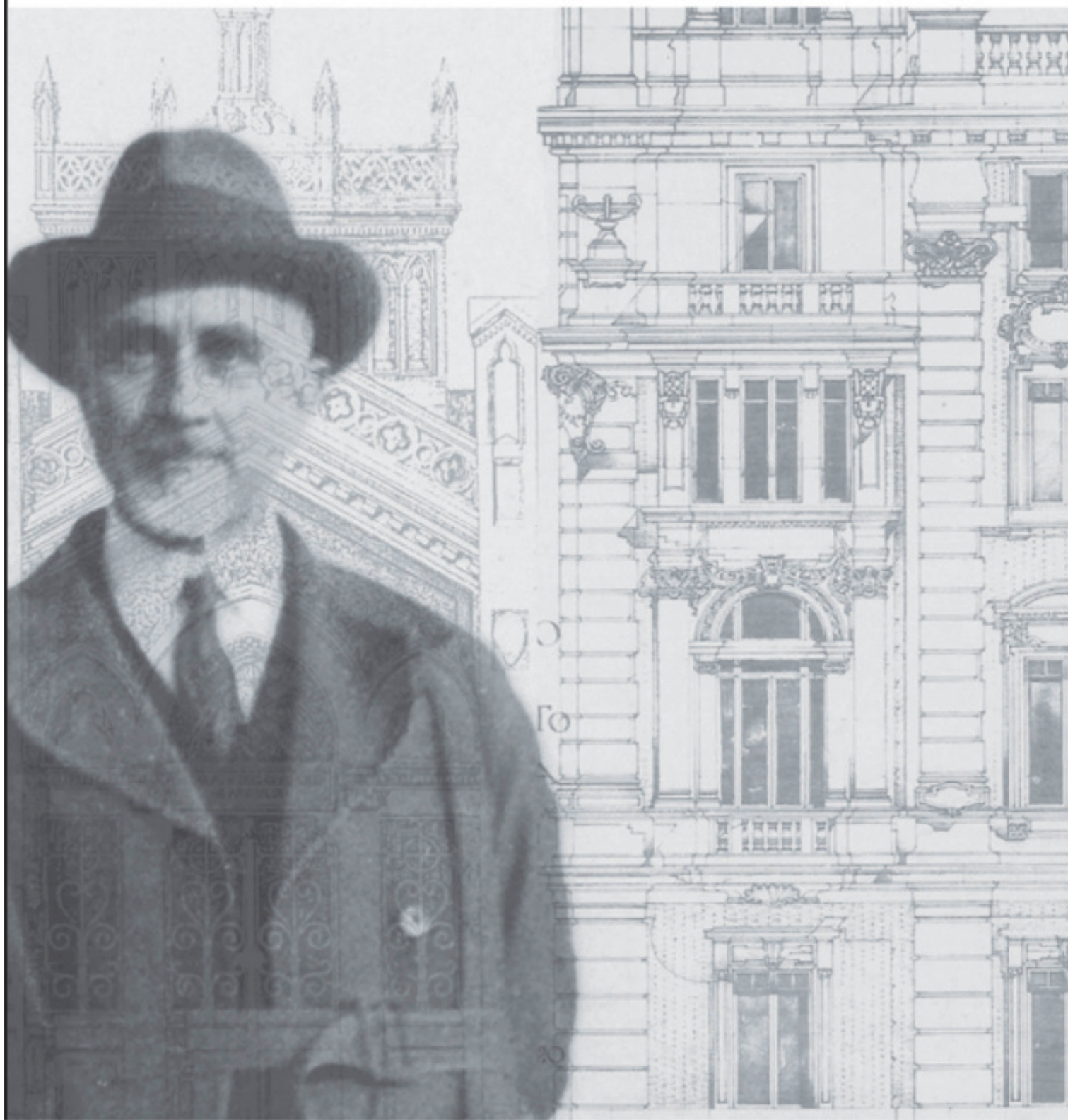


ACCADEMIA NAZIONALE DI SAN LUCA

GUSTAVO GIOVANNONI

e l'architetto integrale

Atti del convegno internazionale a cura di
Giuseppe Bonaccorso e Francesco Moschini



ACCADEMIA NAZIONALE DI SAN LUCA

Quaderni degli
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Roman Lens, Dalmatian Issues: the Exhibition of Dalmatian Architecture at the Accademia di San Luca (Rome, June 1943)

- Note
1. Si veda *XIII Congresso Internazionale Architetti, Roma 22-28 settembre 1935 - XIII. Atti ufficiali*, atti del congresso (Roma, 1935), Roma 1936.
 2. R. MUSSOLINI, *Bentito il mio nome*, Milano 1938, p. 138.
 3. *XIII Congresso Internazionale Architetti*, cit., p. 799.
 4. *Ibidem*.
 5. Roma, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, *Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 1937-1939*, 143-924/1, lettera di Alberto Calza Bini alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 23 maggio 1934.
 6. *XIII Congresso Internazionale Architetti*, cit., p. 5.
 7. *Ibidem*.
 8. *Ibidem*.
 9. Ivi, p. 11. Sulle varie fasi costruttive di Palazzo Carpegna si veda il classico I. SALVAGNI, *Palazzo Carpegna, 1577-1934*, Roma 2000.
 10. Roma, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, *Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 1937-1939*, 143-924/1, lettera di Alberto Calza Bini, 20 settembre 1935.
 11. Ivi, telegramma n. 57565, 23 settembre 1935, ore 16.
 12. *XIII Congresso Internazionale Architetti*, cit., p. 87.
 13. Sulla partecipazione della delegazione sovietica si veda il recente A. VYZVIZINSKAYA, *Rim Perzij – Rim Treij: sovetskaja delegacija na XIII Meždunarodnom kongrese arhitektova, 1935, in Rossijskaja – Italija: etno-kul'turnyje zvenozni v istorii*, atti del convegno (Mosca, 2009), a cura di M.G. Talala, Mosca 2011, pp. 165-179; ripubblicato nel 2016, pp. 214-237. Dopo la stampa del testo furono consultati i materiali conservati a Roma: Archivio Centrale dello Stato, *Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 1937-1939*, 143-924/1, XIII Congresso internazionale degli architetti, Roma, 1935; ivi, *Ministero della Cultura Popolare, 1935-1943*, b. 191 "Russias", 162; Archivio Storico Capitolino, *Gabinetto del Sindaco, 1935*, B. 1334, Classe 9, *Sottodivise 3*; XIII Congresso internazionale degli architetti.
 14. URSS, anni '30 - '50. *Paesaggi dell'utopia staliniana*, catalogo della mostra (Torino, 1997), a cura di A. De Magistris, Milano 1997.
 15. *La Rome de Mussolini. Thèse coronée par l'Institut d'Urbanisme (Gaston Bardet)*, "L'Architecture et l'Urbanisme", 3, 1934, p. 177; G. BARDET, *Une nouvelle Ère romaine sous le signe du fascisme. La Rome de Mussolini*, Paris 1937.
 16. Mosca, Archivio di Stato Russo di Letteratura e Arti (RGALI), 674, *Unione degli architetti dell'URSS*, b. 1, fasc. 20, cc. 14-17 («Делегация советских архитекторов [...] будет чрезвычайно рада встретиться со своими итальянскими коллегами и установить с ними личный контакт, чтобы поспособать для развития архитектуры»). Qui e in seguito il testo è tradotto dal russo dall'autrice di questo saggio.
 17. Roma, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, *Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 1937-1939*, 143-924/1, XIII Congresso internazionale degli architetti, Roma, 1935.
 18. *Autografo della autobiografia di A. Ščusev*, pubblicato in P.V. ŠCUSEV, *Sranizny iz zizni akademika A. V. Ščuseva*, Moska 2011, p. 337.
 19. *XII Congrès international des architectes Budapest 1930. Compte-rendu*, atti del congresso (Budapest, 1930), Budapest 1931.
 20. *XIII Meždunarodnyj arhitekturnyj kongress v Rime*, "Arhitektura SSSR", 1936, 2, sup.
 21. W.W. [Ricevimento al libro di] L.I. RENCHEL - *Architettura Italiana del dopoguerra - Edizione dell'Accademia di Architettura dell'U.R.S.S.*, "Architettura", 15, 1936, 7, p. 349.
 22. Mosca, Archivio di Stato Russo dell'Economia (RGAE), 377, b. 1, fasc. 2, c. 12, «General'nyj plan rekonstrukcii Moskvy», dattiloscritto, 1935.
 23. Mosca, Archivio di Stato Russo di Letteratura e Arti (RGALI), 2666, *David Efimovič Arkin*, b. 2, fasc. 118, cc. 52-53.
 24. Ivi, 2772, *Viktor Aleksandrovič Vesnin*, b. 1, fasc. 9, V.A. Vesnin, *Zametki o počatke v Italiju*, manoscritto, 1935.
 25. K. ALABIANI, *Pis'mo ot 15 okjabrya 1935 g.*, in *Nashe nastledie*, a cura di Ju. Murzin, Moska 2006, p. 23.
 26. *XIII Congresso Internazionale Architetti*, cit., p. 773.
 27. Ivi, pp. 735-736.
 28. Ivi, p. 790.
 29. Roma, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, *Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 1937-1939*, 143-924/1, telegramma del capo di gabinetto della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri Bianchetti a Calza Bini, 25 settembre 1935.
 30. *XIII Congresso Internazionale Architetti*, cit., p. 785.
 31. *Ibidem*.
 32. C.B. [Carlo Belli?], Congresso internazionale degli architetti, "Quadrante", 3, 1935, 29, p. 27.
 33. Roma, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, *Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 1937-1939*, 143-924/1, lettera di Calza Bini a Mussolini.
 34. *Ibidem*.

The first comprehensive exhibition on historical Dalmatian architecture opened at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome in June 1943, destined to remain the last propagandistic cultural effort of the Fascist regime.¹ Given the prominent, yet a rather concealed role of Gustavo Giovannoni in this endeavour, its close analysis provides a possibility to elucidate the role he had in shaping the policy of the Accademia di San Luca in the 1940s, as well as in the competing early 20th-century visions of the Eastern Adriatic past. The exhibition opened on June 23rd, 1943, while Allied forces had already bombed Naples. It closed in mid-July, less than a month before the announcement of the armistice on September 8th, 1943. The project is part of the fascist regime's cultural plan, whose purpose was to legitimize Italian administration in Dalmatia between 1941 and 1943.² The Italian vision of this annexation was a final unity of eastern territories with the mother country, i.e. the coronation of the 19th-century irredentist aspirations. This narrative also influenced the administrative status of the territory, as Dalmatia became one of the Italian provinces, i.e. legally, it was not part of the colonial possessions such as East Africa and the Italian islands of the Aegean or the annexed Kingdom of Albania.³ The interpretation of historical heritage in the national key and daily political situation were closely interrelated during the war years, so it is instructive to look more closely at the protagonists of this project and the image they were trying to fabricate. Recent works by Iris Brook, Ferruccio Canali, and Riccardo Martino mention the exhibition, but their main goal is to outline the broader context of events related to Dalmatian architectural heritage at the time.⁴ By focusing on this single project, primarily through the comprehensive analysis of archival material from the Archive of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, the present essay works towards highlighting the kaleidoscope of interpretations of the Eastern Adriatic heritage and the formation of Italian war-time cultural policy.⁵ Given the high-profile of architectural historians involved in the exhibition project, it also tries to establish the role it played in the long discussion on the architectural history between the two shores.

Protagonists of the exhibition project: Gustavo Giovannoni, Alberto Calza Bini, Bruno Maria Apollonj Ghetti, Luigi Crema

The initiative for the preparation of the exhibition came from Gustavo Giovannoni: on December 8th, 1941, he wrote a letter proposing the project to the President of the Accademia di San Luca, and remained the grey eminence of the endeavour.⁶ More in the foreground was the somewhat younger Alberto Calza Bini, who, other than wearing the title of *presidente* of the Roman Academy of painters, sculptors, and architects established in the 16th century, served as secretary of the national union of fascist architects, and was one of the founders of the Faculty of Architecture at the *Università di Napoli*.⁷ Therefore, the project evolved around the two protagonists of the Italian architectural scene, creators of the segment of the regime's policies that concerned the history of architecture, restoration, and conservation, as well as urban planning. The exhibition is a continuation of Giovannoni's initiatives for the Eastern Adriatic coast, primarily fuelled through his interest for the Diocletian's Palace as the most important Roman monument in the region. On his initiative, in the autumn of 1941, therefore only a few months since the establishment of the Governatorate of Dalmatia, the delegation of the

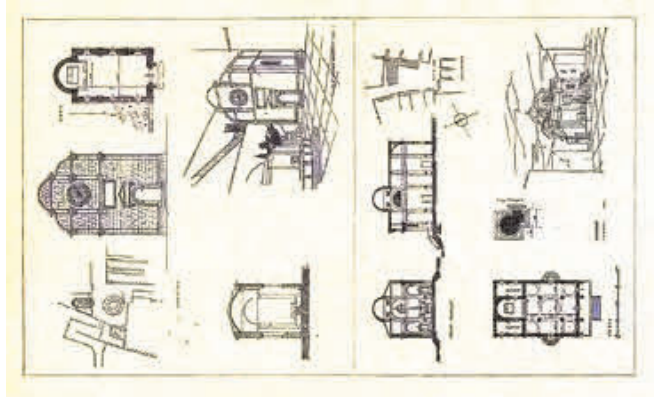
Reale Accademia d'Italia, one of the head government cultural institutions that operated in accordance with Mussolini's imperial efforts, visited the area.⁸ Upon their return, Giovannoni wrote a report and gave a lecture in Rome, published with a foreword by the President of the Reale Accademia d'Italia, Luigi Federzoni, under the title *Spalato Romana* [Roman Split].⁹ The text aimed to improve the visibility of the monument and the conditions of life in the palace, also regretting the delay of Italian archaeologists' studies of Salona and Split. During the trip, the delegation also visited the towns of Šibenik and Trogir, and one of Giovannoni's intentions was to make precise architectural surveys of Dalmatian monuments, and then issue a (never realized) monograph on the Šibenik Cathedral in the prestigious series called *Monumenti italiani* [Italian monuments] edited by the *Reale Accademia d'Italia*.¹⁰ In that direction – Giovannoni ends his essay – an agreement has been reached between Ing. Luigi Crema, director of Commissariat for antiquities, fine art, and museums of Dalmatia, and architect Apolloni Ghetti, the secretary of our mission.¹¹ The two men mentioned by Giovannoni were to become operative agents of the Roman exhibition project in the following years.

Then thirty-eight-year-old Apolloni Ghetti was Giovannoni's right hand¹², who also worked under him as Secretary of the *Centro Nazionale di Studi di Storia dell'Architettura* [National Center for the Study of the History of Architecture], founded by Giovannoni. These circumstances defined his interest in the exhibition, which would present the architectural heritage of the new province on the other side of the Adriatic to the Roman public. His peer and also a Roman, Luigi Crema, who had previously participated in the conservation and restoration projects at the Roman Forum and other projects on the ancient monuments of Rome and Lazio, was nominated in 1941 as the commissioner of Dalmatian monuments.¹³ Therefore, it should be emphasized that the creators of the exhibition were all Romans who had not previously dealt with Dalmatian monuments, and did not have any particular personal or family relationships with the Eastern Adriatic.

Assembling the Italian vision of Dalmatian heritage: photographs and drawings

The first outline of the exhibition at the Accademia di San Luca, entitled *Mostra di monumenti e del paesaggio della Dalmazia italiana* [Exhibition of monuments and landscape of the Italian Dalmatia], underlines the utmost political importance of the project, but also its cultural and tourist aspects.¹⁴ The very title of this document is significant, as shown by the attention to the landscape, broadening the area of interest of historians of architecture from the monument to its environment, which also becomes a subject of analysis, as Giovannoni specifically advocated. The Accademia di San Luca accepted the proposal, and the contours of the exhibition at the institutional level soon began to coalesce: on February 23rd, 1942, a proposal was presented to the Council of the Academy, and on March 17th, Calza Bini sent the Government a letter of intent to open, on October 28th of the same year, an exhibition which would «celebrate the most important examples of Italian genius and power that this art made on Dalmatian soils».¹⁵ The Duce's positive response arrived on March 22nd of 1942.¹⁶ In a letter Calza Bini wrote on March 28th to the Governor of Dalmatia in Zadar, Giuseppe Bastianini, it is mentioned that the exhibition would be announced at the next Council of the Academy, which would be attended by the King. He also asked the Governor to order his subordinates to begin collecting materials under the guidance of Luigi Crema.¹⁶ Bastianini replied on April 10th, and what clearly emerges from his letters is that he was trying to avoid primarily any financial responsibility for the project.¹⁷ The letter written by Crema, dated two days later in Split (on the writing paper of the Hotel Bellevue, rechristened with a simple seal in Albergo Belvedere Spalato), informed Calza Bini of the photographic campaign that should have been undertaken for the exhibition. It also mentioned that a plan of Split had been sent to Rome from the planning office of the Dalmatian town.¹⁸

Therefore, preparations for the exhibition and collection of materials started in the spring of 1942, a year after the establishment of the Italian government over Dalmatia. Given the general situation, it was very difficult to obtain authentic material, as emerges from the letters exchanged between Calza Bini and Apolloni Ghetti



1. V. Amicarelli, churches of St. Saviour and of St. Blasius, Dubrovnik (B.M. Apolloni Ghetti, L. Crema, *L'architettura della Dalmazia*, Roma 1943, P. 48).

at the one side, and Luigi Crema and Bastianini on the other. Thus, the backbone of the exhibition consisted of photographs of monuments, partly specifically produced for this purpose, and partly taken from previous funds and publications.

Indeed, the Academy managed to organize a special photographic campaign with the *Istituto Luce*, the film and photographic studios that Mussolini had founded in 1925 for propaganda purposes.¹⁹ Their photographer, named De Angeli, arrived in Zadar on May 24th,²⁰ and left Dalmatia, as reported by Crema, on June 29th, 1942, after making some three hundred negatives.²¹ The correspondence also mentioned some previous photographic material documenting Dalmatian monuments.²² Ultimately, the exhibition was assembled with photos owned by the *Istituto Luce*,²³ the *Ente Nazionale per il turismo*, ENIT [National Tourist Office], the Allinari archives, the VII Army Corps archives, the Ministry of Education and Conservation Department in Trieste archives, while also using photos by Split photographers Luciano Morpurgo and Studio Stuhler (already featured in Giovannoni's *Spalato Romana*).²⁴ Photographic details and enlargements were made mainly in the laboratory of the *Cabinetto Fotografico Nazionale* [National Photographic Office].²⁵

It is therefore clear that the authors of the Roman exhibition did not rely on rather rich archives from the period of the Austrian administration of Dalmatia²⁶, using only very few photos from the famous Čiril Metod Iveković's photographic maps.²⁷ Instead, it was decided that a new photo archive among the Roman institutions would be constructed, all in the light of the creation of the modern and specifically Italian view of Dalmatian heritage. In addition to photos, following the postulates of the study of historical architecture advocated by Giovannoni, new sets of measured architectural drawings of historic buildings in Dalmatia were also produced. This campaign was entrusted to then thirty-five-year-old architect Vittorio Amicarelli, Calza Bini's assistant at the University of Naples.²⁸ Amicarelli had previously worked with Calza Bini on several projects, including the renovation of the Palace Gravina (the seat of the Faculty of Architecture), and ambient valorization of the Island of Ischia (1941).²⁹ Furthermore, in the spring of 1941, he became secretary of the Neapolitan section of the National Center for the Study of the History of Architecture, which in turn was presided over by Calza Bini. Noticing the modesty of the funds destined for Amicarelli's trip to Dalmatia, Calza Bini suggested using some funds the Academy had previously given to Roberto Pane for surveys of temples at Paestum, considering that these drawings were made in the meantime «by one foreign researcher».³⁰ This money was therefore rerouted towards the recording of Dalmatian monuments,³¹ and Amicarelli left for Dalmatia on September 22nd, 23rd of 1942, via Rome and Ancona,³² to return to Naples on October 8th.³³ At the end of April of the following year, he officially handed over to the Academy sixteen large ink drawings on paper, representing architectural monuments of Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, and Dubrovnik, while the original drawings in pencil, on which these are based, are today in the family archive.³⁴ Tables with drawings found in the Academy archives represent eight buildings in Zadar (the Cathedral, sacristy and baptistery, the church of St. Donat at the Forum, St. Peter the Old, Loggia of Gran Guardia and the communal loggia, and some large houses), six in Dubrovnik (the Cathedral, St. Blaise, the Franciscan cloister, the Jesuit church, St. Saviour, the Rector's palace), two in Šibenik (the loggia and the Cathedral), and one in Trogir (the loggia). All tables include plans, sections, situational plans and prospects in perspective, and were destined to remain for a long time rare professional, systematic, and relatively precise recordings made by an experienced architect of cited monuments³⁵ (fig. 1). Particularly important is their documentary value, because they show the state immediately before the 1944–1945 bombings, which seriously damaged Šibenik and Zadar.

Creating heritage narratives in "interesting times": romanità, venezianità, italianità

The scientific background of the project is also very interesting and partly emerges from archival documents. Even the way the curators of the exhibition collected the literature on the area is indicative, as they were set to create a new official narrative on Dalmatian architecture, now (and very shortly) from the perspective of those who rule. Thus, for example, in June 1942, Calza Bini asked Carlo Galassi Paluzzi, President of the *Reale Istituto di Studi Romani* [Royal Institute of Roman Studies] and well-known bibliographer, for help. Galassi Paluzzi provided a note on the most important personalities in the history of relations between Rome and Dalmatia, and, a bit later, a much larger list of references, which did not include any titles by Croatian (or any Yugoslav) authors.⁶ Interest in the Roman heritage of the Eastern Adriatic coast, with an emphasis on the study of Split, already expressed through the mentioned trip made by Giovannonni and his party, was a fundamental reason behind the exhibition. The term *romanità* [Romaness], which describes the territory and the architectural and artistic achievements of Ancient Rome and its derivations, had a clear political connotation, as it equalled the ancient Roman Empire with the aspirations of the Kingdom of Italy after the proclamation of the Empire in 1936. To emphasize this idea, a large exhibition called *Mostra Augustea della Romanità* was opened in Rome in 1937, with Galassi Paluzzi acting as one of the curators.⁷

The authors of the St. Luke exhibition based their cultural paradigm of Dalmatia on a series of highly politicized publications issued during and towards the end of World War I, such as the Milan edition *Dalmazia monumentale* [Monumental Dalmatia], featuring the fundamental Italian study on Dalmatian monuments written by Adolfo Venturi.⁸ This pioneer of modern Italian art history summarizes in his text the interest in trans-Adriatic art in a nationalistic key, at that moment directed primarily against Austria-Hungary. He identified Istria and Dalmatia as ethnically mixed provinces, but the local artistic and architectural monuments are attributed to a purely Italian character. For example, Giorgio Dalmata, Alessi, Laurana and, in particular, Giovanni Dalmata (Duknović), are identified as Italian artists, in the reverse image they had in Croatian historiography from Ivan Kukuljević's *Slovnik umjetnikab jugoslovenskih* [Dictionary of Yugoslav artists] published in 1898.⁹ Venturi's authority deeply influenced historical and artistic, as well as cultural determinants of this area, and his definitions became an important argument in the propagation of the Italian national territory.

Furthermore, the official Rome, as the Accademia di San Luca under Calza Bini should be understood, was particularly interested in the monumental publication *La Venetie Julienne et la Dalmatie. Histoire de la Nation italienne sur ses frontières Orientales* by Attilio Tamaro, published in French in 1919 by the Senate of the Kingdom of Italy. The President of the Academy borrowed the three volumes from the library of the *Società Dante Alighieri* [Dante Alighieri Society] in Rome.¹⁰ The important Croatian historiographer Ferdo Šišić, writing in 1927, recognized the work as one of the attempts to instrumentalize history at the time of the Versailles negotiations, though not without historiographical value.¹¹ It should be emphasized that this book focused primarily on the history of the region, not its works of art. The same year Tamaro's book was published, Italian institutions were working on two more, this time visual testimonies on Dalmatia: the first was a military photographic campaign in Dalmatia undertaken by Italian military forces present in the region. The second project were artistic maps entitled *Dalmazia* [Dalmatia] with works by artists Aldo Mazza, Innocenzo Cantinotti, and Oreste Pisa, issued by Istituto grafico Bertarelli in Milan.¹² As already mentioned, the 1918 photographs were used together with the newly created ones, but the requested cityscapes of Dalmatian cities by Milan artists were not included in our exhibition: namely, Mazza's shipment arrived later.¹³ The organizers of the exhibition, in addition to relying on Tamaro's study that had an official state aura, did not, at least officially, contact any of the famous Dalmatian irredemists, such as the author of the study *La Dalmazia nell'arte italiana* [Dalmatia in the Italian art], published between 1920 and 1922, then Italian Senator Alessandro Dudari.¹⁴ The rhetoric and emotional temperature of the Roman core of professional historians of architecture

during the second year of the Italian administration in Dalmatia was different from the foaming Dudari's anti-Yugoslav discourse, which insisted on authentic Dalmatian elements within the corpus of Italian national art, although most of their interpretative and political objectives coincided. However, in the exhibition catalogue, Dudari's book is marked as the basic study.

During the preparation of the event that lasted for about a year and a half, there was a certain shift in perspective that needs to be addressed. The subtle changes of discourse in relation to the shifting political horizon are particularly visible in the book entitled *Italia e Croazia* [Italy and Croatia], edited by the Reale Accademia d'Italia, printed in February 1942, which already had to have been in preparation when Giovannonni wrote his account of the mission in Dalmatia in the fall of 1941.¹⁵ The purpose of this book was to promote a new alliance between the Nezasvina država Hrvatska [Independent State of Croatia, NDH] and the Kingdom of Italy. It includes chapters on archaeology, linguistic history, literary history, and history of art, elaborating on the very existence of the Croatian nation and its relationship to Italy. The texts were written by experts who had previously conducted scientific research in this area, such as Giuseppe Praga, who wrote about the relationship between the Croats and the Vatican, or Alberto Cromia, who summed up his previous studies on the Croatian language and literature. Nevertheless, the emphasis remained on the much higher specific weight of Italian culture.

The book contains a study with a telling title, *Arte italiana e Arte croata* [Italian art and Croatian art], written by Sandro Bettini and Giuseppe Fiocco, two professors at the Padua University, a fact that implies a different regional horizon in respect to curators of the Roman exhibition.¹⁶ Given the nature of the publication, Bettini and Fiocco are forced to insert the very existence of Croats into Venturi's paradigm of the Italian character of art in Dalmatia, and into Tamaro's and Dudari's notions of cultural *imes*. This results in a claim that the newly acknowledged nation in question has shown no artistic originality because, when operating in Dalmatia, Croats expressed themselves in the forms of Italian art.¹⁷

The Padua professors defined as explicitly Croatian monuments the Baroque churches in Zagreb, Lepoglava, and Belec, which are nevertheless explained as results of the introduction to Austrian Rococo, an expression that is in turn in itself the result of «soaking in Italian influences».¹⁸ Therefore, the colonial discourse is enriched with a recognition of the existence of a Croatian national segment, but it does not soften any of its imperialist charges, while borders between territories, which the authors believe to be Italian or Croatian, remained rather vague, just like they were in war-time reality.

The preparation of the exhibition dragged on considerably longer than planned: instead of October 1942 as scheduled, meetings took place and materials were collected throughout the winter of 1943. An interesting meeting at the Academy was held on February 20th, 1943, with, among others, Gustavo Giovannonni, Giulio Quirino Giglioli, and Mario De Renzi.¹⁹ The presence of Giovannonni clearly shows his close monitoring of the project, while Giglioli's attendance is also significant, given that he had been one of the curators, with the already mentioned Galassi Paluzzi, of the 1937 exhibition on the Roman Empire.²⁰ The architect and member of the Accademia di San Luca, Mario De Renzi, was, with Adalberto Libera, the architect of the 1932 *Mostra della rivoluzione fascista* [Exhibition of the fascist revolution], in which two exhibition rooms were dedicated to Rijeka and Dalmatia.²¹ He attended the meeting as the author of a display project for the future exhibition on Dalmatia. Clearly, the Dalmatian venture had gathered proven veterans of the regime exhibition projects in the Italian capital.

On the very date of the meeting, Calza Bini wrote letters to archivists and museum curators in Venice, asking for the potential exhibition material. Moreover, the curators discussed the idea to transfer the show to Venice after its Roman edition.²² Thus, only in the second stage of preparation, after a few-months break, the Roman curators of the exhibition started thinking specifically about Venetian material, thus bringing into the official cultural-historical narrative of Dalmatia they were creating the concept of *venezianità* [Venetianess]. Although in its political connotations, this notion is analogous to the concept of *romanità*, in terms of historical, territorial, and cultural belonging to the Republic of Venice, ergo to Fas-

cist Italy, it is obvious that Giovannoni's circle (as is clear from his text on Split) was much less interested in the architecture not directly inspired by Rome. Only later, and somehow hesitantly, they discussed the heritage distinctively marked by *gotico fiorito*. However, what apparently prevailed was the interpretive value of the concept of *venezianità* for the architectural heritage of the newly incorporated province. Therefore, in their reading of the language of the forms as a sign of historic dominance that legitimized current political efforts, in the second stage of preparation of the exhibition, its curators recalibrated the common denominator to be used within the official cultural-historical narrative of the Dalmatia they were creating: *italianità* (Italianess).

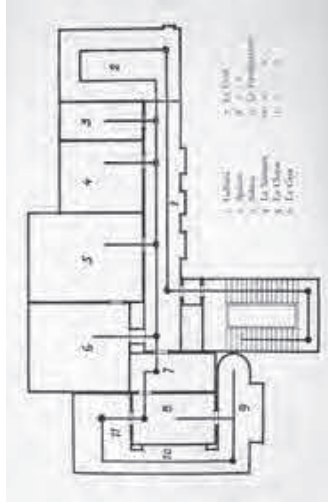
Of course, Venetian fascism, also driven by deep economic interests in the Eastern Adriatic, was much closer to the irredentist ideas that were fed by "the myth of Venice" and legendary fidelity of Dalmatians to the Serenissima³¹. Still, it should be noted that the curators of the Roman exhibition did not contact, for example, the group gathered around the *Istituto di Studi Adriatici* [Institute for Adriatic Studies] led by Pietro Foscati and Francesco Salata, but officially communicated only with the employees of the institutions that were supposed to send additional exhibition materials. The contacted officials were well-known scholars, such as Giulio Lorenzetti and Rodolfo Pallucchini, but their expertise was not required on the interpretive level.

The correspondence indicates that the most valuable archival and museum material was already evacuated from Venice because of the war, so it was possible to get only a few drawings, prints, portfolios, and 17th and 18th-century books depicting Dalmatian monuments. The documents in the San Luca archives do not specify where these materials came from, mentioning only a rather generic illustrative material on Dalmatia. Moreover, eight prints depicting Dalmatian fortifications came from the Roman military archives³². On April 15th, 1943, an oil painting by the painter Petrić arrived from Zadar, depicting the door of the Split temple³³, but in the photographs of the exhibition display, this picture cannot be allocated.

Displaying Dalmatian Heritage: Race Theory and Modernist Elegance

War events have procured for this project a very representative exhibition space, as the works of art from the permanent exhibition at the Palace Carpegna, the seat of the Academy near the Trevisi Fountain, were all moved to safety. The exhibition was designed in eight thematic sections (fig. 2).

Although an accurate inventory of the exposed material has not been found, there are photographs of the setup, along with descriptions of specific themes in the text of a short guide through the exhibition written by the president of the Academy, Calza Bini, which was also used as the introduction to the catalogue. From the description emerges the propagandistic character of the exhibition: the first space



2. Plan of the exhibition on Dalmatian architecture (Reale Accademia di San Luca, *Mostra dell'Architettura dalmata*, Roma, giugno 1943, exhibition guide).



3. Exhibition on Dalmatian architecture: entrance corridor (Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*).



4-6. Exhibition on Dalmatian architecture. From the top: Split room; Salona room; Sculpture room (Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*).

was a narrow corridor which contained an interpretation of racial hierarchy, illustrated [sic!] by photographs of the heads from apses of the cathedral in Siberik. This idea actually mixes the biological concept of race in terms of facial features with the typical Italian view of race, in the spiritual and cultural sense, that prevailed in the 1920s and 1930s³⁴. Furthermore, this space contained a symbol of "animal fury of barbarians from the hinterlands", or a cast of one of the Venetian lions from Trogir damaged in the pro-Yugoslav attacks in 1932, which brought Yugoslav-Italian relations to a boiling point³⁵ (fig. 3). Furthermore, a separate room was devoted to Split (fig. 4), followed by a small room with casts of archaeological findings from Salona (fig. 5). Medieval and Renaissance art was represented in a room illustrating sculpture and architectural decorations (fig. 6), followed by one dedicated to churches and chapels (fig. 7), then one featuring public and residential architecture (fig. 8). A separate space was devoted to examining the urban form (fig. 9) and, finally, there was a room dedicated to fortification architecture (fig. 10). This thematic and typological approach, inherent to the one cultivated by the so-called Roman school of the history of architecture, brought about certain developments in relation to the chronological and stylistic or geographic criterion of previous publications on the region³⁶.

Calza Bini's programmatic pages make several key claims. He recognizes, following Dudan's ideas, a native character of the architectural and sculptural achievements of Dalmatia, therefore, a certain regional identity, although closely related to the Apennine Peninsula. This identity, for Calza Bini, is based especially on the classical Roman tradition, visible even in the composition of the Venetian lions. Furthermore, Calza Bini's text highlights a number of comparative examples from all over Italy, comparing Radovani's Trogir portal with works by Nicola Pisano, or the Trogir chapel of Blessed John Orsini with Rimini works by Agostino di Duccio and Alberti. He recognizes Tuscan influences in Dubrovnik, and a feeling of Umbria and Tuscany in the Dalmatian towns. Furthermore, the exhibition wanted to highlight the works of Dalmatian artists in Italy, a direction that Venturi had already mapped, so he mentioned the works of Francesco Laurana and Giovanni Dalmata³⁷.

Calza Bini makes an amusing mistake when comparing the dome of the Dubrovnik Cathedral with the dome of St. Jerome degli Schiavoni (today dei Croati) in Rome, which, in fact, only has a painted dome. Nevertheless, as it will only be established much later, the President of the Academy intuitively guessed the trajectory of the project of the new cathedral of Dubrovnik³⁸. While the main denominator of Calza Bini's pages is *romanzità*, with the entire heritage of Dalmatia interpreted through the long shadow of Ancient Rome, in the final phrases of the introduction he also notes the presence of the insignia of the Venetian government at the exhibition, which in turn "assured to the east coast the tradition and right to the Italian and Christian civilization".



7-8. Exhibition on Dalmatian architecture. From the top: Religious architecture room; Domestic architecture room (Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*).

9-10. Exhibition on Dalmatian architecture. From the top: Urban features room; Fortifications room (Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*).



The idea of the fidelity of Dalmatians to Italy, is repeatedly emphasized, supported by both inscriptions from Salona, and by quoting the famous speech “Ti con nu...” by Perast captain Josip (Giuseppe) Visković from 1797, thus insisting on the longue durée of what was read as “Italian” domination. Compared to Bettini and Fiocco’s text from the beginning of 1942, whose task was to find the appropriate colonial discourse in relation to the new small ally, Calza Bini, writing in the early summer of 1943, no longer mentions the Croats, not even as perpetrators of the “Italian” visual language. He operates with the opposition between Dalmatians, seen as promoters of Italic culture, against barbarians from the hinterland. The Panislavic bolshevism, as repeatedly affirmed by Italian regime media of the time, has already become a real-time threat for the Italian government of the Eastern Adriatic.

The designer of the display, as mentioned, was Mario De Renzi, a fact unnoticed by the historiography on this important representative of Italian modernism⁶. De Renzi led his professional activity partially tied with Calza Bini’s architectural studio, and was also a professor at the Faculty of Architecture of Naples, and a member of the Accademia di San Luca, so his engagement in the Dalmatian exhibition is not surprising. Furthermore, projects of exhibition displays were not a new task for him: as already mentioned, together with Adal-

berto Libera, he created a futuristic look for the 1932 *Mostra della rivoluzione fascista* [Exhibition of the fascist revolution] and the 1935 *Padiglione del Littorio* [Lictor Pavilion] at the World Exhibition in Brussels.

The exhibition on Dalmatian architecture, designed a decade later, abandons the heavy aesthetics of earlier exhibitions; here De Renzi designed a modern and minimalist display: elegant glass showcases are carried by light metal structures placed along the walls or in the centre of the room, thus introducing some dynamism within otherwise visually monotonous black and white photographic exhibits. Carefully designed lighting also needed to enable a fast blackout in case of emergency. The Split room, one of the most spacious in the exhibition, primarily illustrates Diocletian’s Palace, with its enlarged plan and romantic views taken from Robert Adam’s 1764 books occupying an entire wall⁷.

In the centre of the room stood a scale model of the mausoleum and part of the Peristyle according to Niemann’s reconstruction, made for the aforementioned 1937 Exhibition of the Roman Empire. The models and casts of the ancient sculpture and inscriptions probably came from the same source. In addition to the aforementioned materials, the exhibition also presented replicas of Roman military insignia and a model of the Trogir galley from the Battle of Lepanto, suitable reminders of past military victories in war-time reality.

What remains: the catalogue written at a time of war

Apart from Calza Bini's introduction, the catalogue in the octavo format contains a longer discursive text signed by Apollonj Ghetti and Crema. This main narrative is organized into eight chapters in relation to the layout of the exhibition⁶⁵. It should be noted that its authors were professionally interested in ancient architecture, although Crema, given his education in the field of engineering and conservation, as well as his capacity of Commissioner for antiquities, fine art, and museums of Dalmatia, demonstrated wider interests. Still, the two chapters dedicated to Split and Salona repeat the conclusions (and illustrations) of previous publications from Carrara to Dyggve and Niemann, emphasizing the importance of ancient Roman achievements for later art phenomena⁶⁴.

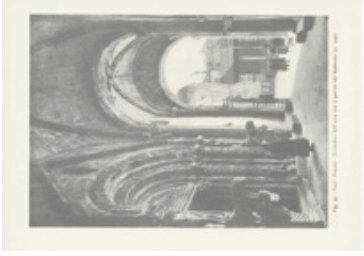
The chapter on religious architecture brings interesting typological series, from early medieval central churches, with a monumental example of Zadar's St. Donat, recorded after the Italian restoration works, also detecting the phenomenon of Renaissance trefoiled church facades along the coast. Programmatic interest in the Romanesque, where they point out connections with Apulia, lead to claims that the Gothic almost entirely vanished from the religious architecture of Dalmatia⁶⁵. The forms of the Šibenik Cathedral, the work of Giorgio Dalmata and Niccolò Fiorentino, are defined as classical, while Dalmata's genius insertion of the baptistery and sacristy on steep terrain is also noted. Apollonj Ghetti and Crema attribute the realization of the Šibenik baptistery to Aleš, but according to Giorgio Dalmata's designs, as is the case of the baptistery in Trogir, with emphasis on its derivation from the small temple of Diocletian's palace⁶⁶. Dubrovnik's Baroque churches are mentioned very briefly, but are illustrated throughout. Amicarelli's drawings. When discussing them, the authors follow Dudan's view, which highlights the role of Roman and Venetian architects⁶⁷.

On the other hand, in their analysis of public and residential architecture, the authors emphasize the Gothic component as a sign of Venetian rule, although noting the lack of delicacy inherent to lagunar architecture. They are delighted to observe an early appearance of Renaissance elements, given their insistence on the classical tradition. Dubrovnik's Rector's Palace is here attributed to Giorgio Dalmata, besides Onofrio de la Cava. They include some elegant examples of private houses, such as the House Bizzaro (today better known as Skočibula-Bizzaro) in Dubrovnik. The military significance of Dalmatia as the eternal border zone marks the section on fortifications, which lists the most important works in Zadar, Trogir, Split, Korčula, and Dubrovnik, church-fortresses on Hvar and Vis, and emphasizes the importance of Giangirolamo Sanmicheli as an innovator of 16th-century defence systems⁶⁸.

The chapter on sculpture begins with a discussion of early medieval monuments with interlaced ornaments, which Calza Bini completely left out from his preface (the photographs of the display also do not show any). Apollonj Ghetti and Crema emphasized the North Italian and classical origin of these motifs. An interesting observation about the baptistery bearing these ornaments, «which until 1746 was in Nin and now is in Zagreb» is a lead that enables the easy recognition of this object as the Duke Višeslav Baptismal Font, now in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split⁶⁹. The Croatian historiography at the time considered it one of the key monuments of Croatian statehood, although it was found at the deposits of the Venetian Museo Correr without any traceable indication of its origin⁷⁰. During the preparations for the Roman exhibition, the Croatian authorities put in enormous efforts to obtain the Font, as it bears the inscription with the name of a Slavic duke. Finally, it was exchanged for two Vittore Carpaccio's paintings from Bishop Strossmayer's collection, and was exhibited in Zagreb⁷¹. Notably, Apollonj Ghetti and Crema mention the Baptistal Font, which was changing hands as they were writing their text, but only as an example of classical influences, omitting the name mentioned in the inscription⁷². The emphasis on classical tradition runs through every chapter, also stressing the value of Romanesque art, with comparisons to Venice and Apulia⁷³. Finally, the account of the achievements of Giorgio Dalmata takes up the most space. Although formed in the Venetian Bon workshop in the forms of floral Gothic,



11-14. The cover and, on next page, some pages from exhibition's catalogue: B.M. Apollonj Ghetti, L. Crema, *L'architettura della Dalmazia*, Roma 1943.



he soon «turns to the Renaissance», with Aleš and Niccolò Fiorentino. After the Quattrocento, the art of sculpture is judged as being in a constant state of decline, mirroring the general disinterest of the architectural historians writing the text for the later periods, although they mention some imports from Venice, like the Morletter sculptures in Split.

The last chapter evolves around the analysis of the character of Dalmatian urban centres, which are described one after the other, introducing important historical issues for urban histories, such as the Turkish attacks on Hvar in 1571 with the urban reconstruction that followed, or the characteristics of the Split municipal square in relation to the Peristyle. The interest in the immediate environment of the monument is visible on Amicarelli's situational plans, drawn for all the major monuments. This chapter is peppered with repeated attempts to find analogies with different regions of the Apennine Peninsula, for example, the authors see resemblances of Dubrovnik to Apulia (not Venice). On the other hand, they try to define a regional specificity, which is primarily manifested in the folk architecture built in local stone, with roofs of flat stone laying on cornices held by consoles. In addition, the authors note the use of Roman spolia and ubiquity of sculpted Venetian lions in Venetian Dalmatia, but also statues of St. Blaise, a symbol of Dubrovnik, in the area controlled by the small southern Adriatic Republic. The importance and originality of this chapter lie specifically in these observations, while the choice to devise it as a separate theme in relation to other issues raised by the exhibition was in line with the interests of the so-called Roman school of the history of architecture.

This short text of primarily popular character is an attempt to define the characteristics of Dalmatian heritage within the system of Italian regions, written by professional historians of architecture, unlike Dudan's amateurish studies or popular publications produced by Amy Bernardi in the interwar period⁷⁴. The standing point for their vision is Rome, in terms of focus on the continuity of Ancient Rome and mitigation of the importance of Venetian thalassocracy, in precedence strongly accentuated by Fiocco, while also emphasizing the artistic connections with a number of cross-Adriatic regions. The rhetoric is pro-regime, but the terms *italianità*, *romanità* and *venezianità* do not appear in the main text, whose nationalistic tone is considerably muted compared to Calza Bini's Introduction, and especially in comparison with texts by Alessandro Dudan, from which it still derives most of the attributions and, to some extent, comparisons. The list of references relies on historical titles, like Farlati, Adam and Jackson, and several editions in German from the period of Austrian rule, as Gurliitt and Von Kowalezyk, Folnesic, Frey and Iveković. It also lists Italian art historians, like Monneret de Villard and Venturi, and «State editions» such as the aforementioned Tamaro's and Bettini and Fiocco's texts. Special attention was paid to the publications on the excavations of Salona, cited in the German and French versions. The only title in the Croatian language is a 1933 survey of Dalmatian art of the 15th and 16th centuries by Ljubo Karaman. The bibliography also includes the text published in French by the same author on the medieval architecture of Dalmatia, which demonstrates the international importance of the Vienna-educated conservator for Dalmatia prior to Crema's arrival. Nevertheless, one should remember that already in 1939, Karaman published the programmatic text *O talijanskom aspiracijama na Dalmaciju, navodno baziranim na spomenicima umjetnosti te zemlje* [On Italian aspirations towards Dalmatia, presumably based on artistic monuments of that country], clearly stating his political stand- ing regarding the issue of national labels and visual language⁷⁵.

Although these buildings are only mentioned in the text, the photographs and Amicarelli's drawings would induce Antonio Muñoz, chief Commissary of fine arts, and author of pioneering studies on Borromini and Pozzo, to write a letter to the Academy asking for photographs of the Jesuit Church in Dubrovnik⁷⁶. Apollonj Ghetti would not return to Dalmatian topics, while Luigi Crema, who was personally much less involved in the policy of the fascist regime, after the war published several texts and followed from a distance the progress of the reconstruction of Diocletian's Palace, led by Cvito Fisković⁷⁷.

Echoes of the exhibition: immediate impact and lasting reverberations

The Italian press publicized the opening of the exhibition, and the tone of newspaper clippings preserved in the archives of the Academy oscillates from relatively sober, such as Amelia Como's text in *Regime fascista* of June 26th, 1943, which describes the exhibition and quotes Calza Bini on familiar impressions of Dalmatian streets, to very alarming, as was the case with the volunteer newspaper *La volontà d'Italia* of June 28th, 1943, in which, under the description of the exhibition, stands the text under the title *Bolshevism and Pan-Slavism target Adriatic*⁶⁷. The same language is also used in Alessandro Dudan's telegram to Calza Bini with congratulations on the exhibition, who found the idea of the exhibition as a form of «struggle against the crazy, dirty barbaric tendencies of Russian panbolshviks» to be brilliant⁶⁸. The most eloquent illustration of the overall situation in the summer of 1943 is given by the daily paper *Il lavoro fascista* on June 23rd, 1943. Its front page features news on the Allied Forces bombing Naples, while the cultural section contains a presentation of the exhibition and the text on the opening of the Italian Cultural Institute in Budapest in the presence of President Horty.

The exhibition, under the circumstances, was open for a short period, but it was visited by the Minister of «national culture», Gaetano Polverelli⁶⁹, and King Vittorio Emanuele III⁷⁰, while Mussolini seems not to have made it. Furthermore, Calza Bini personally guided a tour for foreign academies in Rome, so visitors included representatives and scholars of the Hungarian, Romanian, German, Spanish, and Swedish Academies⁷¹.

The catalogue was also distributed, although modestly. Copies were sent for sale to the bookstore run by Max Bretschneider in Florence⁷², and to Dalmatian institutions: there is a thank-you letter from Jerolim Rapanić, director of the Civic Library in Split at the time, and from the painter Ladislav de Gaus, the contemporary civil commissioner of Krk, as well as from Giuseppe Praga in Zadar⁷³. Even in July of 1943, plans to move the exhibition to Venice were still in place; the Ministry of culture had already allocated the sum needed for its transport, and Calza Bini wrote a letter on July 22nd requesting a layout of the Museo Correr⁷⁴. The transfer of the exhibition did not happen, given the difficulties with railway lines that are mentioned in the documents, but what must have certainly influenced the project was the fact that on July 25th, 1943, Mussolini was arrested⁷⁵. A few months later, when the Social Republic of Salò had been established, Rodolfo Pallucchini, director of the Venetian Directorate of Fine Arts and Education, wrote to the Academy in Rome asking for two copies of the catalogue, regretting that the exhibition was not realised in Venice⁷⁶.

Unfortunately, there is no documentation about the fate of the exhibits, the large-scale photos and painted panels. The only clue about borrowed plaster casts and architectural models date from May 17th, 1944, when they were taken over by an officer of the Museum of the Roman Empire, the successor to the mentioned 1937 Augustus exhibition⁷⁸.

The described exhibition, although its curators could not have known it, represented the swan song of the regime, whose propaganda means were already admittedly limited, but still existing, and continued to inject a full-blown colonial ideology of racial and cultural superiority into the Eastern Adriatic heritage. The entire exhibition project plainly illustrates cross-Adriatic relations, but also a difference in views and the state of research of particular historical and artistic topics and problems within Italy itself. Moreover, the project has left a long shadow in Italian historiography: the catalogue, for example, represents the base, unfortunately even for some of the rhetoric of Venetian Giuseppe Maria Pilo and his 2000 book *«Per trecentosessantasette anni»: la gloria di Venezia nelle testimonianze artistiche della Dalmazia*, which uses a good deal of Amicarella's drawings⁷⁹. On the other hand, for example, the protagonist of the IUAH history of architecture department, Manfredi Taluri, has never mentioned the Eastern Adriatic coast nor Yugoslavia: his interest lay in redefining the canonical figures and urban context of artistic production, and not in notions of transfer, periphery, or nationalism. In Croatian and broader historiography, written by authors of the ex-Yugoslav region, the exhibition catalogue as a reference did not survive the 1940s: in 1947,



15-18. Over and on next pages, some images from exhibition's catalogue: P.M. Apollonij Gilecki, L. Crema, *L'architettura della Dalmazia*, Roma 1943.

it was still cited by Cvito Fisković in *Naši graditelji i kipari u Dubrovniku XV i XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku* [Our builders and sculptors of the 15th and 16th century in Dubrovnik]⁸⁰. Fisković knew Crema personally, and acted as the main conservator for Dalmatia after the war, responsible for the restoration of numerous monuments. Fisković was also an avid researcher and prolific writer; whose archival work was directed towards unearthing thousands of Slavic names among artists and builders active in Dalmatia, thus in direct dialogue with the Italian narratives and methodologies. He would also recognize the importance of urban organisms and landscapes in the construction of identity in the region, and lead the works of demolitions around Diocletian's palace after the war, much in line with Giovannianni's lessons⁸¹.

Ultimately, though careful discernment of interlaced threads of political programs, cultural endeavors and diverse interpretations of Eastern Adriatic heritage are still ahead of us, a more precise definition of the totality of paradigms and attitudes behind certain publications and exhibitions will gradually contribute to this process.

Note

- I would like to thank the editors on their invitation to publish the research on the *Architettura in Dalmazia* exhibition in the present volume. The research has been presented at the conference *Dati Calza Fiskovića* (Orebić, 2014) and *Crossing the Adriatic: Networks of Cultural Exchange beyond the Yugoslav Region* (Rome, 2018), and I would also like to thank discussions at both conferences for their challenging questions and observations. On the exhibition, see also J. GUIDELI, *Bastina i političke izložbe o dalmatinskoj arhitekturi u rimskoj Akademiji sv. Luke u lipnju 1943. in: Zbornik Društva Calza Fiskovića 6: Razmatranje umjetničkih iskustava u jedinstvenom bazenu*, ed. J. Guideli, P. Marković, Zagreb 2016, pp. 173-188.
- The territory of Zadar, recognised as part of Italy after the 1921 Treaty of Rapallo, has been extended to 1941 in the so-called Governatorate of Dalmatia, which included the prefectures of Zadar, Split, and Kotor. Italian troops were present both in this territory directly annexed by the Kingdom of Italy, as well as in the area formally administered by the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), i.e. Dubrovnik. About the Italian administration in Dalmatia, see at least *L'occupazione italiana della Jugoslavia, 1941-1943*, a cura di F. Caccamo and L. Monzali, Firenze 2008; E. GORETTI, *L'occupazione allegra: Gli italiani in Jugoslavia (1941-1943)*, Roma 2007; T. SALA, *Il fascismo italiano e gli Slavi del sud*, Trieste 2008; N. KISS KOLANOVIC, *NDH i Italija. Političke veze i diplomatski odnosi*, Zagreb 2001.
- On fascist imperial-colonial efforts, see D. RODONICO, *Fascism's European Empire. Italian Occupation During the second World War*, Cambridge 2006.
- F. CANALI, *Architettura e città nella Dalmazia italiana (1922-1943): il palazzo di Diocleziano di Spalato: Luigi Crema*, "Quaderni del Centro di Ricerche Storiche Rovigno", 20, 2009, pp. 67-100; IDEM, *Architettura e città nella Dalmazia italiana (1922-1943): Torre dalmata e il Palazzo di Diocleziano di Spalato tra isanze nazionaliste e "olori" consolidati nelle riflessioni di Alois Riegl, Alessandro Dudan e Ugo Ojetti*, "Quaderni del Centro di Ricerche Storiche Rovigno", 18, 2007, pp. 23-2-59; IDEM, *Architettura e città nella Dalmazia italiana (1922-1943): il palazzo di Diocleziano di Spalato. Dai problemi sull'ambientamento dei nuovi monumenti celebrativi (1929) alle previsioni dell'accademia d'Italia (1941-1943)*, "Quaderni del Centro di Ricerche Storiche Rovigno", 19, 2008, pp. 93-140; I. BROCK, *Spalato Romana. Missione della Reale Accademia d'Italia a Spalato*, "Bastina", 34, 2007, pp. 173-228; R. DE MARTINO, *Vittorio Amicarella and Dalmatian architecture in The Presence of Italian architects in Mediterranean Countries*, proceedings of the conference (Alexandria, 2007), Firenze 2008, pp. 267-273.
- Archival holdings: Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, ff. 15-92. On the Italian cultural politics towards Yugoslavia in 1928, particularly in the literary-philological sphere, see N. BACURUSA, *Frascale lozo podmet talijanske kulturne politike tridesetih godina, in: Komparativna povijest brnacke književnosti-zbornik radova VII. proceedings of a conference* (Split, 2004), ed. C. Pavlović, V. Glunčić Bužančić, Split 2005, pp. 48-61.
- La lettera di Gustavo Giovannianni ad Alberto Calza Bini: «Roma 8 Dicembre 41 XX. Caro Calza, Apolloni mi dà l'unico promemoria per una iniziativa per la conoscenza dei monumenti della Dalmazia; e mi pare ottima l'idea. Egli invero pensava all'Accademia d'Italia come centro d'organizzazione; ma invece a me pare che sia più a posto l'Accademia di S. Luca. Ti trasmetto quindi il promemoria; e tanto io quanto Apolloni siamo a tua disposizione se crederti di avviare la cosa verso l'attuazione. Mille saluti del tuo G. Giovannianni. Stamp 9 die 1941. Visto dal presidente Manuscript note: Al consiglio Accademico: Tenere in evidenza, Timbro 23 feb 1942». Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, f. 1.
- Alberto Calza Bini (1881-1957) acted as President of the *Istituto Case Popolari Roma* (Institute for Social Housing in Rome) and Chairman of the *Sindacato Nazionale Fascista Architetti* (Fascist Union of Architects). After the war, he was briefly interned, and later rehabilitated, eventually becoming Dean of the Faculty of Architecture in Naples. A. CALZA BINI, *Calza Bini, Alberto*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 17, Roma 1974; V. FUSCOLO, *Alberto Calza Bini*, "Atti della

- Accademia di San Luca", 3, 1957-1958, pp. 160-161.
- 8 About this mission, involving Gustavo Giovannoni, archaeologists Amedeo Maiuri and Roberto Paribeni, and engineer Luigi Marangoni, and only nominally writer Ugo Ojetti and architect Marcello Piacentini, see BROCK, *Spaldato Romana*, cit., and Elisa Roncaccia in this volume.
- 9 G. GIOVANNONI et al., *Spaldato romana. Relazione della Commissione Accademia di studio, 22 novembre 1941*, Roma 1941. For content analysis see BROCK, *Spaldato Romana*, cit.
- 10 BROCK, *Spaldato Romana*, cit., p. 190.
- 11 On Bruno Maria Apollonj Ghetti (1905-1989) see BROCK, *Spaldato Romana*, cit., p. 208, n. 19; A. TOMASSETTI, *Uffondo Bruno Maria Apollonj Ghetti all'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca*, "Atti di Accademia di San Luca" 1, 1, 2011-2012, pp. 303-308; and Mariarosa Villani in this volume.
- 12 Luigi Crema (1905-1973) graduated from the Faculty of Civil Engineering at the University of Rome, and attended the Italian Archaeological School in Athens. He worked in conservation offices in Rome and, after the war, in Ravenna and Milan, as well as in missions for UNESCO. BROCK, *Spaldato Romana*, cit., p. 209, n. 20; CANALI, *Luigi Crema*, cit.
- 13 Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, ff. 2, 24, f. 2.
- 14 Letter of Alberto Calza Bini to Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Rome, 17 March 1942, «esaltare le principali manifestazioni del genio e della potenza italiana che l'arte ha affermato sulla terra dalmata», lvi, f. 3.
- 15 «Presidenza dei Ministri. Il sottosegretario dello Stato, Roma, il 22 marzo 1942 anno XX (era fascista), Al Conte Presidente della Reale Accademia di S. Luca, Roma. In relazione alla lettera del 17 corrente, si informa che il DUCE ha dato il suo alto assenso a che sia aperta, il 28 ottobre p. v., nelle sale della sede accademica, una Mostra delle riproduzioni e delle opere originali illustrative dei principali monumenti italiani della Dalmazia. Il Sottosegretario di Stato (signature), stamp Visto dal Presidente, 23 Mar. 1942 XX», lvi, f. 3.
- 16 Letter by Calza Bini to Giuseppe Bastianini, 28 March 1942. lvi, ff. 6-7.
- 17 Letter by Bastianini to Calza Bini, Zadar, April 10, 1942. lvi, f. 9.
- 18 Letter by Luigi Crema to Calza Bini, April 12, 1942. lvi, f. 10.
- 19 On Istituto Luca see D. CALANCA, *Bianco e nero: l'Istituto nazionale Luca e l'immaginario del fascismo (1924-1940)*, Bologna 2016.
- 20 Telegram by Calza Bini to Luigi Crema, May 22, 1942, Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, f. 13.
- 21 Letter by Crema to Calza Bini June 29, 1942, lvi, f. 25 and telegram by Crema to Calza Bini, June 25, 1942, lvi, f. 26.
- 22 Crema writes to Rome that the *Gabinetto fotografico nazionale* [National Photographic Cabinet] has good photos of Rab and Paga; Studio Alinari, Istituto Luca and Gabinetto fotografico nazionale of Zadar; Istituto Luca and ENVR of Šibenik; Firms Stuhl and Milisic of Split, Trogir, Salona, Omis and Brčić; ENVR of Hvar and Korčula; VI. Army Corps of Dubrovnik and its surroundings; Istituto Luca of Kotor. Letters from Luigi Crema a Calza Bini, May 28, 1942, Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, f. 19; June 29, 1942, lvi, f. 25. In addition, there are photographs of archaeological monuments provided by professor Giglioli (Calza Bini to Crema, May 8, 1942, lvi, f. 21).
- 23 As early as 1919-1920, Italy organized a photographic campaign in Dalmatia in support of efforts in Versailles, and these photos clearly became part of the archives of the Institute Luca, because 33 of them are mentioned in the letter by Calza Bini from February 17, 1943, lvi, f. 44, and in the response from Istituto Luca of February 23, 1943, lvi, f. 43.
- 24 Calza Bini thanked Luciano Morpurgo for his albums and ordered some enlarged details to be printed for the exhibition, letter by Calza Bini to Luciano Morpurgo, March 12, 1943, lvi, f. 42.
- 25 Letter by Calza Bini to Marino Lazzari, general director of the arts section at the Ministry of Public Education, February 16, 1943, lvi, f. 42. Positive response from M. Lazzari, February 26, 1943, lvi, f. 43.
- 26 On editions and photographs of the period of Austrian rule in Dalmatia, see J. BELAMIRIĆ, *Dalmatia in the Visual Narrative. Georg Kowalczyk and Cornelius Gurlitt: An Atlas of Photographs of Dalmatian Monuments, in Photo Archives and the Idea of Nation*, ed. C. Caraffa, T. Serena, Berlin 2015, pp. 95-117.
- 27 The catalogue reproduces six of them, see the list of sources of illustrations (*Fonti delle illustrazioni*), B.M. APOLLONJ GHETTI, L. CREMA, *L'architettura della Dalmazia*, Roma 1943, Tavole.
- 28 Vittorio Amicarella (1907-1971) is one of Calza Bini's collaborators. Since 1931, Calza Bini was the head the Neapolitan School of Architecture, which brought together many of the Roman teachers from the circle of Gustavo Giovannoni (Giovanni Battista Ceas, Luigi Piccinato, Mario De Renzi, Giuseppe Simonò), and some Neapolitan lecturers and historians of architecture, such as Roberto Pane, Gino Chierici, Ferdinando Chiaramonte, and Marcello Canino. The teaching program forming future architects was based on the teaching of historical forms of architecture and a study of urban and rural landscapes, closely related to Giovannoni's principles. The school was transformed in 1935 into the Dipartimento d'Architettura di Napoli, see G. MIENNA, *Vittorio Amicarella architetto*, Napoli 2000, pp. 23-24; DE MARTINO, *Vittorio Amicarella*, cit., pp. 267-273.
- 29 MIENNA, *Vittorio Amicarella*, pp. 54-55.
- 30 lvi, p. 136, n. 101. During the 1930s, Paestum was studied by German archaeologists, result-

- ing in a series of publications: F. KRAUS, *Der korinthisch-Dorisch Tempel am Forum von Paestum*, Berlin 1939; IDEM, *Paestum. Die griechischen Tempel*, Berlin, 1941; C. LAMIA, L. CURTUSI, *Die Tempel von Paestum*, Leipzig, 1944. The drawings of temples to which Calza Bini and Apollonj Ghetti refer are probably those published by Kraus.
- 31 Letters by Calza Bini to L. Auricchio, the rector of the University of Naples, August 8, 1942 and the response of the Rector, August 20, 1942; Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, ff. 30-32. Letter by Calza Bini to Roberto Pane, Head of the Istituto caratteristico stilistico e costruttivo dei monumenti at the Facoltà di Architettura di Università di Napoli, September 9, 1942, lvi, f. 33.
- 32 Letter by Calza Bini to Vittorio Amicarella, September 11, 1942, lvi, f. 36.
- 33 MIENNA, *Vittorio Amicarella*, cit.; DE MARTINO, *Vittorio Amicarella*, cit.
- 34 Letter by Amicarella to Calza Bini, October 8, 1942, f. 37. The Amicarelli family archive contains drawings of buildings in Zadar (the House Grisogono, the courtyard in Via Simeone, the house in Calle del Monte, the Cathedral, St. Donatus, the baptistry, St. Peter, and the Military guard loggia), Dubrovnik (the Rector's Palace courtyard, the Cathedral, St. Blaise, the cloister of the Franciscans, the Jesuit Church, St. Blaise), Šibenik (the loggia, the Cathedral), Trogir (the loggia), MIENNA, *Vittorio Amicarella*, cit., p. 136, n. 104.
- 35 For example, a new section of the Cathedral in Dubrovnik was published only in 2014, see *Kate-drala Gospe Velike u Dubrovniku*, ed. K. Horvat-Levai, Dubrovnik-Zagreb, 2014.
- 36 The typescripted document entitled *Principali personaggi storici che hanno avuto rilievo nei rapporti intercorsi nei secoli tra Roma e Dalmazia* mentions Octavian and Tiberius as actors of Romanization of Dalmatia, followed by Illyrian emperors Claudius II, Diocletian, Constantius Chlorus and his dynasty. The document also lists St. Jerome as an important Dalmatian, followed by Pope John IV. It then moves to Pietro II Orscolo, important for his 1000 victory over Croats and Narentines and clearing of the Adriatic of Slavic pirates who supported the Byzantines. King Zvonimir is seen as a turning point with regard to vassalage to the Pope. In the following centuries, no other interesting historical character has distinguished him/herself particularly, and the document is concluded by a reference to Niccolò Tommaseo and Baatomoni. Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, f. 22. The typed bibliography on ff. 39-40b.
- 37 About the exhibition, see F. SCRIBA, *The sacralization of the Roman Past and Mussolini's Italy. Tradition, Aesthetics, and Religion and the Exhibition of Augustus' bicentenary and 1937-1938*, "Storia della Storiografia", 30, 1996, pp. 19-29; A. GIARDINA, *Augusto tra due bimilenni, in Augusto*, exhibition catalog, a cura di E. La Rocca et al., Roma 2013, pp. 57-72; G. PISCO, *Fascismo di gesso. Dietro le quinte della Mostra augustea della romanità, in Studi di critica. Musei, mostre, restauro e diagnostica artistica in Italia (1930-1940)*, a cura di M. I. Catalano, Roma 2014, pp. 225-266.
- 38 A. VENTURI, E. PAIS, P. MOMMENTI, *Dalmazia Monumentale*, Milano 1917.
- 39 On Venturi's interest in Dalmatia, see M. G. AURIGEMMA, *Giovanni Dalmata e la Dalmatia nei viaggi e negli scritti di Adolfo Venturi*, "Storia dell'arte", 39, 2014, pp. 5-20, suggesting that the Italian art historian visited Dalmatia. About Schiavoni artists in Croatian historiography, see I. PRJAVIĆ PAVIĆ, *Schiavoni: umjetnici, nacija, ideologija*, Zagreb 2018.
- 40 Letter by Calza Bini to Soodnik, Vice-President of the Society Dante Alighieri, March 15, 1943, Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, f. 66.
- 41 F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Recenzija Tamaro Artillo, La Venete Julienne et la Dalmatie. Histoire de la nation italienne sur ses frontières orientales*, vol. I. *La Venete Julienne*, Rim 1918, 1933, str.; vol. II. *La Dalmatie depuis les origines jusqu'à la Renaissance*, Rim 1919, 191 str.; vol. III. *La Dalmatie depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à la guerre européenne*, Rim 1919, 688 str., "Stanohrvatska prosvjeta", 1, 1927, 1-2, p. 126.
- 42 On the examples of these artistic maps owned by the Ethnographic Museum in Split, see B. VOJNOVIĆ-TRAZVIK, *Mapa Dalmacija - I. Cantinatti: iz Etnografskog muzeja Splita*, "Etnologija Dalmatica", 18, 2011, 1, pp. 145-166.
- 43 Letters by Aldo Mazza to Calza Bini, May 15, 1943 and June 17, 1943, Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, ff. 117, 118; Letter by Calza Bini to Aldo Mazza June 22, 1943, lvi, f. 119.
- 44 A. DUDANI, *La Dalmatia nell'arte italiana. Venti secoli di civiltà*, 2 voll., Milano 1921-1922 (reprint Rovigno 1999). For a critical review of this work, see the introduction in the cited edition, G. CUSCITO, *L'arte e civiltà della Dalmazia nell'opera di Alessandro Dudani*, pp. XXXI-XXLIX.
- 45 REALE ACCADEMIA D'INFLIA, *Italia e Croazia*, Roma 1942.
- 46 Giuseppe Fiocco chose Istria and Dalmatia for his 1914 final study trip during his specialization with Adolfo Venturi. The voyage, which was cut short due to the outbreak of World War I, was limited to Trieste, Poreč, Pola, Zadar, Šibenik, Hvar, Trogir, and Split, as stated in the preserved autograph report: dr. A. AMENDOLA, *Giuseppe Fiocco alla scoperta dell'Istria e della Dalmazia (1914), in Vedere e rivedere e potendo godere. Allievi di Adolfo Venturi in viaggio tra l'Italia e l'Europa 1900-1925*, a cura di A. Amendola, L. Lortizzo, Roma 2014, pp. 237-251. Amendola does not mention Fiocco's text from 1942.
- 47 S. BRITINI, G. FIOCCO, *Arte italiana e arte croata, in Italia e Croazia*, cit., p. 233.
- 48 lvi, p. 306.
- 49 Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, f. 46.
- 50 See note 37.

- 51 Within this exhibition, rooms dedicated to Rijeka and Dalmatia were marked L and M, where the artistic part was curated by Trieste-Florentine painter Giovannino Marchig and the historical part by Rijeka mayor Riccardo Gigante, see *Guida alla Mostra della Rivoluzione fascista*, a cura di D. Alfieri, L. Freddi, Firenze 1933, p. 145. This exhibition was repeated on a smaller scale in 1937 and again in 1942.
- 52 Calza Bini and Apollonj Ghetti corresponded with the officer for the state archives at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Achille Alberti (Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, f. 47). Mayor of Venice (f. 48, f. 52, f. 53), the honorary curator of Musei Civici of Venice, Count Volpi di Misurata (f. 49), the director of the Musei Civici of Venice Giulio Lorenzetti (f. 59), the archivist of the State archives in Venice, Augusto De Benvenuto (f. 58), and the officer responsible for the Trieste monuments and galleries, Fausto Franco (f. 57).
- 53 «Mostra intesa ad affermare la perfetta italianità dell'arte della Dalmazia», Letter by Calza Bini to Achille Alberti, February 20, 1943, ivi, f. 47. On Venetian fascism see EM. PALADINI, *Vellèta e capitolazione della propaganda talassocratica veneziana (1935-1945)*, in *L'Italia chiama. Memoria militare e civile di una regione*, «Venetia», n. 6, 2002, pp. 147-172.
- 54 Confirmation of the receipt of eight prints with Dalmatian fortifications, Calza Bini to General Enrico Clausoni, Director of the Military Historical and Cultural Institute, March 8, 1943, Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, f. 56.
- 55 Letter by Calza Bini to Luigi Crema, April 15, 1943, ivi, f. 116.
- 56 S. PUCCELLI, *Tra razzismo e scienza: L'antropologia fascista e i popoli balcanici*, «Limes», 1, 1994, pp. 283-294; BOURNINA, *Hrvatska kao predmet*, cit., pp. 48-61; 48-49.
- 57 About the incident with the lions of Troizi, see M. JAREB, *Trigorski incident od 1. prosinca 1932. i mlađaci Ivo svetog Marka*, «Casopis za svremenu povijest», 39, 2007, 2, pp. 419-443.
- 58 Ljubo Karanman, whose *Umjetnost u Dalmaciji u XV. i XVI. vijeku* [Art in Dalmatia in XV. i XVI. centuries], Zagreb 1933, is the only publication in the Croatian language cited in the exhibition catalogue, also has a partially typological approach, but his analysis of the architecture is still mainly focused on stylistic features of architectural decoration.
- 59 The plaster cast was borrowed from an elementary school on Via Ostense in Rome: Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, f. 64.
- 60 K. PRUKALJ, *Dobromerzi za historiju dubrovačke arhitekture*, «Tiskolicev zbornik», 2, 1968, pp. 117-56; Katerina Gospe Velika, cit.; J. ČUKIĆ, *Arhitektura e diplomacija tra Roma e Dubrovnik: San Giacomo deli Croatia e la cattedrale di Dubrovnik nel secondo Secolo*, «Romsches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Herziana», 40, 2011/12, (f.c. 2016), pp. 179-233.
- 61 On De Renzi see M.L. NIKSIĆ, *Mario de Renzi: L'architetto come mestiere; 1897-1967*, Roma 1992, and the website www.fondazionezeno.org edited by Accademia Nazionale di San Luca.
- 62 R. ADAMI, *Remains of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalato*, London 1764. On the fortune of Adami's book see *Robert Adam and Diocletian's Palace in Split*, proceedings of the conference (Split, 2015), ed. J. Belamarić, A. Šverko, Zagreb 2017.
- 63 APOLOLONJ GHIETTI-CREMA, *L'architettura della Dalmazia*, cit. It is likely, as suggested by BROCK, *Spaldato romana*, cit., that the text was written by Crema, while Apollonj Ghetti was responsible for the collection of exhibition materials.
- 64 A very free reconstruction of Salona was taken from Farlati, while plans of archaeological findings of the episcopalian center at Manisnac, as well as restitution of the original layout of the amphitheater, from the monumental publication W. GERBER, E. EGGER, M. ABRAMIC, E. DRYGČEV, *Forschungen in Salona*, 3 voll., Wien 1917-1939.
- 65 APOLOLONJ GHIETTI-CREMA, *L'architettura della Dalmazia*, cit., p. 43.
- 66 Ivi, p. 50.
- 67 DUDAN, *La Dalmazia*, cit., II, pp. 345-346.
- 68 Dudan attributed to Samichelis, as "representatives of the Italian genius", not only the Šibenik fortress and Zadar gate, but also the loggias in Zadar, Hvar, and Šibenik (ivi, pp. 332-334). Karanman dedicated to Samichelis a chapter in his *Art in Dalmatia* (KARANMAN, *Umjetnost*, cit., pp. 64-160), based on Vasari and other sources published by Simo Ljubić. He confirms the authorship of this family workshop for the Šibenik fortress of St. Nicholas and Porta Terradema in Zadar, but remains cautious with attributions of the civic loggia and the loggia of Gran Guardia in the Duda's attribution of the above-mentioned Dalmatian loggias, but define more accurately the architectural disposition of "theatremodis" and the rustification of Zadar and Hvar examples, as well as the alternation of arcades on the ground floor and the upper rows of columns in Šibenik, see APOLOLONJ GHIETTI-CREMA, *L'architettura della Dalmazia*, cit., p. 74. For an overview of architecture of the 16th century in Dalmatia and Istria, see J. GUDUJ, *Stato da Mar: L'architettura. Il Cinquecento in Istria and Dalmatia, in Storia dell'architettura nel Veneto: il Cinquecento*, a cura di D. Battilotti, G. Beltrami, E. Demo, W. Panca, Venezia 2016, pp. 262-267 and on the attribution of the Šibenik loggia to Jacopo di Bartolomeo da Mestre: EADEM, *La loggia di Sebenico e la costruzione dell'identità locale tra Venezia e l'antico*, «Mittellungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz», 60, 2018, 1, pp. 126-147.
- 69 APOLOLONJ GHIETTI-CREMA, *L'architettura della Dalmazia*, cit., p. 64.
- 70 UJ. DULIBEC, I. P. PASNI TEŽEC, *Die Strassengaler-Galerie Alter Meister in der Zeit des Unabhängiger Statates Croatia 1947-1949*, in *Museums im Nationalsozialismus. Akteure – Orte – politika*, ed. T. Baensch, K. Katz-Kesselmeier, D. Wimmer, Cologne-Weimar-Wien 2016, pp. 263-274.
- 71 Ivi, pp. 269-270.
- 72 Likewise, the ruler of the Split baptistry, "according to the most plausible interpretations", is a Byzantine ruler of the 10th century "...i plinai" con cui è composta la vasca nel battistero di Spalato, in uno dei quali è raffigurato l'omaggio reso a un personaggio in trono, che secondo l'interpretazione più attendibile è un imperatore bizantino del X secolo...», APOLOLONJ GHIETTI-CREMA, *L'architettura della Dalmazia*, cit., p. 64.
- 73 While DUDAN (*La Dalmazia*, cit., I, p. 127, n. 67) mentions the portal of St. Andrew in Barletta, signed by Simon from Dubrovnik, only in the note, here the example is quoted in the main text. Within the exhibition documentation there is also a photo of the Apulian portal that has been specially requested, although ultimately not included in the catalogue.
- 74 A. BERNARDI, *L'Istria e la Dalmatia*, Bergamo 1915; EADEM, *Istria e Quarnero*, Bergamo 1927; EADEM, *Zara e monumenti italiani della Dalmazia*, Bergamo 1928.
- 75 UJ. KARAMAN, *O talijanskim aspiracijama na Dalmaciju, nacodno baziranim na spomenicima umjetnosti iz zemlje*, «Obzor» (Zagreb), 71, 20 November 1930, 266, pp. 2-3.
- 76 «Caro Presidente, tu che mi onorasti della tua presenza all'Accademia di Romania, sai quanto io mi intresso di Fratel Pozzo, sul quale da anni ho raccolto magnifico materiale di fotografie, disegni e documenti. Le due fotografie esterne ed interne della chiesa di Ragusa, esposta alla tua mostra della Dalmazia, mi verrebbero proprio a "faciolo". Potresti farme avere una copia? O se quelle esposte alla Mostra sono l'unico esemplare che possedete, potresti prestarmele per farne i cliché? Spero non avrai difficoltà tanto più che avendole riprodotte nel catalogo non sono più cose inedite. Grazie e cordiali saluti tuo Antonio Muñoz»; Letter by Antonio Muñoz to Calza Bini, 8 July 1943, Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, f. 175.
- 77 BROCK, *Spaldato Romana*, cit., p. 209, n. 20.
- 78 *La Volontà d'Italia*, June 28, 1943.
- 79 Telegram from Alessandro Dudan to Calza Bini, June 23, 1943: «Pregotti considerarmi presente inaugurazione mostra dalmatica gentilmente ideata curata magnifica documentazione diritti sovrani millenaria civiltà italiana dalmazia contro folli immonde pretese barbare paulbovesciva russa Alessandro Dudan». Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Archivio Storico, *Mostra Dalmazia*, b. 42, s.n.
- 80 Gaetano Polverelli, the last minister of "national culture" in the fascist government, visited the exhibition on July 5, 1943, ivi, f. 168.
- 81 Letter by the King's secretary to Calza Bini July 8, 1943, ivi.
- 82 Director of the Hungarian Academy, Stefano Genthon, thanked for the invitation on July 16, 1943 (ivi, f. 190) the director of the Swedish Institute, Erik Sjöqvist, on 13 July 1943 (f. 182). A guided tour of the exhibition for foreign academics was held on July 14, 1943 (f. 178).
- 83 Ivi, f. 167.
- 84 Letter by Girolamo (Jerome) Rapanić to Calza Bini July 21, 1943, ivi, f. 191; letter by Ladislao de Gauss to Calza Bini, July 15, 1943 (f. 197), thank-you card for the catalogue, Giuseppe Praga as director of Zadar Library Parva (f. 199).
- 85 Floorplan of the Museo Correr, Venice, Ivi, f. 126.
- 86 Letter by Calza Bini to Rodolfo Pallucchini: «Devo però avvertirti che, come ho fatto presente allo stesso ministro, e al sottosegretario della cultura popolare, prima di iniziare i lavori di trasloco sarà opportuno attendere lo svolgersi degli avvenimenti per non temere di incontrare troppo gravi difficoltà nei trasporti ferroviari», Ivi, f. 133.
- 87 October 5, 1943, ivi, f. 136.
- 88 Ivi, f. 96.
- 89 G.M. PULO, «Per trecentotantasette anni? la gloria di Venezia nelle testimonianze artistiche della Dalmazia», Venezia 2000.
- 90 C. FRKOVIC, *Naš graditelj i kipari XV. i XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb 1947.
- 91 On this matter, see Marko Spilčić in this volume. For a Slovenian angle on the nationalist discourse in Dalmatian art-historiography, see R. NOVAK-KLEMEŠIĆ, *Writing art history from a national point of view: the case of Dalmatia*, in *Balkan memories: media constructions of national and transnational history*, ed. T. Zimmermann, Bielefeld 2012, pp. 181-186. (not mentioning the 1943 exhibition).