



AB ANTIQVO

European Architectural Culture and Antiquities of the Eastern Adriatic

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AB ANTIQUO

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Antiquities of the Eastern Adriatic

edited by

JASENKA GUDELJ

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SRCA, PULA

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AB ANTIQUO

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Antiquities of the Eastern Adriatic

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FOREWORD

Before you is the *AB ANTIQUO: European Architectural Culture and Antiquities of the Eastern Adriatic* exhibition catalogue. For the Archaeological Museum of Istria, the significance of this project goes far beyond our role as co-publisher and host. The exhibition, and the publication that accompanies it, are at the heart of our mission: the enduring stewardship, preservation, investigation, and presentation of Pula's monuments and cultural heritage.

We are deeply honoured to see the Sacred Hearts Gallery and the Archaeological Museum of Istria, in close collaboration with the Ca' Foscari University of Venice, become a focal point where science meets the rich graphic and material heritage of the eastern Adriatic seaboard. With its exceptionally well-preserved Roman monuments—from the monumental amphitheatre and the graceful Temple of Augustus to the refined Arch of the Sergii—Pula has for centuries stood as a living archive of ancient forms. Our city was no passive outpost on the fringes of Roman civilisation; as this exhibition vividly demonstrates, it was an active and inexhaustible source of inspiration, shaping Renaissance and Enlightenment architectural theory and practice across Europe.

The documentary and artistic material gathered here is witness to an uninterrupted dialogue between the local space and the universal language of the classical tradition—from priceless and rarely exhibited drawings from Florence's Uffizi and Vienna's Albertina, through historical editions and manuscripts, to the most recent archaeological finds from Pula itself, including the

fascinating Sleeping Cupid, discovered shortly before the exhibition. The Archaeological Museum of Istria's custody of these monuments thus takes on a new dimension: we are not merely sentinels standing guard over blocks of stone, but stewards of ideas shaped, measured, and drawn by greats such as Palladio, Serlio, Piranesi, and Adam.

This catalogue therefore is not simply an overview of the exhibits; it represents a lasting contribution to overcoming the present national and disciplinary boundaries in the study of the Adriatic cultural landscape.

On behalf of the Archaeological Museum of Istria, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to exhibition editor and curator Dr Jasenka Gudelj, designer Mauricio Ferlin, all lending institutions, and the dedicated team of collaborators and technical staff who made this complex project possible. We are particularly grateful for the support provided through the European Union's Horizon 2020 programme (ERC-AdriArchCult project).

As you turn to the pages of this catalogue, I am confident that you will recognise, in the fragments of knowledge presented here, the true monumentality and vitality of the heritage that surrounds us and calls upon us to preserve it—both within our museum and in the streets of ancient Pula.

Darko Komšo
Director, Archaeological Museum of Istria

**AB ANTIQUO: EUROPEAN
ARCHITECTURAL CULTURE
AND EASTERN ADRIATIC
ANTIQUITIES**

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In a letter written from Castel Gandolfo on 18 June 1762 to his fellow antiquarian Johann Jakob Volkmann, Johann Joachim Winckelmann reported on recent publications and antiquarian enterprises. Among them, he announced that 'a magnificent work in English will shortly be printed, probably in Italy, containing accurate drawings of the palace of Emperor Diocletian at Salona in Dalmatia, together with the temples and other remains at Pula and elsewhere in Illyria. Its author is Adam, a young and very wealthy Englishman, who maintains architects, draughtsmen and engravers at his own expense' (Winckelmann 1954, II, 238; author's translation). The project described by Winckelmann never appeared in precisely this form. Two years later, Robert Adam published his splendid *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, devoted exclusively to the imperial residence at Split (Spalato). Almost another forty years would pass before the publication in Paris, in 1802, of Louis-François Cassas's *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*, the first lavishly illustrated work to assemble architectural, antiquarian, and picturesque material from across the region. Cassas's book appeared in a profoundly altered political and intellectual climate after the French Revolution, when the Napoleonic Illyrian Provinces became a political reality, albeit a short-lived one.

Winckelmann's brief notice nevertheless captured a crucial possibility: that the antiquities of Istria and Dalmatia might be considered as parts of a connected cultural landscape. Although this landscape emerged as a coherent antiquarian region in print only at the end of the eighteenth century, its monuments had long played a significant role in shaping early modern architectural and historical culture. Situated along maritime routes linking Venice with the Levant, the Roman remains of Pula (Pola), Zadar (Zara), Salona, and Split were observed, measured, drawn, described, interpreted, and imitated by humanists, architects, artists, clerics, travellers, and collectors. Their responses did not form a single, continuous tradition. Rather, they developed through intersecting local and transregional networks, in which knowledge circulated unevenly and assumed different forms according to the monuments, agents, and audiences involved.

The reception of classical antiquity in the eastern Adriatic cannot be reduced to the rediscovery of the region by Western travellers. It was rooted in the material presence of Roman remains, in the continuity of urban and ecclesiastical institutions, and in a long-standing geographical, political, and cultural proximity to Italy. Ancient texts and monuments alike stimulated literary and artistic production, while the classical past was

incorporated into local, civic, religious, and eventually, national identities (Jovanović 2017). This perspective is particularly important for a region in which antiquity was neither an external model imported from a distant centre nor an inert substratum awaiting recognition. It remained embedded in inhabited cities, liturgical spaces, civic memories, family traditions, and systems of political representation. Its meanings were therefore continually reformulated.

The central argument of this exhibition is that every encounter with eastern Adriatic antiquity unfolded through an interplay between the local and the universal. The monuments belonged to particular cities and communities, yet they could also be detached from their immediate settings and inserted into a supposedly universal language of classical architecture. In Pula, structures perceived as legible examples of Roman building types entered the graphic and theoretical repertoires of European architects already in the fifteenth century. Their forms soon circulated widely in drawings and treatises, acquiring an authority that extended far beyond the diminished early modern city in which they stood. In Dalmatia, by contrast, ancient remains were more often absorbed into the living fabric and historical self-understanding of individual communities. Split, Salona, and Zadar generated distinct forms of engagement conditioned by urban continuity, abandonment, reuse, Christianisation, and political transformation. These responses were no less sophisticated or consequential because their initial circulation occurred primarily through manuscripts, drawings, inscriptions, personal contacts, and local works of art rather than printed architectural treatises.

The contrast is therefore not between a European reception and a passive regional periphery, but rather between different modes and scales of reception. A monument could simultaneously be a building to be measured, a quarry of authoritative forms, evidence for an ancient history, a Christianised site, a token of civic prestige, and a resource in political argument. The same remains might substantiate Roman, Dalmatian, Istrian, Illyrian, Slavic, or Venetian narratives without belonging exclusively to any one of them. Antiquity supplied a flexible language through which communities located at the edge of different states and empires could position themselves within wider cultural geographies. Appeals to ancient origins or illustrious local figures might affirm allegiance to universal Rome and Christianity, support claims of civic distinction, or articulate what can cautiously be described as proto-national identities. The universal authority of antiquity was thus made effective through emphatically regional interpretations.

For the first time, the present exhibition and catalogue jointly examine the principal antiquarian materials relating to Istria and Dalmatia held in Croatian collections, in connection with drawings from the Uffizi, the Albertina, and the Royal Institute of British Architects. This is necessary because scholarship has largely continued to develop along parallel tracks, divided by contemporary national, linguistic, and disciplinary boundaries. A substantial part of the visual dossier was brought to scholarly attention between the 1940s and the 1980s through the pioneering research of Boris Lossky, Duško Kečkemet, and Raymond Chevallier (Lossky 1940, 1954, Kečkemet 1965, 1978, 2003, Chevallier 1987a; Chevallier and Gilet 1987b). Their work identified drawings, publications, and antiquarian enterprises that remain fundamental to any reconstruction of the subject. Moreover, studies of works of visual art and architecture in the eastern Adriatic inspired by antiquity have also long featured in the historiography (Kokole 1996, 2008; I. Fisković 1993a, b; 1996; 2001; Novak Klemenčič 2005; Erlande-Brandenburg, A. and Jurković, M. (eds) 2004; Pelc 2007; Marković, P. and Gudelj, J. (eds) 2008)). Yet these materials were generally studied within separate histories: those of individual monuments and cities, of French or British travellers, of Renaissance architectural drawing, or of Croatian cultural heritage.

Subsequent scholarship has significantly recalibrated the broader framework. Patricia Fortini Brown's *Venice and Antiquity* revealed the particular ways in which the Venetian Republic fashioned its relationship with the classical past, while Ennio Concina's *Tempo novo* repositioned the architectural culture of fifteenth-century Venice within the political and territorial expansion of the state (Fortini Brown 1996; Concina 2006; Centanni and Sperti (eds) 2015). These studies made it possible to reconsider the eastern Adriatic not simply as a peripheral recipient of Venetian models, but as an active part of a mobile and heterogeneous architectural culture. More recent contributions devoted specifically to the architectural reception of antiquity in the region have further expanded the field by bringing Croatian scholarship into dialogue with Italian, French, British, and other historiographical traditions (for example, Payne (ed.) 2014; Martirosova Torlone, Lacourse Munteau and Dutch (eds) 2017; Gudelj 2014a,b,c,d,e, 2017, 2018b and 2020a,c, and (ed.) 2023; Belamarić and Šverko (eds) 2017; O'Loughlin, Šverko and Wittich (eds) 2019).

AB ANTIQUO builds upon this accumulated scholarship while proposing a shift in scale. By bringing together drawings, prints, books, manuscripts, and architectural evidence associated with different cities, it reconstructs

not a linear history of discovery but a changing ecology of knowledge. The objects on display, drawn primarily from Croatian museums and libraries, also include important, rarely exhibited drawings from the collections of the Uffizi's Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe and the Albertina, as well as reproductions of drawings from the Royal Institute of British Architects. They show how antiquities became visible, credible, and transferable: through direct observation and measurement; through copies and reconstructions; through textual description and philological interpretation; and through the work of architects, draughtsmen, engravers, publishers, and collectors. They also reveal the inevitable processes of selection and transformation through which fragmentary, inhabited, or inaccessible remains were converted into intelligible images and authoritative models.

Winckelmann's vision of a single magnificent book encompassing the palace at Split, the monuments of Pula and other ruins of 'Illyria' thus provides an apt point of departure. It anticipated the construction of an antiquarian region through images, while overlooking the diversity of the local histories from which those images emerged. More than two and a half centuries later, the purpose of assembling this material is not to impose retrospective unity upon the eastern Adriatic, but to make its connections and differences visible at the same time. The antiquities examined here participated in a shared European culture precisely because they were repeatedly interpreted through local knowledge, needs, and ambitions. Their history is therefore neither exclusively regional nor simply universal: it was produced in the continual movement between the two.

Lit. Lossky 1954; Winckelmann 1954; Kečkemet 1965; Kečkemet 1978; Chevallier 1987a; Chevallier and Gilet 1987b; Fortini Brown 1996; Erlande-Brandenburg, A. and Jurković, M. (eds) 2004; Concina 2006; Pelc 2007; Blažević 2008; Gudelj and Marković (eds) 2008; Kokole 2008; Jovanović 2012; Gudelj 2014a,b,c,d,e; Lučin 2014; Gudelj and Strunje 2015; Centanni and Sperti (eds) 2015; Belamarić and Šverko 2017; Gudelj 2017; Jovanović 2017a; Jovanović 2017b; Špoljarić 2017; Gudelj 2018b; Torlak 2019; Gudelj 2020a,c; Gudelj 2023; Torlak 2024.

Jasenska Gudelj



Map of Istria and Dalmatia, from Cassas, Louis-François;
Lavallée, Joseph, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la
Dalmatie*. Paris: Imprimerie de Vilain, 1802, AMI

FRAGMENTS OF
KNOWLEDGE: ENTERING
THE IMAGINARY OF
ANTIQUITY

**FRAGMENTS OF
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Between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, the eastern Adriatic was not a single political or cultural territory. Istrian and Dalmatian cities, islands and hinterlands belonged—in changing configurations—to the Republics of Venice and Dubrovnik, the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, and the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires. Political borders could separate a coastal commune from the territory immediately behind it, while maritime routes connected it with ports several days' sailing away. The sea was therefore not a margin, but rather the region's connective tissue: people, manuscripts, books, objects, and news moved along it without erasing differences of jurisdiction, language, or social order. The culture examined here arose from this tension between fragmentation and connectivity.

In the coastal urban centres at the core of the exhibition, Catholicism provided the dominant institutional and devotional framework, organised through dioceses and chapters, monastic and mendicant houses, confraternities, charitable institutions, and the cults of civic saints. Predominance, however, did not mean homogeneity. Jewish communities—particularly visible in ports such as Dubrovnik and Split—and Orthodox residents, merchants, and populations in the towns and neighbouring hinterlands formed significant minorities whose position varied according to place and period. The region also lay within a Catholic, Orthodox, and Islamic border zone. Warfare, fortification, anti-Ottoman rhetoric, and providential history made this boundary highly visible; yet it remained permeable. Venetian, Ragusan, Habsburg, and Ottoman subjects traded, negotiated, travelled, exchanged information, mediated disputes, and ransomed captives across it. Grain, livestock, raw materials, manufactured goods, and even antiquities followed the same routes as diplomats, pilgrims, and intelligence. The Ottomans were consequently not only a military and religious “other”, but also economic partners, political interlocutors, and an immediate presence in everyday calculations (Miović 1997, 2003, 2005; Dukić 2004; Necipoğlu 2014; Pedani 2017; Strunje 2022).

Antiquity offered these communities no single, stable inheritance. It was an adaptable repertoire through which cities and families described themselves, articulated claims, and inserted local histories into broader chronologies. Ancient authors supplied narratives and moral exempla; inscriptions and coins appeared to preserve direct testimony; ruins authorised urban topographies; and myths connected families and communities to heroic or imperial origins. Classical imagery—from triumphal signs to putti, trophies, masks, nereids, and tritons—could signify erudition,

authority, abundance, or maritime identity. A copied inscription, a reused relief, a poetic comparison, and an architectural quotation were different operations, yet each converted the fragment into evidence, ornament, and cultural capital.

This process is better understood as creative reconstruction than as the passive survival of forms. The incompleteness of ancient remains required acts of selection, analogy, and invention, while “local antiquities”—including legends, disputed identifications, and imagined genealogies—made universal history usable in a particular place (Barkan 1999; Christian and de Divitiis 2018). The classical was universal because its languages circulated widely, but its meanings were produced locally. A Roman monument, an Illyrian genealogy, and a deity introduced into vernacular verse belonged to different systems of knowledge; each nevertheless transformed a shared inheritance into a claim rooted in place.

The Venetian context brings this dynamic into sharper focus, since the territories controlled by the Serenissima encompassed the most important ancient sites in the eastern Adriatic. Venice, itself lacking a Roman foundation, fashioned a usable antiquity from Byzantine inheritances, imported objects, historical writings, and selective appropriations of classical imagery (Fortini Brown 1996, 2017; Concina 2006). Its subject cities did not merely receive a fully formed metropolitan language. Rather, they negotiated Venetian political symbols in relation to local Roman remains, established workshop practices, and Mediterranean exchanges extending beyond the Republic (Howard 2000; Ceriana 2007). Other political powers in the region adopted analogous strategies, notably the Republic of Dubrovnik—another medieval polity that reinvented its past (Kunčević 2022).

Architectural drawings reveal this process of negotiation with particular clarity. Surveys, copies, and reconstructions served as instruments of enquiry: measurement determined what was considered significant; drawing isolated ancient fabric from later additions; conjectural restoration transformed ruins into coherent wholes; and copying enabled observations to circulate between sites, workshops, and collections (Burns 1975; Günther 1988; Beltramini and Burns 2008; Beltramini 2010; Nesselrath 2014, 2025; Yerkes 2017). At the same time, the tradition of building in stone persisted, and ancient exempla were sometimes followed almost literally, as demonstrated by the relationship between the fifteenth-century baptistery and Chapel of St John Orsini in Trogir and the Temple of Jupiter, later converted into a baptistery, in Split (Štefanac 1996; 2006; Ivančević 1997; Belamarić 2004; Nikšić 2014). The reception of antiquity was therefore an active

process of choosing what to observe, omit, regularise, complete, and reuse.

Written culture reveals the same process, although it has often been divided among separate literary histories. Latin, Italian, and Croatian did not constitute three self-contained traditions. They formed an overlapping system in which language choice depended on genre, audience, institution, and ambition. Latin supported epigraphy, historiography, correspondence, and participation in the *Res publica litteraria*; Italian connected authors with Venetian administration, academies, publishing, and philosophical debate; Croatian sustained lyric, epic, drama, devotional, and polemical writing, while also affirming vernacular authority. Writers could move between languages, and a classical image could acquire a new charge when transferred from a Latin oration to a Croatian poem or an Italian dialogue (Fališevac, Novaković 2004).

Given its continuous use since antiquity across pan-European intellectual networks, the Latin tradition is fundamental. Juraj Šižgorić's *Elegiarum et carminum libri tres* placed Šibenik and its landscape within classical poetic forms. Marko Marulić combined the study of inscriptions with biblical epic, moral philosophy, and historiography, while Vinko Pribojević's *De origine successibusque Slavorum* mobilised ancient ethnography and genealogy to recast Dalmatia and the Slavs. Stjepan Gradić, Ivan Lučić, Benedikt Rogačić, Benedikt Stay, and Rajmund Kunić later used classical genres for diplomacy, commemoration, science, and personal distinction. This continuity has become legible through the reconstruction of manuscripts, editions, epigraphic practices, and humanist networks (Lučin 2014; Jovanović 2017; Špoljarić 2017). The mapping of seventeenth-century Latin poetry has also replaced the idea of a barren interval with a corpus of almost 100,000 verses, much of it once inaccessible in manuscript; studies of *carmina figurata* further demonstrate that verse could itself become a visual object (Stepanić 2005, 2015). Latin was thus not merely a residue of schooling: it was a flexible medium for local memory and transregional circulation.

Croatian-language writing transformed classical material no less decisively. Petar Zoranić's novel *Planine* mapped pastoral and allegorical models onto Dalmatian geography, making classical, biblical, and Petrarchan traditions answer to the condition of the vernacular. Hanibal Lucić, Petar Hektorović, Marin Držić, Ivan Gundulić, Juraj Baraković, and Jerolim Kavanjin reworked ancient genres and figures within specific civic, devotional, and political settings. Recent literary history cautions against reducing fifteenth- and sixteenth-century lyric to uniform

"Petrarchism" or reading it as an unmediated reflection of society; instead, it recovers competing poetic codes, intertextual memory and the agency of literary form (Bogdan 2003, 2012, 2017). Studies of Ragusan urban writing, satire, allegory, travel, and images of the Ottoman world likewise show how inherited forms organised perceptions of the city, body, faith, political order, and cultural "other" (Fališevac 2007; Dukić 2004; Plejić Poje 2012; Grmača 2015).

Italian, meanwhile, was not simply the language of an external ruling culture. Eastern Adriatic authors used it to enter debates that were at once local, Venetian, and European. Frane Petris/Petrić/Francesco Patrizi's *La città felice* and *Della poetica* reworked ancient political philosophy and poetics; Nikola Vitov Gučetić's dialogues located Platonic, Aristotelian, and contemporary arguments within Ragusan sociability; Dinko Zavorović used Italian historiography to order the past of Šibenik and Dalmatia; and Mavro Orbini's *Il regno de gli Slavi* assembled classical, medieval, and humanist authorities into an expansive history of the Slavs. Work on translation, adaptation, bilingual authorship, and relations between the two Adriatic shores has made this field increasingly visible (Fališevac, Novaković 2004, Balić-Nižić et al. 2025). The point is not to assign each work to a single national canon, but to instead reconstruct the multilingual circumstances in which it acquired meaning.

Literary history, historiography, and visual culture thus converge. Urban encomia inserted Adriatic cities into classical geography while distinguishing their virtues; genealogies joined universal history to family prestige; inscriptions served as documents, collectibles, and models of authoritative writing; mythological figures could be decorative, erudite, or politically charged. On a frontier repeatedly described through oppositions between Christian and Ottoman, Latin and Slavic, urban and rural, antiquity could sharpen distinctions but also supply a common language across them. Civic, regional, Illyrian, and Slavic identifications should not be equated with modern nationalism; they could nevertheless function as proto-national markers, making ancient origins and monuments tokens of collective prestige (Fisković 1993a, b; 1996; 2001; Blažević 2008; Kunčević 2015; Jovanović 2017).

The works gathered in this exhibition document acts of preservation, translation, reconstruction, display, and claim-making. They are neither stages in a linear revival nor are they exclusively echoes of developments elsewhere. The eastern Adriatic response to antiquity emerged from a constant interplay between local

conditions and universally legible forms. Classical culture supplied a shared grammar and every act of use changed its emphasis. Its circulation did not dissolve regional difference, but rather gave communities new means to articulate it.

Lit. I. Fisković 1993a, b; Fortini Brown 1996; Miović 1997; Barkan 1999; Howard 2000; Bogdan 2003; Miović 2003; Dukić 2004; Miović 2005; Stepanić 2005; Concina 2006; Ceriana 2007; Fališevac 2007; Beltramini and Burns 2008; Blažević 2008; Beltramini 2010; Bogdan 2012; Plejić Poje 2012; Lučin 2014; Grmača 2015; Kunčević 2015; Stepanić 2015; Bogdan 2017; Jovanović 2017a; Jovanović 2017b; Pedani 2017; Špoljarić 2017; Christian and De Divitiis 2019; I. Fisković 2001; Balić-Nižić et al. 2025.

Jasenska Gudelj

2.1 MYTHS AND ORIGINS

Medieval and Renaissance culture inherited from antiquity the belief that the origins of peoples and cities offered an understanding of their essence. Foundation narratives established antiquity and legitimacy. Drawing on ancient authors, early modern writers substantiated these narratives with inscriptions and material remains. Troy and Antenor, the Argonauts, Roman colonies, and refugees from destroyed cities placed local communities within universal history (Jovanović 2010; Jovanović 2012).

The origins of Pula, for example, were discussed in considerable detail by Renaissance authors. The ancient writers Callimachus, Lycophron, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Pliny associated the city with the Colchians who pursued Jason and Medea after the theft of the Golden Fleece. Unable to continue, they founded Pola, the city of fugitives. Drawing on these accounts, Leandro Alberti, Marcantonio Sabellico, Pietro Coppo, and the physician from Piran Giovanni Battista Goineo repeated the story, while a fourteenth-century *carmen* composed by the local notary Filippo Cavallo instead named Pollux as the founder. Giovanni Antonio Flaminio reconciled the two traditions by observing that Pollux was an Argonaut. Together with Pula's ancient monuments, this genealogy made the Roman colony *Iulia Pietas* one phase of a longer history (Gudelj 2014a, pp. 54–60). The quest for the Golden Fleece was also linked to the origins of Koper, the Brijuni Islands, and the Cres–Lošinj archipelago (Katičić 1995, Di Brazzano 2022).

Claims to ancient descent were not confined to cities. In Pula, the Castropola presented themselves as descendants of the ancient Sergii, commemorated by the arch erected by Salvia Postuma Sergi. The monument made genealogy material: the Sergii ennobled the Castropola, while their supposed survival confirmed civic continuity, even after their exile in Treviso. Dynastic and urban memories thus bound a local prominent family to Pula's most visible Roman monument (Gudelj 2014a, p. 180).

The most consequential dynastic myth belonged to the counts of Krk. In 1422 Nikola IV and his son adopted the name Frankapani and claimed descent from the Frangipani of Rome. After receiving papal approval in 1430, they displayed the associated arms—two lions breaking loaves. The Venetian humanist and governor of the island Antonio Vinciguerra traced their ancestry to men of “ancient Roman blood” related to Pope Gregory the Great. The genealogy combined claims to Roman antiquity with Christian sanctity; during the Ottoman advance, Bernardin Frankapan and Moduš bishop Šimun Kožičić Benja also presented the family as defenders of Christendom (Špoljarić 2016).

Ivan Karlović, the last Kurjaković count of Krbava, called himself Ivan Torkvat and claimed descent from the Roman Manlii Torquati. His goose emblem evoked Marcus Manlius Capitolinus. In a Roman oration of 1519, his envoy Stjepan Posedarski presented warfare against the Ottomans as a repetition of Roman victories over the Gauls. The Babonići counts of Blagaj similarly appropriated the arms of the Roman Orsini family. Genealogy and heraldry thus supported diplomacy with Italian courts and the papacy (Špoljarić 2016).

Such strategies were not restricted to hereditary lords. Juraj Dalmatinac (Giorgio Dalmata), the protomaster of the Šibenik Cathedral, never used the Roman name Orsini, but his son Paolo adopted it in 1514. In 1540 Valerio Orsini recognised the alleged kinship and authorised him to use the family arms. The claim sought to translate artistic prestige into hereditary nobility and later encouraged the misleading name “Giorgio Orsini” in art-historical literature (Galvani 1884, pp. 161–162; I. Fisković and Flego 2005).

Elsewhere, ancient names compensated for the absence of a celebrated founder. In *De situ Iadrae* (1508), Nardino Celinesc anchored Zadar in Lucan and the ancient name Iader. Trogir was identified with Tragurium, the Greek settlement associated with Issa, while Ivan Bona-Bolica's *Descriptio Ascriviensis urbis* identified Kotor with Ascrivium and its bay with Rhizon, Queen Teuta and

Roman Illyria. Toponyms thus operated as condensed genealogies (Jovanović 2010; Jovanović 2012).

The narrative of Korčula's origins shows how antiquity could be used to interpret recent warfare. Antun Rozanović's account of Korčula's resistance to the Ottoman fleet in 1571 associated Corcyra Melaina with the Trojan Antenor, who was also proclaimed its founder in an inscription on the town gate, linking it to Venetian foundation traditions (Jovanović 2012).

Šibenik had no secure classical predecessor, but in *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici* (1487), the local humanist Juraj Šižgorić embedded it in Illyrian and Dalmatian antiquity. He identified the city with Pliny's Siccum, a settlement of Roman veterans. In his account, the veterans were followed by pirates who fenced the suburb with wickerwork—šibe—and supposedly gave Šibenik its vernacular name. Latin and Slavic beginnings thereby entered a single history. By calling the main square a *forum* and describing its cathedral and public buildings in classicising terms, Šižgorić also translated a medieval city into the language of Roman urbanism (Šižgorić 1981; Gudelj 2018b, p. 134).

For Split and Dubrovnik, origins were explained through *translatio urbis*, the reconstitution of an older city. Split began with Salona's destruction and its inhabitants' refuge within Diocletian's Palace. Thomas the Archdeacon's medieval narrative was reinforced by humanist antiquarianism: Marko Marulić's *In epigrammata priscorum commentarius* recorded inscriptions and described the palace, making ruins witnesses to the transfer of Roman and Christian institutions. Humanist praises joined Salona and the imperial residence, transforming rupture into renewal (Jovanović 2011; Jovanović 2012).

Dubrovnik likewise traced its origins to Epidaurum (modern-day Cavtat), whose refugees supposedly transferred the ancient city's population, Christianity, and legitimacy to Ragusa. A representation of Asclepius, in reality associated with the Greek city of Epidaurus, on one of the fifteenth-century capitals of Dubrovnik's Rector's Palace gave visual form to this claim. Renaissance writers combined this tradition with that of the Romans who followed the Slavic ruler Pavlimir, also known as Bellus. Ilija Crijević used both versions in *De Epidaurō*, while Ludovik Crijević Tuberon devoted the *Commentariolus de origine et incremento urbis Rhacusanae* to the subject. Although Tuberon criticised fables invented to ennoble cities, he continued to negotiate among Epidaurian, Roman, and Slavic pasts. Ragusa was therefore

represented not merely as a city founded by refugees, but as Epidaurum itself transferred to another site—a claim that legitimised Catholic identity, aristocratic government, territorial claims, and independence (I. Fisković 1993a,b, 1996; Grujić 1998; Novak Klemenčić 2005, 2012; Kunčević 2004; Kunčević 2022).

Finally, Dubrovnik's patricians converted collective origins into family history. The *Anonymous Annals* and Nikola Ragnina's chronicle claimed that roughly one-fifth of the noble houses descended from Epidaurians or Romans who accompanied Pavlimir, among them were the Croce, Menze, Giorgi, Bobali, and Resti. Descent from the founders presented the patriciate's monopoly of office as inherited Roman virtue. Didacus Pyrrhus's *De illustribus familiis quae hodie Rhacusae exstant* (1582) joined civic antiquity and noble genealogy. A Roman governing elite could therefore coexist with a Slavic-speaking culture and an Illyrian affiliation, since each served a different purpose (Jovanović 2012; Kunčević 2022).

The revived idea of the Roman province of Illyricum supplied a framework within which these urban pasts could coexist. Early modern Illyrism was not a fixed national programme, but a flexible, transnational discourse produced by the eastern Adriatic branch of the wider *res publica litterarum*. The Roman administrative name was used to imagine a territory broader than any commune or state, while common origins, language, saints, and heroes created a symbolic community. Its genealogies were plural: one tradition made Illyrius the son of Cadmus and Harmonia; Appian instead named Polyphemus and Galatea as his parents; and biblical accounts derived the Slavs or Illyrians from Japheth through Gomer. These alternatives combined classical and sacred authority (Blažević 2008; Blažević 2010).

Illyrism did not displace civic patriotism; it admitted local communities to a larger history. The image of an ancient and noble *natio Illyricorum* served purposes of self-legitimation between Venetian expansion and Ottoman threat. Nicholas of Modruš's *De bellis Gothorum* (1472–1473) reversed the Roman–Goth opposition of Italian humanists, transforming the history of supposed Gothic ancestors into an Illyrian national history for a trans-Adriatic network (Špoljarić 2019). At Rome, the church and confraternity of San Girolamo degli Schiavoni/Illirici gave this identity institutional form (Gudelj 2020b).

The Dominican friar from Hvar Vinko Pribojević expanded this strategy from a single town to an entire

people. His *De origine successibusque Slavorum*, delivered in Hvar in 1525, identified the Slavs with the ancient Illyrians and appropriated Thracians, Macedonians, and classical heroes for their history. While Pharos and Demetrius embodied the island's local antiquity, Hvar's importance ultimately derived from its place within Illyrian and Slavic history (Perinić 2006; Jovanović 2012).

Communal patriotism and proto-national universalism were therefore complementary: towns retained their particular histories while joining the larger Illyrian community. Applied to towns, families, or territories, genealogies made the past politically useful and located the eastern Adriatic between Rome, Venice, the Slavic world, and the Ottoman frontier.

Lit. Galvani 1884; Kunčević 2004; I. Fisković and Flego 2005; Perinić 2006; Blažević 2008; Blažević 2010; Jovanović 2010; Jovanović 2011; Jovanović 2012; Gudelj 2014a; Špoljarić 2016; Gudelj 2018b; Špoljarić 2019; Gudelj 2020b; Kunčević 2022; Borić 2025.

Jasenska Gudelj

2.1.1 Large Bowl with a Boat and a *raffaellesca* Decoration

Deruta, probably early seventeenth century

Ochre ceramic body with opaque white glaze

Reconstructed from several fragments

H. 13.5 cm; rim diam. 36.5 cm; foot diam. 9.1 cm

Findspot: Pula, Uspon sv. Franje

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. S-10897

Several fragments of a large bowl were discovered in Pula, at Uspon sv. Franje. The vessel has a wavy body and rim, and a relatively high ring foot. It is made of ochre ceramic covered with an opaque white glaze and has been reconstructed. The bowl was most probably produced in Deruta, in Umbria, at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Bradara 2016, pp. 145–146, 154–155, cat. 57).

The central image, depicting a boat, may be associated with the maritime narratives that underlie several foundation myths of the eastern Adriatic, including those of the Trojan refugees, the Argonauts, and the Colchians who pursued them. As such, the vessel's decoration evokes both classical mythology and the cultural memory of Adriatic seafaring. This large bowl, most likely made in Deruta, one of the most important centres of Italian ceramic production, would have formed part of a luxurious Renaissance household in Pula.



The decorative programme of the bowl also belongs to the broader Renaissance taste for grotesque ornament. In ceramic decoration, the grotesque consists of intertwined branches and scrolls populated by masks, vases, human and animal figures, flowers, and other fanciful motifs. The term derives from the painted ornament discovered in the ancient subterranean rooms of Nero's Domus Aurea in Rome, known in the Renaissance as the grotte, where artists found a rich source of inspiration. Raphael adopted and transformed this ornamental language in fresco decoration, adding putti, dolphins, trophies, musical instruments, garlands of flowers, and displays of arms. For this reason, such decoration is often also described as a *raffaellesca* (Ravanelli Guidotti 1998, p. 284).

Large bowls of this type were commonly decorated with central motifs such as mythological scenes, coats of arms, fantastic creatures, or Christian subjects, surrounded by a *raffaellesca* ornament. Both the form and the decoration

of the Pula bowl are characteristic of Deruta maiolica production from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Deruta became especially renowned in the first half of the sixteenth century, when its workshops produced vessels that differed in form, function, and ornament from much contemporary Italian ceramic production. These were often broad dishes or bowls whose large surfaces allowed for elaborate painted compositions. Lustre decoration was particularly characteristic, alongside painting in intense colours such as yellow, orange, blue, and green (Abbozzo and Biganti 1980, pp. 11–13, 109).

Lit. Abbozzo and Biganti 1980; Ravanelli Guidotti 1998; Bradara 2016.

Tatjana Bradara&Jasenska Gudelj

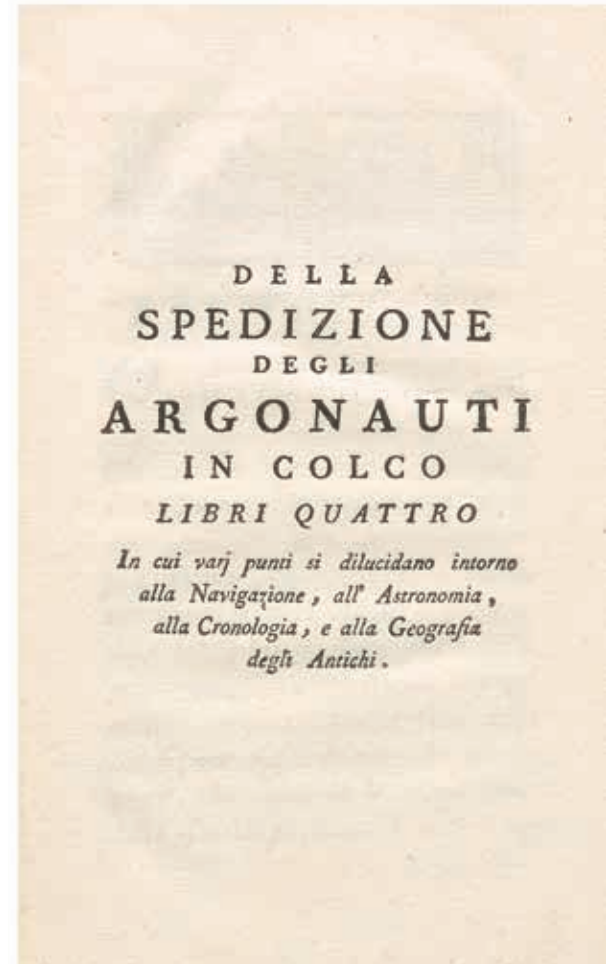
2.1.2 Gian Rinaldo Carli

Della spedizione degli Argonauti in Colco, libri quattro
Delle opere del signor commendatore don Gianrinaldo conte
Carli, Milano: Typographia Ambrosiana, 1785, t. 10
 160x220mm
 National and University Library, Zagreb, Shelfmark
 759.302sv10

First published in 1745, Gian Rinaldo Carli's four-book *Della spedizione degli Argonauti in Colco* examines the Argonautic expedition and reassesses the traditions associated with it. Carli approached the subject from an Enlightenment perspective. Rather than accepting the Colchian foundation of Pula as historical fact, he sought to explain the myth critically, exposing its improbability and relocating its origins within a broader discussion of ancient navigation and erroneous geography (Micelli 2004, Gudelj 2014a, pp. 60–61).

The myth of the Argonauts had played a central role in early modern interpretations of Pula's ancient origins. Drawing on Greek and Roman authors, especially Strabo and Pliny the Elder, Renaissance humanists repeatedly identified Pula as the city founded by the Colchians, who had pursued Jason and the Argonauts after the theft of the Golden Fleece and the flight of Medea. Unable to overtake them, the Colchians were said to have settled on the northern Adriatic and founded Pola, a name associated in Greek tradition with fugitives, wanderers, or castaways.

This foundation myth gave Pula a prestigious place within the geography of classical antiquity. It linked the city not only to the Argonautic cycle but also to broader Greek heroic history, allowing Renaissance writers to imagine



Pula as a settlement whose origins preceded its Roman identity as *Pietas Iulia*. For humanists, the authority of Pliny, Strabo, Callimachus, Pomponius Mela, Boccaccio, Sabellico, Leandro Alberti, and others transformed the myth into a powerful component of the city's cultural memory. Carli's work marks the point at which the Renaissance myth of Pula's Greek foundation began to lose its symbolic authority and became instead an object of historical and antiquarian analysis.

Lit. Micelli 2004; Gudelj 2014a, pp.60–61.

Jasenska Gudelj

2.2 HISTORY AND ANCIENT AUTHORS

There are specific historical reasons why antiquarianism became a vital component of the Renaissance approach to historical knowledge. Its roots may be traced back to what has been described as “medieval humanism”

(Southern 1970, pp. 29–61; Southern 1995), a significant intellectual phenomenon that emerged at least from the second half of the eleventh century. During this period, scholars increasingly sought to investigate theological truths through human parameters and patterns, placing introspection and experience at the centre of their systems of thought. As a result, both God, as creator, and the world, as creation, came to be perceived as intelligible through rational inquiry (Southern 2002, pp. 93–103).

This transformation marked a profound paradigm shift over the following centuries. Its influence was felt across many fields of medieval culture and found a particularly pragmatic application in encyclopaedic practices. Compilers were required to engage simultaneously with inherited tradition and empirical observation. Within this framework, knowledge began to be conceived as something that could be collected, organised, and transmitted (Stenhouse 2009; Goeing, Grafton and Michel 2013; Stenhouse 2014; Stenhouse 2017). Crucially, the information gathered increasingly required a concrete counterpart to be validated: data came to be regarded as “sources”, endowed with evidentiary value. The development of encyclopaedic and historiographical compilations thus provided a potential starting point for what may later be defined as an antiquarian tendency (Blanchard and Severi 2018, pp. 13–58).

This emerging orientation enabled scholars to situate antiquities within their proper cultural contexts by establishing comparisons, identifying relationships and variations, and formulating theories grounded in systematic observation. Beyond specific objects of study, antiquarian techniques generally converged on a dual structure comprising a cataloguing phase and an interpretative phase (Momigliano 1950). A body of records first had to be compiled, whether directly or indirectly, in order to establish a reliable foundation. These records were then divided into different categories according to formal, geographical, political, and typological criteria. After this descriptive stage, a process of synthesis followed, involving the cross-referencing of data according to shared or distinctive features and thereby established links with broader cultural contexts. The aim was to ground the interpretation of each finding in an understanding of its morphology, while records could also be used to fill gaps in knowledge by analogy (Herklotz 2007).

In this context, the relationship with antiquity was no longer passive. Instead, it fostered an active and creative dialogue with the past and with its material legacy. This encouraged a critical approach to sources and stimulated the philological activity necessary for their interpretation.

Translation, for instance, required not only linguistic competence but also a deep understanding of the cultural contexts in which words had originally been used. It was through this process that the past came to be perceived as qualitatively different from the present (Burke 1969), creating a gap in knowledge that scholars sought to bridge through the direct consultation of reliable sources.

Personal observation, or autopsy, became essential to establishing the reliability of the antiquarian method and allowed scholars to verify evidence directly (Burke 2000; Missere Fontana 2009). It was no longer sufficient to rely on texts that merely referred to a given problem; it became necessary to elicit primary information and to examine the material and intellectual productions surrounding it. Consequently, both primary and secondary sources had to be studied within a unified perspective, since each might preserve information otherwise lost.

Although a fully developed antiquarian method had not yet emerged by the fourteenth century, the foundations of Renaissance antiquarianism were already visible at that time (Weiss 1969). These early manifestations combined an increasingly refined philological sensitivity with growing archaeological investigation. Antiquarianism gradually spread across Europe in the following centuries (Christian and De Divitiis 2018), until it was eventually overtaken by the rise of a new empirical scientific culture, one that antiquarian studies themselves had helped to foster, marking the transition towards a new phase of modernity (Siraisi 2003).

During this period, scholars sought to restore a classical aspect both to ancient languages and to archaeological remains. The culture embodied by this conceptual framework was recovered through the rediscovery of lost or neglected manuscripts, the critical reassessment of ancient artefacts, and the copying and interpretation of inscriptions. Interest in ancient history encouraged the transcription and translation of Greek and Latin authors, as well as efforts to compile new histories of the ancient world. As in other regions of the pan-European Republic of Letters, manuscripts of works by Catullus, Cicero, Julius Caesar, Propertius, Plutarch, Frontinus, Lactantius, Eusebius, Ausonius, Vegetius, Isidore of Seville, and others were copied and circulated along the eastern Adriatic coast. Particularly significant is the fact that the only surviving manuscript copy of Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis* came to light in Trogir in the seventeenth century (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Codex Traguriensis, Parisinus 7989, saec. XV, Lučin 2014).

Medieval and early modern private and religious libraries in the eastern Adriatic provide further evidence for the

circulation of manuscripts and, later, printed books, as well as for their readership, both male and female. At the same time, new narratives of the Roman past began to emerge, including universal and regional histories, as well as histories focused on individual cities. These were written by Italian scholars active in the region, such as Palladio Fusco and Pietro Coppo, and by Istrian and Dalmatian authors including Pietro Paolo Vergerio the Elder, Marko Marulić, and Vinko Pribojević, followed later by Ivan Lučić and Gian Rinaldo Carli (Jovanović 2013, Novaković 2014, Gudelj 2014a, Špoljarić 2017).

The antiquarian approach enabled the past to acquire a tangible and measurable dimension, identified through its surviving remains. This “materialisation” transformed each object of study into a semiotic vehicle, capable of conveying layers of meaning that extended beyond its immediate appearance. Ruins and other remains of antiquity thus acquired a new temporal significance (Barkan 1999): they became expressions of a “sentiment of time” (Schnapp 2019, pp. 33–34), not merely vestiges of the past, but elements capable of projecting the past into the future. Antiquity was therefore conceived as a model to be restored. This impulse underpinned broader efforts that were reflected not only in literary production but also in the resurgence of classical architectural forms (Tafari 2006).

As different types of sources were brought to light, it gradually became evident that textual and archaeological evidence could function as complementary forms of knowledge (Weiss 1958). This realisation was crucial for the growing interconnection between historical inquiry and cultural heritage, fostering a renewed sensitivity to the coherence of classical tradition as a unified whole. It also marked a fundamental breakthrough in antiquarian erudition: the awareness of the equivalence of sources. Meaningful data could be extracted from manuscripts, inscriptions, coins, statues, and other materials, each evaluated according to discipline-specific criteria of reliability. Philology, epigraphy, numismatics, archaeology, and iconography thus converged within a shared methodological framework. Advances in one field supported and stimulated developments in others, contributing progressively to the transformation of the entire system of knowledge.

At the same time, an unprecedented critical approach to both texts and ruins developed. Through detailed linguistic and contextual analysis, scholars sought to reconstruct the lacunae inherited from antiquity, whether textual or archaeological. The effort to restore the presumed original forms of words was closely linked to the desire to understand their use and meaning. This philological

endeavour paralleled the treatment of material artefacts: just as objects were collected and interpreted through comparison, so too were words analysed as fragments of a larger cultural system.

The reconstruction of the past depended on the relationship between the multiple aspects attached to each source and the broader dynamics of tradition. Through conjecture, hypotheses were formulated on the basis of surviving remains in order to restore their original appearance. This process required a theoretical understanding of their essence, grounded in the philological principle of respecting the text or object as transmitted. The criteria of emendation were therefore inseparable from those of explanation; recovering an accurate reading became essential to producing a meaningful interpretation (Rizzo 1973).

Yet the gaps in transmission often proved too substantial to be fully resolved. In response, scholars developed a range of interpretative strategies. Among these was the use of analogy, particularly with the natural world, to compensate for gaps in knowledge (Laureys and Mazzocco 2016). As in the study of language, analogy became an essential tool for rendering the ancient world intelligible through familiar and controllable parameters. Within this framework, the relationship between documentary voids and hypotheses of reconstruction became central: lacunae were understood as part of a broader cultural grammar whose rules could be deduced through antiquarian investigation.

Moreover, scholars were encouraged to distinguish clearly between transmitted data and conjectural reconstructions, to both preserve the integrity of tradition and to allow future inquiry to refine or correct earlier interpretations. Nevertheless, the limits of conjecture became increasingly apparent. Ignorance of the origins of remains could generate further corruption of tradition, while also marking the boundaries beyond which interpretation could not reliably proceed. This tension fostered a renewed respect for *auctoritas*, even as some scholars argued that genuine progress required new discoveries and the use of external arguments.

The coexistence of these positions contributed to a dynamic and self-reflective methodological framework. The growing belief that history resided not only in texts but also in material remains stimulated the search for physical evidence. Antiquities were increasingly understood as bearers of historical vitality, preserving the presence of the past within the present. This recognition marked a significant shift in intellectual perspective, emphasising the materiality of sources as a foundation

for historical knowledge. Antiquarian studies became closely intertwined with the collection and display of antiquities, further consolidating the integration of textual scholarship, material culture, and historical interpretation. In this way, the Renaissance concept of antiquity emerged as a dynamic and multifaceted construct: not a static inheritance, but a field of inquiry shaped by critical analysis, empirical observation, and creative engagement with the past.

Lit. Momigliano 1950; Weiss 1958; Burke 1969; Weiss 1969; Southern 1970; Rizzo 1973; Southern 1995; Barkan 1999; Southern 2002; Siraisi 2003; Tafuri 2006; Herklotz 2007; Missere Fontana 2009; Stenhouse 2009; Goeing, Grafton and Michel 2013; Jovanović 2013; Gudelj 2014a; Novaković 2014; Stenhouse 2014; Laureys and Mazzocco 2016; Stenhouse 2017; Špoljarić 2017; Blanchard and Severi 2018; Christian and De Divitiis 2018; Schnapp 2019.

Damiano Acciarino

2.2.1 Cassius Dio

Dione historico delle guerre & fatti de romani: tradotto di greco in lingua vulgare, per m. Nicolo Leoniceno. Con le sue figure à ogni libro, opera nuovamente venuta in luce, ne più in lingua alcuna stampata

Impresso in Vinegia: per Nicolo d'Aristotile di Ferrara detto Zoppino, 1533.

220x160mm

Rovinj City Museum, Inv. No. S 2.432

This 1533 Italian edition presents Cassius Dio's account of Roman history from its legendary foundation to the early third century CE. Combining political narrative, military history, and biographical portraiture, the work examines in depth the rise and fall of the Republic, the emergence of imperial rule, and the exercise of power by emperors and elites.

The work of Cassius Dio resurfaced in Europe during the Renaissance, when the first scholars began systematically returning Greek manuscripts to the continent from Constantinople. It was Giovanni Aurispa who brought Dio's *Roman History* back from obscurity. The codex he consulted has not yet been definitively identified, but it may be related to Laurentianus Plut. 70.10 in Florence, which was copied by Georgius Chrysococces. Aurispa himself produced the first Latin translations of excerpts from Dio's history (book 38), focusing mainly on the dialogues and discourses. These would also appear in print in 1510.



Both manuscript and printed version of the book attracted a great deal of attention from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century scholars. It certainly passed through the hands of Guarino Veronese. Thanks to Bessarion's donation to the Library of Saint Mark in Venice, two additional manuscripts of Dio (Marc. gr. 395 and 396) circulated among the learned community. The presence of Dio's work is also signalled in Rome, in the collection of Pope Sixtus IV (Vat. gr. 144 and 993).

By the end of the fifteenth century, philological interest in Dio's work had developed – for example, Politian discussed two controversial passages in his *Miscellanies* (1489).

The *editio princeps* of Dio's Greek text was sent to the printers rather late, in 1548, by Robert Estienne, even though Marcus Musurus had been pushing for its publication since 1515. Finally, Nicolò Leoniceno published the first complete translation of the work in 1526 (Latin) and in 1533 (Italian).

Lit. Boissevain 1895–1931; Sabbadini 1905; Pfeiffer 1976; Fryde 1983; Wilson 1996; Mallan 2023, pp. 109–131.

Damiano Acciarino

2.2.2 Johannes Rosinus

Romanarum antiquitatum libri decem ex variis scriptoribus summa fide singularique diligentia collecti a Ioanne Rosino Bartholomaei F. Isennacensi Thuringo. Cum indicibus locupletissimis

Lugduni: Sybille de La Porte, 1585.

360x240mm

Rovinj City Museum, Inv. No. S 2.687



This 1585 Lyon edition of Johann Roszfeld's *Romanarum antiquitatum libri decem* offers a systematic survey of Roman antiquities. The German antiquarian scholar, Johann Roszfeld, also known as Rosinus, organised the material into ten books devoted respectively to the topography and population of Rome; gods, temples and religious culture; priesthoods and institutions; the calendar and festivals; public and private life; political organisation; and the Roman military.

Rosinus's collection is one of the finest examples of early modern scholarship concerning the history of classical knowledge in terms of its organisation, scope, and level of detail. Although Rosinus was a Reformed intellectual who had never visited Rome, his ability to digest, compile, and rearrange previous studies on the subject produced one of the most successful works on the interpretation of the Roman past in all its multifaceted forms.

Romanarum antiquitatum libri was first published in 1583 in Basel by the Italian printer Pietro Perna. Subsequent editions promptly followed: the work was printed again in Lyon in 1585, 1606, 1609, and 1663; in Geneva in 1611, 1620, 1632, 1640, and 1659; and in Cologne in 1620, 1645, and 1662. The latest editions were issued in the Low

Countries, primarily in Amsterdam (1685 and 1743), but also in Utrecht (1701). An adaptation for didactic use was edited by Friedrich Hildebrand and published in Jena in 1653. However, the most significant adaptation of the work was carried out by the Scottish scholar and spy Thomas Dempster, who added extensive prolegomena to the text, creating a commentary on Rosinus's treatise.

Rosinus's methodological approach combines literary erudition derived from classical sources, often repurposing information from previous publications on the subject (e.g. Raffaele Maffei's *Commentaria*, 1506), and archaeological knowledge encompassing epigraphic inscriptions, numismatic specimens, architectural drawings, and fragments of statues. As with the textual scholarship, the images reproduce previously published plates, revealing the highly compilative nature of the work itself.

Lit. Dempster 1613; Eckhard 1787; Hoche 1889, pp. 237–239; Herklotz 1999, p. 247; Hermanns 2012, cols 1078–1080.

Damiano Acciarino

2.3 COINS AND INSCRIPTIONS

The collecting of inscriptions—direct witnesses to the Latin language that were not mediated through manuscript copies—became a central concern of early humanists. The earliest documented collections from the eastern Adriatic were assembled locally. One such collection is preserved in the codex known as the *Tragurinus*, now held in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (MS Lat. XIV, 124 [4044]). In the 1430s, the Zadar canon Juraj Benja (Giorgio Begna) copied classical texts into this small codex and presented it to his friend Petar Cipiko (Pietro Cippico) of Trogir, who subsequently added Roman inscriptions collected in the region (Neralić 2012; Lučin 2014; Lučin 2018).

In Split, the collecting of inscriptions as objects and as texts came together. Dmine Papalić (Domenico Papali) transferred inscriptions from the ruins of Salona to his palace, creating the earliest documented lapidary collection in present-day Croatia. Displayed within a patrician residence, the stones served both as historical evidence and as elements of a humanist domestic environment (Belamarić 2001). Marko Marulić (Marco Marulo) drew on this collection in his *In epigrammata priscorum commentarius*, compiled between around 1503 and 1510, and now held in the Bodleian Library in Oxford

(MS Add. A. 25). The work discusses 141 inscriptions, of which 110 are authentic and thirty-one are forgeries. Its coherent section devoted to Papalić's collection comprises twenty-nine monuments, twenty-two ancient and seven falsified. Marulić recognised the latter as inauthentic and selected complete or nearly complete inscriptions whose texts permitted sustained linguistic, historical, and moral commentary (Lučin 2018; Demicheli 2023).

Over time, the collection became dispersed. At least five inscriptions had been incorporated into the walls of the Papalić Palace, from which they were removed in 1885, demonstrating how collecting, display, and reuse could overlap. Eight monuments remain in Split: five in the Archaeological Museum, one still immured in the Papalić Palace, one in the Museum of Church Art on the Peristyle, and one in the substructures of Diocletian's Palace. Four others are now in Verona, Treviso, Florence, and Padua, illustrating the circulation of ancient artefacts between Dalmatia and Italy. The Florentine example is a bronze military diploma from Salona. It had belonged to Marulić, who presented it to Papalić, and was kept in a special box. Later manuscript collections also transmitted the Papalić inscriptions through copies made by Marulić. The assemblage therefore brought together the recovery, display, close reading, and textual circulation of ancient material (Demicheli 2023).

Local knowledge circulated through correspondence, travel, and the exchange of manuscripts. Benja exchanged books with Cipiko and, in 1435, received Cyriacus of Ancona in Zadar, guiding him through the city's antiquities. Cyriacus brought eastern Adriatic inscriptions into wider circulation through compilations later published under the title *Epigrammata reperta per Illyricum* (Rome, 1747). The title situated individual finds within the ancient regional framework of Illyricum. Humanist correspondence combined textual study with direct observation and conveyed reports of inscriptions, sculptures, and ruins between Dalmatia and Italy. Cyriacus's descriptions and drawings extended this network of exchange to Florence, Venice, Ferrara, and Rome (Špikić 2009; Neralić 2012).

Cyriacus recorded Pula early in his antiquarian activity, probably during a visit made in either 1419 or 1423. He described the Arch of the Sergii, the amphitheatre, and several funerary monuments. The inscription on the arch identified Salvia Postuma of the Sergii as its commissioner and named the members of her family whom it commemorated. The inscriptions on the arch and the Temple of Augustus, together with numerous votive and funerary stones, documented the patrons and

religious institutions of Roman Pula. Cyriacus's original notes on Pula have been lost, but material derived from them entered the compilations associated with Giovanni Marcanova, Felice Feliciano, Michele Ferrarini, Marin Sanudo, Fra Giocondo, and Bartolomeo Sanvito (Gudelj 2014a; Gudelj 2014c).

The same practices later generated larger corpora. In Ankara in 1555, Antun Vrančić (Antonio Veranzio) of Šibenik and Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq helped identify and copy the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, the most complete surviving version of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. Vrančić also mentioned his now-lost collection of some two hundred inscriptions, many accompanied by drawings. In 1673, Ivan Lučić (Giovanni Lucio) published the *Inscriptiones Dalmaticae*, bringing together more than two hundred texts from printed sources, direct observation, and regional correspondents. The *Marmora Salonitana*, appended to volume II of *Illyricum Sacrum* in 1753, was compiled and annotated by the Jesuit Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, at Farlati's request, from material collected under Archbishop Pacifico Bizza and transcribed by the Split canon Girolamo Bernardi. Manuscript exchange, travel, and print thus preserved evidence later damaged, displaced, or destroyed (Neralić 2012; Lučin 2018; see cat. 3.1).

The study of Roman inscriptions also encouraged the creation of new public texts in humanist Latin, carved in Roman capitals. In Zadar, Petar Kršava (Pietro Crissava), abbot of St Chrysogonus, restored the damaged Roman arch of Melia Anniana in 1434 and placed it above a public passage (see Zadar) (Lučin 2018; Borić 2023; Borić 2025).

In Dubrovnik, Cyriacus composed new inscriptions for the Rector's Palace and the Great Fountain in 1443 and 1444. The palace texts called the city *Epidaura Ragusa* and associated its government with the Senate, sacred counsel, and St Blaise. The inscription on the fountain commemorated the aqueduct, named the authorities who financed it, and praised its designer, Onofrio della Cava, as the outstanding *architectus* of his age. It represents the first known public reappearance of *architectus* as a professional title since antiquity (Beltramini 2009; Galović 2014; Gudelj 2014a; Gudelj 2023).

The same claim to Epidaurian origins stimulated the study of ancient finds from Cavtat. In 1547, the Ragusan notary Marcus Sylvius published in Rome a commentary of about twenty pages on the inscription of eight lines concerning Publius Cornelius Dolabella. New civic epigraphy and the interpretation of excavated Roman

texts therefore supported the same account of Ragusa as the successor to Epidaurum (Galović 2014; Lučin 2018; Kunčević 2022).

Inscriptions in classical forms also gave monumental expression to foundation narratives. An inscription dating from the late sixteenth century on the western gate of Korčula named the Trojan Antenor as the founder of the city after the fall of Troy (Jovanović 2012). At Koper, a Latin poem inscribed on the Praetorian Palace linked the names Aegida, Capris, and Justinopolis to the aegis of Pallas, the goat and an imperial refoundation. A related pseudo inscription transmitted in the city statute placed the foundation by Justin II near a sanctuary of Pallas and the site where the Colchians who had pursued the Argonauts had rested (Pobežin 2024).

Šibenik had no securely identified Roman predecessor, yet its communal loggia, constructed during the 1530s and 1540s, carried four *all'antica* inscriptions that praised the Venetian rectors Zuan Alvise Venier and Francesco Diedo through Roman examples. The texts described the building as an ornament of Dalmatia and Illyricum. One was executed in gilded bronze letters inserted into stone. The inscriptions joined a new public building to local identity, ancient regional terminology, and Venetian government (Zelić 2014; Gudelj 2018b).

Ancient coins provided portable evidence alongside inscriptions. Their legends preserved names and imperial titles, while their obverses provided portraits. Their reverses condensed deities, victories, rituals, and buildings within a small visual field. Temples, arches, gates, altars, and buildings of several storeys were reduced to recognisable combinations of columns, pediments, arcades, and statues. These images were not accurate architectural surveys, but visual constructions that selected a small number of identifying features. For precisely this reason, they offered artists and patrons concise conventions for representing architecture in medals, reliefs, seals, and other media (Cunnally 1999; Stahl 2013; Ritter 2017).

Zadar provides the clearest documented regional example of numismatic collecting. Archbishop Maffeo Vallaresso owned cameos, ancient coins, and medals, some of which he sent to Pietro Barbo, the future Pope Paul II. His letters show that portable antiquities circulated as objects of study, prestigious gifts, and sources of imagery (Špikić 2009; Melchiorre and Venier 2024). In 1497, Toma Martinov added medals, or casts made after medals, to the silver shrine of St Simeon. These included an image of Apollo and Marsyas derived from an Italian Renaissance medal. Numismatic imagery thus entered one of the city's principal religious and civic monuments (Tomić 2005; Kokole 2008; Borić 2025).

Inventories confirm that coins and medals were collected beyond princely circles. The Dubrovnik painter Nikola Božidarević possessed 150 silver and three gold objects described as 'medals', although the contemporary term could also include ancient coins. In 1528, the Zadar collector Ivan de Ciprianis distinguished 'new silver medals' from 'ancient silver coins'. Easily stored, compared, drawn, cast, and exchanged, coins combined linguistic, historical, and visual evidence. They helped to establish repeatable conventions through which ancient rulers, monuments, and civic achievements could be represented in early modern art (Cunnally 1999; Lučin 2018).

Lit. Cunnally 1999; Belamarić 2001; Tomić 2005; Kokole 2008; Beltramini 2009; Špikić 2009; Jovanović 2012; Neralić 2012; Stahl 2013; Galović 2014; Gudelj 2014a; Lučin 2014; Zelić 2014; Gudelj 2014c; Ritter 2017; Gudelj 2018b; Lučin 2018; Borić 2023; Demicheli 2023; Melchiorre and Venier 2024; Pobežin 2024; Borić 2025.

Jasenska Gudelj

2.3.1 Ivan Lučić

Inscriptiones Dalmaticae

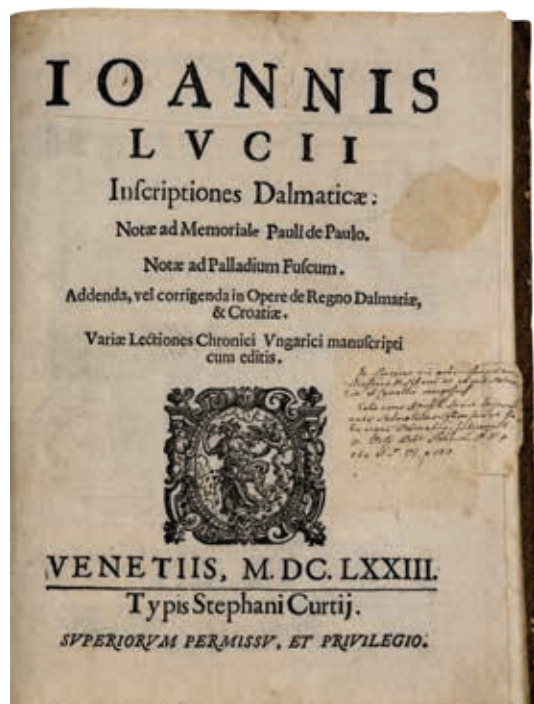
Venetis, typis Stephani Curtij, 1673.

220x16mm

University Library, Pula, Inv. No. R-99.360

Compiled by the Trogir historian Ivan Lučić, or Ioannes Lucius, *Inscriptiones Dalmaticae* brings together Latin inscriptions relevant to the history of Dalmatia. The work belongs to Lučić's larger attempt to establish a critically grounded history of Dalmatia and Croatia, most fully articulated in *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* (1666). As a distinguished member of the Roman confraternity of the Schiavoni, Lučić operated within both local Dalmatian and Roman scholarly circles, drawing together material preserved in cities, archives, private papers, and antiquarian collections.

For Lučić, inscriptions were not merely remnants of ancient monuments, but they were also historical documents to be read alongside charters, civic records, chronicles, and other written testimonies. His original plan was to publish literary and epigraphic material for Dalmatian history together, but this proved impossible. The inscriptions therefore appeared separately in Venice in 1673, as a part of the *Addenda vel corrigenda in opere De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*. The collection thus stands at a point of transition: it preserves the achievements of



Renaissance epigraphic collecting, yet subjects them to a more critical historiographical method typical of the later seventeenth century.

The preface makes clear the extent of Lučić's source base. He begins from Johann Gruter's monumental *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani*, selecting sixty-four inscriptions connected with Dalmatia, while correcting or completing them where better readings were available from Apianus, Scaliger, and other authorities. He then turns to material closer to the eastern Adriatic: the inscriptions from Salona recorded by Marko Marulić in the Papalić Palace in Split, and further Salonitan texts preserved in old papers owned by Lučić.

Other groups of texts came from Lučić's Dalmatian circle of friends, scholars, and collectors: archdeacon Valerio de Ponte and noble Šimun Ljubavac (Simeone Gliubavaz) in Zadar; Franjo Divnić (Francesco Difnicio) and Karlo Vrančić (Carlo Veranzio) in the Šibenik region; and unnamed correspondents, alongside Lučić's own copies made from stones and tablets in Trogir, Solin, and Brač. Through this combination of printed scholarship, local memory, correspondence, friendship, and direct observation, *Inscriptiones Dalmaticae* turned Dalmatia into an epigraphic field of historical enquiry and provided an important point of reference for later antiquarian travellers such as Jacob Spon and George Wheeler.

Lit. Neralić 2012.

Jasenka Gudelj

2.3.2 Louis-François Cassas: View of some Fragments found at Pula and near Trieste

From: Louis-François Cassas and Joseph Lavallée, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie* (Paris, 1802)

Printed illustration on paper

515 x 345mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 59677

Inscription: *Vue de quelques fragments trouvés à Pola et dans les environs de Trieste*

The plate brings together architectural, sculptural, and epigraphic fragments associated with the northern and eastern Adriatic, arranging them as a curated visual inventory of antiquity rather than as a single monument or continuous archaeological view. The assemblage also depends on Gian Rinaldo Carli's antiquarian mediation; the descriptions in the *Voyage pittoresque* state that the fragments shown here are discussed in Count Carli's *Delle antichità italiane* (see cat. 5.4.1).

The French artist and traveller Louis-François Cassas visited Pula in 1782 during his journey along the eastern Adriatic littoral. His impressions were later



published in the monumental *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie* (Paris, 1802), a work combining travel writing, antiquarian scholarship, topographical observation, and carefully composed visual documentation. The watercolour on which this printed plate is based is held by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Inv. No. 1884-1900).

Among them is the Hellenistic funerary marble stele with a warrior and Greek inscription, made in the form of an aedicula or *naiskos* and immured in the façade of the seventeenth-century Elio Palace in Koper. Carli reproduced the same stele, reading the first line as ΔΕΣΜΕΧΟΛΟΧΥΕ, close to what is visible in Cassas's image; later scholarship corrected it to ΔΕΚΜΕ ΦΟΛΟΥΙΕ, identifying the deceased as Decimus Fulvius Dorotheos. The stele, dated to the second or first century BCE and made of Greek marble, has been linked stylistically and epigraphically with the funerary stelae of Rheneia, the necropolis of Delos (Mečulj 2020).

The plate also includes the small ara dedicated by C. Laecanius Ialysus to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, discovered by Abbot Bradamante of Vodnjan near Barbariga and reproduced by Carli with a Medusa head and amphora. It is now in the Museo d'Antichità J.J. Winckelmann, Trieste (Inv. No. 13556; CIL V, 14 = Inscr. It. X, 1, 630). Gaius Laecanius Ialysus belonged to the well-known amphora-producing Laecanii family (Bezczky 2019). Further back appears the inscribed portal of Pula Cathedral, also discussed by Carli (see cat. 2.4.2). The three sculpted figures and illegible inscription in shadow, although described by Cassas as originating from Lissa, appear to form a pastiche based on Carli's illustrations.

By isolating fragments from their settings and recomposing them in a picturesque landscape, Cassas made the Adriatic legible as an antiquarian field shaped by monuments, inscriptions, ruins, and learned memory.

Lit. Kečkemet 1978; Bezczky (ed.) 2019; Mečulj 2020.

Jasenska Gudelj

2.3.3 Roman Coins with Architectural Representations

Images on Roman coinage are exceptionally diverse. On the obverses and reverses of these small objects one may find a wide range of subjects and motifs, including historical figures, flora and fauna, personifications,

symbols, and architecture. In the Roman period, architectural images were most often closely connected with the person responsible for issuing the coin, whether this was an official, the *triumvir monetalis*, charged with overseeing monetary issues, or the emperor himself, who personally controlled the minting of coinage.

Ten coins from the Archaeological Museum of Istria feature reverses depicting different forms of architecture. Two examples date from the Republican period, when Mn. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Volteius issued coins of particular interest to scholars and admirers of architecture. The first (N 18) depicts an equestrian monument set upon a structure with three arches. While the identity of the equestrian figure may never be resolved, the representation of the arches is significant, since according to some interpretations they depict part of the aqueduct begun by the censor M. Aemilius Lepidus. The second coin (N 20) shows the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill. It is also the first coin to depict a Roman temple on the reverse, and the image refers either to the first or second version of the temple, which burned down in 83 BCE.

In the Imperial period, various coin types appear that depict actual buildings, such as the *Ara Providentiae* on the coinage of Emperor Tiberius (N 270) or the Temple of Janus on the coinage of Nero (N 1820), as well as imaginary or idealised buildings that function as carriers of ideas. Among these are different octastyle temples (N 2099 and N 1882). In this context, they are buildings connected with cult, one of the essential factors of social and political life in Rome. Other reverses show anonymous altars, which may be associated both with cult and sacrifice and with the divinisation of individual rulers (N 96 and N 232).

In Late Antiquity, coinage also includes images connected to the everyday life of the Roman soldier. Certain issues depict entrances to military camps (N 264 and N 2036). Here again, the buildings are anonymous, yet they perform a symbolic function: they express the power of the Roman Empire and evoke patriotism and the will to fight among Roman legionary units. Such imagery was particularly appropriate to a period in which Rome was facing threats along the frontiers of the Empire and entering an age of profound instability from which it would never fully recover.

Lit. Babelon 1885; Sydenham 1952; Crawford 1974; Ritter 2017; RIC I; RIC II; RIC IV; RIC VII; RPC III.

Erika Trbojević

Roman Republican Coins

2.3.3.1 Mn. Aemilius Lepidus

Denarius, AR, 3.99 g; diam. 18.6 mm

Obverse: Laureate female bust (possibly Roma), right, draped and wearing diadem. ROMA

Reverse: Three arches, on which stands an equestrian statue: horseman wears cuirass and wreath, and holds spear in right hand. M·N·AEMILIO L E P

Date: 114–113 BCE

Mint: Rome

Findspot: unknown

RRC 291/1

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-18



2.3.3.2 M. Volteius

Denarius, AR, 3.31 g; diam. 19.3 mm

Obverse: Laureate head of Jupiter, right.

Reverse: Capitoline Temple. M·VOLTEI·M·F

Date: 78 BCE

Mint: Rome

Findspot: unknown

RRC 385/1

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-20



Roman Imperial Coins

2.3.3.3 Tiberius (14–37 CE)

As, AE, 10.39 g; diam. 31 mm

Obverse: Head of Augustus, radiate, left. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER

Reverse: Altar-enclosure with double panelled door. PROVIDENT S C

Date: 22–30 CE

Mint: Rome

Findspot: unknown

RIC I² 81

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-270



2.3.3.4 Nero (54–68 CE)

As, AE, 10.70 g; diam. 27.3 mm

Obverse: Head of Nero, laureate, right. NERO CAESAR AVG GERM IMP

Reverse: Temple of Janus, with latticed window, left, and double doors, right, with garland hung across. PACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT S C

Date: 62–68 CE

Mint: Rome

Findspot: unknown

RIC I² 306

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-1820



2.3.3.5 Titus (79–81 CE)

Denarius, AR, 3.30 g; diam. 18.2 mmObverse: Head of Domitian, laureate, right. CAESAR
DIVI F DOMITIANVS COS VIIReverse: Altar with garland and flame; horns, left and
right. PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS

Date: 80–81 CE

Mint: Rome

Findspot: unknown

RIC II.1² 266

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-96



2.3.3.6 Philip I (244–249 CE)

Sestertius, 18.0 g; diam. 29.1 mmObverse: Bust of Philip the Arab, laureate, draped,
cuirassed, right. IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVGReverse: Octastyle temple with statue of Roma in the
centre of the colonnade. SAECVLARES AVGG S C

Date: 248 CE

Mint: Rome

Findspot: unknown

RIC IV.3 164

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-2099



2.3.3.7 Constantius Chlorus (293–305 CE)

Nummus, AE, 6.63 g; diam. 26.1 mmObverse: Head of Constantius Chlorus, veiled, right.
DIVO CONSTANTIO PIOReverse: Eagle, standing front on square two-doored
altar enclosure, spreading wings. MEMORIA DIVI
CONSTANTI

Ex: AQI

Date: 307–310 CE

Mint: *Aquileia*

Findspot: unknown

RIC VI 127

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-232



2.3.3.8 Constantine I (306–337 CE)

Centenionalis, AE, 2.66 g; diam. 19.7 mmObverse: Head of Constantine I, laureate, right.
CONSTAN-TINVS AVGReverse: Camp gate with two turrets, without doors; star
above, dot in door. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG

Ex: SMANTZ

Date: 326–327 CE

Mint: *Antioch*

Findspot: unknown

RIC VII 71

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-264



2.3.3.9 Constantius II (as Caesar 324–337 CE)

Centenionalis, AE, 3.78 g; diam. 19.5 mm

Obverse: Bust of Constantius II, laureate, draped, cuirassed, left. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C

Reverse: Camp gate with two turrets, without doors; star above. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS

Ex: SMANTH

Date: 325–326 CE

Mint: *Antioch*

Findspot: unknown

RIC VII 66

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-2036

Roman Provincial Coins



2.3.3.10 Sabina; Hadrian (117–138 CE)

Koinon of Bithynia

AE 25; 9.66 g; diam. 25.5 mm

Obverse: Draped bust of Sabina, right, with hair coiled and piled on top of head, above double stephane. CABEINA CEBACTH

Reverse: Temple with eight columns on podium; pellet in pediment; Nikai as acroterions. KOI-NON BEIΘYNIAC

Date: 128–133 CE

Mint: Bithynia

Findspot: unknown

RPC III 1016A, SNG von Aulock 291

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-1882



2.3.4 Roman Coins Found in the Area of Pula

Mixed Group of Ancient Coins from the Roman Republic and Empire

Second century BCE–fourth century CE

Roman Republic and Roman Empire

Silver (AR), bronze (AE) and *suberatus*

Various denominations, including silver *denarii* and *antoniniani*, and bronze issues such as *asses*, *sestertii*, *centenionales* and late Roman AE3–AE4 types

Findspot: Pula, Croatia

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. Nos. N-2513, N-1545, N-713, N-2505, N-2502, N-739, N-810, N-2158, N-776, N-2503, N-1546, N-712, N-2514, N-1506, N-841, N-1549 and N-667

RRC 302/1; RIC I² 116; RIC II.1² 384; RIC II.1² 390; RIC II 385; RIC II.3 881–887; RIC II.3² 1355–1367; RIC III 1177; RIC IV 855; RIC IV 90; RIC V 94; RIC VI 36b; RIC VII 22; RIC VIII 215; RIC IX 14a, type XXXII; RIC IX 57c; RIC X 1205

This mixed group comprises coins of the Roman Republic and Empire found in the Pula area and dating from the second century BCE to the fourth century CE. Together, they bear witness both to the flourishing and to the gradual disintegration of Roman power. Numismatic evidence makes it possible to trace the development of the Roman Republic, its transformation into the Empire, and the later divisions that led to the dominance of its eastern part, today known as Byzantium.

Yet, coinage is not only evidence of a Roman history and economy, but it was also an important factor in the formation of later artistic styles and tendencies. The Renaissance provides a particularly telling example: the motifs and formal language of ancient coins, bullae, and medallions became models for the design of Renaissance medals. Architectural imagery appearing on coinage, alongside other ancient sources, likewise served as inspiration for new artistic tendencies grounded in the study and revival of antiquity.

A city such as Pula, situated in the heart of the former Roman world and still rich in ancient remains, including coin finds, was and remains an inexhaustible source of inspiration for admirers of ancient art and history.

Lit. Attwood 2003; RIC I; RIC II; RIC III; RIC IV; RIC V; RIC VI; RIC VII; RIC VIII; RIC IX.

Erika Trbojević



2.3.5 Commemorative Medals of Altobello Averoldi, Bishop of Pula

The two cast bronze medals commissioned by Altobello Averoldi, humanist and bishop of Pula, present his profile portrait on the obverse and classically inspired scenes on the reverse. Their imagery draws on Roman coinage and ancient medallions. On the obverse, both medals show the bishop in the classical format of a bust in profile and facing right. This obverse type can be traced from the coin portraits of Alexander III of Macedon to modern numismatic and medallic practice.

The reverses of Averoldi's medals employ two different forms of classical reference. In the case of Maffeo Olivieri's medal (NV-5083), the reverse depicts the personification of Truth, drawing on a widespread ancient, and especially Roman, practice of representing abstract concepts through allegorical figures. Roman coinage frequently included visual personifications of ideas such as Victory and Liberty, as well as territorial and geographical entities, including provinces and rivers.

The second medal, attributed to Antonio Vicentino (NV-5082), likewise displays elements characteristic of the ancient tradition, relying on classical motifs and modes of representation derived from Roman monetary imagery. Its reverse shows an official holding a sceptre, seated on a curule chair that is placed on a raised pedestal, and receiving a man wrapped in drapery. In the background

stand two male figures, one of whom holds a cornucopia. Comparable scenes occur on ancient Roman coins, most often on the sestertii of Roman emperors.

Lit. Armand 1883; Hill 1920; Attwood 2003; Gudelj 2008; Trbojević 2024; RIC II.1².

Erika Trbojević

2.3.5.1 Antonio Vicentino

Commemorative Medal of Altobello Averoldi

1523–1531 CE

Cast bronze

127 g; diam. 68 mm

Obverse: Bust of Altobello Averoldi in profile to right, wearing berretto and roccetto, ALTOBELLVS • AVEROLDVS • EPIS(copus) • POLEN(sis) • BONON(iae) • ETC • TER • GVBER(nator)

Reverse: On the right, an official seated on a curule chair, placed on a raised pedestal, holds a sceptre and receives a man wrapped in drapery. In the background, two men, one of whom holds a cornucopia, MATVRA CELERITAS

Production: Vicenza

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-5082

Lit. Armand 1883, II, p. 104, n. 13; Hill 1930, n. 470; Attwood 2003, n. 397; Pollard 2007, n. 540.



2.3.5.2 Maffeo Olivieri

Commemorative Medal of Altobello Averoldi

1523 CE

Cast bronze

271 g; diam. 91 mm

Obverse: Bust of Altobello Averoldi in profile to right, wearing berretto and rochetto, ALTOBELLVS • AVEROLDVS • BRIXIEN(sis) • POLEN(sis) • EP(i)S(copus) • VEN(etiae) • LEG(a)T(us) • APOST(olicus) •

Reverse: Truth unveiled, a nude female (Truth) struggles against two nude male figures who pull away her veil: • VERITATI • D(icatum) •

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. N-5083

Lit. Armand 1883, II, p. 104, n. 12; Forrer 1902, IV, p. 319; Hill 1930, n. 486; Middeldorf and Goetz 1944, n. 59; Hill and Pollard 1967, p. 33, n. 161.

2.4 PUTTI AND MARINE CREATURES

The antiquities of Pula, Zadar, and Split preserve several ancient variants of the infant figure conventionally described as the putto. The term, however, conceals important differences. Roman children may represent Erotes, genii, or funerary spirits; while Renaissance documents distinguish between putti, *spiritelli*, and angels according to their attributes and functions (Dempsey 2001; Franceschini 2017).

On the side of the Arch of the Sergii facing the city, paired putti suspend festoons on either side of a wreathed bucranium, linking images of abundance and sacrifice with the commemorative programme (Pochmarski 2013). In Zadar, two putti hold a garland around the epitaph carved on the Liburnian cippus of Quintus Tullius Primigenius (Lazinica and Maršić 2017). Split offers

the richest ensemble. Beneath the dome of Diocletian's Mausoleum, now the Cathedral of St Domnius, Erotes hunt, race chariots, and carry festoons below theatrical masks. A winged pair supports the portrait medallion usually identified as the empress Prisca. Infant figures could therefore evoke festivity, death, commemoration, and imperial apotheosis (Jadrić-Kučan and Banovac 2021; Babić and Babić 2022).

Discovered in 2025 in a Roman domus in Castropola Street and exhibited here for the first time, a marble Sleeping Eros reclines on the lion skin of Hercules, with his head resting on the lion's muzzle and a lizard beside him. His discovery recalls the excitement surrounding ancient finds during the Renaissance. When the Laocoön group was uncovered in 1506, artists immediately began to draw it (Barkan 1999). The figure also evokes the story of Michelangelo's lost *Sleeping Cupid*. Young Michelangelo apparently attempted to establish his authorship of the sculpture inspired by ancient models, but a art dealer arranged for the sculpture to be sold to Cardinal Raffaele Riario as an antiquity (Christian 2024). A sheet in the album of drawings entitled *Busts & Statues in Whitehall Gardens*, dating from about 1629 and now in the Royal Collection at Windsor, shows two Cupids reclining on lion skins beside a third figure lying on draped stone. One of these figures was once identified as Michelangelo's sculpture. Probably lost in the Whitehall fire of 1698, these possibly ancient sculptures attest to the appeal of this iconographic type among early modern collectors (Hirst 1994; Christian 2024).

The Renaissance revival of the putto was not a simple recovery of pagan ornament. Donatello's bronze *spiritelli* for the baptismal font in Siena transformed the antique child into an autonomous body whose precarious balance activated the surrounding architecture (Caglioti 2003; Caglioti 2015). Hovering between Eros and angel, life and death, the figure mediated between antiquity and Christianity, particularly on tombs, portals, and baptismal fonts (Franceschini 2017; Franceschini and Cavero de Carondelet 2025; Gudelj 2025).

Pula shows such inventions moving across the Adriatic in both directions. The putti carrying garlands on the Arch of the Sergii reappeared on the triumphal arch of Alfonso I at Castel Nuovo in Naples, probably through an antiquarian drawing associated with Ciriaco d'Ancona (Gudelj 2014a,b,c). On the portal commissioned by Abbot Georgius for Pula Cathedral in 1456, Dionysian figures harvesting grapes and angel musicians, including early copies of Donatello's angels for the Santo in Padua, flank the Annunciation. They place pagan intoxication

and Christian harmony within a history of salvation (see cat. 2.4.2).

In Zadar, Archbishop Maffeo Vallaresso's request in 1453 for drawings of *feste romane* with animal heads reveals a deliberate search for an ancient visual vocabulary. Festoons from his lost palace survive, while reliefs from the Pasini and Ghirardini palaces, attributed to Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino, combine putti and garlands within family residences. Dancing putti also support the holy water stoup made for the Church of St Michael around 1500 (Borić 2025).

At Šibenik Cathedral, two putti display the inscription of 1443 on the northern apse, above the signature of Juraj Dalmatinac, while three winged boys strain beneath the red stone baptismal font. Their clubs evoke both Hercules and the cathedral's titular saint, St James, combining an antique bearer figure with Christian iconography. In Andrea Alessi's baptistery at Trogir, completed in 1467, putti carrying festoons animate the frieze, while three winged figures grasp a circular garland beneath the basin. The building takes the former Temple of Jupiter at Split, converted into a baptistery, as its architectural model. Ancient architecture, Italian models, and Dalmatian sculpture thus became inseparable (Gudelj 2025).

In Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino's Chapel of the Blessed John at Trogir, twenty-one *spiritelli* emerge from partly open doors holding torches. The ancient genius bearing a torch and the entrance to Hades are transformed into a passage from darkness towards sacred light. Above them, *puttini* support the cornice that is beneath the apostles and angels (Štefanac 1996; 2006; Ivančević 1997; Belamarić 2004; Gudelj 2018a). The putto could carry a garland, font, inscription, medallion, or torch precisely because its unstable identity allowed ancient memory to become Christian renewal.

Marine creatures offered a comparable vocabulary of transformation. Tritons, Nereids, dolphins, hippocamps, and *ceti* belonged to the decorative language of ancient Adriatic ports; but Renaissance terminology was no more stable than that of the putto. A Triton usually had a human male torso ending in the tail of a fish or sea serpent and often blew a conch. Female hybrids could be identified as Nereids, Tritonesses, or Scylla, while the medieval siren, originally part woman and part bird, was increasingly represented with one or two fish tails. 'Mermaid' is therefore best understood as a flexible early modern category rather than an exact classical identity (Luchs 2010).

The Arch of the Sergii connects its Erotes with a marine world. Dolphins frame the eagle and serpent in the central coffer, while *ceti* and hippocamps occupy the intrados. Roman reliefs from Pula represent Triton and other water divinities (cat. 2.4.4). A mosaic from the governor's palace at Salona shows the head of Triton rising from the sea, surrounded by seaweed, crab claws, and octopus tentacles. Now divided between the archaeological museums of Pula and Split, these works demonstrate the richness of the ancient repertoire from which later images drew their authority (Girardi Jurkić 2012; Jeličić Radonić 2019).

Venice made this inherited language peculiarly its own. Marine hybrids could evoke danger, the passage of the soul, erotic desire, fertility, antiquity, or dominion. From books they migrated to tombs, churches, civic monuments, and domestic bronzes (Luchs 2010). Mantegna's *Battle of the Sea Gods*, engraved before 1481, transformed sea centaurs, Tritons, and Nereids derived from ancient sarcophagi into a violent marine frieze (Ceriana 2004). At Santa Maria dei Miracoli, marble plinths attributed to Tullio and Antonio Lombardo, place putti among paired marine hybrids, redirecting funerary imagery towards Christian death and rebirth. The Lombardo brothers employed the same repertoire in their work for the *Camerino d'alabastro* of Isabella d'Este in Ferrara. On Alessandro Leopardi's bronze flagstaff bases in Piazza San Marco, Tritons, Nereids, dolphins, ships, and trophies connect lagoon, fleet, sea, and land with the ceremonial centre of the Republic. Their mixed bodies present Venice as both a maritime empire and the successor to antiquity (Ceriana 2004; Luchs 2010).

The same imagery celebrated Venice from the eastern Adriatic shore. In the *Panegyricus* of 1482 by Alvise Cipiko (Cippico), Triton answers the trumpets of the Venetian fleet. In the poetry of Ludovik Paskalić (Lodovico Pascale), he welcomes travellers and witnesses naval conflict; while the Thieneis of Kajetan Vičić (Gaetano Vicich) presents the *Nereides Venetae* as guardians of a city founded on glassy waters (Cipiko 1482; Paskalić before 1551; Vičić 1686; CROALA). Elsewhere, sea divinities gave form to local memory. Ivan Bolica (Giovanni Bona de Boliris) placed Nereids in the Gurdić spring at Kotor. Didak Pir (Didaco Pirro) transformed the islands of Lopud, Mljet, and Lokrum into sea nymphs and asked the Nereids to name the founders of Dubrovnik. After the earthquake of 1667, Benedikt Rogačić (Benedetto Rogacci) imagined the *Iliricae Nereides* fleeing beneath the waves (Bolica c. 1538–1551; Pir 1563; Pir 1595; Rogačić 1690; CROALA). Finally, a vignette used in several volumes of the late eighteenth-century ecclesiastical encyclopaedia *Illyricum Sacrum* represents the subjection of Dalmatia to the Serenissima through an interplay of marine creatures (see cat. 3.1).

Texts, objects, and accounts of marvels moved across these categories. Poggio Bracciolini recorded a horned and bearded Triton that attacked women and children on the Dalmatian coast before five washerwomen killed it. Its 'wooden form' was displayed at Ferrara, and the story was later associated with Dürer's *Sea Monster* (Panofsky 1955; Brown 2016). At Zadar in 1435, Ciriaco d'Ancona copied the inscription TRITON NEPTVNI TVBICEN and described the trumpeting Triton on the Roman arch erected by Melia Anniana. Incorporated into the Sea Gate after the Battle of Lepanto, the arch became a memorial to Christian naval victory, while its Triton is now lost (Borić 2023). The bone casket in the Church of St George at Piran, dating from the tenth century and later reused as a reliquary, depicts a hippocamp ridden by a human figure, possibly a Nereid (cat. 3.4).

In the villas of sixteenth-century Dubrovnik, marine antiquity became part of the representation of elite status. The garden fountain at the Sorkočević villa in Komolac contains a Triton standing on dolphins, while the bearded masks that came to dominate stone washbasins in villas and palaces derive more precisely from Roman representations of Oceanus. Their dolphins, flowing hair, and scrolling forms made running water appear to issue from the ancient god himself, transforming an everyday act into a learned performance of hospitality and belonging (Baće and Zeman 2020).

Across the Adriatic, sea creatures did not constitute a single emblem with a fixed meaning. In Venice, they could magnify the naval sovereignty and classical destiny of the Serenissima. In Zadar, they transformed a Roman harbour monument into a memorial to Lepanto. In Kotor and Dubrovnik, they inhabited springs, islands, genealogies, and villas. In Piran, sacred reuse carried pagan bodies into a Christian treasury; while in Pula and Split archaeological survivals made the ancient sea materially present. Like the putto, the marine hybrid was valuable precisely because it crossed boundaries between human and animal, land and water, and antiquity and Christianity. Its migrations reveal an Adriatic visual culture formed not through the passive reception of Venetian models, but through continual exchange among ruins, portable objects, texts, workshops, civic rituals, and the lived experience of the sea (Luchs 2010; Baće and Zeman 2020; Borić 2023).

Lit. Cipiko 1482; Bolica c. 1538–1551; Paskalić 1551; Pir 1563; Pir 1582; Vičić 1686; Rogačić 1690; Panofsky 1955; Lightbown 1986; Hirst and Dunkerton 1994; Ivančević 1997; Pope-Hennessy 1996; Barkan 1999; Dempsey 2001; Caglioti 2003; Golob 2005; Milinović 2005; Tomić 2005; Luca 2006; Luchs 2010; Borić 2012; Girardi Jurkić 2012; Gudelj 2014a; Gudelj 2014b; Brown



Sculptures of
Cupids, Album of
Busts & Statues in
Whitehall Gardens,
Windsor, Royal
collection, RCIN
908914, Royal
Collection Trust,
His Majesty King
Charles III

2016; Franceschini 2017; Lazinica and Maršić 2017;
Jeličić Radonić 2019; Baće and Zeman 2020; Jadrić-
Kučan and Banovac 2021; Babić and Babić 2022; Borić
2023; Christian 2024; Franceschini and Caverio de
Carondelet 2025; Gudelj 2025.

Jasenska Gudelj

2.4.1 Sleeping Eros/Cupid

Second century CE

Marble

H. 30 cm; W. 44 cm; L. 98 cm

Findspot: Pula, Glavinićev uspon, 2025

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. A-50152

This fully preserved marble sculpture depicts the sleeping Eros, or Cupid. The sculpture was carved from a single block of fine white marble originating from the renowned quarries of Carrara, Italy.

The figure of the sleeping god of love lies peacefully and at ease on a lion skin, set upon an oval base. He is depicted as a naked, winged boy with a softly rounded body and harmonious proportions. He lies on his left side with his legs crossed. His right leg is extended and slightly bent, resting against the lower part of the sharply flexed left leg. His left arm is bent at the elbow and ends in a lightly clenched fist beside his head, touching the thick locks of his hair. His right arm crosses his chest and is bent at the elbow, while the palm of his outstretched hand rests upon his left shoulder.



Eros has a round, soft, and plump face, small lips, and closed eyelids, conveying the tranquillity of deep sleep. Pronounced, tightly curled locks of medium-length hair fall on either side of his face. Over the crown, the hair is combed forwards and tied up above the forehead. He lies upon his left wing, the feathers of which are only slightly visible beneath his torso. His other wing is raised and visible above his shoulder.

The lion skin on which Eros lies is the well-known attribute of the mythical hero Heracles, or Hercules in Roman mythology. The composition is associated with an episode from the life of Heracles in which Eros steals the hero's attributes, alluding to the irresistible power of love and its triumph over brute strength.

The sleeping Eros is accompanied by a lizard, depicted as though keeping watch over him so that his sleep remains undisturbed. In ancient art, the motif of the lizard frequently appears in sculptures of this type as a symbol of spring, renewal, and rebirth.

Derived from Greek art, sculptures depicting sleeping Eros, or the Roman Cupid, became particularly popular among the Romans during the imperial period, from the first to the fourth century CE. They were displayed in a variety of contexts. They could be dedicated as votive offerings in sanctuaries, but also used to decorate Roman public baths, fountains, and private villas, as well as children's funerary monuments.

In Pula, the sculpture of Eros was discovered within a wealthy urban residence—a Roman domus. Its function was therefore most probably decorative, although it may also have had a votive significance, since parents used such images to invoke health and protection for their children.

Lit. Hemingway and Stone 2017, pp. 46–63; Wypustek 2014, pp. 80–82; Aristodemou 2021, pp. 25–42

Silvana Petešić

2.4.2 Portal with Reliefs on the South Side of Pula Cathedral

1456

Istrian limestone

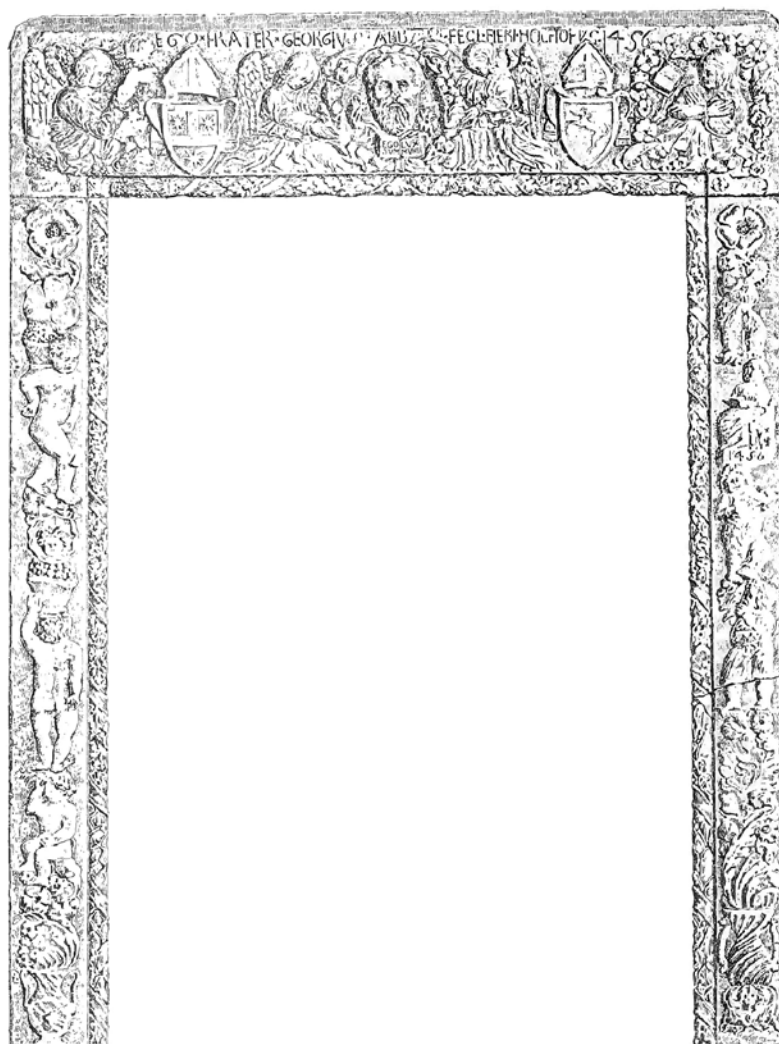
H. 378 cm; W. 252 cm

Drawing: Giulio de Franceschi, from Giuseppe Caprin, *Istria Nobilissima*, F. H. Schimpff, Trieste, 1905, vol. 1, p. 18.

The portal comprises three carved members whose reliefs form three clearly defined thematic groups.

On the left jamb, naked putti are shown harvesting grapes. This subject is very common on ancient sarcophagi, where it functions as a metaphor for enjoyment of the fruits of nature. Scenes in which putti, or erotes, take part in riotous drinking in the company of the god Dionysus are also frequent. That the Pula relief includes a detail from a Dionysiac scene is confirmed by the figure at the very bottom: a small boy, shown in a half-reclining and unstable pose, holds one hand to his head. This is the image of a little drunkard, overcome by excessive drinking, a motif that appears on several Roman sarcophagi.

The lintel bears an entirely Christian composition: the Annunciation, with God the Father at the centre. It also carries an inscription recording the date of execution and the name of the patron, Georgius (de Capitani?), abbot of the Benedictine abbey of St Michael on the Hill near Pula, who held office between 1453 and 1457. Alongside the abbot's coat of arms is that of the bishop of Pula between 1451 and 1465, Moyses Buffarelli. On the right jamb are clothed musical putti, representing angels in the Christian paradise. Among them, the patron of the portal, Abbot



Georgius, had himself depicted, further emphasising his presence in historical time with the year 1456 carved on the base of the abbatial chair.

A drawing of the portal by Giulio de Franceschi was published by G. Caprin in the first volume of *L'Istria nobilissima* in 1905, with the note that its parts had been “excavated on two occasions a few years earlier near the Bishop’s Palace”. In 1927, during a major restoration campaign, the portal was installed as the southern entrance to Pula Cathedral.

Ivan Matejčić proposed an interpretation of the message that the learned abbot, shown with a large book in his lap, sought to articulate through this sculptural programme. The key to its interpretation lies in the ideas of humanists fascinated by antiquity, with the closest and most eloquent parallels found in mid-fifteenth-century Padua, where such interests were strongly stimulated by Donatello’s inventions. The great Florentine sculptor frequently employed figures and scenes drawn from ancient mythology, with putti especially prominent, as a kind of “background commentary”—a pictorial, hidden parallel to, or even anticipation of, Christian subject matter.

Samo Štefanac recognised that the poses of the two musical angels are awkward copies of figures made by Donatello and his collaborators for the altar of the Basilica of St Anthony in Padua (1446–1453). It may therefore be concluded that Abbot Georgius attempted to create a message in which the pagan world of antiquity and the world endowed with the Christian promise of salvation are mirrored as opposites. In this reading, the left jamb represents the ancient age: a pagan, natural, yet godlessly unrestrained world before Christ. The lintel marks the entry into a new era, beginning with the salvific appearance of Christ on earth through the Annunciation. The right jamb represents the eternity of the redeemed, resounding with the music of paradise.

Although conceptually subtle and carefully devised, the composition was unfortunately executed by artists of limited ability. Nevertheless, it may be counted among the rare works of art in this region that attempted to connect the ideological and visual world of antiquity with Christian dogma. It also bears witness to the presence of a humanist atmosphere in Pula in the mid-fifteenth century, perhaps stimulated by the strong interest of the cultural elite of the time in the city’s ancient monuments.

Lit. Caprin 1905, p. 18; Štefanac 2008, pp. 203–225; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 34–35; Marković, Matejčić and Tulić 2017, pp. 16, 147–150; Matejčić 2017.

Ivan Matejčić

2.4.3 Fragment of a Slab with a Putto

Fifteenth century

Marble

Provenance: Pula Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary

H. 33.5 cm; W. 27 cm; Th. 8 cm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. S-490

This small, previously unpublished fragment of a marble plaque shows a putto in half length, turned to the right in three-quarter profile. Although most of the plaque is missing, the position of the outstretched arms makes it clear that the putto was holding an object, perhaps a torch or a coat of arms.

Images of putti were known in antiquity, where they symbolised love, the joy of life, abundance, and protection. They later also appeared as divine messengers, assuming an angelic character. Putti adorned works of both secular and sacred function.

Tatjana Bradara



2.4.4 Slab with a Relief of a Triton

First third of the first century CE

Limestone

H. 120 cm; W. 80 cm; D. 25 cm

Findspot: Pula

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. A-395

This relief plaque depicting Triton most likely formed part of the monumental parapet decoration of the forum portico in Roman Pula and represents an outstanding example of Early Imperial architectural sculpture. Framed above and below by mouldings, the relief presents a scene set upon a turbulent, undulating sea.

Triton, the mythological sea deity, herald of the sea and son of Neptune and Salacia, is shown holding his characteristic attribute, a spiral conch shell, in his right hand as he blows it like a trumpet. According to classical mythology, the sound of the shell could either calm or stir the waves. In his left hand he raises a rudder resting upon his shoulder, symbolising mastery over the sea. To his right appears a dolphin turning leftwards while devouring a fish. The moulding in the upper-right corner of the plaque is partially damaged.

In accordance with ancient iconographic convention, Triton is represented as a hybrid being. His upper

body takes the form of a powerful, muscular man with thick hair and a long beard, while the lower body is rendered as a marine serpent with fins terminating in a stylised fish tail. This type of representation closely follows established Graeco-Roman models and reflects the enduring popularity of Triton imagery throughout antiquity.

Depictions of Triton were among the most favoured themes of ancient art and occur in a wide range of media, including sculpture, relief carving, wall painting, floor mosaics, and luxury objects in metalwork and ceramics. In Roman visual culture, Triton frequently appears as part of the marine thiasos, the retinue of sea divinities associated with Neptune.

The plaque originally formed part of a decorative sequence within the parapet of the forum portico, alongside bases and relief panels adorned with representations of Medusa, Jupiter Ammon, erotes, and eagles supporting garlands. Within the official artistic language of the early Roman Empire, images of Triton and the marine thiasos were not merely decorative motifs derived from mythology. Rather, they carried a strong ideological message, celebrating Roman dominion over the seas and alluding directly to Octavian's naval victory at Actium and the establishment of peace on both land and sea. In the context of Julio-Claudian public art, the relief therefore fulfilled both a decorative and a political function, contributing to the visual articulation of imperial power and the benefits of Roman rule.

Lit. Reichel 1892, 151–169; Gnirs 1915; Budischovsky 1973, 201–220; Zanker 1990; Cermanović-Kuzmanović and Srejšević 1992; Starac 1996, 71–89; Medar 1997; Woodford 2003; Kleiner 2018.

Aska Šopar



2.4.5 After Giovanni Battista Bertani and Lorenzo Costa the Younger

Triton with a Buccina on a Hippocamp

Mid-sixteenth century

Pen and brown ink drawing, with brown wash applied by brush

Brown-toned handmade paper laid down on cardboard
223 × 173 mm

No signature or inscription

No watermark

Provenance: Tiller Collection

Department of Prints and Drawings, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, Inv. No. 1907



The drawing *Triton with a Buccina on a Hippocamp*, previously published under descriptive titles, depicts Triton, son of the sea god Poseidon, or Neptune, and the Nereid Amphitrite. As herald and attendant of the marine deities, and as lord of the sea and sea creatures, he is shown riding a hippocamp, a mythical sea creature that is half horse and half fish. The motif derives from the decorative repertoire of antiquity and became widespread and highly popular among Mannerist artists in the sixteenth century.

Margarita Sveštarov Šimat attributed the drawing to Giovanni Battista Bertani and Lorenzo Costa the Younger, both followers of Giulio Romano (Sveštarov Šimat 2009, p. 32). Bertani, an architect, accomplished painter, and, after Giulio Romano, prefect of the building works of the ducal complex in Mantua (Carpeggiani 1992, pp. 18–21), was responsible for the compositional invention. This invention formed part of his maritime and mythological decorative allegorical programme for the Sala dei Pesci, or Sala di Nettuno, within the Palazzo Te complex. The

frescoes themselves were executed around 1561 by Bertani's collaborator, the painter Lorenzo Costa the Younger. The motif of Triton on a hippocamp appeared in one of the compartments of the lunettes or vaulting system (Tordella 1998, p. 338).

Derivations of Bertani's invention, including drawings in the William Benton Museum of Art at the University of Connecticut in Storrs, the Biblioteca Comunale in Arezzo (MS 474, fol. 4r), and the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi in Florence (inv. 1266S), testify to the broad reception of the motif (Tordella 1998, p. 337). Comparison between these copies, Bertani's surviving corpus of drawings in the Uffizi (GDSU, inv. 15982F, 15983F, 15985F, 15986F), and the drawing *Apollo on a Chariot* in the Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (Inv. No. 6047; Assmann 2019, p. 214), with the Zagreb drawing reveals deviations in ductus and style from Bertani's characteristic expressive visual idiom.

Although the compositional correspondence and the analogous typology of the horse confirm Bertani's invention, the absence of squaring, which is present on all of his preparatory drawings, together with the more restrained expressiveness, the reduction of pictorial description, and the more strongly defined contour lines, calls his authorship into question. The Zagreb drawing is therefore another version by an unknown Mannerist master, executed after Bertani's model or after Costa's painted realisation. Like the other copies, it confirms the circulation of Bertani's compositional solution and its integration into the visual memory of the Mantuan and wider Mannerist milieu.

Lit. Carpeggiani 1992; Tordella 1998; Sveštarov Šimat 2009, cat. 7, pp. 32–33; Sveštarov Šimat 2009; Assmann 2019.

Ana Petković Basletić

2.4.6 James Stuart and Nicholas Revett: Decoration of the Arch of Sergii in Pula

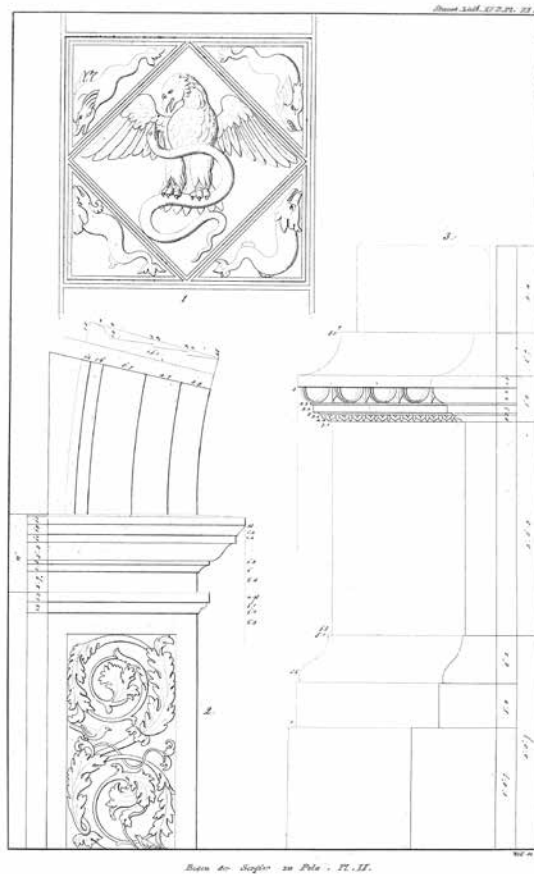
From: James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Bogen der Sergiier zu Pola, Die Alterthümer zu Athen*. Vol. IV. Leipzig und Darmstadt: Verlag von Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1833, Pl. IX.

Printed illustration on paper

495 × 325 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63551

The decoration of the Arch of the Sergii in Pula, reproduced here in the German edition of James Stuart



and Nicholas Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, attests to the enduring antiquarian interest not only in the monument's architecture, but also in its ornamental vocabulary.

The illustration records one of the most distinctive compositions on the arch. Four dolphins surround an eagle grasping a serpent in its talons. Associated with Jupiter and imperial power, the eagle introduces an image of victory and domination. Although later interpretations understood the encounter as an allegory of the struggle between good and evil, within the Roman context it belonged more directly to a visual language of triumph, divine protection, and authority (Starac 2020).

The dolphins add a specifically marine dimension to the composition. In Roman visual culture, they were associated with favourable sea journeys, divine assistance, and the passage of souls, but also with Venus, desire, and abundance. On a monument erected by Salvia Postuma of the Sergii to commemorate members of her family, these motifs brought together personal memory, social distinction, and the imagery of power (Starac 2020).

Their careful reproduction in an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquarian publication demonstrates

how the arch came to be valued both as a Roman monument and as a repertory of ancient architectural ornament. The German edition introduced Stuart's documentation of Pula to a wider audience of architects and scholars across German-speaking Central Europe (Soros 2006; Kreeb 2020).

Lit. Soros 2006; Kreeb 2020; Starac 2020.

Jasenska Gudelj

2.5 EMPERORS

Throughout the Middle Ages, the Roman Empire continued to function as a powerful juridical and ideological model, and assumed a salvific role in theological thought, as exemplified by Dante Alighieri's *Convivio* (1.4.4–5), *Monarchia* and *Commedia* (*Paradiso* 6). With the rise of Humanism, however, the Empire as a historical institution—and emperors as individual agents—acquired new prominence. Although medieval historiography had preserved the memory of individual rulers, fifteenth-century philological and antiquarian methods fostered a more systematic interest in reconstructing their lives, deeds, and historical identities.

The rediscovery of classical works, first in Latin and subsequently in Greek, together with a renewed engagement with long-neglected texts, revived biographical interest in the Roman emperors. The ancient source that perhaps best embodies this revival is Suetonius's *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*. Although Suetonius remained known throughout the Middle Ages—Einhard is generally believed to have drawn inspiration from it for his *Life of Charlemagne* (Innes 1997)—it was Petrarch who restored the work to a position of renewed centrality within humanistic scholarship (Billanovich 1954; Bertè 2011; Fazon and Lorenzi 2019). Not only did he study the text extensively, filling its margins with annotations of extraordinary cultural value, but he also drew inspiration from it for the revival of the literary genre of the lives of illustrious men in his *De viris illustribus*. The final section of this unfinished work was intended to include the lives of the first five Roman emperors—Julius Caesar, Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, and Trajan—although Petrarch ultimately limited himself to the first, in the section that later became the independent *De gestis Caesaris*. Suetonius would become one of the most studied authors in the following centuries, and his work was studied closely by scholars such as Poliziano and Filippo Beroaldo, the latter producing an extensive commentary (Gardenal 1975; Tomaiuolo 2020).

Equally important for understanding how the biographical tradition applied to the emperors was the renewed appreciation of the so-called *Historia Augusta*, a collection of imperial biographies traditionally attributed to several late antique authors. Although the work remained known throughout the Middle Ages, it received relatively little scholarly attention before becoming a principal source for the *Historia Imperialis* by the Veronese scholar Giovanni de Matociis, known as the *Mansionarius*, composed during the 1330s (Bottari 1991). Yet, the most remarkable innovation of this work lies in the drawings placed in the manuscript margins, depicting the emperors as they appear in the text. These images were clearly indebted to portraits on ancient coins, whose historical and philological value—together with that of inscriptions and antiquities more generally—was then experiencing a profound revival (Weiss 1969).

It is therefore no coincidence that the highly successful Renaissance tradition of imperial portraiture drew its imagery directly from numismatic sources and, indeed, became increasingly intertwined with them. The best-known examples are Andrea Fulvio's *Imagines* (1517), Johann Huttich's *Libellus* (1525), Enea Vico's *Immagini* (1548), and Hubert Goltzius's *Icones* (1557). The illustrations that populate these works naturally adopted the familiar profile portrait derived from coin specimens, a format that had already entered fifteenth-century portraiture, particularly through artists such as Pisanello, Piero della Francesca, and Mantegna.

Numismatic evidence offered two complementary interpretative frameworks: one historiographical and the other iconographical. Coins transmitted not only the appearance of the ruler whose authority guaranteed both the political legitimacy and the economic value of the currency, but also additional information conveyed through their legends. Combined with literary, epigraphic, and biographical evidence, they enabled Renaissance scholars to reconstruct not only the succession of emperors but also their historical personalities. Thus history, understood as the narrated sequence of events, came to be projected onto the representation of faces, while portraiture became the privileged medium through which individual character and political identity could be visualised.

Numismatic evidence did not, however, constitute the only visual authority for the reconstruction of imperial physiognomies. As archaeological discoveries multiplied and collections of ancient sculpture expanded during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, surviving marble busts increasingly came to complement the testimony of coins. Humanist antiquarians compared sculptural portraits with

numismatic, epigraphic, and literary evidence, seeking to reconcile these different sources into historically reliable images of the emperors. The result was an antiquarian methodology in which portraiture emerged from the convergence of multiple forms of material and textual evidence rather than from a single visual tradition (Davenport, Malik 2024). A notable example is Titian's celebrated cycle of the *Eleven Caesars*, painted between c. 1536 and 1540 for Federico II Gonzaga at the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua (destroyed in the fire of 1734 and now known through copies, foremost among them are those by Aegidius Sadeler II and Bernardino Campi). Conceived as a visual counterpart to Suetonius's *Lives*, the series drew upon the rich antiquarian collections of the Gonzaga court, where ancient busts, coins, inscriptions, and other Roman artefacts collectively informed the reconstruction of imperial likenesses.

While studies of the emperors could draw upon a wide range of antiquarian evidence—literary, epigraphic, architectural, archaeological, and numismatic—the question of their likenesses inevitably raised problems of chronological, geographical, and onomastic accuracy. From this perspective, it becomes clear why attempts to establish a reliable tradition of imperial portraits, linking them to the reconstruction of the emperors' lives, developed alongside efforts to establish the most dependable chronology possible. This objective was pursued through the process of *chronotaxis*, namely the compilation of a chronological list, including the duration of each reign, of all those who had succeeded one another at the head of the Empire—an institution whose continuity could, at least in theory, be traced down to the present. Such is the case, for example, with Heinrich Pantaleon's *Chronographia* (1551) and Onofrio Panvinio's edition of the *Fasti et triumphi Romanorum* (1558), modelled on papal and episcopal *chronotaxes* and situated within an antiquarian tradition extending from Bartolomeo Platina to Cesare Baronio (Acciarino 2022, pp. 173–213).

During the early modern period, imperial biographies, the episodes they recounted, and, consequently, their artistic and iconographical representation played a central role in shaping the moral interpretation of the emperors themselves (Huijbers 2022). More than simply recording historical events, these narratives encouraged readers and viewers alike to evaluate the virtues and vices embodied by individual rulers, thereby influencing historiographical judgement and promoting particular models of political conduct as exempla either to emulate or to avoid. In this context, Tacitus's *Annales*, Plutarch, and Cassius Dio became fundamental sources and reference points for all scholars.

Portraits and historical cycles of the emperors were therefore never conceived exclusively as antiquarian reconstructions, but as tangible counterparts to the moral lessons conveyed by ancient historiography. In this respect, the opening dedication of Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* offers perhaps the clearest statement of the pedagogical value attributed to historical narration in general. By comparing the study of the deeds of great rulers to the elevated vantage point from which a painter observes the landscape in order to represent it faithfully, Machiavelli showed that knowledge of past princes provided an indispensable guide for understanding political action in the present. Imperial biographies thus became not only repositories of historical memory but also instruments of ethical reflection and practical governance (Martelli 1998).

This moral interpretation of Roman emperors reached one of its fullest expressions in Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Institutio principis christiani* (1516), dedicated to the future Emperor Charles V. Conceived as a manual for princely education, the treatise repeatedly invokes Roman emperors as moral paradigms through which the nature of legitimate authority could be defined (De Michelis Pintacuda 1987). Erasmus presents Augustus, Trajan, and Antoninus Pius as exemplary rulers, praising their moderation, justice, clemency, and devotion to the common good. Their greatness lay not merely in military achievement or political success, but in their understanding of imperial power as a public trust rather than a private possession. Conversely, emperors such as Nero, Caligula, and Domitian embody the degeneration of political authority into tyranny. Their cruelty, *libido dominandi*, moral corruption, and contempt for the law became warnings against the abuse of power, transforming Roman history into a repository of negative exempla. The distinction between the true prince and the tyrant thus rests not upon rank or hereditary legitimacy but upon moral character, a principle that profoundly shaped Renaissance political thought. Read alongside Machiavelli's appeal to the exemplary value of historical experience, Erasmus's treatise illustrates how imperial biography came to function simultaneously as historical narrative, ethical instruction, and a guide to the exercise of government.

Lit. Billanovich 1954; Weiss 1969; Gardenal 1975; De Michelis Pintacuda 1987; Bottari 1991; Innes 1997; Berté 2011; Fazion and Lorenzi 2019; Tomaiuolo 2021; Acciarino 2022; Huijbers 2022; Davenport and Malik 2024.

Damiano Acciarino

2.5.1 Torso of an Armoured Male Figure

First or second century CE

Marble

H. 130 cm; W. 69 cm; D. 35 cm

Findspot: Forum, Pula, 1988

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. A-29837

This torso of an armoured male statue, carved from high-quality Pentelic marble, survives in two joining fragments broken at the hips. The figure was executed slightly larger than life-size. The head, now lost, was originally inserted separately into the torso, as indicated by the conspicuous conical socket preserved at the neck.

The figure is represented in motion. The right arm, now missing, was raised and extended forward, while the left arm, broken at the elbow, descended alongside the body and appears to have supported the military cloak (*paludamentum*). The dynamic pose suggests an official public image intended to convey authority and command.

The cuirass is anatomically modelled and devoid of relief decoration across the chest, emphasising the idealised musculature of the body beneath. Emerging beneath the cloak are the shoulder guards (*epomydes*),



ornamented with lion-head terminals, a decorative feature characteristic of Julio-Claudian military iconography. Particular attention was devoted to the lower section of the armour, which terminates in two rows of semicircular or tongue-shaped pteryges richly adorned with relief decoration.

The central *pteryx* of the upper row bears the head of Jupiter Ammon, while the flanking elements are symmetrically decorated with profiles of Zephyrs, eagles with outspread wings, and Gorgoneia. The lower row displays mirrored military motifs, including helmets, greaves (*ocreae*), and rosettes. Beneath the pteryges hang long rectangular leather straps with decorative terminals, while the sleeves of the tunic are visible below the cuirass.

Petrographic analysis has confirmed that the statue was carved from Pentelic marble, a prestigious material imported from Greece and employed in Roman Pula primarily for representative imperial statuary. The monumentality of the figure, together with the quality of the marble and the elaborate military iconography, suggests that it formed part of an important programme of public decoration in the Forum of Pula. The statue most likely represented either a military commander or a member of the imperial family, perhaps even an emperor portrayed in military dress.

Lit. Bolšec-Ferri and Matijašić 1988, pp. 149–151; Starac 2011, pp. 137–145.

Aska Šopar

2.5.2 Battista d'Angolo, called del Moro

Emperor Julius Caesar

Mid-sixteenth century

Pen and brown ink drawing, with brown wash applied by brush

Handmade paper

340 × 200 mm

Inscription at lower right, in an older hand, in pen and brown ink over an earlier inscription: *Battista del Moro - / C Mario (?)*; on the verso, upper right, in the same ink: *Battista del Moro*

Watermark

Provenance: Tiller Collection

Department of Prints and Drawings, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, Inv. No. 1876

The drawing of a statuesque male figure in slight contrapposto, dressed in antique ceremonial military attire, represents a study after a sculpture of a Roman



imperator. Images of Roman emperors were an exceptionally popular motif within the visual vocabulary of the classical imaginary in Renaissance and Mannerist art. Through their reception, the legacy of antiquity was reactivated and Roman ideals of rulership, such as *virtus*, *auctoritas*, and *imperium*, were affirmed.

That the drawing was based on a free-standing antique statue is confirmed by the pronounced monumentality of the figure, its rigid placement on a pedestal, the raised arm with a half-clenched fist, which probably originally held a commander's baton (*baculus imperatorius* / *sceptrum*), and the blank gaze of the eyes without pupils. While the manner of representation emphasises the sculptural character of the figure, the iconographic repertoire underscores his imperial status. The Roman anatomical cuirass (*lorica musculata*), richly elaborated with decorative motifs of acanthus leaves and lion masks, the Hercules knot on the belt, the cloak (*paludamentum*), and the globe held in the hand, a symbol of universal dominion and one of the attributes of imperial dignity, all point to a representative image of a Roman statesman and supreme military commander.

Margarita Sveštarov Šimat identified the antique marble statue of Julius Caesar as the direct model for the drawing (Sveštarov Šimat 2009, p. 26). The statue was formerly installed in the Forum of Caesar in Rome and is now kept in the Aula Giulio Cesare of the Palazzo Senatorio on the Capitoline Hill, as part of the Capitoline Museums. The analogies with the antique prototype are evident in the overall articulation of the figure, from its pose and proportions to the decorative treatment of the armour, as well as in the physiognomic and anatomical details.

The collector's inscription, written in the same hand on both the recto and verso of the drawing, attributes the work to Battista del Moro, one of the leading Veronese artists of the sixteenth century. As Sergio Marinelli notes, Vasari already regarded him as a renewer of the Veronese Cinquecento (Marinelli and Marini 1999, p. 34). The artist, whose real name was Battista D'Angolo, adopted the name del Moro from his teacher and father-in-law, the painter Francesco India, called *il Torbido* or *il Moro*. The subject of the drawing, the combination of linear delineation and plastic interpretation of form, and the atmospheric luminosity achieved through short, fragmented pen strokes and transparent washes, without the use of white gouache, all support the plausibility of the collector's attribution. These are among the recognisable features of Battista del Moro's draughtsmanship.

Lit. Marinelli, Marini and Sueur 1993; Marinelli 1999; Sveštarov Šimat 2009, cat. 4, pp. 26–27.

Ana Petković Basletić

2.5.3 Unknown Master from the Florentine–Roman Milieu

Studies of Architecture, Ornament and a Military Commander with a Baton

Mid-sixteenth century

Pen and brown ink drawing

Handmade paper laid down on old paper

316 × 200 mm

On the verso of the support sheet of the mounted drawing, inscription at upper centre: Vasari

Watermark on the support sheet of the mounted drawing

Provenance: Tiller Collection

Department of Prints and Drawings, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, Inv. No. 1882

This refined linear drawing reactivates the classical ideal through its visual repertoire, evoking the grandeur of ancient Rome. The compositional invention of figural and architectural *all'antica* motifs, generated by a capricious



Mannerist imagination, functions as an allegorical architectural projection. Its structure appears typologically related to early printed title pages, or frontispieces, and to their characteristic aedicule scheme, in which a framed portrait or narrative scene is complemented by decorative sculpture and figures.

Within this context, the empty ellipsoid field between the two putti, the conventional location for aristocratic heraldic insignia, together with the figure of a mature military commander of "martial physiognomy", dressed in Roman attire comprising an anatomical cuirass with semicircular pteryges, cloak, Roman helmet, sword, and commander's baton, articulates an ideological message centred on the mythologisation of genealogy and the legitimisation of the social and political authority of the ruling elite.

The function of the large suspended sculptural element in the right-hand section of the pediment, however, remains unclear. The conspicuous disproportions between the exuberant architectural decoration and ornamental figuration of the aedicule on the one hand, and the figure of the military commander on the other, as well as the empty spatial interval separating them, suggest that the

sheet may contain separate studies. At the same time, the visible segment of a vertically truncated stylised Corinthian column along the left margin of the sheet raises the possibility that the studies originally formed part of a larger composition.

An inscription in an older hand, written in pen and brown ink and placed in the upper central area of the verso of the support sheet, records the surname *Vasari*. Although the fine linear graphic manner of the present drawing, executed in pale brown ink and without tonal wash or hatching, displays morphological affinities with the linear handling of Vasari's Paris sheet *Study Sheet: Eloquence, Justice and a Niche* (Inv. No. RF 64, Louvre), the early collector's inscription remains an unreliable basis for a secure attribution.

The handwriting of the inscription is almost identical to that on the recto of Vasari's drawing *Sacrifice to Jupiter* in the Wadsworth Atheneum, which specialists regard as a later intervention (Sveštarov Šimat 2009, p. 24). The draughtsmanship, which reveals affinities not only with Vasari himself but also with Francesco Salviati and Perino del Vaga (Sveštarov Šimat 2009, p. 24), clearly points to a master from the Florentine–Roman Mannerist milieu active in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Lit. Sveštarov Šimat 2009, cat. 3, pp. 24–25.

Ana Petković Basletić

2.5.4 Series of Engraved Portraits of Roman Emperors

The Graphic Collection of the Archaeological Museum of Istria preserves six sheets bearing portraits of Roman rulers: Gaius Julius Caesar and the emperors Tiberius, Nero, Otho, Vespasian, and Titus. Each is represented as a bust within a rectangular frame: Caesar and Tiberius appear in three-quarter view facing left, Nero and Otho are in profile facing right, Vespasian is positioned frontally, and Titus is in a three-quarter view facing right. The busts of Caesar, Vespasian, and Titus rest on pedestals. All six figures wear draped cloaks fastened at the shoulder.

From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, early modern visual culture drew extensively upon ancient models. Portraits of celebrated figures from the past occupied an important place alongside religious, mythological, and historical subjects, while images of Roman emperors enjoyed particular popularity during the sixteenth century.

The portraits survive on leaves removed from (as yet) unidentified books, perhaps from different editions of the same publication. They were probably printed in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century by Giovanni Orlandi, a print publisher active in Rome and Naples from around 1594 to 1640. The sheet depicting Caesar is copied from an anonymous sixteenth-century engraving on copper, an impression of which is now preserved in the Corsini Collection of the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica in Rome (S FC114529).

All six sheets are reversed and inexact copies of engravings published by Orlandi. Impressions of these prints are likewise preserved in the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica (S FC102915, S FC102917, S FC102920, S FC102922, S FC102924 and S FC102925).

The circumstances in which the sheets entered the collection are unknown. They have been held by the Museum since at least around 1930, or possibly earlier. The portraits formed part of the collection of the Regio Museo dell'Istria, the predecessor of the Archaeological Museum of Istria. They were registered in two groups of three: inventory number 2216 comprised the portraits of Titus, Nero, and Caesar, while inventory number 2217 comprised those of Otho, Vespasian, and Tiberius.

The Museum originally possessed twelve portraits of Roman rulers. The present whereabouts of those depicting Claudius, Caligula, and Galba, registered under inventory number 2218, and Augustus, Vitellius, and Domitian, registered under inventory number 2223, are unknown. According to the *Copia dell'Inventario del Museo di Pola*, all twelve portraits were framed. In 1930 they were displayed in Room XII of the permanent exhibition of the Regio Museo dell'Istria (Forlati Tamaro and Riccoboni 1930, p. 42; Zenzerović 2017, p. 315).

Lit. Forlati Tamaro and Riccoboni 1930, p. 42; Zenzerović 2017, p. 315.

Katarina Zenzerović

2.5.4.1 Roman Ruler Gaius Julius Caesar

Copper engraving, trimmed plate impression on paper
209 × 154 mm

Inscription centred below the image: .C I. CAESAR. I. RO IMP.

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-124



2.5.4.3 Roman Emperor Nero

Copper engraving, trimmed plate impression on paper
208 × 156 mm

Inscription centred below the image: NE(RO) CLAVD.
VI. CAESAR. AVG.

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-126



2.5.4.2 Roman Emperor Tiberius

Copper engraving, trimmed plate impression on paper
204 × 153 mm

Inscription centred below the image: TIB. CAE. III.
RO. IMP.

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-125



2.5.4.4 Roman Emperor Otho

Copper engraving, trimmed plate impression on paper
201 × 153 mm

Inscription centred below the image: OTHO. SILVIVS
VIII. RO. IMP.

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-127



2.5.4.5 Roman Emperor Vespasian
 Copper engraving, trimmed plate impression
 201 × 155 mm
 Inscription centred below the image: F. VESPASIANVS
 X. RO. IMP.
 Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-128



2.5.4.6 Roman Emperor Titus
 Copper engraving, trimmed plate impression on paper
 210 × 155 mm
 Inscription centred below the image: TIT. CAES. AVG.
 XI RO IMP.
 Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-129



2.5.5 Antonio Lech (?)

Still Life with a Bust and Musical Instruments

Second half of the seventeenth century

Oil on canvas

65 × 70 cm

Provenance: Grezler collection

Municipality of Vodnjan, Betizza House

This still life combines musical instruments and scores alongside flowers and fragments of classical sculpture, juxtaposing sensory pleasure with the material presence of antiquity. At the centre stands a sculpted bust traditionally identified as the Roman emperor Vitellius, whose gluttony and excess were memorably described by Suetonius (*Vitellius* 13, 17.2). Behind it, the back of a fragmentary male torso recalls the celebrated Belvedere Torso, one of the most admired and frequently reproduced works of ancient sculpture in early modern Europe.

The head derives from the type of the so-called Grimani Vitellius, an ancient marble formerly in the collection of Cardinal Domenico Grimani and now preserved in the National Archaeological Museum, Venice. Although it does not in fact portray the emperor, it was regarded as his likeness in the early modern period and acquired a remarkable visual afterlife. Transmitted through drawings, prints, and sculptural copies, it was adapted by artists including Titian and Rubens as a model for living figures (Bailey 1977, 1980).

In the Vodnjan canvas, by contrast, the ancient likeness retains the form of an antiquarian bust within a carefully staged assemblage. A comparable combination of artistic objects, natural abundance, and sculptural fragments appears in Pierre Subleyras's *Fantaisie d'artiste* of c. 1736, now in the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse. Both compositions evoke learned collecting and the instability of sensory experience. Within this framework, the literary characterisation of Vitellius and the transience of music and flowers may have lent the Vodnjan work a moralising resonance.

The attribution to Antonio Lech remains tentative (Craievich 2001, pp. 680–681). Lech is documented in seventeenth-century Venice as a still-life specialist, featuring carpets and musical instruments, but no painting can be assigned to him with certainty. The attribution therefore rests primarily on the subject and the distinctive range of objects represented.

The painting reached Vodnjan through the collection bequeathed to the town by Gaetano Grezler, a Verona-born painter active in Venice who settled in Istria late in



life to undertake work in the parish church. The precise circumstances of his bequest, which encompassed paintings and relics, remain unclear. The work may previously have belonged to the Giovanelli collection, although this provenance has yet to be confirmed (Santangelo 1935, p. 92; Alisi 1997 [1937], pp. 73, 124, pl. XIIa; Craievich 2001; Bralić 2006, pp. 595–597).

Lit. Santangelo 1935, p. 92; Bailey 1977, 1980; Alisi 1997 [1937], pp. 73, 124, pl. XIIa; Craievich 2001a, II, pp. 680–681, ill. 784; Bralić 2006, pp. 595–597. I would like to thank Kathleen Christian for pointing out Subleyras's painting to me.

Jasenska Gudelj

2.5.6 Coriolanus Cepio

Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta

Venezia: Bernhardus Pictor and Erhardus Ratdolt, with Petrus Löslein de Langencen

1477

National and University Library, Zagreb, Shelfmark RI-8°-32

Written in 1475 by the Trogir humanist Koriolan Cipiko/Ćipiko (Coriolano Cippico) and printed in Venice two years later, *Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta*, also known as *De bello Asiatico*, was one of the first major literary works of Dalmatian humanism. Cipiko belonged to Trogir's noble elite under Venetian rule. The son of Petar Cipiko/Ćipiko (Pietro Cippico; see Inscriptions and Coins), he served as *sopracomito* of the galley supplied by his city for the eastern Mediterranean campaigns of 1470 to 1474, undertaken after the Ottoman conquest of Negroponte.



He therefore recorded the exploits of the Venetian admiral Pietro Mocenigo as both a learned Latinist and a participant. His public offices and patronage, including his service as *operarius* of Trogir Cathedral, also placed him at the centre of the city's transformation according to Renaissance models (Belamarić 2001; Bužančić 2015; Špoljarić 2018).

Across three books, Cipiko combines eyewitness testimony with classical allusion, geographical description, and antiquarian observation, shaping them into a sustained celebration of Mocenigo's command. Here *imperator* means 'commander', while simultaneously invoking the Roman language of military authority and triumph. Although written from an avowedly Venetian perspective, the account also foregrounds episodes demonstrating the courage of the Dalmatians (Illyrians), who formed a substantial part of the fleet. It thus accommodates local identity within a classical narrative of Venetian warfare. The book rapidly established Cipiko's reputation in Italian humanist circles: Marcantonio Sabellico later singled him out as a striking Dalmatian representative of the revival of Latin eloquence (Špoljarić 2013; Špoljarić 2018; Špoljarić 2021).

The passages devoted to antiquities encountered in the Aegean and Asia Minor are particularly significant. Cipiko records ruins, sculptures, and inscriptions, interpreting material remains through classical literature.

Autopsy underpins both the military narrative and its antiquarian digressions: the voyage that extended Venetian power also provided an opportunity to observe the ancient past. The work consequently demonstrates the close interdependence of warfare, travel, humanist historiography, and antiquarian enquiry (Špoljarić 2022).

The first edition reinforced these claims materially. Printed by Bernhard Maler, Erhard Ratdolt, and Peter Löslein in roman type, with decorated initials and ornamental borders, it placed Cipiko's account within the visual language of Venetian humanist publishing. Print transformed individual recollection into a portable monument of public memory, extending the author's reputation beyond Trogir and giving Mocenigo's deeds lasting textual and visual authority (Fabbri 1988; Belamarić 2001; Petkov 2014).

Lit. Fabbri 1988; Belamarić 2001; Bužančić 2015; Špoljarić 2013, 2018, 2021, 2022; Petkov 2014.

Jasenska Gudelj

2.6 TRIUMPHS

Drawing on ancient descriptions and surviving Roman arches, Renaissance writers, artists, and patrons refashioned the triumph as a literary, visual, and ceremonial form. Petrarch's allegorical *Trionfi*, representations of Caesar's victories, and the politically charged entries of rulers into subject cities all invoked the Roman *triumphus*, while adapting it to new circumstances and audiences. The language of authority was immediately recognisable: standards distinguished the troops, captured arms proclaimed victory, and heraldic devices identified the ruler. The arch framed both the procession and its protagonist, turning movement through the city into an image of legitimate power (Eisenbichler and Iannucci 1990; Zaho 2004; Gudelj 2023b).

The Roman triumph was at once a civic ceremony and a religious rite. A victorious commander entered Rome with his army, prisoners, and booty before proceeding to the Capitol to offer sacrifice. Renaissance writers and artists reconstructed the ceremony from accounts by Livy, Plutarch, Appian, and Suetonius, testing them against evidence preserved in reliefs and inscriptions, on coins and in standing monuments. In their reconstructions, the procession unfolded in stages. Trumpeters announced its approach, followed by soldiers carrying standards and trophies. Painted views or models presented the conquered cities, while captives and exotic animals

embodied the extent of Roman expansion. The general appeared last, riding on a chariot beneath signs of divine favour. Standards marked rank and collective identity, while trophies transformed the armour of the defeated enemy into visible proof of victory. Reused in early modern works, these insignia transferred Roman military virtue to contemporary patrons (Zaho 2004; Beard 2007).

Petrarch's *Trionfi*, composed between the 1350s and his death in 1374, gave this martial form an allegorical and Christian trajectory. The poem circulated in richly illustrated manuscripts and printed editions, while its imagery moved from the page into domestic furnishings such as *cassoni*, birth trays, and tapestries. The triumph could therefore describe military conquest, but also the soul's progress from erotic subjection and death towards moral victory and redemption (Eisenbichler and Iannucci 1990; Cohen 2014).

Andrea Mantegna's nine monumental canvases of the *Triumphs of Caesar*, painted for the Gonzaga court from the mid-1480s into the early sixteenth century, moved from allegory towards an archaeologically persuasive spectacle. Mantegna organised the procession as a carefully paced sequence. Trumpeters and standard bearers announce its approach; soldiers accompany captured weapons and siege machines; animals and prisoners embody the conquered territories; and monumental statues make the ancient gods themselves appear among the spoils. The booty continually changes in scale, moving from armour and precious vessels that could be carried by hand, to colossal sculpture and painted views of entire cities. Its ordered display presents conquest as the capacity to appropriate and possess the world. The cycle also addressed a contemporary military dynasty. The Gonzaga could recognise their own ambitions in Caesar's army, while prints and copies transformed Mantegna's invention into a widely available image of sovereign magnificence (Martindale 1979; Zaho 2004).

Immediately behind Caesar's chariot, Mantegna placed a single bay arch based on the Arch of the Sergii in Pula. The Istrian source is recognisable in the paired columns rising from common pedestals, and in the strongly projecting entablature above the ornamented frieze. Mantegna nevertheless combined these elements with other antiquities, including the colossal Horse Tamers of the Quirinal. His purpose was not to reconstruct Roman topography, but to create a convincing composite. Once recorded in a drawing, the eastern Adriatic monument could enter the central repertoire of Renaissance art without retaining its original setting (Martindale 1979; Gudelj 2014a, 2014c; Gudelj 2023b).

The arch's transformation into a European model depended on the circulation of texts and images. The antiquarian network surrounding Ciriaco d'Ancona transmitted its inscription and probably its form; a related structure also appears behind *Christ before Pilate* in a drawing by Jacopo Bellini. Fifteenth-century adaptations at Castel Nuovo in Naples and the Porta dell'Arsenale in Venice preserved its paired supports and single opening, while changing the proportions and architectural order and introducing new sculptural programmes. The arch thus survived both as a stone monument in Pula and as a mobile design capable of serving different dynasties, cities, and institutions (Gudelj 2014a,b,c; Gudelj 2023b).

Triumphal entries made this capacity for reuse particularly visible. They marked a ruler's arrival in the city and confirmed the political arrangements that accompanied a coronation, succession, or alliance. Their temporary arches were usually built of timber covered with canvas and plaster, while *papier mâché* supplied lightweight sculptural decoration. Together they divided the urban route into a sequence of political propositions. Inscriptions addressed the entrant directly, while personifications allowed the host city to speak and act within the ceremony. Heraldic and genealogical imagery explained dynastic claims, and representations of conquest defined the ruler's military authority. Although the structures quickly disappeared, illustrated festival books preserved an authorised version of the event and provided models for subsequent entries (Mitchell 1986; Mulryne, Watanabe-O'Kelly and Shewring 2004; Gudelj 2014a; Gudelj 2023b).

For Charles V's entry into Genoa in 1529, Perino del Vaga designed two arches framing the route from the harbour. One adapted the paired column scheme of the Pula arch, replacing its Corinthian order with the Doric, then considered appropriate to warriors. A large Habsburg eagle above the entablature identified the emperor. The composition also activated Charles's emblem of the Pillars of Hercules and his motto *Plus Ultra*, transforming the boundary of the ancient world into a promise of further expansion. At the point of the emperor's arrival, a Roman family monument was thus recast as an imperial threshold marking the renewed alliance between Andrea Doria's republic and Habsburg Spain (Mitchell 1986; Gudelj 2023b).

The model reappeared during the Joyous Entry of Charles's son Philip into Antwerp in 1549. Cornelis Grapheus devised the programme, while Pieter Coecke van Aelst designed the woodcuts for the festival book, clearly based on Serlio's books. On the Hoochstraat, columns set in pairs upon common pedestals supported an entablature derived from Serlio's representation of the

Pula arch. Above it, Charles and Philip assumed the roles of Atlas and Hercules as they supported the globe, while Habsburg eagles proclaimed dynastic continuity. The classical quotation established the historical authority of the scene; Habsburg heraldry identified its protagonists and the mythological figures explained the succession from father to son. By financing the structure, Antwerp presented itself as an active participant in the transfer of power (Kuyper 1994; Bussels 2012; Gudelj 2023b).

When Archduke Ernest entered Antwerp in 1594, the same scheme acquired a different significance. Marten de Vos's *Arcus publicus ad forum Linarium* represented the claims of the city alongside those of the dynasty. At its centre stood a column of constancy flanked by Habsburg lions. A caduceus invoked concord, while fasces proclaimed the ruler's authority. The river god of the Scheldt and the personification of Antwerp shifted attention towards the commercial life of the city, evoking the navigation of the river and the prosperity sustained by trade and agriculture. Illuminated by torches, the arch negotiated the relationship between the ruler and the host city. Its architectural ancestry remained legible, but each entry assigned it a new political meaning (Gudelj 2014a, 2023b).

Valois ceremonial culture employed the model differently. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau included a precise version in his *Quinque et viginti exempla arcuum* of 1549, although he misidentified the 'Arch of Pola' as a monument at Alessandria in Italy, suggesting that he knew it indirectly through drawings or prints. He brought it before a wider audience in the *Liber Novus* of 1560. During the entries of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici into Paris in 1549, structures by Pierre Lescot, Philibert de l'Orme, and Jean Goujon ordered the route as a progression through the five classical orders, beginning with the Tuscan and culminating in the Composite. Pula provided the model for the Corinthian stage at Saint Jacques de l'Hôpital. Detached from any single dynastic emblem, the arch represented classical architecture itself within a demonstration of French artistic and political order (Gudelj 2014a, 2023b).

The fragmentary arch of Melia Anniana in Zadar presents a complementary material history. Commissioned by another Roman woman in honour of her husband, it was restored above a public passage in 1434 by Abbot Petar Kršava. In the late sixteenth century, its surviving elements were dismantled and recomposed within the Porta Marina as a memorial to the victory at Lepanto (see section on Zadar). The threshold thus brought reused ancient fabric into dialogue with local memory and Venetian naval ideology (Gudelj 2020c; Borić 2025).

Pula and Zadar reveal two distinct operations through which Renaissance culture produced triumph from antiquity. In Zadar, the ancient arch was treated as physical spolia: its fabric and inscriptions were rearranged to articulate changing relations between local and state identities (Borić 2025). The Pula arch remained in place, but its image travelled and acquired imperial, dynastic, and architectural meanings. Military insignia identified the victor and displayed the defeat of his enemies, while personifications and inscriptions converted territorial claims into public spectacle. Together they presented contemporary authority as inherited from Rome. Paradoxically, monuments commissioned by Roman women for family commemoration became instruments through which male rulers asserted claims over cities, dynasties, and empires. Triumph was not a fixed formula but an adaptable instrument of memory and power (Zaho 2004; Gudelj 2014a, 2023b).

Lit. Martindale 1979; Mitchell 1986; Eisenbichler and Iannucci 1990; Kuyper 1994; Mulryne, Watanabe-O'Kelly and Shewring 2004; Zaho 2004; Beard 2007; Bussels 2012; Cohen 2014; Gudelj 2014a,b, c; Gudelj 2020c; Borić 2023; Gudelj 2023b.

Jasenska Gudelj

2.6.1 Andrea Andreani after Andrea Mantegna

Triumphs of Caesar, Plate IX

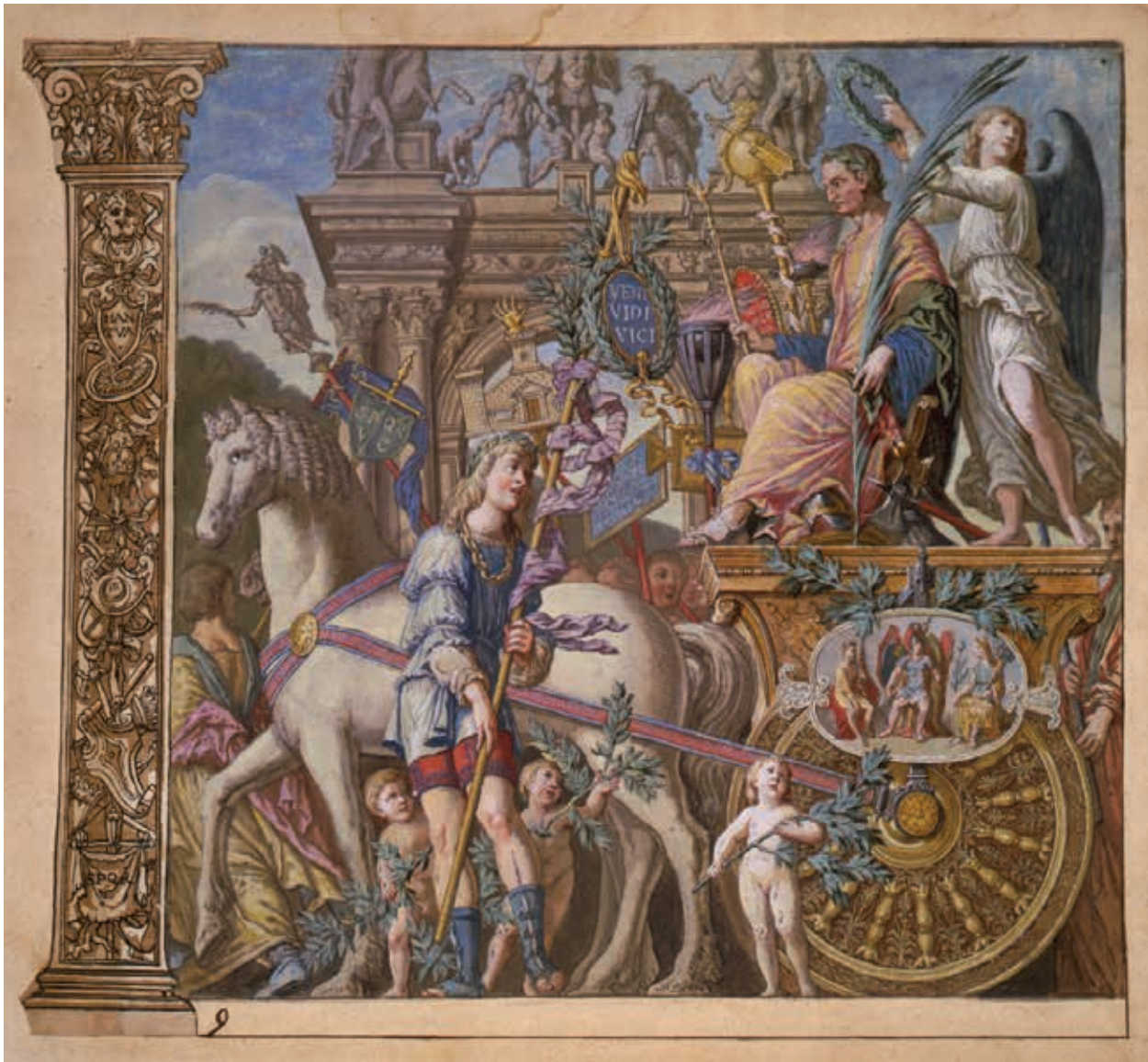
Coloured chiaroscuro woodcut printed in greyish-black, beige, and grey inks

Image and sheet: 380 × 374 mm

Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington (facsimile)

Andrea Andreani's chiaroscuro woodcut reproduces the ninth scene of Andrea Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*, today kept at Hampton Court. The scene shows Julius Caesar in a horse-drawn carriage, surrounded by soldiers, attendants, standards, trophies, and other insignia of victory, which together create the impression of an ancient Roman ceremonial procession.

In the background, partly hidden by the figures and military signs, the upper part of a triumphal arch is visible. The arch has a single opening, flanked by double columns with Corinthian capitals. Its entablature is raised above the columns, while the attic is divided into a central part and two lateral projections. In its basic arrangement this architecture recalls the Arch of the Sergii in Pula. Mantegna did not copy the monument



literally, but rather adapted its structure to the needs of the painted composition (Martindale 1979, Appendix I., pp. 172.-174; Cieri Via 1983, p. 128; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 150-156).

The decoration of the arch was also changed. Military trophies and panoplies are placed in the central frieze, in a manner comparable to other Renaissance reinterpretations of ancient ornament, including the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. The profiles of the cornice are simplified, and the proportions are adjusted to the viewpoint of the scene. These changes were probably connected with the position of the whole cycle, which was intended to be seen from below and as part of a continuous painted procession (Gudelj 2014a, pp. 150-156).

The choice of the Pula model was significant. Since the subject is the triumph of Julius Caesar, Mantegna could not use an arch dedicated to another emperor. The

Arch of the Sergii, located in Pula, a colony associated with Caesar's name, offered a suitable ancient model. Its use also confirms the interest of Mantuan artists in monuments from Istria, known through drawings and measurements circulating in northern Italy (Gudelj 2014a).

Through Andreani's print, Mantegna's interpretation of the Roman triumph and of the Pula arch reached a wider audience (Karpinski 2001). The woodcut therefore preserves not only the image of Caesar's triumph, but also one Renaissance way of transforming an ancient Adriatic monument into part of a broader visual reconstruction of Roman history.

Lit. Martindale 1979; Appendix I., pp. 172.-174.; Cieri Via 1983, pp. 128; Karpinski 2001; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 150-156.

Jasenka Gudelj

2.6.2 Frieze with Arms in Relief

Second half of the first century BCE–first century CE

Istrian limestone, carved

L. 133 cm; W. 50 cm; H. 60 cm

Findspot: Pula

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. A-299

This architectural frieze block, carved from local Istrian limestone, is decorated with a shallow relief depicting an assemblage of military equipment. Originally, the relief was framed above and below by mouldings approximately 10 cm in height, now largely damaged or lost. The surviving relief zone, measuring approximately 40 cm in height, presents a continuous composition of overlapping weapons and armour arranged to evoke a trophy of arms.

From left to right, the relief includes a circular shield partially overlapped by a *pelta* with curved ends, followed by two oval shields, the upper one decorated with volutes and the lower one with a central ridge in the form of an arrow flanked by a circular boss (*umbo*). Beside them appears a hexagonal shield with an oval *umbo*, followed by a Hellenistic-type cuirass with shoulder pieces, collar, sleeves formed of leather strips, an ornamental belt, and double rows of leather pteryges terminating in fringes. To the left of the cuirass is a circular shield, a semi-cylindrical shield with a circular *umbo*, and another

oval shield placed behind a helmet furnished with a long neck guard, narrow cheek pieces, a frontal guard, and a crest. Beneath the helmet is a further oval shield with a circular *umbo*. In the background are additional military objects, including a hexagonal shield with an oval boss, a horizontally positioned *ancile* decorated with scroll motifs, and another oval shield.

The deliberate overlapping of the individual elements creates the impression of a heap of captured arms (*tropaeum*)—a visual formula widely employed in Roman art to commemorate military victory. Such compositions symbolised the triumph of Rome over its enemies and, by extension, the restoration of peace, stability, and prosperity secured through conquest.

The frieze is of particular interest because Louis-François Cassas included it in the frontispiece to the *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie* (pl. 26, 1802; see Part 5). The frontispiece assembles Pula's principal antiquities within a single imaginary composition. By placing the frieze alongside the city's most celebrated Roman remains, Cassas attested both to its visibility and to the significance attributed to it in the late eighteenth century.

Lit. Cassas and Lavallée 1802, no. 26; Lugnani 1987, pp. 23–24; Grüßinger 2001, 142, 149–155, 187–189.

Tomislav Franić



2.6.3 James Stuart and Nicholas Revett: Trophies on the Frieze at the sides of the Arch

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Trophäen auf dem Frieze an den Seiten des Bogens [der Sergier zu Pola]*, *Die Alterthümer zu Athen*, v. IV, Leipzig und Darmstadt: Verlag von Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1833, Suppl. XVII, n. 10.

Printed illustration on paper

495 × 325 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63550

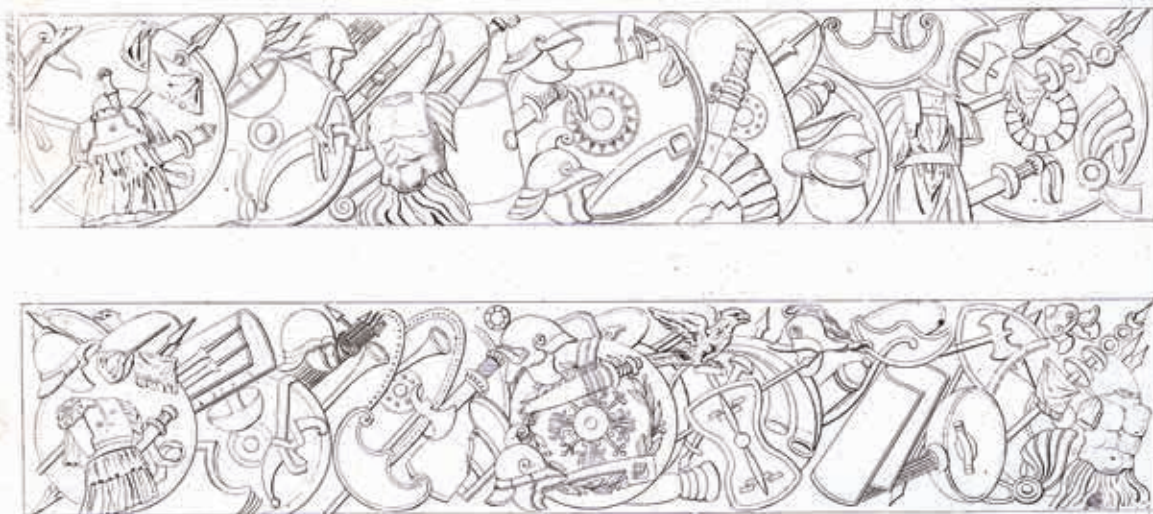
This printed plate records the military ornament carved on the flanks of the Arch of the Sergii in Pula. First published in the fourth English volume of *The Antiquities of Athens* in 1816, it was reissued in *Die Alterthümer von Athen*, translated and edited by Karl Wagner and Friedrich Osann and published by C. W. Leske in Darmstadt between 1829 and 1833. Each shallow relief is organised around a cuirass, over which captured equipment is layered in a

dense composition that extends towards the edges. The panoplies invoked the triumphal imagery of Augustus while associating the Sergii with Roman martial virtue and proclaiming their loyalty to the princeps. They served, therefore, not merely as ornament but as instruments of civic and familial commemoration (Starac 2020).

By recording the reliefs separately, the plate detached them from their architectural setting and made their composition available for close study. Artists who had never visited Pula could copy the ornament and adapt it to the emerging vocabulary of Neoclassical architecture and design. The image thus documents both the Arch of the Sergii and the antiquarian practices through which fragments of ancient buildings became models for modern artistic production. Its inclusion in the German edition brought Stuart's documentation of Pula to architects and scholars in German-speaking Central Europe (Soros 2006; Kreeb 2020).

Lit. Soros 2006; Starac 2020; Kreeb 2020.

Jasenska Gudelj



Reliefs des Bogens von Pola. Pl. XX.

2.6.4 Fragments of Plates with a Decorated Broad Rim

Venice, mid-sixteenth century

Ochre ceramic, with an opaque blue and white glaze

Findspot: Pula, Uspon sv. Franje

Diam. c. 24.2 cm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. S-13829

Several fragments of a plate with a broad rim were discovered in Pula at Uspon sv. Franje. The vessel is made of ochre ceramic, with an opaque blue glaze on the interior and a white glaze on the exterior. It was most probably produced in Venice in the mid-sixteenth century (Bradara 2012, cat. 359).

The *a trofei* decoration was among the few types of ornament that did not derive from the orientalising repertoire prevalent from the late fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century. Instead, it was particularly characteristic of ceramic production in Romagna and the Marches (Ravanelli Guidotti 1998, pp. 392–397). Its influence on Venetian wares may have reached the lagoon through ceramics from Casteldurante,

where workshops began decorating vessels with military trophies, musical instruments, grotesques, and putti in the second decade of the sixteenth century. Venetian potters could, however, also draw upon the architecture of the city itself, in which comparable motifs had become widespread by the early sixteenth century. A prominent figure in Venetian maiolica production during this period was Giacomo da Pesaro, who is thought to have introduced the *a trofei* decoration into the local repertoire (Saccardo 2002, p. 22).

In his mid-sixteenth-century treatise *Li tre libri dell'arte del vasaio*, the knight Cipriano Piccolpasso presents and describes the most important decorative motifs at the end of the book. Concerning *a trofei* ornament, he writes: 'Queste sono in uso d'apertutto; vero è che gli trofei si fanno più per il Stato di Urbino che in altro luogo, e pagonsi di fattura al pittore un scudo il cento' (Piccolpasso 1976, p. 203 [fol. 66]).

Lit. Piccolpasso 1976; Ravanelli Guidotti 1998; Saccardo 2002; Bradara 2012.

Tatjana Bradara



2.6.5 Bernardino India, called India il Vecchio

Equestrian Procession I

c. 1560

Red chalk drawing, with red chalk and brown ink wash

Handmade paper

305 × 455 mm, irregularly trimmed

Inscription on the recto in pen and brown ink, in an old hand: *Bernardino India Veronese*

Watermark

Provenance: Tiller Collection

Department of Prints and Drawings, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, Inv. No. 1897

This large-format red-chalk drawing depicts part of a Roman triumphal procession represented in the lower register of the relief frieze in the Sala degli Stucchi at Palazzo Te in Mantua. Following an invention by Giulio Romano and drawing upon the reliefs of Trajan's Column,

the frieze was conceived within the classicising language of Mannerism. *Equestrian Procession I* thus exemplifies the creative reactivation of antiquity without direct reliance on a single ancient prototype, a practice widespread in sixteenth-century art.

The authorship and date of this monumental decoration, arranged in two registers, remain uncertain. Generally dated between 1530 and 1533, its execution has been attributed either to Giovanni Battista Scultori or, according to the view currently prevailing among scholars, to Francesco Primaticcio (Occaso 2019, p. 50). The frieze provided an important model both for Giulio's contemporaries and for artists of subsequent generations (Tordella 1998, pp. 311, 315; Sveštarov Šimat 2009, p. 35).

An old collector's inscription on the recto attributes the drawing to Bernardino India, a Veronese painter and draughtsman. Alongside Battista del Moro, Domenico Brusasorzi, Paolo Farinati, and Anselmo Canera, India



belonged to the artistic circle surrounding Michele Sanmicheli, who, according to Vasari, 'loved them like sons' (Avagnina 2007, p. 182). India also collaborated with Andrea Palladio, contributing to the extensive decorative programmes of his villas. He is regarded as a representative of the so-called 'renewed' current in sixteenth-century Veronese painting (Sveštarov Šimat 2009, p. 35). His work also participated in a new, 'modern' Mannerist idiom shaped by developments in Emilia (Avagnina 2007, p. 183).

Although no precise parallels have been identified among India's surviving drawings, the reinterpretation of the frieze displays marked affinities with the distinctive, abbreviated handling of his drawings and wall paintings, including those in Palazzo Thiene and Villa Pojana. These affinities are particularly apparent in the figures taking part in the procession, whose slender proportions recall the figural types developed by Primaticcio.

The attribution finds further support in the luminous tonal washes and the sinuous line, whose studied spontaneity lends vitality to the contours. Decorative details are reduced to their essential features, while the figures assume deliberately artificial poses and move with affected elegance. Their small, elongated faces are only lightly indicated, in contrast to the abundant hair, carefully modelled in soft curls.

Lit. Tordella 1998; Avagnina 2007; Sveštarov Šimat 2009, cat. 8, pp. 34–35; Sveštarov Šimat 2009; L'Occaso 2019.

Ana Petković Basletić

2.6.6 Jacques Perret

Architectura et perspectiva etlicher Festungen, Stätt, Kirchen, Schlösser, und Häuser

Oppenheim: Hieronymus Galler, 1613.

307 × 197 mm

National and University Library, Zagreb, Shelfmark BZ 13 adl. 3

Jacques Perret's *Architectura et perspectiva* is a richly illustrated treatise on military and civil architecture, represented here by the German edition printed at Oppenheim in 1613. The work presents ideal designs for fortified towns, castles, churches, and residences, bringing architectural invention into dialogue with the geometry of defence. Its plates formed part of the printed repertoire of architectural models that circulated widely across early modern Europe (Gudelj and Botica 2012, pp. 29–30, 37).

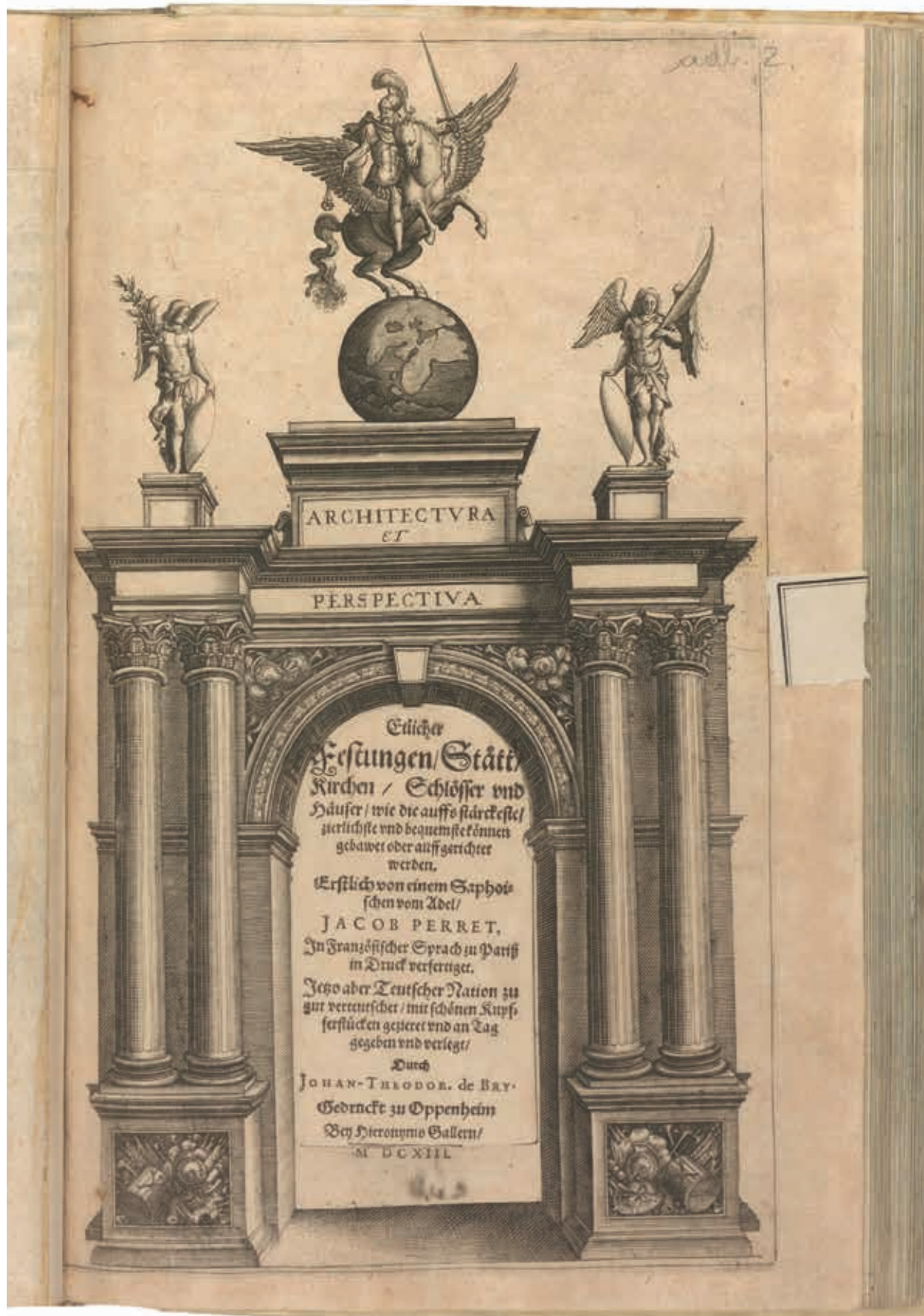
This copy belonged to the *Bibliotheca Zriniana* and is particularly significant for the history of architectural knowledge in the Croatian lands. It forms part of a larger group of architectural treatises in the Zrinski Library and bears traces of use, including annotations and marks on several illustrations. Its regularly planned castles, articulated by corner towers around internal courtyards, may have informed architectural thinking within the Zrinski milieu, including the design culture associated with Petar Zrinski and Nova Kraljevica (Guarneri 2025a, p. 168).

The volume's frontispiece is also important for the reception of antiquity. It derives from one of the triumphal arches represented in the festival book commemorating the ceremonial entry of Prince Philip of Habsburg, the future Philip II of Spain, into Antwerp in 1549. The woodcut was designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, who translated Sebastiano Serlio into Dutch and based the structure upon the Italian architect's representation of the Arch of the Sergii in Pula. Through this sequence of translations, the form of the Pula monument was separated from its original setting and from the familial commemorative function of the Roman arch (Gudelj 2014a, p. 308, 2023b).

In Perret's book, the ancient model no longer refers directly to Roman Pula. Instead, it becomes an abstract architectural sign framing a treatise on fortification and princely building. The volume thus documents both the circulation and use of architectural books within the Zrinski milieu and the wider transformation of Adriatic antiquities into models of European architectural authority.

Lit. Grapheus and Coecke van Aelst 1550; Gudelj and Botica 2012 pp. 29–30, 37; Gudelj 2014a, p. 308; Gudelj 2023b; Guarneri 2025a, p. 168.

Jasenska Gudelj



HOLY
ANTIQUITY AND
THE ILLYRICUM
SACRUM

**HOLY ANTIQUITY
AND THE ILLYRICUM
SACRUM**

By Late Antiquity, Christianity was firmly established in the principal cities of the eastern Adriatic. Bishops from Salona, Iader, Parentium, Pola, and other sees participated in the late Roman Church, while new churches reorganised urban space around episcopal worship and the cults of local martyrs. Salona, as the capital of Roman Dalmatia and its metropolitan see, formed the centre of this network (Chevalier 1995; Marin and Mazzoleni 2009; Migotti 2012; Vedriš 2015a, 2015c).

The collapse of Roman government in the West did not sever these imperial connections. Justinian restored Roman rule on both shores of the Adriatic during the sixth century, and Constantinople continued to shape the coastal cities as new powers emerged inland. The settlement and conversion of Slavic populations were prolonged and uneven processes, mediated by local elites and ecclesiastical institutions rather than accomplished in a single act (Džino 2010; Vedriš 2015a, 2015c; Džino, Milošević and Vedriš 2018).

In the early ninth century, the eastern Adriatic became a point of negotiation between Byzantium and the Carolingian Empire. The settlement associated with the Treaty of Aachen in 812 confirmed Byzantine authority over Venice and the Dalmatian coastal cities, while Carolingian power remained pervasive inland. Yet, people continued to cross this frontier, and political allegiances could shift. Venice entered this field gradually rather than simply replacing Byzantium. The medieval Adriatic is therefore best understood in terms of overlapping imperial spheres that were continually renegotiated (Ančić, Shepard and Vedriš 2018; Džino, Milošević and Vedriš 2018; Skoblar 2021).

These changes altered the late antique landscape without effacing it. Medieval dioceses often occupied Roman cities or claimed the authority of neighbouring sees. Split presented itself as Salona's successor, while Dubrovnik appropriated the traditions of Epidaurum (see section 2.1, 'Myths and Origins'). Such continuity was neither complete nor automatic: communities made it credible by maintaining episcopal institutions, translating relics and rebuilding sacred places.

Hagiography played a decisive part in this process. Accounts of saints and their relics did not simply record an inherited past; they reorganised it for medieval communities. By connecting a church with a founder, a martyr, or an abandoned Roman city, they supplied interrupted institutions with persuasive genealogies. The material city and its sacred history were thus made to

confirm one another (Vedriš 2006, 2015b; Marinković 2009; Skoblar 2021).

Ancient material entered the Christian city through building practice. Roman structures were dismantled and their stones incorporated into new monuments, sometimes with their inscriptions still visible. Through this process of resemiotisation, a fragment entered a different system of meanings. As such, the same stone might support a wall while evoking civic ancestry or conferring authority upon a Christian institution.

Zadar offers a concentrated example. Roman Iader became the principal city of Byzantine Dalmatia. Local tradition presented Bishop Donatus as a mediator between Charlemagne and the emperor Nikephoros I and credited him with bringing the relics of Saint Anastasia from Constantinople. Whether or not this account preserves a historical event, it placed the cathedral within Byzantine sacred geography and connected local memory with the imperial negotiations of the early ninth century (Ančić, Shepard and Vedriš 2018; Vedriš 2021).

Saint Anastasia and Saint Chrysogonus supplied Zadar's institutions with competing versions of the city's Christian past. The cathedral centred its identity on Anastasia, while the Benedictine monastery promoted Chrysogonus as a protector. The Church of Saint Donatus made a related claim through stones taken from the Roman forum. One block retained a sacrificial text whose position within a Christian building redirected its meaning (Vedriš 2006, 2014, 2015b; Skoblar 2021; Borić 2025).

At Pula, the cathedral developed from an early Christian basilica, located near the waterfront and probably erected over Roman structures. Despite repeated alterations, it remained the episcopal seat. Its authority arose not from the survival of an untouched late antique building, but rather from the continuing association between bishop, liturgy, and sacred place (Chevalier 1995; Marin and Mazzoleni 2009).

The episcopal complex at Poreč preserves this process. By the fourth century, part of a Roman house had been adapted for worship. During Justinian's reign, Bishop Euphrasius replaced the subsequent churches with a basilica that retained their fabric and reflected links with Constantinople and Ravenna. In the apse, he presents the church to the Virgin beside Saint Maurus, placing himself within a sacred succession. Earlier mosaics remained visible, while the thirteenth-century ciborium gave older columns a new liturgical function. Antiquity thus survived within a functioning bishopric rather than as a ruin (Matejčić 2014; Skoblar 2021).

At Koper, documentary and cultic time do not coincide. Although the bishopric first appears in 599, Saint Nazarius, a first century martyr venerated from c. 395 AD, was considered its founding bishop. The present Cathedral of the Assumption developed from a basilica recorded in the late eleventh century. Its Romanesque fabric was later enlarged and Gothicised, while the façade brought the Venetian Gothic into dialogue with the early Renaissance.

The Genoese removed the relics of Saint Nazarius when they attacked Koper in 1380. Their return in 1422 restored the patron to his cathedral before its consecration in 1445. Architecture and ritual renewed the connection between bishop and city. Koper's Christian antiquity rested less on a surviving late antique building than it did on a reconstructed episcopal tradition (Štefanac (ed.) 2000; Bratož 2001; Prohinar 2008).

The most extensive Christian transformation occurred in Diocletian's Palace at Split. Built around 300 CE as an imperial residence, it gradually became part of the medieval city. Accounts of the translation of Saints Domnius and Anastasius connected Split with abandoned Salona and made it the sacred heir to its metropolitan see. They thus turned displacement into succession (Vedriš 2006, 2015b; Skoblar 2021).

Diocletian's mausoleum became the Cathedral of Saint Domnius, whom tradition identified as a bishop of Salona, martyred during the Emperor's persecutions. The imperial tomb thus became a church honouring one of his victims. Relics and liturgy reversed its commemorative meaning without concealing the ancient architecture. The Temple of Jupiter became the baptistery, while the Peristyle changed from an imperial setting into the cathedral square. The palace retained its spatial order, but authority now converged upon the bishop and patron saint.

Saint Jerome offered a human counterpart to these material antiquities. As a Father of the Church and biblical translator, he belonged to universal Christian history. His reported birth at Stridon, near the boundary between Dalmatia and Pannonia, nevertheless allowed Adriatic communities to claim him. This regional identity gained force in the fifteenth century, when devotion arriving from Italy encountered traditions concerning his birthplace and language. Jerome allowed communities divided by political allegiance and threatened by Ottoman expansion to recognise a shared Christian past (Ivić 2016; 2017; 2018; 2020; 2021; 2024; Gudelj 2020b; Špoljarić 2021; Marin and Horvat-Levaj (eds.) 2021; Pavlović and Gudelj (eds.) 2024).

The uncertain location of Stridon engendered competing claims. Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder and Flavio Biondo placed it in Istria, associating it with Zrenj, or Sdregna, near Trieste. Marko Marulić and Vinko Pribojević instead located it at Skradin, or Scardona, while Štrigova in Međimurje and sites near Blagaj were also proposed. To locate Stridon was to appropriate Jerome's authority (Ivić 2016; 2017; 2018; 2020; 2021; 2024; Gudelj 2020b; Špoljarić 2021).

Jerome could be described as Istrian, Dalmatian, Italian, Illyrian, or Slavic without losing his universal standing. The legend that he invented the Slavic alphabet and translated its liturgical books legitimated Glagolitic writing and the Roman Slavonic rite. Although the script originated with Cyril and Methodius, Jerome's reputed authorship gave it ancient authority. A manuscript believed to be in his hand could therefore be treated as an autograph relic, with writing replacing bodily presence (Blažević 2008; Verkholtantsev 2014; Ivić 2016; 2017; 2018; 2020; 2021; 2024).

Jerome also acquired an institutional setting in Rome connected with the eastern Adriatic. In 1453, Pope Nicholas V granted Santa Marina at Ripetta to the *Dalmatiae et Schiavonae nationes* for reconstruction under Jerome's dedication. The church and confraternity served immigrants from divided Adriatic territories, whom their shared saint united (Gudelj 2020b). Similar instances are documented for instance across Marche region, where numerous immigrants from the Eastern Adriatic settled (Gudelj, Capriotti and Coltrinari (eds), 2018).

The concept of *Illyricum Sacrum* extended this construction to an entire region. The ancient name could denote Dalmatia and its hinterland or a broader South Slavic territory, presenting lands divided among different powers as parts of a common Christian past. This idea informed the eight-volume *Illyricum Sacrum*, published between 1751 and 1819, initiated by the Jesuit Filippo Riceputi, continued by Daniele Farlati, and completed by Jacopo Coleti. They reconstructed diocesan histories by comparing written testimony with surviving monuments. Following initial travels, local scholars supplied evidence through correspondence, which the editors reorganised in Venice. The compilation transformed dispersed material into an enduring ecclesiastical geography (Lučin 1995).

Roman, Byzantine, medieval, and early modern histories remained present through the relationships repeatedly established between them. Ancient buildings acquired Christian functions, relics connected new communities with abandoned cities, and saints authorised competing genealogies. Continuity emerged through selection and

reinterpretation. Like the Adriatic itself, it was created through movement across political, ecclesiastical, and linguistic boundaries (Džino 2010; Ančić, Shepard and Vedriš 2018; Džino, Milošević and Vedriš 2018; Skoblar 2021).

Lit. Chevalier 1995; Lučin 1995; Bratož 2001; Vedriš 2006; Blažević 2008; Prohinar 2008; Marin and Mazzoleni 2009; Marinković 2009; Migotti 2012; Matejčić 2014; Verkholtantsev 2014; Vedriš 2014; Ivić 2016; 2017; 2018; 2020; Gudelj 2020a, 2020b; Ivić 2021; Skoblar 2021; Špoljarić 2021; Marin and Horvat-Levaj (eds.) 2021; Ivić 2024; Pavlović and Gudelj (eds.) 2024; Borić 2025.

Jasenska Gudelj

3.1 Daniele Farlati

Illyrici sacri tomus primus–octavus

Venezia: apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1751–1819

National and University Library, Zagreb, Shelfmark 000.124

Conceived by Filippo Riceputi, written largely by Daniele Farlati, and completed by Jacopo Coleti, the eight volumes of *Illyricum Sacrum* appeared in Venice between 1751 and 1819. The work reconstructs the history of Christianity across ancient Illyricum through accounts of individual dioceses, emphasising their apostolic origins, episcopal succession, and local saints. Its illustrations extend this argument into the visual realm: maps define ecclesiastical territories, while monuments and sacred objects serve as evidence of historical continuity (Lučin 1995; Pavanello 2007; Pap 2024).

The visual apparatus is concentrated in the first three volumes as well as the fifth; elsewhere, only the recurring title-page vignette appears. Although uneven in execution, the engravings reveal how antiquity entered eighteenth-century ecclesiastical historiography.

The allegorical frontispiece follows a design attributed to Girolamo Brusafferro. Religion appears above History and Geography, who unfurl the title before maps of Dalmatia, Pannonia, Dacia, and Dardania displayed on the wall of a monumental niche (Ill. 3.1.1). Books and instruments present ecclesiastical history as the critical ordering of different forms of evidence (Matile 2004; Pavanello 2007).

A second vignette shows Venice, accompanied by the lion of Saint Mark, in a marine chariot drawn by dolphins, while

Tritons present her with the arms of Dalmatia (Ill. 3.1.2). The composition condenses the early modern myth of Venice, placing Dalmatia within the Republic's maritime dominion and linking the ecclesiastical geography of *Illyricum Sacrum* with the political geography of the Venetian *Stato da Mar*. Comparable combinations of marine deities and the Dalmatian arms appear in late seventeenth-century Venetian cartography, including Coronelli's maps of the region. The signature *Zucchi scul.*, found in volumes I–V, probably refers to Francesco Zucchi, who later contributed engravings to Robert Adam's publication on Diocletian's Palace (Thom 2019; see Part 5). Volumes VI–VIII employ a different vignette, attributed to Giovanni Battista Colomba.

Two maps, credited respectively to Giovanni Battista Camozzini and Giovanni Giorgio Calergi, record Salona and its territory (pp. 276–277); an imagined reconstruction, possibly connected with the Split painter Vincenzo Paterni, follows on pp. 278–279 (cat. 6.2.2), (Bilić 2013, Guarneri 2025a, pp. 68–70).

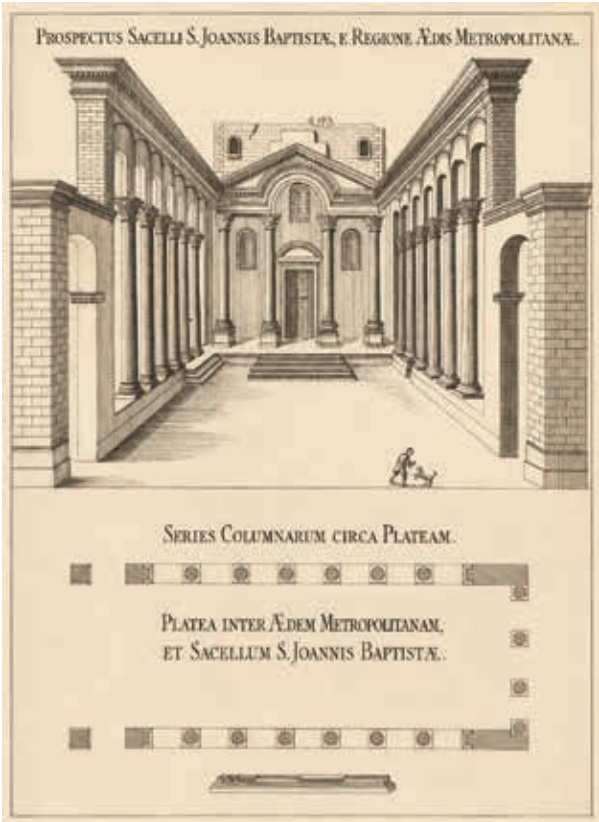
A longer sequence presents Diocletian's Palace through its Christian afterlife. Plans and sections record the mausoleum as Split Cathedral, while other plates show the Peristyle, the former Temple of Jupiter, the eastern side of the cathedral with its bell tower, and the altars of Saints Domnius and Anastasius (pp. 390–393, 738–739, ill. 3.1.3–6). Although several compositions recall Fischer von Erlach's engravings, the sequence is concerned less with reconstructing the ancient complex than with documenting its Christian transformation. Paterni had supplied drawings of the Palace to the Split nobleman Ivan Petar Marchi, who sent them to Vienna, although older surveys related to those known to Andrea Palladio may also have informed the later images (Kečkemet 1987; Gudelj 2014e, p. 379–380; Gudelj and Strunje 2023, pp. 112–114; see the section on Split).

The representations of Dalmatian and Istrian martyrs in the mosaics of the Oratory of San Venanzio adjoining the Lateran Baptistery (pls V–VI, between pp. 578–579 and 580–581, Ill. 3.1.7) derive from Giovanni Giustino Ciampini's *Vetera monimenta* of 1690 (vol. II, pp. 106–109). Their inclusion placed regional saints within the universal history of Christianity.

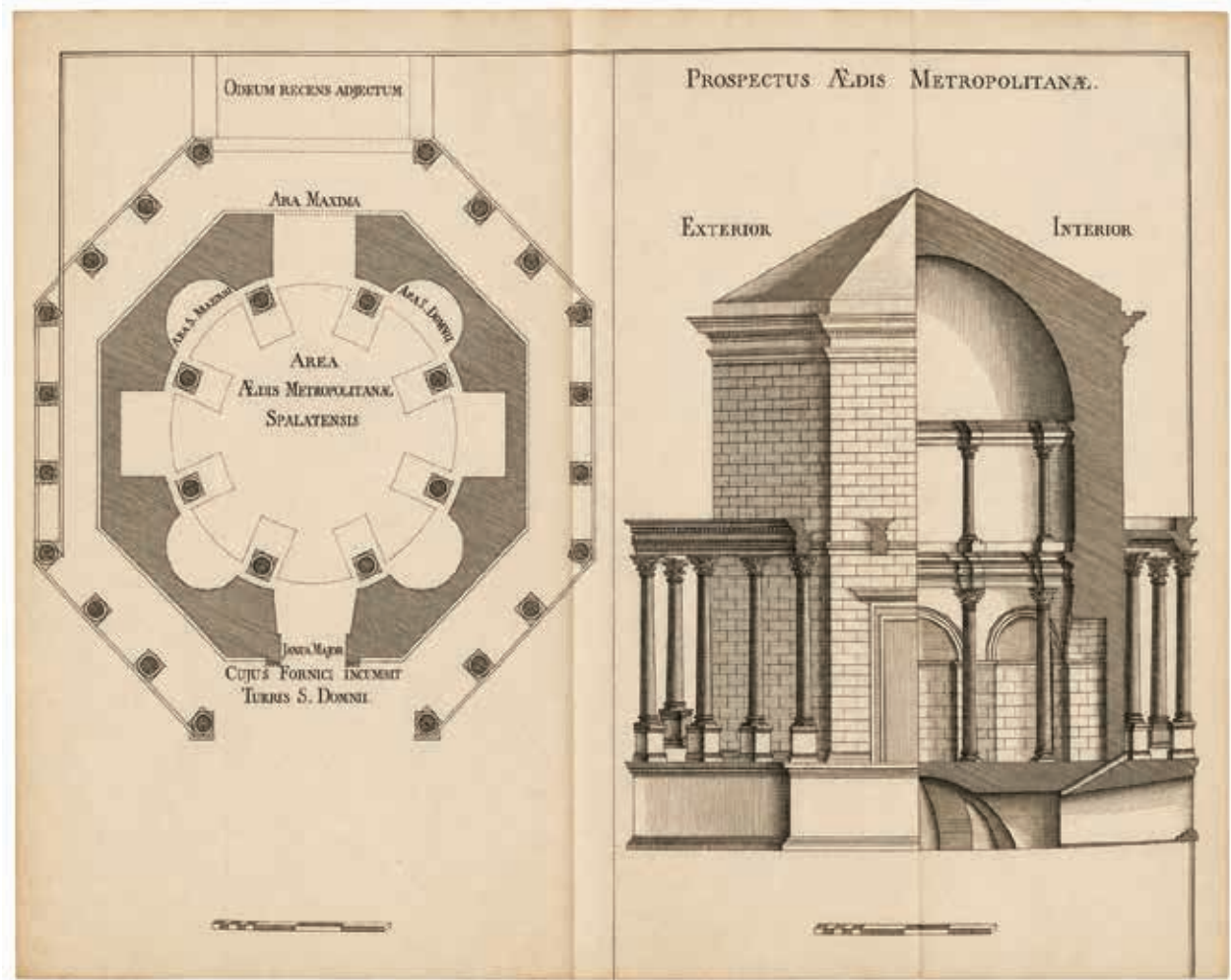
The discussion of the Salonitan see (volume II), published in 1753, sought to place Diocletian within a Christian framework by treating his wife and daughter as saints (Ill. 3.1.8). It reused an image from the frontispiece to Ivan Tomko Mrnavić's *Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae*

III. 3.1.1



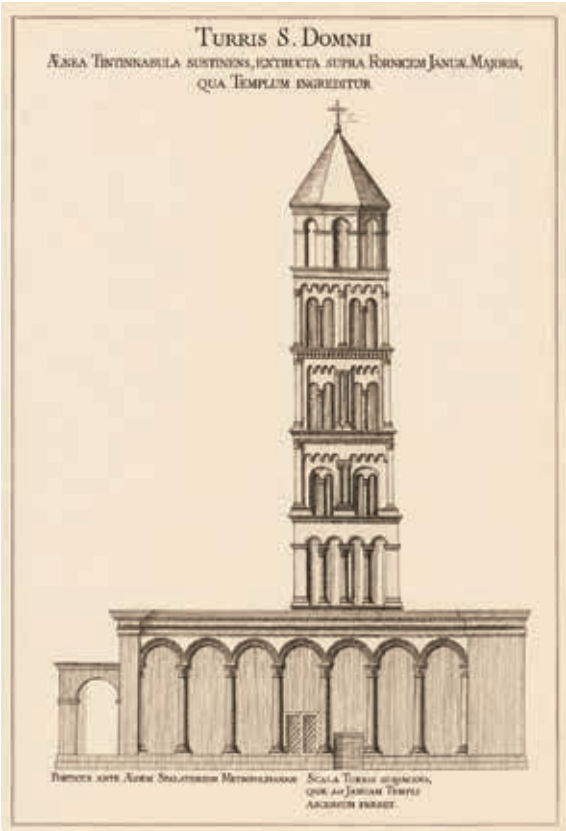
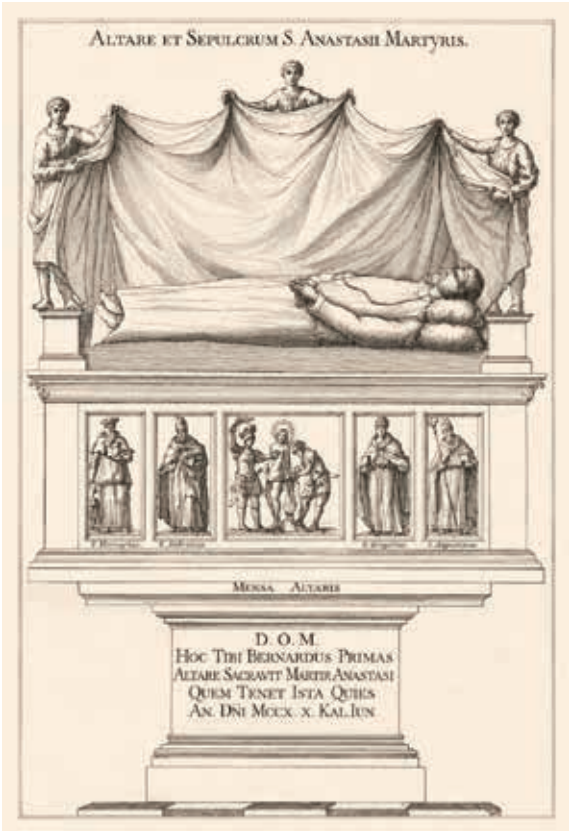


III. 3.1.2
III. 3.1.3

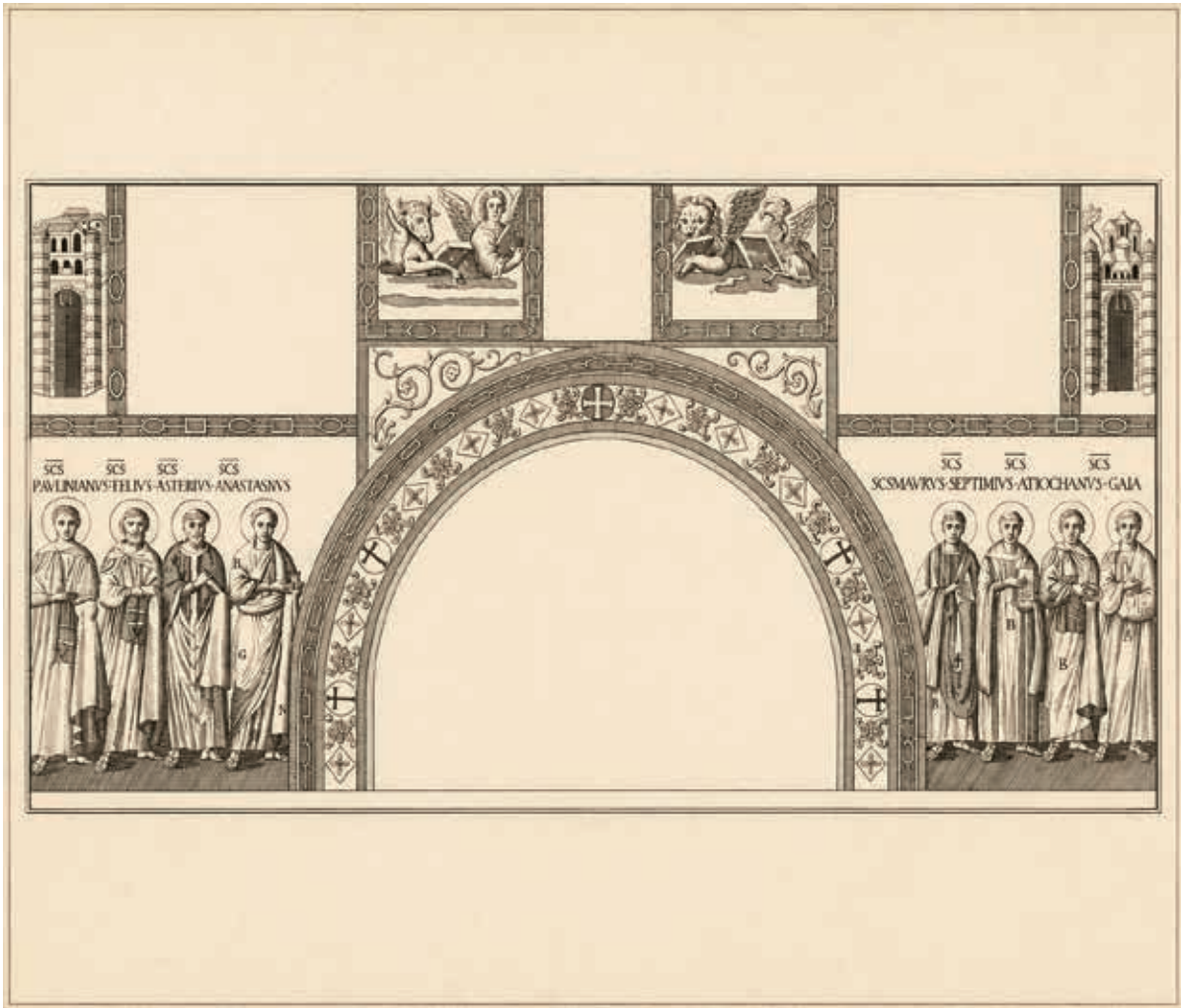


III. 3.1.4

III. 3.1.5
III. 3.1.6



III. 3.1.7





Salonitanae Dalmaticae nobilitas (Rome, 1628), designed by Giuseppe Puglia, called Il Bastaro, and engraved by Orazio Brunetti (Premierl 2022).

The volume also presents the first printed plan of the ancient palace and its ideal reconstruction by Fischer von Erlach (pp. 396–397), discussed further in the section on Split. Six additional plates record Salonitan funerary monuments and inscriptions as part of the *Marmora Salonitana* (see Coins and Inscriptions), presenting material remains as evidence of continuity from antiquity (III. 3.1.9).

Volume III, published in 1765, contains only a view of the Chapel of Saint Arnir and its altar in Split; the sculptural decoration is omitted. In volume V, five engravings document the sanctuary, altar, and silver chest of Saint Simeon in Zadar. They reproduce drawings made in 1733 by Giovanni Battista Augusti Pitteri, for which the procurators Antonio Grisogono and Orazio Ponte paid him 350 lire. Although now known only through the printed plates, the drawings provide the earliest detailed visual record of the chest (Tomić 2002; Goja 2006; Pavanello 2007).



III. 3.1.8

III. 3.1.9

Like the text, the illustrations resulted from compilation rather than a unified archaeological survey. Local drawings were combined with maps, earlier publications, and information supplied by correspondents. Moving between manuscript, print, and monument, they converted fragmentary remains into a visual history of the Illyrian Church. Salona and Diocletian's Palace supported claims of apostolic origin and institutional continuity, while Saint Simeon's chest joined local cult and civic memory to the sacred geography constructed by the work.

Lit. Ciampini 1690; Kečkemet 1987; Lučin 1995; Tomić 2002; Goja 2006; Pavanello 2007; Bilić 2013; Gudelj 2014e, p. 379-380; Thom 2019; Premierl 2022; Gudelj and Strunje 2023, pp. 112-114; Pap 2024.

Jasenska Gudelj

3.2 Architectural Fragments

From Gian Rinaldo Carli, *Delle antichità italiane*, Milano: nell'Imperial Monistero di S. Ambrogio Maggiore, 1790, vol. IV, tome I, pp. 271–272.

Printed illustration on paper

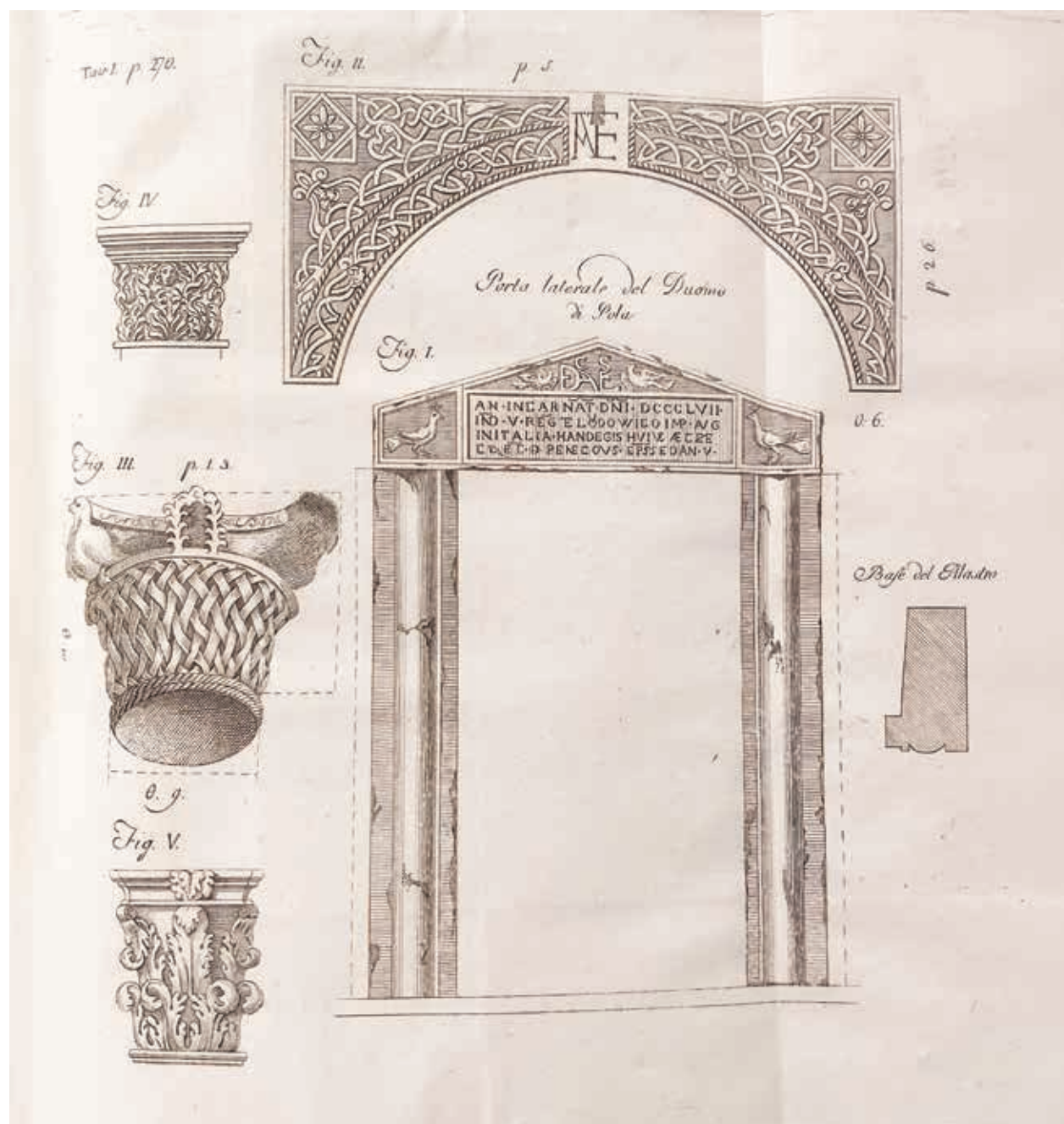
230 × 200 mm

University Library, Pula, Shelfmark fA/n440

The plate depicts five stone monuments, described and discussed in the accompanying text on pp. 271–272. At the top, fig. II records what Carli identified as a 'triumphal arch still preserved in the presbytery of Pula Cathedral' (*arco detto trionfale esistente ancora nel presbiterio della cattedrale di Pola*). He associated the monogram at the

centre of the arch with Bishop Handegis (*Andegi Vescovo*), whose name, together with the date 857, appears on the cathedral's lateral portal.

The 'arch' illustrated in the plate survives, although it has since been identified as one side of a hexagonal ciborium, probably originating from the baptistery. It is preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Istria together with two other sides of the same ciborium, while a fourth is known from a nineteenth-century drawing. The now-damaged monogram above the arch should be read as AE(milianus), or A(emilianus) E(piscopus), and refers to Aemilianus, bishop of Pula between 804 and 806. This dating accords with the stylistic features of the relief (Basić 2021).



Of the portal represented in fig. I, only the inscribed triangular lintel survives, incorporated into the exterior of the cathedral's south wall. With regard to fig.s III–V, Carli explains that he 'had drawings made of the capitals on the pilasters and columns of three churches in Pula, Lucca and Pisa'. The Pula capital depicted in fig. III closely resembles a surviving, although more severely damaged, example now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Istria. The drawing may therefore record this same two-zone capital of Proconnesian marble, whose form and carving are characteristic of early sixth-century Byzantine sculpture.

Carli introduced these monuments as examples of the art of the Middle Ages (*tempo di mezzo*), which he distinguished from that of the 'beautiful age of Rome and Greece' (*bei tempi di Roma e Grecia*), while maintaining that the arts had not become entirely debased or corrupted (*non tutte le arti si fosser corrotte*). He thus treated the Pula fragments not merely as local antiquities, but as material evidence within a broader historical argument concerning the transformation of artistic forms between antiquity and the medieval period.

Lit. Matejčić and Mustač 2014, pp. 18, 112–113, 223–225, 230–231; Basić 2021, pp. 161–174.

Ivan Matejčić



3.3 After Benigno Vangelini (?)

Saint Jerome Penitent (facsimile)

Etching on paper

From Roberto Papafava, *De situ Carniolae, Carinthiae, Stiriae, atque Epeiri et regionum Illyrico finitimarum disquisitio*, Roma: apud Haeredem Io. Petri Colini, 1655

The engraving represents Saint Jerome as a penitent in a cave, beating his breast with a stone before a crucifix. His cardinal's hat rests behind the cross, while the lion, his traditional attribute, appears in the lower left corner. The inscription, SOCIETAT. SANCTI HIERONYMI NATIONIS ILLIRICORVM ALMAE VRBIS, names the Roman Confraternity of Saint Jerome of the Illyrian Nation as patron of the book. The arms of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia surround the saint, presenting him as the spiritual patron of a community that transcended political boundaries.

This engraving opens Roberto Papafava's *De situ Carniolae, Carinthiae, Stiriae, atque Epeiri et regionum Illyrico finitimarum disquisitio*, published in Rome in 1655.

Papafava, a Paduan nobleman who held a commendatory abbacy in Šibenik, composed the work to explain the geography and historical extent of the Illyrian lands. The book emerged from mid-seventeenth-century debates over rights attached to the Illyrian institutions in Rome. During proceedings before the Sacra Rota, the definition of the 'Illyrian nation' acquired particular legal and institutional importance, resulting in the creation of a map by Pietro Andrea Bufalini (Gudelj 2016). By tracing the region's geography and past, the work sought to ground Illyrian identity in both law and ecclesiastical tradition.

The engraving has been associated with the engraver Natale Bonifacio because confraternity records state that, in 1584, he was required to produce two images of Saint Jerome (Pelc 1997, 2021). This attribution should, however, be treated with caution. The oval frame encloses both the inscription and the territorial arms, creating a design more consistent with seventeenth-century visual language and with the confraternity's renewed formulation of its identity around 1650. At that time, the confraternity commissioned Benigno Vangelini to

paint *Saints Cyril and Methodius Presenting the Relics of Saint Clement to Pope Adrian II*. The painting asserted the historical standing of the Schiavoni community in Rome and supported its institutional claims (Gudelj 2018c). In Papafava's engraving, Saint Jerome adopts a pose and displays facial features similar to those of the saint in Vangelini's painting at Sant'Onofrio al Gianicolo. The print may therefore reproduce a design by the same artist.

The image functions not merely as a devotional representation but also as a statement of collective identity. Saint Jerome guarantees the historical continuity of the Illyrian community. By naming the confraternity and displaying the arms of its constituent lands, the engraving gives institutional and territorial form to the geographical argument advanced in Papafava's book.

Lit. Pelc 1997, p. 117; Gudelj 2018c; Pelc 2021, pp. 447–449.

Jasenska Gudelj

3.4 Casket with Rosettes and Mythological Scenes

Constantinople, tenth century

Bone and ivory

31 × 17 × 13.1 cm; weight 2,300 g

Findspot: Piran, Church of Saint George

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. S-344

The rectangular Piran casket consists of a wooden base sheathed in relief plaques of bone and ivory. Produced in a Byzantine workshop in Constantinople, it belongs to the group of so-called 'rosette caskets', named after the circular floral ornaments framing their sides. The principal reliefs draw upon figures and narratives from ancient mythology.

The largest panel depicts a lively Dionysiac revel. Maenads dance with torches alongside a Centaur, while winged musicians play panpipes, a transverse flute, and a harp.



One side panel represents the hero Bellerophon with the winged horse Pegasus and a torch-bearing goddess, probably Selene. Elsewhere, a Centaur plays panpipes, a boy holds cymbals, and a Nereid rides a hippocamp. The sliding lid carries a scene of wild animals and winged boys, or putti, who lead a lion and a stag by their reins. Beside them, a hero wearing a Phrygian cap tightly embraces a dog.

The closest parallel among surviving rosette caskets is the more finely carved Veroli Casket, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Inv. No. 216-1865). The two works share much of the same mythological iconography. The principal exception is the *Abduction of Europa*, which may originally have decorated the missing long side of the Piran casket. That panel was replaced by a document dated 1846, which records the discovery of the casket reliquary in 1592 within the altar of Saint Catherine in the Church of Saint George in Piran. From 1884, the casket was kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, before entering the museum in Pula in 1921. During the Second World War, it was transferred to the Museo Civico in Trieste and subsequently returned to Pula, where it entered the Archaeological Museum of Istria.

The Byzantine craftsmen who made these caskets drew upon mythological figures and compositions preserved on luxurious ancient sarcophagi. By selecting and casting a design from this repertoire, they made classical forms available to a Christian courtly culture. This renewed engagement with antiquity after Iconoclasm is often described as the Neo-Hellenism of the Middle Byzantine period or, more broadly, as the Macedonian Renaissance.

Ancient forms were likewise adopted and transformed within Christian contexts in the West. The Carolingian renewal prepared the ground for the artistic revival conventionally known as the Ottonian Renaissance. In 972, the Byzantine princess Theophanu married the Holy Roman Emperor Otto II and, after his death, governed as regent for their son, Otto III. Venice, meanwhile, maintained close political and commercial relations with Constantinople. Although distant and increasingly autonomous, it remained culturally connected to the Byzantine world. These exchanges created favourable conditions for the circulation of rosette caskets and related luxury objects across the northern Adriatic.

Lit. Luca 1992, pp. 39–61; Cutler 1999, pp. 117–128; Ortalli 2004, pp. 9–20; Golob 2005, pp. 205–224; Milinović 2005, pp. 211–226; Luca 2006, pp. 117–150; Chatterjee 2013, pp. 325–344; Komšo 2017.

Željko Ujčić



3.5 Relief of a Dancing Woman

First half of the first century CE

Limestone

H. 133 cm; W. 60 cm; D. 40 cm

Findspot: Pula, before 1892

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. A-423

This fragment from a monumental structure is carved from local Istrian limestone and bears a relief of a dancing woman. It is broken along its upper and right edges, while the figure itself is damaged in several places.

The woman faces right, extending her left arm horizontally before her and lowering her right arm behind her. She

wears a peplos, a traditional form of ancient Greek dress made from a rectangular piece of woollen cloth. Fastened at the shoulders and belted at the waist, the garment falls in abundant folds and forms a characteristic overfold. On the Pula relief, its numerous finely carved folds flutter around the dancer's legs, emphasising the vitality of her movement.

The dancer's head is carved in high relief and covered by a veil fastened at the right shoulder with a simple circular fibula. The right side of her head is missing. Her centrally parted, wavy hair is swept back from either side of the face, which is carved with strongly modelled features.

The dancer should be understood within a ritual context. Her pose and clothing appear to derive from a Greek model for a ceremonial dance, comparable to that represented in a funerary fresco from a burial chamber at Ruvo di Puglia, dating from the late fifth or early fourth century BCE. The Pula relief probably formed part of a funerary monument. It may be dated to the first century CE, most probably to the later Julio-Claudian period.

Lit. Reichel 1892, p. 165, fig. 9; Gnirs 1915, pp. 81–82; Mirabella Roberti 1938, p. 256; Bertocchi 1963, pp. 1–22; Starac 2006, p. 87.

Silvana Petešić

3.6 Wall Block from a Rotunda with a Relief of a Maenad

Late first century BCE–first half of the first century CE
Limestone

H. 90 cm; W. 104 cm; L. 16 cm

Findspot: Pula, before 1949

Location: Temple of Roma and Augustus, Pula

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. A-370

This block formed part of the wall of a rotunda constructed from local Istrian limestone. Its relief represents the lower body of a dancing woman. The upper part of the block is broken along an oblique line, leaving the figure intact only up to the hips. The relief originally belonged to a monumental funerary structure of the rotunda type, whose cylindrical body has been reconstructed as approximately 170 cm high and 320 cm in diameter.

The dancer wears a long Greek tunic that falls to her ankles in abundant, flowing folds. Her left leg, slightly bent at the knee, bears the weight of her body and is only faintly visible beneath the dense drapery. By contrast, her right leg is almost entirely exposed as it emerges through the garment's side opening. Since the lower edge of the block



is badly damaged, it is impossible to determine whether she wore footwear.

Further folds appear beside her left thigh and continue behind her body, with one end falling to the right. They may belong to an outer mantle, drawn horizontally by her left hand and allowed to descend behind her. The same hand holds a thyrsus, represented as a bundle-like staff covered with leaves at its lower end. This attribute identifies the dancer as a Maenad, one of the female followers of Dionysus, god of wine, vegetation, and fertility.

The thyrsus, conventionally entwined with vine or ivy leaves and crowned by a pinecone, was a principal attribute of Dionysus and his companions. It evoked fertility, pleasure, and abundance. In ancient literature and imagery, Maenads roam hills and forests in a state of divine possession expressed through ecstatic dance. Their name derives from the Greek *mainesthai*, meaning 'to rave' or 'to be mad', and refers to their ritual frenzy.

Lit. Reichel 1892, p. 164; Gnirs 1915, pp. 89–90, no. 258, fig. 44; Simon 1961, pp. 1002–1013; Girardi Jurkić 2005, p. 226; Starac 2006, p. 72, cat. 2.

Silvana Petešić

ANCIENT
POLA AND THE
RENAISSANCE
ARCHITECTS

**ANCIENT POLA AND
THE RENAISSANCE
ARCHITECTS**

Pula occupied a distinctive position within early modern architectural culture, alongside places such as Verona, Nîmes, and Pozzuoli. Its exceptionally well-preserved Roman monuments—the Arch of the Sergii, the Temple of Augustus and its twin, the Arena, and the now-lost theatre on Monte Zaro—offered artists, architects, and antiquarians direct access to the ancient past. Embedded within the city’s radial urban fabric, these monuments remained active components of the urban landscape. The Arch of the Sergii functioned as part of the eastern city gate, the Temple of Augustus framed the Forum, while its twin was incorporated into the communal palace, and the theatre on Monte Zaro and the amphitheatre occupied the eastern and western edges of the town respectively (Gudelj 2014a).

Under Venetian rule after 1331, Pula experienced severe demographic decline during the early modern period. While the city had around 1,400 inhabitants in the fifteenth century, its population had fallen to approximately 500 by the early sixteenth century owing to plague, malaria, and the economic consequences of the War of the League of Cambrai. Efforts to repopulate the city through organised immigration from the Bologna region and subsequently from territories threatened by Ottoman expansion proved unsuccessful. Despite these hardships, civic and ecclesiastical institutions continued to function, while the city’s excellent harbour ensured its strategic importance along the Rotta di Levante. Venetian officials, bishops, and humanists regularly passed through Pula, and distinguished figures such as Ciriaco d’Ancona and Marin Sanudo visited its antiquities. At the same time, prominent humanists, including Biagio Molin, served as bishops of Pula (Gudelj 2014a).

The Augustan Arch of the Sergii, framed by paired Corinthian semi-columns and angled corner columns—a configuration not described by Vitruvius—proved particularly influential. Its reinterpretations ranged from the Christianised imagery of Jacopo Bellini’s drawings to the triumphal classicism of Andrea Mantegna. References to the Pula arch also marked the emergence of Early Renaissance classicism in structures such as the gate of the Venetian Arsenale and the triumphal arch of Castel Nuovo in Naples (Gudelj 2014a).

Although the earliest drawings that facilitated the dissemination of knowledge about Pula’s antiquities have not survived, it is possible to identify groups of drawings deriving from common prototypes within the corpus of sixteenth-century architectural drawings, produced according to a new approach based on increasingly precise measurement of ancient architecture (Günther 1988; Gudelj 2014a).

The first group is represented here by an anonymous drawing from the Uffizi (GDSU 2058 A r, cat. 4.1). It derives from the same prototype as the depiction of the Arch of the Sergii in the Magliabecchi Codex (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, II-I-429, fol. 18r), which also contains a rendering of the Temple of Augustus (fol. 8v). Another version of the arch survives in the Kassel Codex (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel, Vol. A 45, fol. 9v), while a particularly refined copy forms part of the so-called Codex Cholmondeley, compiled for the French Crown. These perspective views all derive from a common prototype, which may be associated with the sculptor, architect, and medallist Gian Cristoforo Romano, although no evidence of his travels to Istria has survived (Günther 1988, pp. 203–2014; Günther 1989; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 187–194).

A second group of drawings of the Arch of the Sergii, characterised by greater precision and richer detail, is represented here by fol.s 18r and 19r–v of the Egger Codex in the Albertina, Vienna (cat. 4.2.1–4.2.2), as well as by two drawings from the Sangallo workshop preserved in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi. The first (1875 A r–v, cat. 4.3) is attributed to Antonio da Sangallo, while the second (508 A r, cat. 4.4) is now attributed to Aristotile da Sangallo (Maurer 2022). A closely related drawing is no. 772 in the so-called Michelangelo’s *Skizzenbuch* in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille, attributed to Raffaello da Montelupo. Another elevation of the arch now attributed to Jacopo Strada survives in the Vatican Library (Codex Vaticanus Rossi 618, fol. 32r, Jansen 2019). Further details of the monument appear in two drawings (fols. 19r–v) in Codex S IV of the Biblioteca Comunale di Siena by Oreste Vanucci Biringucci. To this group may also be added a sheet from the Rugby School Codex containing architectural details of the arch drawn by Raffaello da Montelupo (Günther 1988, pp. 211; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 194–205).

Three Roman monuments in Pula—the Arch of the Sergii, the theatre on Monte Zaro, and the amphitheatre—entered the canon of Renaissance architecture through Sebastiano Serlio’s *Il Terzo Libro*, published in 1540. The drawings by an unknown draughtsman on which Serlio based his woodcuts were measured using the Veronese foot. By presenting the monuments within a typological framework, Serlio incorporated those of Pula into a broader comparative discourse on Roman architecture. Owing to the exceptional success of the *Terzo Libro* and its circulation in numerous translations, the monuments of Istria assumed a recognised place within European architectural culture. They served not only as records of antiquity, but also as theoretical propositions and sources of inspiration for generations of architects and artists.

Following the publication of the first edition of the *Terzo Libro* in 1540, subsequent discussions of Pula's antiquities were largely framed through comparison with Serlio's interpretations. The monuments were mentioned by Giorgio Vasari, Guillaume Philandrier, and, most notably, by the Flemish humanist and Neo-Stoic Justus Lipsius in his *De Amphitheatro Liber* (Antwerp, 1584, p. 67). Lipsius's description of the Arena relied heavily on Serlio and gave particular emphasis to the hypothesis concerning the timber superstructure of the amphitheatre. This interpretation placed the Pula Arena among the earliest wooden amphitheatres discussed in the fifth chapter of his treatise, where he drew extensively on ancient literary sources. These observations had a significant impact on northern Europe, particularly on discussions of theatre design in Elizabethan England, including those surrounding the development of playhouses such as the Globe Theatre. Their influence can also be detected in the design of Spanish bullrings (Botica and Gudelj 2012, pp. 59-61; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 254-255).

Andrea Palladio recorded all four Roman monuments of Pula, although only the Temple of Augustus was ultimately published in the *Quattro libri dell'architettura* (1570). His drawings of the Arch of the Sergii demonstrate the gradual transformation of an antiquarian record into an architectural model. The RIBA drawings (XII/10r and XII/9) reveal Palladio's close attention to the arch's unusual paired Corinthian columns, sculptural decoration, mouldings, and inscriptions. The later Vicenza drawings (D 29r-v) translate the monument into a clearer orthogonal architectural language. Although the Arch of the Sergii was not included in the *Quattro libri*, its distinctive arrangement of paired columns on a common pedestal reappears on the title page of the treatise, demonstrating its lasting significance within Palladio's architectural imagination (Gudelj 2014a, pp. 255-283).

Palladio's drawings of the Roman theatre on Monte Zaro, preserved at RIBA as X/3 and X/5, propose a sophisticated reconstruction of the monument. His ground plan presents the scaena as longer than the diameter of the cavea and introduces side passages and basilica-like spaces more convincingly than Serlio's reconstruction. Palladio also includes the porticus in summa cavea and the portico behind the stage building, while simplifying the seating arrangement. The related perspective sketch on RIBA X/5 studies the elevation of the cavea, architectural profiles, fragments of colonnades, and possible remains of the scaena. These drawings reveal Palladio's interest in theatre typology, circulation, and the relationship between the cavea, the scaena, and the hillside setting. They also anticipate solutions later

employed in the Teatro Olimpico, particularly in the monumental treatment of the upper portico.

Palladio's drawings of the Pula amphitheatre, preserved on several RIBA sheets, record the monument with remarkable accuracy. Unlike Serlio, Palladio correctly identified in his plan on RIBA VIII/22r the staircase towers, the number of arcades between them, and the larger arches positioned on the longitudinal axis. The elevation on RIBA VIII/23r functions almost as a portrait of the monument, capturing its architectural rhythm, masonry construction, and visible damage. Other sheets, including VIII/21r-v and VIII/22v, examine the towers, sections, staircases, mouldings, and profiles. By recognising the towers as stair structures rather than simple buttresses, Palladio demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of the amphitheatre's construction and stonework.

Palladio's drawings of the Temple of Augustus, today divided between RIBA and the Museo Civico in Vicenza, represent the most mature phase of his study of Pula's monuments, since they led directly to the published plates in the *Quattro libri dell'architettura* (1570). The RIBA sheets XI/12 and VIII/4r-v include an elevation, ground plan, and detailed studies of the Corinthian capital and entablature, while the Vicenza drawing (D 28r) presents a more idealised reconstruction. Palladio corrected and regularised the monument, introducing features that did not entirely correspond to the surviving structure, but brought it into closer conformity with ancient temple typology (Gudelj 2014a, pp. 255-283).

Elements derived from Pula's monuments may be recognised in several of Palladio's works, including Palazzo Civena, the Basilica and the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, and the façades of San Francesco della Vigna and San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice. Palladio's drawings reached Britain in the seventeenth century through Inigo Jones and subsequently became an important source for British architects.

Drawings of Pula's monuments circulated widely throughout sixteenth-century Italy. Even before the publication of Serlio's treatise, the influence of Pula's architectural forms can be recognised in works by Donato Bramante, including Palazzo Caprini and the tegurium of Old St Peter's in Rome, as well as in the architecture of Baldassare Peruzzi (Gudelj 2014a, pp. 283-293; Samperi 2019). In Padua and Venice, the study of Pula's antiquities informed the architectural language of Giovanni Maria Falconetto and Tullio Lombardo, a tradition subsequently continued by Jacopo Sansovino, who is known to have visited the city. The monuments

of Pola were also discussed by Vincenzo Scamozzi, who travelled through Istria himself, thereby ensuring their continued dissemination through architectural print culture (Gudelj 2014a, pp. 293-299; Gudelj 2015).

The motif of paired columns framing triumphal openings entered sixteenth-century French architecture through temporary arches (see *Triumphs*) and monuments such as the jubé of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois in Paris, designed by Pierre Lescot and Jean Goujon, and the monumental entrances at Écouen, the Louvre, and Anet. In Britain, related forms appeared in the porch of Kirby Hall and the portal of the Chapel Royal at Stirling Castle, probably mediated through the culture of triumphal entries and through Italian architectural models encountered by English travellers on the Continent (Gudelj 2014a, pp. 318-324; Gudelj 2023b).

Lit. Caprin 1905; Traversari 1971; Günther 1988; Pavan 2000; Gudelj 2014a; Samperi 2019; Gudelj 2023b.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.1 UNKNOWN DRAUGHTSMAN (AFTER GIAN CRISTOFORO ROMANO?)

Arch of the Sergii and the Arch of Janus in Rome

First half of the sixteenth century

Drawing, ferrogallic ink on paper

Drawing: 239 × 342 mm; sheet: 475 × 342 mm

Department of Prints and Drawings, Uffizi Galleries, Florence, Inv. No. 2058 A r

Inscriptions: 'SALVI POSTMA SERGIVS' (attic, left)

'L SERGIVS L FLEPIDVS AEDTRMI LLEG XXX' (attic, centre)

'OH SERGIVS C F AEDI VIR QVINQ' (attic, right)

'SALVIA POSTVMA SERGIO DI SVA PECVNIA' (frieze, centre)

'a Pola'

'Nota che questo archio fu misurato col braccio quale braccio è due palmi e fu partito in dudece onci chiamate onci, con questo averai notizia de sua misura'

'Nota che la colona a 15 canali cio (è) quella che non è sul cantone et è più fora che'l mezo tondo un canale per banda, el uno canale è largo once 1 ½ e'l regolo once 1/2'

Right-hand side: 'arcus theodori'

Verso: 'Delo arco di lucio Septimio'

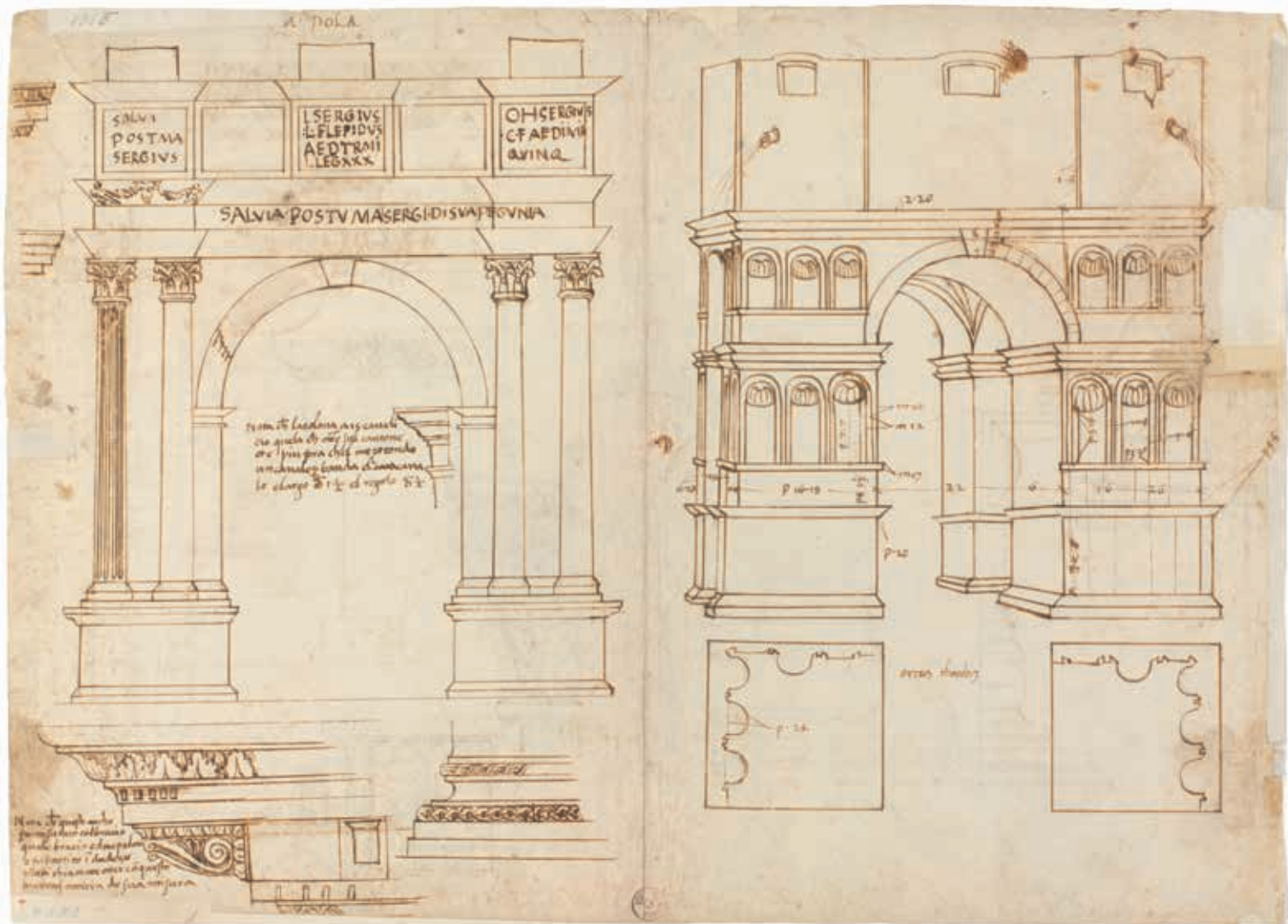
'questa vole essere intagliata e non di sopra.'

The drawing contains an orthographic elevation of the Arch of the Sergii and, beneath it, an enlarged detail of the attic cornice together with details of the column bases. Rough sketches of the architrave and upper cornice appear on the left-hand side of the sheet, while a sketch of the impost is placed beside the corresponding feature in the elevation. The drawing includes the inscriptions SALVI POSTMA SERGIVS (attic, left), L SERGIVS L F LEPIDVS AED TR MI L LEG XXX (attic, centre), OH SERGIVS C F AEDI VIR QVINQ (attic, right), and SALVIA POSTVMA SERGI DI SVA PECVNIA (frieze, centre), while omitting the inscription mentioning Lucius Sergius Gaius, which in reality occupies the left side of the attic. The topographical caption A POLA identifies the monument's location.

Additional annotations, written in a different hand, record the number of flutes on the columns and explain the system of measurement: 'Nota che questo archio fu misurato col braccio quale braccio è due palmi e fu partito in dudece onci...'. Günther identified this unit as the Mantuan braccio (Günther 1989). The linguistic features of the annotation, particularly forms such as dudece onci, point more broadly to a northern Italian, and possibly Venetian, milieu. The sheet also contains a drawing of the Arch of Janus in Rome, executed by the same hand.

The drawing derives from the same survey prototype as three other known representations of the monument (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Cod. Magliabechiano II.I.429, fol. 18r; Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Vol. A 45, fol. 9v; Codex Cholmondeley, fol. LXIIIr). Its explanatory captions closely resemble those in the Magliabechiano version, except for the annotations relating to the capital, which is absent here. In the Uffizi drawing, the measurements are omitted; the bucrania and putti are incorrectly positioned on the cornice rather than the frieze; and the erroneous placement of the inscription dedicated to Sergius Gaius is repeated. The legionary designation in the central inscription is rendered as XXX.

Formerly attributed to Fra Giovanni Giocondo, the Uffizi drawing is now regarded as an anonymous copy of a lost survey drawing by an artist familiar with Mantuan measures, possibly Gian Cristoforo Romano (Günther 1988; 1989). While knowledge of the Arch of the Sergii at the Mantuan court is unsurprising in view of Mantegna's extensive use of the Pola monument as a model (Gudelj 2014), the linguistic features of the annotations in the Uffizi copy may instead point to a draughtsman working within the cultural sphere of the Venetian Republic. The sheet may subsequently have belonged to Baldassarre



Peruzzi, as suggested by the handwriting accompanying the drawing of the Arch of Janus (Frommel 2003).

Lit. Vasori 1981, no. 12; Günther 1988, p. 334; Günther 1989; Nesselrath 2002, pp. 441–442; Frommel 2003; Gudelj 2014a, cat. no. 4, p. 340.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.2 MASTER C OF 1519 (RINIERO NERUCCIO DA PISA?)

4.2.1 Arch of the Sergii, elevation and plan

c. 1519 (?)

Drawing on paper

283 × 215 mm

Albertina, Vienna, Inv. No. Egger 18r



4.2.2 Arch of the Sergii, details

c. 1519 (?)

Drawing on paper

283 × 215 mm

Albertina, Vienna, Inv. No. Egger 19r–v

Two sheets in the Albertina collection represent the Arch of the Sergii. Folio 18r contains a precise orthographic elevation and ground, while omitting both its sculptural decoration and inscriptions. The columns are shown as fluted, while schematic lines indicate the mouldings of the architrave and cornice. A blank panel occupies the position of the central inscription on the frieze. Measurements are given in Roman feet. Comparison with contemporary records of the monument confirms the accuracy of those taken by the Renaissance draughtsman. The otherwise blank verso bears the later inscription a Pola.

Folio 19 is devoted to the monument's architectural details. The recto depicts a section through the entablature with the decoration of the cornice, a capital shown partly in section, and the upper and lower mouldings of the central projection of the attic. The verso contains the base of a column with part of its pedestal, a section through an archivolt block divided into three inclined zones, details

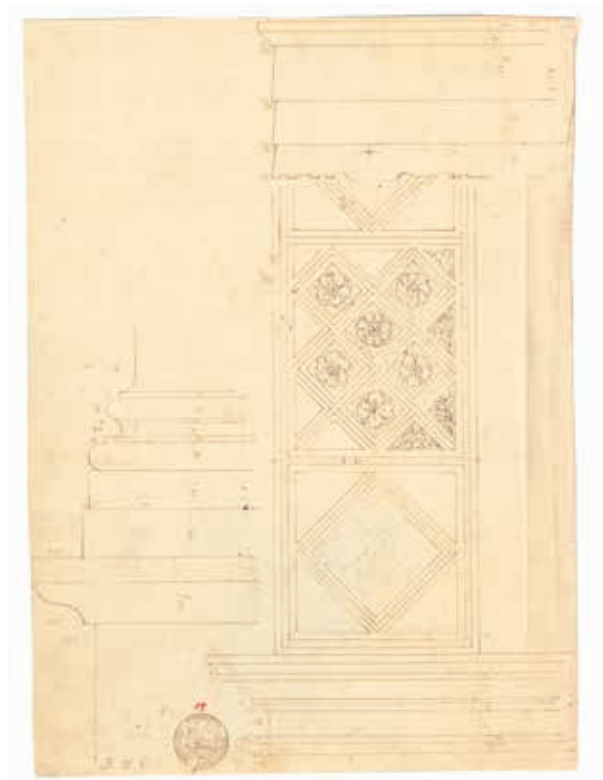


of the soffit decoration composed of lozenge-shaped frames enclosing large and small flowers, and a section through the impost of the arch.

These drawings are refined studio copies derived from survey drawings executed by an unknown draughtsman. The use of the Roman foot is consistent with other drawings in the group by the same hand. Since the Arch of the Sergii is one of five triumphal arches represented in the series, it may be assumed that the compiler sought to organise ancient monuments according to type, thereby creating a representative album of ancient architecture.

Arnold Nesselrath has suggested that the author of this series belonged to Raphael's circle, citing the strict orthogonal projection employed consistently throughout the group of drawings (Nesselrath 2014). Hubertus Günther proposed that the draughtsman might be identified as Riniero Neruccio da Pisa, who was also involved in the construction of the sanctuary of Loreto (Günther 1988, p. 341). The prototype on which the drawing was based proved remarkably influential during the sixteenth century, and at least six related drawings are known in various collections (Gudelj 2014a).

Lit. Egger 1903, p. 19, no. 18; Günther 1988, p. 341; Nesselrath 2002, pp. 440–441; Gudelj 2014a, cat. no. 7, 8, pp. 242–243; Nesselrath 2014.



4.3 ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE YOUNGER

Arch of the Sergii

First half of the sixteenth century

Drawing on paper

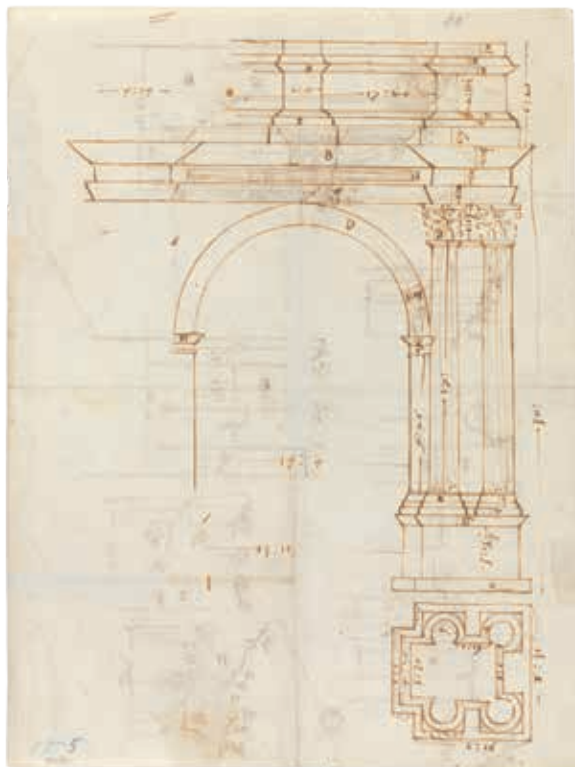
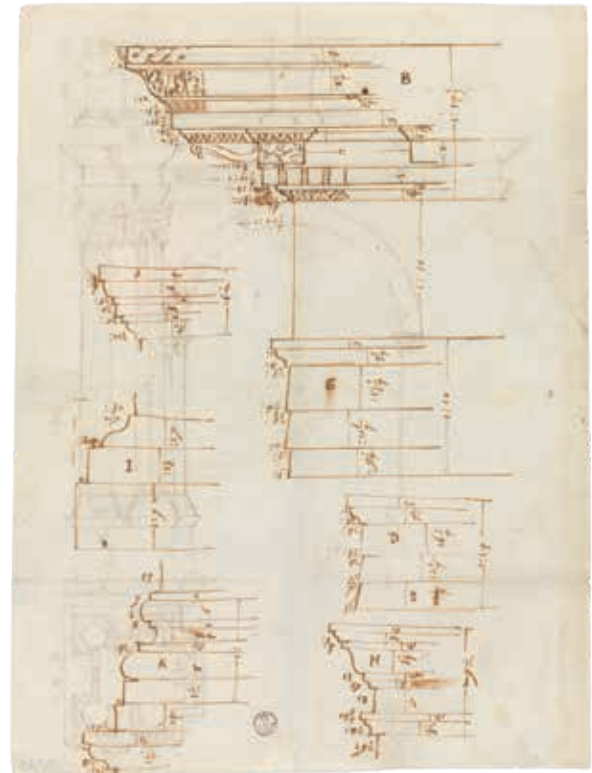
215 × 283 mm

Department of Prints and Drawings, Uffizi Galleries, Florence, Inv. No. 1875 A r-v

Inscriptions: letters A–I and K

The recto of the drawing presents an elevation and plan of the Arch of the Sergii, with only the right-hand half of the symmetrical structure rendered in full detail. The fluting of the columns is indicated schematically, as is a blank panel in the central section of the frieze, while the measurements are recorded in Roman feet. The decorative elements and inscriptions are omitted.

The verso presents architectural details identified by capital letters (A–I and K), which correspond to those marked on the elevation on the recto. The principal entablature, including the decoration of the cornice (B–C), occupies the upper right-hand corner, while the upper (A) and lower (I) mouldings of the central projection of the attic appear to the left. Below are profiles of a column base with part of its pedestal (K), a section through an archivolt block divided into three inclined zones (D), and a section through the impost of the arch (H).



Formerly attributed to Fra Giovanni Giocondo (Vasori 1981, pp. 23–24), the drawing is now recognised as the work of the papal architect Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (Günther 1988, p. 334; Maurer 2022). It is clearly related to the drawings now preserved in the Albertina, although Antonio da Sangallo concentrated primarily on the mouldings and omitted both the capital and the soffit decoration. His drawing is less precise than the Albertina example attributed to Master C, and several details are executed freehand. It exemplifies the interest taken in the Istrian monument during the High Renaissance, when its distinctive composition and carefully articulated system of mouldings were studied by an architect who was simultaneously engaged in the design and construction of St Peter's Basilica in Rome.

Lit. Vasori 1981, pp. 23–24; Günther 1988, p. 334; Gudelj 2014a, cat. no. 9, p. 343; Maurer 2022.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.4 ARISTOTILE DA SANGALLO (ATTRIBUTED)

Arch of the Sergii

First half of the sixteenth century

Drawing on paper

290 × 412 mm

Department of Prints and Drawings, Uffizi Galleries,
Florence, Inv. No. 508 A r

Inscriptions: 'L. SER GIVS C FAED II VIR'

'SALVIA POSTVMA SERGI'

'L. SERGIVS I F LEPIDVS AEDI TR IMILI LEG XXIX'

'GN SERGIVS GF AED II VIR QVINQ'

'SALVIA PORVMA SERGI DESVA PECVNIA'

'Piedi e dipartito elpie intrentadua'

'arco di bonivento'

'arco dipola ischiavia'

Executed partly with a ruler and partly freehand, the drawing presents an elevation and plan of the Arch of the Sergii, identified by the inscription *arco di pola i[n] schia[vo]nia*. It also includes several architectural details and a small sketch of the Arch of Benevento, likewise identified by a caption. Arranged somewhat irregularly across the sheet and, in some instances, overlapping the elevation, the details include a section through the entablature, a section through the attic mouldings, a schematic representation of a capital, and the profile

of an attic base with a double plinth and its complete pedestal. Within the arch opening, above the sketch of the monument at Benevento, appear details of the impost and archivolt, together with a highly schematised representation of the soffit decoration. Both the overall disposition of the monument and its individual details are carefully measured, with dimensions recorded in Roman feet, each divided into thirty-two minutes.

The drawing reproduces all four attic inscriptions in their correct positions: L. SERGIVS C. F. AED. II VIR (attic, left); SALVIA POSTVMA SERGI (attic, centre left); L. SERGIVS L. F. LEPIDVS AED. TR. MIL. LEG. XXIX (attic, centre); and CN. SERGIVS C. F. AED. II VIR QVINQ. (attic, right). It also records SALVIA POSTVMA SERGI DE SVA PECVNIA in the centre of the frieze. Nevertheless, both the transcription and the disposition of the texts are somewhat inconsistent. Errors occur even in inscriptions repeated elsewhere on the monument. For example, the frieze inscription gives PRVIMA in place of POSTVMA, although the patron's name is rendered correctly in the corresponding inscription on the attic.

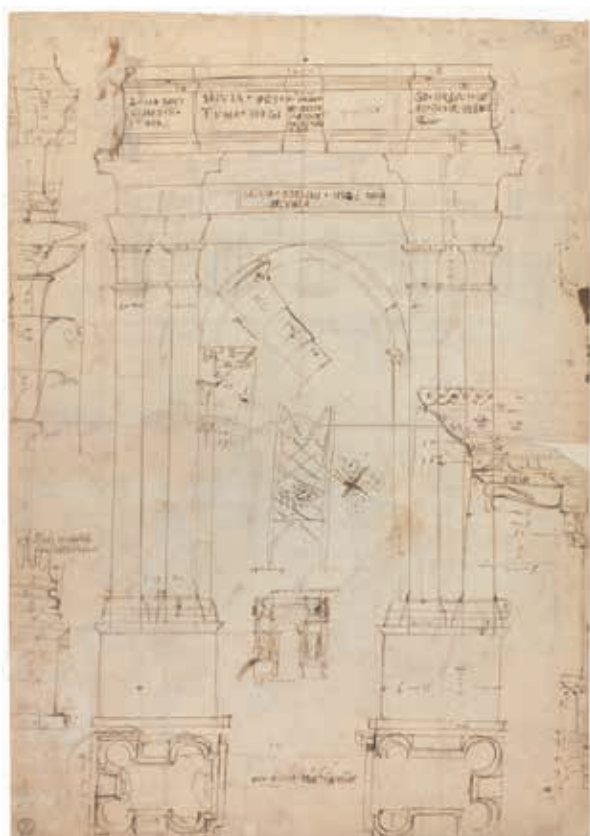
The drawing closely resembles both the Albertina sheet by Master C and Uffizi 1875 A, particularly in its combination of elevation and plan. Its architectural details are rendered more summarily, although their measurements are equally precise. The inclusion of the inscriptions, which are absent from the other drawings in the same group, further suggests that they were also recorded in the original survey, measured in Roman feet. The sheet therefore appears to be a workshop drawing made by an architect who copied either the original survey or a closely related derivative while simultaneously comparing the monument at Pula with another single-bayed arch outside Rome, namely the Arch of Benevento.

The drawing was previously attributed to Giovanni Battista da Sangallo, known as Il Gobbo. Golo Maurer has, however, proposed an attribution to Aristotile da Sangallo on the basis of the numerous errors in the Latin inscriptions (Maurer 2022).

If both Sangallo attributions are accepted, Antonio da Sangallo would appear to have followed the precise copy by Master C rather than either the original survey or the version attributed to Aristotile. This would suggest that the Sangallo circle knew both the original survey and the refined copy produced by Master C.

Lit. Traversari 1971; Vasori 1981, p. 157; Günther 1988, p. 209, n. 14; Gudelj 2014a, cat. no. 10, p. 344; Maurer 2022.

Jasenka Gudelj



4.5.0

4.5 SEBASTIANO SERLIO

Il terzo libro [...] nel quale si figurano, e descrivono le antichità di Roma

Venezia: Francesco Marcolini, 1544

36x24

Centre for Historical Research, Rovinj, Shelfmark CXLVII/2, 391/L

The copy displayed in the exhibition bears two ownership inscriptions but little evidence of intensive use. On the opening pages (fol. 5r) appears the inscription 'Di me G. Baisdrali', probably referring to a member of the Bajzdralić family, while the final page with the colophon (fol. 155v) carries the note 'de Paolo Gasparetto muraro son questo libro'. Both inscriptions are written in early modern cursive script. Unlike many surviving copies of architectural treatises that preserve annotations, sketches, or signs of professional consultation, this volume appears to have been carefully preserved, leaving only these traces of ownership as evidence of its history.

First published in Venice in 1540, Sebastiano Serlio's *Il Terzo Libro d'architettura* was chronologically the second volume of his architectural treatise to appear in print. Within the overall structure of the work, the study of ancient buildings followed the first and second books on geometry and perspective—the fundamental disciplines of architectural representation—and preceded the fourth book devoted to the architectural orders. This sequence reflects the central place accorded to ancient Roman architecture in Renaissance architectural education. Before mastering the orders and their modern reinterpretation, the architect was expected to study the monuments from which the principles of classical architecture had originally derived.

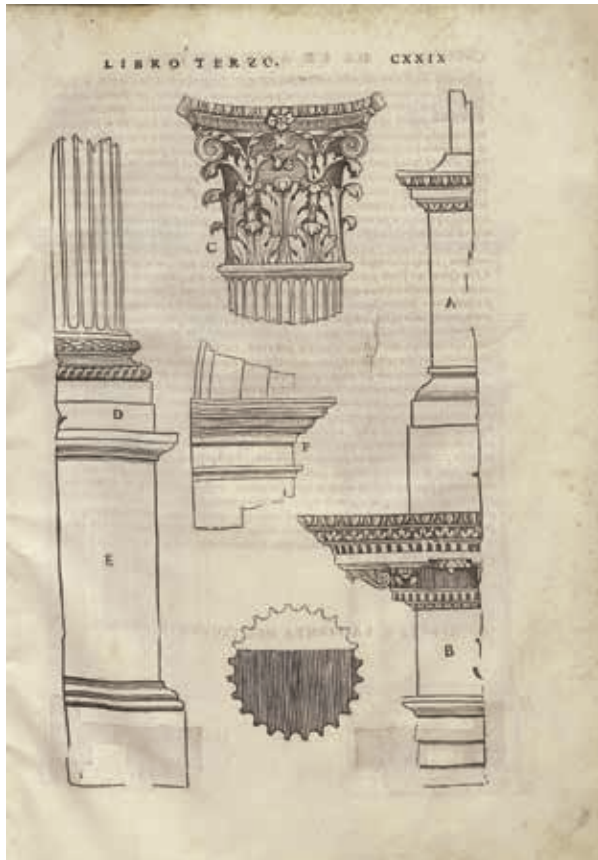
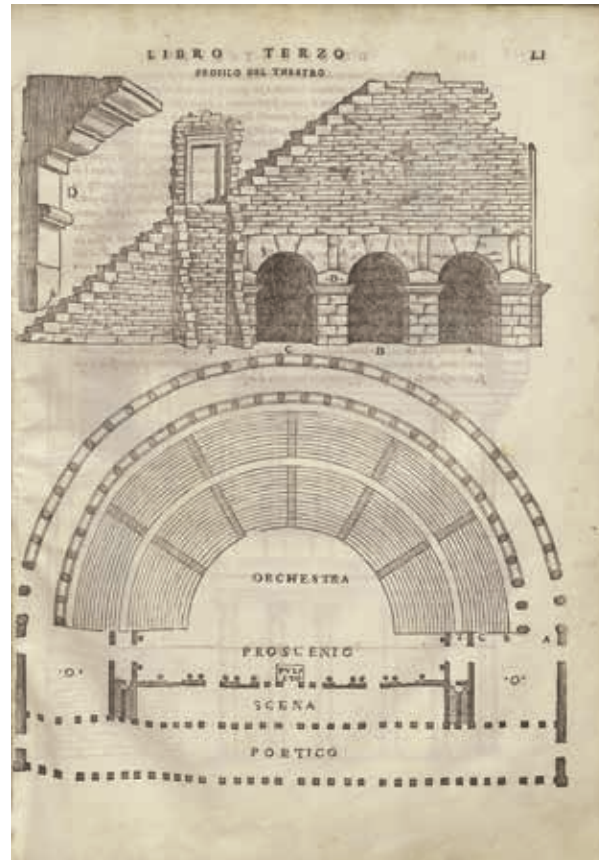
4.5.1



Serlio's *Terzo Libro* marked a decisive turning point in the transmission of knowledge about Roman antiquities. It transformed into printed form what had previously been one of the most characteristic products of Renaissance architectural culture: the architect's sketchbook. In their efforts to understand and reconstruct ancient architecture, Renaissance architects accumulated measured drawings and sketches of ruins throughout the Italian peninsula, creating valuable repositories of *all'antica* design solutions. Through Serlio's publication, the contents of such collections—often the result of years of study and extensive travel—became accessible to a much wider audience at a relatively modest cost.

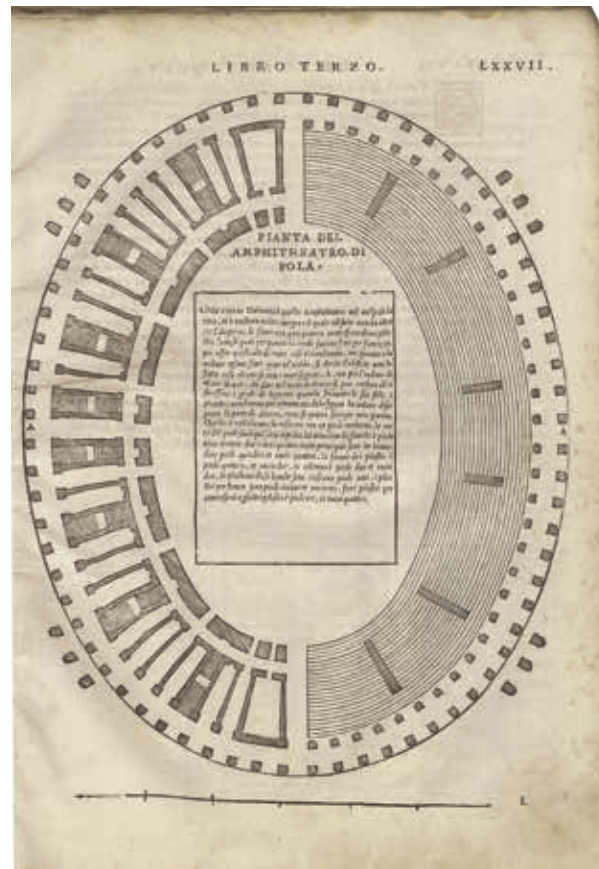
The volume presents a broad survey of ancient architecture organised according to building type. Temples, headed by the Pantheon, are followed by theatres, amphitheatres, commemorative columns and obelisks, baths, triumphal arches, and a variety of other structures. Each monument is accompanied by a descriptive text and a detailed architectural survey, including plans, elevations, sections, and enlarged details of architectural ornament. The images are carefully measured and provided with scales, allowing them to function not merely as illustrations but as practical instruments for architectural study and design.

Although most of the monuments illustrated are located in Rome and its immediate surroundings, Serlio deliberately expanded the geographical scope of the volume to include



4.5.2

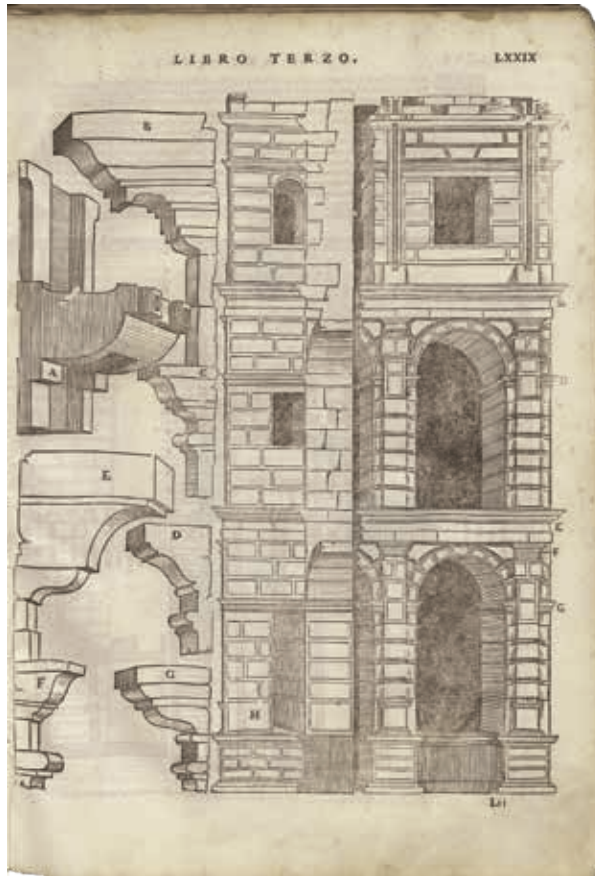
4.5.3



4.5.4

4.5.5

4.5.6



important sites throughout the Italian peninsula, with particular attention to the Adriatic basin and north-eastern Italy. Among the fifty-three ancient monuments presented in the treatise, he selected three from Pula—the Arch of the Sergii, the theatre on Monte Zaro, and the amphitheatre—while omitting the Temple of Augustus. Through these surveys, the monuments of the Istrian city entered the mainstream of European architectural culture and became points of reference for generations of architects, antiquarians, and artists.

The Arch of the Sergii is illustrated through a perspective elevation, a ground plan, and an extensive series of architectural details including column bases, Corinthian capitals, archivolt, entablatures, attic mouldings, and pedestal profiles (ills. 4.5.1-2). In preparing the plates, Serlio deliberately suppressed much of the sculptural decoration in order to clarify the underlying architectural structure, arguing that excessive ornament obscured the essential form of the building. His accompanying commentary nevertheless reveals familiarity with reliefs and decorative elements omitted from the printed illustrations, suggesting that they were recorded in the original survey drawings. Of particular significance is the motif of paired Corinthian columns set upon a common pedestal and flanking the arch opening. Although scarcely discussed in the text, this arrangement became one of

the most influential elements of Serlio's architectural vocabulary, reappearing in *Il Quarto Libro*, the *Libro Straordinario*, and numerous designs for portals, façades, and interior screens.

The theatre on Monte Zaro occupies a particularly prominent position within the treatise. It is one of only three theatres illustrated with a ground plan and is accompanied by sections, elevations, and numerous architectural details (Ils. 4.5.4-5). Serlio reconstructed the monument as an ideal Roman theatre, interpreting the surviving remains through the lens of Vitruvian theory. He represented a semicircular orchestra, a cavea divided by a praecinctio at the fourteenth row, radial staircases, and a porticus in summa cavea. The stage building extends across the full diameter of the cavea and incorporates a straight scaenae frons articulated by freestanding columns rather than niches. The result is not merely a survey of a ruin but a theoretical reconstruction of Roman theatre architecture.

The amphitheatre is presented through an equally sophisticated combination of plan, elevation, section, and architectural details (Ils. 4.5.5-6). Serlio correctly recognised the relationship between the monument and the sloping terrain, explaining the unequal heights of the exterior walls by the differing ground levels between the hillside and the seaward side. Observing cavities on the inner face of the perimeter wall, he concluded that the seating structure had been constructed largely of timber and proposed a wooden auditorium supported by inserted beams. Although he inaccurately distributed the seventy-two exterior arches between the projecting towers, he carefully recorded the surviving transennae and produced the earliest preserved architectural survey of the monument. The accompanying details identify supports for the velarium, mouldings of both architectural orders, capitals, impost profiles, and cornices, which Serlio explicitly praised as superior to those of Rome's Colosseum and recommended as models for contemporary architectural design.

Serlio states that he relied on surveys produced by another architect. These drawings differ significantly from those circulating within the circles of Raphael and the Sangallo family, several examples of which are also represented in this exhibition. Since all three monuments are measured in Veronese feet, it is highly probable that the surveys originated with Giovanni Maria Falconetto, whose *inventario dei beni* records drawings of antiquities from Pula. Significantly, these prototype surveys appear to have reached France, where they informed drawings and prints by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau.

Through the medium of print, Serlio transformed the monuments of Pula from regional antiquities into canonical examples of Roman architecture. His illustrations function simultaneously as archaeological records, theoretical reconstructions, and repositories of reusable architectural forms, anticipating the catalogue-based approach that would characterise much of Renaissance architectural theory and practice.

Lit. Günther 1988; Carpo 1998, pp. 49–79; Lemerle 2000; Vène 2007; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 235–254; Guarneri 2025a, p. 95.

Jasenska Gudelj and Cristiano Guarneri

4.6 JUSTUS LIPSIUS

De amphitheatro liber

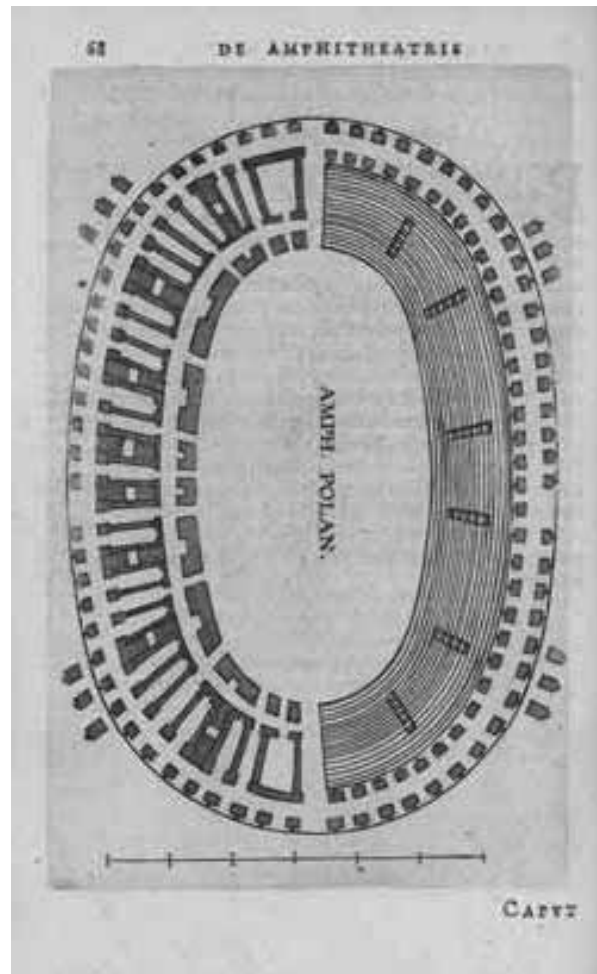
Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana, 1589

190 × 145 mm

Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, Shelfmark 40-083-R

The Flemish humanist and philosopher Justus Lipsius (Joost Lips) was the author of *De amphitheatro*, first published in Antwerp in 1584 and subsequently reissued in several editions. The work became the most influential Renaissance treatise devoted to amphitheatres, bringing together evidence from philology, social history, antiquarian scholarship, and architectural analysis. Lipsius examined the origins of the terminology associated with amphitheatres and their constituent parts: the seating arrangements assigned to different social groups (from senators to the plebs), the development of the building type, and architectural features such as the velarium, the vast awning suspended above the auditorium to protect spectators from the sun. A companion volume was devoted to gladiators and the spectacles staged within amphitheatres.

Lipsius based his study primarily on ancient literary sources. Since Vitruvius provides no detailed description of the amphitheatre, he also drew upon passages concerning the Roman theatre. In the preface, Lipsius acknowledged the importance of discussions with his friend Nicolas Florentius, while the Renaissance authorities cited throughout the treatise include Ciriaco d'Ancona and other humanist antiquarians. To the main text he appended a survey of amphitheatres outside Rome,



paying particular attention to the Arena of Verona and the unusual amphitheatre-quarry at Doué-la-Fontaine, while treating the amphitheatres of Pula and Nîmes more briefly.

In his description of the Pula Arena, Lipsius relied largely upon Sebastiano Serlio's account, supplementing it with references to Pliny the Elder's mention of the Istrian colony of Iulia Pietas and to Guillaume Philandrier's observation that Pula also possessed a large Roman theatre. From Serlio he adopted the hypothesis that the seating structure of the amphitheatre had been constructed largely in timber. The Arena consequently became an important case study in Lipsius's discussion of the earliest wooden amphitheatres, a subject examined in the fifth chapter of *De amphitheatro* and supported by evidence drawn from ancient literary sources.

Lit. Gudelj and Botica 2012, pp. 59–61; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 253–255; Guarneri 2025a, n. 581, p. 258.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.7 VINCENZO MARIA CORONELLI

Amphitheatre in Pola

From Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, *Mari, Golfi, Isole, Spiaggie, Porti, Città, Fortezze ed altri Luoghi dell'Istria, Quarnero, Dalmazia, Albania, Epiro e Livadia, Venezia*, 1688 (?)

Copper engraving

197 × 248 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pola, Inv. No. G-45

Inscription: 'ANFITEATRO DI POLA'

Within a simple double-line border, the print presents a ground plan of the Amphitheatre of Pola. The title, ANFITEATRO DI POLA, appears within a cartouche placed at the centre of the arena. The upper right corner bears the plate number '19'. The engraving was published in Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's *Mari, Golfi, Isole, Spiaggie, Porti, Città, Fortezze ed altri Luoghi dell'Istria, Quarnero, Dalmazia, Albania, Epiro e Livadia* (Venice, 1688).

As the official cosmographer of the Republic of Venice, Coronelli compiled an extensive isolario devoted to the islands, coasts, ports, and fortified settlements of the eastern Adriatic and the Greek world. Within the

section dedicated to Istria, Pola occupies a particularly prominent position. Whereas only a limited number of Istrian centres—including Muggia, Trieste, Rovinj, and the Castle of Červar (Cervera)—were represented, Pola was illustrated through a series of images that emphasised both its strategic and antiquarian significance.

These included a general plan of the harbour, a veduta derived from Giovanni Francesco Camocio in which the amphitheatre is identified as the Coliseo, a view dedicated to Sig. Abbate Giovanni Battista Civrani, previously a secretary of Cardinal Bassadonna, a representation of the fortress of Pola derived from the military engineer De Ville, and finally the present ground plan of the amphitheatre. The latter, clearly identified by its inscription, ultimately derives from the survey published by Sebastiano Serlio in the *Terzo Libro*.

Although Coronelli's primary interests lay in cartography, geography, and military fortifications, the inclusion of the amphitheatre among the principal images of Pola demonstrates the monument's exceptional status within Venetian perceptions of the city. By the late seventeenth century, the Arena had become not only a celebrated Roman ruin but also one of the defining visual symbols



of Istria, repeatedly reproduced in Venetian antiquarian, cartographic, and artistic publications.

Lit. De Ferrari, 1983; Nicolini Di Marzio, 2005.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.8 BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON

4.8.1 Large theatre at Monte Zaro

From Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, Paris: Florentin Delaulne, 1719, vol. III, part II, pl. 143

Copper engraving

433 × 273 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-131

Inscription: 'THÉÂTRE DE POLA'



4.8.2 Large theatre at Monte Zaro, masks

From Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, Paris: Florentin Delaulne, 1719, vol. III, part II, pl. 143

Copper engraving



395 × 255 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63616

Inscription: 'THÉÂTRE DE POLA'

The print depicts the plan and section of the large Roman theatre on Monte Zaro in Pula. The title THÉÂTRE DE POLA appears at the top centre of the sheet. In the upper right-hand corner are the references CXLIII. Pl. à la 248. page T. III, while the lower right-hand corner bears the designation Tome III 143.

The plan and section of the theatre of Pula on Monte Zaro are derived directly from Sebastiano Serlio's *Terzo Libro*, together with the accompanying commentary reproduced in both French and Latin. Montfaucon incorporated the theatre of Pula into a broader antiquarian

survey of ancient theatrical architecture, discussing it immediately after the Theatre of Pompey in Rome and before the Roman theatres of France and Tuscany. In the accompanying text, he explained the adaptation of the Pula theatre to the natural slope of the hillside. When discussing the distinction between Greek and Roman theatres, however, he did not apply it explicitly to the monument at Monte Zaro. Drawing largely on earlier Renaissance authorities, particularly Serlio, Montfaucon treated the monument not as an isolated ruin but as part of a comparative corpus through which the form, function, and historical development of Roman theatres could be understood (see cat. 6.1.1).

Lit. Käfer 1983; Schnapp 1996, pp. 235-237.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.8.3 Amphitheatre at Pula

From Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, Paris: Florentin Delaulne, 1719, vol. III, part II, pl. 150

Copper engraving

433 × 273 mm

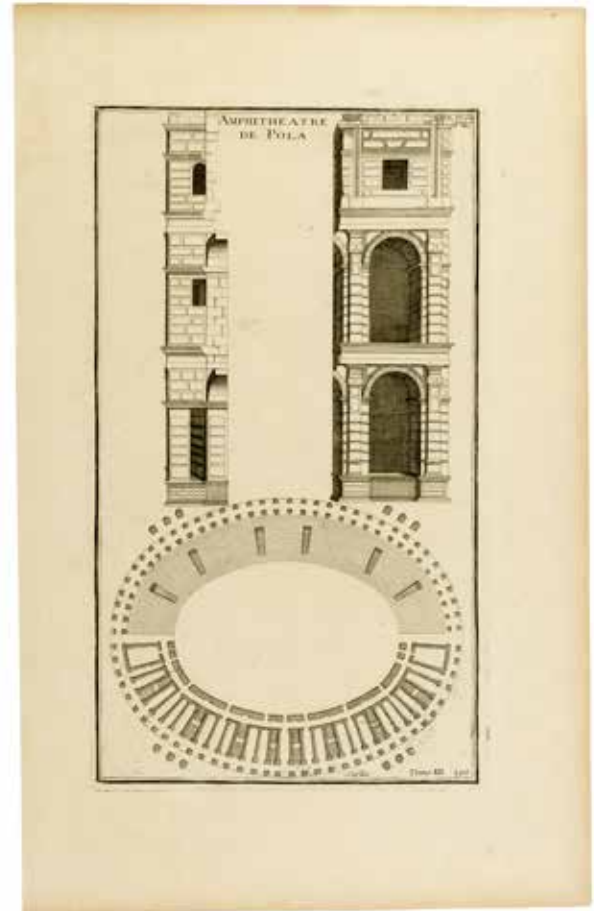
Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-132

Inscription: 'AMPHITHEATRE DE POLA'

The print depicts the Amphitheatre at Pula, with sections of the structure shown in the upper part of the sheet and its ground plan below. The title AMPHITHEATRE DE POLA is printed at the top centre. The reference CL. Pl. à la 260. p. T. III. appears in the upper right-hand corner, while the lower right-hand corner bears the designation Tome III 150.

The engraving was published as plate 150 in Bernard de Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, where the Amphitheatre at Pula formed part of a comparative discussion of the most important surviving Roman amphitheatres, alongside those of Rome, Verona, Capua, and Puteoli (Pozzuoli). In his description of the Arena, Montfaucon emphasised the preservation of its outer façade, articulated by two rusticated storeys comprising a total of seventy-two arches, above which rose a lower third storey.

The representation of the amphitheatre derives directly from Sebastiano Serlio's *Terzo libro d'architettura* (Venice, 1540), as do the principal interpretations of the monument advanced in Montfaucon's publication. Through this process, Montfaucon transmitted the Renaissance understanding of the Pula Arena to a new



generation of European antiquarians and scholars. Its inclusion in one of the most influential antiquarian works of the eighteenth century confirms the monument's enduring status among the best-known and most significant examples of Roman architecture.

Lit. Schnapp 1996, pp. 235-237.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.9 ANDREA PALLADIO

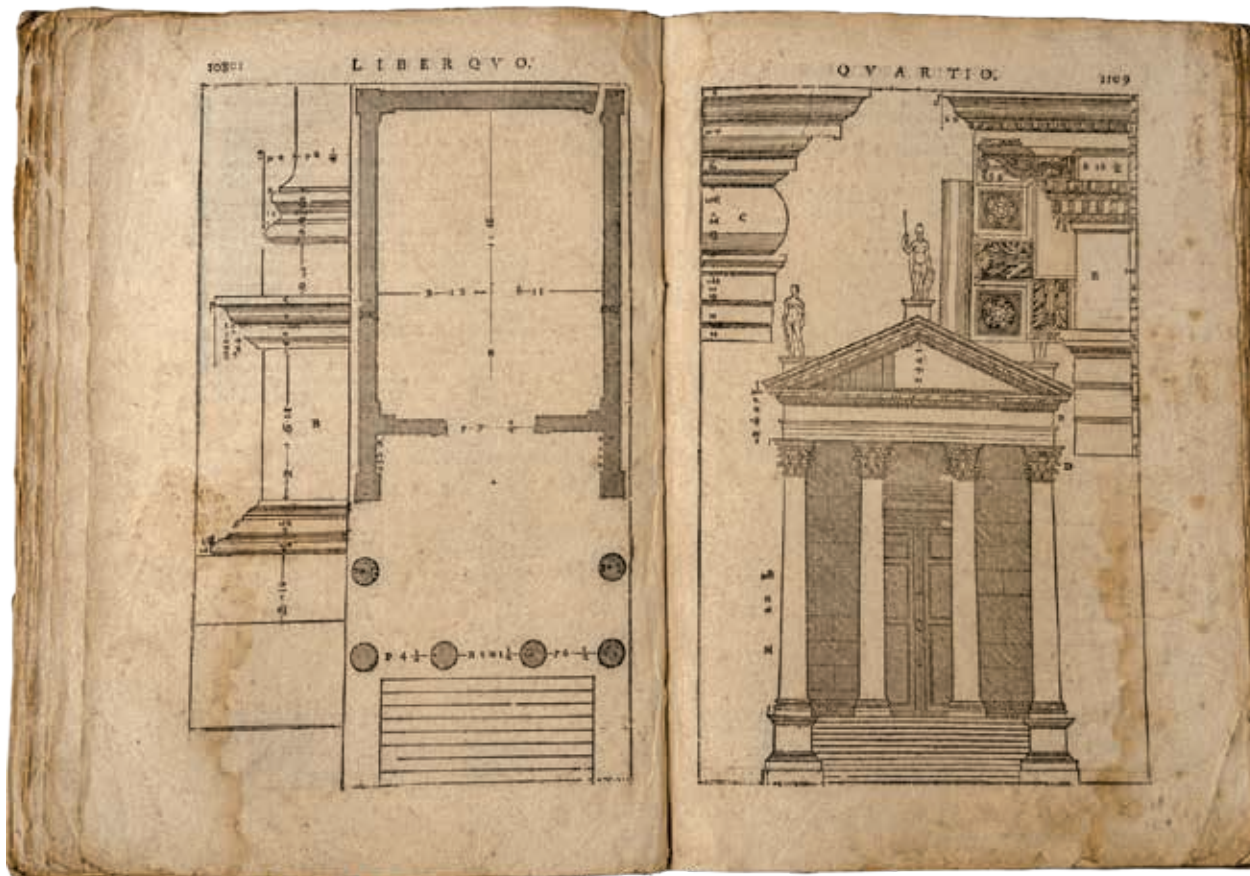
4.9.1 *I quattro libri dell'architettura*

Veneza Marco Antonio Brogiollo, 1642

350x245mm

National and University Library, Zagreb, Shelfmark BZ 362

First published in 1570, Andrea Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura* remained one of the most influential architectural treatises of the early modern period and was repeatedly reprinted and consulted by architects throughout Europe. The Venetian edition of 1642



exhibited here testifies both to the enduring authority of Palladio's architectural thought and to the continued circulation of his interpretations of ancient monuments (Gudelj and Botica 2012, pp. 49-51, 53; Guarneri 2025a, n. 709, p. 263)

Among the numerous Roman antiquities discussed in the treatise, the Temple of Augustus at Pula occupies a distinctive place. It is the only monument from the city included in the *Four Books*, reflecting Palladio's particular interest in its refined Corinthian order and unusual architectural details. In the accompanying text, Palladio carefully identifies Pula as a city in Istria and emphasises the relationship between the two temples that once stood on the Roman forum. He also expresses his intention to publish further monuments from Pula, revealing the importance he attached to the city's ancient heritage.

The published illustrations are not straightforward records of the surviving monument. Rather, they represent the culmination of a prolonged process of study and reinterpretation documented in Palladio's surviving drawings. Through measured surveys, comparative analysis, and theoretical reconstruction, the Temple of Augustus was transformed from an archaeological remnant into an exemplary model of classical architecture.

The pages reproduced in the *Four Books* therefore illustrate not only an ancient building, but also the Renaissance process through which architectural knowledge was produced (Gudelj 2014a, pp. 280-282).

The temple's present appearance is itself the result of the reconstruction undertaken after the damage caused by bombing during the Second World War. Closely based on Palladio's plates, this intervention brought the monument into conformity with the idealised state envisaged by the Vicentine architect (Pavan 2000).

Lit. Pavan 2000, Gudelj and Botica 2012, pp. 49-51, 53; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 280-282; Guarneri 2025a, n. 709, p. 263.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.9.2 Temple of Augustus

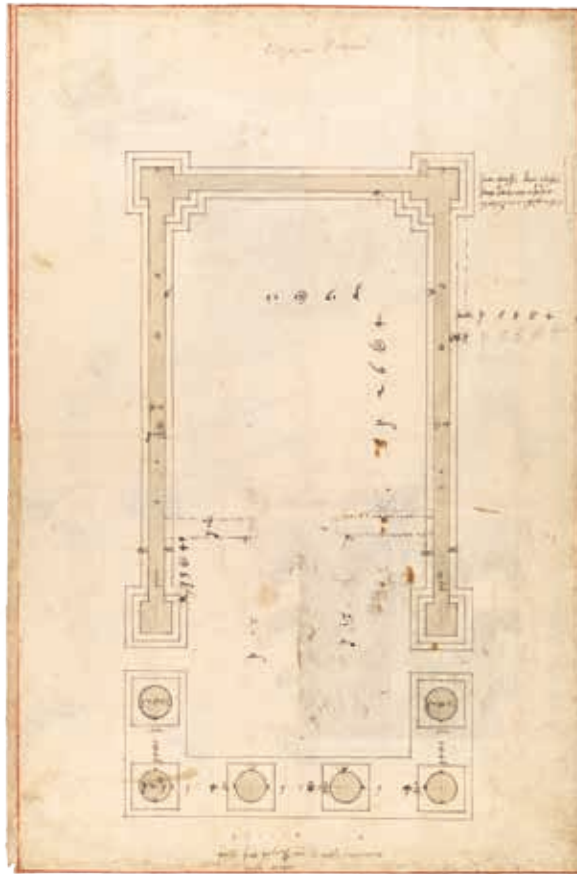
c. 1560

Facsimile of a drawing on paper

295 × 438 mm

Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. VIII/4r-v

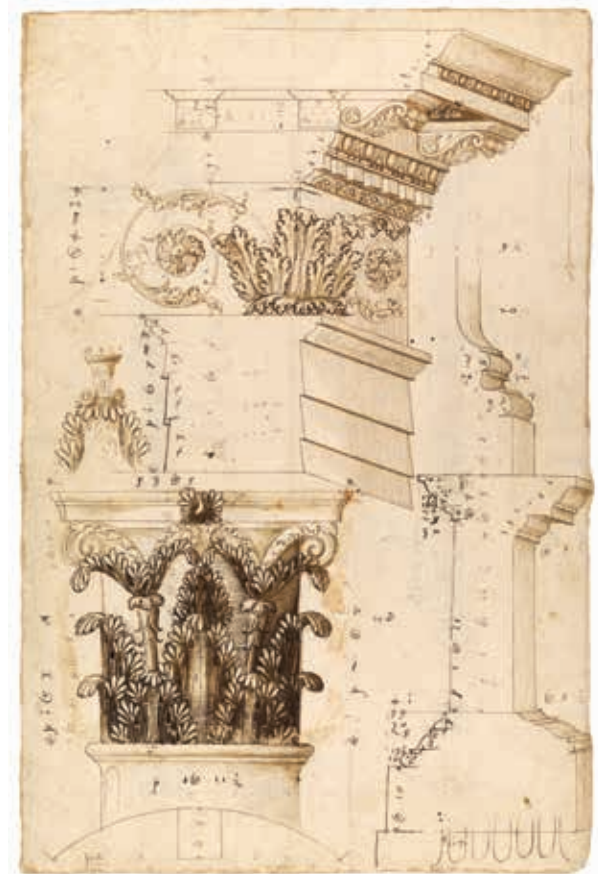
The sheet belongs to the earliest surviving phase of Palladio's engagement with the Temple of Augustus



at Pula. Now preserved in the collections of the Royal Institute of British Architects in London, its recto contains a ground plan of the temple, while the verso presents detailed studies of its Corinthian capital, entablature, mouldings, and column profiles.

The drawings indicate that Palladio was working from an earlier source rather than directly from the monument. Their careful execution, regular linework, and close correspondence with other early records of Pula's antiquities suggest that they derive from a lost prototype, possibly associated with the circle of Giovanni Maria Falconetto. Palladio was not, however, merely copying his source. On both sides of the sheet, he corrected, refined, and occasionally idealised the ancient structure. The plan modifies the proportions of the cella, gives greater prominence to the antae, and introduces architectural solutions that do not correspond precisely to the surviving building.

The studies of architectural details on the verso are particularly revealing. By enlarging individual capitals, bases, and cornices, Palladio subjected the monument to close analytical scrutiny. Rather than recording the temple solely as a complete structure, he dissected it into individual components that could be understood, compared, and ultimately reused in contemporary



architectural practice. Later additions in a different ink indicate that he returned to the sheet while preparing the illustrations for the *Quattro libri*.

Lit. Zorzi 1958, p. 82, fig. 187; Spielmann 1966, no. 87; Pavan 2000; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 271-273, cat. no. 35-36, pp. 359-360.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.9.3 Temple of Augustus

c. 1540

Facsimile of a drawing on paper

295 × 438 mm

Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. XI/12

Inscriptions:

Upper right: 'intra questi dui edifici sono da l'uno al altro ...'

Below: 'Questi sono piedi X con li quali fu mezurato questo tempio'

This elevation of the Temple of Augustus represents one of Palladio's most complete early studies of a monument



at Pula. Drawn in clear orthogonal projection, it records the western façade of the Roman temple with remarkable attention to architectural details. The Corinthian capitals, entablature, frieze inscription, and ornamentation of the cornice are all carefully rendered, revealing Palladio's close engagement with the formal language of classical architecture.

The drawing does not, however, constitute a straightforward record of the surviving monument. The stylobate is represented without steps, the columns are shown as fully fluted, and several architectural details are regularised in accordance with Renaissance conceptions of classical order. As with several other drawings of Pula's monuments measured in Veronese feet, scholars believe that the sheet ultimately derives from an earlier, now lost survey associated with Giovanni Maria Falconetto.

The sheet is particularly significant because it marks the beginning of a process that culminated in the illustrations of the Temple of Augustus published in Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura*. Many of the features subsequently reproduced in print are already present here, while others were revised through further study and reconstruction. The drawing thus offers a rare insight into Palladio's working method: the

gradual refinement of inherited information through measurement, comparison, and critical analysis.

Lit. Zorzi 1958, p. 82, fig. 187; Spielmann 1966, no. 87; Pavan 2000; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 272-273, cat. 37, p. 360.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.9.4 Arch of the Sergii

c. 1540

Facsimile of a drawing on paper

558 × 437 mm

Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. XII/10r-v

Inscriptions:

'SALVI/ POSTMA/ SERGIVS' (attic, left)

'L SERGIVS LE/ LEPIDVS AEDTR/MIL LEG XXIX' (attic, centre)

'OH SERGIVS/CF AEII VIR/QVINQ' (attic, right)

'SALVIA POSTVMA SERGI DE SVA PECVNIA' (frieze, centre)

Measurements: Veronese feet (recto and verso)

The recto combines a perspective view of the monument with enlarged studies of architectural details, including the Corinthian capital, sections of the entablature, and the richly decorated soffit of the vault. Such features are largely absent from other Renaissance representations of the arch and therefore provide valuable evidence for the appearance of details that have since deteriorated or disappeared. The careful recording of sculptural





decoration, frieze motifs, and inscriptions suggests that the original model available to Palladio contained far more information than was ultimately reproduced in printed publications.

The verso is equally significant, containing the earliest known depiction of the monument's lateral elevation. This view expands the understanding of the arch beyond its celebrated façade and demonstrates a growing Renaissance interest in the complete architectural organism rather than in isolated elevations. Together, the two sides reveal an architect exploring a monument from multiple viewpoints, testing different modes of representation and gradually extracting from it a system of architectural knowledge.

Among Palladio's surviving drawings of Pula, the sheet catalogued as RIBA XII/10r–v is particularly important because it preserves the earliest stage of his engagement with the Arch of the Sergii. Executed freehand and with an immediacy absent from later versions, it is generally regarded as the closest surviving witness to a lost prototype from which subsequent drawings evolved.

This drawing occupies a key place within Palladio's creative process. It stands between the lost surveys of the early sixteenth century and the more polished analytical studies that followed, documenting the moment when direct observation, inherited information, and architectural interpretation converged. Through it, the Arch of the Sergii became not merely an ancient monument but an active participant in the development of Renaissance architectural thought.

Lit. Zorzi 1958, p. 61, fig. 69; Spielmann 1966, no. 232; Burns 1980; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 255–256, cat. no. 23–24, pp. 352–353.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.9.5 Arch of the Sergii

After 1540

Facsimile of a drawing on paper

400 × 511 mm (four pieces glued together)

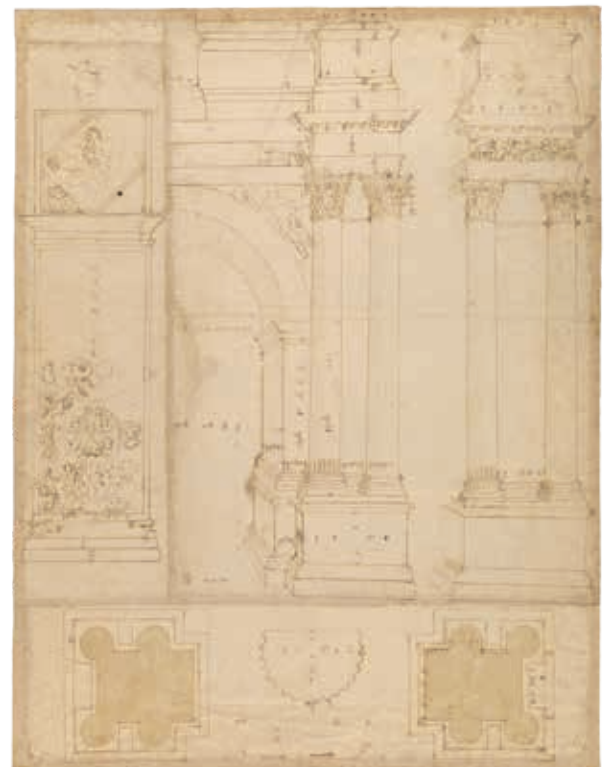
Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. XII/9

Measurements: Veronese feet

Inscription: 'L'arco de pola misurato con el piede veronese'

This highly finished drawing of the Arch of the Sergii represents an advanced stage in Andrea Palladio's study of one of Pula's most celebrated Roman monuments. Combining a frontal elevation with a lateral view, the sheet demonstrates his attempt to transform earlier visual records into a coherent architectural survey. Unlike a rapid field sketch, it is carefully organised and supplemented with measurements, profiles, and plans, revealing Palladio's systematic and analytical approach to antiquity.

Comparison with both Palladio's other drawings and Sebastiano Serlio's published illustrations suggests that



the architects relied upon a common, now lost source. The sheet preserves information absent from many other Renaissance representations, including details of the monument's sculptural programme and architectural articulation. At the same time, Palladio selectively omitted certain inscriptions and decorative features, concentrating instead on structural relationships, proportions, and the organisation of the Corinthian order.

The inclusion of both the façade and the lateral elevation makes possible a more complete understanding of the arch's three-dimensional form. The accompanying plans and studies of individual architectural elements further indicate that Palladio regarded the monument not merely as an object of antiquarian interest, but also as a source of architectural solutions that could be adapted and reused.

Although earlier scholars occasionally attributed the sheet to Giovanni Maria Falconetto, subsequent research has established it as unmistakably Palladio's work. It nevertheless preserves traces of an earlier tradition of recording Pula's antiquities, revealing how architectural knowledge was transmitted, copied, and transformed within Renaissance artistic circles. Occupying a crucial position between documentation and interpretation, the drawing exemplifies Palladio's method of investigating ancient monuments through repeated acts of analysis and redrawing.

Lit. Zorzi 1958, pp. 61–62; Spielmann 1966, p. 175; Traversari 1971, p. 24; Burns 1980, p. 101; Lewis 1981, p. 34; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 257–258, cat. no. 25 p. 354.

Jasenka Gudelj

4.9.6 Amphitheatre at Pula

c. 1540

Facsimile of a drawing on paper

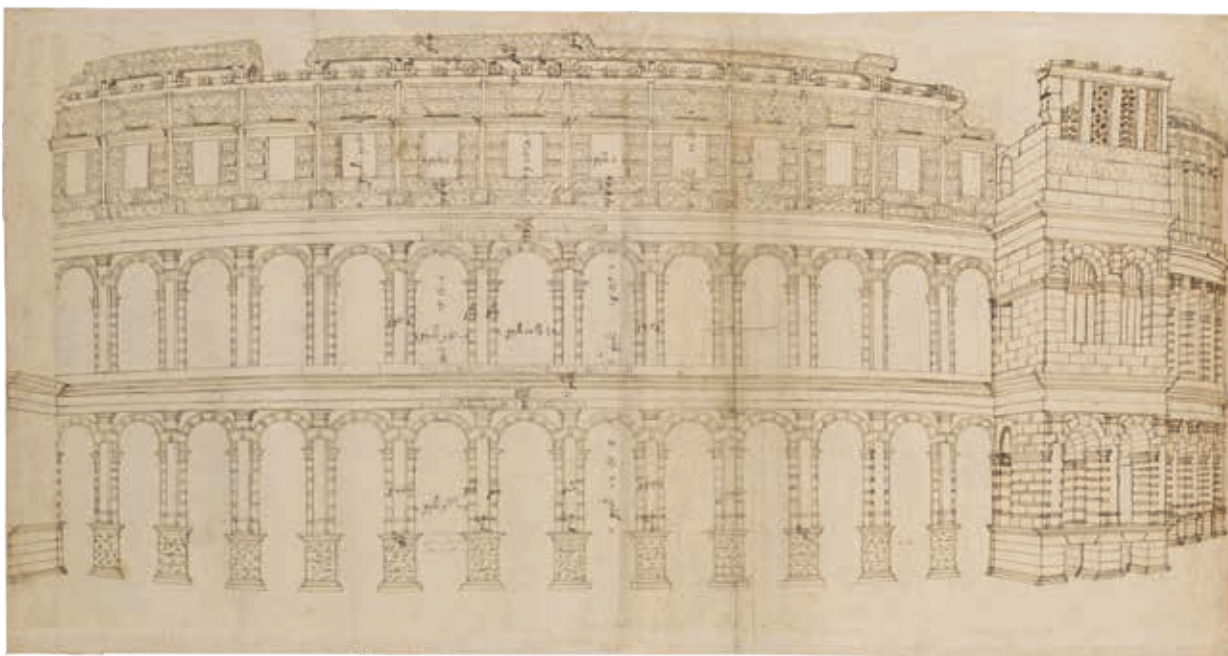
255 × 486 mm

Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. VIII/23r

This celebrated perspective view of the amphitheatre at Pula combines topographical observation with architectural precision, presenting its external elevation as a remarkably detailed architectural portrait. The drawing records not only the amphitheatre's overall structure, but also numerous constructional details, including the rhythm of its arches, the articulation of the attic storey, and areas of damage that remain visible on the monument today.

Particularly striking is the clarity with which Palladio renders the stone masonry. Individual blocks are meticulously delineated, while variations in surface texture distinguish the principal architectural elements from the rougher wall surfaces. This sensitivity to materials and building techniques reflects a recurring concern throughout Palladio's work: the relationship between architectural form and the methods by which it is realised. Although certain features, including the treatment of the pilasters, are slightly idealised, the drawing remains one of the most faithful Renaissance representations of the amphitheatre.

Scholars have long observed that the panoramic character of the sheet differs from Palladio's more analytical studies



and may ultimately derive from an earlier survey, perhaps associated with Giovanni Maria Falconetto. Palladio's contribution lies precisely in his transformation of such inherited material into a coherent architectural image. The amphitheatre is represented neither as a picturesque ruin nor as an abstract reconstruction, but as a complex architectural organism whose proportions, construction, and monumentality could still be studied and admired.

Lit. Zorzi 1958, pp. 97–98; Spielmann 1966, p. 158; Burns 1980, p. 84; Lewis 1981, p. 36; Tosi 1999, p. 41; Burns 2008, pp. 308–311; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 266–271, cat. 28, p. 356.

Jasenka Gudelj

4.9.7 Amphitheatre at Pula

c. 1540

Facsimile of a drawing on paper

411 × 320 mm

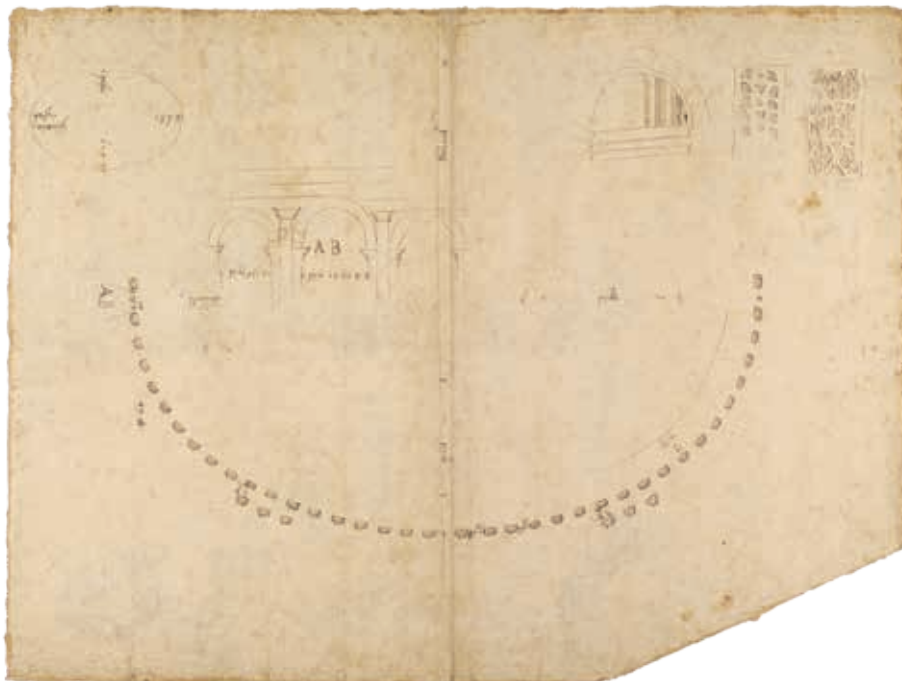
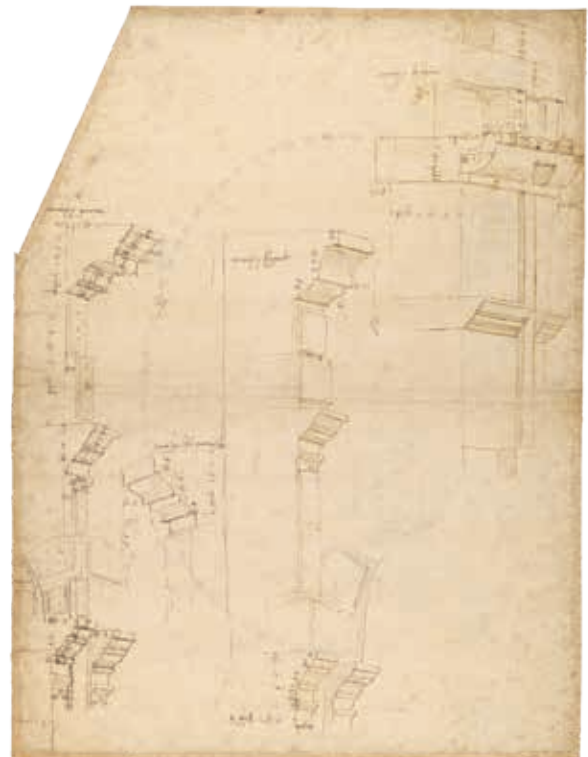
Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. VIII/22r–v

The recto contains a partial ground plan accompanied by measurements of the amphitheatre's principal axes. Remarkably, these dimensions correspond closely to those established by modern surveys, attesting to the accuracy of the observations upon which Palladio relied.

The drawing records the position of the characteristic staircase towers and the rhythm of the intervening arcades, offering a more faithful representation of the monument than many contemporary depictions. Palladio also noted unusual structural features, including the enlarged arches positioned along the major axis of the ellipse, whose height intrudes into the entablature zone above.

The verso is devoted to architectural details and mouldings rendered in perspective, particularly elements of the uppermost storey and the system into which the wooden masts supporting the velarium were inserted. These studies reveal Palladio's interest in the constructional language of Roman architecture and his practice of dissecting monuments into their constituent elements. Rather than treating the amphitheatre as a single object, he analysed it as a complex assembly of forms, proportions, and decorative systems.

Together, the two sides of folio VIII/22 constitute one of Palladio's most systematic studies of the amphitheatre at Pula. Combining a measured plan, dimensional annotations, and detailed observations of individual architectural elements, the sheet demonstrates his ambition to understand the monument through precise analysis rather than visual impression alone. It also exemplifies the dual character of his engagement with antiquity, in which measurement and observation were combined with interpretation and comparison.



Lit. Zorzi 1958, pp. 97–98, fig. 236; Spielmann 1966, no. 131; Burns 1975; Tosi 1999; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 266–271, cat. 29–30, pp. 356–357.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.9.8 Amphitheatre at Pula

c. 1540

Facsimile of a drawing on paper

385 × 295 mm

Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. VIII/21r–v

Inscriptions:

Recto: 'Lo impedi de fora de lo anfitheatro de pola'
'la ponta de lo ouo'

Verso: 'Lo i(n)pedi de dentro de lo anfitheatro de pola'
'El dentro'

Measurements: Veronese feet

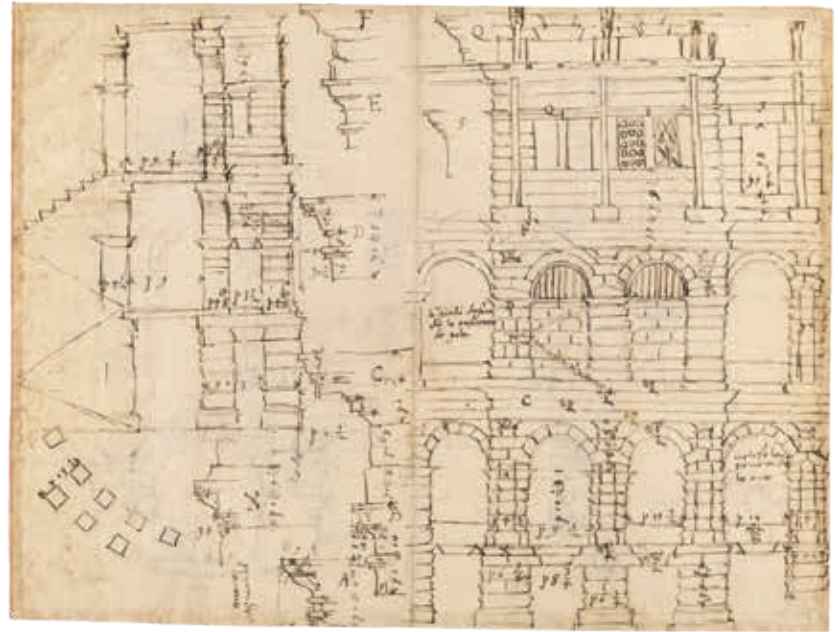
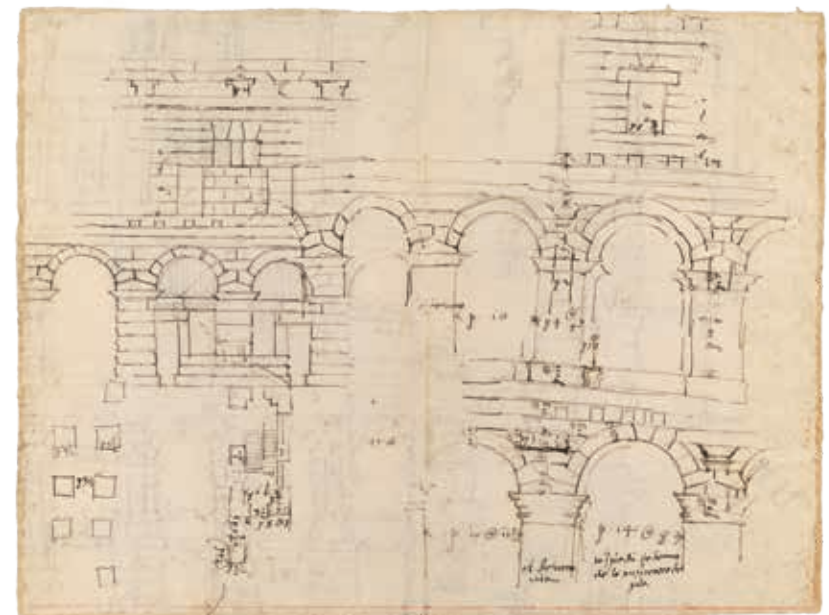
The recto of the sheet presents the external elevation, plan, and section of one of the staircase towers of the amphitheatre at Pula, together with sketches exploring possible configurations of the stairs.

On the verso, the left side contains an internal elevation and measured plan of the tower, accompanied by an alternative plan of the staircase. To the right is a detailed study of the external elevation, with particular attention to the individual stone blocks and their relationship to the architectural order articulated on the façade.

The sheet belongs to a series of studies through which Andrea Palladio sought to understand the structure and functioning of Pula's Roman amphitheatre. Unlike his finished architectural surveys, these drawings are executed in a rapid and exploratory manner, revealing the architect's analytical process rather than presenting a definitive solution. They focus primarily on the amphitheatre's monumental projecting towers, which Palladio examined through plans, sections, and elevations.

The particular importance of the sheet lies in Palladio's interpretation of these towers as circulation structures containing staircases. Earlier authors, including Sebastiano Serlio, had understood them primarily as buttresses supporting the external wall. Palladio instead investigated their internal organisation, repeatedly experimenting with alternative stair configurations. His sketches constitute one of the earliest attempts to explain how spectators moved through the building and reached its upper levels.

The informal character of the drawings has led some scholars to suggest that they may have been based on



direct observation of the monument, while others have proposed that Palladio was copying an earlier field sketch, given the use of Veronese feet. Regardless of their precise origin, they demonstrate an approach to antiquity that extended beyond the conventional Renaissance admiration of monumental appearance. Palladio was interested not only in the visual form of Roman architecture, but also in its technical and functional logic.

The sheet thus provides remarkable evidence of Palladio's investigative method. Rather than treating the amphitheatre simply as a picturesque ruin, he approached it as an architectural problem to be resolved. His analysis anticipates later archaeological concerns with circulation, construction, and the practical use of ancient public buildings.

Lit. Zorzi 1958, p. 98, fig. 238; Spielmann 1966, no. 132; Burns (ed.) 1975, p. 142; Lewis 1981, p. 37; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 266-271, cat. no. 31-32, pp. 357-358.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.9.9 Theatre on Monte Zaro

c. 1540

Facsimile of a drawing on paper

198 × 281 mm

Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. X/3

Measurements: Veronese feet

The sheet presents a carefully organised ground plan of the Roman theatre that once stood on the slopes of Monte Zaro in Pula. Palladio reconstructs the relationship

between the cavea, orchestra, stage building, and surrounding porticoes. Particularly noteworthy is his interpretation of the scaenae frons and the spaces behind it. In contrast to Sebastiano Serlio's earlier reconstruction, Palladio proposed a longer stage structure connected to subsidiary rooms and circulation corridors, providing more coherent connections between the auditorium, stage, basilicas, and service spaces.

Unlike the city's amphitheatre and the Arch of the Sergii, the theatre survived only in fragmentary remains, requiring Palladio to combine the observation of the surviving fabric with the reconstruction of its missing elements. The drawing is therefore not merely a record of the visible ruins, but an attempt to recover the monument's original architectural form.

The sheet also reveals Palladio's broader engagement with ancient theatre architecture. His reconstruction differs from the Vitruvian theatre schemes that he later prepared for Daniele Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius, demonstrating that he assessed the archaeological evidence independently rather than forcing the monument to conform to a theoretical model. Several features proposed by Palladio, including the relationship between the cavea and the stage building, correspond closely to conclusions reached through modern archaeological investigation.

More than a conventional survey, the drawing illustrates Palladio's method of reasoning through architecture. By reconstructing missing elements and testing spatial relationships on paper, he transformed the fragmentary remains into an intelligible architectural organism. The theatre on Monte Zaro thus formed part of the intellectual laboratory through which he explored the principles of ancient design and their relevance to Renaissance architecture.

Lit. Zorzi 1958, p. 93; Spielmann 1966, p. 156; Zorzi 1969, pp. 238-239; Fairbairn 1975, p. 45; Lewis 1981, p. 38; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 262-265, cat. no. 34, p. 359.

Jasenska Gudelj

4.9.10 Theatre on Monte Zaro

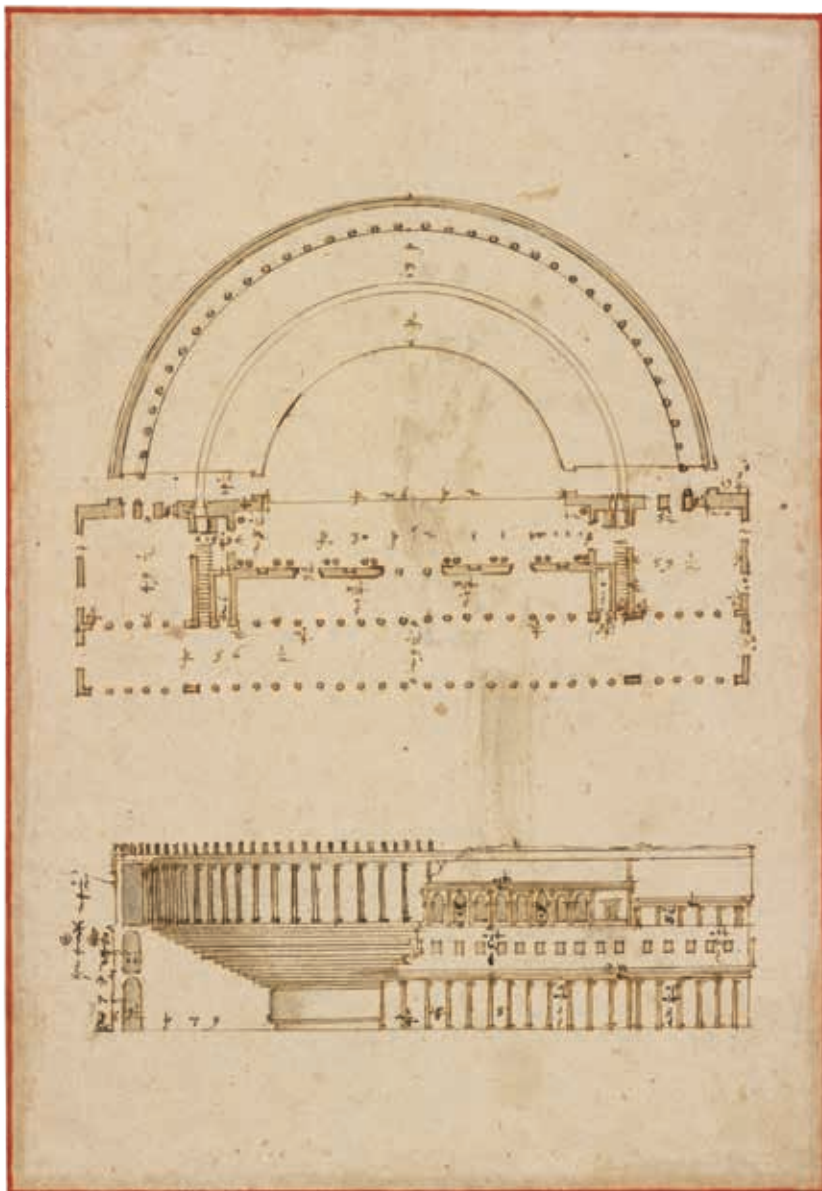
c. 1540

Facsimile of a drawing on paper

401 × 286 mm

Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. X/5

Inscriptions: 'A, B, C, D, E, Q, S'





At the centre of the sheet catalogued as RIBA X/5 is a perspective study of the cavea of Pula's Roman theatre and the structures surrounding it. Palladio examines the relationship between the auditorium, the portico above it, and the architectural forms that framed the performance space. Numerous profile drawings arranged along the margins record mouldings and other architectural details, while fragments of columns, walls, and doorways are distributed across the page. Together, these elements reflect the difficulties posed by a ruin whose original appearance could be only partially reconstructed.

The sheet is among the most complex and intriguing of Palladio's studies of the theatre. Executed in a freer and more exploratory manner than the corresponding ground plan on folio X/3, it combines perspective sketches, architectural fragments, profile studies and speculative reconstructions. Rather than presenting a finished survey, it records an unfolding process of investigation in which the monument is analysed through its constituent elements.

The monumental colonnades and elevated galleries explored in the drawing anticipate solutions later employed in the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, suggesting how Palladio's study of ancient ruins informed his own architectural practice. The sheet also documents his dialogue with earlier interpreters of the theatre, particularly Sebastiano Serlio. Although Palladio adopted certain features found in published Renaissance reconstructions, he proposed alternative solutions for the organisation of the stage building and its architectural orders. Some of his observations anticipated later archaeological discoveries, demonstrating the remarkable acuity of his architectural reasoning.

Lit. Zorzi 1958, p. 93, fig. 217; Burns 1980, p. 84; Lewis 1981, p. 38; Tosi 1999, p. 49; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 265, cat. no. 33, p. 358.

Jasenska Gudelj

ANTIQUARIES IN
PULA IN THE AGE OF
ENLIGHTENMENT

ANTIQUARIES IN
PULA IN THE AGE OF
ENLIGHTENMENT

In the eighteenth century, renewed interest in antiquity made Pula an important destination for antiquaries and travellers. At the same time, the authorities of the Republic of Venice and local elites remained concerned with the practical demands of everyday life and the maintenance of the city's ancient buildings.

Scholars and artists from the Serenissima and beyond, including Scipione Maffei, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, and Gian Rinaldo Carli, approached Pula's monuments through scholarship, architectural theory, and a growing appreciation of ruins, integrating them into wider debates on Roman architecture. Meanwhile, a broader shift 'towards Greece', led by Julien-David Le Roy, Richard Pococke, and James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, placed sites such as Pula within a wider comparative framework.

Grand Tour artists, including Charles-Louis Clérissieu and the Adam brothers, transformed the city's monuments into widely circulated images. By the end of the century, Louis-François Cassas had recorded Pula with a new precision and sensitivity to its setting. Published at the turn of the nineteenth century, his work acquired new political significance as new conceptions of cultural capital took shape across Europe.

5.1 ANTOINE DE VILLE

The French military engineer and architect Antoine de Ville, who designed and supervised the construction of Pula's new fortress in the early 1630s, produced the only early modern publication devoted entirely to the city: *Descriptio portus et urbis Polae* (Venice, 1633). The text was reprinted in 1722 in volume six, part three, of the *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, begun by Johann Georg Graevius and continued by Peter Burmann (Bertoša 1991). Combining an official report to the Venetian Senate with elements of a travel account and an antiquarian treatise, the work describes Pula's harbour, urban fabric, and Roman monuments (Krizmanić, A. Marasović and D. Marasović 1988; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 14-19).

De Ville approached Pula's antiquities as both an engineer and a learned observer. His descriptions reveal familiarity with Vitruvian and Renaissance architectural traditions, although he cites no sources explicitly. The Arch of the Sergii is discussed through its decorative motifs, inscriptions and Corinthian order, whose proportions are described in terms that recall Serlio and Vasari. The accompanying illustration nevertheless departs from the monument by introducing an inaccurate continuous

entablature above the archway. The perspective view of the Temple of Augustus, by contrast, depends directly on Palladio's reconstruction, reproducing both the conjectural entrance wall of the cella and the incorrect inscription (Kečkemet 1969; Gudelj 2017, p. 58; 2020c, p. 354).

The most extensive section concerns the amphitheatre, illustrated by an original, if imprecise, perspective view. Following Serlio and Lipsius, De Ville maintained that its internal structures had been constructed of timber. He compared the building with the Arena at Verona and observed that the two possessed the same number of openings. Although he adopted much of Serlio's description, he recast its measurements in ancient feet rather than retaining the Veronese unit used in the earlier account. His discussion of the monument's date also appears to draw on Lipsius's typological arguments.

Unlike earlier antiquarian accounts, however, De Ville also considered the practical implications of preserving an ancient monument within a fortified city. Responding to proposals to dismantle the amphitheatre for defensive purposes, he argued that such an intervention would be both unnecessary and barbarous. The restoration of the Arena at Verona provided evidence, in his view, of the Venetian Republic's commitment to the preservation of ancient monuments. He also emphasised that the self-supporting external wall of the Pula amphitheatre offered no strategic advantage to an attacking force (Gudelj 2017, p. 28).

The *Descriptio* concludes by comparing the classical orders with De Ville's own fortress, presented as a union of the *venustas* of civil architecture and the *fortitudo* of military architecture (Žmegač 2009, Papeš 2024). De Ville had previously addressed the design of regular fortifications in *Les fortifications du chevalier Antoine de Ville*, first published in Lyon in 1628. Its illustrations include regular four-bastioned fortresses comparable in plan to the project subsequently realised at Pula (De Ville 1628; Papeš 2024, Pavignano and Spallone 2025). The *Descriptio* thus occupies the intersection of antiquarian scholarship, architectural theory, and state administration, demonstrating how Pula's monuments acquired new meanings within the political and military culture of the seventeenth-century Adriatic.

Lit. Kečkemet 1969; Krizmanić, A. Marasović and D. Marasović 1988; Bertoša 1991; Žmegač 2009; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 14-19; 2017, p. 58; 2020c, p. 354; Papeš 2024; Pavignano and Spallone 2025.

Jasenka Gudelj

5.1.1 Map of Pula Bay

Book illustration on paper

From: Antoine de Ville, *Descriptio portus et urbis Polae antiquitatum, ut et Thynnorum piscationis descriptio curiosa*, Venezia, 1633

150 × 200 mm

National and University Library, Zagreb, Inv. No. ZN-P-XVII-DEV-1633-1



5.1.2 Antoine de Ville

La Fortification ou L'Ingenieur parfait

Amsterdam: iouxte la copie imprimée à Paris, 1672

195x130mm

University Library, Pula, Shelfmark R 27.107

5.2 DISCUSSING ANCIENT THEATRES: SCIPIONE MAFFEI, GIAN RINALDO CARLI, AND SIMONE STRATICO

The classification of ancient theatres and amphitheatres depended on the comparison of written sources with surviving remains. In *De gli anfiteatri e singolarmente del Veronese* (1728), Scipione Maffei tested inherited categories against direct observation. After visiting Pula, he revised the account that he had initially derived from books and reports. Although the Arena formed a complete enclosure and had the same number of arches as its Veronese counterpart, its internal topography led him to identify it as a theatre. Part of the seating was built against the foot of a hill, whose slope he interpreted as the basis of a semicircular *cavea*, while the terrain opposite appeared to provide space for an orchestra and stage building. Maffei therefore classified the Arena as a theatre that had long been mistaken for an amphitheatre. Although incorrect, his conclusion demonstrates how direct observation and topography could outweigh inherited nomenclature and external form in antiquarian reasoning (Maffei 1728, pp. 314–18).

Maffei also considered the future of Pula's monuments. He dismissed as excessively ambitious a proposal that he had heard in Venice to transfer the Arena there, but advocated moving the Arch of the Sergii and the better-preserved of the two small temples—the Temple of Augustus. Re-erected in Venice, the monuments would serve as a useful 'school of architecture', particularly for the study of the Corinthian order. The proposal recast the Adriatic as a route along which antiquity might be concentrated in the capital, converting architectural remains into physical *spolia* and instruments of public instruction (Maffei 1728, pp. 319–20; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 76–78).

Gian Rinaldo Carli's *Degli anfiteatri e particolarmente del Flavio di Roma, di quello d'Italica nella Spagna e di quello di Pola nell'Istria* (1788) provides an empirical counterpoint to Maffei's typological argument. Following his investigation of the Arena in June 1750, the Istrian



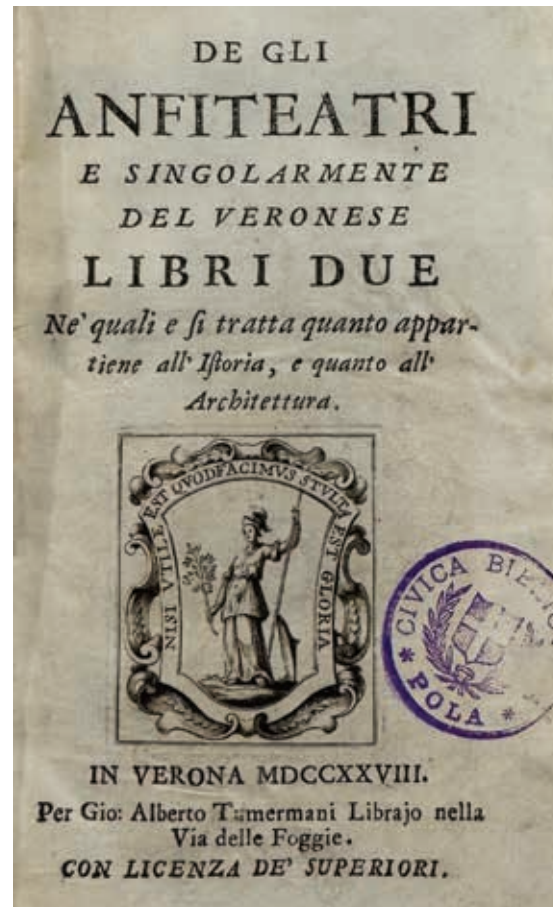
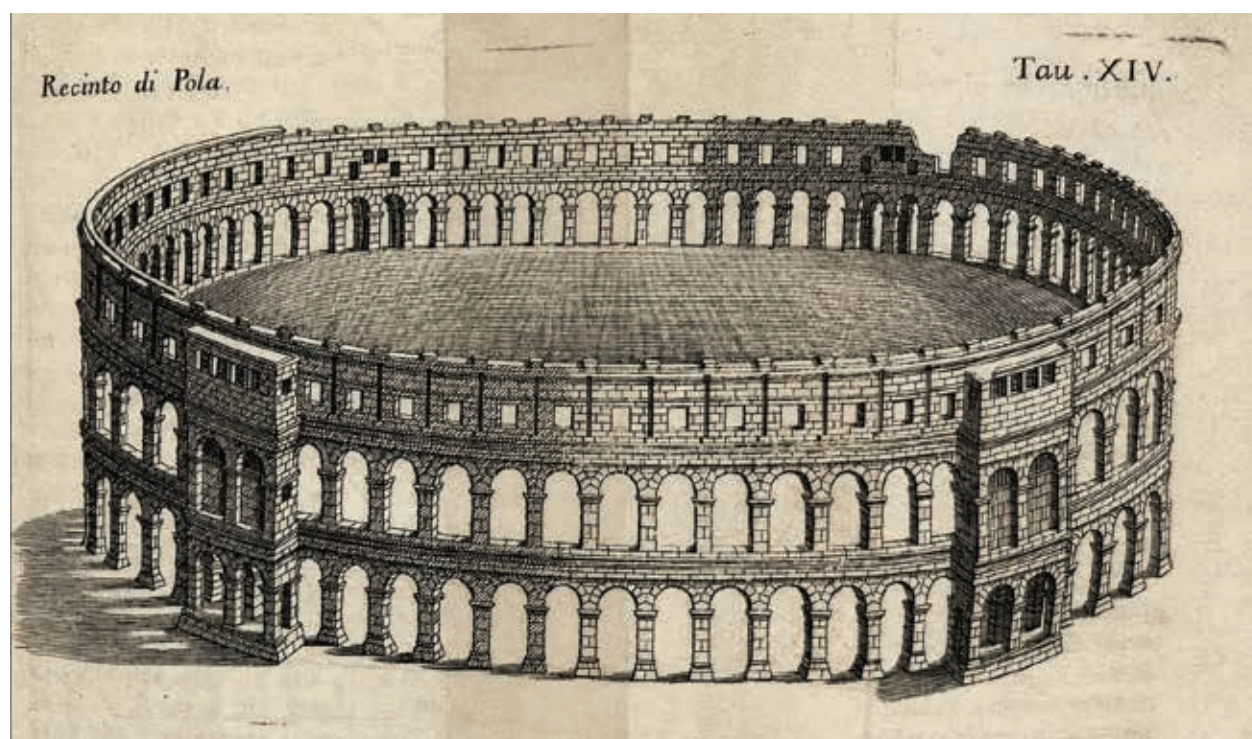
antiquary returned to the monument in a comparative study of the Flavian Amphitheatre, the amphitheatre at Italica, and the one at Pula. He distinguished the Arena from the remains of Pula's Roman theatre on Monte Zaro, whose stone had reportedly been reused in the construction of the seventeenth-century fortress. Pula thus entered a European corpus of ancient buildings for spectacle increasingly grounded in direct investigation, measurement, and comparison (Jurcan 2025, pp. 38-41).

The Zadar-born mathematician, engineer, and antiquary Simone Stratico adopted a comparable method in *Dell'antico teatro di Padova* (1795). Working from fragmentary remains, he attempted a conjectural reconstruction of the Paduan theatre by comparing its plan with those of ancient theatres in Spain, Gubbio, Adria, Anzio, Verona, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Pula. The Pula monument thus formed part of a comparative corpus used to interpret fragmentary remains in northern Italy (Stratico 1795, pp. 24–50; Granuzzo 2010, p. 53).

Taken together, these publications show that antiquarian knowledge did not develop through a straightforward progression from error to certainty. Classification, field investigation, and comparison generated competing interpretations. Whether identified as a theatre, documented as an amphitheatre or envisaged as an assemblage to be transferred to Venice, Pula's monuments were repeatedly repositioned within an Adriatic geography of knowledge.

Lit. Brunelli 1921; Tosi 1988; Pasquali 2000; Romagnani 2006; Rebaudo 2007; Granuzzo 2010; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 76-78; Ciardi 2019; Jurcan 2025, pp. 38-41.

Jasenska Gudelj



5.2.1 Scipione Maffei

De gli anfiteatri, e singolarmente del Veronese, libri due: ne' quali e si tratta quanto appartiene all'istoria, e quanto all'architettura

Verona: per Gio. Alberto Tumermani, libraj nella via delle Foggie

1728

280 × 210 mm (quarto)

University Library, Pula, Shelfmark 15455

5.2.2 Gian Rinaldo Carli

Degli anfiteatri e particolarmente del Flavio di Roma, di quello d'Italica nella Spagna, e di quello di Pola nell'Istria

Milano: Nell'Imperial monistero di S. Ambrogio maggiore

1788

c. 270 × 200 mm

University Library, Pula, Shelfmark A-439



5.2.3 Simone Stratico

Dell'antico teatro di Padova

Padua: Stamperia del Seminario

1795

280 × 210 mm

National and University Library, Zagreb, Shelfmark R II F-4°-247



5.3 POETICS OF DECAY: GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIRANESI

The Venetian architect and engraver Giovanni Battista Piranesi produced four etchings of Pula's antiquities: a frontal view of the Temple of Augustus; a composite plate showing the rear of that building together with the rear of another temple, the amphitheatre, and the Arch of the Sergii. They appeared as plates 21–24 of *Antichità romane de' tempi della Repubblica, e de' primi imperatori*, first issued in 1748 and dedicated to Giovanni Gaetano Bottari, the distinguished antiquary and influential figure at the papal court. The publication comprised twenty-eight numbered, small-format plates representing monuments in Rome, alongside notable examples elsewhere in Italy, including Aosta, Rimini, Ancona, Verona, and Pula. Two of the preliminary plates reproduce inscriptions, including those of the Temple of Augustus and the Arch of the

Sergii, thereby reinforcing the antiquarian character of the volume (Wilton-Ely 1994a, pp. 167–70; Zenzerović 2017, p. 326, cat. 4).

Piranesi offered a markedly different interpretation of Pula's Roman monuments from those found in Renaissance architectural treatises (Jurcan 2025, pp. 34–37). Rather than presenting them as measured surveys or ideal reconstructions, he depicted them as picturesque ruins, partly overgrown by vegetation and embedded within a dilapidated urban landscape. Attention consequently shifts from the architectural object alone to the experience of encountering antiquity. In this respect, the plates prefigure the sensibility subsequently associated with Romantic representations of ancient ruins.

The etchings engage with the tradition of the architectural capriccio without altogether abandoning topographical observation. The two views of Pula's temples are particularly revealing. Although they represent closely related monuments on the Roman forum, they place them within markedly different spatial settings, subordinating documentary consistency to pictorial effect. The views of the temples and the Arch of the Sergii also reverse the orientation of the monuments. Throughout the series, diminutive human figures, encroaching vegetation, dramatic contrasts of light and shade, and carefully orchestrated viewpoints contribute to a visual language in which antiquity appears subject to time and natural decay.

Pula's monuments were already familiar within Venetian artistic and antiquarian culture. Scipione Maffei and other eighteenth-century scholars had discussed the city's antiquities, while Canaletto had incorporated the Arch of the Sergii into his earlier *Capriccio with a Roman Triumphal Arch*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Inv. No. 46.161). Piranesi's father was a stonemason and master builder, while his maternal uncle and first architectural teacher, Matteo Lucchesi, served as an engineer to the Venetian *Magistrato alle Acque* and undertook surveying work in Istria. These connections do not prove that Piranesi visited Pula. Nevertheless, the immediacy of the plates supports the possibility that he observed the monuments directly, perhaps during his Venetian period in the mid-1740s. The journey remains undocumented. Wilton-Ely nonetheless regarded the plates as among the finest achievements of Piranesi's early career (Wilton-Ely 1994b, p. 23).

The plates were reissued on several occasions. In posthumous editions the series was retitled *Alcune vedute di archi trionfali ed altri monumenti inalzati da Romani parte de' quali si veggono in Roma, e parte per l'Italia*,

distinguishing it from the much larger, four-volume *Le antichità romane*, first published in 1756. The original copperplates are preserved in the Calcoteca of the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica in Rome.

Piranesi's engravings established a powerful model for the picturesque representation of Pula's antiquities. A comparable tension between topographical observation and pictorial staging recurs in the work of Robert Adam, Charles-Louis Clérisseau, Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, Julien-David Le Roy, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, and Louis-François Cassas. Rather than demonstrating direct dependence in every instance, these correspondences reveal the broader visual culture within which Pula's monuments were represented during the second half of the eighteenth century. Through Piranesi's etchings, the antiquities of Pula acquired renewed visibility within the culture of the European Enlightenment, where they were appreciated not only as archaeological remains but also as powerful vehicles of historical imagination.

Lit. Wilton-Ely 1994a, pp. 167–70; Wilton-Ely 1994b, p. 23; Zenzerović 2017, p. 326, cat. 4; Jurcan 2025, pp. 34–37.

Jasenska Gudelj

5.3.1 Arch of the Sergii in Pula, Istria, near the City Gate

Drawn and etched 1743–1745; impression probably published in Rome, 1778

Etching on paper

Image: 126 × 255 mm; sheet: 290 × 435 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 58113

The print shows the Arch of the Sergii obliquely beside the city gate and walls. Its Corinthian columns, frieze, and inscription remain visible amid weathered masonry and vegetation. Small figures and strong contrasts of light and shade give the scene a picturesque character.

The signature 'Piranesi fecit.' appears at the lower left. The title '*Arco di Pola in Istria vicino alla Porta.*' is placed below the image at centre, while 'Tav. 24' appears at the lower left along the edge of the plate impression.

The sheet belongs to the series *Alcune vedute di archi trionfali ed altri monumenti inalzati da Romani parte de' quali si veggono in Roma, e parte per l'Italia*, probably issued in Rome in 1778 and first published in 1748, plate 24.



5.3.2 Amphitheatre at Pula, Istria, near the Sea

Drawn and etched 1743–1745; impression probably published in Rome, 1778

Etching on paper

Plate: 130 × 266 mm; image: 118 × 261 mm; sheet: 398 × 555 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-103

The print shows the amphitheatre from the west. In the foreground is a sea inlet alongside several small sailing boats by the shore. At the far left stands a hut with a conical wicker roof, while two reclining figures occupy

the darkened foreground. A round tower appears at the right in the background, with a flock of gulls above it. Piranesi modified certain architectural details on the plate, and the amphitheatre is shown with its left and right sides reversed.

The signature 'Piranesi fecit.' appears at the lower left. The title 'Anfiteatro di Pola in Istria vicino al mare.' is placed below the image at centre, while 'Tav. 23' appears at the lower left along the edge of the plate impression.

The sheet belongs to the series *Alcune vedute di archi trionfali ed altri monumenti inalzati da Romani parte de' quali si veggono in Roma, e parte per l'Italia*, probably issued in Rome in 1778 and first published in 1748, plate 23.



5.3.3 Temple at Pula, Istria

Drawn and etched 1743–1745; printed in Rome after 1870

Etching on paper

Plate: 126 × 261 mm; image: 116 × 257 mm; sheet: 210 × 347 mm

Printed by the Regia Calcografia di Roma

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-56

The Temple of Augustus appears on the left, without its roof or ceiling structure. Immediately beside it is the single-storey building that served as a prison, with a

staircase and several passers-by in front. Several fragments of architectural decoration are scattered on the ground to the right, while a triumphal arch appears at the far right in the background. The number '372d' is inscribed at the upper right. The signature 'Piranesi fecit.' appears at the lower left, the title 'Tempio di Pola in Istria.' is at the centre, and 'Tav. 21' is at the right. The dry stamp of the Regia Calcografia di Roma is impressed at the lower right of the plate impression. The printed image is reversed.

The sheet was first published in 1748 in *Alcune vedute di archi trionfali ed altri monumenti inalzati da Romani parte de' quali si veggono in Roma, e parte per l'Italia*.



5.3.4 Rear of the Temple at Pula, Istria

Drawn and etched 1743–1745; impression probably published in Rome, 1778

Etching on paper

Plate: 125 × 260 mm; image: 112 × 255 mm; sheet: 400 × 555 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-104

The print shows the rear elevations of the forum temples and the city palace, with the left and right sides reversed. The Temple of Augustus appears on the left with a storey added above the original cornice. The number '1' appears above the so-called Temple of Diana on the right, while 'Tav. 22' is inscribed at the upper right. The signature 'Piranesi fecit.' appears at the lower left. The title 'Rovescio del Tempio di Pola in Istria.' is placed below the image at centre, with the inscription '1. Rovescio di un Altro Tempio.' at the right.



The sheet belongs to the series *Alcune vedute di archi trionfali ed altri monumenti inalzati da Romani parte de' quali si veggono in Roma, e parte per l'Italia*, probably issued in Rome in 1778 and first published in 1748, plate 22.

5.3.5 Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (draughtsman); Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non (engraver)

Tempio di Pola in Istria

1756

Etching on paper

Plate: 275 × 237 mm; image: 268 × 231 mm; sheet: 315 × 251 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-139

Within a simple oval frame, the print depicts the Temple of Augustus without its roof or ceiling structure. To the right stands the single-storey building that served as a prison, with a staircase and several passers-by in front. The title 'TEMPIO DI POLA IN / ISTRIA' and the signature 'St. non Sc. 1756' appear at the lower centre of the image, while 'Le Prince del.' is inscribed at the lower right.

The sheet formed part of an untitled series of six views of Roman ruins in and around Rome, issued in 1756 and republished in *Recueil de griffonnis, de vues, paysages, fragments antiques et sujets historiques...* (Paris, 1773).



5.4 AN ISTRIAN ERUDITE'S QUEST: GIAN RINALDO CARLI

The Koper-born polymath, historian, and economist Gian Rinaldo Carli (1720–1795) approached antiquity through the critical examination of primary evidence. His education introduced him to Ludovico Antonio Muratori's philological approach to history, while his years in Padua brought him into contact with Scipione Maffei and Bernardo Maria de Rubeis. His earliest publications addressed the antiquities of Koper and subjected the supposed Argonautic origins of Istria to rational criticism.

After returning to Koper, Carli organised the first known archaeological investigation of Pula's amphitheatre in June 1750. He worked with Vitaliano Donati, professor of natural history at the University of Turin, and the draughtsman Francesco Monaco. The team measured and documented the exposed remains to test Maffei's assertion that the Arena was a theatre rather than an amphitheatre because part of its seating rested against a hillside. Carli's *Relazione delle scoperte fatte nell'anfiteatro di Pola*, published that same year, described the excavation and presented the empirical observations that refuted Maffei's interpretation (Carli 1750; Jurcan 2025, pp. 38–41).

The significance of the campaign extended beyond the classification of a single monument. Rather than interpreting the ruins through an ideal Vitruvian model, Carli used excavation, measurement, and comparison to reconstruct the building on the basis of its surviving fabric. His *Relazione* combined text and image, enabling distant readers to follow the course of the investigation. Pula became not only the site of a celebrated Roman monument, but also a place where archaeological knowledge was produced, thereby strengthening its position within the culture of the Grand Tour.

Almost four decades later, Carli returned to the Arena in *Degli anfiteatri e particolarmente del Flavio di Roma, di quello d'Italica nella Spagna, e di quello di Pola nell'Istria* (1788, cat. 5.4.1). The evidence from Pula was now compared with Rome's Colosseum and the amphitheatre at Italica, near Seville. The study formed the second volume of the five-volume *Delle antichità italiane*, published in Milan between 1788 and 1791, in which Pula's antiquities occupied a prominent place (Ils. 5.4.2–3). The progression from the excavation report to this comparative synthesis marks a fundamental change in the study of ancient architecture: inherited authorities remained points of departure, but their claims were tested against material evidence. Carli's work on the Arena thus marks a transition from Renaissance antiquarianism

towards the empirical archaeology of the Enlightenment. His illustrations were later used by Cassas.

Lit. Apih 1973; Sestan 1984; Cunja 1992; Cunja 1997; Trampus 2004; Rebaudo 2007; Jurcan 2025, pp. 38-41.

Emil Jurcan

5.4.1 Gian Rinaldo Carli

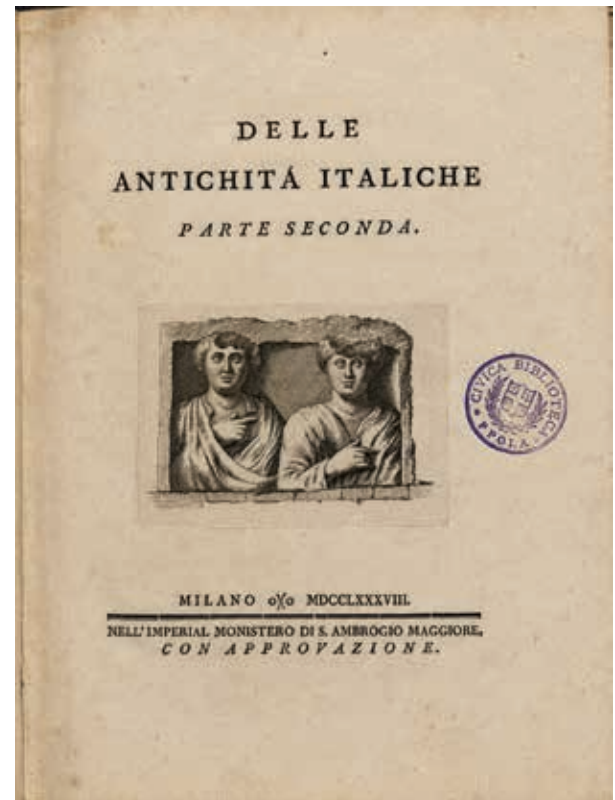
Delle antichità italiche

Vols 1–3. Milano: Nell'Imperial monistero di S. Ambrogio Maggiore

1788–1791

274x170mm

University Library, Pula, Shelfmark A-439



5.5 PULA ON THE WAY TOWARDS THE EAST AND OTHER COUNTRIES: RICHARD POCOCKE

Between 1737 and 1741, the English clergyman, traveller, and antiquary Richard Pococke undertook an extensive journey through the Mediterranean and Near East, visiting Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and the Adriatic. The results were published in the richly illustrated *A Description of the East, and Some Other Countries* (1743–1745). Combining antiquarian observation, topographical description, and ethnographic curiosity, Pococke documented ancient monuments, landscapes, and contemporary societies with unusual precision, helping to expand European scholarly interest beyond Italy towards the wider Mediterranean world.

Pococke described Pula and its Roman monuments in the second volume of his travel account, illustrating the city with views that combine antiquarian documentation with the picturesque sensibility of eighteenth-century travel literature. Particularly noteworthy is the perspective view of the Arch of the Sergii, rendered with considerable accuracy and carefully recording its inscriptions and decorative elements. Yet, the monument is set within an idealised landscape and accompanied by a figure of an English gentleman, whose presence acts as a witness to the site and implicitly identifies the traveller as both observer and mediator of antiquity. Similar figures appear in the views of the forum temples. The Temple of Augustus is depicted roofless and without the front wall of the cella, while its twin temple appears with a latrine appended to its rear façade, reflecting its adaptation as the residence of the Venetian rector, although the latrine was no longer in use at the time of Pococke's visit. The juxtaposition of ancient remains, contemporary uses, and the travelling observer encapsulates the Enlightenment understanding of antiquity as both a historical object and a lived reality.

Widely translated and circulated in French, German, and Dutch editions, *A Description of the East* became an important vehicle for disseminating knowledge of Pula among antiquaries, architects, and Grand Tour travellers. Through its combination of empirical observation and picturesque interpretation, the work integrated the city and its antiquities into the broader geography of Enlightenment scholarship and travel.

Lit. Pococke 1743–1745; Pococke 1776–1786.

Jasenska Gudelj

5.5.1 Arch of the Sergii in Pula

From *Beschreibung des Morgenlandes und einiger anderer Länder*, translated from English by Christian Ernst von Windheim, with a preface by Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, Erlangen and Leipzig: Verlag des Stiftshauses, Tetzschner and Breitkopf, vol. 3, 1755, CIII, p. 411.

Coloured book illustration on paper

249 × 188 mm

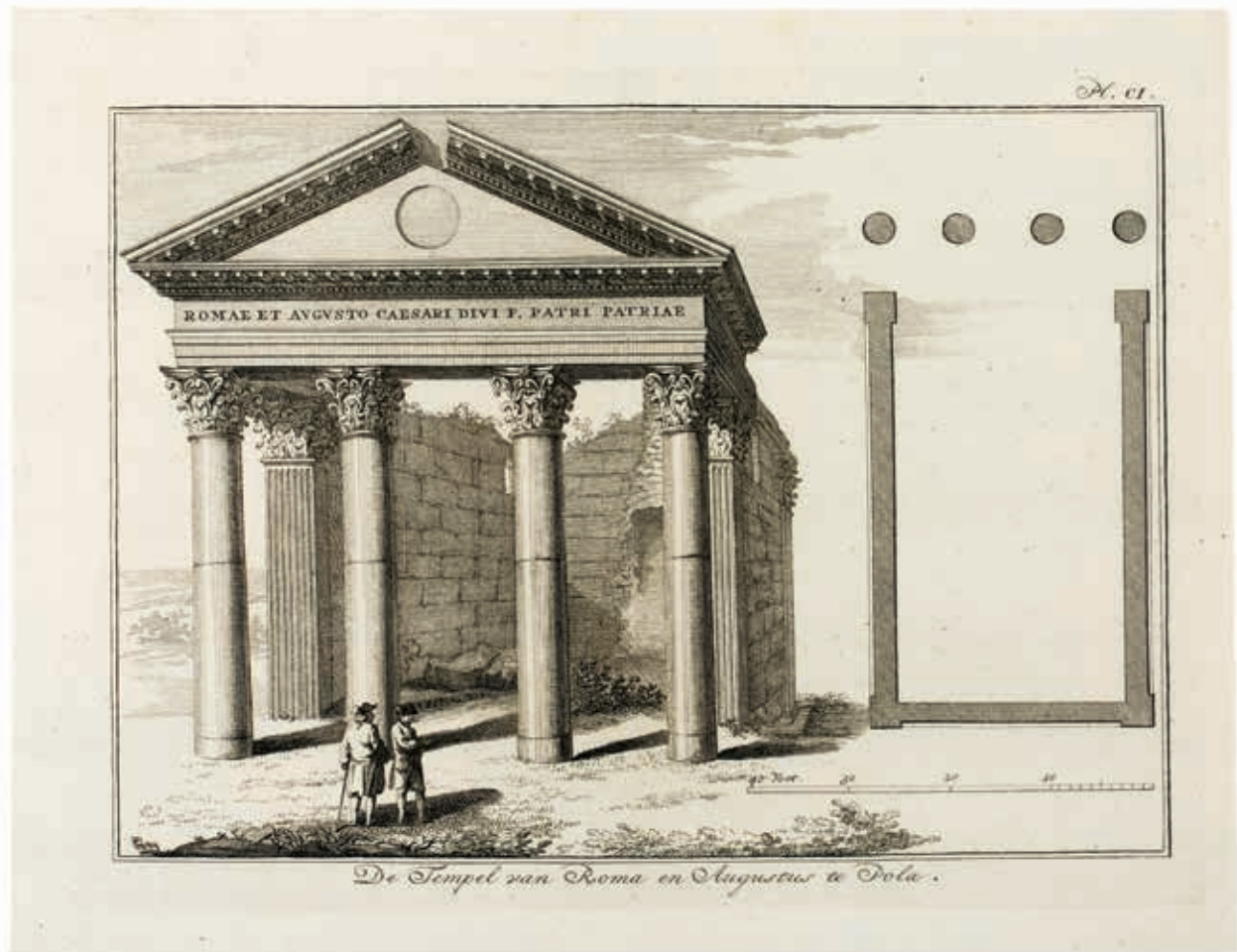
Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-19

Inscription: 'Ein Begräbniss zu Pola'



5.5.2 The Temple of Rome and Augustus in Pula

From *Beschryving van het Oosten, en van eenige andere landen*, translated and annotated by Ernst Willem Cramerus, with a preface by Rutger Schutte. 3 vols in 6 parts. Utrecht: Gysbert Tieme and Abraham van Paddenburg; Rotterdam: Jacobus Bosch and Reinier



Arrenberg; Amsterdam: Martinus de Bruyn, 1776–1786, vol. 3, part II, pl. CI.

Book illustration on paper

235 × 302 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-84

Inscription: 'De Tempel van Roma en Augustus te Pola'

5.5.3 View of a Temple in Pula

From *Beschryving van het Oosten, en van eenige andere landen*, translated and annotated by Ernst Willem Cramerus, with a preface by Rutger Schutte. 3 vols in 6 parts. Utrecht: Gysbert Tieme and Abraham van Paddenburg; Rotterdam: Jacobus Bosch and Reinier Arrenberg; Amsterdam: Martinus de Bruyn, 1776–1786, vol. 3, part II, pl. CII.

Book illustration on paper

300 × 229 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-1

Inscription: 'Gezicht eens tempels te Pola'



5.6 PUBLISHING ADRIATIC ANTIQUITIES: THE ADAM BROTHERS, CHARLES-LOUIS CLÉRISSEAU, AND DOMENICO CUNEGO

Robert Adam played a pivotal role in the eighteenth-century study and dissemination of the architectural heritage of the eastern Adriatic. In 1757, he visited Pula and produced measured drawings, where he produced measured drawings of two of the city's principal Roman monuments: the Arch of the Sergii and the amphitheatre. These drawings are now preserved at the Royal Institute of British Architects. Adam's attention extended beyond the monuments' overall form to distinctive architectural features, including the enlarged arches on the major axis of the amphitheatre, its staircase towers, and the unusual disposition of the paired columns at the corners of the Arch of the Sergii. At the time, the arch was still joined to the city gate and incorporated into the urban fabric. These observations formed part of Adam's broader investigation of provincial Roman architecture as a source for contemporary architectural practice.

Adam's visit was followed by that of his younger brother James in 1760, extending the family's engagement with the antiquities of the eastern Adriatic. On both journeys, the brothers were accompanied by the French architect and artist Charles-Louis Clérissseau, whose contribution was fundamental to the visual character and subsequent dissemination of their work. Clérissseau produced numerous drawings on site, some of which he later developed into highly finished watercolours. Combining careful architectural observation with the conventions of the picturesque, these images presented the ancient monuments not as isolated remains, but as elements of inhabited settings animated by local figures and scenes of everyday life (Kečkemet 1969; McCormick 1990; Gudelj 2020c, pp. 354-356).

Several of Clérissseau's compositions subsequently served as models for prints executed in Rome by the Italian engraver Domenico Cunego, who collaborated with the Adam brothers on a number of projects. The prints were advertised in London as part of a set of six on 2 January 1767 and were marketed as suitable for framing and glazing as decorations for domestic interiors (Hopkinson 2009). Through the medium of print, these images reached a wider audience and became some of the earliest large-format representations of the monuments of Pula to circulate internationally. Their effectiveness derived from the balance between architectural observation and pictorial invention. Clérissseau subtly monumentalised the ancient structures through dramatic viewpoints, while the small figures designed by Antonio Zucchi emphasised their scale and preserved a sense of contemporary life.

The bilingual English and French captions further indicate the international market towards which the prints were directed. Together, the work of Robert Adam, James Adam, Clérissseau, Zucchi, and Cunego established a visual vocabulary through which the monuments of the eastern Adriatic entered eighteenth-century European architectural and antiquarian culture. Serving simultaneously as architectural records, sources for contemporary design, and picturesque views, these representations remained influential into the nineteenth century and shaped both scholarly and popular perceptions of the region's classical heritage (Lui 2006, pp. 99-103; Gudelj 2020c).

Lit. Kečkemet 1969; McCormick 1990; Lui 2006; Hopkinson 2009; Gudelj 2017; Gudelj 2020c.

Jasenska Gudelj

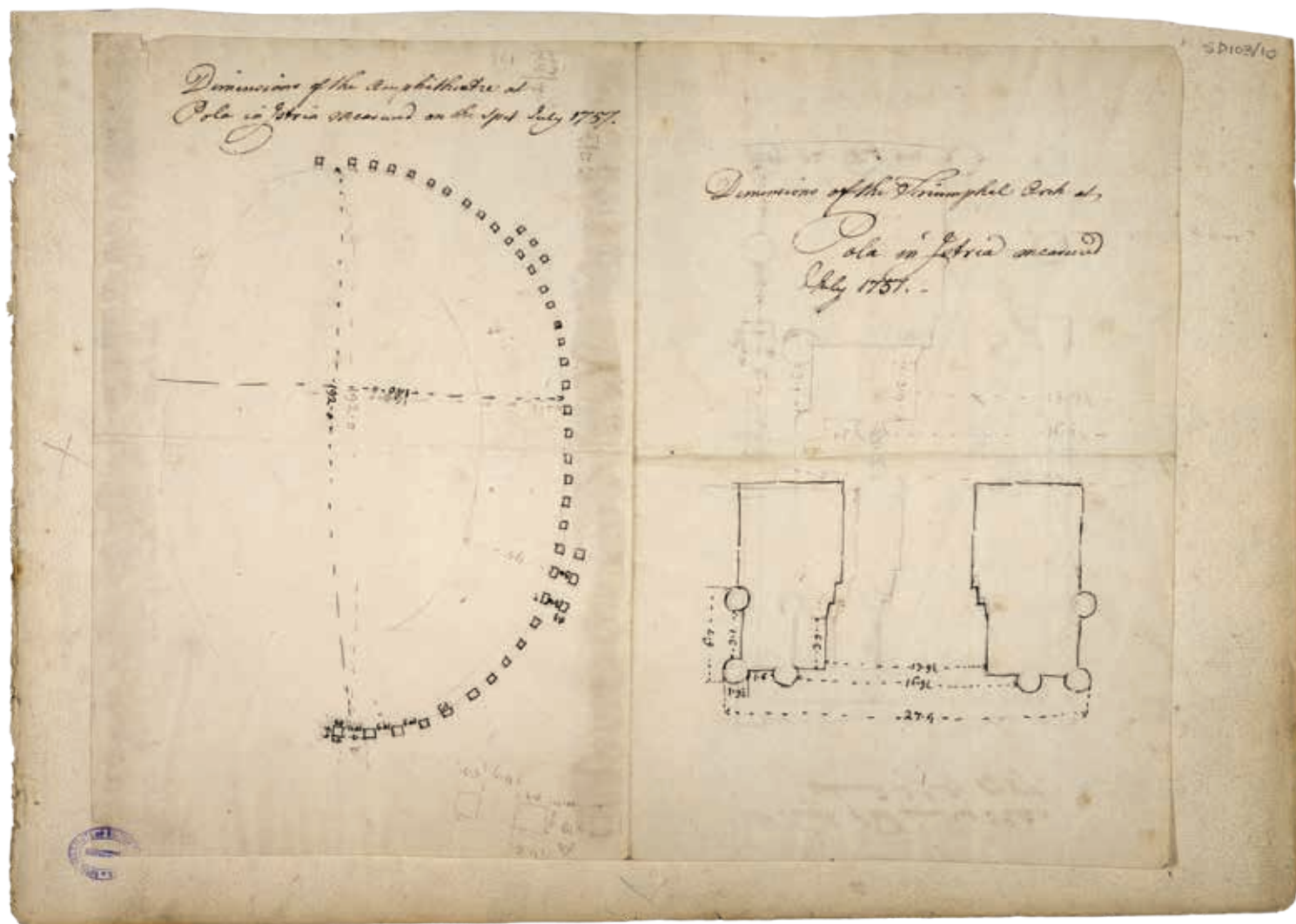
5.6.1 Robert Adam

Ground Plan of the Pula Amphitheatre and the Arch of the Sergii

1757

Facsimile of a drawing on paper

Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. SD 103/6



**5.6.2 Charles-Louis Clérisseau
(draughtsman); Domenico Cunego
(engraver)**

Arch of Pola in Istria / Arc de Pola en Istrie

1760–1767

Etching on paper

453 × 575 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-99



**5.6.3 Charles-Louis Clérisseau
(draughtsman); Domenico Cunego
(engraver)**

Temple of Pola in Istria / Temple de Pola en Istrie

1760–1767

Etching on paper

452 × 580 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-98



5.7 FROM PARIS TO GREECE VIA PULA: JULIEN-DAVID LE ROY

After spending three years at the Académie de France in Rome, and retracing the route previously followed by Jacob Spon and George Wheler, the architect Julien-David Le Roy made a brief excursion to Pula in 1754 as the first antiquarian stop on his journey to Greece. The expedition resulted in *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1758), an innovative architectural and antiquarian study that combined first-hand observation with historical and comparative analysis. The success of the publication secured Le Roy's election to the Académie royale d'architecture in the same year. By placing Pula at the threshold of the eastern Mediterranean, the book contributed to a new geographical and intellectual mapping of antiquity in which the Adriatic served as a gateway to the Greek world (Middleton 2004; Armstrong 2012; Gudelj 2017, p. 29; 2020c, pp. 354–356).

Le Roy arrived in Pula four years after the first archaeological investigation of the amphitheatre conducted by the Istrian intellectual Gian Rinaldo Carli (cat. 5.4.1). Since he had only limited time at his disposal, Le Roy described the architecture of the city's other monuments as 'unremarkable', although he commented on the paired columns of the Arch of the Sergii and the construction of the amphitheatre. He devoted his detailed architectural analysis to the two temples on the Roman forum, concentrating particularly on the better-preserved Temple of Rome and Augustus. He acknowledged that most of his measurements had been taken from Palladio and converted from Venetian into French feet. Nevertheless, he supplemented Palladio's account with observations made on site and presented the temple as one of the noblest surviving monuments of antiquity (Le Roy 1758; Middleton 2004; Gudelj 2020c, 345–356).

The perspective view engraved by Jacques-Philippe Le Bas, after Le Roy reworked Palladio's reconstruction through a more picturesque visual language, related to Piranesi's views of Pula. Its orientalist figures and monumental presentation of the ancient building anticipated the continuation of the journey towards the Levant. The architectural plates in the second part of the publication differed more substantially from their Renaissance prototypes. They included the plans of both twin temples and clearly distinguished the surviving fabric from the reconstructed portions. Le Roy also corrected the inscription transmitted by earlier authors and used inscriptional, stylistic, and historical evidence

to establish the building's date and function as a temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus. Within the comparative structure of the publication, the monument was presented alongside the temples of Greece and treated as an exemplary work of the Corinthian order. The existence of its twin further supported Le Roy's understanding of ancient architecture as a reproducible system governed by recognisable principles and typologies (Le Roy 1758; Armstrong 2012; Gudelj 2020c, pp. 354–356).

Le Roy's interpretation marked a decisive shift in the French reception of Pula's antiquities. Whereas earlier authors had concentrated primarily on the Arch of the Sergii, the Temple of Rome and Augustus now emerged as an exemplary monument of Augustan civic architecture, comparable with other buildings of the ancient world through inscriptional, typological, and Vitruvian analysis. The influence of this approach extended beyond Le Roy's own publication. Jacques-François Blondel, Le Roy's teacher and one of the leading architectural theorists of eighteenth-century France, reproduced the entablature of the Pula temple in his *Cours d'architecture*, citing Le Roy as his source. The plate was, however, erroneously captioned 'Entablement de l'ordre Corinthien du Temple de Thésée, à Pola en Istrie', thereby conflating the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Pula with the so-called Temple of Theseus in Athens (Blondel 1771–1777, II, pl. XLIX). Through Blondel's widely disseminated treatise, Le Roy's interpretation consolidated the position of Pula's antiquities within French academic architectural culture and reached generations of architects who never visited the Adriatic.

Lit. Carli 1750; Le Roy 1758; Blondel 1771–1777; Middleton 2004; Armstrong 2012; Gudelj 2017, p. 29; 2020c, pp. 354–356.

Jasenska Gudelj

5.7.1 Julien-David Le Roy (draughtsman); Jacques-Philippe Le Bas (engraver)

From Julien-David Le Roy, *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, Paris: Musier fils, v. II., Pl. XVI 1770

Book illustration on paper

420 × 545 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-105



Vue d'un Temple de Pula en Istrie.

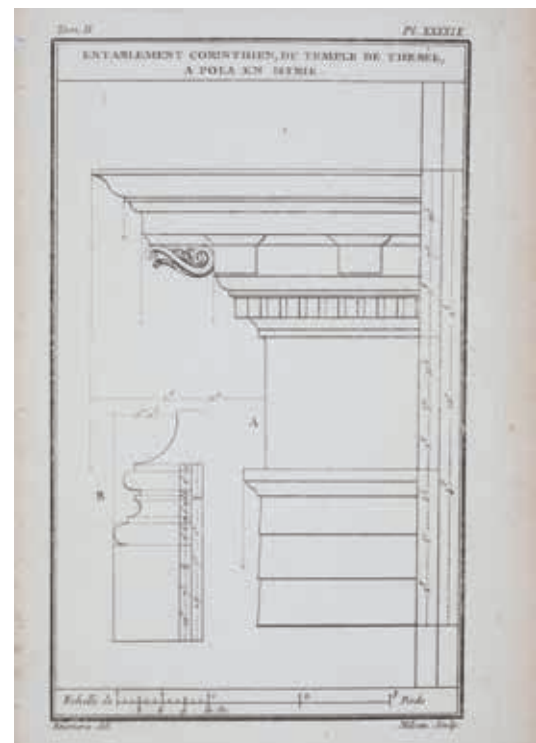
5.7.2 Jacques-François Blondel

From Jacques-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture, ou Traité de la décoration, distribution & construction des bâtimens*; contenant les leçons données en 1750, & les années suivantes, par J. F. Blondel, architecte, dans son École des Arts. Paris: chez Desaint, 1771, Tome II, pl. XLIX.

Book illustration on paper

214 × 135 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 60546



5.8 FROM LONDON TO GREECE VIA PULA: JAMES STUART AND NICHOLAS REVETT

The corpus produced by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett at Pula comprises measured studies and picturesque views of the city's principal Roman monuments: the amphitheatre, the Arch of the Sergii, and the Temple of Rome and Augustus. Their proposals for *The Antiquities of Athens*, issued in 1751, listed thirty-four drawings of Pula, which were sent to London as a demonstration of the methods they intended to employ in Greece. The results of their investigation were eventually published, together with a descriptive text edited by Joseph Woods, in the fourth volume of *The Antiquities of Athens* in 1816 (Stuart and Revett 1816; Kečkemet 1969, pp. 565–68; Salmon 2006, pp. 120–25).

Stuart and Revett travelled to the eastern Adriatic in 1750 while awaiting passage from Venice to Greece. They remained in Pula for approximately three months, from late July until November. Their visit followed closely upon the investigation of the amphitheatre undertaken by Gian Rinaldo Carli in June of the same year, during which parts of the substructures beneath the seating were examined (Carli 1750; Salmon 2006, pp. 120–25, Gudelj 2017, p. 29–30; Jurcan 2025, pp. 41–44). Pula therefore provided them with an opportunity to test and refine the procedures that they would subsequently employ in Athens.

They surveyed the monuments through measurements, plans, elevations, sections, architectural details, and written observations. The division of labour that characterised their later work was already beginning to emerge: Revett increasingly assumed responsibility for systematic measurement and architectural documentation, while Stuart concentrated on antiquarian interpretation, topographical observation, and the production of views. The evidence from Pula nevertheless indicates that their respective roles were not yet rigidly defined and that both contributed to the collection and analysis of measurements (Salmon 2006, pp. 135–39).

Alongside the measured documentation, five finished gouaches associated with Stuart's work at Pula survive. These views place the monuments within their urban and topographical settings and combine close observation with carefully controlled picturesque effects. Architecture, vegetation, areas of damage, and small contemporary figures are brought together to convey both the physical condition of the buildings and their monumental presence. The Pula studies thus illustrate the coexistence

of empirical survey and aesthetic interpretation within eighteenth-century antiquarian practice (Salmon 2006, pp. 139–50; Jurcan 2025, pp. 41–44).

The architectural significance of their investigations became apparent even before the drawings were published. In May 1753, the Society of Dilettanti resolved that the Temple of Rome and Augustus should serve as the model for its proposed academy of arts in Cavendish Square. Although the project was never completed, the choice demonstrates that the temple was already being treated as a practical architectural model and not merely as an archaeological object. Elements of the abandoned scheme subsequently informed the temple-fronted elevations of Spencer House and the later development of Cavendish Square (Worsley 1995; Guillery 2015, pp. 78–83, Gudelj 2017, p. 29–30).

Through their combination of measurement, architectural analysis, and pictorial representation, Stuart and Revett established new standards for the documentation of Pula's Roman monuments. Their work transformed the city from an intermediate stopping place on the journey to Greece into an important field of architectural investigation. It also integrated the antiquities of the eastern Adriatic into the scholarly and architectural culture of eighteenth-century Britain.

Lit. Carli 1750; Stuart and Revett 1816; Kečkemet 1969; Worsley 1995; Salmon 2006; Guillery 2015; Zenzerović 2017; Gudelj 2017; Jurcan 2025.

Jasenska Gudelj

5.8.1 View of the Arch of the Sergii, Pula

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. IV (London: printed by T. Bensley for J. Taylor, 1816), chap. III, pl. I.

c. 1750 (drawing); 1816 (engraving)

Copper engraving on paper

323 × 502 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63547

Inscription: Arch of the Sergii at Pola



5.8.2 Elevation of the Arch of the Sergii at Pola

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Die Alterthümer zu Athen*, v. IV, Leipzig und Darmstadt: Verlag von Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1833, Supl. XVII, PL. IV.

c. 1750 (drawing); 1833 (engraving)

Copper engraving on paper

505 × 327 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63556

Inscriptions: Bogen der Sergier zu Pola, PL. III



5.8.3 Section of the Arch of the Sergii at Pola

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Die Alterthümer zu Athen*, v. IV, Leipzig und Darmstadt: Verlag von Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1833, Supl. XVII, PL. VII.

c. 1750 (drawing); 1833 (engraving)

Copper engraving on paper

500 × 320 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv.

No. 63555

Inscriptions: Bogen der Sergier zu Pola, PL. VI



5.8.4 View of the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Pola

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. IV (London: printed by T. Bensley for J. Taylor, 1816), chap. II, pl. I.

c. 1750 (drawing); 1816 (engraving)

Coloured copper engraving on paper

465 × 347 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-72

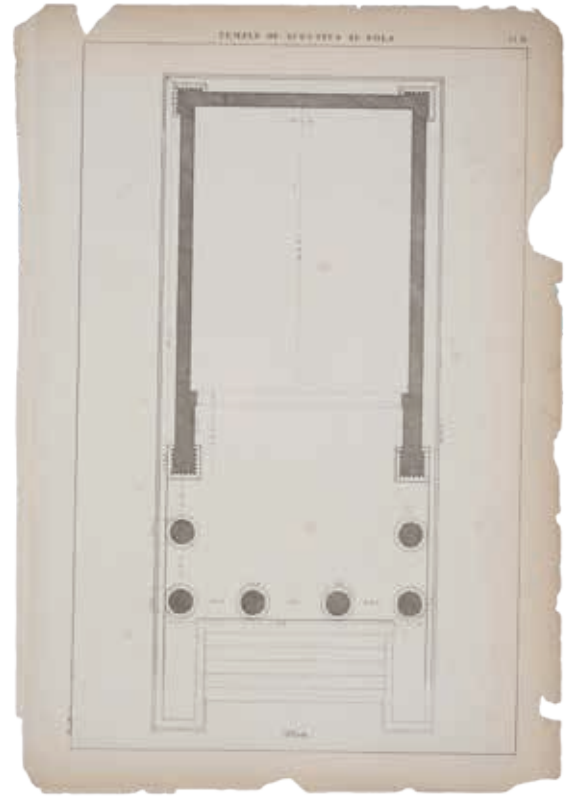
Inscription: Temple of Rome & Augustus at Pola



Temple of Rome & Augustus at Pola

5.8.5 Elevation of the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Pola

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. IV (London: printed by T. Bensley for J. Taylor, 1816), chap. II, pl. III.
c. 1750 (drawing); 1816 (engraving)
Copper engraving on paper
332 × 218 mm
Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63203
Inscription: Temple of Rome & Augustus at Pola



5.8.7 Details of the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Pola

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. IV (London: printed by T. Bensley for J. Taylor, 1816), chap. II, pl. V.
c. 1750 (drawing); 1816 (engraving)
Copper engraving on paper
355 × 245 mm
Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63205
Inscriptions: Temple of Rome & Augustus at Pola, Fig. 1; Fig. 2; Fig. 3.

5.8.6 Plan of the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Pola

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. IV (London: printed by T. Bensley for J. Taylor, 1816), chap. II, pl. II.
c. 1750 (drawing); 1816 (engraving)
Copper engraving on paper
355 × 245 mm
Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63202
Inscriptions: Temple of Rome & Augustus at Pola, Plan

TEMPLE OF ROME AND AUGUSTUS. AT POLA.

PLV

FIG. 3.

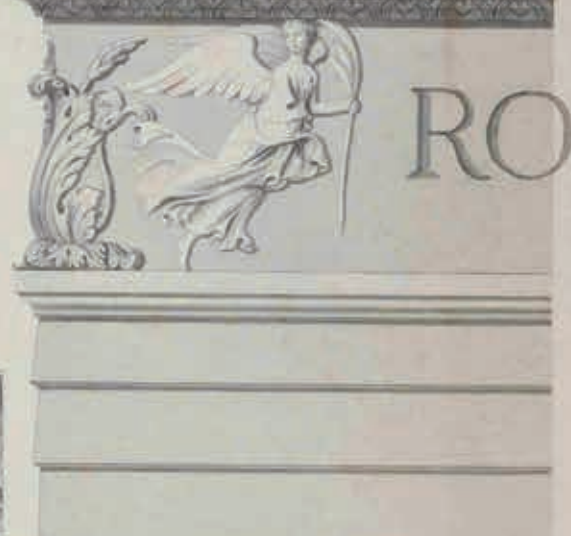


FIG. 2



FIG. 1

5.8.8 View of the Amphitheatre at Pola

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Die Alterthümer zu Athen*, v. IV, Leipzig und Darmstadt: Verlag von Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1833, Supl. XV, PL. V.

c. 1750 (drawing); 1833 (engraving)

Copper engraving on paper

500 × 320 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63572

Inscription: Amphitheater zu Pola, Pl. I.



5.8.9 Amphitheatre at Pola: Interior with the Blessing of a Flock of Sheep

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. IV (London: printed by T. Bensley for J. Taylor, 1816), chap. I, pl. II.

c. 1750 (drawing); 1816 (engraving)

Copper engraving on paper

498 × 321 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-113

Inscription: 'Amphitheatre at Pola' (in handwriting)



5.8.10 Elevation and Section of the Amphitheatre at Pola

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. IV (London: printed by T. Bensley for J. Taylor, 1816), chap. I, pl. IV.

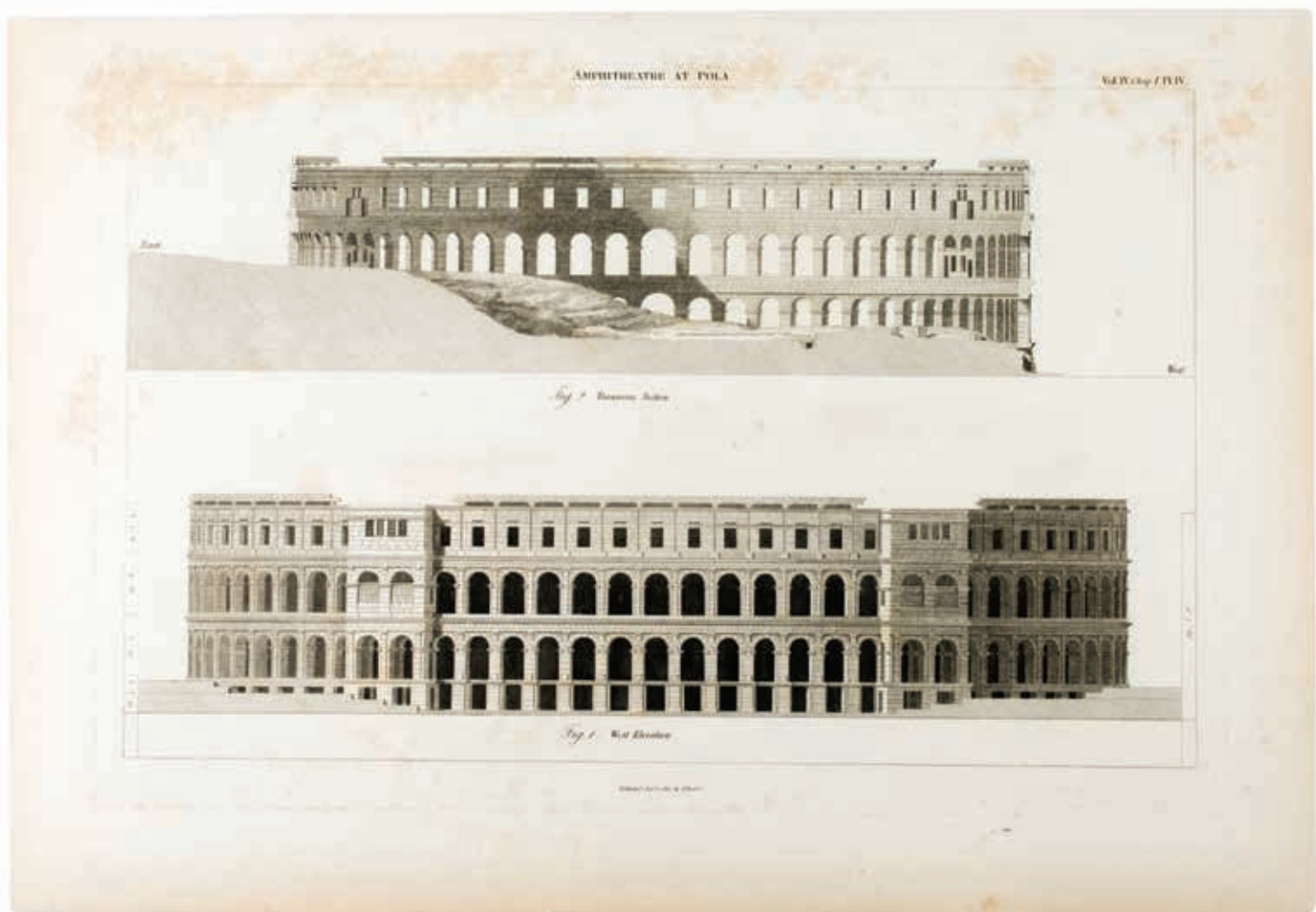
c. 1750 (drawing); 1816 (engraving)

Copper engraving on paper

504 × 353 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-52

Inscriptions: 'Fig. 1. West Elevation / Fig. 2. Transverse Section / AMPHITHEATRE AT POLA / Published Jan.y 1. 1810. by J. Taylor'



5.8.11 Ground Plan of the Amphitheatre at Pola

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Die Alterthümer zu Athen*, v. IV, Leipzig und Darmstadt: Verlag von Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1833, Supl. XV, pl. VII.

c. 1750 (drawing); 1833 (etching)

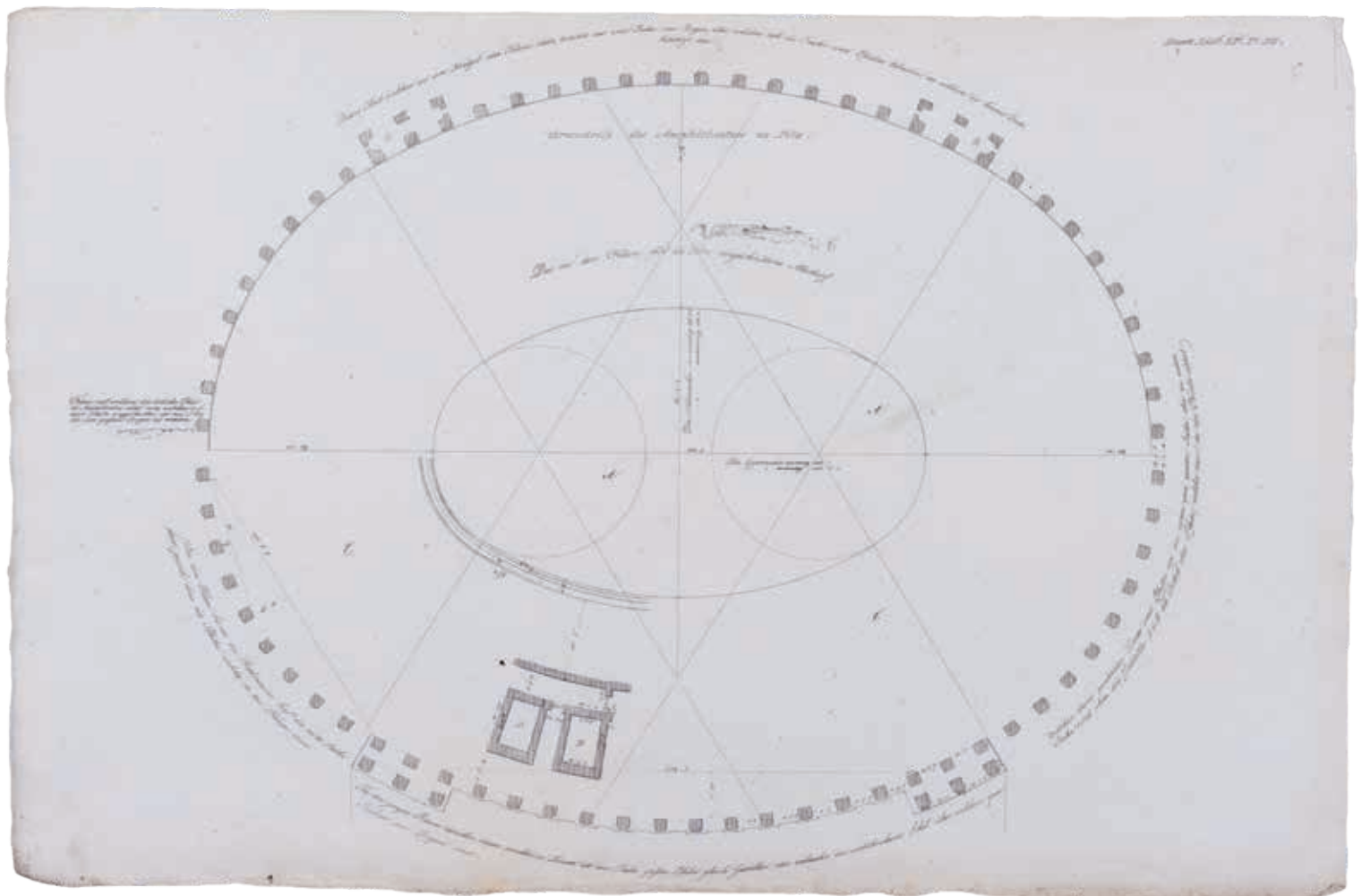
Copper engraving on paper

325 × 500 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv.

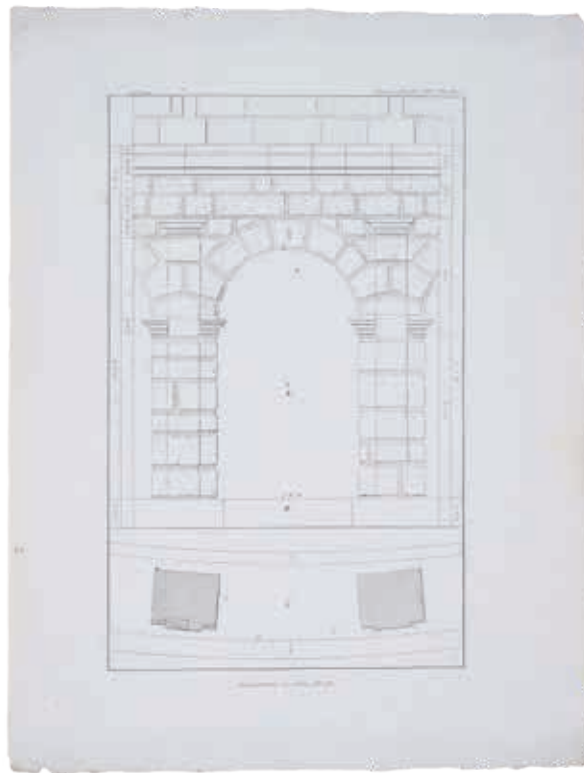
No. 63548

Inscription: Grundriss des Amphitheaters zu Pola



5.8.12 Details of Elevation of the Amphitheatre at Pola

From James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Die Alterthümer zu Athen*, v. IV, Leipzig und Darmstadt: Verlag von Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1833, Supl. XVI, pl. III.
c. 1750 (drawing); 1833 (engraving)
Copper engraving on paper
500 × 320 mm
Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63568
Inscription: Amphitheatres zu Pola, pl. XI



5.9 TRAVELLING THROUGH IMAGES AND HISTORY: LOUIS-FRANÇOIS CASSAS

The corpus of images produced by Louis-François Cassas during his journey along the eastern Adriatic encompasses topographical panoramas, views of ancient monuments in their existing condition, architectural plans and elevations, and hypothetical reconstructions. In Pula, Cassas documented the amphitheatre, the Arch of the Sergii, the Temple of Rome and Augustus, and the fragmentary remains of the large Roman theatre on Monte Zaro. His drawings of Pula, Zadar, Split, and other coastal settlements combine close architectural observation

with carefully composed landscapes animated by vegetation and contemporary figures. The preparatory drawings are now preserved principally in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne, while a group of finished watercolours is held by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Kečkemet 1978; Gilet and Westfelling 1994; Gudelj 2020a, pp. 266–68, 2020c).

Cassas travelled to the region in 1782 during his first extended period in Italy. Invited first to Venice and subsequently to Trieste by Baron Pietro Antonio Pittoni, the city's prefect of police, he was initially commissioned to produce views of Trieste and its surroundings (Nassivera 1999). He then continued southwards through Istria and Dalmatia, visiting Pula, Zadar, Skradin, and Split. The resulting corpus encompassed ancient monuments, historic cities, harbours, fortifications, and coastal landscapes, placing the architectural heritage of the region within its wider geographical setting (Kečkemet 1978; Gilet and Westfelling 1994; Gudelj 2020c).

Cassas worked within an established tradition of eighteenth-century antiquarian and architectural representation shaped by publications such as those of Julien-David Le Roy and Robert Adam. For Split, he had access to some of the preparatory material produced for Adam's study of Diocletian's Palace, while the monuments of Pula were already familiar through Renaissance architectural treatises and more recent French publications. Cassas nevertheless developed a distinctive method. Architectural plans, elevations, and reconstructions were combined with picturesque views in which the monuments were presented within their contemporary urban and natural settings. His plates frequently distinguish between surviving remains and reconstructed elements, allowing observation and architectural conjecture to coexist within the same visual sequence (Kečkemet 1978; Gilet and Westfelling 1994; Gudelj 2020c).

Although the drawings were executed in 1782, the corpus as a whole remained unpublished for two decades. It eventually appeared in Paris in 1802 as the lavishly illustrated *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*. The accompanying text was written by Joseph Lavallée from Cassas's itinerary and notes, supplemented by ancient literary sources and earlier accounts of the region, particularly Alberto Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia*. The resulting volume combined history, geography, antiquarian scholarship, architectural analysis, and contemporary ethnographic observation. It subsequently appeared in an English translation in 1805, extending its circulation among European travellers and antiquaries (Kečkemet 1978; Caillet 2009–2011).

One of Cassas's most significant contributions to the documentation of Pula was his reconstruction of the large Roman theatre on Monte Zaro. Since the remains were already highly fragmentary, the published plates could not constitute a straightforward record of the surviving structure. Cassas instead combined the visible remains with earlier architectural documentation and comparative knowledge of Roman theatres to reconstruct the cavea, stage building, and surrounding architectural framework. His interpretation transformed dispersed fragments into a coherent architectural whole, illustrating the role of drawing as an instrument through which archaeological observation could be developed into architectural conjecture (Kečkemet 1978; Gudelj 2014a, pp. 87; 2020c, p. 360).

The relationship between documentation and invention is equally evident in Cassas's picturesque views. Ancient monuments are presented as imposing remains embedded within rugged landscapes, decaying urban settings, and abundant vegetation. Contemporary inhabitants, represented in carefully differentiated costumes, introduce scenes of everyday life, while also reinforcing the perceived cultural distance of the region from the French audience for whom the images were prepared. Cassas's eastern Adriatic thus occupies an ambiguous position between the classical Mediterranean and the territories bordering the Ottoman world. His representations documented the region while simultaneously translating it into the visual language of the picturesque and increasingly Orientalist travel culture (Gilet and Westfelling 1994; Warin 2017; Gudelj 2020a; 2020c).

The publication also possessed a political dimension. Issued in Paris in the tenth year (Year X) of the French Republic, it attracted subscriptions from Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul, and leading figures within the French government and army. The volume appeared seven years before the establishment of the Illyrian Provinces in 1809, but its mapping and visual classification of Istria and Dalmatia anticipated the growing strategic and cultural importance of the eastern Adriatic within French imperial policy. When the region was subsequently incorporated into the French administrative sphere, Cassas's images acquired renewed relevance as representations of a territory presented as both a repository of classical civilisation and a geographical borderland (Caillet 2009–2011; Gudelj 2020a, 2020c; Jurcan 2025, pp.56–60).

Through this synthesis of architectural documentation, hypothetical reconstruction, and picturesque representation, Cassas established one of the most

influential visual interpretations of the eastern Adriatic produced during the eighteenth century. His work transformed the monuments of Pula, Zadar, and Split into elements of a coherent regional narrative, while the publication with Lavallée integrated them into the artistic, antiquarian, and political culture of Napoleonic Europe.

Lit. Lavallée and Cassas 1802; Kečkemet 1978; Gilet and Westfelling 1994; Nassivera 1999; Caillet 2009–2011; Gudelj 2014; Nassivera and Gilet 2015; Warin 2017; Gudelj 2020a; Gudelj 2020b; Jurcan 2025, pp. 56–60.

Jasenska Gudelj

5.9.1 View of the Triumphal Arch at Pula, called Porta Aurea

Etching on paper

265 × 211 mm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-141

Inscription: VIEW OF THE TRIUMPHANT ARCH.
/ at Pola, called Porta Aurea.



5.9.2 View of the Temple of Augustus, Pula

c. 1782 (drawing); 1802 (etching)

Etching on paper

515 × 340 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv.
No. 59511Inscription: 'VUE DU TEMPLE D'AUGUSTE, À POLA
/ Prise du côté de la Place'

VUE DU TEMPLE D'AUGUSTE, À POLA,
Prise du côté de la Place

5.9.3 View of the Two Temples and the Podestà's Palace

c. 1782 (drawing); 1802 (etching)

Etching on paper

494 × 316 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv.
No. 62358

Inscription: 'VUE DES DEUX TEMPLES ET DU
PALAIS DU PODESTAT / Prise du côté de Mer'



5.9.4 Plan, Elevation, and Large-Scale Details of the Temple of Augustus at Pula

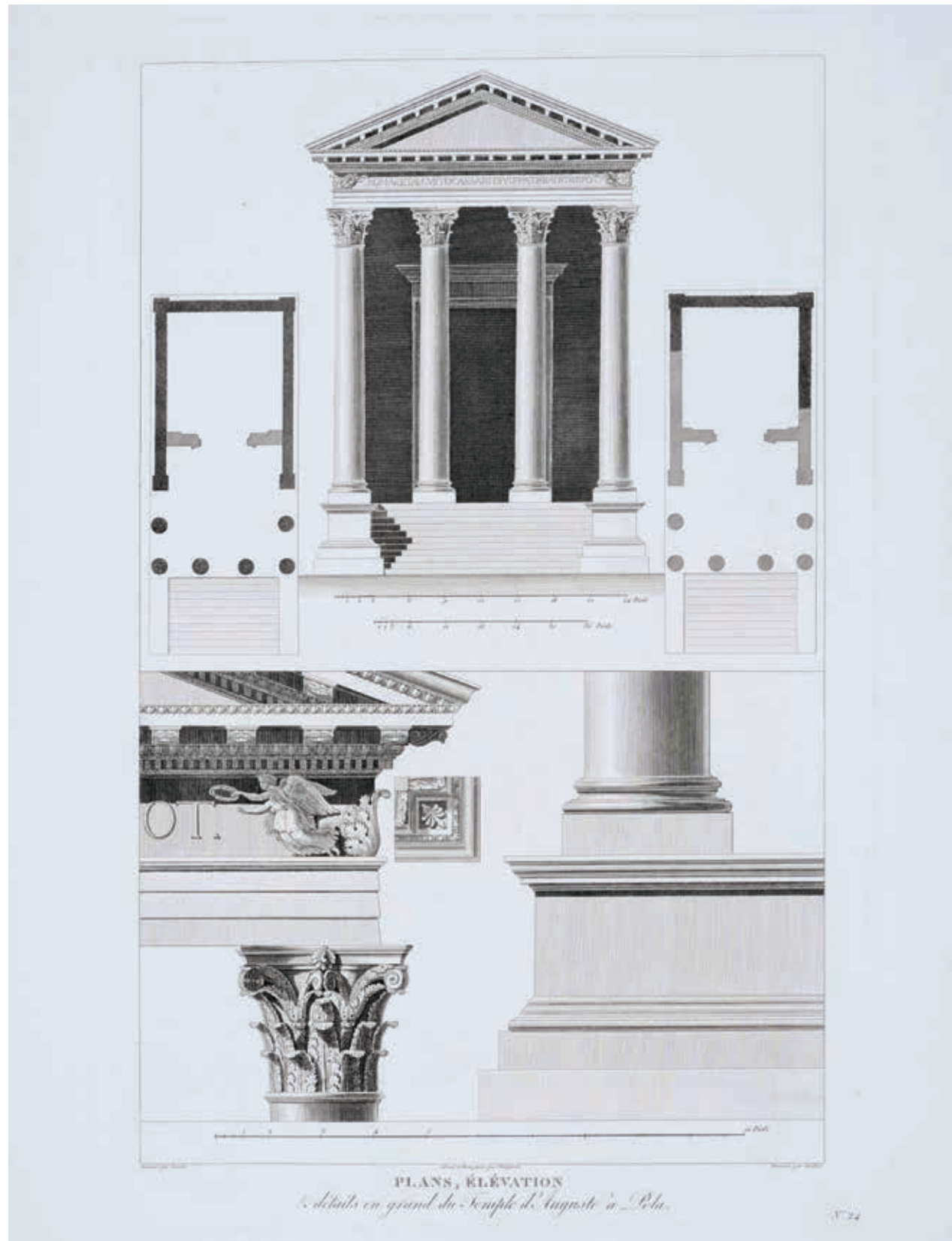
1782 (drawing); 1802 (first edition); 1872 (this impression)

Etching on paper

550 × 355 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63002

Inscription: 'PLAN, ÉLEVATION & DÉTAILS EN GRAND DU TEMPLE D'AUGUSTE À POLA'



5.9.5 View of the Grand Amphitheatre at Pula

1782 (drawing); 1805 (etching)

Etching on paper

326 × 211 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv.

No. 59759

Inscription: View of the Grand Amphiteatre at Pola



5.9.6 Plan, Elevation, and Mouldings of the Amphitheatre at Pula

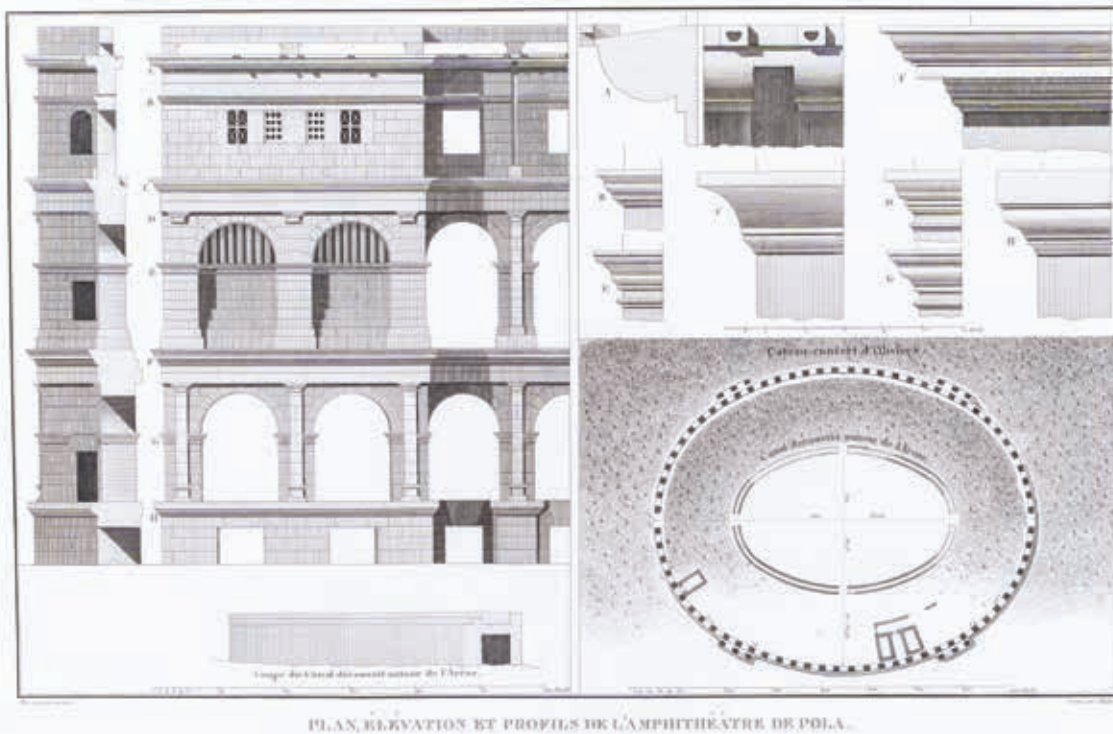
1782 (drawing); 1802 (etching)

Etching on paper

570 × 352 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 63001

Inscription: 'Plan, élévation et profils de l'amphithéâtre de Pola'



5.9.7 Elevation and Plans of Monuments at Pula

c. 1782 (drawing); 1802 (etching)

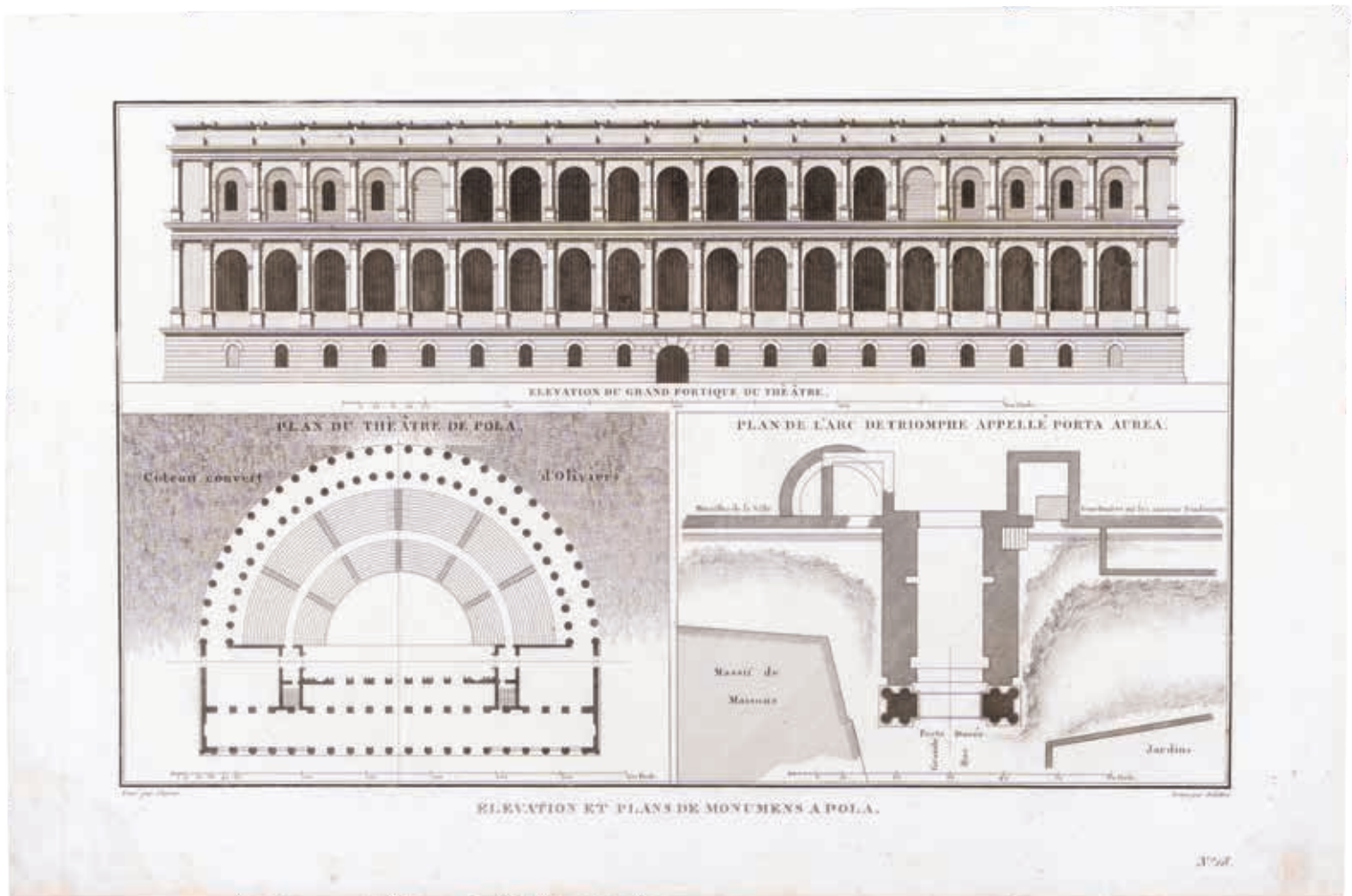
Etching on paper

488 × 325 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv.

No. 59512

Inscription: 'Élévation et plans de monuments à Pola'



5.9.8 Louis-François Cassas and Joseph Lavallée

Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie,
rédigé d'après l'itinéraire de L.-F. Cassas

1802

Paris: François-Denis Née; printed by Pierre Didot l'aîné

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula

5.10 ANTIQUITY IN TECHNICOLOUR

While books and etchings circulated widely in monochrome, many compositions acquired a second life in colour through watercolours and painted views intended for collectors and domestic interiors. Charles-Louis Clérissseau, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, and Louis-François Cassas produced not only engravings and book illustrations, but also a substantial body of watercolours depicting the antiquities of the eastern Adriatic, many of which are now preserved in major museum collections. Other artists frequently reused and recombined existing graphic sources by masters such as Giovanni Battista Piranesi and Julien-David Le Roy, creating picturesque representations of antiquities they had never personally visited. Much like the celebrated *capricci* of Giovanni Paolo Panini, Roman monuments, orientalising figures, pastoral motifs, and dramatic ruins were freely combined into evocative compositions that transformed archaeological documentation into decorative and emotionally charged images of the ancient world.

The Swiss painter Niclaus Gachet likewise adapted such graphic sources into colourful gouaches and compositions resembling *capricci*, demonstrating how the visual culture of the eastern Adriatic was transmitted through processes of copying, reinterpretation, and imaginative recombination. In this way, monuments such as the Temple of Augustus in Pula and Diocletian's Palace in Split became part of a shared European vision of the classical past.

These vividly coloured visions of antiquity continued into the nineteenth century, as changing political circumstances fostered new forms of artistic engagement with the region. Painters such as Bernhard Fiedler received bursaries from the Austrian government to travel through and depict the Empire's recently consolidated Adriatic territories. As Istria and Dalmatia formed part of the Austrian Littoral, Pula acquired a new strategic and cultural significance, particularly in the second half of the century, when it developed into the principal naval port of the Habsburg Monarchy. This transformation generated renewed artistic interest in the region's ancient monuments, which were increasingly represented not only as archaeological remains, but also as symbols of imperial history and maritime power.

Jasenska Gudelj

5.10.1 Giovanni Paolo Panini (att.)

Capriccio with Ancient Ruins, Statue, and Warrior

Oil on canvas

43.1 × 33.8 cm

Strossmayer Gallery, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, Inv. No. SG-187

An imaginary scene of ancient ruins is organised around a monumental statue of a youthful male figure standing on a high pedestal, behind which a tree branch arches overhead. To the right are the remains of a temple with Composite columns and a ruined pediment, while further ruins can be discerned at the far left. Two figures occupy the foreground. A young man, depicted behind the pedestal, reaches towards the statue with one arm raised while turning back towards the viewer and a helmeted warrior carrying a spear rests on a stone block. A circular column base decorated with relief ornaments familiar from antiquarian studies leans against architectural fragments on the ground.

The painting belongs to the genre of the *capriccio*, a term denoting a picturesque, imaginative, and fanciful invention. The genre emerged in Rome in the early seventeenth century and reached its peak in the eighteenth century in the works of Giovanni Paolo Panini, Marco Ricci, and Hubert Robert. The *capriccio* simultaneously satisfied learned taste and market demand: for Grand Tour travellers, it offered scenes in which celebrated ancient monuments were freely rearranged like theatrical sets, condensing the topography of Rome into a recognisable emblem of an ideal classical civilisation.

Yet beneath this appealing scene lies the suggestion of a deeper reflection. In the culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the ruin was an established image of *vanitas*—a reminder of the transience of all human achievements. The warrior resting before the ruined columns and the ancient statue placed opposite him embody a silent dialogue between the present and past. The weapons have been laid aside; time itself seems suspended.

The traditional attribution of the painting to Giovanni Paolo Panini is questionable. Panini's compositions are typically horizontally articulated, spatially expansive, and illuminated by the lighter bluish tones of late afternoon, while the figures are generally small and subordinate to the architecture, which retains the clear spatial logic of the *veduta*. This painting, by contrast, is distinctly vertical in composition, with prominent foreground figures occupying nearly half of the picture plane. Its



palette is dominated by warm, earthy and golden-brown tones, enhanced by pronounced chiaroscuro. The helmeted warrior is rendered with the immediacy of an almost realistic genre scene, rather than as a minor staffage figure. These elements are closer to the practice of the Neapolitan *capriccio*, which, in the tradition of Salvator Rosa, developed a more dramatic use of light and a stronger narrative presence through larger foreground figures, often within vertically oriented formats and more compact compositions.

Lit. Zlamalik (ed.) 1984; Dulibić and Pasini Tržec 2018; Roth (ed.) 2023.

Ljerka Dulibić

5.10.2 Niclaus Gachet

Temple of Augustus

1784

Gouache on paper

355 × 530 mm

Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. 66366

The gouache depicts a landscape centred on a Roman temple identified by its inscription as the Temple of Augustus in Pula. The monument rises on a slight elevation and is represented without a roof, revealing its interior through the colonnaded portico. Beside it stands a modest, somewhat dilapidated house with open shutters, while an imposing fragment of classical architecture frames the composition on the right. The temple is set within a densely wooded landscape dominated by a large tree on the left. At its base lie scattered architectural fragments, one of which bears the artist's signature and the date. Two small figures converse near the temple's portico, while a group of figures in Ottoman dress, accompanied by a donkey, animates the foreground before the buildings. The palette is bright and vibrant, and strong sunlight casts pronounced shadows across the ancient architecture.

Niclaus Gachet was a poorly documented Swiss painter and draughtsman known primarily through a small group of topographical watercolours (Brun 1905, p. 549; Thieme 1920, p. 243).

The composition is clearly derived from the engraving published by Julien-David Le Roy in *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1756, cat. 5.7.1). Gachet adopts the temple, the adjacent house, and even the staffage figures from Le Roy's print, while transforming the setting through the addition of luxuriant vegetation, a wooded landscape, and scattered antique fragments. Le Roy's already picturesque view is thus reimagined in this richly coloured gouache as a vision resembling a *capriccio*, situated within a Romantic landscape of undulating grassy mounds, mature trees, and evocative architectural remains. The juxtaposition of the ancient monument, its rustic surroundings, and contemporary visitors expresses both admiration for classical antiquity and a nostalgic reflection on the passage of time—qualities characteristic of late eighteenth-century topographical and antiquarian art.

Lit. Brun 1905, p. 549; Thieme (ed.) 1920, p. 243.

Jasenska Gudelj



5.10.3 Bernhard Fiedler

Temple of Augustus in Pula

1844

Oil on cardboard

38 × 30.3 cm

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula

The Temple of Augustus is shown at close range from the south-east. The *veduta* encompasses the portico and the eastern façade of the building. Fragments of architectural decoration lie scattered at its base, in front of the portico. A small, stylised human figure, disproportionate in scale to the monument, stands in the left foreground. The sea appears in the background to the left, while the distance is rendered as an atmospheric landscape.

The painting is not signed. On the reverse, at the lower right, a handwritten inscription with a date reads: *In Pola 1844 nach der Natur / gemalt Sept.* ('In Pula, 1844, painted from nature / September'). The painting has not been published.

Bernhard Fiedler was a German painter, decorator, and draughtsman. After studying at the Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin, he embarked in 1843 on a study journey through northern Italy and along the Adriatic coast with a bursary from the Austrian government. Drawn by

the impressive ancient monuments, he stayed in Pula in September 1844, when this painting was created. In the spirit of Romanticism, the work documents the condition of the Temple of Augustus shortly before the restoration of its access staircase in the following year (Starac 2004, p. 14).

His travels later took him to the East, where he visited Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Greece, and Istanbul. From 1860 onwards, he lived permanently in Trieste. Among his most important commissions was the decoration of Miramare Castle, built in the Gulf of Trieste for Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria. His works are held in museums and galleries across Europe.

Among his other depictions of Istrian sites are *Amphitheatre in Pula* (1846, oil on canvas), now in Palazzo Pitti, and *View of Pazin* (oil on canvas, 55 × 75 cm), preserved in the museum system of the University of Trieste (Paris 2015, pp. 130, 136).

The Archaeological Museum of Istria also holds *Ships in the Harbour* (probably Kotor; oil on cardboard, 23.5 × 34 cm) and *Monks beside a Chapel* (oil on canvas, 23.5 × 44.5 cm).

Lit. BLKÖ 1856; Schneider 1968; Starac 2004, p. 14; Paris 2015, pp. 130, 136.

Katarina Zenzerović



DALMATIA:
REGIONAL LEGACY,
EUROPEAN ECHOES

**DALMATIA: REGIONAL
LEGACY, EUROPEAN
ECHOES**

Across the eastern Adriatic, Roman ruins inspired sustained artistic and scholarly engagement. In Dalmatia, monuments in cities such as Zadar, Salona, and Split were studied, recorded, and reinterpreted by local humanists, artists, and architects, shaping a rich but largely regional tradition of antiquarian knowledge. At present, only a few Renaissance drawings are known to have circulated beyond the region.

In the eighteenth century, these monuments reached a wider European audience through printed publications by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, Robert Adam, and Louis-François Cassas, transforming a regional legacy into a broader field of exchange and giving Dalmatian antiquities new resonance within Enlightenment culture.

6.1 POLITICS OF SPOLIA: ZADAR

During the period of early medieval deurbanisation, Zadar retained its classical urban grid while developing an early Christian episcopal complex on the Forum, the former centre of Roman civic life. Following the decline of Salona, Byzantine Zadar emerged as one of the principal urban centres of the eastern Adriatic and an important station on the maritime route linking the northern Adriatic with the eastern Mediterranean. This role was maintained over subsequent centuries as the city shifted its political allegiances between the Carolingian and Byzantine spheres and later between Venice and the Croatian-Hungarian Crown. Zadar's position underwent a further transformation following the Ottoman conquest of its hinterland, when it developed into one of the most formidable fortresses of the eastern Adriatic, safeguarding the Venetian maritime route until the fall of the Republic in 1797.

During the post-classical transformations of the orthogonal urban fabric, numerous Roman spolia were incorporated into early medieval public spaces and ecclesiastical buildings. Columns, architraves, inscriptions, and other architectural fragments were reused, often without a full understanding of their original function or meaning—yet presumably retaining associations with prestige and historical legitimacy. By the Romanesque period, however, attitudes towards antiquity had become more conscious and selective. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Zadar's patrons and craftsmen developed an increasing appreciation for the emulation of classical forms. Antiquity was no longer regarded merely as a repository of reusable architectural elements; classical visual language and formal solutions

were consciously adapted, although they had not yet acquired the broader cultural and symbolic authority that they would assume during the Renaissance.

While many of these late medieval references to antiquity should be understood primarily as expressions of stylistic ambition, it was the humanists of the early fifteenth century who initiated a more systematic re-evaluation of Zadar's civic identity through the prism of its classical past. The spread of humanism connected the city's elite to trans-Adriatic intellectual networks engaged in manuscript circulation, library formation, and the study of classical authors. At the same time, local scholars began collecting, recording, and interpreting inscriptions and ancient remains, integrating them into a historical narrative of the city. One of the central figures within this milieu was Ciriaco d'Ancona (Kyriacus Anconitanus), whose visits stimulated antiquarian interests among the local elite and encouraged the recording of inscriptions and monuments. Among his principal associates in Zadar were Juraj Begna and Petar Crissava.

A particularly revealing example of early humanist engagement with antiquity is provided by the restoration of the Arch of Melia Aniana during the 1430s. The monument, erected in the late first century CE by Melia Aniana in memory of her husband and associated with the paving of the adjacent marketplace, stood above the principal *cardo* in front of the Benedictine monastery of St Chrysogonus. According to Ciriaco's account of his visit to Zadar in 1435–1436, the Benedictine abbot Petar Crissava restored the Roman arch together with its sculptural decoration and the bilingual Latin-Greek inscription *Triton Neptvni Tvbicen*. The most remarkable aspect of the intervention, however, was Crissava's own commemorative inscription, which dated the restoration according to the ancient Olympic calendar—the second year of the 553rd Olympiad—rather than the Christian era. By doing so, he consciously integrated the classical past into the civic identity of contemporary Zadar. The restoration thus fulfilled both scholarly and political functions, reinforcing the city's status within the cultural landscape of the Venetian Adriatic.

Although the reconstructed Zadar arch never achieved the prominence of the Arch of the Sergii in Pula, nor was circulated widely among fifteenth-century architects, Ciriaco's account of its bilingual inscription and of Melia's conjugal virtue inspired the architect and sculptor Francesco di Giorgio Martini. In his late fifteenth-century proposal for the harbour gates of Zadar, Francesco incorporated bilingual maritime references and introduced a central relief of the married couple, set within an imaginary Ionic attic above a Tuscan arch.

In the sixteenth century, Zadar underwent profound political, military, and urban transformations in response to Ottoman expansion, which brought the frontier to within only a few miles of the city. As the administrative centre of Venetian Dalmatia and a key defensive position in the eastern Adriatic, Zadar experienced extensive reconstruction of its fortifications and the insertion of new military and administrative infrastructure into its medieval urban fabric. At the same time, Venice increasingly incorporated classical visual culture into its political imagery, a development reflected locally in the second major transformation of the Arch of Melia Aniana.

Following the extensive reconfiguration of the harbour district and its connections to the urban centre, the arch was relocated in the early 1570s approximately fifty metres eastwards and incorporated into the inner façade of the newly constructed Porta Marina, the principal harbour gate. After the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, a new marble attic bearing an inscription celebrating the victory of the Holy League over the Ottoman fleet was added above the ancient structure. The resulting monument united an ancient Roman arch with a contemporary political inscription, intertwining the classical past, the Christian present, and Venetian authority within a single architectural composition.

This late sixteenth-century transformation of the Zadar arch should therefore be understood as a process of resemanticisation, through which an existing monument acquired new layers of meaning while retaining and enriching its earlier identity. The arch continued to evoke the classical civic heritage emphasised by Crissava's Quattrocento restoration. Although its new location brought its maritime associations into sharper focus, the monument had lost both its pagan sculptural imagery and its Olympic dating. Nevertheless, in its altered form it became a symbol of anti-Ottoman victory and Christian resilience, inscribed into the memory of the classical past.

The intellectual author of this programme was most likely the *Provveditore generale* Jacopo Foscarini, a distinguished diplomat, dedicatee of the Lepanto inscription, close associate of Marcantonio Barbaro, and member of the *Vecchi*, the faction within the Venetian Senate that actively promoted the ideology of *Romanitas*. In a broader sense, Foscarini's Lepanto monument projected the contemporary image of Venice as the heir to ancient Rome, asserting political authority, cultural superiority, and historical legitimacy. By appropriating the legacy of classical antiquity, Venetian officials sought to present the Republic as the natural successor of Roman

civilisation, a central feature of sixteenth-century political and architectural discourse. At the same time, the incorporation of local historical references ensured that the monument resonated with Zadar's own civic memory and identity as the capital of Venetian Dalmatia.

Lit. Gudelj 2020; Borić 2023; Borić 2025.

Laris Borić

6.1.1 Bernard de Montfaucon

City gates

From *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, Paris, 1719

Vol. III, part 1, pl. 98

Book illustration printed on paper

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. G-130

Inscriptions: *PORTES DE VILLES: PORTE DE MESTÉ EN CILICIE, PORTE DE ZARA, PORTE DE TRAIANOPOLE, PORTE DE NICOPOLIS, and PORTE DE POLA*

One of the earliest known representations of the arch appeared in Bernard de Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (1719), within the plate that presents an assemblage of city gates identified by the inscriptions *PORTES DE VILLES: PORTE DE MESTÉ EN CILICIE, PORTE DE ZARA, PORTE DE TRAIANOPOLE, PORTE DE NICOPOLIS and PORTE DE POLA*. Eastern Adriatic gates were taken from the travel account by the French antiquarian Jacob Spon, first published in 1678. Spon represented the arch with considerable accuracy, recording its Corinthian pilasters, archivolt, and frieze inscription. The architrave, however, is somewhat simplified, while the cornice is unusually doubled to replace the deliberately omitted sixteenth-century Lepanto attic. Montfaucon's version, reproduced in this exhibition, closely follows Spon's original, although its caption refers to the Dubrovnik-born archaeologist and historian Anselmo Banduri, a protégé and collaborator of Montfaucon. The reason for this attribution remains unclear.

Laris Borić



6.1.2 Louis-François Cassas and Joseph Lavallée

Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie
1802, Paris, Imprimerie de Vilain

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula

The second representation of Porta marina in Zadar displayed in the exhibition. The exhibition was produced by the painter and draughtsman Louis-François Cassas during his journey through Dalmatia in 1782 and subsequently published in Joseph Lavallée's *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie* (1802). Cassas represented the arch in a deliberately

monumentalised manner, emphasising its classical features while depicting it as partially ruined and overgrown with vegetation, in accordance with the late eighteenth-century picturesque sensibility. Although the setting is romanticised, the monument's location, function, and architectural details are rendered more accurately than in Spon's drawing, including the Lepanto attic, which is nevertheless partially excluded from the composition, as though regarded as a secondary historical accretion interrupting the purity of the ancient monument.

Lit. Borić 2023; Borić 2025.

Laris Borić



6.2 CAPITAL OF RUINS: SALONA

As the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia, Salona was once a major urban centre whose walls, amphitheatre, aqueduct, necropoleis, baths, and basilicas testified to its importance. Its remains constituted not only archaeological evidence, but also monuments that were repeatedly described, reused, collected, drawn, and reinterpreted (Torlak 2024).

After the collapse of the Empire, the city was gradually abandoned, while nearby Split, formed within Diocletian's

Palace, inherited its civic and symbolic weight. Yet Salona was never forgotten. Its ruins remained visible and accessible, forming a vast open field of antiquity close to the medieval and early modern city. They functioned at once as memory, quarry, and archive: a ruined Roman capital whose stones, inscriptions, and monuments could be used to construct both buildings and histories.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Salona became a privileged field of Renaissance antiquarian interest. From the fifteenth century onwards, Ciriaco d'Ancona, Dmine Papalić, and Marko Marulić repeatedly visited the ruins, studied ancient remains, and collected inscriptions, incorporating them into a humanist project that linked the patrician culture of Split to Dalmatia's Roman and Christian past. Papalić's epigraphic collection is regarded as the earliest known collection of its kind in the eastern Adriatic, while Marulić incorporated its inscriptions into his *In epigrammata priscorum commentarius*, composed around 1503–10 (Demicheli 2023). In this context, Salona's ruins offered more than antiquarian evidence. They enabled Split's humanists to construct and disseminate a prestigious genealogy for their city: Salona became Split's ancient predecessor, and its inscriptions provided material proof of Roman and early Christian antiquity. Papalić's palace was therefore not only a patrician residence, but also a place where ancient inscriptions were collected, displayed, and transformed into evidence of local historical distinction (Demicheli 2023; Torlak 2024).

Renaissance interest in Salona also belonged to a wider Dalmatian humanist culture in which local antiquity could serve as a source of civic prestige (see section 'Myths and Origins'). Ancient inscriptions, ruins, saints, and origin narratives enabled Dalmatian humanists to place their cities within the histories of Rome and early Christianity, while also articulating forms of local distinction within the political framework of Venetian rule (Jovanović 2011; Lučin 2012; Špoljarić 2017, 2021, 2025; Revest and Špoljarić 2025).

Under Venetian rule, however, Salona was also treated materially and strategically. Its ruins were repeatedly used as a source of building material. Stone, architectural fragments, sculptures, and inscriptions from Salona were gradually dispersed to Venice, Split, Trogir, Zadar, and elsewhere, entering both construction sites and private collections. In 1526, the rector of Split, Giovanni Battista Molino, transported five marble columns to Venice for the Doge's Palace (Torlak 2024, p. 36). A survey of the amphitheatre by Palladio, or by another Venetian draughtsman, may have taken place in such circumstances. In 1632, stone from Diocletian's Palace,

and probably also from Salona, was carried to Venice, nominally for the construction of Santa Maria della Salute. Archival evidence records payments for Salonitan stone in November and December 1663, and again in May, June, and July 1664, this time for the rebuilding of the walls of Split and the fortress of Klis (Torlak 2024, p. 38). This indicates that stone from Salona was not merely reused on isolated occasions, but that it circulated as a recognised material resource within local building and labour economies. Salona thus functioned simultaneously as an antiquarian landscape, a quarry of reusable stone and spolia, and a strategic site shaped by Venetian military priorities.

In the eighteenth century, Salona entered a new antiquarian phase. Fischer von Erlach included the aqueduct of Salona among the preparatory plates for the *Entwurf*; like the images of Diocletian's Palace, this drawing was presumably the work of Vincenzo Paterni (see cat. 6.3.4.2). The first volumes of *Illyricum sacrum*, printed in Venice, placed Salona at the heart of Dalmatian ecclesiastical history, treating it as the foundational Christian centre of the province and giving particular attention to its saints, bishops, inscriptions, and early Christian monuments (see section 'Holy Antiquity'). This scholarly reconstruction depended not only on textual sources, but also on topographical and architectural documentation. The published surveys of ancient Salona by the architect-surveyors Giovanni Battista Camozzini and Giangiorgio Calergi, prepared for the purposes of land division, connected antiquarian historiography with technical drawing and architectural expertise (Farlati 1751; Torlak 2024; Gudelj and Strunje 2023). Paterni is probably also the author of the imaginative reconstruction of the city, which does not appear to take these surveys into account (cat. 6.2.2).

The eighteenth-century architectural connection becomes stronger through the wider survey culture that also involved nearby Split and Diocletian's Palace. Robert Adam's Dalmatian journey of 1757, although focused primarily on Split, brought the ancient landscape around Salona into the orbit of architects, artists, and draughtsmen. Salona and Split were thereby absorbed into a broader visual economy in which antiquarian documentation, architectural surveying, and picturesque representation overlapped (Belamarić and Šverko 2017).

The afterlife of Salona was therefore marked by a persistent tension between preservation, reuse, and interpretation. Its monuments were quarried for stone, damaged by military necessity, collected as inscriptions and fragments, and reconstructed in antiquarian scholarship. From Papalić and Marulić's Renaissance epigraphic collection

to the Venetian publication of *Illyricum sacrum*, Salona remained central to the historical imagination of Dalmatia. Its ruins allowed successive generations to claim Roman and Christian antiquity, even as the physical remains of the ancient city were dismantled, transported, and incorporated into later buildings, collections, and texts.

Lit. Buovac 2011; Jovanović 2011; Lučin 2012; Špoljarić 2017; Belamarić and Šverko 2017; Špoljarić 2021; Demicheli 2023; Gudelj and Strunje 2023; Torlak 2024; Revest and Špoljarić 2025.

Jasenska Gudelj

6.2.1 Andrea Palladio

Amphitheatre at Salona

Drawing on paper

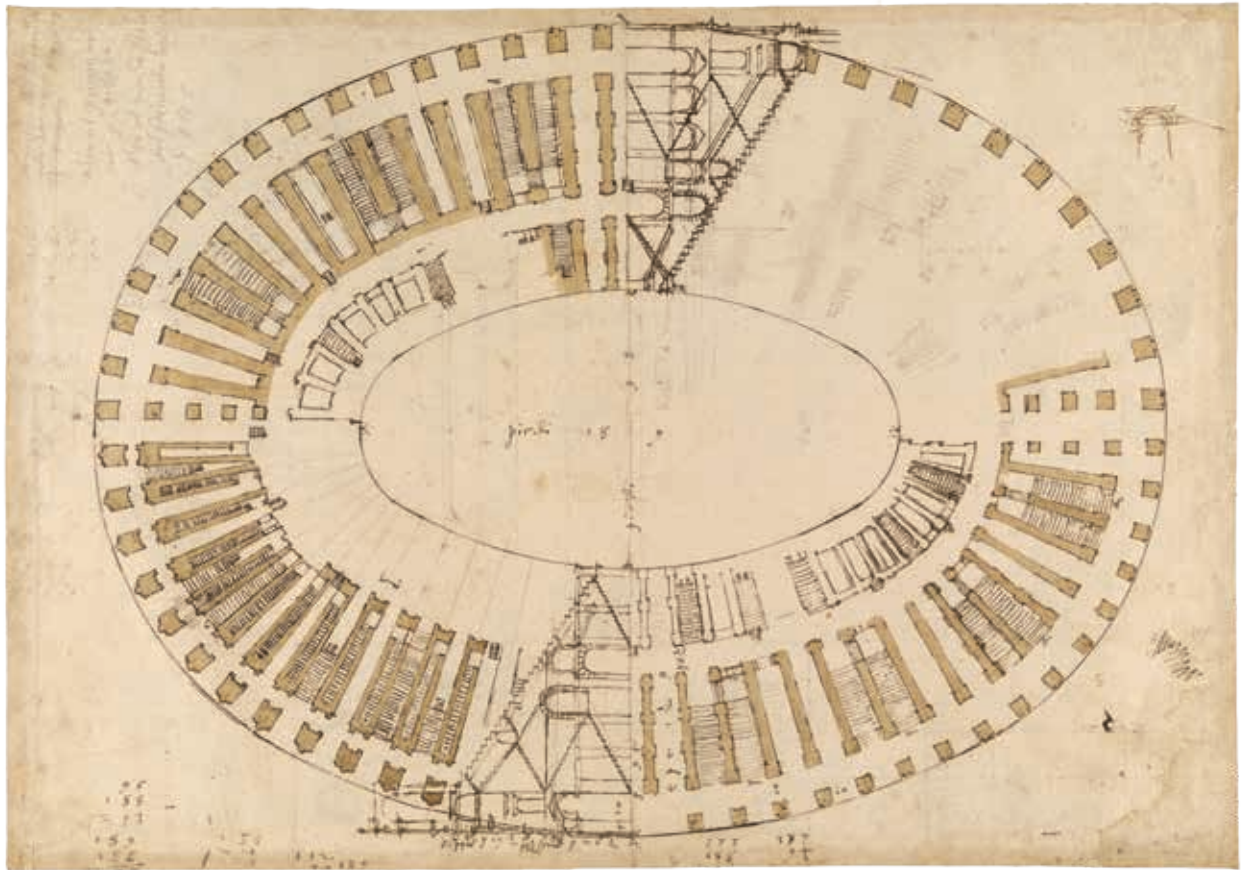
Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. VIII/20r

Captions: (upper right corner) [first line illegible] alto al primo ordine p[iedi] 4 o[nce] 10; alto al piedastalo del secondo ordine p[iedi] 5 o[nce] 5

(in the arena) piedi 189; piedi 95; (left side of the *cavea*, total width) p[iedi] 94; (central entry passage length) p[iedi] 41 ½; (central internal corridor width) p[iedi] 8 ½; (outer internal corridor width) 10; (outer pier width) 5; (intercolumniation width) 10; (first-storey half-column height) p[iedi] 26 ½; (entablature height) p[iedi] 4 o[nce] 19; (second-storey pedestal height) p[iedi] 5 ½; (second-storey half-column height) p[iedi] 19 ½; (entablature height) p[iedi] 4 o[nce] 10; (third-storey pedestal height) p[iedi] 3 o[nce] [?]
(scattered calculations) 95 188 / 283; 189 188 / [?]; 188 211 9 [?]; 112 77; 189; 377 188; 377 94 / [?]; (calculations in pencil are illegible).

The sheet is drawn in pen and iron-gall ink over incised construction lines, the stairs and calculations are in metalpoint, and the walls are rendered in yellow-brown wash. Later additions are in pencil. It depicts a three-storey amphitheatre in a plan divided into four sections, a format typical of Palladio's amphitheatre drawings, with two opposing cross-sections and a smaller sketch of an arch added subsequently. Measurements accompany the arena and the left-hand cross-section. Further dimensions, relating to the arena and presumably to parts of the *cavea* are calculated across the sheet. Metrological analysis points to the use of the Vicentine foot.

To this group, scholarship should now add the amphitheatre at Salona. This sheet, the only known Renaissance architectural representation of a Salonitan



monument, corresponds closely to the surviving structure and to historical reconstructions. It shows a three-storey building, which is rendered lower on its eastern side, with a two-level *cavea*, an outer shell incorporating a third-storey gallery, and a distinctive four-pier entrance hall.

Palladio redrew the amphitheatre from material produced by another draughtsman: the plan is a finished version, carefully constructed with a ruler over incised lines and completed in ink and wash. This conclusion is also supported by the inaccurate measurements, the hesitancy evident in the sections added at a later stage, the erasure of certain additions, and the presence of further dimensions in the calculations, apparently taken from another document.

Only a limited number of amphitheatres were known to Renaissance architects and accessible to prospective visitors. Palladio himself drew only a few: those at Verona, Pozzuoli, Zagarolo, and Pula, together with the Colosseum and the Amphitheatrum Castrense in Rome. Zorzi tentatively identified this drawing as an amphitheatre in Piedmont, perhaps Libarna, because the verso contains details of the Arch of Susa (Zorzi 1958, p. 99). Spielmann published it as a drawing of

an unidentified amphitheatre (Spielmann 1966, pp. 65, 157–158).

Palladio's hand, unmistakable throughout the drawing, can also be recognised in the script. It is evident in the joined *s* and *t*, the *p* with a strong stem and curved descender, the rounded *d* with a curved, elongated ascender, and the *a* with a shortened bowl, as well as in the rendering of the numeral 1 as an *i* and the particularly long, flat form of the numeral 2.

The drawing formed part of the collection that Inigo Jones obtained from Lord Arundel in 1614; Arundel had acquired it from Andrea Palladio's son Silla. After Jones's death in 1654, his pupil John Webb inherited the collection. Webb's son William sold it to John Oliver, who in turn sold it to William Talman. The sheets were subsequently marked by Talman's son, the collector John Talman (Talman mark 49), before he sold them to Richard Boyle, Lord Burlington, in 1721. Burlington later bequeathed them to the Royal Institute of British Architects (Hopkins 2015, pp. 172–180).

As with the Spalatine drawings, Palladio's study of the amphitheatre at Salona points to the existence of a larger, now-lost corpus of sixteenth-century drawings of central

Dalmatian antiquities, demonstrating once again the appeal that antiquity exerted in the eastern Adriatic.

Lit. Zorzi 1958, p. 99; Spielmann 1966, pp. 65, 157–158; Hopkins 2015, pp. 172–180.

Petar Strunje

6.2.2 Vincenzo Paterni, after an earlier artist

Reconstruction of Ancient Salona

From Daniele Farlati, *Illyrici sacri tomus primus*, Venezia: Tipografia Fratelli

1751

Printed book

book illustration

National and University Library, Zagreb, Shelfmark 000.124

Rather than an archaeological survey, the drawing presents a learned visual fantasy loosely grounded in the topography of the ancient city. With the island of

Vranjic in the foreground, the composition evokes Salona's setting, but its buildings, shown from a bird's-eye view, form an assemblage of local antiquities and generic Roman models. One temple recalls the Mausoleum of Diocletian in Split, while another appears to be based on the Temple of Jupiter (later the baptistery), with its distinctive curvilinear stone vault made visible from the exterior. Other structures, including a centrally planned building reminiscent of the Pantheon, belong to a broader repertory of antique forms.

Farlati attributes this imaginative reconstruction of ancient Salona to the Split painter Vincenzo Paterni. He also notes that the image was based on a drawing discovered by Nikola Bjanković, bishop of Makarska, and carefully copied by Paterni from an old codex composed entirely of such maps, then kept in Giacomo Zini's bookshop at San Zulian in Venice.

The result is comparable in spirit to the antiquarian reconstructions of ancient Rome produced two centuries earlier by Pirro Ligorio or Giacomo Lauro: it is not a measured record, but an erudite reimagining of the ancient city. The reconstruction corresponds only



loosely to Salona's actual topography. The amphitheatre, in particular, is placed arbitrarily and does not follow the more precise surveys by Giangiorgio Calergi and Giovanni Battista Camozzini, also published in *Illyricum sacrum*. Paterni's image should therefore be understood as part of the eighteenth-century antiquarian imagination of Dalmatia, in which local ruins, Split's imperial monuments and idealised Roman architecture combine to produce a monumental vision of Salona's ancient past.

Lit. Torlak 2024.

Jasenska Gudelj

6.3 CITY AS SPOLIA: SPLIT

In Split, the crystalline rectangular enclosure of Diocletian's late antique palace defined the town that gradually came to inhabit it after the dissolution of the Roman Empire. By the thirteenth century, the settlement had begun to expand westwards, where the *Platea Sancti Laurentii*, with its administrative buildings, took shape. Split was therefore not simply a town with antiquities, but an antiquity that became a town.

The city came under Venetian rule in 1420, after a period of Croatian-Hungarian sovereignty. In the fifteenth century its population is estimated at between 3,500 and 5,000 inhabitants, while in the sixteenth century it fluctuated considerably, from around 5,000 in 1525 to about 2,000 in 1559, largely because of plague, war, and migration. At the end of the sixteenth century Daniel Rodriga proposed to the Venetian Senate the *Scala di Spalato*, a new port intended as a nodal point for goods arriving through Bosnia. Realised slowly, and repeatedly interrupted by the Veneto-Ottoman wars, this intervention gave early modern Split renewed economic significance (Paci 1971; Strunje 2022).

Split was governed by a council of local nobles presided over by a Venetian official and was also the seat of an archbishop bearing the title *primus Dalmatiae*. It was, moreover, one of the most important humanist centres of Renaissance Dalmatia. The circle around Marko Marulić and Dmine Papalić gave the ancient remains of Salona and Split a literary, epigraphic, and civic meaning. Marulić's antiquarian writings, including his collection and commentary on ancient inscriptions, have been interpreted as a major achievement of Croatian humanist epigraphy, while his descriptions of Salona and Diocletian's Palace belong to the tradition of the humanist *laudatio urbis*, in which ruins, inscriptions and architecture became foundations of civic memory (Lučin 2012; Jovanović 2011).

At the same time, Dalmatian humanists should not be understood merely as peripheral imitators of Venetian or Italian models. In cities where antiquity was materially present, ruins, inscriptions, saints, and local origin myths became instruments of prestige and civic distinction (Špoljarić 2017, 2021, 2025; Revest and Špoljarić 2025).

Marulić's letter to Dmine Papalić, preserved in a sylloge now in Oxford, offered a celebratory description of his native city. Unlike other Adriatic humanists, he did not need a mythical founder: Split's protagonist was Diocletian himself. Marulić also presented Split as the heir to Salona, the ancient capital of Roman Dalmatia. This local history of *translatio urbis*, together with the figure of Diocletian, became central to Split's self-representation (Lučin 2012; Jovanović 2011). Especially relevant in this regard is an oration by the humanist and Split councillor Antonio Proculiano (Antun Prokulijan) from Bar, delivered in 1558 in honour of the new Venetian rector of Split, Giovanni Battista Calbo, and printed in Venice in 1567. The oration describes Diocletian's Palace, including the dedications and forms of its temples, and praises its ancient architects (Proculiano 1567; Marković 2004).

The same dialogue with antiquity shaped artistic production. Diocletian's Palace offered inspiration not only to antiquarians, but also to stonemasons, sculptors, and architect-sculptors. Split hosted works by Juraj Dalmatinac (Giorgio da Sebenico), whose chapel and altar of St Anastasius in the cathedral inserted an ambitious sculptural and architectural ensemble into the former mausoleum of Diocletian. The Papalić palace, probably also connected with Juraj and his workshop, belongs to the same milieu of patrician self-representation and antiquarian consciousness. Andrija Aleši, active in Split and Trogir, likewise participated in this Adriatic Renaissance culture. The imposing coffered stone vault of the ancient Spalatine baptistery provided a visual model for Aleši's baptistery in Trogir and for Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino's chapel of the Blessed John Orsini, also in Trogir, two of the most refined small Renaissance interiors of the eastern Adriatic (Nikšić 2014).

Only three Renaissance drawings of Diocletian's Palace are known, all of which were once owned by Andrea Palladio (Gudelj and Strunje 2015, 2023). The drawing in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth, by Palladio himself, presents an ideally regularised layout of the palace walls and places the principal temples, the Peristyle, and the vestibule at the centre. The other two drawings, now at the RIBA, are studies of the mausoleum by an earlier hand: one shows the plan and the other the portal, both with later interventions by Palladio (cats 6.3.1–6.3.2). These drawings are ideal reconstructions

of the ancient complex and omit conspicuous medieval additions, such as the Romanesque bell tower. Their precise graphic manner suggests that they were developed from earlier on-site sketches, although their authorship remains debated, since there is no documentary evidence that Palladio travelled to Split. Antonio Proculiano's contemporary oration reads almost as an ekphrasis of Palladio's drawing of the palace complex.

What can be concluded is that all three drawings belonged to Palladio. On the RIBA plan, his freehand sketches of the mausoleum's interior elevation can be recognised beside the measured drawing. Since this sketch contains information absent from the plan—including the upper order of columns and the correctly positioned reliefs with putti—it may imply the existence of at least one further, now lost, drawing of the mausoleum. Palladio's sketch also bears the characteristics of his copies after other draughtsmen: the use of the ruler, a certain purity achieved through redrawing, and the perspectival representation of the niche, a mode he did not normally use when recording monuments seen in person.

The Chatsworth drawing likewise shows Palladio collecting and interpreting information from earlier draughtsmen through his characteristic understanding of axial symmetry in large ancient complexes, especially baths. Here the mausoleum is accurately represented as an octagon with an inscribed circular *cella* and alternating niches, unlike the RIBA plan by another hand. In the sketches on the London plan, Palladio explored the relationship between the barrel vault, triangular pediment, and Syrian arch, a theme central to his Venetian church designs, from San Francesco della Vigna to the Redentore. The seaside cryptoporticus, represented with transverse paired Serlian columns beside the corner towers, does not correspond to reality, but reflects a motif Palladio had already developed in the Serlianas of the Basilica at Vicenza.

The unusual, late antique structures and decorative language of Diocletian's Palace did not easily conform to a Renaissance culture increasingly committed to regularity, proportional order, and the repetitive grammar of Roman architecture. The many late antique and reused columns of Split, praised by Marulić, may have appeared too irregular or licentious to fit comfortably within contemporary expectations of what Roman architecture should be.

It is highly probable that the palace had been measured before Palladio's time, not least for reasons of defence and maintenance. A survey drawing showing the towers accurately may therefore have served an earlier draughtsman, who in turn concentrated on the palace's

most distinctive architectural elements. One should recall the printed views of Split by Francesco Camocio and Giuseppe Rosaccio, as well as the model that Girolamo da Santacroce must have obtained from Split for the 1549 high-altarpiece of S. Maria at the Franciscan monastery of Poljud, in which St Domnius holds a model of the city (Gudelj and Strunje 2015, 2023).

The channels through which Palladio obtained drawings of Split's antiquities remain uncertain. Possible connections may lie with the Venetian Cornaro family: two Cornaro archbishops held the see of Split in the sixteenth century, and several Venetian counts and captains of Split also belonged to the same family. Zorzone Cornaro commissioned Palladio's villa at Piombino Dese in 1552, and the Cornaro later played an important role in Palladio's Venetian commissions. Nevertheless, a direct channel between these largely absent archbishops, the Split rectors, and the circulation of the drawings cannot be demonstrated.

It is likely that the mausoleum at Split was known to Palladio's collaborator Francesco Zamberlan, who designed La Rotonda in Rovigo at the very end of the sixteenth century (Burns 1975). Drawings of Diocletian's Palace once owned by Palladio were subsequently brought to England by Inigo Jones and may have informed his unrealised designs for a new palace at Whitehall (Worsley 2007). Diocletian's Palace may likewise have served as a source for the sixteenth-century designs of Vienna's Neugebäude (Jansen 2019), suggesting its particular suitability as a model for monumental residences conceived on an imperial scale.

During the early Baroque period, Split acquired renewed prominence through the expansion of its harbour infrastructure and lazaretto, which reached its greatest extent in 1629. The Ottoman threat prompted the construction of new fortifications, and by the mid-seventeenth century the defensive circuit encompassed the lazaretto, Diocletian's Palace, and the western suburb (Strunje 2022).

Although no architectural drawings of the imperial complex from this period have yet been identified, some of its distinctive features find parallels in major contemporary buildings in Rome. The so-called Syrian arch set within a pediment, for example, recurs in Pietro da Cortona's Santa Maria in Via Lata and Borromini's Palazzo Pamphilj (Bonaccorso 2020).

Through the travel accounts of Jacob Spon and George Wheler, published in 1678, Split and its palace entered the European printed imagination (see cat. 6.3.3). Their representations were imprecise, but they gave

Diocletian's Palace a new place within the antiquarian geography of the eastern Mediterranean: no longer only a local monument, a humanist memory, or an object of unpublished graphic transmission, but a site available to a wider European readership through print.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the *Accademia Illyrica*, or *Slavonica*, modelled on the Roman *Accademia degli Arcadi*, promoted the 'Illyrian' language and the study of antiquity. At the same time, Archbishop Stefano Cupilli's enlargement of the cathedral led to the circulation of drawings of the former mausoleum in Venice and Rome. The decisive figure in the next phase of this graphic tradition was Vincenzo Paterni, or Vicko Paterna, a little-known painter and parish priest from Brač. As Fischer von Erlach himself noted, Giovanni Pietro Marchi sent drawings by Paterni to Vienna; these must have arrived before 1712, when Fischer presented his material to Emperor Charles VI, and they were subsequently transformed into the plates published in the *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur* in 1721 (Fischer von Erlach 1721; Gudelj 2014e; Gudelj and Strunje 2023).

Paterni should therefore be understood not as a marginal copyist, but as the author of the drawings through which Split's antiquities entered Fischer's architectural imagination. The same graphic material, or a closely related set deriving from Paterni's survey, also appears to have reached Daniele Farlati. The first published plan of Diocletian's Palace appeared only in 1753, in Farlati's ecclesiastical history of Dalmatia (Ill. 6.3.6.1). Although often connected with Fischer, this plan cannot be derived directly from Fischer's published perspective reconstruction, which lacks, for instance, the eastern towers. It is more plausible that Farlati obtained the plan from Dalmatian ecclesiastical-antiquarian circles, through drawings by Paterni or copies of them. Paterni's drawings thus form a crucial intermediary between local antiquarian culture, Fischer's imperial publication in Vienna, and Farlati's historical reconstruction of Dalmatian Christianity. On the other hand, Farlati's reconstruction of the palace clearly derives from Fischer's, bringing the exchange between Split, Vienna, and Venice full circle (Ill. 6.3.6.2).

Comparison between Farlati's plan and Palladio's drawing reveals significant affinities: the arrangement of the outer towers, the emphasis on the temples, the circular interior of the mausoleum inscribed within an octagon, the vestibule and Peristyle, and the southern cryptoporticus with Serlianas beside the corner towers. It is therefore possible that a Renaissance survey of the palace, a copy of which reached Palladio in the late 1560s, remained in Split

and later served Paterni, Giovanni Battista Camozzini, Fischer, and Farlati.

Robert Adam's monograph on Diocletian's Palace, published in 1764 after his journey to Dalmatia in 1757, does not mention the earlier drawings. Yet, Adam is known to have studied Palladio's drawings of the baths in Lord Burlington's collection, and it is possible that the Split drawings also came into his hands. His publication established his professional reputation and transformed Split into a fashionable eighteenth-century source of antique invention, comparable to Palmyra and Baalbek. The palace's long porticoed front with corner projections, sequence of vaulted spaces, and decorative motifs informed works such as Luton Hoo, Kedleston Hall, and the Adelphi Terrace.

The drawings made for Adam by Charles-Louis Clérisseau inspired architectural *capricci* by Canaletto, datable after Adam's 1757 expedition and probably to the late 1750s or early 1760s. The palace also occupied a prominent place in the work of Louis-François Cassas, who visited Split during his Dalmatian journey of the 1780s. The plates later published with Joseph Lavallée in 1802 translated Diocletian's Palace into a new visual language. Unlike Adam, whose publication balanced picturesque views with measured documentation, Cassas intensified the scenic and affective qualities of the monument. Influenced by Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia* of 1774, Cassas and Lavallée presented Split as at once imperial and provincial, classical and exotic, monumental and inhabited.

The drawings once owned by Palladio do not prove that he visited Split. Yet their probable dating to the 1560s, if the watermark evidence is accepted, points to sustained interest in Split's antiquities from Cyriac of Ancona in the mid-fifteenth century, through Marulić and Papalić in the early sixteenth, to the anonymous draughtsman of the Palladian sheets. They also suggest that the Syrian arch, later reinterpreted in Renaissance architecture through the broken archivolt and the lateral architraves of the Serliana, may have had a Split dimension, though this remains a hypothesis. What emerges most clearly is the fragmented yet persistent circulation of knowledge about the ancient monument and its images: from local surveys and lost drawings to Palladio, Spon and Wheler, Paterni, Fischer, Farlati, Adam, and Cassas.

Lit. Hébrard and Zeiller 1912; Bulić and Karaman 1927; Lossky 1940; Lossky 1954; Zorzi 1958; Spielmann 1966; Paci 1971; Burns 1975; Belamarić 1997; Kečkemet 2003; Worsley 2007; Jovanović 2011; McCallam 2011; Lučin 2012; Bilić 2013; Gudelj 2014; Nikšić 2014; Naginski 2014; Gudelj and Strunje 2015; Belamarić and Šverko

2017; Špoljarić 2017; Jansen 2019; Špoljarić 2021; Strunje 2022; Gudelj and Strunje 2023; Revest and Špoljarić 2025.

Jasenska Gudelj

6.3.1 Unknown Draughtsman and Andrea Palladio

Plan of Diocletian's Mausoleum at Split

c. 1560

Drawing on paper

415 × 265 mm

Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. VIII/2

Captions: (lower margin) *Pianta de un tempio anticho in Spallato*; (lower right, below the niche) *Li piedi de uno delli nichì*

(scale bar in Roman feet) *Piedi XXX.*

(on the outer diameter) *Queste collone sono di diametro p[iede] 1 ½; ce sono dista[n]te l'una da l'altra; p[iede] 8 o[nce] 7; e il fusto delle collone e p[iede] 13 o[nce] 3; il cap[itell]o e p[iede] 2 o[nce] 1; l'arch[itra]ve p[iede] 2; il friso p[iede] 1 o[nce] 4; la cornice p[iede] 2 o[nce] 7 1/2; le bassi o[nce] 10; il pedestil p[iede] 1 o[nce] 9.*

(Within the diameter) *Il diametro di q[ue]ste collone e p[iede] 1 o[nce] 4; il fusto p[iede] 21; il cap[itell]o p[iede] 2 o[nce] 10; l'arch[itra]ve p[iede] 2 ½; friso p[iede] 1; cor[nic]e p[iede] 2 o[nce] 3.*

(rectangular niche depth) *p[iedi] 5 o[nce] 11*

(width between the niches) *p[iedi] 4 o[nce] 9*

(semicircular niche depth) *p[iedi] 5*; (width of the semicircular niche:) *p[iedi] 9 o[nce] 9*

(external ambulatory width) *p[iedi] 7*

(width of the external wall of the octagon) *p[iedi] 21 1/2*

(mausoleum portal) *Alta [piedi] 14 o[nce] 2*; (portal

width) *p[iedi] 8 o[nce] 8 unci*; (depth) *p[iedi] 5 o[nce]*;

(width of the wall on the south side of the portal) *p[iedi] 7*.

(above the staircase) *scalini 21*

(measurements of the niche study, niche width) *p[iedi] 9 o[nce] 9*; (lower column height) *p[iede] 21*; (lower

column width) *[piedi] 2 o[nce] 4*; (upper column height)

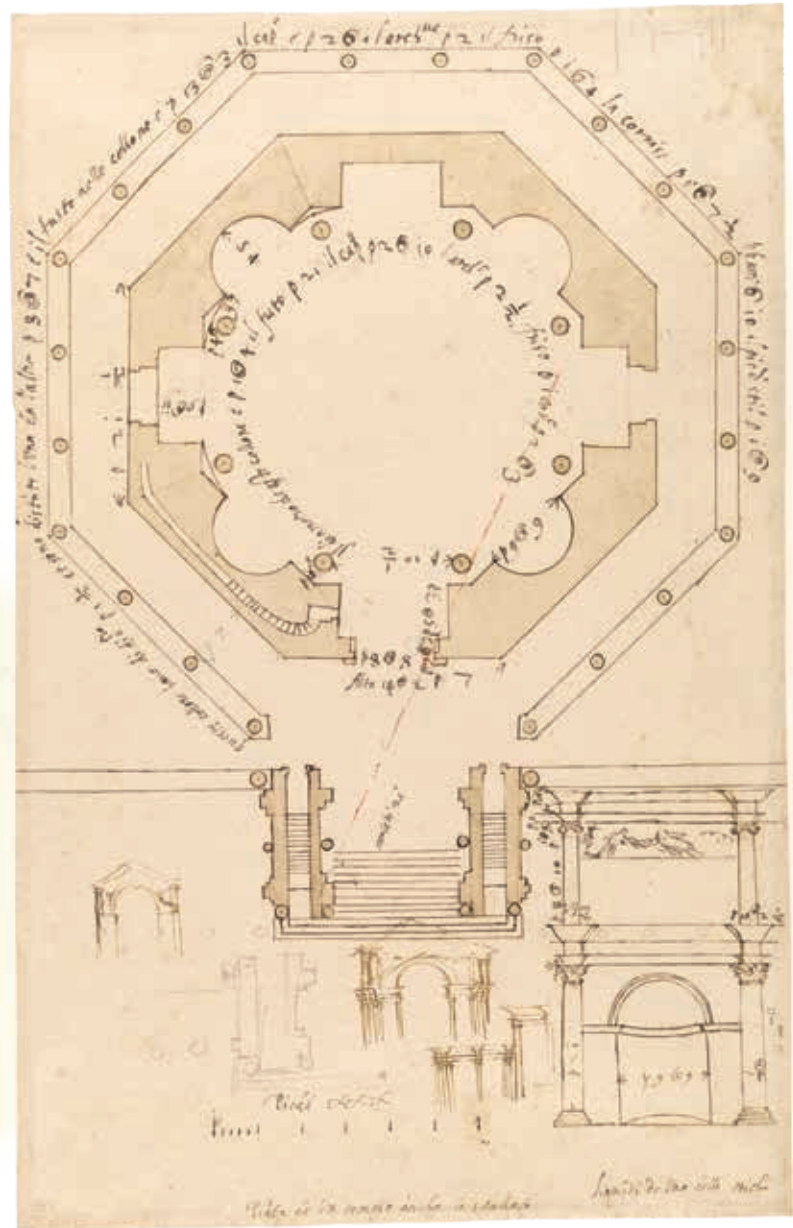
p[iedi] 8 o[nce] 6; (upper capital height) *p[iede] 1 o[nce] 8*;

(architrave height) *p[iede] 1*; (frieze height) *p[iede] 1*;

(cornice height) *p[iede] 1 o[nce] 8*; (sculptural relief

height) *p[iedi] 2 o[nce] 4*

The sheet preserves a complex history of production and later annotation. Technical and palaeographical evidence indicates four successive phases of intervention. The principal drawing is a carefully executed plan of the



mausoleum, accompanied by detailed captions in the hand of an unknown draughtsman. It was first incised into the paper with a stylus, compass, and ruler, then reinforced in ink, with sepia wash applied to the walls.

Beneath the plan are freehand sketches and studies, made at different stages in Palladio's style and handwriting, of one of the mausoleum's niches, the Peristyle, and the mausoleum entrance. Their presence and the manner in which Palladio drew them strongly suggest that he worked from several other, now-unknown drawings. They demonstrate his studious, reconstructive approach to antiquity: he sought to recover the original mausoleum beneath the cathedral and its medieval bell tower, while also addressing the architectural problems created by the junction of colonnades on different levels, arches, entablatures, and gables for which the palace is renowned.

Finally, judging from the differences in handwriting, a third person later identified the drawing with the inscriptions *Pianta de un tempio anticho in Spallato* and *Li piedi de uno delli nichi*.

Although the scale bar indicates that the measurements are in Roman feet, the dimensions generally correspond more closely to the Vicentine foot. This is corroborated by the watermark of a Vicentine paper manufacturer active in the late 1560s; together, the evidence points to a possible original draughtsman from a Vicentine circle close to Palladio.

Rather than constituting a single architectural survey, the sheet records successive episodes of observation, study, interpretation, and reuse. Beginning as a measured survey by an unidentified draughtsman, it became a working document for Palladio's analytical and reconstructive studies before later receiving descriptive annotations. As such, it offers exceptional evidence of Renaissance interest in Diocletian's Palace and opens further avenues for exploring its reception, which, judging by other drawings of Spalatine and Salonitan monuments, must have been wider than is generally accepted.

The sheet is kept in the same portfolio as the drawing of the amphitheatre at Salona (cat. 6.2.1) and shares its provenance. It bears Talman mark 54.

Lit. Hébrard and Zeiller 1912, pp. 4, 5, 7; Bulić and Karaman 1927, p. 158; Lossky 1940, pp. 32–5; Lossky 1954, pp. 245–52; Zorzi 1958, p. 106; Spielmann 1966, pp. 94–5, 127; Kečkemet 2003, pp. 15–17; Hopkins 2015, pp. 172–80; Gudelj and Strunje 2015, pp. 127–40; Gudelj and Strunje 2023, pp. 95–119.

Petar Strunje

6.3.2 Unknown draughtsman

Portal of Diocletian's Mausoleum at Split

Drawing on paper

380 × 300 mm

Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Inv. No. IX/16

Captions: (under the drawing) *Porta del tempio anticho di Spallato*

(portal height) p[iedi] 15; (width) p[iedi] 9; (portal depth) p[iedi] 3 ½; (jamb width) o[nce] 20; (outer and inner jamb profile width) o[nce] 2 ½; (central jamb profile width) o[nce] 10.

The sheet shows the portal of Diocletian's Mausoleum in perspective. Its technique resembles that of the preceding



sheet: preliminary construction with a stylus and ruler is then followed by pen-and-ink lines and ornament.

The portal is divided vertically into two halves. The left half records the floral decoration of the door jamb, while the right presents the bare architectural frame, suggesting an analytical approach that separates structural form from decorative detail. Although the principal architectural elements are rendered accurately, the ornament is interpreted rather than copied. The vegetal scrolls are simplified, omitting the dense circular arrangement of foliage around the human and animal masks found on the original monument. Likewise, the mouldings of the lintel are indicated only schematically: dentils, cords, and palmettes are recorded in reasonable detail, whereas the modillions and bead-and-reel ornament are left unfinished. Beneath the volutes, the draughtsman places human masks where the original has acanthus leaves, perhaps reflecting knowledge of the portal's sculptural decoration derived from inaccurate sketches or written descriptions, rather than direct observation. The measurements correspond neither to those in the plan nor to the monument itself, indicating a liberal interpretation not based on systematic fieldwork.

Finally, a caption in the same handwriting as that beneath the plan of the mausoleum identifies the drawing as *Porta del tempio anticho di Spallato*. The sheet may have formed part of a larger group depicting architectural elements and details of the palace, or at least of the mausoleum,

since Palladio's sketch of the interior niche points to the existence of detailed source material.

Although the drawing contains no interventions by Andrea Palladio, it belonged to his collection and reached the RIBA through similar, if not the same, channels as the preceding sheet. It bears no Talman mark.

Lit. Hébrard and Zeiller 1912, pp. 4, 5, 7; Bulić and Karaman 1927, p. 158; Lossky 1940, pp. 32–5; Lossky 1954, pp. 245–52; Zorzi 1958, p. 106; Spielmann 1966, pp. 94–5, 127; Kečkemet 2003, pp. 15–17; Gudelj and Strunje 2015, pp. 127–40; Gudelj and Strunje 2023, pp. 95–119.

Petar Strunje

6.3.3 Jacob Spon

Italiänische, Dalmatische, Griechische und Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, Nürnberg: Johann Hofmann

1690

345 x 215 mm

University Library, Pula, Shelfmark 15395

This volume is the second Nuremberg edition of the celebrated travel account *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, by Jacob Spon, a physician and member of the Collège des Médecins of Lyon, and George Wheler, an English gentleman and botanist. First published in French at Lyon in 1678, the work was translated into German by Jean Menudier and issued by Johann Hofmann; the first German edition appeared in Nuremberg in 1681. An English version was subsequently published under Wheler's name (Apostolou 2017).

Spon was a prominent member of the Republic of Letters, exchanging information and scholarly opinions on antiquities, epigraphy, and numismatics. He is also credited with formulating an early theoretical definition of archaeology. His travel account with Wheler became extremely popular and circulated widely, drawing scholarly attention not only to the antiquities of Greece but also to those of Istria and Dalmatia, and thereby encouraging subsequent investigation of the region. Several of its illustrations, including representations of the arches at Pula and Zadar, were later reproduced by Spon's biographer Bernard de Montfaucon (see cat.4.8; 6.1.1; Käfer 1983).

The travel account devotes considerable attention to Istria and Dalmatia. It describes the antiquities of Pula, Zadar, Salona, and Split, while also praising more recent



monuments and works, including Šibenik Cathedral, Renaissance sculpture in Trogir, and infrastructural projects such as the lazaretto at Split and the pier at Hvar.

At Pula, Spon examined the ancient remains and recorded both the city's mythical origins and the accumulated misconceptions surrounding its monuments. These included the identification of the amphitheatre with the legendary hero Roland and of the temples in the Forum with the goddess Diana. He provided illustrations of the Arch of the Sergii and the Temple of Augustus, together with their inscriptions, although the images are relatively crude and amateurish in execution.

Spon and Wheler spent ten or twelve days in Split, which allowed them sufficient time to examine the city and its antiquities. Spon identified the ancient nucleus of Split as the palace of the emperor Diocletian and suggested that the city's name might derive from the Latin *palatium*. He observed that the palace walls, which enclosed approximately two-thirds of the contemporary city, remained almost entirely intact and formed a regular quadrilateral, with a gateway at the centre of each side.

Three of these gates survived and were, in his judgement, distinguished by architecture that was both elegant and structurally sound.

Spon also described the former imperial mausoleum, which had by then become the cathedral of Split. He recorded its octagonal exterior and circular interior, its finely cut masonry, brick vault, and internal gallery, supported by eight Corinthian columns of porphyry and granite. He commented on the sculpted frieze of animals, festoons, masks, and heads, while rejecting the local belief that the heads represented Diocletian. Although he considered the general conception of the complex to be the work of a capable architect, he judged the treatment of the cornices, foliage, and capitals to be inferior to that achieved under the earlier Roman emperors.

One of Spon's principal interests lay in inscriptions. His account drew upon information obtained through personal encounters with local and international scholars. In Zadar, he consulted the archdeacon Valerio Ponte. Before travelling along the eastern Adriatic, he had also met the historian Ivan Lučić and Stjepan Gradić in Rome. Through these scholarly networks, he learned of the fragment of Petronius discovered at Trogir (Caillet 2019).

Lit. Käfer 1983; Spon 2004; Apostolou 2017; Caillet 2019.

6.3.4 Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach

6.3.4.1 Diocletian's Palace at Split

Drawing on paper

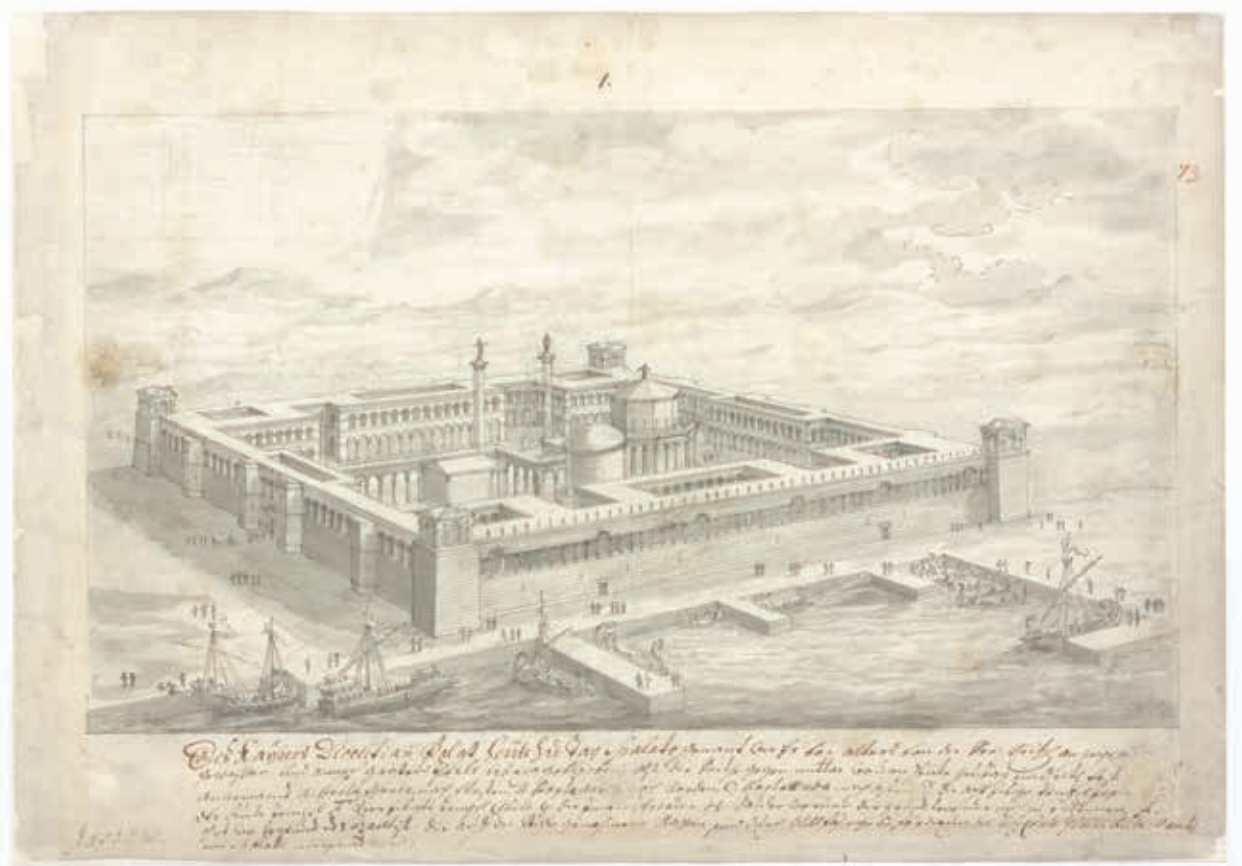
332 × 473 mm

National and University Library, Zagreb, Shelfmark GZAS 15 fis 1

Inscriptions: Des Kaysers Diocletiani Palast, heute zu Tag Spalato genand wie er vor alters von der See=Seiten anzuseh [illegible] // geweßen, und annoch größten Theils übrig geblieben, als, die Seite gegen mittag, wovon heute zu Tag ein Dritl Fes [illegible] // angewandt. A: Porta ferrea, nach Westen. B. Porta aurea nach Norden, C. Porta Ænea nach Osten D. Der Achteckigte Tempel Jupi [illegible] E // der Runde Tempel F. Vierecki-gen Tempel Cibeles G. Der Innere Arcaden. H. Sau-len, wovon die Grundstein nur noch zu erkennen. I. [illegible] // Ohrt, wo [illegible] das Lazaret ist. Die auf der Stelle genohmen Maßen sind durch will-fähige Beförderung des hfl: Conte Giovan Pietro Marchi // von Spalato übersandt worden

The perspectival view of Diocletian's Palace sets the quadrangular complex in a hilly coastal landscape, with square corner towers and polygonal towers along the flanks. Its internal organisation is reconstructed as a

Jasenska Gudelj



sequence of elongated, arcaded buildings with central courtyards arranged along the perimeter walls, leaving the centre open for a group of temples: the small oblong temple of “Cybele”, that is, the baptistery of St John, here shown roofed; the domed rotunda, or vestibule; and the octagonal Temple of “Jupiter”, all identified in the captions beneath the image. Arcaded colonnades are treated as transparent connections between these structures, while the centre is marked by two monumental columns bearing statues, an invention apparently based on surviving bases, though in reality, located elsewhere. The captions also refer to the palace’s monumental gates.

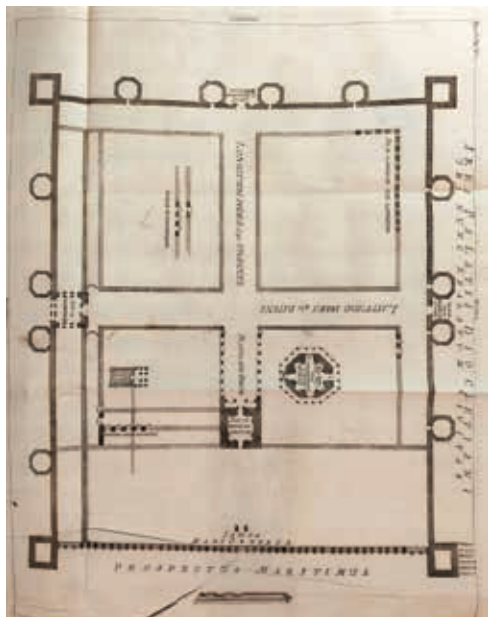
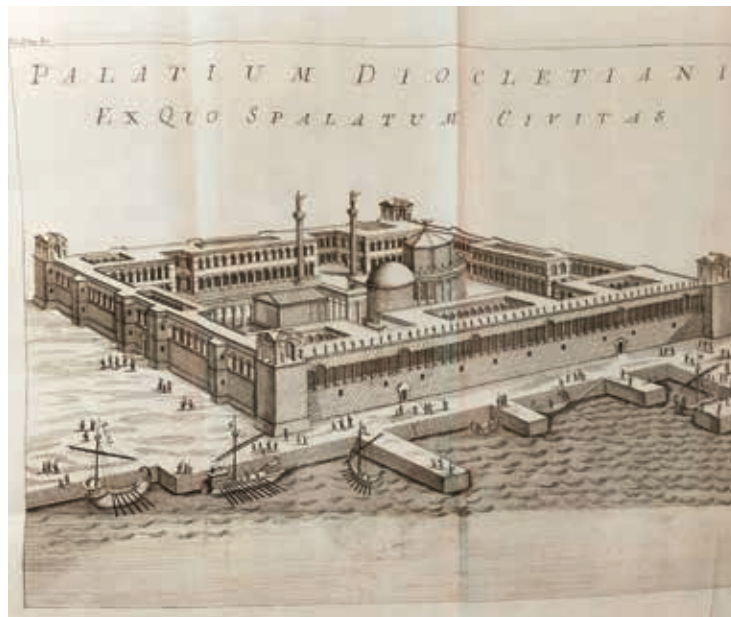
Particularly striking is the combination of military and pleasure architecture. The long sea-facing gallery, with its colonnade carrying both entablature and arches, still exists; yet in the engraving the emperor’s retreat is reimagined with arched openings in the upper register on all sides, while the towers are crowned by elegant loggias with Serlianas. This vision of the palace’s ‘ancient lustre’ is animated by boats and small figures. Modern fortifications and the lazaretti are omitted, although the latter are indicated by a caption.

The sheet is an autograph preparatory drawing for Fischer von Erlach’s *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur*. Already included in Book II of the manuscript version presented to Charles VI in 1712, and later in the printed edition of 1721 (Book II, plate X), it is therefore the earliest known architectural reconstruction of Diocletian’s Palace to have been presented publicly and subsequently published. The published etching follows the drawn image closely,

adding only a larger number of small human figures and a coin of Diocletian in the right-hand corner.

In the expanded discussion of the palace in the 1721 edition, Fischer names his sources. First among them are the travel accounts of Spon and Wheler, probably both the French edition of 1678 and the English edition of 1682, although Fischer emphasises the poor quality of their illustrations. A quotation from Eusebius (book 8, chapter 29), perhaps suggested by his collaborator Carl Gustav Heraeus, led to the mistaken claim that Diocletian’s Palace at Split had been destroyed by fire; in fact, the passage concerned the emperor’s palace at Nicomedia (Prange 2004, pp. 205–16). More importantly, as the caption on the drawing states, measured drawings and up-to-date local information were supplied by Count Giovanni Pietro Marchi of Split, the only informant and not a published author directly cited in the *Entwurf*. The measurements, documenting each façade as approximately 500 feet long and 50 feet high, were most probably Marchi’s: Spon gives none, while Wheler records the palace’s width in paces. If Marchi used Venetian feet, the figure corresponds closely to the actual dimensions of the palace.

Marchi was not an architect, but an ambitious military and cultural figure. His family entered the Split nobility in 1671; he received the title of count from Venice in 1698 and Roman nobility in 1728. Founder of the *Accademia Illyrica*, owner of a notable library, translator, traveller, and occasional Venetian diplomatic agent, he was in Vienna around 1712, where he mentioned that the Split priest and painter Vincenzo Paterni had drawn



6.3.6.1

6.3.6.2

the antiquities (Kečkemet 1987). These drawings may have been those supplied to Fischer. Marchi's involvement probably formed part of his broader political project for the liberation of Slavic peoples from Ottoman rule (Božić-Bužančić 1982, 1988), while interest in the imperial complex at Split within the Viennese court may likewise have carried ideological significance, perhaps even informing projects such as the rebuilding of the Neugebäude outside Vienna (Kreul 2024).

Lit. Božić-Bužančić 1982; Kečkemet 1987, pp. 127–38; Božić-Bužančić 1989; Prange 2004, pp. 205–16; Haberkorn 2007, pp. 57–8; Pavlíček 2008, pp. 149–54; Gudelj and Strunje 2015, pp. 127–40; Karić, Perkec, Vlašić Jurić 2018, p. 48; Preti and Folin 2019, pp. 103–5; Demandt 2022, p. 242; Gudelj and Strunje 2023, pp. 96–119.

Jasenska Gudelj

6.3.4.2 Plan and Section of the Temple of Jupiter at Split; Diocletian's Aqueduct; Golden Gate

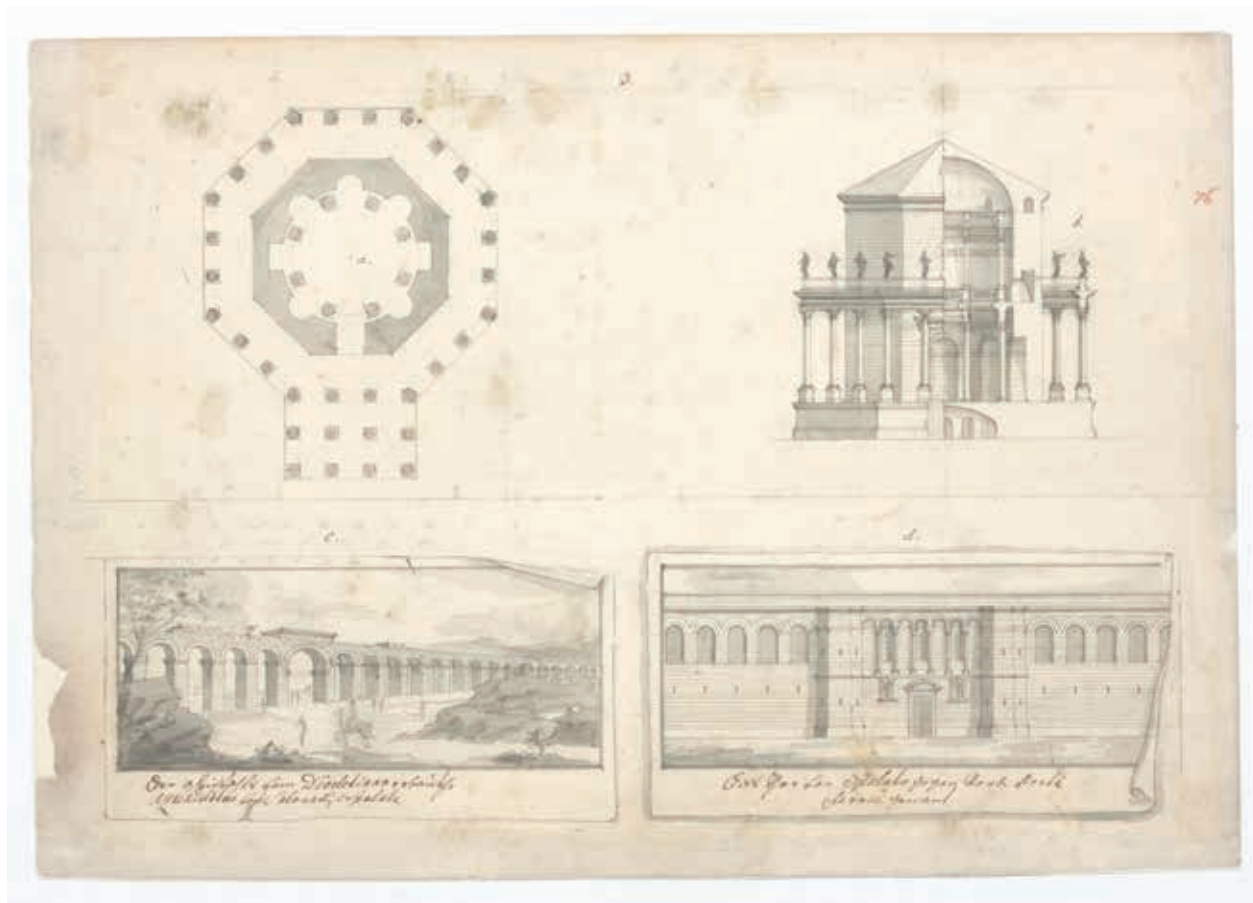
Drawing on paper

332 × 473 mm

National and University Library, Zagreb, Shelfmark GZAS 17 fis 3

Inscriptions: Der gleichfals vom Diocletiano erbaute/Aequaductus von Salona bis Spalato

The drawing shows Split Cathedral, formerly Diocletian's mausoleum, in plan and section, together with the northern gate of the palace and the Salona aqueduct—the latter two represented as small *trompe-l'œil* paper cuttings. The mausoleum is reconstructed as an octagonal building with an octagonal ambulatory articulated by external columns. Its entrance is marked by three rows of columns, while the circular interior is rhythmically organised by alternating semicircular and rectangular niches and columns. Plan, elevation, and section are presented simultaneously, in a mode made familiar by Serlio and Palladio, but not otherwise used by Fischer. On the exterior, statues crown each column of the ambulatory; the section shows the two internal orders of columns, the dome beneath the polygonal roof, and the domed crypt below.



The northern gate of the palace is shown flanked by polygonal towers. Between them appears the doorway, with its lunette and lateral niches, into which Fischer inserted sculptures, as well as a row of arches surmounted by three niches. The palace wall is further suggested by large arches at the upper level.

The monumental aqueduct that supplied the palace with water from Salona is likewise heavily reconstructed. It is imagined at Dujmovača with a large arch, evidently indicating a road passing beneath it, a reading reinforced by the figure of a rider below.

The drawing corresponds to the illustration in the manuscript and to plate XI in the 1721 edition, where all the images are transformed into *trompe-l'œil* sheets of paper set against a dark background. The plan and section of the mausoleum are identified by bilingual captions (Kečkemet 1987).

The drawings of the mausoleum offer a relatively precise reconstruction of the building in its ancient form, omitting both the seventeenth-century retrochoir and the medieval bell tower. At the very moment when Marchi was procuring drawings for Fischer, the archbishop of Split, Stefano Gaspare Cupilli, was seeking permission

and collecting design proposals in both Venice and Rome for the enlargement of the cathedral. This is demonstrated by drawings preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Venice and in the archive of the Schiavoni confraternity of San Girolamo in Rome (Gudelj 2014e). Marchi, moreover, was in contact with the protagonists of these endeavours (Božić Bužančić 1982, 1999).

Lit. Božić Bužančić 1982; Kečkemet 1987, pp. 127–38; Božić Bužančić 1999; Prange 2004, pp. 205–16; Haberkorn 2007, pp. 57–8; Pavlíček 2008, pp. 149–54; Gudelj and Strunje 2015, pp. 127–40; Karić, Perkec, Vlašić Jurić 2018, p. 49; Preti and Folin 2019, pp. 103–5; Demandt 2022, p. 242; Gudelj and Strunje 2023, pp. 96–119.

Jasenska Gudelj

6.3.4.3 Peristyle at Split; Arch of Drusus; Arch of Septimius Severus

Drawing on paper

332 × 473 mm

National and University Library, Zagreb, Shelfmark GZAS 16 fis 2



Inscription: Prospect wie solcher heutiges Tag zu Spalato/
in Dalmatien zu sehen

The drawing consists of three parts. On the left, an image of the Split Peristyle with its caption has been pasted onto the sheet, while on the right two further pieces of paper have been added, bearing representations of the Arch of Drusus and the Arch of Septimius Severus. The two arches were published in plate V of the *Entwurf*, whereas the view of the Peristyle was included in the plate devoted to Split and Salona, plate XI of the 1721 edition.

The representation of the Peristyle imagines the space stripped of its post-classical additions, with the exception of the cathedral bell tower. In the published plate XI, the image was transformed into a vertical format. The view of the *platea* is enlivened by a small figure playing with a dog, absent from the Zagreb drawing of the same scene. Yet, the image remains far removed from the much more constricted reality of Split's central square. This visual strategy opens simultaneous windows onto the historical reality of the ancient world and its contemporary condition as a legible, relatively well-preserved ruin. It is used in Book II only in relation to Split.

The two plates in Book II devoted to ancient Roman buildings include a perspectival reconstruction of the ancient palace; the plan, elevation, and section of the Temple of Jupiter, that is, Split Cathedral; the northern palace gate; the contemporary view of the Peristyle with the cathedral bell tower; and the Salona aqueduct. This makes the Dalmatian imperial palace the most extensively illustrated site in Fischer von Erlach's book; it appears in every edition of the *Entwurf*.

Lit. Kečkemet 1987, pp. 127–38; Prange 2004, pp. 205–16; Haberkorn 2007, pp. 57–8; Pavlíček 2008, pp. 149–54; Gudelj and Strunje 2015, pp. 127–40; Karić, Perkec, Vlašić Jurić 2018, p. 41; Preti and Folin 2019, pp. 103–5; Demandt 2022, p. 242; Gudelj and Strunje 2023, pp. 96–119.

Jasenka Gudelj

6.3.5 Robert Adam

*Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro
in Dalmatia*

1764

Book, engraved folio

Archaeological Museum, Split, Shelfmark R 1823

Adam's book presented a European audience with a comprehensive set of drawings of Diocletian's Palace and its principal components, represented both in their ruinous condition and through conjectural reconstruction. Plans, sections, elevations, and ornamental details alternate with picturesque views of the remains incorporated into the living town. Numerous figures, dressed *alla veneziana* and *alla turca*, appear within familiar pictorial formulae of the period, trading, working, walking, and conversing, while members of Adam's team draw and measure the architecture. The palace is consequently presented both as an isolated archaeological object and as an ancient structure that has been continuously inhabited and transformed.

Robert Adam travelled from Rome to Dalmatia in 1757, passing through Pula (see cat. 5.6.1) before spending five weeks in Split. Undertaken towards the end of his Grand Tour, the journey was conceived not only as an antiquarian expedition, but also as an investment in Adam's future professional career, since the publication of a major ancient monument offered a means of addressing prospective patrons and fellow architects in Britain. It also provided a unique opportunity to survey a well-preserved palace that could serve as a model for monumental domestic architecture.

The survey was carried out by an international group comprising Charles-Louis Clérissieu, Agostino Brunias, and Laurent-Benoît Dewez. Clérissieu directed much of the visual work and produced the wash drawings underlying the picturesque plates, although his contribution was considerably reduced in Adam's published account. In the introduction, Adam also records disagreements with Venetian administrators, who suspected that the foreign artists and draughtsmen might be spying on the fortifications. These difficulties were resolved through the intervention of General Graeme, then in Venetian service, and the local connoisseur of antiquity and military engineer Antonio Marković (Kečkemet 2003).

Adam compared his Dalmatian journey with the Near Eastern expeditions of James Dawkins, John Bouverie, and Robert Wood, thereby defining the context in which

6.3.5.1



the book was intended to be understood, while carefully distinguishing his own voyage as less adventurous. He adopted the position of the Grand Tourist, but also that of a discoverer and producer of new architectural knowledge. He particularly praised Emperor Diocletian and his architectural endeavours in different parts of the Empire, thereby consciously underlining the universal significance of the emperor's Dalmatian palace.

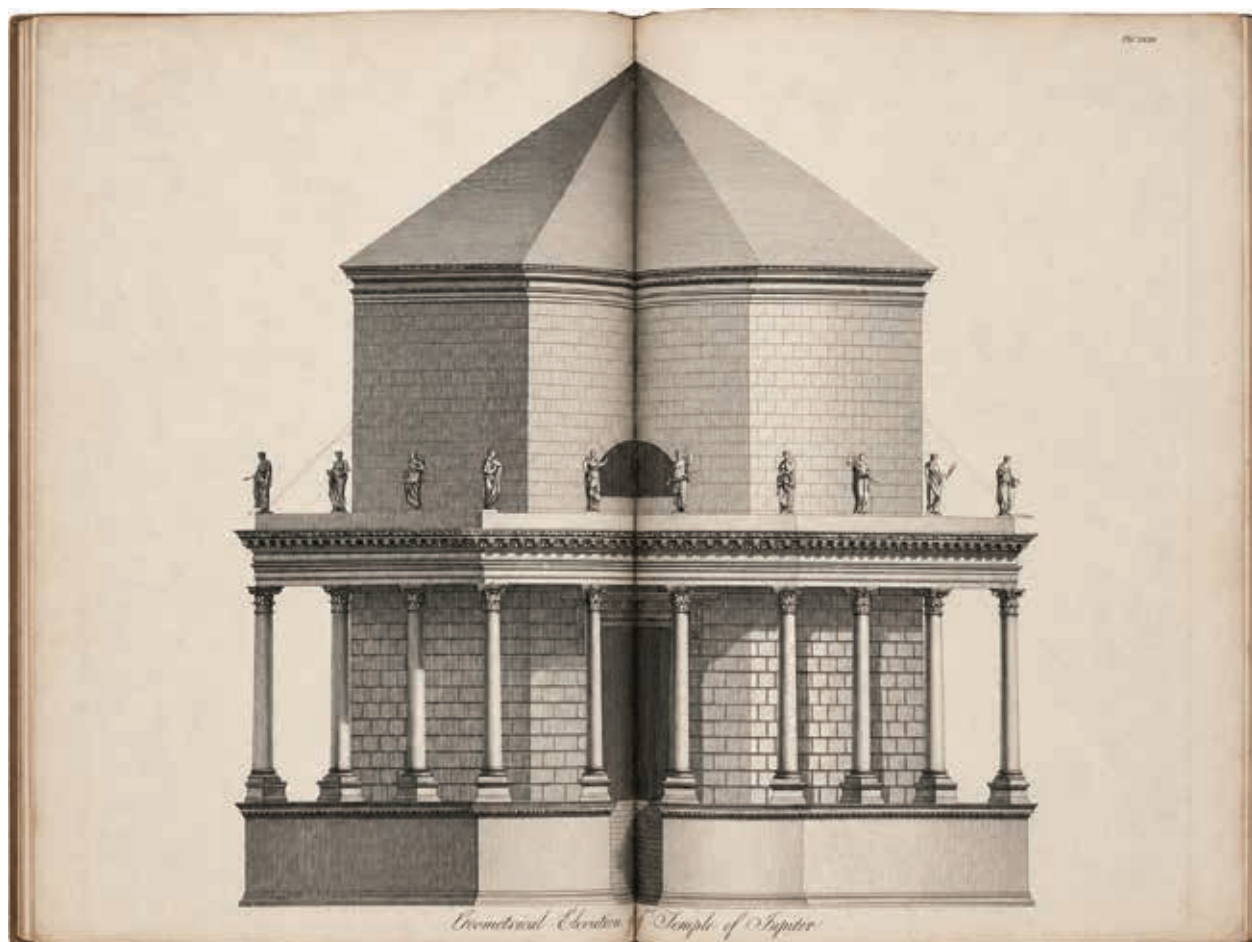
The plates were engraved by two teams: Francesco Bartolozzi, Paolo Santini, Francesco Zucchi, and Domenico Cunego worked under Clérissseau on picturesque views in Venice, while Edward Rooker, Peter Mazell, Anthony Walker, James Basire, and others

worked on more traditional architectural engravings in London, with Paul Sandby supplying the staffage (Thom 2019). The publication established Adam's reputation, placed Split alongside Palmyra and Baalbek as a source of architectural inspiration, and introduced the palace's porticoed façades, projecting corner blocks, vaulted sequences, and decorative motifs into projects such as Luton Hoo, Kedleston Hall, and the Adelphi (Naginski 2014).

Lit. Kečkemet 2003; Naginski 2014; Belamarić and Šverko 2017; Thom 2019; Šverko 2021; 2026.

Jasenska Gudelj

6.3.5.2



**CLASSICAL
LANGUAGE OF
ARCHITECTURE AND
ISTRIAN STONE**

**CLASSICAL LANGUAGE
OF ARCHITECTURE AND
ISTRIAN STONE**

The Renaissance ushered in a major transformation in the status of architecture. Formerly rooted in the practical knowledge acquired in masons' workshops and on building sites, architecture gradually acquired a new theoretical and literary dimension. This shift does not imply that architects abandoned traditional methods; rather, alongside these practices, they developed a speculative approach aligned with the rise of Humanism. The primary vehicle for disseminating the ideas and knowledge associated with this new architectural paradigm was the book.

The rediscovery of Vitruvius's *De architectura*—the only complete architectural treatise surviving from the Roman world—played a crucial role in this process, whose importance can scarcely be overstated. Through philological analysis and the study of ancient ruins, humanists, and the most erudite Renaissance architects directed their efforts towards interpreting the Vitruvian text and reconstructing its original form and meaning (Rowland and Bell 2024; Pagliara 1986). Motivated by a spirit of emulation, generations of architects committed themselves to authoring new treatises that methodically codified both ancient knowledge derived from Vitruvius and modern advances (Payne 2010; Hart and Hicks 1998; Guillaume 1988; Kruft 1999). The first of these was Leon Battista Alberti, who, following Vitruvius's model, wrote his *De re aedificatoria* in Latin, organising it into ten books. Composed around the mid-fifteenth century (Burns 1998, 120–26), Alberti's treatise initially circulated in manuscript form before its first printing in 1485; it was subsequently translated into Italian in 1546 and thereafter into other European languages (Cat. 7.8).

Vitruvius's *De architectura* underwent a similar trajectory. The Latin text was first printed in Rome in 1486, followed by translations into Italian (1521), French (1547), German (1548, Cat. 7.7), and Spanish (1582), with later editions featuring extensive commentaries and illustrations. This monumental interpretative effort involved architects such as Fra' Giovanni Giocondo (Cat. 7.3), Cesare Cesariano, Jean Martin, and Claude Perrault, alongside humanists such as Sulpizio da Veroli, Francesco Luci called "Durantino" (Cat. 7.4), Giovanni Battista Caporali, Guillaume Philandrier, Walther Hermann Ryff, and others (Rowland and Bell 2024). The scale of this undertaking is further underscored by unfinished contributions—such as the investigations and commentaries by Francesco di Giorgio Martini (Martini and Vitruvius Pollio 2002), Raphael and Fabio Calvo (Fontana and Morachiello 1975; Di Teodoro 2010, 2009), Giovanni Battista da Sangallo (Vitruvius Pollio 2003), and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (Benelli 2024)—as well as the compendia and thematic

studies produced by figures such as Diego de Sagredo, Giuseppe Porta Salviati, and Bernardino Balbi (Lemerle and Pauwels, n.d.).

In the mid-sixteenth century, the Venetian humanist Daniele Barbaro with Andrea Palladio produced what is widely regarded as the finest Renaissance edition of the Vitruvian text. Complemented by Barbaro's extensive and learned commentaries and Palladio's precise illustrations in strictly orthogonal projections, it soon became a landmark publication in the field (Cellauro 1998, 2000a, 2000b; Di Teodoro 2012; Fontana 1985; Oechslin 2012, 2016; Sanvito 2016; Tavenor 2003; Vitruvius Pollio and Barbaro 1987). First published in 1556 and repeatedly reprinted, Barbaro's edition remained a standard work of reference in the libraries of architects, aristocratic households, and monastic institutions, particularly in the Italian peninsula and the eastern Adriatic (Cats. 7.5–7.6).

While becoming the principal medium for transmitting the art of building, the architectural treatise emerged as a new literary genre in which printers and publishers invested considerable resources to produce expensive, large-format, and lavishly illustrated volumes (Nuovo 2018). By the twilight of the Renaissance, Vincenzo Scamozzi undertook the ambitious task of synthesising the vast body of architectural knowledge accumulated over the previous two centuries through approximately thirty treatises, published in more than 220 editions, translations, and adaptations. His ambitious work was published in 1615 in unfinished form; Scamozzi completed only six of the intended ten books, which nonetheless filled two folio volumes exceeding 350 pages each (Guidarelli 2018; Lemerle 2004; Barbieri and Beltramini 2003).

In terms of content, these treatises addressed a broad spectrum of topics, ranging from theoretical foundations to practical applications such as building materials and construction techniques. In addition to principles of geometry, drawing, perspective, and stage design, they provided prescriptions for urban planning and infrastructure, specific building types—churches, convents, theatres, palaces, and villas—as well as systematic treatments of the architectural orders.

Throughout the Renaissance, the form of the architectural treatise changed radically. In less than a century, the medium evolved from a purely text-based format to works centred on the interplay between word and image, and eventually to volumes composed almost entirely of plates. While the original treatises of Vitruvius and Alberti lacked illustrations, which were added in later editions, the books of Sebastiano Serlio, published from

1537 onwards, established a balance between text and image (Cats. 4.5 and 7.9). By 1562, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's work carried this development a step further, consisting solely of illustrated plates accompanied by captions (Cats. 7.10–7.11) (Carpo 1998; Hart 1998, 11–13).

Furthermore, the encyclopaedic tradition inherited from Vitruvius eventually gave way to more specialised contributions. The *Säulenbuch* or “Book of Orders”, particularly popular in German-speaking lands, developed into a highly popular derivative genre focused exclusively on the elements of the architectural orders (Kruft 1999, pp. 213–21). Military architecture also branched off into a distinct genre; driven by constant experimentation in the field, military treatises eventually rivalled or surpassed civil architecture in the number of printed volumes produced (Coletto et al. 2022; Kruft 1999, pp. 131–43). This was followed in the Baroque period by the emergence of the *opera omnia*—collections of projects by major architects such as Guarino Guarini and Francesco Borromini—and the first monographic studies of architectural history, such as Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur* (Cats. 6.3.4.1–6.3.4.3).

Concurrently, repertoires of antiquities and celebrated buildings appeared. Serlio's Third Book, titled *Le antichità di Roma* and preceded by the famous motto “Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet”, was a pioneering work of this subgenre (Cat. 7.9). It presents ancient buildings and ruins in Rome and throughout the Italian peninsula, as well as monuments beyond Italy, such as the Amphitheatre and the Arch of the Sergii in Pula. However, it included not only antiquities, but also important Renaissance buildings, notably those designed by Donato Bramante in Rome. Likewise, Palladio devoted the final book of his *Quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice, 1570) to ancient Roman monuments in Italy and beyond, including the Temple of Augustus in Pula, together with a select number of Renaissance buildings (Cat. 4.9.1).

The model established by Serlio and Palladio for monographic studies of Roman antiquities derived from architects' sketchbooks and drawing collections, which contained detailed and scaled architectural surveys. Circulating among architects and patrons, these invaluable repositories of architectural knowledge were extensively copied and eventually reproduced and disseminated through various printing techniques (Brothers and Waters 2011). While woodcuts were well suited to the typical combination of text and images in architectural treatises, books consisting solely of illustrations and captions allowed publishers to experiment with more

refined techniques, such as engraving and etching. One of the earliest examples was Antonio Labacco's *Libro appartenente a l'architettura* (Rome, 1552), which presented large folding engraved plates depicting monuments such as the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus and the Basilica Aemilia. During the same period, the French architect Jacques Androuet du Cerceau began producing a remarkable number of etchings of ancient monuments, architectural details, and Renaissance ornamental motifs, including grotesques. In his library in Ljubljana, Count Wolfgang Engelbert Auersperg owned a valuable album of architectural prints after the antique, the majority of which were by Labacco and Androuet du Cerceau (Guarneri forthcoming).

Another important vehicle for the dissemination of the classical architectural language was the guidebook to Rome, aligned with the medieval tradition of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*. From the sixteenth century onwards, printed versions of these works circulated widely on the Roman book market, particularly in the years preceding jubilees. Although they generally contained literary descriptions and views of ancient monuments and modern buildings rather than precise architectural drawings, architects nevertheless appreciated them. During their study journeys to Rome, for instance, Palladio and Scamozzi both engaged in the production of such works, which were subsequently reprinted and even plagiarised to serve pilgrims and visitors. The Zrinski family library contained three copies of Palladio's guide to Rome, probably acquired by different members during their travels to the city (Botica and Gudelj 2012, pp. 62–63).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the development of architectural treatises and the study of antiquity acquired a genuinely European dimension. Books such as the Elzevir edition of Vitruvius, featuring excerpts from Alberti, Philandrier, Barbaro, Balbi, Claude de Saumaise, and Henry Wotton, summarised the architectural knowledge accumulated across Renaissance and Baroque Europe. Similarly, travellers from across the continent, eager to experience antiquity first hand, visited not only Rome and the Italian peninsula, but also the eastern Adriatic on their way to Greece. The contributions of Italian, French, German, Austrian, and British architects, alongside those of local scholars, further demonstrate the cosmopolitan character of classical architectural studies during the early modern period (see Part 5).

While the printed book became the principal vehicle for transmitting this architectural language, stone remained its essential medium. From the Roman monuments of Pula to Renaissance buildings in Venice and elsewhere

in Italy, the limestone known in sources as Istrian—but quarried across the wider region and exported for its durability and aesthetic qualities—served as a primary material through which this language was both studied and constructed.

Regarding the quarries of Istria, Vincenzo Scamozzi notes that “the ancient Romans used the stone from these regions; [...] a fact clearly attested by many remarkable buildings, the extensive remains of which are still visible both within and outside the city of Pula” (Scamozzi 1615, II, 198). Indeed, Istrian stone was extensively exploited for the construction of Roman urban centres within the peninsula—such as Koper, Poreč, and Pula—as well as for numerous rural villas. This exploitation, however, appears to have remained largely localised. Since archaeologists working in Aquileia and Altino have identified substantial quantities of limestone from Aurisina, modern scholarship suggests that Istrian stone was not yet widely exported during the Roman period (Fiorentin 2006; Lazzarini 2008; Previato 2015; Belamarić 2016, 98–111; Benčić 2019).

Scamozzi also observed that the stone used in antiquity belonged to “certain varieties that were somewhat softer than those we currently use here in Venice” (Scamozzi 1615, II, 198). The subsequent intensive adoption of Istrian stone by the Venetian Republic fostered a complex and widespread empirical knowledge of its material properties. According to the statutes of the Venetian Stonemasons’ Guild, the classification of Istrian stone relied on two principal criteria: provenance and geological bedding.

Stone shipped from the ports of Vrsar, Rovinj, and Brijuni was deemed to be of superior quality and suitable for all structural and architectural purposes. By contrast, stone from other locations was subject to strict regulatory restrictions. To prevent fraud, the guild required stonemasons, “when selling raw stone or any worked stone product, [to] sell it under its proper name—that is, as originating from Pula, Poreč, Rovinj, or any other specific locality and variety” (Sagredo 1856, Art. 39).

The individual quarry beds were traditionally designated by the term *man* (“hand”), followed by a specific descriptor indicating either their properties—such as *man bianca* (“white hand”) or *man forte* (“strong hand”)—or their intended use, such as *man da gradini* (“hand for steps”) or *man da puteali* (“hand for well-heads”) (Piana 2023, 119–129). The combination of provenance and bedding thus provided a comprehensive framework for assessing material quality. As early as 1312, guild regulations prescribed that “window frames and

balconies, as well as arches, balusters, basins, well-heads, paving slabs, large thresholds, gutters, and conduits, be made from the ‘strong hand’ stone of Pula” (Sagredo 1856, Art. 34).

This specialised lithic knowledge extended well beyond internal guild regulations and entered broader early modern literature. Scamozzi asserted that “the greatest quantity and quality of these stones is found in the quarries of Leme and Mondelago, since both yield stone that is exceptionally white, fine, resonant, solid, and hard” (Scamozzi 1615, II, 198). Several decades earlier, Pietro Coppo had noted that “excellent stonecutters are found here [in Brijuni], as this island is rich in fine white stone”, although he qualified this by adding that it was “less hard than that of Rovinj” (Coppo 1540, B IIIr). Similarly, Francesco Sansovino observed that “the quarries in Rovinj abound with this variety of stone”, which could yield “tall, large, and monolithic columns of any desired length” (Sansovino 1581, 140–141).

Nevertheless, early modern authors occasionally differed in their assessment of the material’s durability. Leon Battista Alberti cautiously argued that although Istrian stone “closely resembles marble, [...] when exposed to vapours or to flames [...] it immediately cracks and breaks into pieces” (Alberti 1550, p. 50). By contrast, Sansovino praised the stone from Rovinj and Brijuni for its resistance, noting that although “they are white in colour and resemble marble, they are so solid and durable that they endure for a very long time against frost and sun” (Sansovino 1581, 140).

Whereas Venetian writers typically celebrated the “great buildings and sumptuous constructions” that defined their own metropolis, Tuscan authors emphasised the use of Istrian stone beyond the borders of the Venetian Republic. In his technical introduction to materials, Giorgio Vasari wrote: “In Istria there is also quarried a pale white stone, which splits very easily; and of this, more than any other, not only the city of Venice makes use, but all of Romagna as well” (Vasari 1568, 58). Agostino del Riccio similarly recorded that Istrian stone “is a compact, non-friable stone; its colour is olive-toned, it takes on a fine sheen and polish, and it is best preserved when kept sheltered. It can be seen in use in the cloister of the Madonna of Loreto, as well as throughout Venice” (Del Riccio 1597, fols. 19v–20r).

According to Scamozzi, the definitive proof of Istrian stone’s exceptional quality was provided by the façade of the Basilica della Santa Casa in Loreto. Built between 1570 and 1587 to a design by Giovanni Boccacini da Carpi, the façade was constructed using stone transported

from Rovinj by specialised cargo vessels (Coltrinari 2017, 187–188; Russo 2019; Guarneri 2025b, p. 257). Scamozzi complained that, in comparison to Istrian limestone, the stones used in Rome, Naples, Genoa, and Florence “tend to be rough, dark, and spongy, or else full of cavities and other flaws, meaning that at every turn masters must plaster, glue, and patch the works”. Even monumental Roman structures such as St Peter’s Basilica and the Church of the Gesù, he argued, suffered from these lithic defects. By contrast, Scamozzi concluded that “the façade of the Temple of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Loreto, constructed of Istrian stone and carved by skilled masters from Rome and elsewhere, far surpasses all the buildings of Rome; for the white, fine stones of these [Istrian] quarries possess all of these excellent qualities” (Scamozzi 1615, II, 204).

Lit. Coppo 1540; Alberti 1550; Vasari 1568; Sansovino 1581; Del Riccio 1597; Scamozzi 1615; Sagredo 1856; Fontana and Morachiello 1975; Fontana 1985; Vitruvius Pollio and Barbaro 1987; Guillaume 1988; Pagliara 1986; Burns 1998; Carpo 1998; Cellauro 1998; Hart 1998; Hart and Hicks 1998; Kruft 1999; Cellauro 2000a, 2000b; Martini and Vitruvius Pollio 2002; Barbieri and Beltramini 2003; Tavenor 2003; Vitruvius Pollio 2003; Lemerle 2004; Fiorentin 2006; Lazzarini 2008; Di Teodoro 2009; Di Teodoro 2010; Payne 2010; Brothers and Waters 2011; Botica and Gudelj 2012; Di Teodoro 2012; Oechslin 2012; Previato 2015; Belamarić 2016; Oechslin 2016; Sanvito 2016; Coltrinari 2017; Guidarelli 2018; Nuovo 2018; Benčić 2019; Russo 2019; Coletto et al. 2022; Piana 2023; Benelli 2024; Rowland and Bell 2024; Guarneri 2025b; Lemerle and Pauwels n.d.; Guarneri forthcoming.

Cristiano Guarneri

7.1 GIOVANNI BATTISTA CAMOZZINI

Corinthian capital

Drawing in ink on paper

250x150mm

Hvar Heritage museum, Archival fund Bučić

Giovanni Battista Camozzini (active 1696–1730), a Venetian military engineer originally from Bergamo, ranks among the most important builders in the service of the Republic on the eastern Adriatic during the early eighteenth century. Throughout a long career in Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor, he worked on the fortifications of Knin, Kotor, and Herceg Novi, participated in the reconstruction of the lazaretto at Split, designed



the bell tower of the parish church at Omiš, and was involved in numerous public and ecclesiastical building projects. Although his surviving architectural works display relatively modest artistic ambitions, the drawings preserved in the Bučić Family Collection in Hvar reveal a cultivated practitioner with a pronounced interest in classical architecture and the ancient heritage of Dalmatia.

Particularly significant among these drawings is a sheet devoted to the Corinthian order. In its upper section appears a drawing of half of the soffit view of a Corinthian capital, accompanied by an explanation of its geometric construction, while the central portion contains a carefully executed rendering of the capital itself, with a single tier of acanthus leaves, caulicoli, an abacus, and a central flower, positioned above an Attic base. The accompanying text, written in Italian with dialectal features, constitutes an attempt to translate and

interpret Vitruvius's description of the Corinthian capital in Book IV of *De architectura*. Rather than reproducing any known vernacular translation, it appears to represent an independent engagement with the ancient text, demonstrating both Camozzini's familiarity with Latin and his active interest in architectural theory.

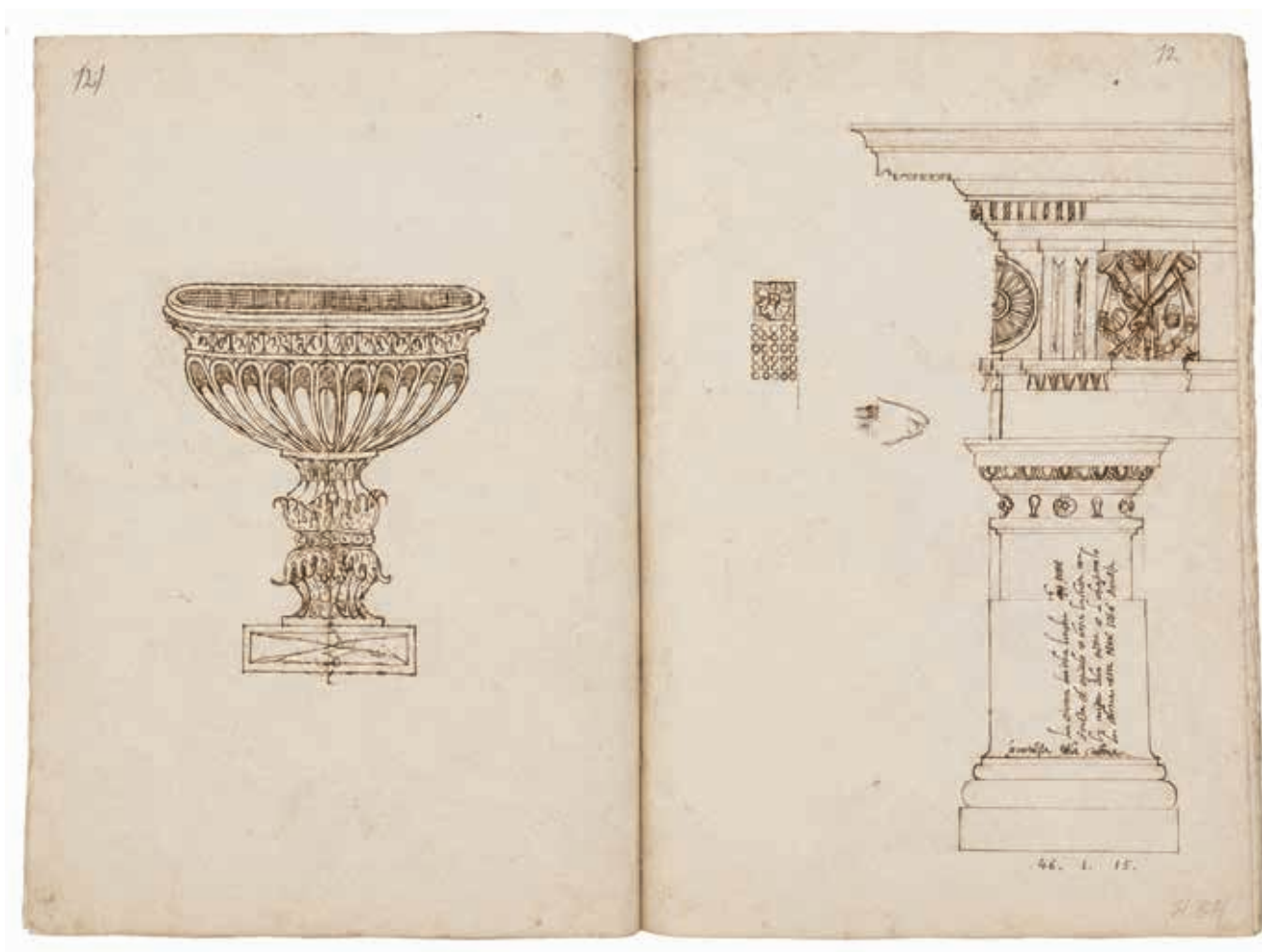
The lower part of the sheet contains definitions of the Vitruvian intercolumniations—pynostyle, systyle, diastyle, araeostyle, and eustyle—together with calculations for the widths of tetrastyle, hexastyle, and octastyle façades. The drawing therefore transcends the status of a simple workshop model or practical design aid and instead constitutes a concise compendium of the fundamental principles of classical architecture. Indeed, it represents the only known evidence to date of a direct engagement with Vitruvius's text on the eastern Adriatic coast during the early modern period.

Camozzini's drawings demonstrate that among the builders of Venetian Dalmatia there circulated not only practical models and constructional knowledge, but also theoretical reflections on ancient architecture. His

interest in the classical orders connects him with the intellectual circles that, in the early eighteenth century, documented the monuments of Salona and Split and laid the foundations for their first publication in the works of Daniele Farlati and Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. At the same time, Camozzini's connections with the engineer Francesco Melchiori and with the Macanović family of builders—owners of a copy of Daniele Barbaro's translation and commentary on Vitruvius—attest to the existence of a local tradition of studying classical architecture. The drawing of the Corinthian capital thus emerges as a rare and valuable document of the transmission of Vitruvian knowledge between learned antiquarian circles, foreign specialists, and local builders on the eastern Adriatic coast.

Lit. Kovačić 1994; Bilić 2013, pp. 48, 155-159; Gudelj 2014d, pp. 106-108; Guarneri 2025a, pp. 68-70.

Jasenska Gudelj



7.2 ANONYMOUS DRAUGHTSMAN

Korčula Sketchbook

310 × 230 mm

drawings on paper; 27 pp.

Cathedral collection, Korčula

The Korčula Sketchbook, today preserved in the Cathedral Collection on the island of Korčula, represents a unique testimony to the reception and transmission of the classical architectural language along the eastern Adriatic coast. Discovered by Cvito Fisković in 1937, it contains twenty-seven folios with drawings, graphic models, and annotations dating from the seventeenth century. The volume functioned as a pattern book used over an extended period by several craftsmen, probably associated with the same workshop.

Of particular significance are the drawings of the architectural orders—Doric, Corinthian, and Composite—while an Ionic order was probably originally included but is now lost. Such drawings are exceptionally rare in the eastern Adriatic, as the systematic application of the classical orders during the early modern period remained the exception rather than the rule. Executed in orthogonal projection, the sheets depict columns, capitals, entablatures, and individual structural and decorative elements. The Corinthian and Composite orders are supplemented by underside views of the capitals, while the Corinthian drawing also includes a geometric construction of its principal components.

Although the drawings were clearly copied from earlier models, they do not correspond to any known architectural treatise. Their composition and graphic language reveal familiarity with architectural publications of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, particularly those by Vignola, Palladio, and Scamozzi. Notes concerning proportions are written in the idiom of the Venetian cultural sphere, while differences in handwriting indicate that the sheets were repeatedly annotated and consulted as practical tools for understanding the system of the architectural orders.

The Doric order is particularly noteworthy. Rather than adhering strictly to canonical models, it reflects a local interpretation of Venetian architectural practice. Its composition can be associated with the ground floor of Jacopo Sansovino's Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, one of the masterpieces of the High Renaissance. The draughtsman was evidently familiar with Sansovino's celebrated solution to the Doric corner problem, although he did not fully comprehend its underlying logic. Similar connections with Venetian architecture can also be

identified in the Corinthian and Composite orders, especially in the treatment of capitals and entablatures, pointing to the influence of Jacopo Sansovino, Michele Sanmicheli, and Andrea Palladio.

Equally important is the second part of the sketchbook, which demonstrates how motifs from architectural treatises were translated into everyday workshop practice. Particularly notable are the drawings of fireplaces derived from the designs published in Sebastiano Serlio's *Fourth Book*. While based on Serlio's models, these designs do not follow his systematic application of the architectural orders; instead, ornamental motifs were freely combined and adapted to suit the needs of local patrons and craftsmen. The sketchbook thus provides a vivid illustration of how architectural knowledge was transferred from the theoretical realm of printed treatises into the practical repertoire of building workshops.

The Korčula sequence of architectural orders and fireplace designs therefore constitutes a valuable document of the process through which the practical experience of Venetian architects and the theoretical knowledge embodied in architectural treatises were transformed into a set of models adapted to local conditions. Given the scarcity of surviving drawings by Venetian architects of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, these sheets are of exceptional importance for understanding the dissemination of the classical architectural language along the eastern Adriatic coast. At the same time, they reveal how ideas derived from architectural treatises and exemplary buildings were adapted to local practice and became an integral part of the working repertoire of builders and stonemasons.

Lit. C. Fisković 1991; Tulić, Kudiš 2014, pp. 28, 29; Gudelj 2014d, pp. 104-106; Guarneri 2025a, pp. 68-69.

Jasenska Gudelj

7.3 MARCUS VITRUVIUS POLLIO

M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigator factus cum figuris et tabula

Edited by Fra' Giovanni Giocondo

Venezia: Giovanni Tacuino, 1511

Dubrovnik Research Library, Antiqua, Shelfmark A III 91

This edition of Vitruvius, edited by the architect and humanist Fra' Giovanni Giocondo, marked a turning point in the Renaissance reception of *De architectura*. Giocondo was the first to collate manuscripts of different



families and periods, producing a philological restoration of the original Latin text. Although some passages remained obscure and several interpretations tentative, most of the text became intelligible.

Moreover, Giocondo's edition was the first to include illustrations. Since Vitruvius refers to drawings in several parts of the text, it was clear that the original treatise must have contained illustrations, which had subsequently been lost in the manuscript tradition. Giocondo therefore attempted to reconstruct these missing images, providing illustrations of various kinds: plans and elevations, architectural details of the orders, masonry and other construction techniques, building machines, and complex geometrical diagrams.

The copy on display bears an ownership inscription of the Genoese nobleman Nicola Spinola and is still recorded in the Capuchin Convent in Genoa in 1799. It must therefore have reached the eastern Adriatic during the nineteenth century. The book contains a number of marginalia, especially in the opening pages, where Vitruvius introduces the basic principles of architecture. In a fine cursive hand, written in pen and ink, a reader carefully extracted keywords from the text and noted them in the margins. Where Vitruvius explains that architecture consists of two principal parts, construction and reasoning, the reader wrote "architectura", "fabrica", and "ratiocinatio"; beside the passage, introducing the

triad of strength, utility, and beauty appear the words "firmitas", "utilitas", and "venustas", and so forth.

This is a typical humanist and aristocratic use of an architectural treatise. The reader knew Latin and engaged in a speculative reading focused primarily on architectural theory. By contrast, the more practical chapters on the design of temples, houses, and the architectural orders show no evidence of use, suggesting that they were of little interest to him. The illustrations bear no signs of copying or tracing, and the pages are unsoiled, indicating that the reader did not draw directly from the book and used it in a clean environment, such as the library of a noble palace.

Lit. Ciapponi 1984; Pagliara 1986, 2004; Rowland 1998; Gudelj and Ruso 2013, p. 102; Gros 2015; Guarneri 2025a, pp. 102–4.

Cristiano Guarneri

7.4 MARCUS VITRUVIUS POLLIO

Architettura

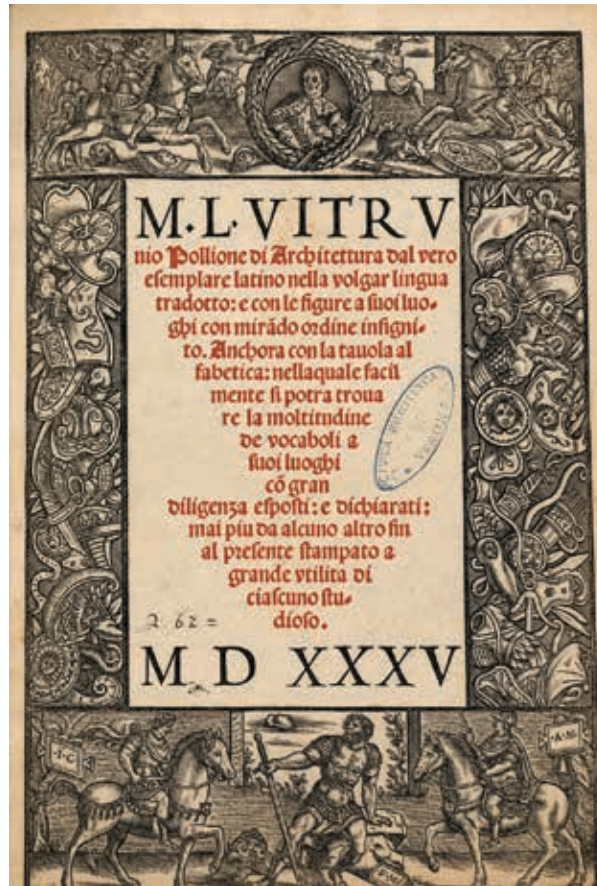
Edited by Francesco Luci, called 'Durantino'

Venezia: Niccolò and Aristotele Zoppino, 1535

Research Library, University of Zadar, Shelfmark R-234

The Italian translation of Vitruvius's *De architectura*, edited by the humanist Francesco Luci, better known as "Durantino", demonstrates how profitable the genre of illustrated architectural treatises had become for Venetian publishers. The *editio princeps* was issued in March 1524 by the printing house of the brothers Giovanni Antonio and Pietro Nicolini da Sabbio, only a few years after the first Italian translation of Vitruvius by Cesare Cesariano, published in Como in 1521. The edition represented no major scholarly advance, since the editor combined—and pirated—Cesariano's somewhat awkward Italian translation with the illustrations from Fra' Giocondo's Latin edition.

By recycling previously published material, the edition required minimal investment on the part of the publisher while maximising profits, since it proved commercially successful. Unlike the expensive large-folio editions by Fra' Giocondo and Cesariano, this book was issued in a slightly smaller and cheaper format. On the Venetian market in 1539, Cesariano's edition was valued at four times the price of Durantino's, which cost roughly the same as the reduced octavo reprint of Fra' Giocondo's edition published in Florence by Giunti in 1522. As



Francesco Benelli has shown, a learned architect such as Antonio da Sangallo the Younger owned four different copies of Vitruvius, two in Latin and two in Italian; both of the Italian copies were Durantino's 1524 edition.

The Da Sabbio publishers probably applied to the Venetian Senate for the standard ten-year privilege. Exactly eleven years later, in 1535, another Venetian publisher, Niccolò Zoppino, reprinted the book, since it still promised to be profitable. This is the edition on display, which contains three different ownership inscriptions. The first belongs to an unknown Niccolò, described as *proto di marangoni*, that is, a head carpenter in an Adriatic shipyard. Indeed, the ancient Roman knowledge preserved in Vitruvius was of interest not only to architects but also to other craftsmen.

The book subsequently passed to the master builder Giovanni Battista Fontana, who recorded that he purchased it in Kotor in 1670. As Cristiano Guarneri has recently reconstructed, Fontana was the elder brother of the famous architect Carlo Fontana. He was an itinerant master builder from Ticino who worked in Rome and was probably drawn to the eastern Adriatic after the devastating Dubrovnik earthquake of 1667 and the ensuing demand for labour in the reconstruction. He established a workshop on the island of Korčula, from

where he managed several commissions from the Bay of Kotor to Zadar and even Cres.

Finally, Anton Duplančić “jadrensis” signed the book in 1806. He may have been a relative of Vicko Duplančić, who served as the first custodian of the Zadar Civic Library from 1855.

Lit. Pagliara 1986; EMOBookTrade 2022; Argenziano 2023; Benelli 2024, pp. 14–18; Guarneri 2024.

Cristiano Guarneri

7.5 MARCUS VITRUVIUS POLLIO

I dieci libri dell'architettura [...] tradotti et commentati da monsignor Barbaro

Translated and edited by Daniele Barbaro

Venezia: Francesco de' Franceschi and Johann Criegher, 1567

Archeological Museum in Split, Shelfmark R 1294

The edition of Vitruvius's *De architectura* by the Venetian aristocrat Daniele Barbaro was arguably the most influential Renaissance edition of the treatise. Working from a densely annotated copy of Fra' Giocondo's edition, Barbaro wrote exhaustive Latin commentaries



on the Vitruvian text, now preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, and later produced a clear and comprehensible Italian translation, published in Venice by Francesco Marcolini in 1556. After the *editio princeps*, Francesco de' Franceschi printed both the original Latin text with commentaries and a quarto edition of the Italian translation in 1567. As the book continued to sell, further reprints appeared in 1584, 1629, and 1641. The accuracy of Barbaro's translation and commentary remained unsurpassed for almost three centuries, until Carlo Amati's two-volume edition of 1829–30.

The copy on display demonstrates particularly well that sixteenth-century editions of Barbaro's *Vitruvius* continued to circulate and be used into the eighteenth century and beyond. It belonged to the Macanović family of stonemasons active in central Dalmatia, who effectively monopolised the office of *protomagister* in Trogir from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. Although the earliest documented members of the family were illiterate and engaged in modest building works on the fortifications of Klis and Knin, within a couple of generations Ivan Macanović had acquired this copy of *Vitruvius*, which his son Ignacije used extensively.

First brought to scholarly attention by Cvito Fisković, Macanović's copy of *Vitruvius* includes a sketch for the elevation of the church façade at Nerežišća on the island of Brač, as well as other extensive evidence of use. The book reveals the wide range of tasks undertaken by the Macanović family and the considerable trust they placed in the knowledge contained within it. Reading marks, manicules, underlined words, and signs of folded corners appear in chapters concerning the fundamentals of architecture, such as the general principles introduced in Book I and the design of the architectural orders in Books III and IV. Macanović also consulted more specific sections in order to solve practical problems arising from the family workshop's work. Evidence of use appears, for example, in the chapter on city gates (I, 5), in connection with the rearrangement of the Land Gate area in Trogir, and again in the section on piling foundations for harbours (V, 12), in relation to the reconstruction of the docks in Split.

Lit. C. Fisković 1955, 1993; Babić 1999, 2016; Cellauro 2000b; Prijatelj Pavičić and Čoralić 2001; Marcon and Moretti 2015; Igoshina et al. 2023; Guarneri 2025a, pp. 175–91.

Cristiano Guarneri

7.6 MARCUS VITRUVIUS POLLIO

I dieci libri dell'architettura [...] tradotti et commentati da monsignor Barbaro

Translated and edited by Daniele Barbaro

Venezia: Francesco de' Franceschi, 1584

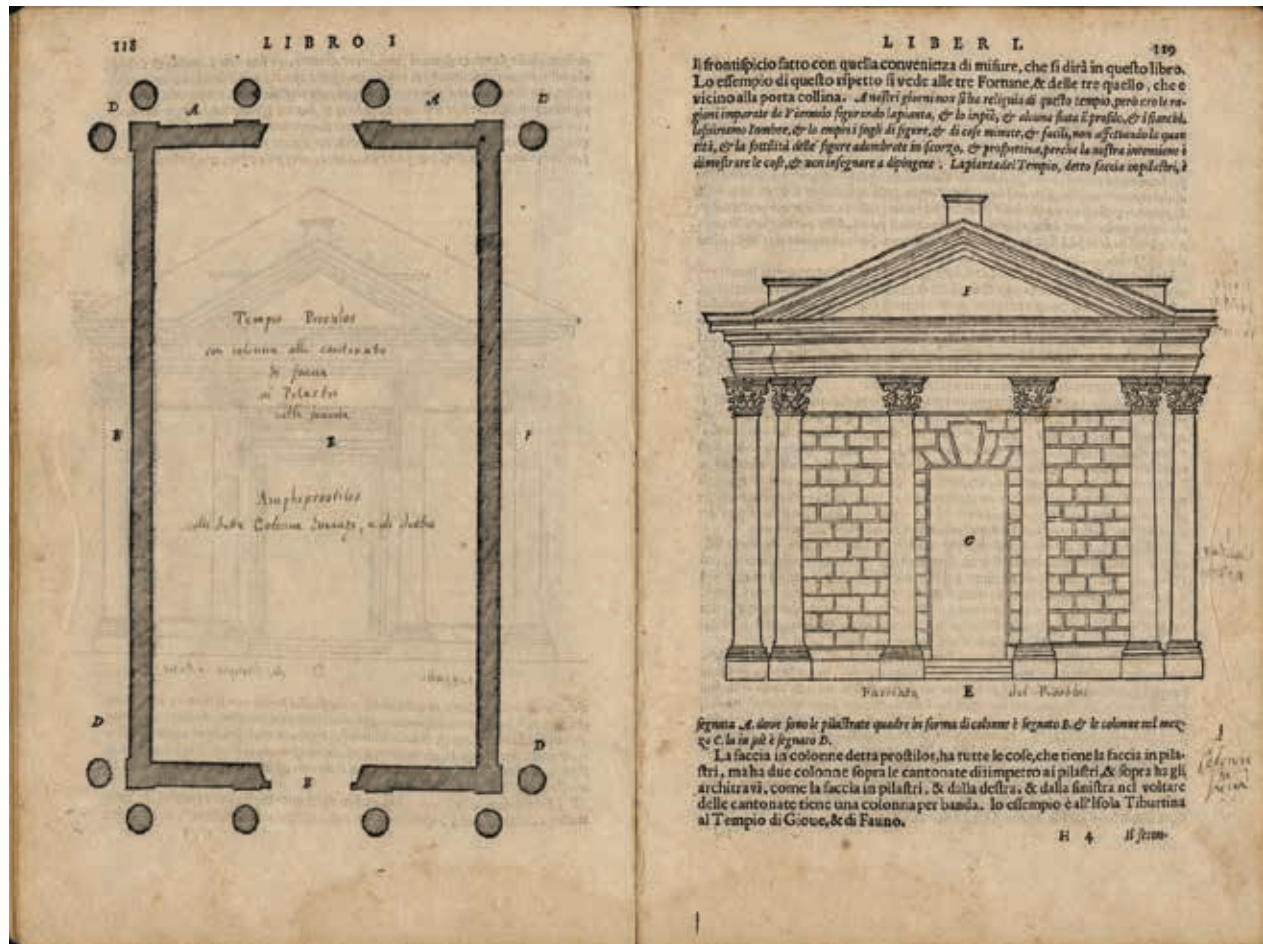
City Museum of Rovinj–Rovigno, Shelfmark S 725

This copy of the third edition of Barbaro's *Vitruvius* comes from the collection of Petar Stanković (Pietro Stankovich), although it also bears two additional, now obliterated and unfortunately illegible ownership inscriptions, one on the front endpaper and the other on the title page. The volume is particularly noteworthy for the extensive and varied evidence of use it preserves. Reading marks, manicules, and marginal annotations occur frequently throughout the first five books, but are absent from the later, more technical sections. Although all annotations were executed in pen and ink, differences in colour, stroke thickness, and handwriting indicate the work of at least three distinct readers, none of whose hands resembles that of Stanković. These annotations appear to predate Stanković's ownership and were probably made by the individuals identified in the now-erased possession notes.

One of these readers was almost certainly an artist or architect with a particular interest in the classical language of architecture. In the margins of the opening chapters of the first book, several sketches in red chalk (*sanguigna*) appear. These depict the plan of a Corinthian or Composite capital seen from above, together with profile studies of heads with exaggerated features resembling carnival masks or grotesques (pp. 35, 37). Traces of red chalk are also visible on several plan illustrations of the Roman *domus* showing different types of atriums (pp. 284–85), suggesting that the reader copied these images.

The annotations reveal the differing interests of successive readers. One reader, writing in a small semi-cursive hand, carefully extracted and listed in the margins all the species of timber mentioned in Book II, chapter 9 (*Del tagliare i legnami*; pp. 89–92). Another, employing a larger and fully cursive script, concentrated on Barbaro's commentary in the introduction to the third book, noting subjects such as *Cosa sia proportione* and *fine della proportione* (pp. 98–100, 109).

Perhaps the most intriguing intervention is the annotation of the various temple types directly within the plan illustrations, executed in elegant serified capital letters. The reader inscribed labels such as *Tempio in Antis*, *Tempio Prostilos*, and *Amphiprostilos* in the centre of the cella, while architectural elements such as *Pilastris* and *Colonna* were identified in their appropriate locations.



Furthermore, a system of reference letters, asterisks, and other signs established clear connections between the text and the accompanying illustrations.

Lit. Dobrić 1995.

Cristiano Guarnieri

7.7 VITRUVIUS POLLIO

Vitruvius deutsch

Edited by Walther Hermann Ryff

Nuremberg: Johann Petreius, 1548

Academy Library, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, Shelfmark R-913

The physician and mathematician Walther Hermann Ryff of Strasbourg was a key figure in the dissemination of Vitruvius's *De architectura* in the German-speaking lands. He first collaborated with Georg Messerschmidt on a Latin edition of Vitruvius (Strasbourg, 1543), which, after the pocket edition published by Lucimbordo da Gabbiano in Lyon in 1523, was the second edition of *De architectura* printed outside the Italian peninsula. Ryff

subsequently turned to a variety of other fields, publishing works on architecture, human anatomy, distillation, and classical literature.

Ryff possessed a remarkably broad knowledge of Renaissance architectural literature. Shortly before his death in 1548, Johann Petreius published three of his works in German. The first was a brief *Säulenbüchlein* consisting of only five plates, entitled *Der fünff maniren der Colonen* (Nuremberg, 1547). The second was a substantial compilation drawn from a range of texts on geometry, perspective, fortification, ballistics, and land surveying, entitled *Der furnembsten notwendigen der gantzen Architectur* (Nuremberg, 1547). The third was his annotated German translation of *De architectura*, simply titled *Vitruvius deutsch*.

In both conception and content, Ryff's edition depended heavily on Cesare Cesariano's Italian translation of Vitruvius (Como, 1521). Ryff extensively copied illustrations from Cesariano, as well as from printed works by Francesco Colonna, Marcantonio Raimondi, and Agostino Musi. Nevertheless, in the dedication he cites a wide range of additional authorities employed in his commentary, including Alberti, Dürer, Serlio,



Philandrier, Luca Pacioli, Nicolò Tartaglia, Oronce Finé, and Pedro Nunes.

The copy displayed here was purchased by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, who signed the front endpaper in 1844. The volume is listed in the printed catalogue of his library published in 1867, one year before his collection of archival documents, manuscripts, and printed books was donated to the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (now Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts). The book contains occasional pencil reading marks in the margins and still preserves several annotated paper bookmarks between its pages, both of which appear to be by Kukuljević Sakcinski.

Evidence of earlier ownership also survives. A certain Christoff recorded, in Gothic German script, that in 1609 the book was returned to its owner after having been lent out in 1555. Later, in 1660, Michael Maximilian and Gabriel Michael Sommer von Holzberg, probably from Trautenau (present-day Trutnov in the Czech Republic), inscribed their names on different pages of the volume.

Lit. Kukuljević Sakcinski 1867, p. 45, no. 44; Kruft 1999, 214–15; Günther 2004; Jachmann 2006; Vuković 2017; Guarneri 2025a, 113.

Cristiano Guarneri

7.8 LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI

I dieci libri dell'architettura [...] novamente de la latina ne la volgar lingua con molta diligenza tradotti

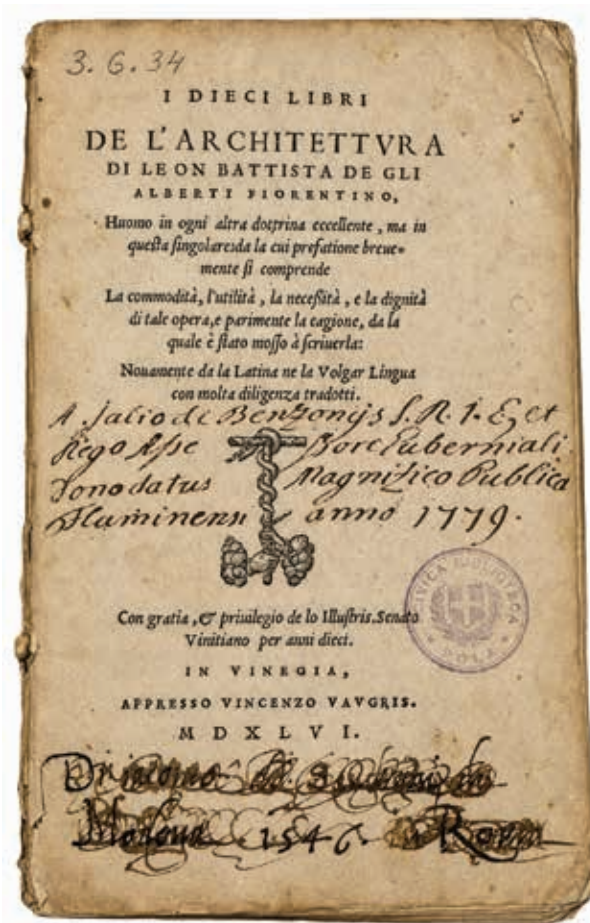
Translated by Pietro Lauro

Venezia, Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1546

University library Rijeka, Biblioteca civica, Shelfmark 3.G.34

Written in Latin in the mid-fifteenth century and repeatedly printed from 1485 onwards, Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* appeared in this Venetian pocket edition translated by Pietro Lauro, the first vernacular Italian version of the treatise, though not its most accomplished. Four years later, Cosimo Bartoli produced a substantially superior translation, published in Florence by Lorenzo Torrentino, who would subsequently issue the first edition of Vasari's *Vite*. Bartoli's edition offered a clearer text, a larger format, and an extensive programme of illustrations. Nevertheless, because the Florentine edition was printed in a relatively limited run and its illustrated folio format made it considerably more expensive, Lauro's Venetian translation achieved a wider circulation.

Unlike the architectural treatises of Serlio and Palladio, Alberti's work contains no book or chapter devoted specifically to antiquities. This absence should not



be interpreted as evidence of limited knowledge of ancient Roman architecture. On the contrary, Alberti's understanding of antiquity surpassed that of most of his contemporaries. Rather than treating the subject separately, he distributed his observations on ancient buildings throughout the *De re aedificatoria*, integrating them into discussions where they were most relevant. As a consequence, the treatise is often less straightforward to consult than later architectural manuals organised according to specific themes.

The copy exhibited here bears an erased but still legible ownership inscription of Giacomo Sardona of Modena, who signed the volume in Rome in 1546, the very year of its publication. The book later entered the library of Julije Benzoni, councillor of the city of Rijeka, who donated it to the municipality in 1779. Benzoni's gift comprised approximately 900 volumes from the family library. Among them was also a Latin edition of Vitruvius's *De architectura* with the commentary of Guillaume Philandrier (Lyon, 1552). His interest in architecture may be connected with the works he commissioned for the Benzoni family palace on St Vitus Square in Rijeka, inherited from his uncle Giovanni Antonio Benzoni, Bishop of Senj and Modruš, and subsequently embellished with a new stone portal and an upper balcony.

The volume preserves numerous reading marks and underlinings throughout the text. A sixteenth-century reader, probably Sardona himself, wrote the word *maraviglia* in the margin beside a passage describing remarkable phenomena associated with buildings in Rome, Venice, and Toledo. The same reader also appears to have been particularly interested in Roman urban design, underlining passages concerning long streets lined with cypresses and Hadrian's Bridge in Rome.

Lit. Orlandi 1994; Salvi 1994; Calzona et al. 2007; Puhmajer 2021; Guarneri 2025a, pp. 81, 129, 140, 194–96.

Cristiano Guarneri

7.9 SEBASTIANO SERLIO

Architettura

Venezia: Pietro de Nicolini da Sabbio for Melchiorre Sessa, 1551

City Museum Rovinj, Shelfmark S. 1213

The editorial history of Sebastiano Serlio's architectural treatise is particularly complex. Over a period of more than twenty years, Serlio composed eight books, most of which were published separately and at different times and places. They appeared in the following sequence: the Fourth Book, *Regole generali di architettura* (Venice, 1537); the Third Book on Roman antiquities (Venice, 1540); the First and Second Books (Paris, 1545); the Fifth Book, devoted to church architecture (Paris, 1547); and the *Libro straordinario*, containing designs for portals (Lyon, 1551). In 1550, Serlio sold the manuscripts of his remaining books to the art dealer Jacopo Strada, who subsequently published the Seventh Book, dealing with domestic architecture, in Frankfurt in 1575. The Sixth and Eighth Books, devoted respectively to domestic architecture and to the Roman military camp described by Polybius, remained unpublished until modern times.

The situation was further complicated by the activities of numerous publishers throughout Europe, who reissued Serlio's books either individually or in various collected editions. Pirated editions soon appeared, and many of Serlio's illustrations were copied and incorporated into other publications, including those of Walther Hermann Ryff, the German translator and commentator of Vitruvius. From the 1540s onwards, French, Dutch, and German translations of individual books by Serlio were repeatedly printed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in Antwerp, contributing significantly to the dissemination of Serlian architectural theory across northern Europe.



The copy displayed here, printed by Pietro de Nicolini da Sabbio on behalf of the Venetian publisher Melchiorre Sessa in 1551, represents the first collected edition bringing together the books previously issued separately. It comprises the First through Fifth Books and marks an important stage in the consolidation of Serlio's architectural oeuvre. Fifteen years later, in 1566, Francesco de' Franceschi superseded Sessa's edition by incorporating the *Libro straordinario*. He subsequently issued an expanded and definitive version under the title *Tutte l'opere d'architettura*, introduced by Giovanni Domenico Scamozzi's *Copiosissimo indice* and concluding with the Seventh Book.

The 1551 edition is of particular importance for the diffusion of Serlio's architectural language in Istria and the Kvarner region. In 1552, Sidro Stosić completed the Porta Marina in Cres, a rusticated Doric gateway clearly derived from a design illustrated in Serlio's Fourth Book. Approximately three decades later, together with other stonemasons and his son Frano Stosić, he constructed the Bragadina and Marcella gates in the new enceinte of Cres's fortifications, again drawing upon Serlian models. The evidence strongly suggests that Serlio's Fourth Book was already circulating in Cres by 1552, and it is entirely possible that the source consulted was a copy of this very

edition. The volume therefore provides valuable evidence for the transmission of Renaissance architectural theory and design practice from the Venetian book market to the eastern Adriatic building trades.

Lit. Kruft 1999, pp. 79–82; Deswarte-Rosa 2004; Borić 2011; Borić and Gudelj 2019, pp. 148–154; Guarneri 2025a, pp. 158–62.

Cristiano Guarneri

7.10 GIACOMO BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA

Architettura, concernente i cinque ordini, delineati, ed arricchiti

Venezia: Francesco Locatelli, 1777

University library Pula, Biblioteca provinciale dell'Istria, Shelfmark 5498

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura* was first published in Rome in 1562 without indication of the printer. It was subsequently reprinted, expanded, translated, and plagiarised throughout Italy and Europe. In terms of both the number of editions and



its influence on architectural practice, it was by far the most successful architectural treatise of the Renaissance.

With the *Regola*, Vignola completed the transformation of the architectural treatise from a discursive literary work into an almost entirely visual publication. The book essentially consists of a sequence of plates accompanied only by titles, brief captions, and numerical measurements. In doing so, it also contributed to a shift in printing techniques, replacing the woodcut with the more precise and refined medium of copperplate engraving.

Equally significant is the fact that Vignola did not conceive his work as a comprehensive compendium of architectural knowledge. Instead, it was intended as a practical manual for the design of the architectural orders. The plates illustrate the constituent elements—pedestals, bases, shafts, capitals, and entablatures—of the five orders presented both individually and in simple compositions employing trabeated and arcuated forms. Already in the earliest editions, however, supplementary plates depicting portals, gates, window and door frames, and chimneypieces derived from Vignola's own buildings were appended to the work. Roman publishers later expanded the treatise further by adding engravings of Michelangelo's architecture executed by Andrea Vaccaro in 1610.

With twenty-five surviving copies, Vignola's *Regola* is today the most widely represented architectural treatise in the libraries of the eastern Adriatic, surpassing Vitruvius, Palladio, and Serlio. Its influence on architecture along the eastern Adriatic coast is evident from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, from the Republic of Ragusa to the Croatian Littoral, particularly in portals, gates, and other architectural details. Most surviving copies in regional libraries, however, date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a phenomenon well illustrated by the examples displayed here.

This situation is not unique to the eastern Adriatic. Across the Italian peninsula, sixteenth-century editions of the *Regola* are comparatively rare. Their scarcity reflects the intensive use to which the treatise was subjected. Employed for generations in stonemasons' workshops and on construction sites, and passed from hand to hand among craftsmen, many early copies were ultimately used to the point of physical deterioration.

Lit. Thoenes 1974; Gudelj and Ruso 2013; Guarneri 2025a, pp. 33–36, 163–69.

Cristiano Guarneri

7.11 GIACOMO BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA

Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura

Milano: Giuseppe Galeazzi, 1776

University library Pula, Biblioteca provinciale dell'Istria,
Shelfmark 15454

Copies of eighteenth-century editions of Vignola's *Regola* are widely represented in eastern Adriatic libraries. During the seventeenth century, the treatise's original visual format underwent a gradual process of transformation. This resulted first in a substantial expansion of its contents and subsequently in their reduction in the compact eighteenth-century editions represented here.

The process began when Pierre Le Muet copied and translated Vignola's plates into French (Paris, 1620–30). They were subsequently adapted by Charles-Augustin d'Aviler in his *Cours d'architecture* (Paris, 1691). In the early eighteenth century, Leonhard Christoph Sturm produced a German adaptation of d'Aviler's treatise incorporating Vignola's plates of the orders; this version circulated widely in the Slovenian and Croatian

hinterland. Ultimately, this two-century accumulation of architectural knowledge built upon Vignola's original framework was condensed into more practical compendia. The plates were redrawn in reduced pocket formats and accompanied by brief explanatory texts printed alongside the illustrations.

Pocket editions of Vignola, similar to those displayed here, are common in eastern Adriatic collections, including the Garagnin Fanfogna collection (Trogir City Museum), the Rendić-Miočević Collection (Institute for Historical Sciences in Dubrovnik, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts), and National and University Library in Ljubljana. Most copies, however, preserve little evidence of ownership or use. The Milan edition exhibited here constitutes a notable exception.

Although the volume was donated to the Municipal Library of Pula by Giacomo Adelmann in 1903, he was not its first owner. Plate 26, depicting the capital and entablature of the Doric order, bears a faint pen-and-ink inscription referring to Giovanni Frančić of Krk. The volume also preserves various pen marks on several pages. It is therefore plausible that the book was actively



employed within the building trades of Istria and the Kvarner islands during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Lit. Thoenes 1974, 1988; Krufit 1999, pp. 153–54, 174–76, 230–37; Lemerle 2008.

Cristiano Guarnieri

7.12 CORINTHIAN CAPITAL

Limestone, carved

48 × 52 × 52 cm; lower diameter 35 cm; abacus height 6 cm

Pula, Forum

First half of the first century CE

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. A-245

This Corinthian capital carved from local limestone belongs to a regular type with notably slender proportions. The core of the capital, or *kalathos*, is encircled in the lower register by two rows of acanthus leaves, of which the upper row does not exceed half the total height of the capital. The rows each consist of eight upright, stylised acanthus leaves with curved tips and divided into lobes.

Each lobe is shaped like four olive leaves. The leaves of the two rows do not touch one another.

Between the leaves of the second row extend slightly inclined calyces with fluted sides. From these emerge acanthus leaves, some of which extend towards the corner volutes, while others turn towards the centre, forming scrolls that almost touch beneath the abacus flower. The volutes are smooth and terminate in spiral coils projecting outwards. The *kalathos* of the capital ends in a curved rim, on which rests an abacus with concave sides. Only one abacus flower is fully preserved; its petals are arranged around the pistil in a fan-like manner. The abacus flower rests on the rim of the *kalathos*.

The capital was found in the Forum, near the Temple of Roma and Augustus in Pula, during archaeological excavations and restoration work on the monument in 1921, together with a column of grey marble. On the basis of its stylistic features, it is dated to the first half of the first century CE. Given the circumstances of its discovery, it may be assumed to have belonged to the forum complex of the Roman colony of Pula.

Lit. Forlati Tamaro 1923, pp. 215–16, fig. 4; Cavalieri Manasse 1978, p. 134, pl. 47, 102; Buršić Matijašić 1985, p. 57, pl. III, 18; Fischer 1996, pp. 89–90.

Silvana Petešić



7.13 DORIC FRIEZE WITH SACRIFICIAL MOTIFS

Istrian limestone, carved

120 × 40 × 29 cm

Findspot: Pula

Late first century BCE–first half of the first century CE

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. A-115

This architectural block, carved from local Istrian limestone, formed part of a Doric frieze decorated with sacrificial motifs. At the left end of the upper surface, a rectangular socket for a metal clamp survives, indicating how the block was connected to the adjoining section of the frieze. The right end is broken and incomplete, while the upper part of the frieze has also suffered damage.

The frieze is composed of metopes—square relief panels—separated by triglyphs with three vertical grooves. The metopes measure 22.5 cm in height and 22 cm in width. They are framed above and below by plain bands and laterally by triglyphs with triangular profiles and blunt upper edges. Beneath the lower band (*taenia*), the usual *regula* is absent; instead, the six *guttae* associated with each triglyph are placed directly below, carved in the form of truncated cones.

The first metope on the left depicts an *oinochoe*, a wine jug with a tall foot and trefoil spout. As this metope originally extended onto the adjacent block, only part of the motif survives. The following three metopes are preserved in their entirety. The second contains a *patera* with a prominent central *omphalos*. The third presents a finely executed relief of a bull moving to the right, characterised by pronounced folds of flesh on the neck, carefully rendered horns, small ears, protruding eyes, and expanded nostrils. The fourth metope depicts a round sacrificial vessel or cauldron supported by a tripod and flanked by two laurel branches. Only a small fragment of the fifth metope survives, as the block is broken at this point.

The iconographic programme combines motifs closely associated with Roman sacrificial ritual, including the wine jug, *patera*, bull, and tripod vessel. While these elements ultimately derive from funerary and religious imagery, in this context they appear to have been employed primarily as part of the ornamental vocabulary of Roman public architecture. Their arrangement within a Doric frieze reflects the widespread adoption of sacrificial symbolism in Augustan and early Imperial architectural decoration, where such motifs conveyed ideas of piety, ritual observance, and civic order.

Lit. Cavalieri Manasse 1978, p. 153; Starac 2006, pp. 28, 147–50, 228.

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7.14 ARCHITRAVE WITH BUCRANIA AND GARLANDS

Istrian limestone, carved

106 × 23 × 43 cm

Pula

First half of the first century CE

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. A-67

This architectural fragment, carved from local Istrian limestone, consists of an architrave decorated with a frieze of bucrania and garlands, motifs closely associated with Roman sacrificial and ceremonial imagery. Bucrania—stylised ox skulls representing sacrificial victims—were among the most widespread decorative motifs in Roman architectural sculpture, particularly on temples, altars, and public monuments. The suspended garlands (*festones*), composed of foliage, fruit, and ribbons, likewise derive from ritual decoration and allude to festive offerings and religious observances.

The lower part of the architrave is articulated by two plain fasciae, each 8 cm high, surmounted by a convex moulding and a narrow fillet. Above these runs a sculpted frieze, 23

cm in height, featuring two bucrania supporting richly ornamented garlands suspended from their horns. The skulls are rendered with small pointed horns, pronounced eye sockets, and deeply carved nasal cavities. The garlands consist of leaves, fruit (including apples and pomegranates), and pinecones, all bound by ceremonial ribbons (*infulae*). Such ribbons were worn by Roman priests and sacrificial animals as signs of consecration and ritual purity. They descend in elegant spirals on either side of the skulls, enhancing the decorative rhythm of the composition. A rosette occupies the centre of the frieze above the garland.

The quality of carving and the iconography suggest that the fragment originally belonged to an important public or religious monument in Roman Pula. The combination of bucrania and garlands formed part of a decorative repertoire deeply rooted in Augustan and Julio-Claudian architectural ornament, where references to sacrifice, piety, and civic prosperity were frequently expressed through such symbolic motifs.

Lit. Cavalieri Manasse 1978, p. 156; Starac 2006, pp. 35–36.

Tomislav Franić



7.15 MARBLE RELIEF PLAQUE DEPICTING STONEMASONS

Marble, carved relief

28 × 32 × 9 cm

Findspot: Pula, Stovagnaga Street

First half of the first century CE

Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Inv. No. A-27608

Rescue excavations conducted in Pula in 2003 brought to light a marble relief plaque depicting stonemasons at work. The excavation was carried out immediately behind the Forum, on the northern side of Porta Stovagnaga Street. The plaque was discovered within a destruction layer in the apsidal section of a building dated to the Julio-Claudian period and may therefore be associated with its original location.

The relief is carved from fine-grained white Carrara marble. The preserved portion depicts two young men dressed in short, belted tunics (*tunicae cinctae*), garments typically associated with manual labourers. Both figures are shown in motion and captured in the act of performing stone-working and construction tasks. The figure on the left represents a beardless youth with curly hair, portrayed at the height of a vigorous movement. Holding a mason's hammer with pointed ends in both hands—a tool characteristic of the rough dressing of stone—he is about to strike a large rectangular stone block positioned before him. This stage of workmanship

suggests the preparation of material for construction in *opus quadratum*.

The figure on the right, of whom only the lower part of the body and the right arm survive, is shown exerting force on a lever. From the position of the body, it may be inferred that he is using a levering system to manoeuvre and accurately position the dressed stone block within a building structure.

The execution of the plaque, with its relief surface slightly inclined downwards, indicates that it was originally mounted on a wall above the viewer's eye level. On the polished upper surface there is a rectangular socket containing traces of an iron clamp, which served to secure the plaque to the wall.

This relief is of exceptional importance because it provides direct visual evidence for stonemasonry and building activity in Roman Pula. The use of high-quality Carrara marble suggests that it formed part of a public monument of particular significance. On the basis of the position of the fixing socket, it has been proposed that the plaque originally measured approximately 48 cm in width, leaving sufficient space for a sequence of three figures engaged in different stages of the construction process.

Lit. Starac 2006; Starac 2007, pp. 135–38; Starac 2007a, pp. 299–306.

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