'Strange and Uncouth': Exoticism and Orientalism in British Responses to the Eighteenth-Century Excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum

Hardeep Singh Dhindsa

Abstract: In the mid-eighteenth century, the Roman towns that were buried under the debris from the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE began to be excavated. The findings drew an unparalleled number of travelers to Naples, eager to visit the Bourbon excavations and see for themselves the remains of the best-preserved example of daily Roman life. The immediate impact that Pompeian wall paintings and decorative arts had on eighteenth-century interior design is well studied, but what remains relatively underexplored are the reactions of shock (and horror) to the artefacts being unearthed in towns like Pompeii and Herculaneum. Here I show how some British travelers understood the artefacts through a distinctly colonial lens. Some likened the vividly-colored wall paintings to Indian or Chinese art, while others were deeply disturbed by the proliferation of erotic statues which recalled the phallic objects described in recent reports from the South Sea islands. My research brings to light a different experience of the British Grand Tour, where travel to the Mediterranean drew heavily upon foreign tropes found in contemporary colonial travel literature.

Keywords: colonial travel literature, Grand Tour, orientalism, primitivism.

Introduction[1]

In 1740, Horace Walpole travelled to Naples and witnessed Herculaneum being unearthed in front of his very eyes. 'There is nothing,' he said, 'of the kind known in the world; I mean a Roman city entire of that age, and that has not been corrupted with modern repairs.'[2] The rediscoveries of the towns that had been buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE attracted the attention of travelers, historians, and scientists alike from across Europe and influenced Neoclassical decorative arts for decades afterwards.[3] This paper, however, is not concerned with the popularity of the sites as a topic of intrigue and charm. Instead, it reveals the underexplored responses to them by British travelers, which characterized Pompeian objects as oriental in their color and form. I argue that these travelers, and the Grand Tour

[1] This paper is adapted from research presented at the Society for Classical Studies and the Archaeological Institute of America Annual Meeting 2023, and forms part of the second chapter of my doctoral thesis, 'Agents of Empire: Cultural Imperialism, White British Identity, and the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour' (unpublished at time of writing). I would like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council [AH/R012679/1], the Leverhulme Trust [SAS-2022-046\5], and the British School at Rome for funding this research, and Professors William Fitzgerald, Phiroze Vasunia, Edith Hall and Abigail Brundin for their support as supervisors.

[2] Horace Walpole, *Correspondence* [Lewis (1965), 13:224].

[3] See D'Alconzo and Cragie (2015).

as a wider phenomenon, were influenced by contemporary colonial travel narratives documenting the South Seas and Asia. In doing so, I encourage a reframing of the tour into a phenomenon that offers a nuanced reading of global knowledge production that is staged within the confines of Europe, yet still blurs the boundaries of European and non-European cultures. As such this paper explores the 'excessive, dangerous and exotic' image of Southern Italy in the context of the Vesuvian excavations, as well as travel accounts that documented shock towards the vividly colored wall paintings there, and finally analyzes the comparisons between ancient societies and colonized territories based on perceptions of sexual excess.[4]

The aim of this paper is to offer a new perspective on the Vesuvian excavations through a comparative approach, which reconsiders reactions of shock and horror at Pompeian art through global networks of ethnographic cultural exchange. Equally as important, however, is acknowledging what this paper does not set out to do. Many of the primary sources presented below have already been written about by Grand Tour historians in the context of different research interests, and my intention is not to override those readings by suggesting all negative comments made about Pompeii and Herculaneum are exclusively 'colonial.' It must be noted that the comments analyzed only represent a small portion of visitors' thoughts and feelings about the excavations, and should not be taken to imply that there has been a severe misunderstanding of popular receptions to Pompeian art. It makes no claim to suggest that travelers were actively mimicking their fellow countrymen in the colonies, or that there is a distinct group of sources that need to be recognized as a singular body. Rather, this paper visualizes a way of expanding the boundaries of Grand Tour studies through speculative enquiry: what new understandings of the Grand Tour can we gain through weaving new threads into existing fabrics? How does our relationship to existing classical historiographies of the eighteenth century change when they are reframed using global anthropological frameworks? This paper then, reimagines the Grand Tour as a confrontation between the familiar and the foreign by focusing on a case study that is severely under-represented in wider discussions of global art histories in the eighteenth century.

Pompeian Red and Eastern Imagination

Between 1734 and 1806, Naples was ruled by the Spanish branch of the Bourbon dynasty. While the remains of Herculaneum had been discovered in 1709, systematic excavations only began under the Bourbons in 1738 to enrich King Charles' new villa at Portici, with those at Pompeii beginning ten years later in 1748 (though the latter site was only identified as Pompeii in 1763). Some of the greatest and most consistent attacks on Italian archaeology were directed at the work being undertaken at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Both Britons and Germans alike were highly critical of the excavations, employing racial stereotypes of the temperaments of the workers to undermine their work. 'It is a thousand pities,' Goethe wrote in 1787, 'that the site [Pompeii] was not excavated methodically by German miners, instead of being casually ransacked as if by brigands, for many noble works of antiquity must have been thereby lost or ruined.'[5] In a similar vein, Hester Piozzi, a Welsh writer and socialite, recounts her Venetian friend's remarks that 'an English hen and chickens' could excavate faster than 'these lazy Neapolitans.'[6] Sir William Hamilton's remarks are also noteworthy,

[4] Calaresu and Hills (2013), 1.

[5] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *The Italian Journey* (1816) [trans. Auden and Mayer (1970), 202].

[6] Piozzi (1789), 2:36-7.

since he was the British envoy to the Bourbon court and had special access to the excavations due to his friendship with Ferdinand IV. In a letter to Doctor William Robertson, an educator and historian at the University of Edinburgh, he wrote:

> Sir
>
> ...It would grieve you to see the dilatory and slovenly manner in which they process in the researches at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Were they to proceed as they sho'd do, every day might bring to light matter sufficient for a new volume [*Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*].
>
> At Herculaneum they have in a manner given over searching tho' it is very certain farther discoveries might be made, and they have filled up every part which they had cleared, except the Theatre.
>
> At Pompeii they employ about 10 or 12 men only and those improperly, for instead of entering the principal gate of the Town which was discovered above 5 years ago they dip here and there in search of pieces of Antiquity and then fill up...Judge, Sir, How curious and interesting it wou'd be were they to disclose the whole City, which I am convinced might be done at a very trifling expense, as this rubbish is removed with infinite ease.[7]

His critique of the practice of filling the site up again after excavations appears in other sources. Writing to Henry Seymour Conway in 1765, Hamilton thought that 'The Marquis Tanucci, who has the direction of the Antiquities here, has lately shown his good taste by ordering that for the future the workmen employed in the search of Pompeii should not remove any inscriptions or paintings from the walls, nor fill up after they have search'd.'[8] These remarks suggest that the Italians only began to show good taste long after excavation works had started, since the Italians' general lack of taste made them unable to make good archaeological decisions in the first place.

Alongside the methods of excavation, the laborers themselves at these sites were also subject to criticism. In 1750, one Mr. Freeman, about whom we know little beyond his name, was not impressed by the tunneling systems at Herculaneum, insisting that the ground should be dug up so that the 'fine things' might be seen in daylight: 'They having slaves enough, of the rascally and villainous sort, to complete such a work. What a fine thing it would have been to have come directly down to the roof of the building, instead of digging around.'[9] His comments on the role of enslaved people at the Bourbon sites are repeated in 1751, after he dismissed the speculation that the theatre at Herculaneum was full when Vesuvius erupted: 'The labour of clearing the place is performed by slaves, who work chained together, two and two.'[10] Freeman was not alone in these remarks, for Katherine Dunford,

---

[7] Letter from Naples, 5 May 1767. [Ramage (1992), 654].

[8] Letter from 12 November 1765 [Ramage (1992), 655].

[9] "XVII. An Extract of a Letter, dated May 2, 1750, from Mr Freeman at Naples, to the Right Honourable Lady Mary Capel, Relating to the Ruins of Herculaneum," *Philosophical Transactions* 47 (1753), 151. While the term 'slave' is used to describe the laborers, it should be noted that they were by and large convicted prisoners and conscripts. See Moormann (2015), 18-9.

[10] "XXI. Extract of a letter from Naples, concerning Herculaneum, containing an account and description of the place, and what has been found in it", *Philosophical Transactions* 47 (1753), 156.

the first woman to provide written descriptions of the excavations at Herculaneum, also noted the presence of enslaved laborers performing excavation work.[11]

Shifting away from the laborers themselves to the items they were excavating, this section considers the reception to the wall paintings that were dug up. Examples of Roman wall paintings remained relatively sparse in Britain—that is until the discoveries of Herculaneum and Pompeii, which influenced a new style of neoclassical interior decorations almost immediately. Britain in particular paid close attention to these excavations at both an individual, connoisseurly level and a more general, public one. Not only was Packington Hall, designed by the Earl of Aylesford in the 1780s, the earliest example of a private 'Pompeian' room in Europe, but *Gentleman's Magazine* was publishing regular status updates on the excavations around the Bay of Naples for a wider middle-class audience, many of whom would never have stepped foot in Italy.[12] In Naples itself, several British figures were in close proximity to both the excavations and the royal court, namely Sir John Acton, Emma and Gavin Hamilton, and William Hamilton. This is on top of the mass of British Grand Tourists who were travelling to Italy, a phenomenon which peaked in the years following the excavations at Pompeii (which in itself was a contributing factor to the tour's popularity).

The various visitors to the sites, however, did not get to see the wall paintings *in situ*, a fact that was heavily criticized. Instead, the panels were cut from the wall, framed, and displayed at Portici, meaning that visitors had to visit both the tunnels and the museums in order to see all that the sites had to offer.[13] The early excavations of La Cività, around what is known today as the Amphitheatre, yielded few objects of interest to King Charles (we must remember that the primary goal of the excavations was to furnish his palace rather than systematically map the site). From the 1750s, however, as higher quality art objects were found at the House of Julia Felix and the Villa of the Papyri at Pompeii and Herculaneum respectively, the Museum of Portici was founded for visitors to see these objects for themselves, a visit made all the more desirable by the fact that there were strict rules against drawing on site. By 1754, the publication date for Ottovio Bayardi's *Catalogo Degli Antichi Monumenti Dissotterrati Dalla Discoperta Citta di Ercolano*, 738 paintings had been catalogued, and Winckelmann gives detailed descriptions of the paintings that were on display at Portici.[14]

While the critiques of archaeological practices were reflective of the contemporary Bourbon monarchy, there is an entirely new historical dimension to the receptions towards the panel paintings themselves. Confronted with a Roman world brimming with saturated color, Britons, and indeed other Europeans, were brought face to face with objects from the everyday that directly contradicted the light-colored marble fantasies of imperial Rome. It is well-documented the immediate impact Pompeian wall painting had on neoclassical

[11] Guzzo et al. (2018), 25-7. These observations should also be contextualized alongside the common belief that Catholics lacked liberty; a religious trope that regularly pictured them as enslaved under the oppressive hand of the Pope. Sermons after the Glorious Revolution, for instance, praised England's freedom from the 'intolerable yoke of Popery and Slavery.' See Hertzler (1987), 581.

[12] Coltman (2009), 112 and Mattusch (2011), 17.

[13] Also worth noting is the performative brightening of the colors that guides did by throwing water over the frescoes, saturating the bold colors but inevitably speeding up their decay. See Forsyth (1835), 313.

[14] In *Letter*, for example, he describes the paintings found in 'a round temple [known today as the Porticus]' depicting Theseus and the Minotaur, the Birth of Telephos, Chiron and Achilles, and Pan and Olympus. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Letter* (1762) [tr. Mattusch (2011), 79].

interiors and the decorative arts, but what has received relatively little interest is how European shock at these paintings manifested itself through a discourse of exoticism and oriental Othering.[15] It had certainly not escaped the attention of Coltman, who has written extensively on the influence of Pompeii and the collection of classical antiquities in Britain, and rightly identifies a 'Vasarian notion of progress' in the lukewarm attempts to describe the wall paintings.[16] Mr. Freeman's critiques of Bourbon practices, for example, extended not only to the treatment of fresco panels at Portici, but to the frescoes themselves. The following is from an anonymous letter attributed to Freeman, written in 1751:

> The King is now employing a person to take drawings of all the statues, and principal paintings; with the intent to publish them, together with an account of Herculaneum. The statues cannot be made to appear more beautiful than they really are: but the writer imagines the world will be vastly deceived with regard to the paintings. For the man is a very nice drawer; and has also managed the colouring to advantage; so that he has made exceedingly pretty things, from originals, which are miserable daubings. The company having seen the drawings first, were extremely disappointed, when they afterwards came to view the originals.[17]

His dismay at the fresco panels is more explicit in another part of the same letter:

> To speak the truth, much the greatest part of them [wall paintings] are but a very few degrees better than what you will see upon an alehouse wall...These pieces are now framed; and there are above 1500 of them, but not above 20, that are tolerable. The best of them are 3 large pieces...but even these best, if they were modern performances, would hardly be thought worthy of a place in the garret.
>
> ...The designs of the greatest part of these paintings are so strange and uncouth, that it is difficult and almost impossible, to guess what was aimed at. A vast deal of it looks like such Chinese borders and ornaments, as we see painted upon skreens.
>
> ...All the paintings are either upon black or red grounds; and such, that the writer cannot help suspecting, that it is their antiquity alone, that has recommended them to their admirers.[18]

---

[15] Exoticism here is used in accordance to its seventeenth and eighteenth-century definition, meaning something 'strange or novel' but inherently fascinating to a European audience (See Porter [2002], 404). Orientalism takes into consideration Edward Said's argument that the East is culturally constructed through a distinctly Western gaze, 'not so much the East itself as the East made known.' See Said (1979), 60.

[16] Coltman (2006), 104. The visual language, Coltman argues, that viewers resorted to in their descriptions of the panels was drawn from stereotypical depictions of Eastern art, which often situated the Pompeian style 'in opposition to the ideal classical canon.'

[17] "XXI. Extract of a letter from Naples, concerning Herculaneum, containing an account and description of the place, and what has been found in it," *Philosophical Transactions* 47 (1753), 159.

[18] "XXI. Extract of a letter from Naples, concerning Herculaneum, containing an account and description of the place, and what has been found in it," *Philosophical Transactions* 47 (1753), 156-58. With regards to what Mr. Freeman actually saw, his letters tell us that he visited the tunnels of a theatre at Herculaneum and was even present on the day excavations at the Villa of the Papyri began (2 May 1750).

What merits particular interest here is his assertion that the paintings do not hold artistic value because they are painted on ‘black or red grounds’, implying an imbalanced relationship between the use of color and artistic merit. This is made all the more probable since he describes the drawings of statues, which, of course, had lost their pigment, as being exceedingly ‘beautiful.’ Sir William Forbes, a Scottish banker and philanthropist writing a few decades after Freeman, approaches his critiques of the paintings from another angle, instead identifying the style as a symptom of Augustan decline, leading to ‘the ornaments in Architecture in those paintings [which] are universally in a bad taste; the Columns Slender & out of all Proportion; with no sort of regard to perspective.’[19]

What we can witness, though, are acknowledgments of the ‘non-classical’ nature of Pompeian ornamentation as being reflective of the changing attitudes towards the Gothic (and to some extent, Moorish) style in Northern Europe in the second half of the century. In Cochin and Bellicard’s *Observations upon the Antiquities of the town of Herculaneum*, published in 1753, there is explicit condemnation of the architectural details, similar to Freeman and Forbes: ‘Generally speaking, the pillars are double or triple the length of the natural dimensions: the profile of the mouldings of the cornishes, chapiters and bases, is of a wretched Gothic taste; and most of the Arabic mixture in the architecture is as ridiculous as any Chinese design.’[20] This comment lies in contrast with later visitors who were uncritical of the paintings, supporters even, while still acknowledging that the frescoes were not traditionally ‘classical.’ When Horace Walpole looked at the wall paintings, he saw ‘a light and fantastic architecture, of a very Indian air, [which] made a common decoration of private apartments.’[21] Lady Anne Miller and her husband Mr. John Miller embarked on their Grand Tour in 1770, spending just under a year in Italy. Lady Miller published her letters upon their return, and from these emerge more Orientalizing perceptions of Pompeii. According to her, the wall paintings exhibited:

> A strange mixture of the Gothic and Chinese taste; and some views in particular of country-houses or villas, situated on the margins of the sea (probably at Baja) where there appears Chinese ornaments, such as pales, bridges, temples &c. represented as belonging to gardens. That these people should have any knowledge of the Chinese and their gardens, ornaments, &c. is surprising.[22]

In Winckelmann’s *Report*, published in 1764, the tailpiece illustration is in the style of contemporary Chinese ornamentation. In *Antichità di Ercolano esposte*, the royal collection of volumes that illustrated all the finds in Herculaneum published between 1757 and 1792, the following description is given:

> It does not, however, follow, that because they are whimsical and irregular, they are therefore of no value...The order bears a resemblance to the Ionic;

[19] Journal of Sir William Forbes [Sweet (2015), 271].

[20] Cochin and Bellicard (1753), 84. These comments contrast heavily with the general craze for Chinoiserie which characterized English and French furniture design during the mid-century, popularized by publications such as Thomas Chippendale’s *The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker’s Director* (1754).

[21] Walpole (1771), 4:113.

[22] Miller (1776), 2: 280-81.

> but the errors and defects in the architecture disfigure it very much. This very deformity, however, adds value to the piece.[23]

Thus strangeness, or foreignness, did not hold particularly negative connotations for some of these visitors, nor for Northern European aristocratic society at large, which for the most part actively engaged with architectural styles coming in from Asia. Indeed, Horace Walpole, who, as mentioned above, was fascinated with the oriental aspects of Pompeii, also found pleasure in the Orientalizing aspects of 'English prints coloured by the Indians' as well as a Minerva painted red.[24] Difference, though, is still articulated through a nonclassical lens, and that remains an important point. Rowland lists surprise as one of the primary reasons visitors had such strong reactions to seeing these wall paintings. Not only were paintings held in higher regard than sculpture in classical eyes—known to eighteenth-century connoisseurs through the writings of Pliny the Elder—but Raphael, the greatest of the Renaissance painters, was known to have been inspired by the Roman wall paintings at the Domus Aurea. Indeed, 'the very kinds of figures that captivated Raphael and his companions were the ones that shocked the later explorers of Herculaneum.'[25] This sentiment was certainly reflected in the priority of classical acquisitions for British Grand Tourists. In a letter to Mrs. Howe, Viscount Palmerston argues for the superiority of sculpture over painting after seeing the wall paintings at Pompeii:

> Sculpture, though not a more easy art than painting, if one may judge by the very small number who have attained any great degree of merit in it, yet is a more natural and simple one. For this reason the ancient sculpture at Rome generally has its turn of admiration sooner than the works of the great painters, many of whose beauties are so obscured by time and others originally of such a nature as to be quite imperceptible to an unpractised eye.[26]

The majority of these comments center color as the main factor that characterized the panels as oriental—or, at the very least, different. That the Roman wall paintings around Vesuvius could be considered oriental relied heavily on Early Modern reactions to Indian arts. It should be noted, however, that the comments were not inherently negative, but color still remains as a defining factor in their Otherness.[27] But color, in particular red, would also come to dominate discussions of Eastern art and would signify the decadence and luxury that

[23] Martyn and Lettice (1773), 170-71.

[24] Horace Walpole, *Correspondence* [Lewis (1965), 28:65].

[25] Rowland (2014), 67.

[26] Viscount Palmerston, Letter to Mrs Howe, Venice 22 June 1764 [Coltman (2009), 49]. The disappointment at seeing the frescoes and floor mosaics was also attributed to the expectation that masterpieces by Apelles, Zeuxis, and Parrhasius, known only by name in the writings of Pliny the Elder, would be discovered. This hope was quickly dashed when it became apparent that the Vesuvian towns documented for the most part quotidian life. See Moormann (2018).

[27] When writing explicitly about Pompeii, William Gell even defended the use of color on Greco-Roman sculptures: 'No nation ever exhibited a greater passion for gaudy colours, with which, in the absence of the rare marbles, they [the ancient Greeks] covered the surface of the beautiful pentelic. Blue is mixed with white in one of their best examples, the temple of Minerva Polias, at Athens; while even their statues were seldom left colourless.' See Gell (1817), 272.

characterized its stagnation.[28] An interesting comment is made, for example, about Johann Zoffany in relation to his luxurious wealth after his success in India:

> 'The celebrated Zoffany is so well received in India that it is expected that he will acquire a fortune in a few years. For every pair of eyes capable of receiving a luster from his pencil, he receives a brace of diamonds, for every cheek that he displays a carnation blush, he is to be paid with a ruby!'[29]

As Eaton argues, the conflation between 'material wealth with the portrayal of their own bodies' firmly locates redness as a visual characteristic of the East through a lens of colonial acquisition and commerce.[30] Here we find these characteristics described in a negative light, highlighting the colorful decadence that not only characterized Zoffany's paintings, but also his Indian riches. The decadence of Eastern art is also written about by Goethe, a follower of Johann Caspar Lavater's early work on proto-racial physiognomy and the soul, who wrote the following:

> ...it is also worthy of remark, that savage nations, uneducated people, and children have a great predilection for vivid colours; that animals are excited to rage by certain colours; that people of refinement avoid vivid colours in their dress and the objects that are about them, and seem inclined to banish them altogether from their presence.[31]

Goethe also expresses his preference for whiteness: 'he[...]whose surface appears most neutral in hue and least inclines to any particular and positive colour, is the most beautiful.'[32] In the eighteenth century, this debate on color is inextricably bound with mental pleasure and taste, which uncoincidentally was prescribed according to European taste.[33] This was justified not just through contemporary philosophical writings, but also through consultation with ancient authors. Aristotle, for instance, believed 'a random distribution of the most attractive colours would never yield as much pleasure as a definite image without colour.'[34] Rousseau echoes this sentiment in *Discourses and Essay on the Origins of Language*, published in 1781:

> colours, nicely modulated, give the eye pleasure, but that pleasure is purely sensory. It is the drawing, the imitation that endows these colours with life and soul, it is the passions which they express that succeed in arousing our own, the objects which they represent that succeed in affecting us. Interest and sentiment do not depend on colours; the lines of a touching painting

---

[28] See Chen (2004) on the changing perceptions of Chinese civilization as the eighteenth century progressed.

[29] *Morning Herald*, August 6 1784 [Eaton (2006), 240].

[30] Eaton (2006), 240.

[31] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Theory of Colours* (1810) [trans. Eastlake (1970), 55].

[32] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Theory of Colours* (1810) [trans. Eastlake (1970), 265].

[33] This topic is the subject of the third chapter of my doctoral thesis.

[34] Aristotle, *Poetics* 1450b.1 [trans. Barnes (1984), 2321].

> touch us in etching as well: remove them from the painting, and the colour will cease to have any effect.[35]

In line with this, we find parallels, both positive and negative, between descriptions of painted caves in India and descriptions of Pompeian wall paintings as a way of situating the panels within a known aesthetic framework that makes the unfamiliar familiar. Frederic Dangerfield, for example, draws the classical and the Indian together when he describes the Bāgh caves, located in the Vindhya Range in central India, using classical frames of reference: ‘Few colours have been used...the figures alone, and the Etruscan border (for such it may be termed), being coloured with Indian red.’[36] A soldier and a writer, Dangerfield regularly submitted reports to the Literary Society of Bombay concerning recent discoveries in the region. More importantly, he was also a founding member of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1823, to whose London-based membership his reports would be sent. It comes as little surprise then, that his descriptions made use of artistic references that would be legible to an audience who may have never seen examples of Indian architecture in the flesh. Writing earlier in 1788, Pierre Sonnerat, a French naturalist who made several trips to India, China, and Southeast Asia, would also disperse classical references in his travel accounts. In *A Voyage to the East-Indies and China*, he immediately begins with a description of India by ‘the ancients’, and notes the region’s philosophical attractiveness to figures such as Pythagoras and Alexander.[37] The following description of Indian painting by Sonnerat, which reiterates the trope, popular in this period, of the East as a culturally-stagnant region, could conceivably be written about Pompeii had he not mentioned India:

> Painting is, and ever will be, in its infancy with the Indians. A picture where red and blue are predominant, with figures dressed in golds to them admirable. They do not understand the chiaro obscuro, the objects in their pictures have no relief, and they are ignorant of perspective...In a word, their best artists are no more than bad colourists.[38]

His description recalls Cochin and Bellicard’s attacks on perspectival inaccuracies, as well as the common palette noted in Pompeian wall paintings, praised by William Gell but criticized here. The objects with a lack of relief could also be reminiscent of Pompeian grotesques. Pompeian and Roman culture at large are not mentioned in his text beyond passing reference to historical anecdotes, so the above comment must not be read as a direct parallel between Pompeii and India; rather, I use it as an example to address the potentialities of such readings and explore how our understanding of Pompeii can develop through such speculative comparisons.

The varying nature of these comments in this section—which oscillate between admiration and contempt, classical and oriental, nostalgic and primitive—emphasize the fierce debates that the discovery of Pompeian wall paintings fueled. Yet all of them revolve in some way around color. The discovery of the wall paintings at Pompeii threatened to contaminate the classical world with the Eastern world through the forceful introduction of color in classical discourse. For those who found the wall paintings transgressive, their

---

[35] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourses and Essay on the Origins of Language* (1781) [trans. Gourevitch (1986), 279].

[36] Captain Frederic Dangerfield, *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* (1820) [Mitter (1977), 168].

[37] Sonnerat (1788), 1:i-v.

[38] Sonnerat (1788), 2:121.

observations fall under what David Batchelor identifies as chromophobia.[39] The characteristics of chromophobia are easy to spot in the negative reactions to Pompeii, and even, to an extent, in the comments which actively praised the paintings. For the former group, the classical body in the eyes of these eighteenth-century British Grand Tourists was a fixed idea that the wall paintings in Pompeii and Herculaneum directly challenged. They did not adhere to the classical canon that had been established after the sixteenth century, and, for a vocal minority, this was dangerous because it destabilized the institutions of taste and identity. In Bakhtin's words:

> [the classical form is] an entirely finished, completed, strictly limited body, which is shown from the outside as something individual. That which protrudes, bulges, sprouts, or branches off is eliminated, hidden or moderated. All orifices of the body are closed. The basis of the image is the individual, strictly limited mass, the impenetrable facade. The opaque surface of the body's "valleys" acquires an essential meaning as the border of a closed individuality that does not merge with other bodies and with the world. All attributes of the unfinished world are carefully removed as well as all signs of inner life.[40]

In the case of Pompeian wall paintings, the unfinished world became a new reality that was, for the most part, welcomed—but as the reactions above have shown, could also be a cause for concern.

Pompeii, Naples, and the Pacific

Beyond the wall paintings, contemporary European perceptions of the Roman world were further challenged by the presence of phallic objects across the sites. In tandem with anthropological observations on modern Neapolitan culture more broadly, this section explores the influence of travel accounts coming from the newly 'discovered' South Seas on the Grand Tour experience. For eighteenth-century British Anglican-Protestants, sexual excess was the domain of the Other—in this case, not just the non-European, but also the non-Protestant. But while it had been common knowledge since the sixteenth century that the pagan Roman conception of sex was vastly different from that of Christian Rome, the sheer number of erotic objects unearthed around Vesuvius was a shock, materially evidencing the abundance of sex and erotic pleasure in daily Roman life.[41] The comments discussed below, however, must also not be taken at face value. Travel in the South of Italy adopted a proto-anthropological stance in the eighteenth century, and by contextualizing these distinct receptions to Pompeii within a more imperial reading of the Grand Tour, we can better understand how the concept of difference was articulated through expanding

[39] 'Chromophobia manifests itself in the many and varied attempts to purge colour from culture, to devalue colour, to diminish its significance, to deny its complexity. More specifically: this purging of colour is usually accomplished in one of two ways. In the first, colour is made out to be the property of some 'foreign' body—usually the feminine, the oriental, the primitive, the infantile, the vulgar, the queer or the pathological. In the second, colour is relegated to the realm of the superficial, the supplementary, the inessential or the cosmetic. ' Batchelor (2000), 22-3.

[40] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (1965) [trans. Iswolsky (1984), 320].

[41] Rowland (2014), 74.

networks of imperial epistemologies.[42]

Perhaps Enlightenment philosophers would not have spent so many words binding sexual desire to the Asian and African Other had they known what objects would be unearthed around Vesuvius. But there is no shortage of examples from the 18th century that explicitly connect the two.[43] In some cases, it was not just British travelers who found the objects from the Bay of Naples distasteful. In Winckelmann's *Letter*, published in 1762, there is a revealing anecdote about the discomfort that such sculptures could induce. Giuseppe Canart, the royal sculptor at Portici in charge of restoration, showed him the marble group depicting Pan penetrating a she-goat (now housed in the Naples Archaeological Museum), which had been found in the Villa dei Papiri:

> This marble represents a satyr with a she-goat, just over three Roman palms in height, and they say that it is very beautiful. Immediately after its discovery, it was boxed up and sent to the king at Caserta, where the court was at the time. Right away it was boxed up again and delivered into the custody of the royal sculptor at Portici, Mr Joseph Canary, with the sharply worded orders that I mentioned.[44]

The order in question was mentioned before the description of the sculpture: 'my access was limited in what I was allowed to see...But my understanding is that it refers to the antiquities in the vaults beneath the royal castle, consisting primarily of one obscene figure...No one is shown the figure except by personal order of the king.'[45] The obscenity of the sculpture was such that the king refused to house it in his palace where his family resides nor keep it on public display at Portici. King Francis I of Naples visited the collection in the early nineteenth century and suggested only allowing 'people of mature age and respected morals' to view it. This aversion to Pompeian sexual excess, or perhaps a suppressed fascination with it, also traveled to the newly-formed United States, which was already implementing Roman Republican models of law and liberty, and influenced the objects being collected there, since 'a new nation bent on acceptance abroad could ill afford to fill its salons with any but the noblest traditions of the West.'[46] The presence of these objects also prompted intense discussion over the nature of Pompeii's destruction, which many argued was biblically charged, centered around the punishment of sexual decadence.[47]

Sexual excess was one of the ways Britons differentiated modern Italians from their imperial ancestors. Exacerbated by the Reformation, British worries concerning homoeroticism in particular, known at the time as 'the Italian Vice,' was often understood through the lens of Catholicism, and to a lesser extent climate. That does not mean, however, that they were 'simply...part of an imperialistic project and the Italians...victims of an Orientalist practice,' but rather these concerns played an important part in shaping British

---

[42] The ethnographic nature of the Grand Tour is explored fully in my doctoral thesis and is only summarized here.

[43] See Bindman (2002).

[44] Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Letter* (1762) [trans. Mattusch (2011), 87].

[45] Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Letter* (1762) [trans. Mattusch (2011), 87].

[46] Anderson (1992), 95.

[47] Syme (2004), 81. See also Cocks (2017), 192.

views of Italy in this period and affected how such cultural differences were approached.[48] In some instances, Britons saw a hypocrisy in the 'excessive freedom and immodesty with the regard to sexual mores,' that they witnessed both in the Church and Catholic society at large, compared to the 'unwarranted modesty over inanimate works of art.'[49] But if Pompeii was proof that the ancient Romans shared similar erotic tendencies to the moderns, then did that mean Roman culture should be seen as debauched and indecent, or should the southern Italians be seen as closer to the ancients than Britons would like to believe? William Hamilton expressed the latter in a letter in 1781:

> Sir,
>
> Having last year made a curious discovery, that in a Province of this Kingdom, and not fifty miles from its Capital, a sort of devotion is still to Priapus, the obscene Divinity of the Ancients (though under another domination), I thought it a circumstance worth recording; particularly, as it offers a fresh proof of the similitude of the Popish and Pagan Religion.[50]

The Gramscian idea that southern Europe and its people could be considered an internal European Other during the eighteenth century has been a common theme in Grand Tour studies stretching back to the twentieth century. Noakes, though writing about nineteenth-century travelers, acknowledged the centuries-long tradition of picturing Naples as 'the liminal space between what was European and what was not.'[51] In the same volume, Brettell introduced class as a key factor marking southern populations as distinctly 'primitive' in their way of life (a term that could also have positive connotations as an embodiment of Rousseau's 'noble savage' while still acknowledging difference).[52] This image of a 'backwards' south has also been understood by historians as reflective of a greater geopolitical shift beginning in the seventeenth century, when the Atlantic usurped the Mediterranean as the principal waterway that would power European colonial economies.[53] These readings have been heavily influenced by Montesquieu's division of Northern and Southern Europe, with the north populated by 'peoples who have few vices, virtues enough, and much sincerity and candor,' compared to the south, where 'morality [is] left behind; more intense passions with multiple crimes.'[54] For Dainotto, Montesquieu's translation of the dichotomous relationship between Europe/Asia, or freedom/despotism, to describe the North/South divide marks 'a new idea of Europe' whereby the role of the Asian Other in (Northern) European identity formation can in fact be played by the South.[55] Andreu and Bolufer also map this fast-growing geopolitical divide into one between ancient and modern.[56] These differences are perhaps

---

[48] Beccalossi (2015), 203.

[49] Sweet (2012), 58.

[50] Letter from William Hamilton dated 30 December 1781. [Knight (1894), 3].

[51] Noakes (1986), 146.

[52] Brettell (1986), 159.

[53] See Moe (2002), 14 and D'Auria (2015), 44.

[54] Baron de Montesquieu, *On the Motives that Should Encourage Us toward the Sciences* (1725) [trans. Carrithers and Stewart (2020), 32].

[55] Dainotto (2019), 63-4.

[56] Andreu and Bolufer (2023), 2.

best encapsulated in the metaphor of ‘the warm south,’ or ‘sun-burnt nations’ as Byron would describe it in *Don Juan*, which drew together imagery of picturesque ruins, unbridled sexual desire, and a sense of danger to create an alluring vision of southern Europe.[57]

Travel literature from the eighteenth century locates the South as an entity to be considered separately from the rest of Italy. In his *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, Henry Swinburne expresses his disappointment in the very normal, or familiar, flat landscape of Taranto, ‘totally different from the bold beauties of the Italian landscape.’[58] In this case, the expectation of the ‘bold’ reveals a desire for foreignness in these travels. Chard similarly states that these ‘necessary elements’ allow for spatial separation between the viewer, who is used to the ‘tame and familiar,’ from the foreign.[59] The distance of the region from Britain is also mentioned as a way of signifying its geographic marginalization, where the changing landscape enabled the traveler to psychologically enter a new territory.[60] Joseph Spence only travels as far south as Naples, but his language in doing so paints the journey as an incredible distance: ‘Naples is the very farthest point we are to go from England; and the Morning we set out to return from thence hither, ‘twas a common observation among us all, that we were then first returning homeward again.’[61] In another letter written a few months later, he firmly locates Naples as a liminal space where reality and myth seamlessly blend: ‘This Horror and Beauty of the Country so oddly mixt together, made the old Poets perhaps place their Hell and Elysian Fields both in the neighbourhood of Naples. Don’t be frightend if I tell you that I have seen both.’[62] Here he reinforces the notion of Naples as the border between the European world and whatever lies beyond, invoking geographies from antiquity to present the region as fantastical and foreign.

In a 1775 edition of the *Monthly Review*, the following comment was made about the phallic objects found at Pompeii: ‘The proofs are of the most extraordinary kind, and quite on the level with those which Captain Cook found in some of the South Sea islands.’[63] As well as evidencing the colonial networks of knowledge that informed continental travel, the comment points to the universalization of natural history that proliferated Enlightenment thought. Though separated temporally and geographically, the grouping of both objects could be dictated by the same governing laws of taxonomy. In this sense, they subscribe to Heringman’s concept of ‘deep time,’ articulated as capturing ‘an unfamiliar aspect of the conventional trope of exploration as “time travel.”’[64] As he argues, the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum, in particular the introduction of the study of everyday life and ‘cultural empathy,’ would influence how Pacific travelers conducted their anthropological research. We see this in the comparisons made by the antiquarian Giovanni Giovene between neolithic jadeite axes found in southern Italy and contemporary tools brought back from the

---

[57] Lord Byron, *Don Juan* (1819) [Schor (2009), 237]. The warm South, in Holland’s terms, can also be seen as a ‘laboratory or theatre for articulating cultural change in Britain.’ Holland (2020), 26.

[58] Swinburne (1790), 2:46.

[59] Chard (1983), 11.

[60] Sweet (2012), 165.

[61] Letter from Rome, 16 April 1732. [Boulton and McLoughlin (2012), 111].

[62] Letter from Rome, 22 May 1732. [Boulton and McLoughlin (2012), 115-6].

[63] *Monthly Review* (1775) [Coltman (2006), 108].

[64] Heringman (2017), 95-6.

Pacific Islands, as well as in William Hamilton's interest in Tahitian volcanic rocks modeled on his research on Vesuvian eruptions.[65]

We find further examples of deep time in the writings of Herder, who in response to Kant's *Determination of the concept of a human race* (1785) rejects the Linnaean classification system of humanity. His method of argument takes much inspiration from Winckelmann's concepts of art and freedom. On the South Seas population, he believes that 'the Fates alone can tell, whether a second Homer will be given to the new Grecian archipelago, the Friendly Islands, who will lead them to an equal height with that, to which his elder brother led Greece.'[66] The familial link to Homer's Greece also points to his monogenist views. Franklin offers an explanation for the phenomenon of viewing remote Pacific geographies through the lens of classical antiquity. If 'the profusion of unknown natural objects in America [and elsewhere] placed an extra burden on the traveler's mind and language,' then conveying it within known geo-temporal frameworks offered a sense of understanding to those back home.[67]

This intrinsic connection between the Grand Tour and colonial travel was also noted by Smith, who argued that travel to the Pacific Islands, as popularized by narratives of Cook's voyages, was seen almost as a natural evolution to the Grand Tour.[68] We can also turn to the work of Richard Payne Knight to explore further how Pompeian objects were used to engage in contemporary natural histories. Knight's *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus*, first published in 1786, used the phallic objects found in Pompeii as a starting point for his hypotheses that all religions around the globe shared a common desire to worship 'generative powers.'[69] His conclusion that this type of ancient worship, which centered on generative powers, was common to all people before the spread of Christianity was controversial at the time, but it remains a noteworthy example of how pagan religious ethnographic studies evolved after the discovery of Pompeii. Knight's method of analyzing Indian erotic imagery, particularly through a classical lens, evidenced the intricate relationship between the 'expansionist policies' of the Society of Dilettanti and the East India Company.[70] This is made even more relevant when we remember that his *Discourse* was published only a few short years after he became a member of the former. In d'Hancarville's words, which greatly influenced Knight, 'it must, no doubt seem astonishing to find that monuments in Greece, which are impossible to explain using Greek mythology, are explained by ancient Indian theology.'[71] But while approaching these erotic objects from a more inquisitorial perspective, Carter rightly argues that his methodologies point to a colonization of indigenous knowledge, since he frequently lamented native Indian lack of knowledge over archaeological sites, meaning that 'the empirical data collected and visualized under the

---

[65] Heringman (2017), 103.

[66] Johann Gottfried Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man* (1787) [trans. Churchill (1966), 355].

[67] Franklin (1979), 2.

[68] Smith (1985), 200.

[69] See Mitter (1997).

[70] Carter (2020), 51.

[71] Baron d'Hancarville, *Supplément aux Recherches sue l'origine et le progrès des arts de la Grèce* (1785) [Carter (2020), 54].

auspices of Europeans was considered more reliable.’[72]

The parallels between Pompeii and the East were reflective of the perceived foreignness of Southern Italy as a whole during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. James Johnson, to name one example, compared a natural disaster at Lake Lugano with a storm in China, since he ‘had witnessed a Chinese tiffoon, an eastern tornado, and a western hurricane; but the scene which for seven hours passed under our eyes, might claim kindred with the wildest of these.’[73] Drawing on a different colonial geographic tradition, William Beckford, the owner of four sugarcane plantations in Jamaica, compared the Jamaican landscape to ‘those picturesque and elegant ruins which so enoble the landscape of Italy.’[74] When it came to Neapolitans, Grand Tourists found natural comparisons between them and other remote populations. Louis Simond was particularly scathing in his *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, published in English in 1828, where he wrote:

> The manners of the Neapolitans are those of Otaheite [Tahitian], or of nature. They do wrong without shame or remorse whenever it suits their immediate purpose, enjoying animal life day by day without the smallest care about the next.[75]

Piozzi’s *Observations and reflections*, conversely, introduces comparisons between Neapolitans and Indigenous Americans, whom she calls ‘Indians.’ She laments in great detail the region’s transition from a land overflowing with classical importance to one that had been ‘overwhelmed by tyrants, earthquakes, Saracens!’[76] Piozzi uses the shock of northern Italians at the traditions that Neapolitans picked up over the centuries by these ‘Saracens’ to justify her perceptions. Interestingly, she calls the act of burning effigies a ‘half-Indian custom’ even though she had never traveled outside of Europe, further highlighting the influence of colonial travel literature on everyday observations.[77] It is, however, later in the account when describing the Lazzaroni (the poorest of the lower class in Naples) that Piozzi’s comparisons become more explicit:

> One need not however wander round the world with Banks and Solander, or stare so at the accounts given [to] us in Cook’s Voyages of tattowed Indians, when Naples will shew one the effects of a like operation, very very little better executed, on the broad shoulders of numberless Lazzaroni.[78]

She later incorporates Pacific Islanders into her observations when she is told of a female lazzarone’s ‘semi-barbarous’ conduct by a Milanese officer:

> His account of female conduct, and that even in the very high ranks, was such reminded me of Queen Oberea’s [Puria, or, Tevahine-'ai-roro-atua-i-Ahurai]

---

[72] Carter (2020), 56.

[73] Johnson (1831), 60.

[74] William Beckford, *Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica* (1790) [Casid (2005), 60].

[75] Simond (1828), 431.

[76] Piozzi (1789), 2:6.

[77] Piozzi (1789), 2:6.

[78] Piozzi (1789), 2:17.

sincerity, the Sir Joseph Banks joked her about Otoroo.[79]

These travel accounts evidence that there was a flourishing exchange of knowledge between the metropole and the colonies, and that these New World encounters were at the forefront of these travelers' minds when they were in Southern Italy. It also suggests that the Grand Tour was being approached in a similar framework of colonial observation and understanding, in a way 'elaborated to frame the consideration of the relative merits of nature versus civilization, and a mirror in which [Northern] European readers might rediscover fading aspects of their own selves.'[80] Indeed as Hunt observes, the derogatory language of alterity used to characterize colonial and would-be colonial subjects first appeared to describe Britain's imperial neighbors and the English poor.[81] By the close of the century, Italy was counted among the non-European and peripheral 'contact zones' of the Romantic movement, offering the chance to reimagine European identity through the absorption of non-European imagery.[82]

Conclusion

Roland Barthes writes, 'Current opinion holds sexuality to be aggressive. Hence the notion of a happy, gentle, sensual, jubilant sexuality is never to be found in any text. Where are we to read it, then? In painting, or better still, in color.'[83] The vivid reds and elongated 'Eastern' decorative elements in Pompeian frescoes were certainly 'aggressive' in the eyes of some polite British travelers to Naples. Expecting the Vesuvian excavations to unearth a society that mirrored the virtuous image of Britain's imagined Roman ancestors, travelers were instead forced to face jarring visions of sex and color. The Other that they were encountering in the travel accounts of their countrymen in the South Seas had materialized in front of their very eyes, transforming modern Naples and ancient Pompeii into a theatrical stage that allowed for a confrontation which existed in the liminal space between Europe and what lay beyond.

Hardeep Singh Dhindsa
hardeepsdhindsa@gmail.com

[79] Piozzi (1789), 2:28.

[80] Harvey (2010), 166.

[81] Hunt compares Edward Long's criticisms of Africans ('a brutish, ignorant, idle, crafty, treacherous, bloody, thievish, mistrustful, and superstitious people') with his slurs for the French ('base, vengeful, superstitious, avaricious, slavish, luxurious, and promiscuous'), American Indians ('base, vengeful, cruel, alcoholic, slothful, superstitious, foolish'), and the English poor ('base, factious, promiscuous, superstitious, indolent, alcoholic, disobedient, thievish, and grasping'). Hunt (1993), 339.

[82] Pratt's definition of the contact zone is as follows: 'the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.' Pratt (2008), 8.

[83] Roland Barthes, *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes* (1975) [trans. Howard (1994) 143].

Bibliography

Anderson, Maxwell. ‘Pompei e l’America.’ In *Rediscovering Pompeii*, edited by Luisa Franchi Dell’Orto and Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, 92–103. Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1992.

Andreu, Xavier, and Mónica Bolufer. ‘Introduction.’ In *European Modernity and the Passionate South: Gender and Nation in Spain and Italy in the Long Nineteenth Century,* edited by Xavier Andreu and Mónica Bolufer, 1–13. Studia Imagologica, volume 32. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2023.

Aristotle. *Poetics*. Translated by Jonathan Barnes. Vol. 2. Bollingen Series 71. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Bakhtin, Michail Michajlovič. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Hélène Iswolsky. 1. Midland book ed. Bloomington Ind.: Indiana Univ. Press, 1984.

Barthes, Roland. *Roland Barthes*. Translated by Richard Howard. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.Ahmed, S. 2021. *Complaint!* Duke University Press, Durham.

Batchelor, David. *Chromophobia.* Focus on Contemporary Issues. London: Reaktion, 2000.

Beccalossi, Chiara. ‘The “Italian Vice”: Male Homosexuality and British Tourism in Southern Italy.’ In *Italian Sexualities Uncovered*, 1789–1914, edited by Valeria P. Babini, Chiara Beccalossi, and Lucy Riall, 185–206. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015.

Bindman, David. *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century*. London: Reaktion Books, 2002.

Boulton, James Thompson, and Tim O. McLoughlin. *News from Abroad: Letters Written by British Travellers on the Grand Tour, 1728-71.* Eighteenth-Century Worlds 3. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012.

Brettell, Caroline B. ‘Nineteenth Century Travelers’ Accounts of the Mediterranean Peasant.’ *Ethnohistory* 33, no. 2 (1986): 159–73.

Calaresu, Melissa, and Helen Hills, eds. ‘Introduction: Between Exoticism and Marginalisation: New Approaches to Naples.’ In *New Approaches to Naples c.1500-c.1800: The Power of Place,* 1–10. Farnham, Surrey, UK; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate, 2013.

Carter, Sarah. ‘India and the Antiquarian Image.’ *RACAR: Revue d’art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 45, no. 1 (2020): 49–59.

Casid, Jill H. *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Chard, Chloe. 'Horror on the Grand Tour.' *Oxford Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (1983): 3–16.

Chen, Jeng-Guo S. 'The British View of Chinese Civilization and the Emergence of Class Consciousness.' *The Eighteenth Century* 45, no. 2 (2004): 193–205.

Cochin, Charles-Nicolas, and Jérôme-Charles Bellicard. *Observations upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculaneum, Discovered at the Foot of Mount Vesuvius. With Some Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Ancients. And a Short Description of the Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Naples. By Mr. Bellicard, Architect, Member of the Academies of Bologna and Florence. Enriched with Forty-Two Plates, Designed and Engraved by the Author.* London: printed for D. Wilson, and T. Durham, at Plato's Head, in the Strand, 1753.

Cocks, Harry. *Visions of Sodom: Religion, Homoerotic Desire, and the End of the World in England*, c. 1550-1850. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2017.

Coltman, Viccy. *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain since 1760.* Classical Presences. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Coltman, Viccy. *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800*. 1st ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

D'Alconzo, Paola and Stella Cragie. 'Facing Antiquity, Back and Forth, in Eighteenth-Century Naples.' *Music in Art* 40, no. 1–2 (2015): 9–43.

D'Auria, M. 'Protean Boundaries: Montesquieu's Europe and the Mediterranean World.' *French History* 29, no. 1 (2015): 31–45.

Dainotto, Roberto M. *Europe (in Theory).* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019.

Eaton, Natasha. 'Nostagia for the Exotic: Creating an Imperial Art in London, 1750-1793.' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39, no. 2 (2006): 227–50.

Forsyth, Joseph. *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts and Letters, during an Excursion in Italy in the Years 1802 and 1803*. London: J. Murray, 1835.

Franklin, Wayne. *Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers: The Diligent Writers of Early America*. Paperback ed. Chicago, Ill.: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1979.

Gell, William. *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, And Ornaments Of Pompeii. By Sir William Gell, F.R.S. F.S.A. &c. And John P. Gandy, Architect.* London: Printed For Rodwell And Martin, New Bond Street, 1819.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. *Italian Journey: [1786-1788].* Translated by Wystan H. Auden and Elizabeth Mayer. Penguin Classics. London: Penguin Classics, 1970.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. *Theory of Colours*. Translated by Charles Lock Eastlake. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Pr, 1970.

Guzzo, Pier Giovanni, Maria Rosaria Esposito, Nicoletta Ossanna Cavadini, M.a.x. museo (Chiasso, Switzerland), and Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli, eds. *Ercolano e Pompei: visioni di una scoperta = Herculaneum and Pompeii: visions of a discovery.* Grafica storica 8. Milano: Skira, 2018.

Harvey, David Allen. ‘The Noble Savage and the Savage Noble: Philosophy and Ethnography in the “Voyages” of the Baron de Lahontan.’ *French Colonial History* 11 (2010): 161–91.

Herder, Johann Gottfried. *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*. Translated by T Churchill. New York: Bergman Publishers, 1966.

Heringman, Noah. ‘Deep Time in the South Pacific: Scientific Voyaging and the Ancient/ Primitive Analogy’. In *Marking Time: Romanticism and Evolution*, edited by Joel Faflak, 95–121. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.

Hertzler, James R. ‘Who Dubbed It “The Glorious Revolution?”’ *Albion* 19, no. 4 (1987): 579–85.

Holland, Robert. *The Warm South: How the Mediterranean Shaped the British Imagination*. Paperback edition. New Haven London: Yale University Press, 2020.

Hunt, Margaret. ‘Racism, Imperialism, and the Traveler’s Gaze in Eighteenth-Century England’. *Journal of British Studies* 32, no. 4 (1993): 333–57.

Johnson, James. *Change of Air, or, The Pursuit of Health: An Autumnal Excursion through France, Switzerland, & Italy, in the Year 1829: With Observations and Reflections on the Moral, Physical, and Medicinal Influence of Travelling-Exercise, Change of Scene, Foreign Skies, and Voluntary Expatriation*. London: S Highley, 1831.

Knight, Richard Payne. *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus, and Its Connection with the Mystic Theology of the Ancients.* London: Thomas Wright, 1894.

Martyn, Thomas, and John Lettice, eds. *The Antiquities of Herculaneum; Translated from the Italian.* Translated by Thomas Martyn and John Lettice. 1st ed. London: S. Leacroft, 1773.

Miller, Anne. *Letters from Italy, Describing the Manners, Customs, Antiquities, Paintings &c. of That Country, in the Years MDCCLXX and MDCCLXXI, to a Friend Residing in France*. 4 vols. London: Edward & Charles Dilley, 1776.

Mitter, Partha. *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Moe, Nelson. *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question*. Studies on the History of Society and Culture 46. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Montesquieu: Discourses, Dissertations, and Dialogues on Politics, Religion.* Translated by David W. Carrithers and Philip Stewart. The Cambridge History of Political Thought. Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Moormann, Eric M. *Pompeii's Ashes: The Reception of the Cities Buried by Vesuvius in Literature, Music, and Drama*. Boston: De Gruyter, 2015.

Moormann, Eric M. 'The Appreciation of Pompeii's Architectural Remains in the Late 18th and Early 19th Century.' *Architectural Histories* 6, no. 1 (2018).

Noakes, Susan. 'The Rhetoric of Travel: The French Romantic Myth of Naples.' *Ethnohistory* 33, no. 2 (1986): 139–48.

Piozzi, Hester L T. *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany. By Hester Lynch Piozzi. In Two Volumes.* 2 vols. London: Thomas Cadell, 1789.

Piozzi, Hester L T. *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany. By Hester Lynch Piozzi. In Two Volumes.* 2 vols. London: Thomas Cadell, 1789.

Porter, David L. 'Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste.' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (2002): 395–411.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London ; New York: Routledge, 2008.

Ramage, Nancy H. ‘Goods, Graves, and Scholars: 18th-Century Archaeologists in Britain and Italy.’ *American Journal of Archaeology* 96 (1992): 653–61.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The First and Second Discourses Together with the Replies to Critics and Essays on the Origin of Languages*. Translated by Victor Gourevitch. New York: Harper & Row, 1986.

Rowland, Ingrid D. *From Pompeii: The Afterlife of a Roman Town*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 2014.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. 1st Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Schor, Esther. ‘The “Warm South.”’ In *The Cambridge History of English Romantic Literature*, edited by James Chandler, 224–45. The New Cambridge History of English Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Simond, Louis. *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1828.

Smith, Bernard William. *European Vision and the South Pacific*. 2. ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Sonnerat, Pierre. *A Voyage to the East-Indies and China Between the Years 1774 and 1781.* Translated by Francis Magnus. Stuart and Cooper Press, 1788.

Sweet, Rosemary. *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690-1820.* Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories 19. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Sweet, Rosemary. *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690-1820.* Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Swinburne, Henry. *Travels in the Two Sicilies, by Henry Swinburne, Esq. in the Years 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780.* The second edition. In four volumes. London: Printed by J. Nicols, for T. Cadell, and P. Elmsly, 1790.

Syme, Alison Mairi. ‘Love among the Ruins: David Cannon Dashiell’s “Queer Mysteries.”’ *Art Journal* 63, no. 4 (2004): 80–95.

Walpole, Horace. *Anecdotes of Painting in England: With Some Account of the Principal Artists; and Incidental Notes on Other Arts; Collected by the Late Mr. George Vertue*. Vol. 4. London: Thomas Farmer, 1771.

Walpole, Horace. *Correspondence.* Edited by Wilmarth Lewis. Vol. 3. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.

Winckelmann, Johann Joachim. *Letter; and Report on the Discoveries at Herculaneum*. Translated by Carol C. Mattusch. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011.

'XVII. An Extract of a Letter, Dated May 2, 1750, from Mr Freeman at Naples, to the Right Honourable Lady Mary Capel, Relating to the Ruins of Herculaneum'. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 47 (1751-52) (1753): 131–42.

'XXI. Extract of a Letter from Naples, Concerning Herculaneum, Containing an Account and Description of the Place, and What Has Been Found in It'. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 47 (1751-52) (1753): 150–59.