

# When Archaeology Meets Communities

Impacting Interactions in Sicily Over Two Eras  
(Messina, 1861–1918)

Antonino Crisà



ARCHAEOPRESS Publishing LTD  
Summertown Pavilion

18-24 Middle Way  
Summertown  
Oxford OX2 7LG

[www.archaeopress.com](http://www.archaeopress.com)

ISBN 978 1 78491 791 3  
ISBN 978 1 78491 792 0 (e-Pdf)

© Archaeopress and Antonino Crisà 2018

Cover: Tindari (Messina): Picture by A. Salinas showing workers and women at the ancient necropolis (1896)  
(Archivio del Museo Archeologico 'Antonino Salinas', Palermo).

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the copyright owners.

Printed in England by Oxuniprint, Oxford

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website [www.archaeopress.com](http://www.archaeopress.com)

*Se domani partirà da Palermo, col diretto,  
troverammi con lenti, cappello paglia.*

Telegram from Antonino Salinas to Captain De Bourne, 8 June 1896



# Contents

<b>List of Figures</b> .....	ii
<b>List of Diagrams</b> .....	v
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	v
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	vii
<b>Preface</b> .....	viii
<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
0.1 An overview of the book.....	1
0.2 Contextualising the research.....	4
0.3 Book themes and aims .....	5
0.4 A general overview of scholarship.....	8
0.5 The wider context: a new archaeological discipline .....	9
0.6 The regional context: some Sicilian case studies .....	11
0.7 Data sets and archives.....	12
0.7.1 Outlining documentary resources .....	12
0.7.2 The archives .....	13
0.7.3 Lost, missing, or undiscovered records.....	15
0.8 Research approach and methodology .....	15
0.9 A short note on terminology .....	16
<b>Chapter 1: Contextualising Archaeology in Post-Unification Italy and Sicily (1861-1918)</b> .....	18
1.1 Introduction .....	18
1.2 The emergence of an Italian archaeology.....	18
1.2.1 Early stages and safeguarding of antiquities (1861-75).....	18
1.2.2 From the ‘General Direction’ towards a national legislation (1875-1909) .....	19
1.2.3 National and regional archaeology and antiquarianism.....	20
1.2.4 Archaeologists, museums, excavations, and new journals .....	20
1.3 The history and archaeology of post-Unification Sicily.....	22
1.3.1 Garibaldi, the Unification and the CABAS (1861-75).....	22
1.3.2 New phase, new archaeologists: Salinas and Orsi (1875-1918).....	23
1.3.3 A major site: excavations and renovations in Sicily.....	24
1.3.4 Research outputs and new journals .....	25
1.3.5 Insights into social and economic contexts .....	27
1.3.6 Contextualising 19th-century Palermo, Syracuse and Messina.....	28
1.4 The safeguarding of antiquities: a three-level system.....	30
1.4.1 Introduction .....	30
1.4.2 Level 1: The Italian state.....	30
1.4.3 Level 2: Regional institutions .....	30
1.4.4 Level 3: Local authorities.....	31
1.5 Forging a regional identity: Antonino Salinas and the Palermo Museum.....	31
1.5.1 Introduction .....	31
1.5.2 References and sources .....	32
1.5.3 Biography: a new state archaeologist .....	32
1.5.4 An overview of Salinas’ scientific output .....	33
1.5.5 Public and private writings by Salinas: some examples.....	34
1.5.6 Working at the Museum .....	34
1.5.7 ‘Escursioni archeologiche’: Salinas travelling in the province of Messina.....	36
1.5.8 After Salinas (1914-2017).....	36
<b>Chapter 2: Sites and Contexts of the Province of Messina Through Antiquarianism and Archaeology</b> .....	38
2.1 Introduction .....	38
2.2 Barcellona Pozzo di Gotto.....	38
2.2.1 An outline of the historical contexts.....	38

2.2.2 Archival documentation.....	39
2.3 Lipari.....	39
2.3.1 From <i>Lipara</i> to Lipari.....	40
2.3.2 Antiquarian and archaeological research.....	41
2.3.3 Substantial records from archives.....	42
2.4 Naso.....	43
2.4.1 History of the town.....	44
2.4.2 Documentation.....	44
2.5 San Fratello.....	44
2.5.1 Identifying ancient <i>Apollonia</i> .....	44
2.5.2 Minor records from archives.....	45
2.6 San Marco d'Alunzio.....	46
2.6.1 History of ancient <i>Haluntium</i> .....	46
2.6.2 San Marco d'Alunzio between antiquarianism and archaeology.....	46
2.6.3 Archival records.....	48
2.7 Sorrentini.....	48
2.7.1 A small hamlet in Messina province.....	49
2.7.2 Crucial records from Rome.....	50
2.8 Spadafora.....	50
2.8.1 The history and archaeology of Spadafora S. Martino.....	50
2.8.2 Documents and pictures of the ancient kiln.....	50
2.9 Tindari.....	51
2.9.1 An introduction to the history of ancient <i>Tyndaris</i> .....	51
2.9.2 Long-standing antiquarian research.....	53
2.9.3 Players in action: Barons Sciacca della Scala, priests and collectors.....	54
2.9.4 A brief history of recent archaeological excavations.....	57
2.9.5 Major records and substantial data.....	58
2.10 Tripi.....	58
2.10.1 Rediscovering <i>Abakainon</i> .....	58
2.10.2 Archives and records of a 'minor site'.....	60
2.11 Tusa.....	60
2.11.1 Historical outline on <i>Alaesa Archonidea</i> .....	60
2.11.2 Antiquarian and archaeological research from Torremuzza to Scibona.....	61
2.11.3 Reporting through documents and pictures.....	62
<b>Chapter 3: The Great Events: Excavations, Safeguarding and Exports.....</b>	<b>63</b>
3.1 Introduction.....	63
3.2 Maintenance works: the local entrepreneur Pietro Ajello and the lack of drinking water (Tindari, 1871-1914).....	63
3.2.1 First tasks and honesty of Pietro Ajello (1871-74).....	63
3.2.2 The protective glasshouse and basic maintenance (1874-77).....	64
3.2.3 Additional site maintenance and drinking water (1910-14).....	65
3.3 Custodians: the safekeeping of antiquities, intrigues, and recommendations (Tindari, 1878-96).....	65
3.3.1 Gaetano Sidoti, an old custodian retained in service (1878-92).....	65
3.3.2 Caterina Carbonello and her pleas to the Ministry (1892-95).....	66
3.3.3 Sebastiano Sidoti: an aspiring custodian and his enemies (1894-96).....	66
3.4 Excavations and exports: from Scolarici's property to Glasgow (Lipari, 1879-1903).....	68
3.4.1 Brief outlines on Contrada Diana and archival records.....	68
3.4.2 The 'advertisement' and the Under-Commission's visit to Lipari (1879).....	69
3.4.3 Salinas' serious evaluation and the significant price drop (1879-81).....	71
3.4.4 The export of Scolarici's collection: Stevenson and the Kelvingrove Gallery (1883-1903).....	72
3.5 Excavations: the ancient necropolis and town walls (Tindari, 1895-96).....	73
3.5.1 An overview of the site's archaeology.....	73
3.5.2 How to read the Tindari excavation journal and inventory.....	74
3.5.3 December 1895-March 1896: Contrada Mendolito and Scrozzu.....	76
3.5.4 April-November 1896: reinforcement of the ancient walls and last stages.....	78
3.6 Assessing the evidence on greater events and major sites.....	79

<b>Chapter 4: Minor Events: Casual Discoveries, Acquisition of Finds and Local Issues</b> .....	81
4.1 Introduction .....	81
4.2 Early stages of the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts (1864-75) .....	82
4.2.1 New commissioners: F. Anca and E. Sciacca della Scala (1864-75).....	82
4.2.2 The lack of a local commission and safeguarding matters (Barcellona Pozzo di Gotto, 1865).....	83
4.3 Maps by the Military Topographic Institute (1880-1915).....	83
4.3.1 Mapping the island's archaeology (Lipari, 1880).....	83
4.3.2 Documenting recent excavations (Tindari, 1896-1915).....	83
4.4 Private and public collecting: acquisitions and donations (1880-1902).....	84
4.4.1 Salinas' request for ancient inscriptions (San Marco d'Alunzio, 1880-93).....	84
4.4.2 Salinas' report on a Latin inscription (Naso, 1884) .....	84
4.4.3 Salinas' report on a Greek inscription (San Fratello, 1886) .....	85
4.4.4 Salinas' excursion: coins and inscriptions (Tripi, 1886-87) .....	85
4.4.5 Keepers as trustworthy buyers for Salinas (Tindari, 1892-1907).....	86
4.4.6 Salinas' report on local antiquities (Lipari, 1901-02).....	87
4.5 Casual discoveries: archaeology and impact on society (1883-1918) .....	88
4.5.1 Canon Tommaso Pajno's property and his damaging excavations (Lipari, 1883) .....	88
4.5.2 Salomone's property: antiquities and mosaics (Tusa, 1885).....	88
4.5.3 Canon Antonino Aiello's property (Tindari, 1894-1904) .....	88
4.5.4 Sciacca della Scala's property (Tindari, 1897-1917) .....	90
4.5.5 The Hellenistic kiln (railway station) (Spadafora, 1898-1906) .....	90
4.5.6 The Roman <i>columbarium</i> and interference by Mr Di Salvo (Tusa, 1899-1902) .....	93
4.5.7 The Aiello and Greco properties and their political impact (Tindari, 1903-09) .....	94
4.5.8 Ancient walls at Palazzo Vescovile (Lipari, 1905).....	95
4.5.9 Graves and (missed) gold finds at S. Giuliano (Sorrentini, 1913-15) .....	95
4.6 Finds moving: research and discoveries (1907-18) .....	97
4.6.1 The Roman sundial (Tindari-Palermo, 1907-08) .....	97
4.6.2 The 'Europa Mosaic' at Corso Umberto I (Lipari-Messina, 1912-18).....	98
4.7 A general discussion of lesser events and minor sites.....	100
<b>Chapter 5: Shaping an Evolving Archaeology in Sicily</b> .....	104
5.1 Introduction .....	104
5.2 A network of 'hidden' influences by politicians on Sicilian archaeology.....	104
5.3 Archaeology through social contexts.....	106
5.3.1 Private landowners and farmers.....	106
5.3.2 Custodians .....	107
5.3.3 Workers .....	108
5.3.4 Dealers, fraudsters, illegal excavators and silversmiths .....	110
5.3.5 Priests: a debateable role.....	112
5.3.6 Travellers, visitors, and early 'tourists' .....	112
5.3.7 An unknown scribe helping illiterate locals .....	114
5.3.8 The impact of the press on local archaeology .....	114
5.4 Evolution of methods and practices .....	115
5.4.1 Excavating and restoring .....	115
5.4.2 Collecting and collectors: demand for 'markets' in antiquities .....	117
5.4.3 Moving finds and losing collections abroad in northern Sicily .....	119
5.5 Legislation, safeguarding and historical evolutions .....	120
5.6 Antonino Salinas: a critical analysis of his activities.....	122
5.6.1 A 'direct' impact: Salinas' role in Sicilian archaeology.....	122
5.6.2 An 'indirect' impact: Salinas' collaborators .....	123
5.7 Networking and implied 'attitudes' of people .....	124
<b>Chapter 6: Sicily and the Province of Messina in Context</b> .....	126
6.1 Introduction .....	126
6.2 Assessing the historical reconstruction.....	126
6.3 Building a fuller picture of archaeology in northern Sicily .....	127
6.3.1 Archaeology in transition and new archaeologists.....	127
6.3.2 Palermo and its museum.....	128
6.3.3 Politics and social impact of archaeology.....	128

6.4 Northern Sicily in a wider context .....	129
6.4.1 The evolution of archaeology .....	129
6.4.2 Sicilian vs Italian identity .....	130
6.5 Final conclusions .....	130
<b>Appendix A: Barcellona Pozzo Di Gotto [BARC]</b> .....	133
BARC.1 Excavations at Merì (1865) .....	133
<b>Appendix B: LIPARI [LIPA]</b> .....	138
LIPA.1 Excavations on Giuseppe Scolarici's property (1879-81) .....	138
LIPA.2 Photographic album showing Giuseppe Scolarici's collection (1879) .....	187
LIPA.3 Topographic map (1880) .....	192
LIPA.4 Excavations on Canon Tommaso Pajno's property (1883) .....	194
LIPA.5 Salinas' report on Lipari's antiquities (1901-02) .....	198
LIPA.6 Excavations at Palazzo Vescovile: discovery of ancient walls (1905) .....	199
LIPA.7 Excavations at Corso Umberto I: the 'Europa Mosaic' (1912-18) .....	200
<b>Appendix C: NASO [NASO]</b> .....	209
NASO.1 Salinas' report on a Latin inscription (1884) .....	209
<b>Appendix D: SAN FRATELLO [SFRA]</b> .....	211
SFRA.1 Salinas' report on a Greek inscription (1886) .....	211
<b>Appendix E: SAN MARCO D'ALUNZIO [SMAR]</b> .....	212
SMAR.1 Salinas' request on ancient inscriptions (1880-93) .....	212
<b>Appendix F: SORRENTINI [SORR]</b> .....	213
SORR.1 Excavations at Sorrentini (Contrada S. Giuliano) (1913-15) .....	213
<b>Appendix G: SPADAFORA [SPAD]</b> .....	221
SPAD.1 Excavations at the ancient kiln (railway station) (1898-1906) .....	221
SPAD.2 Pictures and plans of the ancient kiln (1898-1902) .....	237
<b>Appendix H: TINDARI [TIND]</b> .....	239
TIND.1 New commissioners: F. Anca and E. Sciacca (1864-75) .....	239
TIND.2 Pietro Ajello and maintenance works (1871-77) .....	241
TIND.3 Custodians (1878-96) .....	248
TIND.4 Purchases of finds (1892-1907) .....	271
TIND.5 Pictures of Tindari and Scala di Patti (1892-96) .....	279
TIND.6 Excavations on Canon Antonino Aiello's property (1894-1904) .....	285
TIND.7 Excavations at the ancient necropolis and town walls (1895-96) .....	287
TIND.8 Articles in the local magazine <i>Il Tindari</i> (1896) .....	324
TIND.9 Topographic map (1896-1915) .....	327
TIND.10 Excavations on Sciacca della Scala's property (1897-1917) .....	332
TIND.11 Excavations on Aiello's and Greco's properties and politics (1903-09) .....	333
TIND.12 The Roman sundial (1907-08) .....	347
TIND.13 Maintenance works and drinking water (1910-14) .....	349
<b>Appendix I: TRIPI [TRIP]</b> .....	355
TRIP.1 Salinas' excursion (1886-87) .....	355
<b>Appendix L: TUSA [TUSA]</b> .....	357
TUSA.1 Excavations on Salomone's property (1885) .....	357
TUSA.2 Excavations at the Roman <i>columbarium</i> (1899-1902) .....	358
TUSA.3 Pictures of Tusa ( <i>columbarium</i> and Roman statue) (1899-1901) .....	361
<b>Appendix M: PERSONAL DOSSIERS [DOSSIERS]</b> .....	363
<b>Appendix N: ROYAL DECREES AND LAWS [LAWS]</b> .....	364
<b>Appendix O: LIST OF PEOPLE [PEOPLE]</b> .....	376
<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	382
Ancient sources .....	382
Modern sources .....	382
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	397
<b>LIST OF OFFICES AND AUTHORITIES (TRANSLATION)</b> .....	403
<b>INDEX</b> .....	405

## List of Figures

Figure 0.1: Map of Sicily showing key sites in the province of Messina, discussed in the text (photo: author).....	1
Figure 0.2: Glasgow – The so-called Crater of <i>Akratos</i> from the Sclorici Collection (Murray 1886: 55, fig. 2).....	7
Figure 0.3: Augustus Henry Pitt Rivers (1827-1900) (source: Wikipedia).....	9
Figure 0.4: Tripoli (Libya) – postcard showing Italian soldiers (1912) (private collection).....	10
Figure 0.5: Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832-1904) (Beyer and Keydel 1901, I: 212). ....	10
Figure 0.6: Vizzini – postcard showing the town in the early 20th century (private collection). ....	11
Figure 0.7: Gela – postcard showing the city in the early 20th century (private collection).....	11
Figure 0.8: Rome – The Central State Archive in the EUR district (photo: author). ....	14
Figure 0.9: Palermo – postcard depicting the courtyard of the National Museum in the early 20th century (private collection). ....	14
Figure 0.10: Patti – view of the Bishop’s Curia and Cathedral on the hill top (photo: author).....	15
Figure 0.11: Glasgow – Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum (photo: author).....	15
Figure 1.1: Bisaccia (Avellino) – armed bandits in 1862 (source: Wikipedia).....	19
Figure 1.2: Milan – postcard showing the Accademia di Brera (1920s) (private collection). ....	21
Figure 1.3: Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823-96) (source: Wikipedia). ....	21
Figure 1.4: Giacomo Boni (1859-1925) in <i>Forum Romanum</i> excavation (Tea 1932, II: pl. iv).....	22
Figure 1.5: Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-82) in the 1870s (source: Wikipedia). ....	23
Figure 1.6: Coin of Victor Emmanuel II (‘5 centesimi’, 1861) (source: Numismatica Ranieri). ....	23
Figure 1.7: Paolo Orsi (1859-1935) (Pace 1935-49, I: 61, fig. 31).....	24
Figure 1.8: Solunto – the Roman house of the so-called <i>Gymnasium</i> (photo: author). ....	25
Figure 1.9: Syracuse – view of the Temple of Apollo (photo: author).....	25
Figure 1.10: Michele Amari (1806-89) (source: Wikipedia).....	26
Figure 1.11: Adolf Holm (1830-1900) (source: Wikipedia).....	26
Figure 1.12: The first issue of <i>Bullettino della Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti</i> (1864).....	27
Figure 1.13: Palermo – view of Piazza Pretoria (photo: author). ....	29
Figure 1.14: Syracuse – postcard showing the National Museum (private collection). ....	29
Figure 1.15: Messina – the seafront (Via Vittorio Emanuele) before the 1908 earthquake (AA.VV. 1909: 55). ....	29
Figure 1.16: Messina – the seafront (Via Vittorio Emanuele) after the 1908 earthquake (AA.VV. 1909: 153). ....	30
Figure 1.17: Antonino Salinas (1841-1914) (Pace 1935-49, I: 56, fig. 27). ....	31
Figure 1.18: Plate by Salinas illustrating Punic coins, minted at Motya (Salinas 1858: 9).....	33
Figure 1.19: Palermo – internal cloister of the Museo Archeologico Regionale ‘A. Salinas’ (photo: author). ....	35
Figure 1.20: Domenico Lo Faso Pietrasanta, Duke of Serradifalco (1783-1863) (Pace 1935-49, I: 42, fig. 22).....	35
Figure 1.21: Salinas’ typewriter – an American ‘Remington Standard 10’, US 1908 (Palermo Museum) (photo: author).....	37
Figure 2.1: Barcellona Pozzo di Gotto – satellite view (source: Google Earth). ....	39
Figure 2.2: Barcellona Pozzo di Gotto – terracotta vase from the necropolis (Orsi 1915: 74, fig. A).....	39
Figure 2.3: Lipari – satellite view of Contrada Diana (necropolis) and Palazzo Vescovile (acropolis) (source: Google Earth).....	40
Figure 2.4: Lipari – view of the main port (photo: author).....	41
Figure 2.5: Lipari – plate showing Greek inscriptions (Houël 1782-87, I: pl. lxi).....	41
Figure 2.6: Cefalù – E. Pirajno’s private room and library at Palazzo Mandralisca (photo: author). ....	42
Figure 2.7: Lipari – drawing of two graves found at the necropolis (Orsi 1929: 68, fig. 26).....	42
Figure 2.8: Naso – satellite view (source: Google Earth). ....	43
Figure 2.9: Naso – postcard showing the landscape in 1908 (private collection). ....	44
Figure 2.10: San Fratello – satellite view (source: Google Earth).....	45
Figure 2.11: San Fratello – postcard showing the small town in the early 20th century (private collection). ....	45
Figure 2.12: San Marco d’Alunzio – view of the modern town (photo: author).....	46
Figure 2.13: San Marco d’Alunzio – the Latin inscription reporting the MVNICIPIVM HALVNTINVM formula (Gualtherus 1624: 48-49). ....	47
Figure 2.14: San Marco d’Alunzio – view of the so-called ‘Temple of Herakles’ (photo: author).....	47
Figure 2.15: San Marco d’Alunzio – plan of the ‘Temple of Herakles’ (Salinas 1880: 192). ....	48
Figure 2.16: San Marco d’Alunzio – <i>Opus signinum</i> floor of a Roman house (photo: author). ....	48
Figure 2.17: Sorrentini – satellite view of the town and the modern cemetery (source: Google Earth).....	49
Figure 2.18: Sorrentini – view of the hamlet from the cemetery hill (photo: author).....	49

Figure 2.19: Sorrentini – view of the cemetery (photo: author).....	50
Figure 2.20: Spadafora – satellite view of the town (source: Google Earth). .....	51
Figure 2.21: Spadafora – postcard depicting the city centre in the early 20th century (private collection). .....	51
Figure 2.22: Tindari – satellite view of the archaeological site with local ‘Contrade’ (source: Google Earth). .....	52
Figure 2.23: Tindari – view of the promontory from Tripi (photo: author). .....	52
Figure 2.24: Tindari – view looking north of Cape Tindari, the new Sanctuary, Scala di Patti and the Gulf of Oliveri (photo: author).....	53
Figure 2.25: Tindari – the Roman basilica, viewed from the south in the mid-19th century (Lo Faso 1834-42, V: pl. 33).....	54
Figure 2.26: Patti – the palace of the Sciacca Barons at Scala di Patti (photo: author).....	54
Figure 2.27: Domenico Sciacca della Scala (Crisà 2012a: 160, fig. 22).....	55
Figure 2.28: Tindari – postcard depicting the old sanctuary viewed from the west (c. 1925) (private collection).....	56
Figure 2.29: Tindari – the Roman basilica viewed from the south (source: author). .....	57
Figure 2.30: Tindari – view of the main decumanus and the public building at Contrada Cercadenari (photo: author).....	57
Figure 2.31: Tindari – view of the ancient cistern close to the theatre (photo: author). .....	57
Figure 2.32: Tripi – satellite view of the centre (source: Google Earth). .....	59
Figure 2.33: Tripi – the countryside outside the town (source: author). .....	59
Figure 2.34: Tripi – postcard dated to the early 20th century (private collection). .....	59
Figure 2.35: Tusa – satellite view of <i>Halaesa Archonidea</i> , showing the agora and Roman <i>columbarium</i> (source: Google Earth).....	61
Figure 2.36: Tusa – a Roman <i>cardo</i> of <i>Halaesa Archonidea</i> (photo: author). .....	61
Figure 2.37: Gabriele Lancillotto Castelli (1727-92) (Ortolani 1817-21, I).....	61
Figure 3.1: Tindari – drawing of mosaics discovered in the 19th century (Lo Faso 1834-42, V: pl. 32). .....	64
Figure 3.2: Tindari – detail of Lo Faso’s site map, showing the theatre (b), basilica (c) and mosaics (d) (Lo Faso 1834-42, V: pl. 30).....	64
Figure 3.3: Tindari – postcard showing Roman houses at <i>insula</i> IV (1950s) (private collection). .....	65
Figure 3.4: Tindari – the old house of the custodians (photo: author).....	66
Figure 3.5: Patti – Sebastiano Gullo (1871-1956), buried at Scala di Patti cemetery (photo: author).....	67
Figure 3.6: Umberto I (1878-1900), King of Italy, in 1878 (source: Wikipedia).....	68
Figure 3.7: Lipari – set of stone sarcophagi from the ancient necropolis (photo: author).....	68
Figure 3.8: Glasgow – Glasgow Museum Research Centre (GMRC) at Nitshill (photo: author).....	69
Figure 3.9: Archduke Ludwig Salvator (c. 1870) (source: Wikipedia).....	71
Figure 3.10: James Stevenson (1822-1903) (source: Country Life).....	72
Figure 3.11: Glasgow – drawing of the ‘Crater of the Two Actors’ (Murray 1886: pl. 62a).....	73
Figure 3.12: Tindari – map of the ancient site (Scaffidi 1895: 73).....	73
Figure 3.13: Tindari – monumental tombs alongside the ancient walls at Contrada Scrozzu (photo: author). .....	73
Figure 3.14: Tindari – drawing of two monumental graves at the necropolis (Houël 1782-87, I: 103, pl. 56).....	74
Figure 3.15: Tindari – the ancient walls (photo: author).....	74
Figure 3.16: Tindari – junction between Settentrionale Sicula 113 and Strada Provinciale 107 from Locanda to Tindari (photo: author).....	76
Figure 3.17: Linguaglossa – bust of Giovanni Privitera (1844-1903), Bishop of Patti, kept at the Chiesa Madre (photo: author).....	76
Figure 3.18: Tindari – detail of a photograph (TIND.5.7) showing local women carrying water amphorae along the ancient walls (1896) (AMARAS). .....	77
Figure 3.19: Tindari – section of city walls, displaying quarry marks (Strada Provinciale 107 Locanda-Tindari) (photo: author).....	78
Figure 3.20: Tindari – drawing of quarry marks observed on stone blocks of the ancient walls (Richter 1885: 185). .....	79
Figure 4.1: Francesco Anca (1803-87), Baron of Mangalaviti (source: Archivio Storico del Museo ‘G. G. Gemmellaro’).....	82
Figure 4.2: Assemblage of stone tools from Messina province (Anca 1867: pl. 3). .....	82
Figure 4.3: Filippo Rossitto (1807-79) (Rossitto 1911).....	83
Figure 4.4: Capo d’Orlando – the Roman villa at Bagnoli S. Gregorio (photo: author). .....	85
Figure 4.5: Tripi – Salinas’ map, indicating the modern town and the ancient necropolis (Salinas 1886: 465).....	86
Figure 4.6: Francesco Todaro (1839-1918) (source: AA.VV. 1889: 268). .....	86
Figure 4.7: Tindari – opening of an ancient cistern along the central decumanus (photo: author). .....	89
Figure 4.8: Tindari – the so-called ‘funeral building’ in Contrada Cercadenari (photo: author). .....	89

Figure 4.9: Tindari – fragmentary Nike from the former Sciacca della Scala collection (Orsi 1920: 346, fig. 30). .....	90
Figure 4.10: Spadafora – satellite view showing the old station at the Messina–Palermo railway (now abandoned) (source: Google Earth).....	91
Figure 4.11: Bronze <i>pentonkion</i> of the Mamertines (source: Baldwin’s Auctions Ltd, New York Sale XI, 11 January 2006, lot. 59).....	91
Figure 4.12: Spadafora – plan of the ancient kiln, found in 1898 (SPAD.2.5) (Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage). 92	
Figure 4.13: Silvestro Picardi (1853-1904) (private collection) .....	93
Figure 4.14: Tusa – section of the Roman <i>columbarium</i> (Salinas 1899: 501, fig. 1).....	94
Figure 4.15: Tusa – plan of the Roman <i>columbarium</i> (Salinas 1899: 502, fig. 2).....	94
Figure 4.16: Tusa – the ancient agora (photo: author).....	94
Figure 4.17: Sorrentini – view of Contrada San Giuliano (photo: author).....	96
Figure 4.18: Sorrentini – Antonio Crifò (1847-1917); a likeness taken from his grave (photo: author).....	96
Figure 4.19: Sorrentini – Abele Perfetto (?-1934); a likeness taken from his grave (photo: author).....	96
Figure 4.20: Palermo – the Roman sundial at the Archaeological Museum (photo: author) .....	98
Figure 4.21: Lipari – the ‘Europa Mosaic’, found in 1912 (Libertini 1921: pl. 8).....	98
Figure 4.22: Lipari – map showing the find spot of the ‘Europe Mosaic’ (source: Google Earth).....	99
Figure 4.23: Lipari – view of the main gulf and port (photo: author).....	99
Figure 4.24: Messina – view of the Duomo and its bell tower (photo: author).....	100
Figure 5.1: Tindari – drawing of the Roman basilica (Ferrara 1822: 268).....	113
Figure 5.2: A photographic portrait of a Sicilian farmer (early 20th century) (Monroe 1908: 118).....	113
Figure 5.3: Tindari – postcard showing the old Sanctuary after the Second World War, the tourist coaches and the various tourist ‘stalls’ (private collection).....	114
Figure 5.4: Felice Barnabei (1842-1922) (source: Wikipedia).....	115
Figure 5.5: Section of an early post-Unification price-list of coins (Landolina 1863: 122).....	119
Figure 5.6: Syracuse – view of the old ‘Museo Archeologico Nazionale’ in Piazza Duomo (photo: author).....	119
Figure 6.1: Glasgow – the Sclarici-Stevenson collection showcase in the Kelvingrove Gallery (photo: author).....	131

## List of Diagrams

Diagram 1: Scheme showing archival documentation by site (source: author).....	12
Diagram 2: Diagrammatic flow-chart of Sciacca della Scala's recommendations and political network (source: author).....	105
Diagram 3: Flow chart showing the organisation at Tindari for the necropolis excavation (1896) (source: author).....	108
Diagram 4: Pie-chart showing the quantities and types of finds purchased from Tindari (by typology) (1892-95) (source: author).....	118
Diagram 5: Pie-chart reporting the overall costs (£) of purchases of finds from Tindari (1892-95) (source: author).....	119
Diagram 6: Flowchart of Salinas' official and social networking in the post-Unification province of Messina (source: author).....	124

## List of Tables

Table 1: Table showing all documentary Appendices ('App.') and relevant references (source: author).....	3
Table 2: Casual discoveries and excavations in the province of Messina (1861-1917) (source: author).....	6
Table 3: Outline of records on the history of archaeology in the province of Messina (1861-1918) (source: author).....	13
Table 4: Scheme showing key words on the protection of antiquities occurring in records (source: author).....	17
Table 5: Table summarising Sclarici's 1870s collection (source: author).....	70
Table 6: Rough evaluation of Sclarici's collection by Salinas (source: author).....	71
Table 7: Calendar of the Tindari excavations (1896) (source: author).....	75
Table 8: Outline of workforce employed on the Tindari excavations (1896) (Source: author).....	109
Table 9: Table showing trenches, measurements and soil removed at the Tindari necropolis (1896) (source: author).....	109
Table 10: Salinas' allocations for purchasing finds from Tindari (1892-95) (source: author).....	117
Table 11: Scheme reporting the purchases of finds and relevant expenses at Tindari (1892-95) (source: author).....	118
Table 12: The 'three-level' system of monument and site safeguarding in Bourbon ('B') and post-Unification ('P') Sicily (source: author).....	121

# Acknowledgements

As this book has its roots deep in documentation, and originates from the exploration of many archives, I especially want here to offer my full acknowledgment to all the staff of those institutions I visited over the last few years who have professionally helped me to consult the records and facilitated my stay in those institutions. In particular, I would like to express my gratitude to: Francesca Spatafora, Costanza Polizzi, Elena Pezzini, Giuseppina Favara and Giuseppa Milazzo of the Museo Archeologico Regionale ‘A. Salinas’, Palermo; all the archivists of the Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Rome); Helen Watkins (Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, Glasgow); Riccardo Magistri (Archivio Storico Diocesano, Patti – Messina); and Giuseppa Bertino (Archivio della Biblioteca Comunale, Patti – Messina).

As this monograph arises as a revised version of my PhD thesis, I would like to thank those who supervised my past doctoral research at the University of Leicester between 2012 and 2015. As first supervisor, Dr Neil Christie merits sincere thanks for his support, help and suggestions (also regarding how to deal with Leicester’s rainy weather!). I am also grateful to my APG and VIVA examiners, Prof. Penelope Allison, Prof. Annalisa Marzano and Dr Constantina Katsari, who offered me precious feedback.<sup>1</sup>

The following bodies/institutions have generously supported parts of my past research, awarding me grants and financial support to undertake investigations in archives: College of Arts, Humanities and Law (University of Leicester, UK), archival research in Glasgow and Palermo (2012-13); Royal Historical Society (London, UK), archival research in Palermo (September 2014); School of Archaeology and Ancient History (University of Leicester, UK), small grants and travel expenses reimbursement; the Sir Richard Stapley Educational Trust (Richmond, UK), grants for the Academic Years 2013/14-2014/15; and Faculty of Arts (University of Warwick), Humanities Research Funds (2017).

Many people have helped me in tracing articles and books, and supporting my research activity in terms of suggestions and feedback: my brother Aurelio Crisà, Prof. Antonino De Francesco (Università degli Studi di Milano), Prof. Sergio Lazzarini (Università dell’Insubria), Dr Emanuele Intagliata (Aarhus University), Andrea Irato (Pro Loco Spadafora, Messina), Dr Lionello Morandi (University of Tübingen), Dr Francesco Muscolino (Parco Archeologico di Pompei), Dr Alessandro Pace (Università degli Studi di Milano), Prof. Maria Teresa Grassi (Università degli Studi di Milano), Dr Daniele Salvoldi (Arab Academy for Science, Technology and Maritime Transport) and Dr Denis Sami (Oxford Archaeology). Special thanks go to Prof. Clemente Marconi (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) for his invaluable feedback on my research during a meeting in a cold New York in January 2014.

Last, but not least, my parents Giuseppina Rampulla and Gaetano Crisà deserve a unique ‘thank you’ for having devotedly supported my education before starting my PhD. I also express my gratitude to my uncles Franco Rampulla and Giuseppe Rampulla for having hosted me in Rome and Palermo, respectively, when I made visits to pursue my archival research before 2012.

Antonino Crisà  
June 2018

---

<sup>1</sup> This volume has also been peer-reviewed.

## Preface

‘Work on archives, as its devotees know well, can be the epitome of frustration or of exhilaration: either what you seek cannot be found or the answers to all your questions are there, and perhaps some treasure trove which you never expected. It is very different from reading books: archives cannot be borrowed, there is usually only one copy, the text may be illegible rather than clearly printed, and conditions are often crowded, dusty and noisy’ (Ridley 1992: xxvii).

Dust, moisture and mountains of papers, bound, loose, but often unordered. These are probably the most popular and unjust terms used to describe archives. ‘The epitome of frustration’, which Ridley reported in 1992, can arise from a lack of published material on the subject, evident efforts to trace and transcribe hundreds of records, and having to deal with badly preserved papers, or sometimes unintelligible writing. However, such words do not do justice to the high value of archives, which are frequently mines of fascinating information on diverse subjects, being, of course, words written by people, and records of deeds, properties, acts, events and decisions.

*‘Archive archaeology’. Dusting off records and digging up data on past archaeologies in Sicily (1861-1915)* was the title of my first academic poster, which I presented at the Festival of Postgraduate Research at the University in Leicester in May 2012. At that moment, my PhD had only just begun, although it was the point of arrival of my previous investigations and the starting point for my new, doctoral research, which is now revised and published here as a monograph. The main aim of my poster was to demonstrate how we can ‘dig’ without properly excavating – perhaps that sounds a paradox – by simply exploring archives and collecting data from them. The ‘field’ becomes, then, the desk in the archive reading room and the ‘finds’ are the details in the records.

The advantages of this archival excavation process are several: first, we do not need to use a mattock and shovel to explore archives; second, this process is inexpensive, although it requires patience and precision in tracing records and properly transcribing them; third, you immediately realise how records themselves speak, far more so than pottery fragments; and fourth, we can see the actual words of the protagonists of the day. These aspects perfectly fit into the scopes of my historical research, shedding new light on social contexts and communities involved in archaeology.

When I began to explore archives in Sicily and Italy in 2007 my interests were focused on the history of numismatic and archaeological collecting, as well as antiquarianism. Archives can house many hundreds of letters, dispatches and reports, which can be relevant to past archaeology. They can form indispensable sets of materials to reconstruct the history of the discipline and tell us of scholars, collectors and politicians, and local and state authorities. I quickly became conscious of the high potential of these sources and thus performed targeted research, which resulted, in time, in scientific publications mainly focused on late 18th- and early 19th-century Sicilian archaeology and antiquarianism.

A salient goal of my first ‘journey’ into the world of archives was the study of coins and finds collecting in northern Sicily during the Bourbon period (1816-60); this I carried out in 2009-10, and published as a monograph in 2012. But I recognised that much more work had to be done to explore the history of Sicilian archaeology and to unravel its implications in terms of social context and politics. Hundreds of records were waiting to be traced and published, especially in the Central State Archive of Rome and the Palermo archaeological museum. Hence my decision to undertake new, thorough research and to deepen my studies. The province of Messina and the post-Unification period were the ideal subjects to link my two fields of interest, and converge on research into 19th- and early 20th-century Sicilian archaeology.

Finally, dispatches, letters, journals of excavation, reports, lists of finds and newspapers articles, which were buried in old folders, form the ‘treasure trove’ mentioned by Ridley. The material also represents an extremely valuable mine of data from which to conduct a multidisciplinary investigation into Sicilian archaeology, historical and social contexts, and the history of museums and collections from 1861 to 1918.

# Introduction

‘La statistica archeologica, diremo così, della provincia di Messina è una delle più scarse, malgrado essa provincia sia percorsa da due grandi linee ferroviarie, e solcata in ogni senso da una discreta rete stradale. Messina città e provincia possono dirsi, nei rispetti dell’archeologia, terre ignote’ (Orsi 1915b: 71).

## 0.1 An overview of the book

A leading and famous archaeologist of the early 20th century, Paolo Orsi, an expert on the Sicilian context, claimed that the city and province of Messina (Figure 0.1) still remained ‘terre ignote’ – ‘unknown land’ – in terms of archaeology. Most of the region’s province was still unexplored in the early 20th century. In truth, Orsi is incorrect, as the region had, in fact, seen much in the way of archaeological study and finds gathering in the 50 years previously; however, he was also correct, in that much of that study remains surprisingly unpublished and therefore the data retrieved are still ‘unknown’.

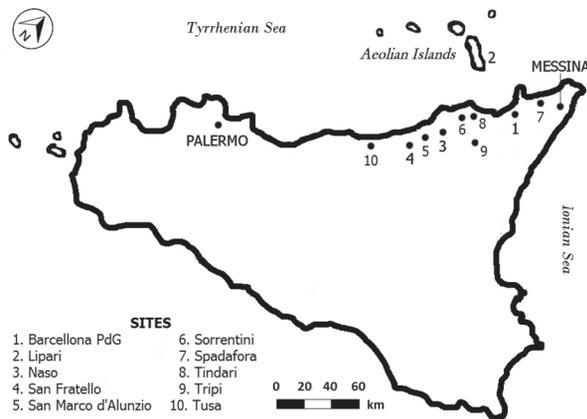


Figure 0.1: Map of Sicily showing key sites in the province of Messina, discussed in the text (photo: author).

This study addresses this existing major gap in knowledge: it draws on and analyses in depth a rich array of archival documentation, largely unpublished and previously unexploited, which brings to life many facets of this formative period in Sicilian archaeology and archaeological history. This work centres on the archival evidence for interventions in Messina province, supervised by the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts and by a key local figure, Antonino Salinas, director of the museum of Palermo, during the post-Unification period (1861-1918). It will make these lands finally much less ‘unknown’ and, indeed, will identify how this archival material should be merely the start of a much wider exploration of Sicilian archaeology in the early stages of the newly founded Kingdom of Italy.

This is a field which is yet to be investigated in any adequate detail, and the related archival data have long laid neglected. This book is therefore relevant to the history of late 19th- and early 20th-century Sicilian archaeology, and forms a systematic analysis of associated available archival records in Palermo and Rome, and also a detailed assessment of their value and potential.

The historical reconstruction of events, based on the analysis of archival records, lays the foundations for the entire study, and offers the key to elaborate innovative outlines on Sicilian archaeology. The structure of the book follows this central idea. Accordingly, some sections provide information to contextualise the work in the history of 19th- and early 20th-century Sicily, whereas others focus on the impacting archaeology at major and minor sites, or detail contemporary society, or situate the research within the wider context.

The introductory Chapter sets out the methodology, data types and approach employed to develop the book. The archival records as historical sources are highlighted both for expanding our knowledge of local social history and for informing on the history and archaeology of various sites.

Chapter 1 delineates significant aspects of the historical context. As explored in § 1.2, the post-Unification period (from 1861) was decisive for the development of the new archaeological discipline, the evolution of a national safeguarding system and laws, and the formation of professional archaeologists in Italy and on Sicily. § 1.3 mainly focuses on the history of Sicily from 1861 to 1918, with special reference to some historical aspects and the set of problems facing the new Italian state as it began to manage the island, and to the social contexts. The island’s archaeology went through a transition phase after the Bourbons. It is a period when ‘big names’, Orsi and Salinas, were the leading professional archaeologists operating in Sicily, and we see an intriguing stage of competition. Lastly, § 1.4 outlines the three-level system of antiquities safeguarding, which characterised archaeology in post-Unification Sicily. Furthermore, § 1.5 is dedicated to the figure of Antonino Salinas, professor of archaeology at the University of Palermo and director of the National Museum of Palermo from 1875 to 1914. Salinas played

a prominent role in the history of late 19th- and early 20th-century Sicilian archaeology. Above all, the museum of Palermo was the key centre to which the Ministry of Public Education delegated authority, both to safeguard archaeological sites and to perform excavations in Sicily. Thus, understanding Salinas helps understand the nature and range of archaeological activity in its many forms in Sicily.

Chapter 2 comprises an overview of the province of Messina, which is the core area under investigation. This book section – certainly crucial to contextualise our work geographically – analyses archaeological sites in the area and provides vital information on local archaeology and antiquarian studies. The province of Messina includes major (Lipari and Tindari) and minor sites (Barcellona Pozzo di Gotto, Naso, San Fratello, San Marco d'Alunzio, Sorrentini-Patti, Spadafora, Tripi and Tusa), where archaeology impacted on a different scale, as emerged through archival documentation.

Chapter 3 offers a reconstruction on the 'Great Events' and phenomena in the province of Messina, covering a variety of themes, such as essential excavations, collecting, and exports of finds. In particular, the chapter focuses on two main sites, Tindari and Lipari. For instance, we learn of maintenance works at Tindari (Pietro Ajello, 1871-77) (§ 3.2), where aspiring custodians competed to obtain a permanent position (1878-96) (§ 3.3). They brazenly asked powerful politicians for recommendation letters. Domenico Sciacca, Baron of Scala di Patti, born at Tindari and working at the Ministry of Agriculture in Rome, was involved in these intriguing plots. Furthermore, we learn of individuals such as the Lipari landowner Scolarici and the archaeological collection he gathered on the island in 1878 following illegal excavations, and which he then exported to Scotland (§ 3.4). The affair is a valuable case study revealing the relationship between regional and local authorities, and shows how they interacted with each other and how they failed to keep that particular collection in Sicily. We also comprehend much about the only extensive excavation, performed by Salinas at Tindari's necropolis in 1896 (§ 3.5), thanks to his preservation of the excavation journal. This exceptional document, which is published for the first time here together with photographs, sheds new light on archaeological methods, worker hiring, and the relationships between Salinas and the local barons.

Chapter 4 seeks to examine 'Lesser events' at major and minor sites, which, however, are essential for a better understanding of local archaeology and its impact on local communities. Documents offer a substantial record on vital topics, such as the early stages of the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts (§ 4.2), the drawing of topographic maps (§ 4.3), collecting and finds acquisitions (§ 4.4), casual discoveries (mosaics,

graves, a Hellenistic kiln, a Roman *columbarium*, etc.) (§ 4.5). In particular, a set of records tells us about an archaeological excavation performed by local farmers in the early 20th century at the ancient necropolis of Sorrentini, a small village close to Patti (§ 4.5.9). Salinas was personally involved in this episode, as explained. In addition, documentary evidence sheds new light on the removal of finds from Palermo and the Messina province (§ 4.6).

Chapter 5 discusses key results of the archive work and asks how archaeological safeguarding worked in post-Unification Sicily? What changes were made, and what remained the same from the Bourbon period? What methods and practices were employed? And how did social and political contexts link to the archaeology? This crucial section will pull together these examinations, highlighted in the previous three theme-by-theme chapters, and provide an overview not just on the politics, but also about many 'lesser' characters, such as workers and custodians, and how they impacted on the archaeology of the region and how this in turn impacted on their lives.

Finally, Chapter 6 summarises the whole book and considers the degree to which this Sicilian archival documentation has been valuable, how it fits in the wider historical context, and what gaps still remain.

Following the last chapter, a set of documentary appendices (A-O) provides a unique and substantial collection of records. Documents (687 units) are mostly unpublished and were traced from the following archives: Archivio Centrale dello Stato (344) (ACS, Rome), Archivio del Museo Archeologico Regionale 'A. Salinas' (311) (AMARAS, Palermo), Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (28) (GMRC, Nitshill – Glasgow) and Archivio Diocesano di Patti (4) (ADPATTI, Patti – Messina).

The appendices have been organised by sites in alphabetical order from Barcellona Pozzo di Gotto to Tusa (Table 1). Each section contains all documentation traced from the archives, divided by events in chronological order. Usually a subsection corresponds to a 'physical' sub-folder in the archival collection. Nevertheless, sometimes documents have been 'virtually' moved between sub-folders and archives to present coherently the most complete documentation on the events. Each document can be easily identified by an entry, which contains the following information: site acronym (BARC = Barcellona Pozzo di Gotto; LIPA = Lipari; NASO = Naso; SFRA = San Fratello; SMAR = San Marco d'Alunzio; SORR = Sorrentini; SPAD = Spadafora; TIND = Tindari; TRIP = Tripi; TUSA = Tusa), site appendix number, progressive record number, archive acronym (ABCPatti = Archivio Biblioteca Comunale di Patti, ACS = Archivio Centrale dello Stato, ADPATTI = Archivio

Reference	App.	Subject	Site	Dates
BARC.1	A	Excavations at Meri	Barcellona	1865
DOSSIERS	M	Personal dossiers		1905-10
LAWS	N	Royal Decrees and Laws		1822-1909
LIPA.1	B	The Sclarici collection	Lipari	1879-81
LIPA.2	B	Photographic album (Sclarici)	Lipari	1880
LIPA.3	B	Topographic map	Lipari	1880
LIPA.4	B	Excavations on Canon Pajno's property	Lipari	1883
LIPA.5	B	Salinas' report on Lipari's antiquities	Lipari	1901-02
LIPA.6	B	Excavations at Palazzo Vescovile	Lipari	1905
LIPA.7	B	Corso Umberto I and the Europa Mosaic	Lipari	1912-18
NASO.1	C	Latin inscription	Naso	1884
PEOPLE	O	List of people		
SFRA.1	D	Greek inscription	San Fratello	1886
SMAR.1	E	Salinas' report on ancient inscriptions	San Marco	1880-93
SORR.1	F	Excavations at Sorrentini (S. Giuliano)	Sorrentini	1913-15
SPAD.1	G	Excavations at the ancient kiln (railway station)	Spadafora	1898-1906
SPAD.2	G	Pictures	Spadafora	1898-1902
TIND.1	H	New Commissioners	Tindari	1864-75
TIND.2	H	P. Ajello and maintenance works	Tindari	1871-77
TIND.3	H	Custodians	Tindari	1878-96
TIND.4	H	Purchases of finds	Tindari	1892-1907
TIND.5	H	Pictures	Tindari	1895-96
TIND.6	H	Excavations at Canon Aiello's property	Tindari	1894-1904
TIND.7	H	Excavations at the necropolis and walls	Tindari	1895-96
TIND.8	H	Articles from <i>Il Tindari</i> magazine	Tindari	1896
TIND.9	H	Topographic maps	Tindari	1896-1915
TIND.10	H	Excavations at the Sciacca property	Tindari	1897-1917
TIND.11	H	Excavations at the Aiello and Greco properties	Tindari	1903-09
TIND.12	H	Roman sundial	Tindari	1907-08
TIND.13	H	Maintenance works and drinking water	Tindari	1910-14
TRIP.1	I	Excursion	Tripi	1886-87
TUSA.1	L	Excavations at the Salomone property	Tusa	1885
TUSA.2	L	Roman <i>columbarium</i> and Mr Di Salvo	Tusa	1899-1902
TUSA.3	L	Pictures of Tusa ( <i>columbarium</i> and statue)	Tusa	1899-1901

Table 1: Table showing all documentary Appendices ('App.') and relevant references (source: author).

Diocesano di Patti, GMRC = Glasgow Museums Resource Centre), folder number, typology, number of sides (e.g. 'LIPA.1.3 | AMARAS, U.A. 677 | headed paper | 1 side').

In terms of approach and methodology, records have been transcribed as faithfully and accurately as possible; therefore each transcription is philological and reports all textual elements, such as stamps, protocol numbers, notes, drafts of schemes, expunctions of texts, etc. Abbreviations are copied without any expansion, but their full forms can be found in the 'List of Abbreviations' (e.g. 'Onor.le' = 'Onorevole'; 'S.V.' = 'Signoria Vostra'; 'Prot.o' = 'Protocollo'). Protocol stamps, which indicate how and when records were acquired and filed in the

archives, can be easily recognised, being mostly in capital letters (e.g. 'Museo Nazionale di Palermo | 28-FEB-07 | N.° 289'). Gaps and incomprehensible words/short passages, which cannot be read, are marked by '[...]'.

Some physical characteristics of papers and relevant archiving processes can be deduced by an overall outline of documentation. For instance, records are mainly on headed paper (445 units) or unstamped paper (54). Folders also preserve pictures (61), original or copied telegrams (36), file folders (29) and newspaper articles (6). Envelopes have been rarely filed probably to 'save' space and avoiding the accumulation

of too many worthless papers. Conversely, envelopes of letters were often preserved in Sicily during late 18th century and the Bourbon period. They can be often traced at local (Fondazione Mandralisca) or regional archives (Archivio dello Stato di Palermo) (Crisà 2007: 66-68; 2009b: 521-32; 2012a).

The Central State Archive of Rome shows an impressive accuracy in producing and filing documentation, considering the huge volume of copies of letters and dispatches, which were precisely transcribed on standardised papers, before being posted. On the other hand, the archives of the museum of Palermo have gaps in documentation and have fewer copies of letters than the main archive in Rome.

The section 'Personal dossiers' (Appendix M) offers information on Guido Scifoni taken from his job reports. Bibliographic data reveals two heroic episodes on the part of Scifoni, when he risked his life to save a woman in the sea, and when the director of the Museum of Firenze was assaulted by a paranoid usher.

The following part (Appendix N) contains some of the most important decrees and laws of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (**LAWS.1-2**), Garibaldi's Dictatorship (**LAWS.3**) and the Kingdom of Italy (**LAWS.4-7**), mentioned in archival records. Articles quoted in documents have been put in bold. Texts of laws have been faithfully transcribed from a collection of pre-Unification decrees (Emiliani 1978) and the 'Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia', an official bulletin of laws regularly published by the Italian state.

'List of people' (Appendix O) is a collection of short biographies on the main protagonists, politicians and unknown players, who have been mentioned in archival records. Unfortunately, sometimes the biographical information is limited as a result of the lack of published and archival data.

All bibliographic references are collected in the following section, including 'Ancient sources' and 'Modern sources'. Entries have been arranged in alphabetical and chronological order.

The 'List of abbreviations' contains all shortened or contracted forms of words and expressions from archival records. Abbreviations of stamps are usually in capital letters. Each abbreviation is followed by its relevant expansion. The 'List of offices and authorities', structured as a table, is a useful tool for reporting the English and Italian translations of state/regional/local institutions, positions, or tasks during post-Unification Sicily. A similar list has already been provided for the previous Bourbon period (Crisà 2012a: 142). All figures and tables are listed in the following section. Finally,

the 'Index' can be used profitably to trace names of people, places, things, etc.

## 0.2 Contextualising the research

It is essential to justify the value and importance of this book. First of all, it aims to continue a previous study which analysed the history of archaeology in northern Sicily during the last Bourbon domination (1816-61) (Crisà 2012a). Examination of the post-Unification epoch (1861-1918) is a natural and chronological continuation of research. Therefore, a targeted area of Sicily has been examined thoroughly, offering substantial data for an accurate comparison between the two periods.

Secondly, the work aims at plugging a sizeable research gap and creating a detailed 'case study', and indeed a genuine model, to develop new and major studies on the early modern and contemporary history of Sicilian archaeology.

Thirdly, the province of Messina should be recognised as an important area, whose territory has great archaeological potential, but which suffers from a lack of research and published literature. The above-mentioned Orsi passage is therefore still valid in the early 21st century. In particular, no specific or in-depth study of the history of its 19th-century archaeological exploration exists – except for Taormina, in the eastern area of the province (Pelagatti 1997: 79-90; 1998a: 39-69; 1998b: 20-27; Muscolino 2014: 107-11) – and it is now necessary to fill this gap. In addition, our analysis of records on Lipari excavations offers noteworthy data about the exportation of finds, which will hopefully stimulate links between English archaeology and the history of museum collections.

Fourthly, targeted analyses of records can clarify the activities of the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts (until 1875) and the museum of Palermo in peripheral areas of Sicily. In this case, it is important to understand the conduct of local authorities, which operated in marginal zones, where archaeological safeguarding was quite problematic for the central administration in Palermo. For this purpose, a comparison with previous academic investigations, such as the discovery of ancient coins by Antonio Filippello in Castiglione (1818) (Crisà 2014b: 1-11) and medieval coins with Arabic legends in the valley of Cefalù (1824) (Crisà 2012a: 36-37), can help to outline the most complete map of discoveries in northern Sicily during the 19th century. Indeed, our records provide many new data on Tindari and its territories, documenting discoveries which have been neglected and wholly unexplored by current scholars (Coarelli and Torelli 2000; Spigo 2005; Bacci and Martinelli 2009; Fasolo 2013; 2014).

Furthermore, the book aims to fit into a well-established pattern of scholarship on the history of 19th-century archaeology in Italy and Sicily (e.g. Barbanera 1998; Lo Iacono and Marconi 1997; 1998; 1999; 2000; Marconi 2004; Equizzi 2006; Ceserani 2012) – a subject that has generated much interest among Italian and international scholars. Our study aims to integrate the most recent and wide-ranging works (e.g. Ceserani 2012), which mainly focus on Magna Graecia and its archaeology, partially excluding Sicily (Marconi 2014: 790).

As director, Antonino Salinas purchased numerous coins and archaeological finds to increase the Palermo museum's collection. He was passionate about site preservation, travelled to hitherto unknown sites and instigated new excavations. Consequently, his research activity produced a considerable number of archaeological finds and archival records (letters, telegrams, excavation reports, etc.), which have remained completely unexplored and awaiting analysis. Making a wider audience aware of the Salinas archive is thus very important. The book fits perfectly into a recent revival of Antonino Salinas, to whom an exhibition at the Palermo museum has been dedicated to celebrate the centenary of his death (1914-2014) (Spatafora and Gandolfo 2014).

### 0.3 Book themes and aims

As previously anticipated, this book is not only broadly relevant to the history of Sicilian archaeology, but also embraces a variety of multidisciplinary themes which explore society, communities, politics, approaches on archaeological discipline, excavation practice and collecting trends, legislation, and Salinas' impact as museum director and active archaeologist in the province of Messina. Additional minor subjects, such as the role of the press in promoting archaeology, or denouncing defaults or lapses in local archaeological safeguarding, the development of Post-Unification tourism, the role of women in late 19th-century archaeology, still emerge from records and will be examined in this essay.

Our main research aims, which will be assessed and answered through the examination of data from archival records and their collation, are the following:

#### a) *Reconstructing the social impact and political influence on archaeology*

First, thanks to a wide range of official dispatches, private letters, reports and pictures, the social contexts will be fully explored. Data disclose how the development of archaeology had tangible implications for local societies and communities in the Messina province. Contexts appear multi-faceted and dynamic,

and include farmers, landowners, workers, custodians, potential cheaters, priests, antiquity dealers, collectors, travellers, etc. Second, we aim to investigate the possible effect of politicians' actions on regional and local archaeology, and the development of wide networks. Documentary data mainly derive from letters of recommendations, written by politicians in favour of locals, who were involved in archaeology (custodians, priests, etc.), or requests of funds to restore antiquities or perform local excavations.

Although this work focuses on late 19th- and early 20th-century Sicilian archaeology, it can disclose significant links with the contemporary social and historical contexts of Italy and Sicily, and certainly fits into established scholarship (De Francesco 2013; Forgacs 2014).

Furthermore, documents on the excavations in the ancient necropolis of Tindari present a complete set of material for achieving this research aim. In fact, Salinas operated in collaboration with local authorities, such as the mayor of Patti, the inspector and the archaeological site custodian. He also had to reach an arrangement with local landowners to perform excavations. In fact, the unpublished excavation journal, signed by Salinas and his assistant Scifoni (**DOSSIERS.1.1-5; PEOPLE**), reports fascinating and specific details relating to the work force that the archaeologist employed daily and paid with his limited funds.

Records on the Roman *columbarium* at Tusa-*Halaesa*, and many other casual discoveries, offer interesting case studies regarding the social impact of archaeology. We learn much about illegal excavators, antiquities dealers, landowners and clever politicians, who interacted with each other in a microcosm of social networks.

#### b) *Understanding the evolution of archaeological practice in terms of collecting trends, finds removal, and culture heritage legislation between the Bourbon period and post-Unification era*

This complex aim focuses on the progression of archaeology as a discipline in the Messina province during the post-Unification period and identifies differences and similarities with the Bourbon era. It also addresses related subjects, such as digging methods, reporting, inventory preparation, moving of finds, private and public collecting (museum collections), the antiquities market, state legislation, etc. We will obtain relevant data from letters, lists of finds and, especially, archaeological reports by Salinas, Scifoni, commissioners and custodians.

Two sources are fundamental to achieve this aim. The first includes some previous investigations on the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts in Sicily, and

Site	Date	Landowner	Description/Finds	SECTION
LIPARI	1878 (end?)	G. Sclarici	Contrada Diana: 20 tombs (Greek period) and many archaeological finds forming the so-called 'Sclarici Collection'.	§ 3.4
	January 1883	Canon T. Pajno	Contrada Diana: 16 tombs (Greek period) and many terracotta and gold finds.	§ 4.5.1
	before 14/08/1909	Church (?)	Palazzo Vescovile: undated ancient walls	§ 4.5.8
	before 19/09/1912	G. Maggiore	Corso Umberto I: Roman mosaic showing Europa and the Bull.	§ 4.6.2
MERÌ	before 16/08/1865	Vento	Contrada S. Giuseppitto: ancient walls, finds (pottery, coins, inscriptions, etc.) found in a vineyard; the discovery probably occurred at the end of the Bourbon period.	§ 4.2.2
SORREN.	August 1912	Crifò	Contrada S. Giuliano: some Hellenistic graves and relevant burial goods (pottery and gold finds)	§ 4.5.9
SPADAF.	April 1898	Pignatelli and Mollica	Railway station area: Hellenistic kiln (3rd century BC) and substantial ancient bricks.	§ 4.5.5
TINDARI	13/03/1894	Canon A. Aiello	500 m from the theatre; cistern: 3 small jars, round brick, 2 fragmentary terracotta capitals, a roofing tile and a marble head.	§ 4.5.3
	January-July 1896	D. Sciacca della Scala	Contrada Scrozzu, Mendolito and Santa Panta, necropolis and ancient walls of <i>Tyndaris</i> : numerous Greek and Roman graves, <i>columbaria</i> and substantial burial goods (pottery, bronze artefacts, urns, coins, gold necklaces, etc.) and human remains (discarded).	§ 3.5
	25/07/1896	Not specified	Road to Tindari ('lato destro della strada Tindari'); ancient grave and Greek inscription; excavations supervised by the custodian, Pietro Gentile.	§ 3.5.4
	before 17/10/1897	D. Sciacca della Scala	Not specified ('Proprieta di questo Sig. Barone'), excavation for a water pipeline; ancient graves and rich burial goods (e.g. gold finds).	§ 4.5.4
	24/11/1904	Aiello	800 m from the theatre (?), Contrada Cercadenari; 'cap-puccina' marble and brick tomb; 2 small amphorae, a molar tooth and bone fragments.	§ 4.5.7
TUSA	before 17/04/1885	Salomone	Not specified ('in un fondo dei Signori Salomone in Tusa'); mosaics and various ancient finds.	§ 4.5.2
	before 13/12/1899	A. Di Salvo	S. Maria delle Palate, site of <i>Halaesa Archonidea</i> ; Roman <i>columbarium</i> : human remains	§ 4.5.6

Table 2: Casual discoveries and excavations in the province of Messina (1861-1917) (source: author).

archaeological collecting in Bourbon Sicily (e.g. Lo Iacono and Marconi 1997; 1998; 1999; 2000; Crisà 2012a). These works reveal a notable set of documents that give a clear description of the archaeological heritage system and antiquarianism during the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The second source comprises newly-analysed records in archives in both Palermo and Rome (1861-1918), which contain original data on local safeguarding, sizeable excavations and permits, casual discoveries (Table 2) and sales of archaeological collections abroad (§ 0.7.1).

A specific comparison between these two substantial sources is indispensable for improving knowledge of the evolution of Sicilian archaeology, practice and collecting from the Bourbon government to the Kingdom of Italy. In particular, the Barons Sciacca della

Scala operated at Tindari from the early 19th century, but they performed only antiquarian research in ancient *Tyndaris* and collected finds. However, they became involved in archaeological safeguarding after Italian Unification as they were appointed local inspectors on behalf of the Ministry of Public Education.

A major aim of this book is to outline how digging methods characterised excavations in northern Sicily during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Thanks to our archival records, we can observe how Salinas and local archaeologists performed in that period, and what limits and innovations influenced the discipline generally in post-Unification Sicily.

It is evident that Salinas' journal of excavations at Tindari – our main source in terms of achieving this

research aim – discloses many elements in common with the ‘Giornali degli Scavi’ of Pompeii, and reports in the national *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, which Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823-96) wrote in the late 19th century (Manacorda 1982: 95-97; De Angelis 1993: 6-16; Arias *et al.* 1998: 20; Barbanera 1998: 19-34; Cooley 2003: 84-89; Cooley and Cooley 2004: 192-93). It is important to stress that while Fiorelli performed extended excavations thanks to conspicuous funds, received from the Italian government, in contrast, Salinas researched in small areas and had scant resources. Nevertheless, the two archaeologists used similar methods. For instance, both excavated by following ancient walls as site-lines and dug from top to bottom, even if not observing stratigraphic sequences. Both wrote detailed excavation journals with a relevant list of objects, sometimes citing a specific archaeological context to each find.

It is fundamental to contextualise the work in terms of European antiquarianism and archaeological history with the help of past and recent references. First of all, this book can be evaluated positively in a wider context than the history of Italian and Sicilian archaeology (§ 0.5). For instance, recent studies have stressed the importance of a comprehensive analysis of the history of archaeology and related subjects, such as nationalism and the relationship between

archaeology and national identity (Díaz-Andreu 2007; De Haan *et al.* 2008). In addition, ‘excavation archives’ is a research process which has been recently defined and connected to museum studies, since excavations produce documentation and records, which can often remain unpublished and need to be examined by scholars (Swain 2007: 115).

A notable strength of our work is the analysis of a substantial set of records, relevant to the origin, sale and final export of Sclarici’s collection (Figure 0.2) from Lipari to Glasgow. In fact, the acquisition of the Sclarici-Stevenson material by the Kelvingrove Gallery in Glasgow (1903) is an extremely pertinent case study, because the records offer complete and accurate data on the entire affair.

The book also analyses some case studies on the transfer of archaeological finds in Sicily (e.g. a Roman sundial and mosaic from Lipari), which was regulated by specific rules and bureaucratic practices, and involved local politicians. Such transfers occurred for scientific purposes or in cases of urgent needs of restoration.

Lastly, the legislation regarding cultural heritage consists of pre-Unification states and Italian government imposed rules (**LAWS**) to safeguard antiquities (§ 1.2.1). A series of laws, such as the 1822 Royal Decrees imposed by the Bourbons, were still in force even until the early 1900s. Legislation is therefore an essential aspect to pursue to understand how authorities supervised archaeological sites in Sicily, even if sometimes facing a lack of local supervision. Data from dispatches, reports and confidential letters are fundamental research tools for this subject and to identify the repercussions of legislation on social contexts (i.e. on local farmers, landowners and priests).

### c) *The role and impact of Antonino Salinas in the research context*

Salinas, the most influential archaeologist in post-Unification Sicily (§ 1.5), impacted directly on the Messina province, performing excavations and inspecting sites. New data from an excavation journal (Tindari 1896), reports, letters and dispatches help us to understand his role as state archaeologist, his network of contacts among national and local authorities, landowners, priests and collectors. This theme is also crucial for comprehending how Salinas’ research methods adhered to the previous antiquarian practice and how the Messina provincial context became a ‘training ground’ for this evolution (or involution).

Lastly, our analysis sits under the three bureaucratic levels, a well-structured system to safeguard antiquities on a national, regional and local scale (§ 1.4). Previous investigations will be profitable to comprehend the



Figure 0.2: Glasgow – The so-called Crater of Akratos from the Sclarici Collection (Murray 1886: 55, fig. 2).

organisation of Italian archaeology and cultural heritage after 1861 (Dalla Negra 1986: 199-209; Bencivenni *et al.* 1987-92, I-II). As will be seen, our three-level system forms a solid framework to understand how archaeology evolved in post-Unification Sicily, how authorities played their roles and interacted each other.

#### 0.4 A general overview of scholarship

The lack of any detailed or authoritative study on such an important stage in the history of Sicilian archaeology is surprising and filling the gap requires detailed research. Below is a brief survey of the published literature, which highlights where gaps still exist in our knowledge.

First, modern literature on the history of Italian archaeology (1861-1918) shows that Sicily as a whole has been quite neglected by scholars. In fact, comprehensive essays on the history of Italian archaeology rarely touch on Sicilian archaeology, except for some references to the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts, or on A. Salinas and P. Orsi (Manacorda 1982: 85-119; Settis 1993: 301-34; Barbanera 1998; Arias *et al.* 1998; Barbanera 2001: 493-505; Ceserani 2012: 229-45; Spatafora and Gandolfo 2014). Nevertheless, scholars have published essays on other specific Italian regions, such as Emilia-Romagna (Pavan 1978) and Veneto (Buora and Marcone 2007), as well as on well-known mainland Italian archaeologists, such as Felice Barnabei (Barnabei and Delpino 1991; Musacchio 1994: 97-98), Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (Barbanera 2009) and Pericle Ducati (Cairo 2012).

So far scholars have also demonstrated more interest in the 18th- and early 19th-century history of Sicilian archaeology than the late 19th- and early 20th-century perspective; thus, substantial sets of archival records remain still unpublished.

Scholars have examined selected 18th-century letters on Sicilian antiquarianism and the activity of G. L. Castelli and I. Paternò Castello, providing complete copies of documents (Pagano 2001; Equizzi 2006; Crisà 2009a: 116-49; 2010a: 99-108; 2011b: 403-07; Longo 2014: 32-36). In addition, many works by F. Muscolino refer to this specific historical period and the antiquarian research in eastern Sicily (especially at Taormina) (Muscolino 2007: 581-616; 2008: 119-34; 2009; 2014: 111-16). However, the scope of these works is limited only to analysis of the history of 18th-century archaeology.

A series of monographs published by the Museum 'A. Salinas' of Palermo, and supported by archival records and minutes, treats the activity of the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts during this period (Lo Iacono and Marconi 1997; 1998; 1999) and the early post-Unification stage (Lo Iacono and Marconi 2000; Marconi

2004). Moreover, further works (Crisà 2008b: 11-45; 2009b: 521-32; 2009c: 146-55; 2009d: 449-78; 2012a; 2012b: 385-90; 2014b: 1-11) have focused on antiquarianism, numismatic and archaeological collecting in northern Sicily during the Bourbon domination. In addition, the activity of the painter G. B. Lusieri, who worked also in Lord Elgin's employ, has been recently examined (Muscolino 2011).

For essays on well-known archaeologists of late 19th- and early 20th-century Sicily, a valuable one records F. S. Cavallari, who played a fairly prominent role in the late 19th century (Cianciolo Cosentino 2007). We benefit also from a recent exhibition catalogue on late 19th-century antiquarianism in Agrigento (Parello and Rizzo 2015). Moreover, a recent study analyses the activities of Jean Hulot and Gustave Fougères at Selinunte in early 20th century (Fresina and Bonanno 2013). As a later example, we can cite a recent work on the antiquarian Alexander Hardcastle, who operated in Agrigento after the First World War (Richardson 2009; Crisà 2014c: 1). However, these studies refer to limited sets of records and are not relevant to the province of Messina: no doubt more research will uncover other relevant archives.

Some concise contemporary references on excavations in the province of Messina between 1861 and 1918 offer very preliminary data. These can be integrated only by the fuller analysis of documents. One such example is 'XV. Tindari' by P. Orsi, who was asked by Salinas, as scientific director, to provide some preliminary reports on the necropolis excavations (Orsi 1896: 116-17). Salinas only summarised the excavation results at the Accademia dei Lincei, as a brief note clearly testifies (Anon. 1896: 375-76). More recently, U. Spigo alluded to the Tindari excavation journal in his paper 'Materiali per una storia degli studi archeologici nell'area dei Nebrodi e nelle Isole Eolie in Età Borbonica', omitting the documents from Rome, which have been completely neglected by scholars until now. Moreover, he had also mentioned the 1896 excavations without presenting any thorough details (Spigo 1998c: 155; 2005: 22). Therefore, our study on the substantial excavation journal can provide essential, fuller information on these significant episodes of late 19th-century Sicilian archaeology.

The archaeological finds of the Sclarici-Stevenson collection from Lipari are partially published: a very short report of 1879 concisely described the material, made once Sclarici announced his decision to sell the finds. But this is the only reference and it is related solely to the very early stages of his collection (Fiorelli 1879: 192). Moreover, an early account by Murray, published a few years after Stevenson's purchase of the Sclarici collection, offered drawings of the 'Crater of *Akratos*' and the 'Crater of the Two Actors', as well as

news on the acquisition (Murray 1886: 51-56). Some of the related vases and terracotta masks underwent later examinations (Trendall 1969: 1-5; Webster 1969: 6-7; Prosperi 1982: 25-36; Eccles and Spigo 1998: 35-37). The most detailed account of the Greek vases in the Stevenson collection is the volume of *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* of Glasgow, in which each vase is catalogued with dimensions, description, image and bibliography (if any). The most substantial descriptions are of the two famous craters from Lipari noted above (Moignard 1997: pl. 3, n. 6; pl. 25, n. 11; pl. 26, ns. 3, 5-6; pl. 29, ns. 7-12; pl. 43, ns. 1-5; pl. 44, ns. 1-10; pl. 45, ns. 1-14; pl. 46, ns. 1-4; pl. 47, ns. 1-2).

### 0.5 The wider context: a new archaeological discipline

Exploring the wider context of archaeology and museums between the 19th and early 20th century is crucial to understand how this book fits in and contributes to this framework (§ 6.3). This section is also beneficial in learning how (or if) local archaeologists acknowledged new methods and perspectives of the discipline in the Messina province context.

Broadly speaking, at that time archaeology was slowly establishing itself as a discipline, absorbing new stimuli from positivism and scientific theories, and

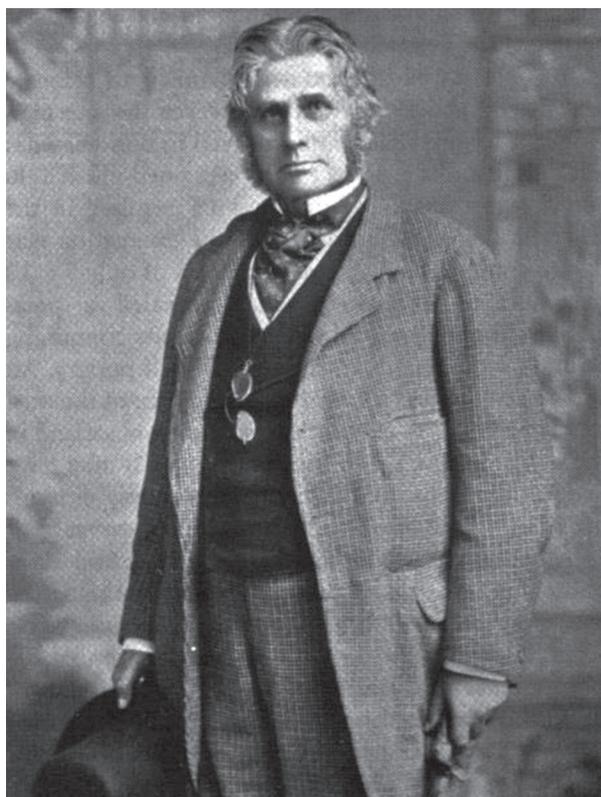


Figure 0.3: Augustus Henry Pitt Rivers (1827-1900) (source: Wikipedia).

gradually separating itself from antiquarian practices. The 19th century saw the progressive recognition of a long human chronology and the beginning of using archaeology to explore more fully ordinary people in the past (Daniel 1978: 38-54, 62-66; 1981: 50-61, 96-97; Swain 2007: 26-27). At Pompeii, for example, massive excavations performed by G. Fiorelli shed major new light on daily life in the Roman city, building on, but also enhancing, the work of the Bourbons, who had performed explorations since the 18th century (§ 1.2.4).

Innovative methods progressively changed archaeological practice and helped new 'professional' archaeologists. They operated 'in the field' to collect and analyse data more scrupulously than before. In Britain, the identification of layers and the association of finds to contexts were pivotal for Augustus Henry Pitt Rivers (1827-1900) (Figure 0.3), an army officer, as well as an ethnologist and archaeologist. He saw excavations as representing one stage of more complex research, which should result in accurate archaeological reports. Pitt Rivers' long-term military experience and approach stimulated his fixation for searching for 'proof and the adjudication of evidence' (Daniel 1978: 169-74; 1981: 137-41; Dyson 2006: 128-29; Swain 2007: 26-28; Evans 2014: 1-20).

Yet the 19th century was also the epoch of the most famous archaeological excavations ever performed. Pioneering archaeologists were involved in massive explorations which revolutionised our knowledge of the past. Above all, the German businessman Heinrich Schliemann (1822-90) discovered the site of Troy on the hill of Hisarlık (Turkey), recognising some of the many archaeological phases of the ancient settlement and performing the first extensive exploration of a *tell*. He also explored *Mycenae*, where he found the famous 'Grave of Agamemnon' and his gold burial goods. A few years later, Arthur Evans (1851-1941) performed huge excavations at *Knossos* (Crete, Greece), discovering the ancient palace. The importance of such explorations lies in the formulation of new prehistoric chronologies and fundamental clarifications on the early Aegean civilisation. These discoveries also fired an unrestrained demand for Egyptian or prehistoric artefacts among thousands of collectors, so causing a heavy diaspora of archaeological materials especially from Egypt and the Middle East, all exported and sold abroad (Daniel 1978: 136-45, 168-69, 190-99; 1981: 125-33; Swain 2007: 24-26).

More broadly, the rediscovery of the Classics, the growth of antiquarianism, the rise of the 18th-century *Grand Tour* in Magna Graecia and Sicily (§ 5.3.6), and the Enlightenment were the major stimuli to the development of vast collections of antiquities and natural science artefacts which flourished all around Europe. In the 19th century, particularly between 1850 and 1900, this wide patrimony formed the core to the

creation and enriching of new museums, which were used to give order to the past and to antiquities, and even to boost national identities among modern states (Troilo 2011: 467-69; Ceserani 2012: 78-80).

Colonialism played an important role in this process, because showcases and exhibitions on colonial objects might be presented to display the power of conquering nations. As Díaz-Andreu has neatly pointed out (2007: 210), colonial archaeology and museum acquisitions 'helped to rationalise the 'Other''. Consequently, Britain, one of the strongest European nations and colonial powers, started to think about museums as a representation of national identity and as places to provide access to a widely recognised culture. The Great Exhibition of 1851 determined the foundation of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. The British Museum, founded in 1753, initially gathered Classical finds according to the collecting tastes of the time. The British Museum became the main institution which depicted how the British could understand themselves in the world. The very act of being able to bring so many important finds together – away from their points of origin – helps to reinforce Britain's self-identified prominence (Díaz-Andreu 2007: 212-13; Whitehead 2009: 77-82; Watson and Sawyer 2011: 99-132).



Figure 0.4: Tripoli (Libya) – postcard showing Italian soldiers (1912) (private collection).

In terms of Italian colonialism, from 1882 Italy purchased Assab (Eritrea) and, a few years later, Libya was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy (1910-11) (Figure 0.4). Conquering and creating new colonies became a key aspect of Mussolini's dictatorship (1922-43) and represented powerful propaganda to demonstrate the supremacy of Fascism – this aspect is, however, outside our chronological limit. Italian archaeologists also performed excavations in foreign countries and colonial territories, such as Greece and Egypt (Beschi 1986: 107-20; Petricoli 1990: 3-89).

If the main scope of the 18th-century *Wunderkammer* was to stimulate curiosity and knowledge in a very small audience of intellectuals and noblemen, the 19th-

century museums became structures/institutions to store finds, set out typological series (or 'assemblages') of artefacts, and then exhibit selected pieces to the public (e.g. the collections of Early Cycladic finds at the Ashmolean Museum and the British Museum) (Daniel 1978: 20-22; 1981: 15-19; Swain 2007: 22-24; Galanakis 2013: 196).

In Britain the foundation of new museums took advantage of donations of substantial private collections, offered up by aristocrats and rich, middle-class collectors. Subsequently, natural historical artefacts, ancient vases, coins, statues and inscriptions flooded into state museums. The same process occurred in Bourbon Sicily (1816-60), where the Museum of the University of Palermo, founded in 1814, rapidly accumulated finds from all over Sicily (Crisà 2012a: 9-28).

If in many European states antiquarian collections could 'feed' newly-born museums, America could not access such previous accumulations of material, but the desire to share in Classical culture led to particular solutions. Hence, archaeologists, mainly hired by universities or supported by prestigious



Figure 0.5: Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832-1904) (Beyer and Keydel 1901, I: 212).

institutions (above all, the American Institute of Archaeology), began their own excavations, especially in the Middle East and Africa (Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, etc.), stimulating interesting academic and museum connections between America and Europe. One significant consequence of this phenomenon was, of course, the exportation to America of antiquities and finds, which started to increase private and museum collections (e.g. the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston). Ineffective local legislation regarding the safeguarding of antiquities facilitated this process (Dyson 2006: 121-28, 150-56; Swain 2007: 24-26). For instance, Francis Willey Kelsey (1858-1927), professor of classical studies at the University of Michigan, performed excavations in Pisidia, Carthage, and Karanis (Egypt), acquiring many finds (e.g. coins and papyri), which he was then allowed to export to America (Sanders 1927: 308-10; Pedley 2012: 254-373).

General Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832-1904) (Figure 0.5), who fought in the American Civil War, was American consul in Cyprus from 1865-77. He oversaw various excavations on the island, including at Golgoi, and collected archaeological material that was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Noticeably, Palma di Cesnola became the first director of this institution and his activity in Cyprus was a significant starting point for late 19th-century museum formation in America (Tomkins 1970: 49-59; Dyson 1998: 130-33; Swain 2007: 24-25).

In the second half of the 19th century a burst of new explorations in the Cycladic area of Greece arose interest among scholars. The recently examined Amorgos, a Greek island close to Naxos, is prominent in showing how illegal excavations and purchases of finds from local black markets strongly contributed to the birth of 'Cycladic Archaeology', and so 'fed' relevant collections within Europe (Galanakis 2013: 181-205). Similarly, Athens had a notable black market of antiquities, one that was particularly dynamic at the end of the 19th century (Galanakis 2011: 186-91; Galanakis and Skaltsa 2012: 619-53).

### 0.6 The regional context: some Sicilian case studies

It is important at this point to explore the regional 'archaeological' context of Sicily in the late 19th and early 20th century via selected case studies. These will provide useful comparisons with the province of Messina, the main focus of our work, and contextualise this research in terms of a 'regional' perspective. However, a more wide-ranging analysis on the history of Sicilian archaeology will be presented elsewhere (§ 1.3).



Figure 0.6: Vizzini – postcard showing the town in the early 20th century (private collection).

First, it is useful to mention the actions of the brothers Corrado (1856-1954) and Ippolito Cafici (1857-1947). Barons of Calaforno and experts in local antiquities and Sicilian prehistory (Cafici 1878: 39-41; 1879: 33-43), they operated in Vizzini (Catania) (Figure 0.6) and neighbouring areas, collecting numerous prehistoric and Greek finds, now preserved in the museum of Syracuse (Pace 1935-49, I: 82; Crispino and Musumeci 2008: 109-22; Pace 2010: 1-60; 2011: 207-47; 2014: 341-46). But, like Domenico Sciacca della Scala (§ 2.93), they were not professional archaeologists paid by the Italian state (like Salinas), even if they performed excavations on their lands, in particular at Calaforno. They represented some of the last 'baron antiquarians' – a heritage of the Bourbon period – who operated in post-Unification Sicily.

Simultaneously, their conduct highlights a strict connection between archaeology and politics in late 19th- and early 20th-century Sicily. In fact, the brothers maintained a good relationship with Paolo Orsi, especially when he became Senator of the Kingdom of Italy (1924). Orsi trusted in their skills in, and knowledge of, Sicilian prehistory: for instance, he contacted them to investigate 'unofficially' illegal excavations at Vizzini in 1924; they, in fact, operated more efficiently than



Figure 0.7: Gela – postcard showing the city in the early 20th century (private collection).

the local police authorities. Ippolito, mayor of Vizzini (1889-90), also corresponded with Don Luigi Sturzo (1871-1959), priest and scholar, founder of the Italian People's Party, and Gesualdo Libertini (1860-1945), a respected member of Parliament and later senator.

Terranova (now Gela) (Figure 0.7) represents an informative case study on how archaeology evolved in the province of Caltanissetta and offers potential analogies and/or differences in comparison with the province of Messina in the post-Unification period. Thanks to recent archival research performed at local and national archives (Lambrugo 2009: 23-60), we have primary data on late 19th-century archaeology at Gela, which formed a well-defined microcosm of 'unofficial' networks between local authorities and illegal excavators.

Gela was already well known by antiquarians in the early 19th century due to its high archaeological potential. George Dennis (1814-98), British consul in Sicily, performed excavations here in the 1860s and generated finds which were subsequently acquired by the British Museum. Thus, in 1864 the regional authorities – probably aware of future dispersal of finds abroad – carried out explorations on behalf of the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts, directed by Giovanni D'Ondes Reggio (1864: 19-26). Even Sir Arthur Evans (1851-1941) visited Gela in 1887 to acquire Greek vases for the Ashmolean Museum (Vickers 2003: 239-42). As records testify, Gela did not have a local commission, which would have monitored archaeological areas and stopped any wildcat explorations. By contrast, the smaller Tindari at that time had its own commission (§ 4.2.1). In a context of total negligence and lack of safeguarding, illegal excavators operated freely at Gela.

Yet, surprisingly (because it was quite late), when local authorities decided to found a local commission at Gela in the 1880s, a powerful alliance of collectors and influential politicians seized the moment. Notable names include Emanuele Lauricella, Mario Aldisio Sammito, Emanuele Calandra and Nicola Russo, director of the Popular Bank. In an underhand manner, they demanded the establishment of a municipal museum to house artefacts (including Greek vases, coins and terracotta statues) and to encourage collectors to donate finds. Unfortunately, in contrast with numerous donations encouraged by Salinas in the provinces of Palermo (Crisà 2014d: 1-10) and Messina, Gela lacked such private actions, except for the family Navarra, who offered a substantial set of painted Greek vases. However, the hidden agenda of the commission was to operate without hindrance and perform illegal excavations. Who could inspect the inspectors?

When the conscientious state and official archaeologist Orsi stayed in Gela in 1895 to excavate, he lamented

the situation he found, with the commissioners illegally digging in the ancient necropolis. Just a few years later, in 1900, Orsi wrote to the Ministry a fiery letter complaining about affairs here and asking for the punishment of the powerful bank official, Russo, who was unashamedly collecting and selling finds (Lambrugo 2009: 56-58). Interestingly, Salinas (1896: 118, 254-55), who reported casual discoveries in Gela in 1896, seemingly turned a blind eye to this worrisome situation.

## 0.7 Data sets and archives

### 0.7.1 Outlining documentary resources

The substantial documentation utilised for this work (Table 3) comprises 687 records made up of letters, reports, lists of finds, one complete excavation journal, requests for funds, administrative acts, newspaper articles and photographs, mostly relevant to the main sites under investigation (Diagram 1). These come from two main collections: the Rome Central State Archive, and Palermo museum (§ 0.7.2). Most of these records were produced by the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts (until 1875), the Ministry of Public Education, the Direction of the Royal Museum of Palermo, local Conservation Commissions, the Public Prosecutor of Messina and keepers (e.g. Francesco Monasterio at Tindari).

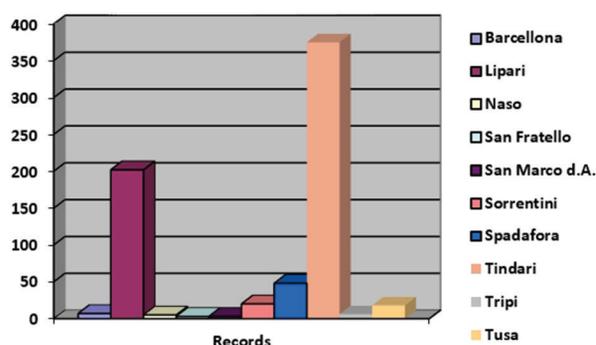


Diagram 1: Scheme showing archival documentation by site (source: author).

These archival records are published for the first time. Scholars have never provided any general study, integral copy, or even partial quotations from these records. Only four photographs, taken by Salinas during the excavations in Tindari (1896) and Tusa (1899), have previously been published (Castiglione 1999: 37, fig. 3; Scibona and Tigano 2008: 10, fig. 5; Spatafora and Gandolfo 2014: 55-59) (**TIND.5.3**; **TUSA.3.3**); otherwise most images from Palermo, Rome (**SPAD.2.1-6**; **TIND.5.1-28**; **TUSA.3.1-2, 4-5**) and Glasgow (**LIP.2.1-28**) are unpublished.

Site	Subject	Period	Records				Sides
			ACS	AMARAS	GMRC	ADPATTI	
Barcellona	Merì	1865		7			28
Lipari	Giuseppe Scolarici	1879-81	77	40			231
	Photographic album	1879			28		28
	Topographic map	1880	1	8			9
	Canon T. Pajno	1883	5	7			22
	Lipari antiquities	1901-02	2				2
	Palazzo Vescovile	1905		6			7
	Corso Umberto I	1912-18		28			37
Naso	Latin inscription	1884		5			6
San Fratello	Greek inscription	1886	3				3
San Marco	Ancient inscriptions	1880-93		3			4
Sorrentini	S. Giuliano	1913-15	20				35
Spadafora	Railway station	1898-1906	42				72
	Pictures	1898-1902	4	2			2
Tindari	New commissioners	1864-75	9				10
	Pietro Ajello	1871-77	25				35
	Keepers	1878-96	81				124
	Purchases of finds	1892-1907		29			35
	Pictures	1892-96		28			28
	Canon A. Aiello	1894		8			12
	Necropolis	1895-96	18	73			170
	Magazine <i>Il Tindari</i>	1896				4	8
	Topographic map	1896-1915	7	14			25
	Sciacca della Scala	1897-1917		6			6
	Aiello and Greco	1903-09	40	6			67
	Roman sundial	1907-08	4	1			5
	Maintenance works	1910-14		22			26
Tripi	Salinas' excursion	1886-87	6				6
Tusa	Salomone	1885		4			4
	<i>Columbarium</i>	1899-1902		9			17
	Picture of Tusa	1899-1901		5			5
<b>Totals</b>			<b>344</b>	<b>311</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1,073</b>
		<b>687</b>					

Table 3: Outline of records on the history of archaeology in the province of Messina (1861-1918) (source: author).

The works by Lo Iacono and Marconi on the activity of the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts present some correlated records and relevant commentary (Lo Iacono and Marconi 1997; 1998).

Accordingly, relevant archive sources are cross-referenced in the main text in bold to signify their location for consultation. As already explained (§ 0.1), all records have been collected in alphabetical order and organised as dedicated appendices. For instance, '**TIND.1.2**' refers to the second document (2) of the first appendix (1) on the site of Tindari (**TIND**).

Furthermore, references will also be made to archives related to people (**PEOPLE**) and national laws (**LAWS**).

### 0.7.2 *The archives*

A short overview on Italian and UK archives, which keep all documents exploited for this monograph, is essential to understand how records have been produced and finally stored in those institutions. This section focuses on four main archives in Italy (Rome, Palermo and Patti) and Scotland (Glasgow).

1) *Central State Archive of Rome ('Archivio Centrale dello Stato di Roma', ACS)*

The Central State Archive of Rome (Figure 0.8), which is now housed in the huge Fascist building in Piazzale degli Archivi (EUR), is an inexhaustible source for scholars exploring the history of 19th- and 20th-century Italian archaeology. It includes extensive, often remarkable documents on excavations, surveys, finds exports and purchases in Sicily. As will be seen, these materials testify how the Ministry of Education, the main authority that managed antiquities on the whole national territory, supervised archaeological research in northern Sicily.<sup>1</sup>



Figure 0.8: Rome – The Central State Archive in the EUR district (photo: author).

The birth and development of these substantial archival collections directly follow the history of the post-Unification Ministry of Public Education. The first division collected records on art academies, museums and excavations since 1861. Later, according to various legislative reforms (1866, 1878 and 1881), the Ministry established new divisions and records were stored in a different way. The Royal Decree of 15 July 1901 n. 330 founded the 8th (legislation), 9th (General Direction, Antiquities) and 10th division (General Direction, Fine Arts) (D'Angiolini and Pavone 1986: 195-97).

Documentation on Italian antiquities from 1860 to 1907 is preserved according to records of deposits in a unique collection. Later records were stored following the internal divisions of the Ministry, as noted above. For instance, the 1st division received documentation on excavations, museums and art objects, while the

<sup>1</sup> Consultation of records is free of authorisation. However, image publication has to be authorised by the archive's Director. Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Roma), protocol number 153, class. 43.10.00 (Concessione n. 1460/2017 del 16/10/2017): authorisation to publish b/w pictures and maps of Spadafora (AA.BB.AA., III vers., II parte, allegati grafici, b. 1, f. 45) (SPAD.2.3-6).

2nd records artistic and musical education from 1908 to 1927 (D'Angiolini and Pavone 1986: 205-06; Musacchio 1994: 90-92).

2) *Archaeological Museum of Palermo ('Museo Archeologico Regionale 'A. Salinas' di Palermo', AMARAS)*

The documentary and photographic archives of the museum of Palermo (Figure 0.9) retain all the unpublished documents referring to excavations at Lipari, Tindari and Tusa, as well as unpublished photographs taken by Salinas himself. Most of the documentation on the province of Messina is preserved in the folders 'U.A.' ('Unità Archivistiche') n. 410 and 677 (Mazzola 1994: 69-70, 84-85).<sup>2</sup>



Figure 0.9: Palermo – postcard depicting the courtyard of the National Museum in the early 20th century (private collection).

The archives of the museum of Palermo contains 745 folders from 1604 to 1968. The early documents comprise various papers and letters, dated from 1604 to 1828. However, most 19th- and early 20th-century records relate to the activities of the Commission of Fine Arts and Antonino Salinas (Riccobono 1996: 39-42). The archival collections were reorganised in the 1990s, as an essay by Vincenza Ornella Mazzola (1994: 37-40) explains. She provides a general list of folder contents, organised in five series as follows: Accounts ('Contabilità'), Administration ('Amministrazione'), Staff ('Personale'), Protection ('Tutela') and Cultural Activity ('Attività Culturale').

3) *The Historical Archive of the Bishop's Curia of Patti ('Archivio Storico della Curia Vescovile di Patti', ADPATTI)*

<sup>2</sup> We obtained the relevant authorisations by the directors of the museum to consult and study this documentation and any pictures. Museo Archeologico Regionale 'Antonino Salinas' (Palermo), protocol numbers 1529/8.1-03/06/2009, 2044/8.11-22/07/2009, 3122/12.1.2-23/10/2012 and 2341-04/08/2014.

The Bishop's Curia of Patti in the province of Messina hosts a significant archive, relevant to the centennial history of this ecclesiastical institution. The archive, which is close to the Cathedral (Figure 0.10), preserves documents and rare scrolls from 1094 to the 20th century (Magistri and Sidoti 2006). Regarding the history of archaeology, the Bishop's Curia keeps a full collection of *Il Tindari*, a post-Unification periodical which sometimes published interesting educational papers on local history and archaeology.



Figure 0.10: Patti – view of the Bishop's Curia and Cathedral on the hill top (photo: author).

#### 4) *The Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum and the Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (Nitshill, Glasgow, GMRC)*

This Scottish civic museum and its research centre, based in Nitshill, preserve various archival records on the Sclorici collection (now called the Stevenson collection), mostly dated to the early 20th century. It also holds rare photographs taken by Mauro Ledrici at Lipari in 1878 (LIPA.2.1-28).



Figure 0.11: Glasgow – Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum (photo: author).

The Kelvingrove Gallery (Figure 0.11) officially opened on 2 May 1901 as part of the Glasgow International Exhibition. The early collections were derived from the McLellan Galleries and the City Industrial Museum. They were preserved in the Kelvingrove Mansion from 1870. The 'Ancient Civilization: Greco-Roman Collections' include finds which Sclorici collected in Lipari before 1879. A showcase on the ground floor exhibits the most significant finds, such as some terracotta masks, the 'Crater of the Two Actors' and the 'Crater of Akrotos' (Auld 1987: 4-5, 46; Morrison 1996: 98-99; Gray 2006: 64).

#### 0.7.3 Lost, missing, or undiscovered records

We do not exactly know the real extent of potential loss of archival documentation, because we can only speculate if records have been lost or moved to unknown places or archives. For instance, it is quite probable that Salinas performed further excavations and explorations, in the sites discussed, which remain unidentified due to an absence of records. Records can certainly go missing, and the Central State Archive in Rome and the archive of the Palermo museum may still have additional relevant documents, which have perhaps been misplaced in the wrong folders and are therefore 'lost' for the moment. Alternatively, such 'missing' documentation does not exist: after all, we cannot be certain that Salinas wrote notes for all of his excursions and excavations in the province of Messina.

Substantial information might also emerge still from private letters composed by or kept by Salinas, Sciacca della Scala or other collectors; such missives could even contain valuable information on explorations, excavations and discoveries on private lands (material concealed from local authorities for fear of punishment or judicial requisitions), exchanges, acquisitions or exportations of finds and private transactions. Plenty of documents of this sort could, however, be lost due to the actions of heirs or members of institutions, who might have discarded, destroyed or scattered them. Otherwise, they could still be in unknown stores or chests and will only emerge by chance. Notable in this regard were events at Cefalù after the death of the antiquarian and numismatist E. Pirajno in 1864: although he had donated his private archive to the local municipality, local witnesses remembered the deliberate discarding of many of his papers (Cavallaro 1939: 126-27; Crisà 2012a: 30-31).

#### 0.8 Research approach and methodology

Only the complete analysis of the archival records can provide an authentic historical reconstruction, as every account should be considered and evaluated. Close critical analysis of records is required, since documents are products of precise historical contexts or may be an interpretation of reality, as Carucci stated in

1990.<sup>3</sup> Equally, our extensive records, which have been properly processed and edited, offer a documentary complex now easily readable and accessible for international scholars.<sup>4</sup>

In terms of practicalities, the methodology pursued here takes four significant stages that cover all aspects of documentary and historical research:

- a. the archival research has been based on the collection of a targeted set of materials, relevant to the archaeological research at Lipari, Tindari and minor sites in the province of Messina (1861-1918);
- b. the full copying of these records has generated an accurate recording and reading of any documents;
- c. records have been divided by site and finally arranged in chronological order in relevant appendices;
- d. lastly, the historical reconstruction of events has been beneficial to gain a critical elaboration of the newly acquired data and analytical assessment of the results.

These data have been used to address specific research themes and aims that form our core ideas and fit into the historical, social and archaeological contexts. This complex process is therefore crucial to trace specific paths to explore the impact of archaeology on local communities, and to shed new light on sites, excavations, characters (known or unknown) and authorities.

### 0.9 A short note on terminology

Finally, it is worthwhile outlining the specific terms which recur in this book. Documents offer a wide and recurring record of words, showing how bureaucratic practices, enforcement of laws and interventions of local authorities dealing with casual discoveries resulted. A distinction between ‘archival’ and ‘contemporary’ terminology is critical to understanding some of the main subjects of the study. The first comprises words which we can trace in archival records and which need to be associated with the historical context. The second set of words forms a terminology which persists nowadays but which does not necessarily correspond to

<sup>3</sup> Carucci 1990: 32, 42: ‘I documenti, rilevanti o irrilevanti giuridicamente, prodotti dallo Stato o da enti pubblici, da istituzioni private, da famiglie o da persone, hanno sempre una specifica potenzialità, che è quella di poter essere studiati sia per dare impulso ad altre finalità pratiche sia come fonti per la storia’.

<sup>4</sup> Stevens and Burg 1997: 25: ‘People edit and publish historical documents because they believe these materials have enough significance to merit the time, energy, and money needed to make them accessible to a wider audience. Whether intended as research tools, study aids, or simply pleasurable reading, the basic mission of historical editions is to provide easy access to the unique information contained in original documents’.

the 19th- and early 20th-century trends and meanings. We also provide a scheme, showing Italian and English translations of offices and authorities.

What terminology should be used to describe how the national and local authorities faced to the protection of antiquities in that period and area of northern Sicily? This is an awkward sphere for two main reasons. First, before 1909 many provisional measures had been carried out by the government to make uniform the old pre-Unification laws (§ 1.2.1). For instance, records mention Bourbon laws which were still valid in late 19th century – emblematic is the case of Tusa, where a landowner violated the 1822 Royal Decree (§ 4.5.6). The protection of antiquities was properly regulated on a national scale only from 1909, when the first unitary law (20 June n. 364) was established by the Kingdom of Italy after a long and arduous period of fifty years of political debate (Sicoli 1978: 23-68). Authorities (such as prefects, local inspectors, etc.) properly operated on a national and regional scale. The state also claimed the right to protect antiquities, cultural estates and collections, which it considered ‘inalienable’, and to defend private property as well. The law’s title was very clear: ‘[Legge] che stabilisce e fissa norme per l’inalienabilità delle antichità e belle arti’ (‘[Law] which establishes and fixes norms for inalienable antiquities and fine arts objects’). Factually, ‘defend’ meant ‘not transferring’ some categories of objects and estates expressing historical, archaeological, paleontological and artistic interests for the Italian state.

The concept of ‘national cultural heritage’ – the ‘patrimonio nazionale’ – first formally appeared in the Law of 1 June 1939 n. 1089 (Vaccaro Giancotti 1998: 19-23), promulgated during Fascism (articles 35, 39: ‘patrimonio nazionale tutelato dalla presente legge’; art. 59: ‘conservazione o incremento del patrimonio nazionale’), also exposing a clear political and propagandistic intent. The law absorbed the previous 1909 norms and alienation rights by the Italian state. However, after the Second World War the new Constitution (1947) officially highlighted this idea, stressing how the Italian Republic protected the national cultural heritage (art. 9).

But in the post-Unification period we can attest that documents provided here do not directly mention this concept of ‘heritage’ (Table 4). For instance, protecting antiquities could be a matter of acquiring finds to increase museum collections or permit exportation of less valuable finds, which were not thought to enhance the prestige of the Italian nation (see § 3.4 on the Sclarici collection); this was also consistent with the previous pre-Unification trend in Sicily (Crisà 2012a: 6).

The word ‘protection’ (‘tutela’) and its derivatives rarely appear in records, being only referred to in

Italian word + derivatives	English translation	Occurrences
alienare (+ alienabili, inalienabili, inalienabilità, alienazione)	to alienate	18
custodia (+ custodire)	safekeeping	100
patrimonio	heritage	6
promuovere	to promote	4
proteggere	to protect	1
tutela (+ tutelati)	protection	12

Table 4: Scheme showing key words on the protection of antiquities occurring in records (source: author).

terms of acquiring or alienating rather than promoting a cultural heritage – fittingly, ‘proteggere’ occurs only once, while ‘alienare’ appears eighteen times. Nevertheless, the high number of occurrences for the word ‘custodia’ (100) in the records, is certainly deceptive. It is mostly referring to custodians and their effective (or otherwise) monitoring of local antiquities, but it is hardly ever connected to the wider concept of local, regional or indeed national cultural heritage. And ‘custodire’ (‘to guard’ but also ‘to preserve’) meant also

‘alienare’ (alienate), in other words exercising the right to confiscate and acquire finds.

Accordingly, the term employed in this work will be ‘safeguarding’: this is used to indicate how the authorities (i.e. officers, inspectors, Carabinieri, custodians, etc.) controlled, protected and supervised antiquities and sites. Of course, their activity had a crucial impact on local archaeology, as records clearly demonstrate.