The Legacy of Antiquity:
New Perspectives in the Reception of the Classical World

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PART I:

PERCEPTIONS OF ANTIQUITY THROUGH THE AGES

CHAPTER ONE

THE CRYPTA NEAPOLITANA: PERCEPTION OF A ROMAN TUNNEL THROUGHOUT HISTORY

STEFANO D'OVIDIO

In this paper I will examine how the perception of a single Roman monument has changed throughout history. The monument I will deal with is the Crypta Neapolitana, a 711 metres long tunnel excavated through the hill of Posillipo, on the west side of the Bay of Naples. The Crypta, also known as the "Grotta di Pozzuoli" or "di Posillipo", was built by the Roman architect Cocceius during the early Augustan age in order to connect Naples with the coastal cities of Pozzuoli, Baiae and Cumae. It made an alternative route, faster and easier, for travellers to and from Naples, which would allow them to avoid the longer Via Antiniana, a difficult road running over the low range of hills west of the city.[1]

The Crypta Neapolitana is one of the few underground tunnels of such dimensions surviving from the Roman age and it is notably the one that has remained in use the longest, since it served as a public road until 1885, when the present "Grotta Nuova" was opened.[2] The tunnel's impressive structure and gloomy appearance have struck the imagination of local inhabitants and foreign travellers ever since it was built. For almost twenty centuries visitors to Naples have recorded their impressions on the Crypta and conjectured about its origin and function. It is by analysing their

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[1] Werner Johannowsky, "Contributi alla topografia della Campania antica," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 27 (1952): 114-18, 133-35. See also: Martin Frederiksen, *Campania*, ed. with additions Nicholas Purcell (London: British School at Rome, 1984), 334.

[2] On Roman tunnels see, Maria Stella Busana, *Via per montes excisa. Strade in galleria e passaggi sotterranei nell'Italia romana* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1997).

perception of such an unusual monument, that we will be able to see how the attitude towards antiquity changed throughout history.

1. The Crypta's Structure

Although a large number of literary and visual sources make the Crypta Neapolitana one of the best documented Roman monuments in Naples, its original structure and present condition are almost unknown. The tunnel is entirely carved into the soft tufa rock of the hill. The main entrance (Fig. 1-1) was originally located on the western side, on the way from Pozzuoli. The entrance has preserved its original appearance, although the chaotic urban development of the last few decades has disfigured its magnificence, clearly visible in an eighteenth-century engraving by the Spanish engraver Francisco Cassiano de Silva (Fig. 1-2).[3]

The Crypta's interior (Fig. 1-3) is only 4.5 metres wide and looks exactly as ancient authors used to present it: a dark and narrow passage beneath the mountain, which can barely allow two carts to travel in opposite directions. At about 100 metres from the western entrance, the tunnel's height dramatically decreases from 16 to 5 metres and for the following 500 metres the road runs into the deep obscurity of the hill. Height re-increases more gradually at about 100 metres before the exit on the opposite side. Two ventilation shafts, or *spiracula*, brought some light into the cavern, but they were almost completely occluded over the centuries. The *spiracula* were first restored in 1455-56 by Alphonse I of Aragon, king of Naples, who also ordered the lowering of the floor at the tunnel's eastern section to bring more light into the Crypta.[4]

As a result of this substantial alteration, a new monumental entrance was built at the eastern side of the Crypta on the way from Naples (Fig. 1-4). Alterations and the tricky geological conditions of the hill affected the stability of the tunnel and reinforcements became necessary in 1548 and several more times during the following centuries, as testified by the complex system of pointed arches and pillars still surviving (Fig. 1-5). Finally, in 1917 a rockslide blocked the tunnel, which has been inaccessible to the public ever since. A difficult restoration is now ongoing after decades of abandonment, but the full re-opening of the Crypta may still be a long time away.

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[3] Giancarlo Alisio, *Napoli nel Seicento: le vedute di Francesco Cassiano de Silva* (Naples: Electa, 1984).

[4] Camillo Minieri Riccio, "Alcuni fatti di Alfonso I di Aragona," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 6 (1881): 249, 447. See also, Mario Capasso, *Il sepolcro di Virgilio* (Naples: Giannini, 1983), 43-46, 57-59.

2. The Crypta Neapolitana in the Earliest Sources

The Crypta Neapolitana was built to serve the Phlegraean Fields, a region which played a strategic role in Roman politics, economy and culture under Augustus and his successors. According to Martin Frederikssen, the tunnel, as well as other works patronised in the area by Octavian and his son-in-law Agrippa, "were designed to impress the beholder with the colossal power and awesome *magnitudo animi* of their creators".[5] This is the main reason why the Crypta is duly recorded in the pages of loyal writers of the period. The Greek geographer Strabo presented the tunnel as a spectacular alteration of natural environment. In the fifth book of his *Geography*, he wrote the Crypta was a work by Cocceius, the same architect who had also built the Crypta Cumana, a two branched tunnel connecting the Acropolis of Cumae with the Lake of Avernus and the sea.[6]

Strabo is not only a primary source for the Crypta's history, but also the source of its first legendary interpretation. He referred to the Cimmerians, mythical inhabitants of the area that, according to Homer, used to live in artificial grottoes and underground tunnels.[7] That was just a legend, Strabo says, but maybe Cocceius was inspired by such a story when he built the cryptas in both Cumae and Naples. This is the reason why, after the rediscovery of Strabo's *Geography* in the fifteenth century, the Crypta was often believed the work of legendary Cimmerians.

From the beginning, the Crypta's disadvantages of dust and darkness are mentioned at least as often as its advantages. Seneca's letter to Lucilius gives a vivid description of the discomfort of travelling through the tunnel:

> No place could be longer than that prison; nothing could be dimmer than those torches, which enabled us, not to see amid the darkness, but to see the darkness. But, even supposing that there was light in the place, the dust, which is an oppressive and disagreeable thing even in the open air, would destroy the light.[8]

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[5] Frederikssen, *Campania*, 319-58.

[6] Strabo, *Geography* (5, 4), Loeb Classical Library, ed. and trans. Horace Leonard Jones (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press; William Heinemann LTD, 1923), 445, 451.

[7] Homer, *Odyssey* (11, 15); see, Nicola Biffi, *L'Italia di Strabone. Testo traduzione e commento dei Libri V e VI della* Geografia (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1988), 290, notes 427-30.

[8] Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* (LVII), trans. Richard M. Gummere (London: W. Heinemann-New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917), 382-87.

Travelling to Naples via mainland was even worse than taking the route of a rough sea. In Seneca's Stoic opinion the Crypta was as disagreeable as the lavish life led by high-class Romans in the Phlegraean Fields.[9]

Despite Seneca's bad impression, the Crypta remained a useful route for travellers to and from Naples and Pozzuoli during the following centuries, as is also attested by the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a twelfth or thirteenth-century copy of a fourth century Roman road map.[10] On the section of the map that illustrates the roads and towns of Campania is depicted the tunnel, tiny and schematic (Fig. 1-6). The Crypta is the only underground passage indicated in the *Tabula*, which clearly testifies to its importance within the local road system.

3. The Perception of the Crypta in Medieval Times

In medieval times the impressive structure and dark appearance of the Crypta became something to wonder at. According to the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, who was in Naples around 1167, such an alteration of the natural environment had a military function.[11] He knew from the so called *Book of Josippon*–a tenth century Jewish history written in Southern Italy[12]–that Romulus was so frightened by David's army that he built defensive structures all over his kingdom. Benjamin, therefore, assumed the Crypta was part of the defensive system planned by the mythical founder of Rome to prevent an attack from the powerful king of Israel.

If for the Jewish-cultured Benjamin the tunnel was evidence of Israel's supremacy over ancient Rome, to the English diplomat and writer Gervase

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[9] Marcello Gigante, "Civiltà letteraria nei Campi Flegrei," in *Campi Flegrei*, ed. Giancarlo Alisio (Naples: Franco Di Mauro Editore, 1995), 32-33.

[10] Annalina and Mario Levi, *Itineraria picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana* (Rome: L'erma di Bretschneider, 1967), 17-23, 131-32; Luciano Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana, una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico* (Rimini: Maggioli, ca 1983), 118-19; and Francesco Prontera, ed., *Tabula Peutingeriana. Le antiche vie del mondo* (Florence: Olschki, 2003).

[11] Ezra H. Haddad, trans., *Itinerary of R. Benjamin of Tudela, 1165-1173* (Baghdad: Eastern Press, 1945), 12.

[12] There are no modern English translations of this book; see the Latin version, Jean Gagnier, trans., *Josippon, sive Josephi Ben-Gorionis Historiae Judaicae Libri Sex* (Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1706), 7. For the critical edition of the Hebrew text see, David Flusser, ed., *Sēfer Yōsipōn* (Jerusalem: The Bailik Institute, 1978-80); see also the article by Shulamit Sela in the *Medieval Jewish Civilization. An Encyclopedia*, ed. Norman Roth (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 377-80.

of Tilbury the Crypta recalled the Latin poet Virgil. Gervase visited
Naples in 1180. In the third book of his *Otia Imperialia*, written about
1215, he described Posillipo as "a mountain through which a tunnel has
been excavated for such a length that someone standing at its mid-point
can scarcely see either end."[13] In spite of such a darkness, Gervase noticed,
the tunnel was a safe place: no harm could befall any traveller after Virgil
had worked a wonder with his "*arte mathematica*".

    Tales presenting Virgil as a wonder worker suddenly appeared in
northern Europe during the second half of the twelfth century and
Gervase's book is one of the earliest and most detailed sources for this
popular medieval legend about the Latin poet. In Naples and in the rest of
Italy there is no evidence of such a legend until the fourteenth century and
the only reason why Virgilian magic tales are set mainly in Naples is
because Virgil's most read biographers, Suetonius and Servius, stated that
the poet spent a period of his life in a villa in Posillipo, where he was
buried after his death in Brindisi in 19 AD.[14] Foreign and cultured
travellers to medieval Naples, such as Gervase and the German diplomat
Conrad of Querfurt, who was in Naples in 1194, associated the Latin poet
with the wonders they saw in the city: impregnable walls, talismans
preventing Vesuvius's eruptions and other natural disasters, the Roman
Baths of Pozzuoli, located just outside of the Crypta's western entrance
and still visited for their healthy thermal waters throughout the Middle
Ages. No one but Virgil, who was considered as an almost supernatural
character, could have been able to work such *mirabilia* for the city where
he lived and was buried.

    The Crypta's association with Virgil played a role in the identification
of the poet's grave in a Roman columbarium, which stands just off the
eastern entrance (Fig. 1-4).[15] The quest for Virgil's burial place in Naples
was the subject of early Virgilian legends and it is clear from both Gervase
and Conrad that no one on earth really knew where exactly it was located.

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[13] Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. and trans.
S.E. Banks and J.W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 586-87.
[14] Jan M. Ziolkowsky and Michael C. J. Putnam, eds, *The Virgilian Tradition. The
First Fifteen Hundred Years* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press,
2009), 825-1024, with reference to earlier bibliography.
[15] On Virgil's grave and its fortune in history see, John B. Trapp, "The Grave of
Vergil," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984): 1-31; see
also, Stefano D'Ovidio, "Boccaccio, Virgilio e la Madonna di Piedigrotta," in
Boccaccio Angioino. Materiali per la storia culturale di Napoli nel Trecento, ed.
Giancarlo Alfano, Teresa D'Urso and Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese (Brussels:
Peter Lang, 2012), 329-46.

Neapolitans, Gervase wrote, did not even know where the precious relics were, and when an Englishman finally found them in a mountain that had no trace of excavation, they decided to secure them in a locked room inside the so-called Egg Castle built by the Norman kings in the twelfth century on a small island overlooking the city.[16]

It is only in a later Neapolitan source–the fourteenth-century *Chronicle of Partenope*–that the mountain where Virgil's relics were finally found is associated with the hill of Posillipo and the original tomb of the poet located in the Roman *columbarium,* which stands on the Crypta's eastern entrance.[17] The *Chronicle* was written before 1350 and can be considered as the first example of local historiography. In order to reconstruct the ancient history of Naples the author refers to old tales about the city, including those ones about Virgil he knew from Gervase's *Otia Imperialia* and other sources. But the chronicler went even further when he stated that Virgil was the creator of the Crypta. According to him, the Crypta allowed travellers to get easier access to the Baths of Pozzuoli, where there were also paintings illustrating the healing properties of the Baths, made by no one else but Virgil himself.

The Crypta's medieval association with Virgil, as well as its perception as a miraculous and almost religious place, is testified by two frescoes, recently rediscovered on the Crypta's walls. The first one is a fourteenth century fresco portraying the Virgin and Child between St. John the Evangelist and another Saint, maybe St. John the Baptist (Fig. 1-7). The fresco is painted on a marble votive niche, which is now isolated on the southern wall of the tunnel as a result of the fifteenth century alterations to this side of the Crypta. The Virgin's image had a devotional function and may have offered protection to travellers through the dark and scary way beneath the mountain.[18]

On the opposite side there is a chapel excavated through the rock (Fig. 1-8) and decorated with frescoes, few traces of which still survive. A tufa block is carved near the entrance and was maybe used as an altar. On another wall there is a niche with an early fifteenth century fresco portraying a long white-bearded man (Fig. 1-9). The latter has been considered as an image of either Christ or Saint Luke, but another possible

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[16] Gervase, *Otia*, 802-05.

[17] Samantha Kelly, ed., *The Cronaca di Partenope: An Introduction to and Critical Edition of the First Vernacular History of Naples (c. 1350)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 195-97.

[18] Stefano D'Ovidio, "La Madonna di Piedigrotta tra storia e leggenda," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 75 (2006-2007): 65-74.

identification that I would like to put forward is that of Virgil as a magician. The poet's grave stands at few metres from here and his image in the chapel near the Crypta would have reminded the travellers that the tunnel was held as a work by Virgil himself. The Latin poet was normally portrayed as a young man, but in medieval iconography it is not unusual to find images of Virgil wearing a beard and long hair, as in a fourteenth century statue from his native town of Mantua, now in the Museum of Palazzo San Sebastiano.

The chapel at the eastern entrance of the Crypta is attested by local sources before the fifteenth century and the *Chronicle of Partenope* says that it was dedicated to "Santa Maria dell'Itria". A wider church with a hospital was built before 1207 on the shore not far from the Crypta's eastern entrance. The chapel was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and named "in pede Cryptae" or "Piedigrotta", i.e. at the Crypta's foot.[19] Petrarch, who was in Naples in 1341 and 1343, mentions both the church and the chapel in his 1358 *Itinerary to the Holy Land*.[20] The church, he says, was a pilgrimage stop for sailors travelling along the Neapolitan shore and the chapel was very popular in Neapolitans' devotion ("sacellum devotissimum").

Petrarch gives a vivid description of the Crypta. He still seems fascinated by the religious atmosphere one could breathe while travelling through the tunnel, which he described as "an extraordinary path that has nearly a sacred aspect (iter mirum et quasi religioni proximum)". But Petrarch had developed a new perception of the Crypta and presented the tunnel as an evidence of Rome's glorious past. The Crypta, he wrote, is mentioned by Seneca and it served as a road to connect the Phlegraean Fields to Naples. Medieval tales about Virgil no longer appealed to him and he argued that the tunnel was attributed to the poet because his tomb was nearby. "Nowhere had I read that Virgil was a sorcerer," Petrarch answered to Robert of Anjou, king of Naples, when they visited the Crypta Neapolitana in 1341. "On the tunnel's walls", Robert replied, "one could discern the marks of edged tools."[21]

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[19] Ibid, 52-54.
[20] Theodore J. Cachey, trans., *Petrarch's Guide to the Holy Land, Itinerary to the Sepulchre of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2002), 10.0-10.1.
[21] Ibid.

4. The Perception of the Crypta during the Early Modern Period

In less than a century the perception of the Crypta was profoundly changed. According to the Italian humanist Biondo Flavio, one can only deal with the Crypta by investigating literary sources. In his 1455 *Italia Illustrata*, Posillipo was the area where Roman aristocracy had magnificent villas, as attested by Pliny, and the Crypta is presented as a dusty underground road from Pozzuoli to Naples, as attested by Seneca. Ancient authors do not mention the architect of the Crypta. His name is therefore unknown, Biondo stated with no reference to Virgil's legend.[22]

After Biondo's *Italia Ilustrata*, the real identity of the Crypta's architect was an issue debated by Neapolitan humanists of the fifteenth century. In a letter from 1484 to Bernardo Michelozzi, Francesco Pucci, chief librarian of the king of Naples, wrote that they believed the Crypta was a work sponsored by Lucullus, a Roman general who lived in the first century BC. Pucci himself was of the same opinion before he could read in a recently re-discovered Greek book that the Crypta Neapolitana was built by an architect named Lucius Cocceius Acutus.[23] The book was Strabo's *Geography*, and from that moment onward the Crypta was praised by cultured authors as a work by the Roman architect Cocceius.

It was only in the sixteenth century that the Crypta was finally approached for its significant architectural shape, rather than for its connections with literary sources. In his 1568 *Descritione di tutta Italia*, the Dominican friar Leandro Alberti shows a profound understanding of the tunnel's structure and strategic function, which he had acquired through measurement and accurate description. He noticed that the Crypta can be divided into three different sections for a total length of 2000 Neapolitan feet, corresponding to nearly 670 metres and approximately correct.[24] The tunnel's function, he wrote, was to allow travellers to and from Pozzuoli to avoid the hill of Posillipo and reach Naples by following the coastline.

Alberti's book widely circulated and promoted the importance and fame of the Crypta abroad. But the Roman tunnel became famous in Europe especially after an engraving by the Dutch painter Joris Hoefnagel (Fig. 1-10), which was included in the popular *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*

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[22] Biondo Flavio, *Italia Illustrata* (Basel: Froben 1559), 416.

[23] Pucci's letter is published by Tammaro De Marinis, *La Biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, vol. 2 (Milan: Hoepli, 1947-52), 254-55.

[24] Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (Venice: Lodovico degli Avanzi, 1568), 181-82.

in oes incisae et exusae, published from 1572.[25] The Crypta is portrayed
by Hoefnagel on the way from Pozzuoli. This is just an excuse to show a
spectacular view of the Bay of Naples, unusually taken from the mainland,
but it is remarkable that Hoffengel's first reproduction of the Crypta
matched the description of earlier sources. The tunnel is presented as a
public road excavated through a mountain on the way from Pozzuoli,
which–Petrarch, Biondo and Alberti had already stated–was its main
original access.

    Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Crypta was the
most popular tourist attraction in Naples and it was visited for its own sake
and for its Virgilian associations, but for Neapolitans it remained a
miraculous and religious place. From the fifteenth to the early twentieth
century, the tunnel was the set of one of the most important Neapolitan
folkloristic events, the Feast of Piedigrotta. The event took place in the
Crypta on the night between the seventh and the eighth September to
celebrate the foundation of the church "in pede Cryptae". According to a
legend, the church was built after an apparition of the Virgin seen by a
monk travelling into the Crypta. The tale may have been inspired by the
Virgin's image located at the tunnel's eastern entrance (Fig. 1-7), as
attested by an illumination in a fifteenth-century book, which is the
legend's earliest source.[26]

    In the middle of the Crypta a light burned in front of a chapel with
another image of the Virgin and "even a puritan would worship that light
in such darkness", the English catholic Richard Lassels says. In his 1670
Voyage of Italy, the first English guide for the Grand Tour, Lassels
described his emotions during a visit to the Crypta. He was a teacher of
classical literature and his tour into the tunnel was a sort of an Arcadian
dream. Maybe the Crypta was Polyphemus's cavern, he thought, or maybe
it was here that Jupiter was hidden from his devouring father Saturn.[27]

    During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Crypta was
described by famous writers and gentlemen from all over Europe: from the
Goethes, both father and son, to Sir William Hamilton, to Voltaire, to the
Abbè de saint Non. Their perception of such an unusual monument varies

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[25] Teresa Colletta, "Il «Theatrum Urbium» e l'opera di Joris Hoefnagel nel
Mezzogiorno d'Italia (1577-1580)," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*
102 (1984): 45-102; see also Salvatore di Liello, "La fortuna dei Campi Flegrei
nell'incisione Fiamminga da Hendrik van Cleve a Gilles Sadeler," in *Campi
Flegrei*, 167-69.
[26] D'Ovidio, "La Madonna di Piedigrotta," 76-84.
[27] Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy or a Complete Journey through Italy. The
Second Part* (Paris: V. du Moutier, 1670), 289-92.

as widely as the perception of Antiquity did during the Enlightenment and the Romantic age. Three paintings portraying the tunnel's Neapolitan entrance give a visual example of different approaches towards the Crypta during that period. The optical precision in Gaspar van Wittel's view (Fig. 1-11) reflects the painter's interest in a neat and balanced representation of nature, which would result in some of the most beautiful views of archaeological sites and monuments of southern Italy. In sharp contrast with van Wittel's classical interpretation, Louis Ducros's pre-Romantic painting (Fig. 1-12) presents the tunnel in a sublime atmosphere, which reflects his emotional approach to nature. The Crypta's traditional iconography still survives in a mid-nineteenth-century sketch by the Neapolitan painter Giacinto Gigante (Fig. 1-13), who is able to capture the monument's austerity with vivid impressionism.

Visual and literary sources on the Crypta Neapolitana offer a clear example of how the attitude towards antiquity has changed throughout history. Praised or criticised by ancient writers according to their different political and aesthetic opinions, in medieval times the tunnel became a magic and religious place. This was not simply based on folkloristic beliefs and superstitions. On the contrary, it depended on cultured authors and their peculiar interpretation of Virgil as possessing such supernatural powers that made him able to penetrate into the hidden secrets of nature.[28] During the Renaissance, a new attitude towards antiquity developed and the Crypta was admired by humanists, such as Petrarch and Biondo for its connections with Latin literary sources. A modern interest in the tunnel's original structure and function finally arose during the late Renaissance, when authors such as Leandro Alberti started to investigate the environment as a combination of human activities and natural conditions. Legendary tales and literary connections still survived during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, thanks to local folklore and foreign travellers. Their reports made the Roman tunnel one of the most popular spots in the Grand Tour of Italy and testify to the Crypta's importance in Neapolitan history.

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[28] Giovanni Battista Bronzini, "Tradizione culturale e contesto sociale delle leggende Virgiliane nell'Italia meridionale," *Lares* 49 (1983): 511-48.

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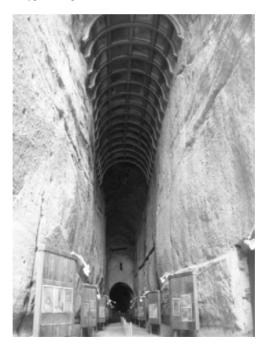
Fig. 1-1. Naples, *Crypta Neapolitana*: Western entrance.

Fig. 1-2. Francisco Cassiano de Silva, *Veduta della Grotta di Pozzuoli di fuori*. From Domenico Antonio Parrino, *Nuova Guida de'Forestieri*, Napoli: 1700.

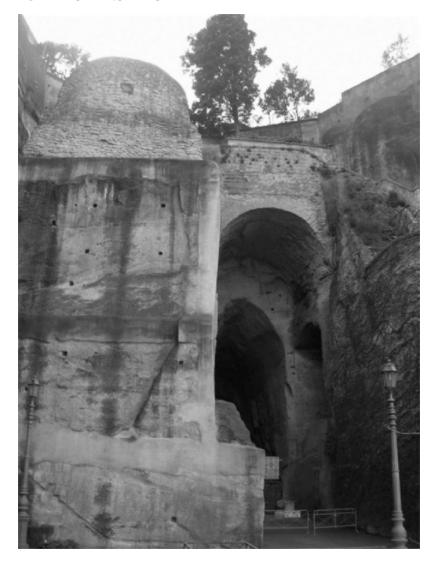Fig. 1-3. Naples, *Crypta Neapolitana*: Internal view, western section.

Fig. 1-4. Naples, *Crypta Neapolitana*: Eastern entrance.

Fig. 1-5. Naples, *Crypta Neapolitana*: Reinforcement works, eastern section.

Fig. 1-6. *Tabula Peutingeriana*, detail that shows the *Crypta Neapolitana.*

Fig. 1-7. Naples, *Crypta Neapolitana*: *Madonnna and Child*, 14th century.

Fig. 1-8. Naples, *Crypta Neapolitana*: Chapel on the tunnel's eastern entrance.

Fig. 1-9. Naples, *Crypta Neapolitana*: *Virgil the Magician*, 15th century.

Fig. 1-10. Joris Hoefnagel, *Elegantissimus ad mare Tyrrhenum ex monte Pausilipo Neapolis montisque Vesuvii prospectus*, 1578.

Fig. 1-11. Gaspar van Wittel, *Grotta di Pozzuoli,* ca 1710. Naples, Museo Nazionale di San Martino.

Fig. 1-12. Louis Ducros, *Grotta di Pozzuoli*, ca 1793. Lausanne, Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts.

Fig. 1-13. Giacinto Gigante, *Grotta di Pozzuoli*, ca 1856. Naples, Museo Nazionale di San Martino.