectified. Tourism has a major impact on the interactions between cultures and anthropologists have the background and the experience in which to engage with and effectively describe these paradigms. Concern over tourism centers on the impact that tourism has on local economies, the environment, and most importantly on the cultures that are engaging with them. There is a balance that can be constructed, but more knowledge is needed in all these manners to determine what that balance needs to be.
Given its composition, the Campbell collection resembles the accumulated materials of many modern tourists: postcards, small souvenirs, and photographs. Anthropologically, these souvenirs become associated with the memory of the journey abroad for both their collector and those that engage with the material at a later point in time. This can be translated to give further meaning to the objects in their representations as totems, markers of prestige, and of touristic practices. While in their present state their monetary value is low, it is the value that has been added to the objects in their retention over time that makes them significant. Their attachment to Athens, Pompeii, Agrigento, and other ancient sites in the Mediterranean connects them further to the larger history of not only tourism, but of archaeological excavations and the presentation of those sites to the public.

Recognized for its outstanding universal value, Pompeii was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, a marker of its authenticity, in 1997. Perhaps the site receives too much love from the millions of people that travel to the site each year as the city became an international embarrassment and an example of how not to manage an archaeological site. Walls, frescos, and other decorative elements from across the site were left exposed and began to degrade and collapse over time. More recently the Pompeii Life Project has sought to remedy the deleterious state of Pompeii and conserve as much as possible for perpetuity. From the perspective of anthropology there is a lot to be learned from both the present and past of Pompeii’s touristic history. Today, travel to the site has never been easier with the possibility of taking the high-speed train from Venice all the way to Naples and then the Regionale train, or the Circumvesuviana, still in operation throughout the Bay of Naples. Additionally, the autostrada leads tourists in their privately
hired cars or large tour buses close to an entrance to the city. Surrounding the multiple entrances to the site are cafes, gelaterias, and plenty of tourist stalls and shops offering a sweeping range of products related to Pompeii. Guide book offerings number in the hundreds, some written in detail, while others just hit the main draws of the 21st century tourist: the forum, the amphitheater, and the brothels. Visitors can also see more excavated buildings than ever before with sixty to seventy percent of the city estimated to have been excavated and the highest number of structures open to tourists for them to engage with the past. Further, Naples has continued to become connected to the broader region with ferries and flights setting off for nearby islands, especially Sicily, and to other cities and sites throughout the Mediterranean.

For a small collection such as the Campbell collection the benefits of digitizing and presenting not only the artifacts themselves, but also the research associated with them is extremely beneficial. Before the advent of this project the lamps were safely sealed in their boxes at the museum and the photographs and postcards resided in a folio on a shelf. While these objects remain in those locations, their digital representations allow them to appear to external viewers. Further, their data can be looked at by others who may be working on travel to Pompeii in the twentieth century or by a casual observer. Telling the story of Gladys Annie Campbell née Theophilus and her journey to Pompeii in both this thesis and in a digital platform allows for viewers from all walks of life to hear of her journey and the story of the objects making their way to Nebraska.
Illustrations


1.2 Phillip Hacket's 1799 oil painting "The Ruins of Pompeii." Attingham Park, Shropshire, Midlands, National Trust.
1.3 Map of the Circumvisuviana as it is today.

1.4 Cover and illustration from the 1883 copy of Bulwer-Lytton's The Last Days of Pompeii. Special Collections, Getty Research Institute.
1.5 Plan of the Pompeii Court. 1854 edition of the Routledge guide to the Crystal Palace and Syndenham.

1.6 Lawrence Alma-Tadema's 1867 oil painting "Glaucus and Nydia." Cleveland Museum of Art.
2.1 Birth certificate of I.C.G. Campbell.

2.2 The terracotta lamp in the Campbell Collection.
2.3 The bronze lamp in the Campbell Collection.

2.4 Map depicting the locations of the seven photographs taken in Athens.
2.5 Map showing the locations of the five locations of the postcards from the Campbell Collection.

2.6 Back of the House of the Tragic Poet postcard.
2.7 Back of the House of the Vettii postcard.

2.8 Back of the "Remains of a Roman house and the panorama of the town" postcard from Agrigento.
2.9 Image depicting the elements of a Roman discus lamp.

2.10 1910 image of a woman in a portanini in front of Porta Marina.
2.11 Map of Pompeii from the 1893 Forbes guidebook.

3.1 Map of Pompeii with the photo locations placed as points.
3.2 Map showing the hyperlinks for both the 1900s and 2010 photographs.

3.3 OD Cost Matrix for the Campbell route with the origin point at Porta Marina.
3.4 A possible route through Pompeii based on the locations of the photos.

3.5 Lit Sphere Radiance Scaling of the terracotta lamp done in Meshlab.
3.6 Radiance Scaling Color Descriptor of the terracotta lamp done in Meshlab.

3.7 Radiance Scaling Color Curvature of the terracotta lamp done in Meshlab.
3.8 Phrong Shader of the bronze lamp done in Meshlab.

3.9 Radiance Shader of the bronze lamp done in Meshlab.
3.10 3D printed terracotta lamp.

3.11 Visualization of the table of contents pathways in Scalar for the Campbell Archive website.
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Appendix A: The Campbell Photographs

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2. Tebessa
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3. Tebessa  La Basilique (Les Ecuries)

4. Tebessa  La Basilique (chapelle Treffec)
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16. Pompeii       Street of Abundance

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20. Pompeii  House of the Golden Cupids
21. Pompeii  Forum

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29. Agrigento  7 Tomb of Theron
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