Edited by JESSICA HUGHES AND CLAUDIO BUONGIOVANNI

REMEMBERING PARTHENOPE

The Reception of Classical Naples from Antiquity to the Present

CLASSICAL PRESENCES

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Attempts to receive the texts, images, and material culture of ancient Greece and Rome inevitably run the risk of appropriating the past in order to authenticate the present. Exploring the ways in which the classical past has been mapped over the centuries allows us to trace the avowal and disavowal of values and identities, old and new. Classical Presences brings the latest scholarship to bear on the contexts, theory, and practice of such use, and abuse, of the classical past.

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JESSICA HUGHES
AND CLAUDIO BUONGIOVANNI

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C.B. and J.H.

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1

Introduction

Entering the Siren's City

Claudio Buongiovanni and Jessica Hughes

'You're all disgusting! Look at what you've reduced me to!'[1] So proclaimed a sign that hung around the neck of the ancient marble river god in Naples' Piazzetta Nilo in the summer of 2009, when many of the city's streets were 'decorated' with bags of uncollected rubbish. Through its annotation by protestors, this Roman sculpture, which has been widely known since the Renaissance as the 'Corpo di Napoli' (Fig. 1.1), was drawn into a political debate about the future of the city it personified, and made to accuse passers-by of failing to look after Naples' glorious ancient heritage. This dynamic appropriation of the Corpo di Napoli (which only a few months earlier had worn a sign reading 'Free Palestine') stands at the end of many centuries of interactions with Naples' classical past: already in antiquity, the accounts of the city's foundation and early history were being drawn into the service of later agendas and ideologies; over the centuries that followed, the Greek and Roman past of the city played a vital role in the construction of civic identity, and in debates about what it meant to be Neapolitan.

This volume presents an initial exploration of the history of classical reception in Naples, focusing on a series of case studies which range from Roman literary and visual representations of the city's Greek foundation myths through to the fierce contemporary debates about the preservation and presentation of its archaeological heritage.

[1] 'Fate schifo! Vedete in quale stato mi avete ridotto!'

Fig. 1.1. The 'Corpo di Napoli' sculpture, Piazzetta Nilo, Naples.
Source: Photograph: Angela Palmentieri.

One of the factors that motivated the editors to put this book together was an awareness of an imbalance in existing literature—an imbalance, that is, between a veritable industry of locally produced books and articles on Naples, and a surprising lack of engagement with this rich material on the part of international scholars, who have tended to sideline the urban centre of Naples at the expense of other sites on the Bay. It is true that recent years have seen the beginnings of an increase in scholarship on Naples in the English language.[2] However, the dynamics of classical reception in the city still remain unexplored—and this is particularly noticeable when compared with the wealth of exciting work on the reception of the nearby sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum (which are deliberately and

[2] Cf. Astarita (2013); Calaresu and Hills (2013), whose introduction discusses and challenges the 'tired paradigms' which have previously characterized scholarship on Naples, and which have led to the depiction of southern Italy as a 'poor, crude subaltern sister' (p. 2) to the North (see Annalisa Marzano, Chapter 13 in this volume, for further discussion of this issue). For a documentary history of ancient Naples see Taylor and Alchermes (forthcoming). For introductory overviews of Neapolitan history in English aimed at a more general readership see Lancaster (2009) and Robb (2011).

almost provocatively put aside here in order to 'make room' for their glorious older metropolis).[3]

In fact, the urban centre of Naples offers us a unique resource for studying the reception of antiquity: it is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the Western world, and has been a centre of cultural contact ever since its foundation in the seventh century BC. Periods of Greek, Roman, Gothic, Byzantine, Norman, Angevin, Aragonese, Spanish, and Bourbon occupation—together with significant encounters with other foreign peoples, including the Arabs—have all left their mark on the city, which continues to be a hub of commercial exchange with other sites around the Mediterranean basin and beyond. Traces of the classical past remain in the city's institutions, traditions, cults, language, toponymy, art, and architecture—but it is the combination of this tangible classical heritage with later multicultural influences that makes Naples such a rich site for studying *Classical Presences*. This volume, then, aims to help redress the balance in the literature about Naples, by making some of the Italian scholarship and Neapolitan source material accessible to an anglophone audience, and by sketching the outlines of the city's classical reception history. It also aims to bring this material into a productive dialogue with more recent theories and ideas about processes of reception, cultural memory, and urban identity construction.

Ultimately, this book offers a diachronic exploration of how and why the image of classical Naples has been created, enhanced, and modelled over the centuries, according to the agendas, preoccupations, and tastes of different recipients.[4] As the chapters' authors will collectively demonstrate, this inheritance is constantly being re-evaluated, with effects that are sometimes unexpected, and which can challenge our modern and contemporary certainties. One of the most striking examples concerns the *auctoritas* of Virgil at Naples University—which is, we might note, the institutional home of several authors contributing to this volume. Today, we place an enormous value on 'our' treasured Latin poet, but—as Fulvio Delle Donne shows in Chapter 8—this has certainly not always been the case. During the

[3] On Pompeii and classical reception see Cremante et al. (2008); Hales and Paul (2011); Mattusch (2013); Heringman (2013).

[4] The book takes particular inspiration from the Jaussian notions of 'actualizing reception' and 'heritage appropriation' (see the list of works by Jauss in the Bibliography).

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Virgil's literary output was considered far less interesting and useful than that of other classical and medieval authors, whose work was thus far more frequently appropriated. In fact, in this period Virgil was famous not only as a poet, but also as a thaumaturge with magical healing powers, a creator of talismanic animals, and the builder of the miraculous tunnels that still form the backbone of the modern city.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

The main section of the volume is divided into two parts, the first of which takes us from the foundation of the city into late antiquity, and the second from the Middle Ages to the present day. The chapters in Part I (2–6) demonstrate how the image of ancient Neapolis began to be constructed and reconstructed in antiquity itself, focusing primarily on texts and monuments of the Hellenistic and Roman periods (we should note here that the names Naples and Neapolis are used interchangeably in this volume, in order to prevent excessive repetition). This part of the book looks particularly closely at the city's foundation narratives and their representation and reuse in later periods of antiquity, as well as the question of continuity between the early Greek and later Roman imperial periods. Meanwhile, the chapters in Part II (7–14) explore aspects of the reception of the classical past from the medieval period up to the present day. The volume concludes with two afterwords written by an archaeologist and a classical philologist, who offer their more informal reflections on the city's current condition, as well as on the future of its artistic and cultural heritage.

The material drawn on in the volume is extremely wide-ranging; it includes Greek and Roman literature, popular medieval legends, architectural *spolia*, underground tunnels, and studies of body language. The volume also covers a vast chronological scope, which inevitably means that the identity of the city being 'remembered' as we move through the book is constantly shifting. In Hellenistic and Roman times, 'antiquity' was equated with the earliest periods in the city's history: that is, the foundation of the first settlement, Parthenope (later known as Palaepolis) in the seventh century BC, the subsequent move to Neapolis in the fifth century, and the nebulous first stages of that city's life. In later periods, while the Greek roots of

Parthenope (which became a poetic denomination of Neapolis in Roman times) would continue to be central to Neapolitan civic identity, they came to be overshadowed by the Roman elements of the city's heritage. The physical *lieux de mémoire* celebrated by Renaissance humanists are virtually all Roman: the temple of the Dioscuri, the 'Crypta Neapolitana' (the tunnel excavated through the hill at Posillipo, which in the Middle Ages was believed to have been created in a single night by Virgil's magic powers), the 'Grotta di Seiano', the villa of Lucullus on the island of Megaride, and of course the grave of Virgil. Meanwhile, the dominance of the Roman past in medieval accounts of Neapolitan antiquity is exemplified by the *Cronaca di Partenope,* that influential fourteenth-century history of Naples attributed to a lay Neapolitan patrician named Bartolomeo Caracciolo-Carafa, which will reappear several times in the pages of this volume. Of the thirty-two chapters of the *Cronaca* that deal with the pagan antiquity of Naples, half (nos. 16–32) are given over to a discussion of Virgil and the miraculous works that he created for the good of the city. The preceding chapters describe the foundation and early history of the city, but here the narrative is also dominated by a Roman—this time, the figure of Tiberius Julius Tarsos, the Roman whose name was preserved on the inscription of the temple of the Dioscuri, and who was credited in the *Cronaca* as being the founder of Neapolis.[5]

Many of the protagonists who appear in this volume come from the elite, intellectual classes—kings, cardinals, writers, and their aristocratic patrons—but we have also tried to include, where possible, more popular receptions of antiquity in Naples, accessed indirectly from sources such as the widely circulated medieval legends about Virgil and the inexpensive, mass-produced models of ancient ruins

[5] For the *Cronaca* see the recent edition by Samantha Kelly (2011), which includes a detailed commentary in English. As Kelly explains (p. 55), the *Cronaca* can be divided fairly neatly into three chronological sections: chapters 1–32 treat pagan antiquity (although chapters 38 and 39 also belong to this section, since they concern the Cumaean sibyl); the second section treats the early Christian and early medieval history, which Kelly terms the 'sacred era' (chapters 33–55); while the third section deals principally with reigns of the rulers of southern Italy from the Normans to the accession of Joanna 1 (chapters 56 to the end). The earliest chapters of the book treat the foundation of Cumae and then Parthenope (1–5), the foundation of Neapolis by Tiberius Julius Tarsos (6–7), and the early encounters with the Romans (8–15). Virgil is the subject of chapters 16–32. On the sources for the section on pagan antiquity, see Kelly (2011), 56–67.

that can be found on sale in the city today. We also deliberately chose to focus on Neapolitan rather than 'outsider' or 'tourist' responses to the city's heritage, in an attempt to redress the dominant trend in anglophone scholarship whereby Naples is seen from the perspective of visitors (with the city and its residents often thereby characterized as foreign, exotic, and anomalous). In this sense, while the contributors to this book all adopt subtly different approaches to reception and have different ways of conceiving the relationship between past and present, we felt justified in alluding in the book's title to the related field of Memory Studies, which shares with Reception Studies the basic theoretical premise that the past is reshaped in the process of receiving/remembering, but which brings with it the idea of a common, *shared* past, which is used to construct and reinforce group (in this case civic) identity.[6]

The early stages of this ongoing process of civic identity construction are partially accessible through the ancient literary sources, which are set out and reappraised in Chapter 2 by Lorenzo Miletti. Miletti reads Strabo's famous description of Neapolis, which appears in the context of a longer description of the Campanian coastal area, in the light of modern knowledge about the city's foundation and early history. He demonstrates how this first-century AD text—which might itself be seen as a work of reception which drew on other texts from previous centuries—crystallizes some of the themes that would be important in the subsequent reception history of the city. Much of Miletti's discussion focuses on the rather complex story of the city's foundation, which Strabo and other ancient authors describe as happening in two stages—firstly with the foundation of Parthenope on the rocky promontory of Pizzofalcone, and secondly with the 'refounding' of that city at a nearby site which was subsequently known as Neapolis. The variants and alternative traditions surrounding these events suggest that already in Roman times the ancient past was being drawn into the service of different ideologies and debates about civic identity. Like other authors in this first part of the volume,

[6] The interdisciplinary field of Memory Studies, like that of Classical Reception Studies, is vast and ever-expanding. The monographs by Cubitt (2007) and Erll (2011) are recommended entry points into the debates and bibliography. A sense of the breadth of work in the field can be gained by looking at the journal *Memory Studies* and the monograph series *Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies*. For memory in the Roman world see the collection edited by Galinsky (2014), which shows how much of the modern scholarship might be used to illuminate ancient material.

Miletti is interested in how the surviving sources present the relationship between Parthenope and Neapolis—and while he gives several examples of features that were shared by both cities, he also reminds us that the very name Neapolis emphasizes the novelty and discontinuity of this 'New City'—while also implicitly ensuring that the distant memory of another, older city was preserved for future generations.

In Chapter 3 by Rabun Taylor we have our first encounter with the temple of the Dioscuri—a first-century AD monument in the heart of ancient Neapolis that was built by a wealthy freedman of Tiberius (see the map at Fig. 7.1, no. 2). Most of this temple's architecture no longer survives, although some Corinthian columns are still visible in the facade of the church of S. Paolo Maggiore, and fragments of the sculpted decoration can be seen in the National Archaeological Museum. Using both ancient and later antiquarian sources, Taylor works to reconstruct the temple's now-lost pediment; in the process, he offers a hitherto-unrecognized example of how the ancient past of the city was pressed into the service of the (Roman) present. In particular, Taylor argues that the pediment may have represented certain events from the foundation narratives that we met in Chapter 2 by Lorenzo Miletti: these include the city's 'parent' god Apollo, Diotimos (the Athenian general who established the Sebasta games and 'the first historically verifiable figure in the chronicles of Naples'), and personifications of the river Sebethos, Neapolis, and perhaps even Parthenope. The visual emphasis on Neapolis in the centre of the pediment would accord with the dedication of the temple to the Dioscuri *and* the *polis*; meanwhile, the representation of both Parthenope and Neapolis would provide a visual nod to the 'two-stage' foundation which was being worked out in the literary sources. Particularly important in Taylor's reconstruction is the proposed presence of Diotimos, since many scholars believe that the games he founded were the direct ancestors of the *Italika Rhomaia Sebasta Isolympia* held in honour of Augustus. In this way, Taylor suggests that the pediment, through its representation of the 'origins' of the Sebasta games, may have emphasized the city's Roman imperial links and reminded viewers of its status as a place favoured by the Julio-Claudian emperors.

In fact, the games appear again in both Chapters 4 and 5, each of which explore different aspects of the Greek past in Naples as the city developed under Roman rule. Chapter 4 by Kathryn Lomas gives a broad overview of the physical and cultural backdrop of Roman

Neapolis, and reappraises this evidence using the theoretical tools of cultural memory, in particular the work of Maurice Halbwachs and Paul Connerton. Lomas looks for Roman examples of continuity with the city's past, and finds plenty of evidence in the city's unusually high proportion of Greek-language inscriptions, as well as the Greek magisterial offices, ancient civic institutions like the phratries (kinship-based groups with social and religious responsibilities), and Greek cults and festivals. However, rather than automatically taking these surviving Hellenic forms as evidence for a deliberate and meaningful evocation of the city's past, she shows how in many cases the evidence is more ambiguous than it might first appear. The example of the Sebasta games is a case in point, for the putative links between this festival and the older games held for Parthenope need to be balanced by the realization that the Sebasta were nevertheless configured according to a new Roman imperial matrix. Ultimately, she shows that while Naples was undoubtedly perceived as having a vibrant Greek heritage, many of the city's ancestral elements were overhauled in the early Roman Empire, and drawn into the service of new agendas, including that of philhellenism.

Chapter 5 by Mauro De Nardis begins by laying out the facts of the evolving relationship between Neapolis and Rome, from the siege of Neapolis in 327/6 BC to its passing under the control of *correctores* and *consulares* in late antiquity. He then returns to the Neapolitan constitution and magistracies, and the question of continuity with earlier periods. For while the Greek names of these magistracies have been taken both in antiquity and later times as providing evidence of the city's Hellenism, De Nardis shows that the evidence is really too fragmentary and problematic to support this picture of simple continuity between the Greek and Roman periods of the city's history. While Strabo presents the demarchs in terms of a 'preservation' of the Greek past, De Nardis argues that the other magistracies might be seen more in terms of dynamic remodelling: the enigmatic magistrature of the *laukelarchos*, for instance, may have been revived or even invented at the time of the institution of the Sebasta games, and as such suggests a conscious programme of 'heritage management' on the part of those who sponsored the festival. Certainly, it is possible to imagine how this emphasis on the Hellenic character of the festival would have worked in the favour of the emperors in whose honour they were held: for one thing, it may have mitigated the more exotic 'imperial cult' elements of the ceremony, and also allowed Augustus

and his successors to tap into the broader discourse of Roman philhellenism that Kathryn Lomas described at the end of Chapter 4.

The final chapter in Part I takes us out of the imperial era and into the world of late antiquity. Some time around the close of the fifth century AD, the last emperor of Rome, Romulus Augustulus, drew his last breath on the island of Megaride—the very spot where the Siren Parthenope is said to have arrived so many centuries earlier. In the following century, the emperor Justinian sought to recover and restore the western half of the Empire, which had been overrun by Goths. In Chapter 6, Giovanni Polara paints a portrait of the city during the so-called Gothic War (AD 535–53), when Justinian's general Belisarius led a twenty-day siege of the city before finally entering via a disused Roman aqueduct.[7] The brutal damage subsequently inflicted on the ancient city was mirrored, in a sense, by an obliteration (or at least temporary 'forgetting') of classical Naples; in the Greek and Latin sources on which Polara draws—Procopius of Caesarea, Sidonius Apollinaris, Cassiodorus, Jordanes, and Boethius—the Edenic image of classical Naples (the *dulcis Parthenope* of Virgil) that would be so important in the Renaissance and beyond is replaced, temporarily, by the image of a city ravaged by a terrible war, natural disasters, famine, and pestilence. By drawing attention to these sources and their non-traditional images of the city, Polara's chapter effectively problematizes the notion of a simple continuity between classical and 'neoclassical' Naples. In turn, it implicitly draws attention to the 'cultural forgetfulness' that would prevail in later periods, in which the troubled era of late antiquity would all but disappear from the Neapolitan historical consciousness.[8]

If Chapter 6 is about a process of 'undoing', Chapter 7 instead addresses a sort of 'remaking' of the city from the remnants of ancient Greek and Roman buildings. Angela Palmentieri discusses the use of architectural *spolia* in later structures—both sacred sites like churches and, at a later point, private palazzi of the elite. This story looks at Neapolitan *spolia* over the *longue durée* from late antiquity to the

[7] For an account of Naples in this period see Arthur (2002).

[8] On cultural forgetting see Connerton (2008); Assman (2008). Assman argues that 'the continuous process of forgetting is part of social normality', and goes on to distinguish between active forms of forgetting (e.g. material destruction, taboo and censorship) and passive forms (e.g. neglect and disregard). See Hughes (2014) for a Roman case study of cultural memory and forgetting.

Renaissance, highlighting, in the process, the sheer abundance of ancient fragments in the fabric of the modern city. The chapter focuses on the identification of the types of *spolia* in a series of monuments and the investigation of their provenances. In Naples, as in Rome, most spoliated marbles are architectural fragments—columns and capitals—although figurative sculptures became increasingly popular in later periods. And although it is often hard to specify the exact provenance of the reused material, it does seem that in late antiquity and the early medieval period most of the *spolia* seem to have come from buildings within the city, while later cases involved *spolia* from the Campanian countryside and the rest of the Phlegraean area. Palmentieri also identifies two specific symbolic meanings of the *spolia* in their new contexts: firstly, the use of fragmentary remains of antiquity to signal the rebirth of Naples as a Christian city, and secondly, the appropriation of antiquity for the purposes of Renaissance self-fashioning. Both of these themes will resurface and be explored in more detail in later chapters of this volume.

After this panoramic view of a whole millennium of reuse, Fulvio Delle Donne's Chapter 8 takes us to the Angevin age, when Naples became the capital of southern Italy and one of the most important cities in the Mediterranean. He starts by introducing us to a document of 1259, in which Manfred of Swabia describes Naples as a 'Virgilian city' brimming with poetry and knowledge. As Manfred's words suggest, inhabitants of Naples in this period were keenly aware of their city's ancient heritage, which was embodied above all in the figures of classical authors. However, Delle Donne argues that we are looking here at a peculiarly 'non-literary' type of reception, in the sense that contemporary Neapolitans often found the ancient texts themselves less interesting and useful than the biographies of the men who wrote them. Virgil is the obvious example here, since his fame in this period clearly depended primarily on his powers as a magician, rather than on his poetic output; however, Delle Donne also shows how other classical authors seem to have taken on new identities that were independent of the texts they had written. These texts were frequently 'cut up' into citable portions for reuse in a wide range of new contexts, and here Delle Donne introduces a contrast between what he calls 'real' and 'ideal' reuse. While the former would signify a direct engagement with an ancient text, and a genuine attempt to understand and reflect

that text's original meaning, the latter type of reuse reduces the ancient text to a mere (visual or verbal) cipher, which is fleetingly evoked in order to embellish a work or to give it extra authority. This chapter also highlights the role of Neapolitan sovereigns in transmitting classical texts and translations to other places in Europe, and considers how the city's classical heritage may have contributed to its rise to the intellectual capital of the Kingdom and home of the first state university in Europe.

The next four chapters focus on the reception of the Neapolitan past in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the city was home to some of Italy's most prominent humanists. The protagonists of this section of the volume include the neo-Latin poets Antonio Beccadelli—also known as 'il Panormita'—Giovanni Pontano, and Jacopo Sannazaro, who operated within the learned atmosphere of the Aragonese court. Chapter 9 by Giancarlo Abbamonte looks at how these poets represented their relationship with two of their ancient forebears, Virgil and Statius. Virgil's influence in this period is well known, and will be the topic of further exploration in Chapter 11. Here, however, Abbamonte adds a new perspective by arguing that over the course of the 1470s we see Neapolitan intellectuals attempting to place Virgil and Statius side by side—and even to substitute Virgil with Statius as the representative of Neapolitan poetry. This 'rejigging' of the classical canon was motivated in part by the rediscovery of Statius' Neapolitan origins, as well as of his major poetic work the *Silvae*—a collection of verses containing numerous references to Naples as the author's city of origin. This new knowledge inevitably made Statius and his writings an appealing ancestor for Neapolitan poets, whose work became infused with Statian vocabulary and ideas.

Bianca de Divitiis adds yet another new dimension to our understanding of Neapolitan humanism in Chapter 10 by highlighting the role played by ancient material culture in this period. She begins by drawing attention to the many artefacts that were emerging from the subsoil in and around Naples, which included marble statues, architectural elements, and a wealth of Latin inscriptions. These objects, which were either chance finds made during building works or the result of specially commissioned archaeological excavations, were soon absorbed into the collections of the city's elite, or—as already documented in Chapter 7 by Angela Palmentieri—built into

the structures of their private residences. The chapter then moves on to explore the ancient network of aqueducts, catacombs, and other structures underneath the city, arguing that these served as a source of inspiration for the humanists' antiquarian and literary work, as well as their own building projects. De Divitiis shows how recognizing the humanists' archaeological activities can heighten our understanding of their literary works; her analysis of Jacopo Sannazaro's famous classicizing work *Arcadia*, for instance, demonstrates how the poet's description of his protagonist's subterranean journey not only draws on ancient written texts, but also more than likely reflects the writer's personal experience of exploring the channels of the Bolla and Serino aqueducts. Ultimately, we discover in this chapter that the Neapolitan humanists were profoundly interested in the wider historiographical problems concerning the subsoil of Naples and the wider Campanian area, and found as much inspiration in the city's underground network of tunnels as in any academic meeting-place or library.

Chapter 11 by Harald Hendrix begins by picking up on an activity mentioned briefly by de Divitiis in Chapter 10—that is, the attempts made by Renaissance intellectuals to associate archaeological sites in and around Naples with people and places mentioned in classical texts. Hendrix traces this literary perspective back to Petrarch, whose interest in identifying Virgilian sites occasionally overcame his critical ability to take the physical evidence on its own terms. The chapter then moves forward in time to consider how representations of the ancient city evolved over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, drawing on chorographic descriptions in city eulogies and guides, as well as visual representations of the city's topography. Hendrix identifies some elements of continuity with earlier humanist representations of Naples, in particular the centrality of Virgil's tomb and the villa of Sannazaro. However, he also highlights some important changes over time—for instance, we find an increasing reliance on 'eyewitness' antiquarian investigations as opposed to the literary projections favoured by the humanists, as well as a growing interest in other aspects of the urban landscape, including Christian monuments and the more recent urban projects instigated by the viceroy Toledo. The chapter also addresses the impact that the growing presence of visitors in the city had on urban identity, pointing out that, while visitors to Naples in this period were attracted by the city's

illustrious classical heritage, their perspective on this past was more distant and neutral than that of the Neapolitan intellectuals of earlier generations, who had used the past predominantly for purposes of self-fashioning and identity construction. The fact that these 'outsider' perspectives appear to have then influenced 'indigenous' Neapolitan representations of their city reminds us of the complex interplay between inside and outside—an interplay which would become ever more important in the following century as the Grand Tour got into full swing.

Fulvio Lenzo's Chapter 12 also presents evidence for a shift in attitudes to classical antiquity over time, here focusing on the case study of the church of S. Paolo Maggiore and its changing fortunes over the course of the sixteenth century. This church was built on the site of the Roman temple of the Dioscuri, discussed by Rabun Taylor in Chapter 3 of this volume. Lenzo focuses his investigation on two episodes in the building's post-antique history: the acquisition of the site by the Theatine Order of monks in 1538, and the rebuilding of the front steps in 1576. In the first instance, Lenzo argues that the acquisition of this site by Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa (whose grandfather Diomede Carafa and uncle Oliviero Carafa appear in earlier chapters as prominent 'receivers' of antiquity) was driven by an awareness of the importance of the ancient temple; this betrays an ecclesiastic vision of pagan antiquity that, while never wholly unambiguous, was relatively positive when compared with that of later decades. For by the time the staircase was rebuilt in 1576, it was felt necessary to reassure visitors that the ancient stones used in the staircase were now consecrated to the triumphant Christian saints rather than to the 'false gods' of pagan antiquity. Lenzo explains this apparent shift from a positive to a negative attitude towards classical antiquity with reference to the unease following the Protestant Reformation; at the same time, though, he also introduces other sources which show the continued positive valency of the temple and its ancient inscription, which were reproduced throughout this period by Neapolitans and foreigners alike, in a variety of new media.

Chapter 13 by Annalisa Marzano focuses on Andrea de Jorio's 1832 treatise *La mimica degli antichi investigata nel gestire napoletano*, a text devoted to the exegesis of gestures depicted in Roman and Greek art and literature through a comparison with gestures still in use in nineteenth-century Naples. Marzano introduces the methodology and aims of this influential semiotic treatise and situates it in

relation to a series of intellectual, cultural, and political developments taking place across the rest of Italy and Europe. De Jorio's project was based on the conviction that the culture and body language of the ancients were preserved in the modern populace of Naples; notably, in contrast to the receptions studied in the other chapters of this part of the volume, the 'antiquity' that was privileged here was the city's *Greek* past—and Marzano suggests that this reflects the growing influence of Winckelmann, who visited the museum where de Jorio worked and whose writings asserted the superiority of Greek art and culture over all other traditions. At any rate, by emphasizing continuity between past and present, de Jorio was able to respond to contemporary invective generated by northern Europeans, who often denigrated the modern populace of Naples as poor and lazy, and as ultimately *dis*connected from the noble ancient cultures that once inhabited the same region. Marzano also demonstrates the relevance of de Jorio's treatise to the debates about the North–South divide within Italy—debates which permeated the rhetoric of the Risorgimento and which are still very much alive today.

The final chapter of this volume, Chapter 14, brings our journey through Neapolitan receptions of the classical past right up to the present day, by looking at the small-scale models of classical ruins that are sold by vendors in Via S. Gregorio Armeno in the historic centre of the city for display within Neapolitan *presepi* (Nativity scenes). As background to these modern examples, Jessica Hughes introduces the evidence for the inclusion of ruins in Neapolitan Nativity scenes from the seventeenth century onwards, showing how this fashion intensified around the time of the rediscovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Much of the discussion of this chapter is centred on uncovering the different meanings attributed to these ruin models over time—meanings which are accessed primarily through written sources, but also visual analysis of individual *presepi*. The chapter shows that there has always been a widespread awareness that the ruins in the *presepe* (like those in other representations of the Nativity from elsewhere in Italy) symbolize the death of paganism and the triumph of Christianity: in this sense, the *presepe* fits neatly alongside other Catholic appropriations of ancient material culture, including examples discussed earlier in the volume by Palmentieri and Lenzo. At the same time, the ruins are shown to have additional meanings in the context of the *presepe*, where they form part of a

dominant aesthetic of anachronism and multi-temporality, as well as often serving to physically transplant the Nativity to Campania through visual evocation of particular monuments. The examination of particular case studies of *presepi* on display in S. Gregorio Armeno over the past few years also shows how these traditional elements of *presepe* imagery are often appropriated by individual craftsmen for their own unique purposes, from the desire to make a subversive political comment on the decline and fall of a nation, to the injection of pathos—as well as hope—in the representation of a natural disaster.

The volume closes with two short afterwords which address 'the future of the city's past', first from a museological and then from a wider cultural and philosophical perspective. Both take inspiration from the recent work on the city's underground Metro system, which has uncovered a wealth of new archaeological material. In Chapter 15 Stefano De Caro presents a brief history of Neapolitan antiquities collections, before considering how best to conserve and communicate the city's precious archaeological heritage. Luigi Spina then uses the metaphor of hybridity in Chapter 16 to explore the question of how best to reconcile the 'two cities' above and below the ground level. The questions raised in these afterwords are becoming ever more urgent and pressing: just a few weeks before the final submission of this book, the European Commission approved an investment of €75 million from the European Regional Development Fund to restore the historical centre of Naples.[9] At the time of writing, we do not know exactly how and where the money will be spent, but it is clear that the next months and years will furnish us with many new case studies of 'cultural memory in action', involving processes of selection and valorization that will impact on all future generations. For now, though, we leave the reader of this book in the company of the ancient city's foundress and namesake, the Siren Parthenope, who reappears throughout these pages in different places and guises: whether lying in her tomb on the shore beneath the ancient citadel, presiding over the Roman games from her temple, sprinkling water from her breasts over fifteenth-century diners in the gardens of the Castel Capuano, or boarding the Metro in search of new adventures in this vibrant and beautiful city.

[9] Futher details at: <http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/upload/documents/Commissioner/IT-2013-09-26-restore-Naples-historic-centre.pdf> (European Commission press release of 26 September 2013, accessed 24 March 2014).

Part I

Classical Naples in Antiquity

2

Setting the Agenda

The Image of Classical Naples in Strabo's Geography *and Other Ancient Literary Sources*

Lorenzo Miletti

This chapter aims to define how the city of Neapolis was represented in ancient literary sources, and to show how Greek and Roman authors transfigured, reused, and interpreted historical information in their descriptions of the city. In turn, it also aims to identify how these literary descriptions contributed to the construction of Naples' identity in later periods of the city's history. Two immediate challenges face the historian embarking on such a project. The first relates to the fact that the Greek sources for the earliest phases of Naples' history are now lost. It is true that they sometimes survive 'hidden' behind later Latin works, but these works generally manipulate the material to such an extent that they cannot be taken as unproblematic evidence for a 'Greek point of view'. The second problem is that both the Greek and Latin texts that survive are generally late: most of the Hellenistic historiography dealing specifically with Magna Graecia is lost, and can only be reconstructed by reading between the lines of later authors like Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy, and Pliny. In the case of Neapolis, we have lost not only the works of local (and rather obscure) Hellenistic

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historians such as the Cumaean Hyperochus and the Neapolitan Eumachus, but also those of more famous authors such as Timaeus of Tauromenium and Antiochus of Syracuse, both of whom were sources for several Greek and Roman writers dealing with Magna Graecia's history.[1]

The historian's lifeline in this wreckage of sources is the work of the Greek geographer Strabo, and this chapter will focus primarily on how Strabo's famous description of Neapolis both incorporated *and* influenced other textual representations of the city and its classical heritage. Strabo's description of Neapolis comes directly after his treatment of Puteoli (Dicaearchia):

> After Dicaearchia comes Neapolis, a city of the Cumaeans. At a later time it was re-colonized by Chalcidians, and also by some Pithecussans and Athenians, and hence, for this reason, was called Neapolis. A monument of Parthenope, one of the Sirens, is pointed out in Neapolis, and in accordance with an oracle a gymnastic contest is celebrated there. But at a still later time, as the result of a dissension, they admitted some of the Campani as fellow-inhabitants, and thus they were forced to treat their worst enemies as their best friends, now that they had alienated their proper friends. This is disclosed by the names of their demarchs, for the earliest names are Greek only, whereas the later are Greek mixed with Campanian. And very many traces of Greek culture are preserved there—gymnasia, ephebeia, phratriae, and Greek names of things, although the people are Romans. And at the present time a sacred contest is celebrated among them every four years, in music as well as gymnastics; it lasts for several days, and vies with the most famous of those celebrated in Greece. Here, too, there is a tunnel—the mountain between Dicaearchia and Neapolis having been tunneled like the one leading to Cumae, and a road having been opened up for a distance of many stadia that is wide enough to allow teams going in opposite directions to pass each other. And windows have been cut out at many places, and thus the light of day is brought down from the surface of the mountain along shafts that are of considerable depth. Furthermore, Neapolis has springs of hot water and bathing-establishments that are not inferior to those at Baiae, although it is far short of Baiae in the number of people, for at Baiae, where palace on palace has been

[1] On Hyperochus see Athenaeus 12.528 d–e, who calls him the 'author of Kymaika', and Pausanias 10.12.4, who stresses his origins from Cumae. The fragments are collected in *FGrHist* 576. On Eumachus (*FGrHist* 178) see Athenaeus 13.541 a–b, although it is unclear if his birthplace is the Italian Neapolis or another homonymous town.