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Different perspectives on the centre-periphery paradigm: Karaman and Castelnuovo- Ginzburg in comparison

Introduction

The versatility of Ljubo Karaman's professional and scholarly activities is reflected in the wide range of topics presented in the proceedings of the conference Art History and Discourse on the Centre and Periphery held in Zagreb. His most significant contribution has been to the protection and conservation of the cultural heritage, primarily in Dalmatia and continental Croatia. While many of his studies serve to this day as the starting point of art-historical research, his theoretical thought on the centre-periphery paradigm still deserves our attention when discussing the creative potential of cultural environments and their impact on artistic production.¹ The long-standing centre-periphery paradigm also lies at the core of this paper.² Karaman's ideas on the topic were among the earliest theoretical attempts to redefine it in the art-historical evaluation. However, his work never had a great impact beyond his

- 1 Although the authors discussed and agreed on each passage of this essay, Ines Ivić wrote the chapters "Introduction", "Approach and Intents", and "Closing Remarks", while Cristiano Guarneri "Education and Career", "Geographical and Temporal Framework" and "Method and Theory". Jasenka Gudelj, "Ljubo Karaman e i problemi dell'arte periferica," in *Arte e architettura*, ed. Flaminia Bardati and Anna Rosellini (Milan: Paravia Bruno Mondadori Editori, 2007), 261–72.
- 2 In recent decades, the paradigm has been increasingly questioned and challenged, particularly in the ways in which it has shaped the narratives and approaches taken by scholars in historical and similar disciplines. This topic has garnered significant scholarly attention and there are numerous studies that explore its presence in historiographical contexts. To gain a better understanding of this issue, see the following studies that generally assess the topic and provide relevant bibliographies: Elena Fasano Guarini, "Center and Periphery," *The Journal of Modern History* 67 (1995): 74–96; Klemens Kaps and Andrea Komlosy, "Centers and Peripheries Revisited: Polycentric Connections or Entangled Hierarchies?," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 36, no. 3–4 (2013): 237–64; Foteini Vlachou, "Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery," *Visual Resources* 32, no. 1–2 (2016): 9–24.

environment and target audience, mainly due to the linguistic barrier.³ To further disseminate Karaman's contribution to international scholarship, we present a comparative reading of two seminal works of Croatian and Italian historiography that discuss and describe the relationship between artistic production in cultural centres and in the more remote areas traditionally characterized as provinces or periphery: Ljubo Karaman's essay *O djelovanju domaće sredine u umjetnosti hrvatskih krajeva* (On the influence of the local environment in the art of Croatian lands), written in 1963 and re-published in 2001 under the title *Problemi periferijske umjetnosti* (Problems of peripheral art),⁴ and the essay by Enrico Castelnuevo and Carlo Ginzburg *Centro e periferia* (Centre and periphery), originally published in 1979 as a chapter in the Einaudi's *Storia dell'arte italiana* (History of Italian Art) and re-printed in 2019.⁵ The choice is not a random one. The centuries-long historical and cultural connections between the two coasts of the Adriatic Sea, were also reflected in the artistic production of the Eastern Adriatic Coast and necessarily influenced the interdependent yet vastly different historiographical reflections of Croatian and Italian scholars on it. Both essays have been influential to this day, albeit differently, on the discussion of the centre-periphery paradigm within the limits of their scholarly range, despite being written more than half a century ago. Castelnuevo and Ginzburg's essay had a wide audience and has been debated in international scholarship throughout the years. The approach advanced by the two Italian historians has been used, as such or slightly modified or improved, in studies on a variety of subjects, from thirteenth-to-fifteenth-century Neapolitan art to modern art in Northern England in the first years of the Thatcher government.⁶

- 3 Ivana Prijatelj Pavičić, "Utjecaj interpretacija pojma periferijske umjetnosti Ljube Karamana i Miroslava Krležu na dalmatinsku povijesti umjetnosti," in *Periferno u hrvatskom jeziku, kulturi i društvu / Periferie w języku chorwackim, kulturze i społeczeństwie* (Katowice: University of Silesia Press, 2021), 498–510.
- 4 Ljubo Karaman, *O djelovanju domaće sredine u umjetnosti hrvatskih krajeva* (Zagreb: Društvo historičara umjetnosti NRH, 1963); Ljubo Karaman, *Problemi periferijske umjetnosti*, ed. Radovan Ivančević (Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2001).
- 5 Carlo Ginzburg and Enrico Castelnuevo, "Centro e Periferia," in *Storia Dell'arte Italiana, Parte Prima: Materiali e Problemi*, ed. Giovanni Previtali, Einaudi, vol. 1 (Torino, 1979), 285–352; Enrico Castelnuevo and Carlo Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia nella storia dell'arte italiana* (Milan: Officina Libraria, 2019). The essay has also been translated in different European languages. See the partial French translation and the full German and English translations: Enrico Castelnuevo and Carlo Ginzburg, "Domination symbolique et géographie artistique dans l'histoire de l'art italien," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 40 (1981): 41–52; Enrico Castelnuevo and Carlo Ginzburg, "Zentrum und Peripherie," in *Italienische Kunst: eine neue Sicht auf ihre Geschichte*, ed. Willibald Sauerländer, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Berlin: Wabebach, 1987), 21–91; Enrico Castelnuevo and Carlo Ginzburg, "Center and Periphery," in *History of Italian Art, Preface by Peter Burke*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Polity, 1996), 29–112.
- 6 For a recent account of the debate elicited by the essay, see Cora Presezi, "Policentrismo e resistenze periferiche nella storia dell'arte italiana: 'Centro e periferia' di Castelnuevo e Ginzburg," *Storicamente* 15 (2019): 1–32. A few "a posteriori" reflections by Ginzburg can be found in his preface to the reprinted essay: Castelnuevo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, 7–12. For significant contributions assessing the impact of the essay on international scholarship, see the chapter: Irving Lavin, ed., "Center and Periphery: Dissemination and Assimilation of Style," in *World Art. Themes of Unity and Diversity. Acts of the XXVth International Congress of the History of Art*, vol. 1, 3 vols. (University Park (Pa.): Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), 43–156; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago-London: Chicago University Press, 2004).

As Ginzburg and Castelnovo do not consider the Eastern Adriatic Coast, whose artistic production in a long-term perspective was one of the primary interests of Karaman's scholarly work, our intention is not to offer two different perspectives on the same artistic production. Rather, the following pages present a few common points between the two essays, which independently identified the same research problems, noted and described similar artistic phenomena, and offered new approaches to their historiographical assessment.

Education and Career

The first common point is evident, a general interest in regions that could be defined as peripheral. Here the term should not be understood only in geographical terms, namely as areas that are physically distant from more easily accessible regions, but also in terms of art-historical assessment. Traditionally, the art produced far from the artistic and cultural centres was interpreted through the pejorative lens of a qualitative evaluation dictated by the centre. The significant step forward by the authors to the established scholarship of their times — both national historiographies and the general art-historical approach that still followed the canons established by Vasari — consists of focusing their research on hitherto marginalized artists and art. Although they belonged to different generations — Karaman (1886–1971) was born forty years before Castelnovo (1929–2014), and fifty years before Ginzburg (1939) — and despite their different academic training, scholarly approach, and background, the three scholars studied similar phenomena.

Karaman received his primary and secondary education in his hometown of Split, only to continue his studies in Vienna, where in 1920 he earned a doctoral degree in Art History under Max Dvořák. By 1926, he had advanced to the position of director of the Conservation department in Split, which he abruptly left in 1941.⁷ A turning point in his scientific work was his move to Zagreb, far from the monuments that he had tirelessly studied during his field research, following which his interests expanded to other Croatian regions and beyond.⁸ His training in Vienna was crucial to the formulation of his centre-periphery paradigm, which he first presented in 1930 in *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti* (From the cradle of the Croatian past).⁹ The book was a direct response to some prominent representatives of the Vienna School of Art History, such as Josef Strzygowski, who saw the artistic production of Dalmatia only as

7 On Karaman's life and career, see: Radovan Ivančević, "Ljubo Karaman - mit i stvarnost. O djelovanju 'domaće sredine' prema stvaralaštvu Ljube Karamana," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 11 (1987): 187–97; Ivana Nina Unković, "U povodu 40. obljetnice smrti Ljube Karamana (1971.–2011.)," *Kulturna baština* 37 (2011): 339–50.

8 Anđela Horvat, "O djelatnosti Ljube Karamana u Zagrebu," *Peristil* 14–15 (1971): 19–23.

9 Ljubo Karaman, *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti: historijsko-umjetničke crtice o starohrvatskim spomenicima* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1930).

a result of external factors.¹⁰ The final synthesis of his ideas was achieved in 1963, when Karaman's already discussed Dalmatian examples were complemented with case studies from outside this coastal region, consolidating his theory even further.¹¹

Both Castelnuovo and Ginzburg spent their youth in Turin, and they earned their degrees at the University of Turin and at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa, respectively. Castelnuovo specialized in Florence under the leading Italian art historian Roberto Longhi, while Ginzburg was a graduate student at the Warburg Institute in London. Both undertook outstanding international academic careers, teaching at the best Western universities. While Castelnuovo crossed the Alps to teach at the Universities of Lausanne and Geneva, Ginzburg crossed the ocean to hold professorial positions at the universities of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and UCLA in the United States. Curiously, both concluded their itinerant academic careers at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa at different times, followed by retirement in Turin.

Comparing the education and careers of these scholars, it is evident that their trajectories were quite opposite. Karaman was educated in the very cradle of modern art history, where the discipline itself was institutionalized, but spent most of his career in peripheral Croatia, where his activity marked the foundation of the modern discipline. On the contrary, Castelnuovo and Ginzburg studied at Italian universities which, despite their excellent standards, were not as seminal in the development of the discipline as Vienna, and later gradually moved to the most prominent world research centres of their time. In academic terms, Karaman's trajectory therefore moved from the centre to the periphery, while those of Castelnuovo and Ginzburg moved from the periphery to centre.

The publication of their essays, separated by a sixteen-year gap, came at different stages of their careers. While Karaman's *O djelovanju domaće sredine* appeared as the synthesis of his whole career, Castelnuovo and Ginzburg published *Centro e periferia* in the middle or early stage of their careers, as a methodological statement to be applied in future research. The nature of their publications was also different. Karaman's essay was written on the author's initiative and became a small book, almost a pamphlet, with all the freedom to explore its topic. Conversely, the Italian publisher Einaudi commissioned *Centro and periferia* to Castelnuovo and Ginzburg for the first volume of *Storia dell'arte italiana*, titled *Questioni e problemi* (Issues and Problems), setting a more structured framework.

10 Ivančević, "Ljubo Karaman — mit i stvarnost," 192–93; Prijatelj Pavičić, "Utjecaj interpretacija pojma periferijske umjetnosti," 500–501.

11 Karaman, *O djelovanju domaće sredine*, 8. Karaman explains that he complemented his initial ideas, derived from Dalmatian cases, with examples from Istria and Continental Croatia.

Geographical and Temporal Framework

In both essays, the timeframe spans from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries, focusing on the transitional period between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, as most of the mentioned artworks date to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹² The question of the geographical areas taken into consideration is far more complex.

As explained above, Karaman is mainly preoccupied with artistic production on the territory of present-day Croatia, which through history did not constitute a compact political and cultural space. He slightly expands to neighboring territories, such as present-day Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, but only through comparative examples. Due to its historical geopolitical position, divided between stronger political powers, this area has often been a liminal territory and, as such, could be interpreted as a periphery. Karaman is aware of it and addresses different inputs that reached the area, not only the ones traditionally observed, such as those from the Apennine peninsula, but also from the Ottoman Empire or the Hungarian Kingdom, but without delving into a deeper assessment of their possible influence.¹³

Castelnovo and Ginzburg limit their analysis to the Apennine peninsula, roughly coinciding with present-day Italy, with occasional excursions beyond the Alps (Provence and Switzerland). While Karaman is interested in external relations, the two Italian scholars do not attempt to trace any contacts or possible influences from or to other areas beyond the peninsula. Instead, they observe the relationship between artistic centres and peripheries within its geographical borders. The interest in peripheral or under-investigated areas and contexts is also reflected in their individual research. Castelnovo's interests in the trans-alpine region have been summarized by Dario Gamboni as "À cheval sur les Alpes" (Straddling the Alps).¹⁴ Ginzburg, a historian with an interest in art history, investigated various marginalized topics such as religion, witchcraft, and folklore in the early modern agrarian society, as seen in his most popular work, *Il formaggio e i vermi* (The cheese and the worms).¹⁵ The interest in peripheries can be seen also in the examples selected in *Centro e periferia*, starting from Avignon, a political centre that failed to become an artistic one, and continuing through Umbria, Marche, and Southern Italy.¹⁶

12 Dubravka Botica, "Periodization of Architecture in Croatian Art History: The Case of the 'Renaissance' and 'Transitional' Styles," in *Periodization in the Art Historiographies of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Shona Kallestrup et al. (New York; London: Routledge, 2022), 141–55.

13 Karaman, *O djelovanju domaće sredine*, 8, 62.

14 Dario Gamboni, "À cheval sur les Alpes: Enrico Castelnovo, Lausanne, et la géographie artistique," in *Per Enrico Castelnovo: da Losanna, le vie della storia dell'arte*, ed. Serena Romano and Michele Tomasi (Rome: Viella, 2017), 65–73.

15 Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi. Il cosmo di un mugnaio del Cinquecento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1976).

16 Castelnovo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, 58–61, 123–130 (chapters 16–17, 21–24).

Approach and Intentions

The different backgrounds of these authors influenced their approaches, styles, and contents. Both essays open with a criticism of older scholarship. In the case of Castelnuovo and Ginzburg, such criticism occupies almost half of the entire text. Karaman begins by addressing foreign, mostly Austrian and Italian, and local, namely Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian, art historians for their assessment of artistic production on the Eastern Adriatic Coast and its hinterland. According to him, foreign scholars focused on identifying similarities with the artistic production of their respective countries, emphasizing external influences on the development of art in the Croatian lands and the presence of foreign masters and imported artworks, as in the case of Italian art historians, who often overemphasized cultural ties with the Apennine peninsula. As for local scholars, thanks to their increasingly better professional training, they relied on archival material, identifying the artists of local origin and highlighting the creative impact of the local environment on the artistic activity of Dalmatia.¹⁷ Karaman elaborates on this dichotomy even further. Foreign scholars postulated a one-sided cultural impact on the Eastern Adriatic Coast and its hinterland, triggered by the “forces of the movement” (*Bewegungskräfte*) and determined by political domination or trading and merchant routes. In contrast, local scholars emphasized the “forces of perseverance” (*Beharrungskräfte*), i.e. socio-economic factors determined by local geography, climate, and ethnicities¹⁸ (Fig. 1). Karaman’s position in the general historiography of his time could also be described as peripheral. The emancipatory character of Croatian national art history reflects the search for a national artistic and cultural identity.¹⁹ Although the picture that he draws of the political space is often vague, defined as it is by formulations such as “our masters”, which local scholars “returned to our nation”, or “our country”, the political entity to which he refers is clearly that of Croatia and its historical lands, as expressed in the title of his book.²⁰

The method proposed by Karaman attempts to balance these two currents of thought, international and national. First, he provides a practical approach for the benefit of future generations of Croatian art historians, with applicable categories for interpreting and preserving the artistic and cultural heritage. Second, he offers a way to overcome the complexes of cultural and national inferiority by observing the artistic production in its organic development under the influence of cultural centres, but through

17 Karaman, *O djelovanju domaće sredine*, 5.

18 Karaman, *O djelovanju domaće sredine*, 6.

19 As there is no sufficient space to discuss the national factors in his essay, we refer to the article: Ivana Nina Unković, “Odraz nacionalne ideologije i kulturnog nacionalizma u djelima Ljube Karamana,” *Kulturna baština : časopis za pitanja prošlosti splitskoga područja* 35 (2010): 263–82.

20 Karaman, *O djelovanju domaće sredine*, 5.

a different nature and dynamic of adoption, adaptation, and circulation of forms, models, and ideas.

Unlike Karaman, Castelnovo and Ginzburg do not strive to emancipate or promote local Italian art history, art, or artists, as in the case of Italy such action would be unnecessary. Their criticism of previous scholarship takes the shape of a structured deconstruction of the misinterpretations, simplifications, and commonplaces of the relationship between the centre and the periphery (Fig. 2). To identify the factors that led to the emergence of artistic centres of Renaissance Italy, they trace the origins of historiographical biases back to the Middle Ages and Late Antiquity, discussing the geography of bishopric sees in the Apennine Peninsula. When explaining the artistic diversity between north and south, they look back again to Antiquity to show the influence of the administrative system of the Roman Empire on early modern and even contemporary Italy.²¹

As a tangible outcome of these long-term phenomena, they analyze the quantity and quality of sources in Luigi Lanzi's *Storia pittorica della Italia* (History of Italian painting), showing that the discussion of Southern Italian art received only a few pages and was primarily based on secondary sources.²² Subsequently, they list a few commonplaces originating in Giorgio Vasari's *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (Lives of the artists) and largely adopted in later scholarship, such as that of the talented artist vanishing in the province or, contrariwise, that of the provincial artist flourishing only after moving to an artistic centre.²³

However, Italian artistic literature is not the only target of their criticism. At the very beginning of the essay, Castelnovo and Ginzburg stigmatize a passage from Kenneth Clark's book *Provincialism* for its highly simplistic concept of the relationship between centre and periphery: ideas, styles, and artistic models are born in the centre and later spread, with some delay, to the periphery.²⁴ According to Castelnovo and Ginzburg, Western scholarship is guilty of uncritically embracing this over simplistic diffusion paradigm. They postulate that, since ideas and artistic models also carry meanings and values, their spread and reception are not neutral or peaceful phenomena but can instead cause clashes. Therefore, the two scholars substitute the concept of diffusion with that of conflict.²⁵

In short, Castelnovo and Ginzburg aim to dissect the centuries-long art-historical scholarship from Vasari and Lanzi onwards, criticize the present misinterpretations of the art produced in the periphery, and offer methodological tools for a better evaluation of artistic phenomena outside the main artistic centres, but, unlike Karaman, without offering applicable categories for such evaluation. They remain on the university

21 Castelnovo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, 36–43 (chapters. 8–10).

22 Castelnovo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, 17–34 (chapters. 3–6).

23 Castelnovo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, 47–58 (chapters. 13–14).

24 Kenneth Clark, *Provincialism*, Presidential Address (London, England) (London: English Association, 1962).

25 Castelnovo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, 15–16 (chapt. 1).

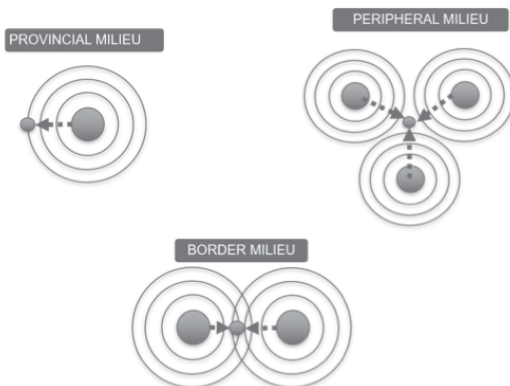
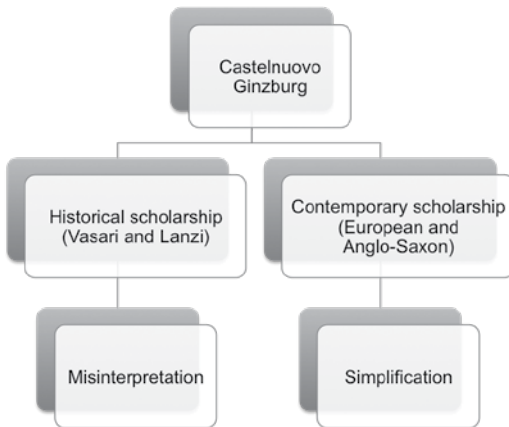
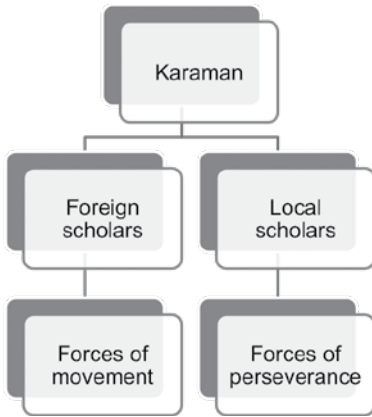


Fig. 1
Karaman's criticism
of scholarship

Fig. 2
Castelnovo's and Ginzburg's
criticism of scholarship

Fig. 3
Karaman's provincial, border
and peripheral environments

level of scholarly research consisting of the criticism of the scholarship and the use of the centre-periphery concept in it.

Method and Theory

Despite many common points, the view on periphery and province differs significantly between the authors. In Karaman the two different terms are not treated as synonyms as the nature of their relationship with the centre and of their respective artistic productions is different. Although the province is defined in geopolitical terms, the most decisive factors are the socio-economic context and the financial possibilities of the patrons. Without the ability and knowledge of learned circles to transmit and ensure the accuracy of the motifs and forms, the repetitions of the motifs may lead to mistranslations, lowering the quality of artistic expression.²⁶ Periphery, on the other hand, receives inputs from different centres and regions, synthesizes them, and achieves a certain level of creative freedom due to the lack of renowned great masters, competitive market, and the authoritative canons of the cultural centres (Fig. 3).²⁷ According to Castelnovo and Ginzburg, province and periphery are not different cultural categories but synonyms. The word periphery is simply seen as a less compromised than province, as they clarify at the very beginning of their essay: “Periphery, or province? Maybe it is better to speak of the periphery, a neutral term with no implication regarding an evaluation”.²⁸ By introducing the cultural categories of peripheral, provincial, and border environments and by clearly distinguishing the formal characteristics of the artworks produced in each category, Karaman offers a theory that is practically applicable while also stressing the flexibility of its application.²⁹ Besides the introductory part, the categorization is reflected in the structure of the whole essay, composed of three main sections, each devoted to a single category and with a series of examples that illustrate it. On the other hand, the two Italian scholars do not present such a classification in their essay, as they strive to render the complexity of a phenomenon too often simplified in the previous scholarship. The complex structure of their essay, developed in thirty-two chapters, consists of two main parts. The first is devoted to a detailed analysis of historiography, and the second to a taxonomy of the different mechanisms of artistic production in peripheral areas, outlining an actual phenomenology of the artistic periphery and documenting the movement of artworks, artists, and patrons between centres and peripheries.

Observing the internal relations within their region of interest, Castelnovo and Ginzburg debate the so-called Italian polycentric environment.

26 Karaman, *O djelovanju domaće sredine*, 6.

27 Karaman, *O djelovanju domaće sredine*, 7.

28 Castelnovo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, 15.

29 Karaman, *O djelovanju domaće sredine*, 7.

Through a cosmological allegory, they show that Lanzi's above-mentioned historiographical construction consists of a galaxy of four main planets—Florence, Rome, Venice, and Bologna—with a series of smaller satellites revolving around them, although Lanzi was unable to fully work out their relationships.³⁰ The polycentric system of the towns in Central and Northern Italy enjoyed significant prosperity, due to the autonomy of the communes in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. It was a network of smaller but qualitatively high artistic centres, whose mutual interactions and contacts with the major artistic centres resulted in an original artistic production.

In this light, despite their different approaches, the polycentric environment depicted by Castelnovo and Ginzburg clearly does not differ much from Karaman's peripheral environment, where small centres, connected to bigger, politically or culturally dominant towns or states, developed an original and autonomous artistic production. However, another major difference comes into play. Karaman seeks to define the periphery and its artistic phenomena without considering the centre in detail, and his references to the artistic centres of Italy and Europe are quite generic. On the contrary, Castelnovo and Ginzburg start from the definition of the artistic centre and its properties to achieve a kind of negative definition of the periphery. Nevertheless, both essays ultimately describe very similar artistic environments under different names, polycentrism and periphery. In both essays, the periphery is a place of free artistic expression with respect to the canons imposed by the centre. It becomes an environment that welcomes experimentation with given artistic canons of the time, achieving specific forms of expression whose quality could be on par with those of the centre. Neglecting the periphery, i.e., evaluating it by the standards of the centre, is in Castelnovo and Ginzburg's view a historiographical mistake. To correct it they offer tools, concepts, and methods to investigate, evaluate and understand a displacement illustrated by the image of the chess piece of the knight, which can be moved forward, backwards, and to the side.³¹ In other words, they deem it necessary to abandon the scholarly approach that implicitly assumes a linear development of the arts and consequently disregards anything that deviates from this line of progress. One of the main phenomena of the periphery noted by the three authors is delay. Karaman tends to observe it in the formal features, that is in the presence of long and strong transitional or mixed styles, with one style turning into another, while Ginzburg and Castelnovo consider the more objective factor of time. They classify delay according to three categories — multi-century, multi-generational and multi-year — which reflect the way in which art is produced and consumed in the periphery: a production addressed only to self-consumption, as in rural or folk art; an oligopoly market, often dominated by family workshops repeating the same designs

30 Castelnovo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, 25–26, 57–58.

31 Castelnovo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, 114–119 (chapt. 18).

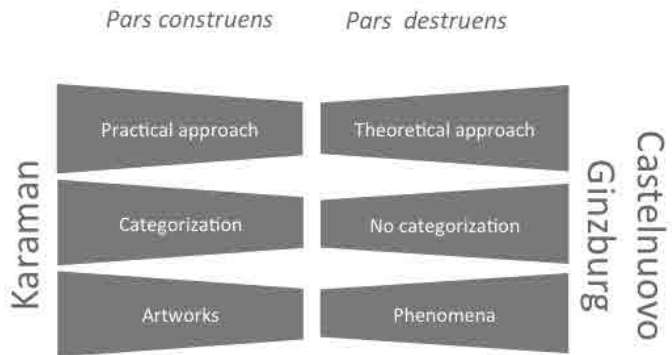
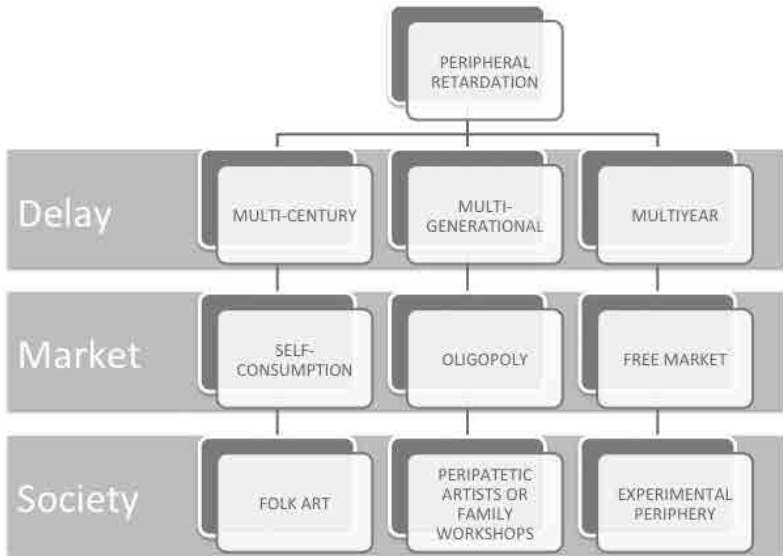


Fig. 4
Castelnovo's and Ginzburg's types of delay

Fig. 5
Complementary features of the essays

through generations; and a competitive free market characterized by creativity and alternative proposals compared to the centre³² (Fig. 4). Despite this different view, they have one question related to delay in the periphery in common. Was such a result a consequence of pure delay, in a pejorative assertion, or it derived from a deliberately sought and applied archaism?³³

Closing remarks

In spite of being written at different times and in different contexts, both essays should be considered pioneering in bringing to the fore a series of historiographically neglected or under-investigated artistic productions. Considering that their approaches differ in many respects and that the authors did not know each other, or better Castelnovo and Ginzburg did not know Karaman's essay, their conclusions are all the more strikingly similar. The question of their relevance to present-day scholarship emerges through a comparative reading of both essays. How do these two independent studies, which found similar results, contribute to the present-day centre-periphery scholarly narrative?

In our opinion, these essays can be constitutive and complementary in the further development of a theoretical approach to the centre-periphery paradigm. Castelnovo-Ginzburg's theoretical essay, which deconstructs the previous historiography to present the full complexity of the phenomenon without pretending to categorize, can be seen as the *pars destruens*, and Karaman's applicable classification, based on the formal expression of artworks, can serve as a model for the *pars construens*. While Karaman focuses on the analysis of artworks, developing an empirical methodology, Castelnovo and Ginzburg look at the phenomena and their interpretation in scholarship, building a fully theoretical approach (Fig. 5). In both essays we can see the roots of present-day historiographical trends and currents, beyond those only applicable to art history, which could further develop and enrich the ideas of the authors, such as global history, migration studies, the history of knowledge and post-colonial studies.

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32 Castelnovo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, 43-45 (chapt. 11).

33 Karaman, *O djelovanju domaće sredine*, 7, 80.; Castelnovo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, 113-114 (chapt. 17).

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