Chapter 4

Italian Colonial Archaeology in Libya 1912–1942

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1. INTRODUCTION

Classical archaeology represents an academic study of classical antiquity and is an archaeological discipline. It interprets classical antiquity by using archaeological methods. These methods consist of: formal analysis, typology and iconography, which can be applied even to individual artifacts regardless of their provenance; and context-oriented methods of prospection, whether it be a form of survey or actual excavation. The methods belonging to the latter of these categories were more recently academicized than the former. Due to this development, the types of evidence that archaeological research can produce have become increasingly extensive.

The capability of theoretical archaeology corresponds much more closely to the output of field archaeology than is often assumed. Field archaeology is an exceptional case within the Humanities because of the considerable financial requirements that go with it. This special characteristic separates it from other methods of researching the past, such as ancient history and philology.

Another fundamental difference is the way in which the particular sources are treated. The availability of textual source material for historians and philologists is made secure through publication, and a major proportion of this material has already been available in print for a considerable time. The understanding of these sources may be altered by new interpretations without threatening their physical existence, allowing them to remain intact for future study. On the one hand, the

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amount of archaeological source material is constantly increasing due to continual new discovery through excavation. However, excavations represent a destructive form of intervention; their practical implementation as well as their documentation is dependent upon an *a priori* assessment or upon restrictive guidelines that frequently have a powerful effect upon the work. On the other hand therefore, research into history and archaeology means not only having to deal with the different interpretations of secure sources, but also with the fact that due to a variety of human influences, the sources have often been reduced. These circumstances have permanently and irrevocably handicapped the research that is the subject of this article.

During the 19th century, archaeology generally gained strength, both institutionally and academically. Classical archaeology was certainly not the last to feel these changes, and they provided a foundation upon which the professionalism of the 20th century came to be developed. This phenomenon manifested itself with the creation of numerous posts in archaeology within the university system and also partly in the setting up of new positions within local government for the management of archaeological heritage.

The strengthening of institutional archaeology is inseparable from the development of the nation-state during the 19th century. Local and regional history was stimulated by national conditions, so that archaeology found itself in the situation where it could open new conceptual and temporal doors. Pan-European competition broke out between the nation-states to appropriate archaeological material from the sites of civilizations that had once inhabited the Mediterranean, Near and Middle East; these ancient societies were seen as being the forerunners of contemporary culture. Each nation had a peculiarity that was displayed in diverse ranges of political activities, or a preference for a specific culture, such as Roman or Hellenic. However, the principle expectations, approach and outcome of the archaeological operations were the same. An increasing sense of nationalism forced the state into an active roll as guarantor, coordinator and financier of the work. The job of presenting the appropriated artifacts was given to prestigious museums, whilst the training of the necessary experts was left to the chairs of the new university faculties.

These phenomena are based upon the cultural imperialism that became an external manifestation of the nation state, but internally it came to define itself by an obligation to be a guardian of cultural heritage (*Kulturstaat*). From this standpoint, the demands for an academic approach in the universities and academies supported new principles: archaeology could not only enjoy a widened capacity for theory and research, but in the cultural guardianship sense, also an increasing right of access to its primary sources, which was enabled by new favorable legislation. The accelerated loss of archaeological sources through population increase, industrialization and urbanization, created a need for the regulation of this destruction. This harmonized with a universal interest in historicism. Simultaneously,

legislation slowly gave the state a monopoly for the carrying out of archaeological excavation. The control over excavation, even if not the execution of it, was passed to the expert archaeologists employed by the state. Field archaeology became nationalized.

Emerging from the concept of the state as cultural guardian was that indispensable social stratum: the intellectual middle class (*Bildungsbürger*). In states with a fossilized political structure, like the German Empire for example, science and culture offered compensatory prestigious fields of pursuit, whether it was an active participation, or the opportunity to provide moral or material patronage. Other political traditions, like that of Italy, guaranteed the *uomini di lettere* a solid integration into the ruling classes. The privileged position of the study of classical antiquity within this system ensured it high status within the contemporary educational canon.

In an academic sense, archaeology evolved its own intellectual and practical apparatus, which was different from that of philology and history. Included in this process was systematizing of field archaeology and the introduction of methods that corresponded to the territorial dimension of its research, such as prospection and mapping. The upturn in the more scientific elements of field archaeology intensified during the first half of the twentieth century to internationally formulated working standards (Boni, 1901, 1913).

In Italy there were deep anti-traditionalist trends connected with fascism which were at work until the late 1920s; not least was an aversion to a perceived omnipresent overvaluation of classical antiquity and its professional exegetes.

The Roman obsession that manifested itself during the later phase of Italian fascism should not automatically be assumed to have been there from the beginning. In opposition to the classical archaeology that had been left over from the nineteenth century, a new archaeological approach had to be constructed that coincided with the specific fascist position. The bourgeois concept of archaeology contained no taboos for the fascists, and without compromise they used it to suit their own needs. Because of the later collapse of the fascist system, only a degree of the conscious realization of this development can be traced by research today. In Libya however, in the frontier situation of the colony where ideology and administration were radicalized, it emerged rapidly in an almost formulaic way (Altekamp, 2000; Munzi, 2001, this volume).

2. AN OUTLINE OF ITALIAN COLONIAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN LIBYA

The interest of Italian archaeologists in Libya was created at the end of the nineteenth century (Barbanera, 1998; Petricioli, 1990). Concrete planning arose from the work conducted on a mission to Crete under the leadership of the

epigraphist Federico Halbherr. The interest in Crete and Libya was twofold. The first at least, was undoubtedly a scholastic one: a consideration of the historical relationship between ancient Crete and Cyrenaica; the second was of national interest, since an archaeological presence abroad, especially in well-known Greek settlements, was seen as being essential for the country's prestige. At the crossroads of both these interests lay Halbherr's lifelong ambition for the establishment of an Italian excavation in Cyrene. At this time he showed less interest in the rest of Libya. Halbherr's plans for an archaeological mission to Crete and Cyrenaica are interesting in the context of foreign policy and the *penetrazione pacifica* of Libya.

During July and August 1910 an Italian expedition journeyed for the first time to Cyrenaica. When they arrived, it emerged that there were clearly other places, apart from Cyrene, which were capable of arousing archaeological interest, such as Taucheira, Ptolemaïs or Messa. The sphere of interest of the expedition was diversified, as a program already devised in 1901 shows. A focus of this expedition, amongst other things, was to confirm the cultural contacts that the region enjoyed during antiquity; due to its deep Greek roots, Cyrenaica did not present a Romano-centric perspective.

With the occupation of Libya at the end of 1911, Libyan colonial archaeology mutated from a foreign politics issue, to a domestic one (figure 4.1). Two archaeological *soprintendenze* were created: one based in Tripoli, and the other in Benghazi.

Figure 4.1. Italian soldier in Cyrenaica, mural (Roma, Casa dei Mutilati); Photo: Stefan Altekamp.

The military situation in Cyrenaica, however, remained unstable for a while and at first it was without archaeological supervision. Although scholarly interest had almost exclusively focussed on Cyrenaica, due to its state of conflict, Tripolitania stepped into the foreground. The Hellenocentric focus of classical archaeology underwent a slow revaluation, which raised the status of Roman archaeology. However, due to the fieldwork in the colony, interest in the Romans grew much more quickly there: in Tripolitania there are no Greek remains.

The early years until around 1923 were marked by responsible specialist work that had to be carried out under extremely difficult conditions. The conditions manifested themselves as a predicament relating to the institutional and legally established position of archaeology and its practical immobility due to a lack of equipment. The bourgeois concept of archaeology as cultural guardian revealed a deficit in its ability to be realized. Salvatore Aurigemma and Pietro Romanelli, the first overseeing archaeologists in Libya, were self-confessed nationalists like the majority of their contemporaries. Nevertheless, they managed to protect the independence of their specialist work. Aurigemma and Romanelli actively carried out their official responsibility for the protection of all Libyan monuments; also for the many Islamic monuments (e.g., Romanelli, 1923). Even though archaeology could only react in the first few years without really being able to progress according to a plan, it was able to set a new course due to the sturdiness of its performance. Of the few monographs that were published by the Italian *soprintendenze* in Libya, most, and those of the best quality, originated from the early years of Tripolitanian colonial archaeology.

A cultural-political justification for the occupation of Libya was created: it was deemed necessary to transfer the sensitive archaeological inheritance into European hands, because otherwise it would have been threatened with decimation under a Turkish hegemony. However, during the long years of war in the country, the ancient monuments were exposed to a fundamentally greater danger. It is only possible to hypothesize today how much archaeological material was destroyed, and above all, removed by the Italian military and reused for defensive construction. The fate of the ruins of Lepcis Magna is a typical example, since many Italian fortifications were built using ancient worked stones that had been taken from its territory. Aurigemma protested energetically against the quantity that the army had taken, but it was to no avail.

Some extremely painstaking rescue archaeology was being carried out, but it was already discernible from 1912 onwards that a tendency was developing for the desire to visualize ideological expression, using town planning and heritage management. The fairly well preserved victory arch for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Tripolis played no part in the considerations of Federico Halbherr and his circle. However, during the frenzy of intervention induced by the Italian-Libyan war, the arch came to be redefined as a symbol of both an old and a new "Roman" presence in Libya. Rather than from scholarly curiosity, it was the desire

for a political symbol that brought the visible remains of Roman Tripolis into the spotlight as an archaeological monument. This proclivity can be seen most clearly from an unfulfilled plan, possibly from the early 1920s; the extant project outline is for an enclosed *piazza*, employing architecture from the Venetian or Rhodian styles that was both extravagant and fantastical. The style of the buildings surrounding the *piazza* attempts to invoke a claim that they reflect actual urban history; in this case a Romano-Italian continuity from antiquity to the early modern period.

The legitimacy of this view is underlined by a building program that could be considered as being complementary to that of the piazza. This project was actually carried out in 1922/23, and consisted of the reconstruction of the "Red Castle," which was the largest fortification in Tripoli and also the seat of the governor. The Roman architect, Armando Brasini, converted the formerly unarticulated exterior of the stronghold into the distinctive façade of a crusader's castle. This generated an allusion to the momentary presence of the Spanish and the Maltese orders in Tripoli between 1510 and 1551. A baroque side entrance was suggestive of Latin-Christian dominance that belonged to a point in time from the Maltese episode that had long since been assigned to history. The new exterior of the castle evoked the impression of European continuity in Tripoli. The building no longer reflected the long rule of the Arabs and Turks.

It is evident that the patronizing Tripolitanian Governor, Guiseppe Volpi, entered into cooperation with the new *soprintendente* Renato Bartoccini. Bartoccini had a vision of a new policy for archaeology, which was the logical complement to the governor's building policy: at the beginning of the 1920s, the first major planned excavations in Tripolitania began in the ancient ports of Lepcis Magna (figure 4.2) and Sabratha, which were financed by a development program. Bartoccini had to acknowledge that the slow progress of the scholarly-led work threatened the continued existence of the excavation. Because of this he suggested that excavation and consolidation of the ruins be conducted more quickly so that more or less all of the city's main areas could be revealed. And he proposed to proceed with an accelerated exposure and preparation of seemingly homogeneous urban fabrics. Bartoccini's program was aimed at creating the greatest possible visual impact for the unprepared visitor, and also at achieving results with the excavation that the government would find appropriate. Bartoccini left no doubt that by means of excavation, two Roman cities should be restored to life. The additional and simultaneous presentations of both the Phoenician settlement and the later remains of early-Arab inhabitation would create an overly complex impression for the wandering visitor. For Lepcis and Sabratha to present the required "visual impact," it meant concentrating on their Roman phases, which had left behind the most unified and monumental remains. The visual "restoration to life" of purely Roman cities on the Tripolitanian coast must have been a tempting thought for the Italian government. In this way the Arabic appearance of the country could be confronted with a corrective, which in an imposing form brought attention to the

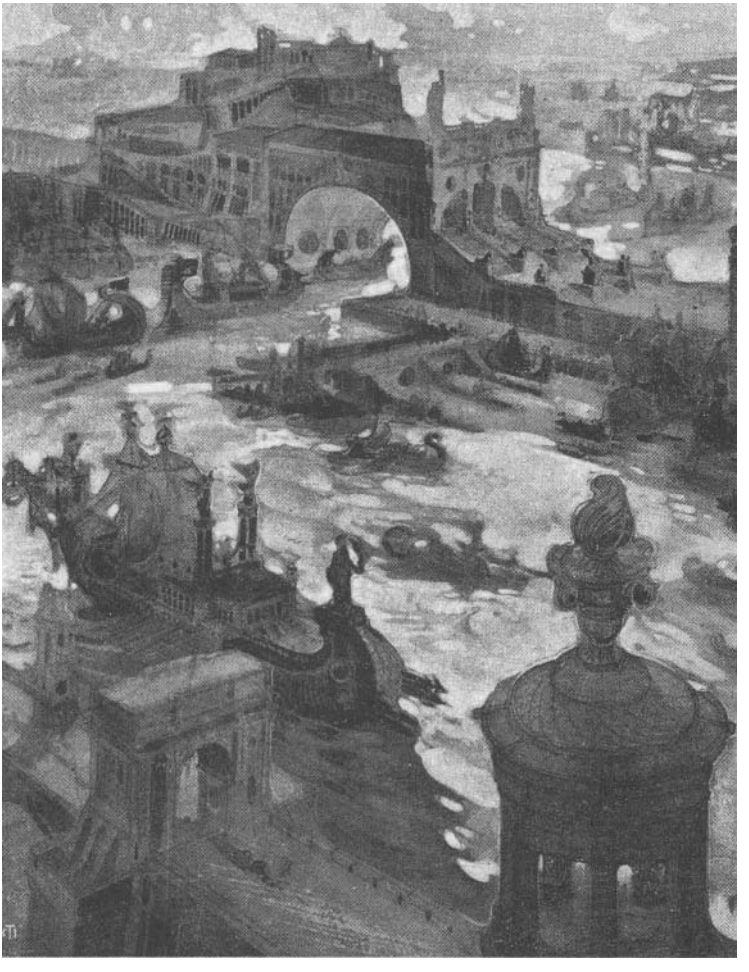

Figure 4.2. Lepcis Magna, fantastic reconstruction; Touring Club Italiano. Rivista Mensile 18, 1912, 59.

previous Roman presence. This presence represented, in the view of Italian colonial ideology, both the highlight of the history of the country and the predecessor of Italian sovereignty.

Bartoccini's calculation worked out. Based upon this new concept, the continuing excavations were generously supported by Volpi and his successors. The remnants of the late phase of the Tripolitanian cities, up to the first century of Arabic rule, were mostly disposed of. As a rule, the buildings in the Roman city were usually constructed to be solid, enduring and to have a representative form.

This meant that the remainder of the later settlement, which consisted mostly of modifications, adaptations or reuse of the older building material, could be belittled as a deformation of the earlier city structure. It was never considered that these later remains represented extremely valuable evidence of a period from which almost no written sources have survived.

The work that was being concentrated on the Roman urban phase therefore led to the destruction of important evidence from other periods. Because of the revised plan, which incorporated a larger area of excavation for visitation purposes, the digging speed was dramatically increased. The result was that all of the archaeological features were poorly recorded, including those of the Roman period. Additionally, this was taking place within a situation that was highly politicized and which displayed increasing cultural narrow-mindedness. The archaeological heritage of the sites was therefore not only conveyed in a very simplified way, but at the same time, this simplification was stained by political ideology.

When it took power, fascism inherited the colonial policy of the late liberal Cabinet, and at the same time, their strongly historicized argument for the legitimacy of their involvement in North Africa (Munzi, 2001, this volume). The quick implementation of a confrontational and repressive colonial policy required a broadening of the ideological basis of their argumentation. The tradition of Italian colonialism reflecting strongly upon the time when Rome had provinces in North Africa, gave fascism a special relationship to colonial archaeology.

The evidence for the selective paralleling between a classical and a modern Romano-Italian colonization is multitudinous—in terms of politics as well as that of archaeology. Based on this extremely simple view of history, the fascists postulated that in antiquity there would have been large numbers of Latin immigrants who came to the Tripolitanian part of the Roman province of *Africa Proconsularis*. Their view was that this influx of population was responsible for the economic upturn of the region during the Roman imperial period. This assumption was false, since no Roman colony was ever built within the Tripolitanian *territorium* and the economic development in the time of the Empire was actually based upon the traditional Punic-Libyan irrigation system and agriculture, and also because under the prevailing conditions of the *imperium* the inhabitants were given access to new markets (Mattingly, 1995; Shaw, 1984). The false colonial view of history could have been examined and corrected at an early stage using archaeological means, however it was indispensable for legitimating the occupation of Libya in the twentieth century. Beginning in the 1920s, Italian archaeology was placed under pressure to accept an official view of history as an unshakeable premise that was then used as the basis for the archaeologists' own research. Under this premise, there was little value in the late antique, early Islamic and the Phoenician phases—the latter especially, was viewed with increasingly anti-Semitic undertones. In particular, Roberto Paribeni was to make his mark with a series of articles on this theme (e.g., Paribeni, 1924/25).

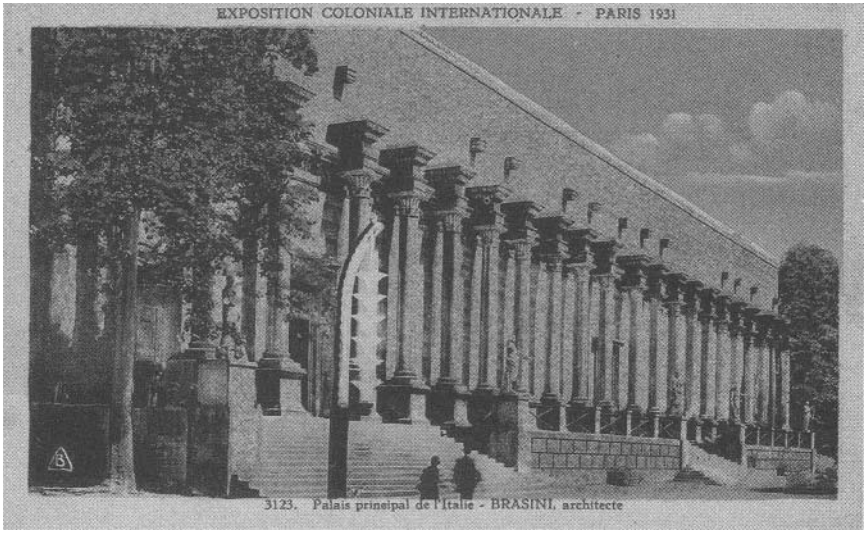

Figure 4.3. Paris, International Colonial Exhibition 1931, Italian pavilion; postcard.

As a consequence, the presentation of Roman Tripolitania demanded monumental restoration and reconstruction. The most lavish of these projects to be realized was the partial reconstruction of the theater at Sabratha. A plan to rebuild the Severan basilica in Lepcis was left on the shelf. Nevertheless, the scheme came to be publicized in 1931 at the international colonial exhibition in Paris, where Armando Brasini, the architect of the reconstruction of the castle in Tripoli, erected an excessively imaginative life-size replica (figure 4.3).

Cyrene was the most important archaeological target for the pioneers in Federico Halbherr's camp. From the beginning however, the exploration of this place was ill starred. Because of its favorable strategic position and comfortable climate, Cyrene had become the headquarters of the army stationed in Cyrenaica since the beginning of the occupation. Similar to Tripolitania, the archaeological sites in eastern Libya had suffered as a consequence of the war, and the presence of a *soprintendente* in remote Benghazi was largely ineffective. Additionally, the serious personal disputes that continued for many years had a negative outcome on the Cyrenaican *soprintendenza*.

A fortunate accident led to the first archaeological investigations in Cyrene at the end of 1913: in December, torrential rainfall led to the exposure of a statue of Venus. The find was a sensation and was reason enough to carry out exploratory excavations in the immediate area. The first excavations revealed the remains of the Hadrianic baths within the Sanctuary of Apollo. However when the fascists came to power in Rome, they displayed their dissatisfaction

with the results of the excavations in Cyrene and in 1923 brought them to a halt.

Due to interventions on the highest political level, this decision was revised in 1924. A solution was found for Cyrene that in the context of Libyan colonial archaeology was both singular and positive. A team of specialists with varying fields of interest were brought together. Apart from the routine work of the Cyrenaican *soprintendenza*, they were expected to carry out a season of excavation in Cyrene every year. The work of the Cyrene mission had an altogether positive outcome. However, the long-term program of work by the mission was terminated in 1938. With the direct intervention of the governor Italo Balbo, the responsibility for Cyrene was once more given to the *soprintendenza* and the excavations were to be expanded and accelerated.

Once Libya had been completely unified, the final phase of colonial archaeology witnessed the logical conclusion of the tendencies that had been initiated in Tripolitania. The situation in Cyrenaica also fitted this model. Contemporaries coined the systematic and complete restructuring of archaeology as "totalitarian." The major players during this phase were the interventionist governor Italo Balbo and the incumbent *soprintendente* Giacomo Caputo.

A special characteristic of this new chapter was the promotion of tourism (Altekamp, 1999). Up until this juncture, only very few tourists had sporadically visited the ancient monuments, and so for propagandist reasons as well as economic ones, the government facilitated the beginning of organized mass tourism (cf. Stone, 1998:170–174). An infrastructure was put in place to cater to package and group tours. The tour choices were carefully compiled and matched to each other. This honing was designed to create an overwhelming visual impact for the often-inexperienced holidaymaker. Archaeology fitted seamlessly into this scheme. The planned tours required a good mix of attractions that were evenly distributed and exclusive. This led to the need for a few quintessential and equally dispersed archaeological parks. Three stopping points were allocated to Tripolitania: Sabratha, Lepcis and lastly Tripolis for its museum. Cyrenaica was under-represented. Because of this, the work of the Cyrene-mission was stopped and new excavations were begun in Ptolemaïs. Nearly all the available resources flowed into the development of the main sites of the *turismo archeologico*. Most other activities outside of these centers came to a standstill, whilst large teams worked all year round in the four major locations.

3. STRUCTURAL OBSERVATIONS

It was normal for the early efforts of colonial archaeology to be systematically devalued during the fascist period (e.g., Bartoccini, 1924/25; Piccioli, 1934). The

accusations were targeted at the supposed lack of concept and a corresponding dearth of tangible results from the early work.

Indeed, the activities of the first ten years were without coherence and any conspicuous effect. Even if these deficits were ameliorated under fascism, this was connected to the fact that the work of the archaeological service retreated from a scholarly methodology. Concepts and working practices of the nineteenth century were left behind and archaeology was integrated into a newly defined cultural-political and ideological framework. The functionaries of the earlier phase of colonial archaeology on the other hand, had tried to implement their work within the traditional institutional and legal relationships.

To be able to properly highlight these differences, it requires a summary of the changes in legal, personnel and financial situations of the archaeological service: the *soprintendenze* in Italy were, and still are, answerable to the *direzione generale delle antichità e belle arti*. The supervision of Libyan archaeology was taken away from this specialist hierarchy in 1912 and handed to the newly-founded colonial ministry which assumed the management of all executive and administrative functions of the colony. The ministry in Rome and the regional governments within the colony competed for the practical authority of Libya. The determined governors in Libya won the upper hand, *de facto*, and control of most of the practical undertakings. This activity made the politicizing of colonial archaeology easier, and more susceptible to ideological influence.

Amongst other things, the colonial administration was responsible for producing publications. A weighty archaeological periodical, entitled *Notiziario Archeologico*, was published until the 1920s. On the order of Rome, *Notiziario* was replaced with the journal *Africa Italiana*. The presentation of *Africa Italiana* was deliberately orientated to a wider audience, and markedly scholastic contributions were unwelcome. The more academic offerings began to be replaced by other publications. In a narrow sense, a specialist periodical for Libyan archaeology ceased to exist, and the archaeological service brought out fewer and fewer impressions.

The budget of the colonial ministry, and enactments relating to the reinvestment of funds by the colonial government can be found within published acts of parliament from this period. From these files it is possible to reconstruct the financial situation of the archaeological service in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The official budget is distinguished by two types of expenditure: that of a more scheduled and continuous nature, and that of a discontinuous and extraordinary character. The scheduled funds of a *soprintendenza* were only really sufficient to cover the salaries of the permanent staff. Only the scheduled finance flowed regularly in both areas of the colony, but the Cyrenaica sites tended to receive the greater proportion of the total. This situation did not seem to correspond to the esteem in which they were held. The extraordinary funds were only employed for excavations and similar uses, and Tripolitania secured the priority over them;

this reflected the consensus view of both government and archaeology in the early years, as well as matching the demands for the larger excavations. In the 1920s and early 1930s considerably more money went to Tripolitania. After the unification of both parts of the colony, the budget for Libya as a whole was kept at a relatively high level.

The delegating of archaeologists in Libya was in contrast to that of the financial expenditure. Before the fascist period, there were sometimes up to five archaeologists simultaneously working in Libya, even though the area of securely controlled territory was often very limited. Later, when the budget was increasing and the area of the territory requiring supervision grew, the number of archaeologists was clearly reduced. In the final phase, the desk-bound *soprintendente* was the only archaeologist in the country, whilst the augmented number of staff of the archaeology service consisted mostly of technicians and architects.

The transformation of archaeology in Libya stood in sharp contradiction to the requirements of professional standards, which had meanwhile been internationally established. Research reveals that around the time of the First World War and just after, archaeological methods were being used that are normally first attributed to the phase after the Second World War. The first decades of the century experienced a particularly innovative phase of field archaeology. However, the relative achievements of this time were not widely recognized.

Even though each new development was headed in a similar direction conceptually, in practice, they remained isolated from each other. Even within the discipline, the knowledge of these accomplishments is to a greater extent, buried. Although archaeology is normally well aware of its own tradition, in this case it has let an important chapter of its history slip through its hands. Ironically, the contribution of Italian archaeology is particularly noteworthy within this context, especially because its value has not been fully recognized.

A characteristic of the various new innovations is an increased interest in all of the material culture within a given archaeological landscape. This widening of horizons mainly involved the deployment of more advanced methods of prospection, inventory, and documentation. Amongst other things, this involved the development of aerial photography, the production of archaeological maps and the establishment of the principles of stratigraphic excavation.

The beginnings of authentic aerial photography probably lie in the years at the turn of the twentieth century (Alvisi, 1989; Della Volpe, 1980). The earliest results of aerial photography, in a true sense, were those of the vertical photographs taken during the excavations of Giacomo Boni in the years 1899/1900. The pictures were taken from a balloon, in collaboration with a specialist unit from an engineer's regiment, which had been experimenting with aerial photography. With further test photographs, the military noticed that the vertical photograph allowed the identification of archaeological features that could not be made out on ground level. A professional relationship developed between the military

photo-reconnaissance team and the archaeologists Giacomo Boni, Rodolfo Lanciani and Giovanni Gargiolli. The latter of these later went on to found the *Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale.*

After the outbreak of the Italian-Turkish war, members of the same reconnaissance unit were posted to Libya. They integrated aerial reconnaissance into the ongoing military operations, but also made it clear that their aerial photos had civil implications. They also brought up the subject of archaeology. Prominent monuments were photographed, like the amphitheater in Sabratha. They also noticed that the ancient harbor construction in Sabratha was visible under the surface of the sea. In this context, it is interesting that a similar harbor structure in Lepcis Magna was only discovered by archaeologists at the end of the 1980s.

A pupil of Lanciani, Guiseppe Lugli, petitioned fruitlessly during the twenties for an increase in the amount of aerial photography being undertaken in Italy for archaeological purposes. Although a national commission for aerial photography was finally formed in 1938, it never came to undertake any practical work. On an international level, the work of Osbert Crawford in England during the 1920s is regarded as being the beginning of this archaeological discipline. From this point an historical line is drawn directly to later developments such as a series of photos taken of Italy by the R.A.F. around the end of the Second World War; this was responsible for a new stimulation in Italian research. The traces of their own (now discontinued) tradition were lost in the background of these later developments.

Turning to the field of cartography, there were international efforts to draw-up archaeological maps of the provinces of the Roman Empire immediately after World War II (Talbert, 1992). Osbert Crawford acted as one of the initiators, just as he had done with aerial photography. Familiar Italian academics also took a leading role in its conception, like Rodolfo Lanciani and Guiseppe Lugli. The "Forma Romani Imperii" project was stimulated by the *Accademia dei Lincei.* International working-committees met constantly under the patronage of the "International Geographical Union," and congresses were held. Even the *soprintendente* for Libya, Giacomo Guidi, was delegated in 1935 in London. The international activities cross-fertilized with national projects. Guiseppe Lugli produced a pilot publication in 1922, in the form of a *carta archeologica d'Italia*, for the area of Terracina/Circeo. The lengthy series, *Forma Italiae*, began in 1926 with the first volume "Anxur-Terracina." In France, the *carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine* appeared in the late 1920s from the directive of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.* In 1924 the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain first brought out their archaeological maps.

In Libya, the conditions for the establishment of an archaeological map were good from the beginning. The *Istituto Geografico Militare* had started to draw-up several series of maps, to various scales, right after the beginning of the occupation. Numerous archaeological monuments had already been placed on them. On this

basis, special maps could have been generated at very low cost. In 1928 Bartoccini suggested this idea, but it was never pursued.

Two strands of development led to an integrated protection of the archaeological sources in their entirety:

1. Legislation for the protection of archaeological sites and the development of a doctrine for heritage management.
2. The introduction of the principles of stratigraphic excavation.

3.1. Heritage Management

The Italian law No. 364 from 20th June 1909 provided for the protection of national assets under the categories: historical, archaeological, prehistoric and artistic. National discussions about a heritage management doctrine, both then and later, emphasized early on the worth of archaeological sites in their diachronic entirety. This meant that archaeology had the duty to document all historical phases of a site.

The Italians had an authoritative participation in the drawing-up of the Charter of Athens 1931, which made these same principles obligatory as a part of international professional work ethics in archaeology. In the same year, a ministerial decree made the charter a norm in Italy.

3.2. Stratigraphy

Stratigraphic excavation as an archaeological method also became a norm. It allowed archaeologists to be able to properly excavate and record complex deposits. This technique was already being used in Italy in the nineteenth century (Barbanera, 1998; Manacorda, 1982). Around the turn of the twentieth century, the excavations of Giacomo Boni in the *Forum Romanum* had constituted a milestone in the history of classical archaeology. In two classic articles, Boni set down the general principles of the stratigraphic technique (Boni, 1901, 1913).

Also in Libya, isolated stratigraphic excavations were taking place. The last *soprintendente,* Caputo, explicitly referred to the technique, although as we have seen, most excavations were consciously refraining from using it.

The methodological standards of the time would have required, at least, the recording of all of the architectural changes to the structural remains through time, if not their preservation. However, this was ignored in practice. Some photographs of the period convey an impression of the interpretative potential of the hastily removed late antique and early Arab habitation remains. At least the drawn record seems to have been accepted by contemporaries as being obligatory, in theory. The summary documentation proves that when the opportunity arose, the excavations

in Libya sporadically made drawings (Caputo, 1987: plate 1f). To a greater extent, Rome provides examples that are more impressive and are today easier to analyze. The plans of Wilhelm Dörpfeld are an early and well-known document in the history of archaeology, which display the late- and post-antique structures in the sanctuary at Olympia (Curtius and Adler, 1897: plate 5a/b).

These efforts put into expanding the traditional limits of the methods of field archaeology, coincided with the intellectually formative phase of the *Annales* school of historians. Interestingly, Marc Bloch also developed as an early advocate for the use of aerial photography, especially for the research of agrarian history, based on his experience as an officer in reconnaissance during the First World War (Raulff, 1995: 101–107. 109f. 124f.). One is impressed by the coexisting far-sightedness in the representatives of the varying disciplines in regard to the number of their innovations. The participants were probably not aware of each other. However, archaeology was decades behind the developments in social and economic history that had been established by the mid-century. During this time the archaeological source material was being constantly reduced, not least by archaeology itself.

4. FASCISM AND ARCHAEOLOGY

It has been often judged that classical archaeology enjoyed an especially privileged status under fascism. This requires revision. Fascism broke away from the nineteenth century tradition in archaeology of seeing the state as a cultural guardian (*Kulturstaat*). It usurped the state monopoly in archaeology and its administrative apparatus. It quashed, however, the link between classical archaeology and the high culture of the educated bourgeoisie. Fascism also removed the obligation for archaeology to be conducted according to scholarly principles. The anti-positivistic reaction had led the introverted archaeological experts to a crisis; there was a new demand for archaeology to have a broader relevance and a better and more up-to-date public interface. Fascism dismantled the isolation of archaeology and integrated it into a new divulging and propagandist context, which was partly conveyed through multimedia. For the first time archaeology came into contact with a broader public. Propaganda and archaeology complemented each other and in combination they were able to confer an avant-garde character (cf. Stone, 1998: 95–127).

Already in the pre-fascist period, field archaeology had not the means to fulfil the potential that came from the corresponding and concurrent advances in archaeological theory. On a scholarly level, archaeology had come to require a greater investment in both time and money; it demanded a greater number of experts with specialist training. The fascist concept provided an answer to these

problems simply by brushing aside scholarly developments and their expensive requirements. It should also be taken into account that the methodological advances in archaeology had lacked public awareness or support from the state. Field archaeology therefore regressed and undertook large and hasty excavations in the style of the early and mid-nineteenth century. It became once again that which the general public imagined archaeology to be. This transformation was made easier by the exploitation of an Italian tradition that stemmed from days of the unification of the state: the stylizing of familiar examples of Roman architecture as national symbols (Williams, 1993).

In Libya under later Italian colonial rule, a scholarly institution, struggling with problems of identity and isolation, was consequently adjusted to new needs which pushed aside inherited principles. While institutions continued, cultural traditions were cut off. State field archaeology lost its close ties with scholarly evolution, and handling of the archaeological heritage was designed to meet political and economic purposes. A reshaped archaeology contributed to communicate non-verbal political messages; it gained media status. Archaeologists whose professional, and also partly, social existence had been affected eventually participated in this process. They agreed to mutate from academics to politicized cultural functionaries. This change of role for the archaeologists happened to coincide with a change of generation: in the realm of innovators and organizers of non-domestic archaeology, there was a succession from the likes of Federico Halbherr and Gaetano de Sanctis to those of Roberto Paribeni; in the area of the domestic *soprindententi*, Salvatore Aurigemma and Pietro Romanelli were succeeded, for example, by Giacomo Caputo.

Fascist colonial archaeology in Libya is a very particular historical case, and at the same time, is representative of the development of archaeology. Despite the specific historical situation, the circumstances in Libya depict the concept of archaeology as being apparently structurally fragile. This concept involves archaeology being undertaken as a public service with support of the taxpayer.

Archaeology is burdened with two things: the expense of carrying out field archaeology, and paradoxically, its appeal and popularity. The general desire for a handling of the past's material remains competes with archaeology in a narrow sense, i.e. with the academic, regulated and exclusive pursuit that is reliant on various media for the transmission of its results. Because there is a perceptible power generated by the public's fascination with the past, this makes scholarly archaeology vulnerable to ideological or economically motivated intervention from forces that seek to exploit this power to their own ends.

The specific historical circumstances of the nineteenth century created a refuge for scholarly archaeology, but the intermezzo of fascism demonstrated how changing cultural and political conditions were able to destroy this protection as quickly as it had been created.[1]

Note

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