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**Resemiotization of Eastern Adriatic Antiquities  
Uses and Abuses of the Ancient Past**

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The article explores reverberations of meanings attributed to antiquities in Pula/Pola, Zadar/Zara and Split/Spalato through the lens of the strategy of territorialization, i.e. uses and abuses of the ancient monuments in the political context. Through a wide chronological and geographical framework, the text compares and contrasts for the first time instances such as Renaissance reconstructions of the ancient arch in Zadar, citations of the Pula Arch of Sergii in the context of Habsburg and Valois triumphal entries, 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup>-century appropriation of the Eastern Adriatic through archeological knowledge as attempted by Cassas and Lavallée and the iconic value of Eastern Adriatic antiquities as a backdrop for public monuments between the late 19<sup>th</sup> and mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** classical tradition, territorialization, Pula/Pola, Zadar/Zara, Split/Spalato, Melia Anniana, Arch of Sergii, Diocletian's palace, Robert Adam, F.-L. Cassas, monumentomania

**Introduction**

The eastern Adriatic coast features important ancient cities, such as Pula/Pola, Zadar/Zara and Split/Spalato and many others that actively participated in generating and disseminating different layers of the European classical tradition.<sup>1</sup> A particular geopolitical situation in the area, functioning from the Middle Ages as a dynamic borderland between states, religions and ethnicities, has conditioned uses of the local ancient buildings both as models and as tokens of the political pressure. The present article will look at instances of their usage within the local but also the European architectural and political culture between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, inquiring about the reverberation of their meaning in different urban and social contexts over a long time-span. The intention is not to provide an exhaustive panorama but to contrast and compare a series of regional case studies of the afterlife of the ancient buildings and forms as part of the political strategy of territorialization.<sup>2</sup>

Recent studies on the early modern antiquarian culture and the history of archaeology have expanded the horizons of the possible uses and abuses of the ancient past, recomposing artistic geographies and including previously disregarded phenomena, such as the meaning of the ancient structures and derived visual language for local and regional communities across Europe.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, a more nuanced inquiry of the trajectory from the actual ancient building with its local context into a universal and generic model is still an open issue. Finally, different national historiographies of the history of art&architecture, archaeology and the protection of monuments have also been highly conditioned by imperial, colonial, national and centre/periphery paradigms, providing fertile humus for new inquires on the afterlife of Eastern Adriatic Antiquity.

## Renaissance territories of the local ancient past: Assembling and disassembling of the arch of Melia Anniana in Zadar

During the fourth and fifth decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Ciriaco Pizzecoli travelled to different towns in the Eastern Adriatic, becoming one of the agents of recognition, interpretation and dissemination of knowledge on antiquities in the area.<sup>4</sup> Among other information on the region and its antiquarian culture, the humanist and merchant from Ancona reported on an unusual event involving an ancient arch in the town of Zadar, the most important centre of Venetian Dalmatia.<sup>5</sup> Originally built on the emporium of Roman Jader, this arch was commissioned by a wealthy matron, Melia Anniana, in honour of her husband, Quintus Laepici Basso.<sup>6</sup> According to Ciriaco, in 1434 the humanist-abbot of the medieval Benedictine abbey of Saint Grisogonus, Petar Kršava (Pietro de Cressava), restored the arch, which at that point was placed above a public passage and was adorned with a figure of Triton, adding an inscription dating his intervention to the second year of the 553<sup>rd</sup> Olympiad (fig. 1).<sup>7</sup>

Previously a monk at San Niccolò del Lido, Kršava served as abbot in Zadar between 1420 and his death in 1447, transforming St Grisogonus with its scriptorium into humanist hub.<sup>8</sup> He also continued the construction of the cloister and was a probable commissioner of the late-Gothic frescoes in the south apse of the church with figures of the town protectors, St Grisogonus, St Zoilus and St Anastasia.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, he was a member of a middle-ranked local noble family and his father Krševan (Grisogonus) took an active part in the municipal government before Zadar and the rest of Dalmatia entered the Venetian dominion in 1409. Krševan Kršava was exiled to Venice and stayed there at least between 1414 and 1426, supported by his humanist son.<sup>10</sup> After Krševan's return to Zadar, he resumed his civic duties such as the city judge (1427) and counsellor of the Venetian rector (1436). He also possessed 17 manuscript volumes, part of which Petar inherited. This short portrayal of the family activities powerfully depicts tensions and negotiations in the first decades of the Venetian rule in Dalmatia, as the Zadar civic identity was undergoing a particular reconfiguration to accommodate the new political situation.

Zadar was an ancient town, and the Roman spolia were used throughout the Middle Ages, for example, there are still inscriptions legible on the north façade of the cathedral and on the church of St Grisogonus.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the learned abbot, inspired by new humanist tendencies, also somehow drew upon this tradition when restoring the ancient arch that celebrated a Roman family who financed the paving of the town market-place, appropriating it within his family circle and emphasizing his role as the abbot of the church of the Zadar protector saint. The clear message of these inscriptions is an individual contribution to the communal pride, with the Renaissance airs noticeably targeted towards the intellectual elite, while also appropriating the ancient monument within the Christian sphere. This ancient structure, evidently crucial for the various facets of the identity of the early Renaissance Zadar, was interpreted once more towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1501).<sup>12</sup> The three ancient inscriptions that Ciriaco registered on the Roman honorific monument are present on a drawing of an arch after Francesco di Giorgio in the now privately owned Houfe album. Here the architecture corresponds rather vaguely to the actual ruins and the ancient inscriptions are arbitrarily inserted, while the sculpture of Triton is missing although mentioned in the inscriptions. As Michael Waters points out, these drawings are based on rather free reconstructions of the ancient structures inspired by the early syllogae, executed in the graphic form, extensively copied even in the context of the luxurious albums destined for the French court such as the so-called Codex Cholmondeley.<sup>13</sup> This method of combining site-specific inscriptions with inventive visual solutions of the virtual ancient monuments was soon abandoned for a more precise proto-archaeological approach of the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Still, the Houfe drawing remains the only testament to the 15<sup>th</sup>-century visual interpretations of the Zadar monument.

During the construction of the new fortification system in the later 16<sup>th</sup> century that would transform the ancient city into a large fortress, the pieces of the Roman arch, namely two upper parts of Corinthian pilasters, the archivolt and the entablature with Roman inscriptions, were used as internal façades of the so-called Maritime city gate.<sup>14</sup> The external part of the gate near St Grisogono also features a single rounded arch surmounted by a

large aedicula encasing 15<sup>th</sup>-century reliefs of the putti holding a coat of arms and the lion of St Mark.<sup>15</sup> The new assemblage of the inner gate was now celebrating another Venetian political success: the 15<sup>th</sup>-century inscriptions and the statue of Triton disappeared and a new inscription mentioning Venetian officials and the Battle of Lepanto was added, surmounted by a relief of St Grisogonus, a reference to both the civic protector saint, the nearby church and the name of the captain of the Zadar galley.<sup>16</sup> A similar visual combination of the classical language of orders and civic and state symbols was already present in the town with the monumental Sanmichelis' 1537 Porta Terraferma, while Lepanto's memorials appeared across Mediterranean Europe. Among them is the refurbishment of the 15<sup>th</sup>-century assemblage of spolia that is the Porta dell'Arsenale in Venice, also featuring an aedicule with a relief lion of St Mark. The civic pride gained yet another dimension, which insisted on a greater Venetian commonwealth character and the joint victory over Ottomans/infidels, obviously part of the official politics of territorialization promoted by the Most Serene Republic (fig. 2).<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the elements of an ancient arch, in a game of its disassembling and reassembling, both literally and virtually, were used as an essential token of a glorious ancient past in Renaissance Zadar and beyond. This episode is symptomatic of the use of ancient architecture in the Eastern Adriatic during the early modern period: the material and the building techniques persisted, spolia were reused and eloquently resemanticized by new inscriptions, and notions of these ruins, often blurred by the distance, circulated transfigured through drawings and syllogae.

### **Marking new territories: The Pula arch as model for Habsburg and Valois royal entries**

While Zadar arch is a particular example of an afterlife of an ancient architectural object that has been moved, refurbished and repurposed, the other ancient arch of the eastern Adriatic, the arch of Sergii in Pula, stands out as one of the most popular models within the larger field of European early modern architectural culture.<sup>18</sup> This beautifully preserved structure, featuring paired Corinthian columns flanking its single passage, is still at its original site, having lost only the surrounding apparatus of a town gate in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Due to the depopulation of Pula during the early modern period, the Renaissance afterlife of this honorary arch of the *locopositi* Sergii was not put into use by local forces, like in Zadar, or only very limitedly so: it circulated through the Republic-of-letters-Wide-Web as a two-dimensional object, drawn or printed.<sup>19</sup> Besides a few very well-known re-materializations of the ancient structure from Pula in the form of the Aragonese arch in Naples or the Arsenale gate in Venice, or even the gate of the Royal chapel in the Stirling castle in Scotland or the gate of the Padua University,<sup>20</sup> just to mention a few entrances to very different buildings, an instructive reverberation of its meanings is to be found in so-called festival books.

Temporary structures that served for the triumphal parades of European rulers, marking the emergence of new powers in conquered cities stood at the crossroads of theory, memory and realized architecture, but certainly in the centre of political strategies of the most prominent commissioners.<sup>21</sup> To channel and monumentalize these processions, temporary arches of painted wood, *papier-mâché* and similar materials were built. As a memorial to these carefully choreographed events of great political significance, festival books containing descriptions and illustrations of arches were printed; in particular, the Istrian model was often used within the apparatus for the Habsburg and Valois dynasties triumphal entries into the cities of Italy, the Netherlands and France.<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note how these two dynasties used the Pula model rather differently.

The triumphal parade of this type was organised in Genoa in 1529, on the occasion of the arrival of Charles V marking the alliance of the maritime republic and the Spanish Habsburgs.<sup>23</sup> Two ephemeral arches framing the processional path from the port were created according to projects by Pierino del Vaga, known from the drawings today in Berlin, one of them pointing to Pula as its source, with the great Habsburg eagle replacing the attica.<sup>24</sup> The scheme of the Pula arch might have been known to del Vaga through various drawings that circulated in the Roman artistic circles, such as the one by so-called Master C now in Albertina, probably drawn in the circle of Raphael.<sup>25</sup> This choice was undoubtedly linked to the Charles' emblem, with two columns of Hercules

and his motto *Plus Ultra*. At the same time, the Corinthian order of the Istrian model was turned into Doric as Vitruvius and Serlio considered it suitable for buildings dedicated to heroes and warriors (fig. 3).

Twenty years later, the entrance of Habsburg Prince Philip II into Antwerp, in September of 1549, was one of the most glorious processions in the Renaissance.<sup>26</sup> Preparing for the division of the Empire, which was realized through his abdication six years later, Charles V designated his son as ruler of Spain and the Dutch Provinces via a joint tour of their northern lands. The entrance into Antwerp became famous thanks to an illustrated festival book printed in the summer of 1550 in Latin, French and Dutch. Cornelis de Schrijvers (Cornelius Grapheus), a humanist and city secretary, conceived the procession program using rhetorical formulas. He also wrote the text of the book that, according to his confession, should be considered an idealized version of the event, which was interrupted by rain and an array of organizational issues. Woodcuts of ephemeral arches that illustrate the book were created by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, a painter, architect and publisher, whose Flemish translation of Serlio's *Third Book* was published in 1546, while the French one is contemporary with said festival book.

Pula's Arch is the logical model for this context: it had already been used in Genoa and in Antwerp, and it became the arch that the city raised on the main street, the Hoochstraste. The basic idea was taken from Serlio: double columns on a common pedestal flanking an arch, while the entablature projects above the supports, and is recessed above the opening. The Victories were also taken from the ancient model, though they are not present in Serlio's book: given that the motive is logical choice considering the type of building, they could be added even without direct insight into the monument. The arch from Antwerp also received a keystone, its doorposts reach the ground, and it is missing an attica. In its place, figures of Philip and Charles are carrying a globe, and are defined in the inscriptions as Hercules and Atlas.<sup>27</sup> As already explained, the symbolism of Hercules is tied to double columns and is extended to both the father and the son, the current and the future ruler of Spain. The Habsburg two-headed eagle, positioned above every pair of columns, further emphasizes the dual rule of father and son (fig. 4).

At the very end of the century, there was another triumphant entrance into the City of Antwerp – that of Austrian Archduke Ernst in the year 1594.<sup>28</sup> Here, too, Pula Arch was used as the model for the *Arcus publicus ad forum Linarium*,<sup>29</sup> around which torches were lit, testifying to the importance of this model for the House of Habsburg while retaining a local expression. Therefore, within the Habsburg iconographic universe, the structure of the Pula arch was resemanticezd as an *all'antica* emblem of the dynasty deriving from the mythological narrative on Hercules, unrelated to the actual place and the Sergii family, commissioners of our ancient model.

Triumphal entrances of the Valois dynasty were also choreographed using a series of *all'antica* arches, taken from various sources. Apart from the already mentioned opulent book of drawings of ancient monuments derived from Francescco di Giorgio called Codex Cholmondeley, which featured the Arch of Sergii and belonged to the French Royal library, the circulation of the Arch's model in France was also ensured by architect and theoretician Jacques Androuet du Cerceau. He published the *Quinque e tvinginti exempla arcum*, in order to offer appropriate models for triumphal processions, inspired by the coronation of King Henry II, which included the King's ceremonial entrances into French cities.<sup>30</sup> Among the twenty five examples, there was the *LARC DE PAVLE EN LA VILLE DALIXAMDRIE EN ITALIE*. The unusual geographical definition stands in contrast to the extraordinary precise depiction of the ancient monument, whose characteristics correspond to Serlio's woodcut. Du Cerceau, however, also includes decorative motives, offering more information than Serlio, but wrongly moves the lateral panoplies to the front façade. It is precisely in view of decoration that this depiction is similar the illustration in the French edition of the *Hypnerotomacha Poliphili*, printed three years before. The rich philological data of Du Cerceau's drawing suggests that the French artist had access to the same drawings used by Serlio, but with some reductions.<sup>31</sup> Pula Arch also appeared on the pages of Du Cerceau's somewhat later publication, *Liber Novus* (1560), intended for a wider audience (fig. 5).<sup>32</sup>

Upon his accession to the French throne in 1547, Henry II ceremoniously entered several cities, among which one is chiefly remembered – his entrance into Paris in the summer of 1549 with Catherine de' Medici.<sup>33</sup> This celebration is attested to by the festival book published that same year by no fewer than two publishers: Jacques



1 Zadar, Maritime gate - the Arch of Melia Anniana (photo: G. Bonaccorso)



2 Zadar, Maritime gate - external facade, postcard, 1914 (© DIKAZ – Digitalna knjižnica Zadar, 2010-2017, URL:dikaz.zkzd.hr)



3 Perin del Vaga, A drawing of two arches in honour of entrance of Charles V to Genua, Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Hdz. 2131 (© KSM Berlin, photo: D. Katz)



4 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, The Arch on Hoochstraste (from: GRAPHEUS, 1549, p. 87; © Getty's Open Content Program)



5 Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, L'arch de Pavle en ville d'Alexandrie en Italie (from: CERCEAU, 1549, © Institut Nationale Histoire d'Art)

Roffeta, who gained permission from the King, and Jean Dallier, who published without a licence, which speaks of the edition's anticipated popularity.<sup>34</sup> The most influential French artists of the time participated in the design process of the various celebrations and the book: Jean Martin, the translator of Vitruvius, produced and edited the publication, while Pierre Lescot, Phillibert De l'Orme and Jean Goujon designed the ephemeral arches (Goujon creating the woodcuts used for illustrations).

The arches that appear in the book are inspired by Serlio's treatises, and follow the canonical order in the procession plan: from the Tuscan and Doric at the Porte Saint-Denis, through the Ionic at the fountain du Ponceau, the Corinthian in front of the Saint-Jacques de l'Hôpital, the Composite at the fountain Des Innocents, and finally the Composite again on Pont Notre-Dame. Hence, the French procession was primarily led through a concrete 'architectural' program, in which Pula Arch, previously chosen by Du Cerceau (with decoration, unlike Serlio) as an example of the Corinthian order, is appropriately decorated with sculptures. In the Valois procession, the arch from the Eastern Mediterranean is completely stripped of any possible emblematic meaning for the ruling dynasty, symbolizing the classical language of architecture itself, i. e. one of its basic rhetorical figures, the sequence of orders (fig. 6).

Festivals are just one aspect of the Renaissance architectural culture, but they illustrate in a very eloquent way the use of classical language and the diffusion and the reverberation of the meaning of the ancient models. The triumphal entrances remain one of the most opulent media of territorialization strategies, and it should be noted that the local family honorary arch from the eastern edge of Europe has become one of the most acclaimed antique models among the ephemeral arches, which is surprising, given the number of Roman arches in Italy and France. Its trajectory as legitimizing an ancient model for the use of paired columns flanking the single arch is here enriched through the inquiry into the malleability of its meanings within the political and architectural culture of the two most important dynasties in Renaissance Europe.

### **Territories of orientalization**

While the Arch of Sergii and other Pula Roman buildings occupied a prominent spot in the field of European architectural culture from the 15<sup>th</sup> century on, visual representations of the Diocletian's Palace in Split did not reach wider circulation beyond the local building tradition until the 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>35</sup> when they appeared in Johann Fischer von Erlach's 1721 *Entwurff Einer Historischen Architectur*, followed by the famous 1764 book entirely dedicated to the Split complex by Scottish architect Robert Adam.<sup>36</sup> Ironically, the real imperial palace of the Eastern Adriatic did not become a model or an emblem within the architectural narrative of any of the European empires until the very end of the Ancien Regime, while also playing a significant role in the reshaping of the geography of knowledge on the antiquity, which now again comprised Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean.

Adam's book delivered to the European public a set of architectural drawings of the whole complex and its most prominent components, both in their present ruinous state and as reconstructions. A number of plates contained picturesque views of ruins within the living town, with numerous human figures dressed *alla veneziana* and *alla turca* in their every-day activities within pictorial *formulae* of the time, trading, working, walking and communicating, while artists are drawing and measuring. This is also echoed in the Introduction, where Adam describes some minor disagreements with Venetian administrators concerned that the architect and his international crew of artists and draughtsman might be spying on the fortifications, all sorted out with gentlemen's agreements after an intervention by Venetian and local connoisseurs of antiquity.<sup>37</sup> He also compares his Dalmatian trip to travels to the Near East, undertaken by James Dawkins, John Bouverie and Robert Wood, thus providing the context in which he wants his book to be perceived, but at the same time defining it immensely less adventurous: "I was not, as these gentlemen, obliged to traverse deserts, or to expose myself to the insults of barbarians".<sup>38</sup> The angle is that of a Grand tourist, but also discoverer and generator of new

architectural knowledge. Adam personally invested in a publication that would primarily advance his professional career, appropriating the imperial residence as a model and a measure for the architecture of his time. At the same time, his intended public were potential patrons and commissioners as well as other professionals, mainly in Great Britain.

Some twenty years after Adam and his team, with some of their preparation drawings at hand, French painter and architect Louis-Francois Cassas undertook the voyage along the Eastern Adriatic coast. In 1782, he was commissioned to draw some picturesque views of Trieste but decided to continue his endeavours towards the south, until he reached Split, producing drawings of both antiquities and natural landscapes in Istria and Dalmatia.<sup>39</sup> These preparatory drawings are now kept in Cologne,<sup>40</sup> while a certain number of deriving aquarelles are at the Victoria and Albert museum in London.<sup>41</sup> These media provided limited circulation of Eastern Adriatic motifs as the political turmoil of the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century delayed their publication until 1802. Lavishly illustrated book entitled *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie* features sixty tables that combine landscapes and architectural drawings of antiquities, with the former largely outnumbering the latter and the book following a different logic than Adam's architectural survey of a single imperial structure.<sup>42</sup> The landscapes now included natural wonders of the region, such as the waterfalls of rivers Krka and Cetina or carsical landscapes near Trieste, as well as numerous townscapes. Nevertheless, the focus was still on the antiquities of Pula, Zadar and Split: the picturesque views from different angles of the single edifices are provided, followed by technical architectural drawings and depictions of contextualized decorations and details.<sup>43</sup> Architectural drawings are mostly elaborated from earlier sources (Leroy, Adam, Clerisseau, Serlio, G. R. Carli). Still, Cassas holds a primacy over the first systematic survey of the whole region and its antiquities.

An equally important part of the book is a long two-part text, a 'historical' voyage followed by a 'picturesque' voyage, by Joseph Lavallée, who had never visited the area in person. For the latter, he constructed his narrative using Cassas's travel diary, while his erudite enquiry was mainly based on writings of abbé Alberto Fortis, with a general patronizing tone towards local inhabitants.<sup>44</sup> This anthropological component, typical of the contemporary publications of the Near East, is also present on picturesque views of the antiquities: the ancient ruins were now inhabited by idle Orientalizing figures, legitimizing a rule by more enlightened governors (fig. 7). The book's scope and outreach were very much calibrated to the new political interest in the area, given the Napoleonic conquest of Venice and the contested fate of its former territories, including Istria and Dalmatia, between the House of Austria and France. This 'imperial game' is also reflected in the falsification of the original commission of the project: Lavallée mentions a 'fine arts society' as its original commissioner and support by Austrian Emperor Joseph II, omitting the names of the actual protagonist of the endeavour, lacking real imperial connections.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, by accusing Adam of the sin of pride (towards locals) typical of all Englishmen, Britain is basically eliminated as a candidate for ruling. On the other hand, the list of subscribers prominently features members of the French government, including Napoleon, ultimately suggesting that the region and its antiquities should belong to the state that produces knowledge about it, a statement that found its political resonance in the formation of the short-lived French Illyrian provinces (1809-1814). Cassas-Lavallée's curious illustrated travel diary and its reading as a political pamphlet represents a portrait of a region and its antiquities that will have a lasting impact on the legitimatization of certain imperialist and colonialist discourses and models of power, with the very name Illyrian provinces surviving within the Austrian territorial system until 1849.

The illuminist idea of the power of knowledge, here used to legitimize very brief French territorial aspirations, remains one of the critical notions within the historiography of this border region, given the unease between its past and present geopolitical divisions. Interestingly enough, the orientalizing image that Cassas-Lavallée's book constructed has only recently been recognized as such, but a more nuanced enquiry into its consequences has escaped the attention of scholars so far, especially in reference to the afterlife of Antiquity between the theory of architecture and beginnings of archaeology and between colonial and national discourses.



### Contemporary territorializations: Monumentomania and antiquities

Finally, it is rather interesting to look at the afterlife of these Eastern Adriatic antiquities in the later 19<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries from the point-of-view of monumentomania, here concentrated on installations of memorial works of art within or near ancient structures.<sup>46</sup> These operations efficiently appropriated antiquities within new models of power, experienced either directly or through visual media particularly apt for the most extensive circulation possible, such as photographs and postcards. Such phenomena mark an end of a process of antiquities becoming a monument on their own with institutionalized care for their study and maintenance, put into action in the Eastern Adriatic by the Austrian authorities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>47</sup>

In the region taken into consideration, the example of the amphitheatre in Pula and its surroundings is a particularly fertile one. The large Roman building, placed near the sea just outside the historical city core, preserved its outer façade and provided an essential feature for the Istrian town, often portrayed by artists and travellers. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Pula became the main Austro-Hungarian military port, and the area around the amphitheatre slowly urbanized. Still, the construction on the west side towards the sea remained empty because of the gun carriage storehouses nearby.

In 1890 the city council decided to create a park named after the youngest daughter of the Austrian Emperor and his wife Elizabeth, Marie Valerie, which was completed in 1897 when a round fountain with a brass statue of Cupid standing on a shell was installed.<sup>48</sup> This generic *all'antica* image from the Berlin factory Schaffer&Walker was not a monument, but early postcards already show its privileged position with the imposing Arena as its background. The fountain was replaced in 1904 by a memorial to Elisabeth of Austria, assassinated in 1898.<sup>49</sup> The now lost brass statue of the Empress by Trieste-Viennese artist Alfonso Canciani stood on a monumental pedestal in the form of an ancient fluted column, designed by Viennese architect Rudolph Klotz. The 3.4 m tall female figure, garbed in modest dress and a cloak defining its frontal and almost tubular form finds its reference in the German medieval representations and Misericordia Madonnas, its stylized and simplified forms revealing Canciani's close collaboration and affinities with the Secession Movement.<sup>50</sup> The early 20<sup>th</sup>-century postcards representing the monument in Pola show the efficiency of the juxtaposition of the large and imposing figure of the Empress of the House of Habsburg and the ancient Arena, the former dominating the latter, the ruinous structure supporting the long imperial lineage ruling the Sacred Roman Empire (fig. 8).

Interestingly, Canciani also realized a smaller and slightly more elaborate marble version of the monument to the Empress for the orphanage in Gföhl (Lower Austria), where the female figure finds its counterpart in a grieving male subject, thus significantly changing the aura towards a more sentimental feeling. Both monuments seem related to a bozzetto the artist submitted at the competition for the memorial to the Empress in the Viennese Hofgarten in 1904. In the years following her death, Sissi's statues spread across Austria-Hungary, calling for a union in the Emperor's grief. In Pula, she participated in laying the foundation stone of the Arsenal, the heart of which would become the most important military port of the Empire. Moreover, in the previous decades, two large monuments to important figures of the Austrian marine were erected as focal points of new city parks: in 1876 to Ferdinand Maximilian and a year later to Admiral Tegetthoff, but none dialogued as effectively with the ancient heritage as Elizabeth's statue.

Following the WWI, Pola became part of the Kingdom of Italy, and the monument to Elisabeth von Habsburg was immediately dismantled, its empty base standing until 1934. In 1933, old adjacent military storehouses were demolished, making room for the enlargement of the park, now framing the whole west side of the amphitheatre.<sup>51</sup> The focus of this newly opened view towards the ancient structure became the large sculpture of Emperor Augustus, *patri patriae*, donated to the Istrian town by Benito Mussolini, as duly testified by inscriptions.<sup>52</sup> This statue, revealed in 1935, was a copy of the one placed at Via dei Fori Imperiali in Rome two years earlier, based on the famous Augustus of Prima Porta.<sup>53</sup> As a final point, in 1940 space previously occupied

by the figure of Sissy was filled with a new monument, a replica of Capitoline wolf on a high pedestal, with an inscription: *ROMA MADRE A POLA FEDELE*.<sup>54</sup> Again, postcards were produced with both monuments against the powerful backdrop of the Arena, always in the attempt of dominating the ancient structure. This emblematic and eloquent insistence on the filiation of Pula from Rome, ancient and modern, was a loud but artistically disputable propagandistic move of the fascist government, analogue to numerous similar operations across Italy, especially after the proclamation of the Italian Empire in 1936. Some dramatic perspectival views typical of the period show Lupa dominating the sky over Arena, but even on its tall pedestal, this smallish sculpture was not as effective in appropriating its background as was the statue of Augustus, calling with his raised hand (fig. 9).

The two sculptures were dismantled in the aftermath of the WWII and brought to Italy; Lupa was installed in Rome, in Quartiere Giuliano Dalmata, while Augustus found its way to Gorizia, placed in a space later renamed Largo ai Martiri delle Foibe.<sup>55</sup> The circumstances of Istria passing under the Yugoslav government transformed these copies of the ancient sculptures into monuments to the Italian exodus: due to their brief existence under Arena, their meaning was yet again transfigured from an imperial into a tragic one.

The spot formerly hosting the Cupid fountain, then the statue of Sissi substituted by the Capitoline Wolf in 1953 was taken by a monument to a sailor, in memory of the 1919 uprising for better living conditions in the Bay of Kotor.<sup>56</sup> The chosen event was only loosely linked to Pula's past as the military port of the Monarchy against which the mostly Slavic Istrian and Dalmatian sailors mutinied, tactically distancing itself from the classical repertoire of the post-WWII Yugoslav memorials in the town still in the process of losing its pre-war inhabitants, but still conveying a clear message of the social and ethnic paradigm change. The figure of the sailor raising his right hand was placed on the simple white pedestal, on which a relief of four sailors in front of a firing squad narratively explained the event. The statue by Croatian sculptor Pavle Perić remains a relatively modest work, but its collective symbolism was now appropriating its Roman background with yet another layer of meaning. The statue was removed in 1995, after another change of the regime, but was taken back to its place in the park in 2002. Contemporary postcards and other media rarely use this motif, also because the overgrown greenery of the park has transformed its background, dividing it from the amphitheatre.

Pula, the city that lived its contemporary life as a military base with a shifting population, necessarily communicated within larger cultural grid: its memorials weren't limited to strictly local knowledge or parameters but exercised supreme power: the Habsburg Empress, the Roman Emperor, a larger-than-life Slavic sailor, all infusing the image of the ancient Arena with messages to the public, which accepted these memorials with acclamation. Interestingly enough, each of these memorials has a certain generic component: the same statue of the Empress was repeated in different contexts; Augustus was a copy of a contemporary copy of an ancient model, while the sailor was intentionally conceived not as an individual. It was their prominent setting that infused them with meanings, conditioning even their afterlife.

Modern day Split has outgrown considerably its ancient nucleus, becoming a regional centre and triggering constant discussions on the preservation of Diocletian's palace as a habitat.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, the city lived an intense monument-installment season in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: three figures of local 'cultural heroes' were erected in different squares between 1901 and 1929, all donated by the most prominent sculptor of the time, Ivan Meštrović.<sup>58</sup> While the figures of the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century poet Luka Botić and the Renaissance humanist Marko Marulić were placed outside the perimeter of Diocletian's palace, the insertion of the supernatural figure of Grgur of Nin right on the Peristyle became one of the most controversial episodes in the interwar period. In 1929, Yugoslav authorities placed a monumental figure of the mythical fighter for the usage of the Slavic language in liturgy, right in the very centre of the imperial complex, "celebrating the victory of the Slavic spirit over the Latin one". Insisting on the setting, i.e. in front of the ancient mausoleum turned into the Split cathedral, the most iconic space of the ancient structure, was a crucial part of the political message, put into action among protests of the Italian irredentists but also of Croatian archaeologists and art historians such as don Frane Bulić and Ljubo Kara-

man. This battle of spirits would also bring the Italian authorities to dismantle the sculpture in 1941, during the Italian administration of the region in WWII (fig. 10).

In comparison to Pula's Arena related memorials, the Split case is as vehement an intervention as the figure itself: a regional cultural hero from the Middle Ages inserted not into a softer surrounding of a park outside the ancient building, but a dark figure contrasting the stone in Peristyle, framed by the Syrian arch. Interestingly enough, Meštrović's controversial bishop of Nin also outgrew the regional context, becoming an iconic symbol of the battle for a national language: in 1931, a version was installed in Varaždin, a town in the far north of Croatia, near the Austrian and Hungarian border, while a smaller replica is in the Dalmatian town of Nin, dating from 1969. The Split version was reinstalled in 1954 near the so-called Golden doors of the imperial palace, in a horticultural context and turned in such a way that is rarely depicted with the ancient structure in the background.

Finally, the town of Zadar seemed almost immune to monumentomania, lacking any prominent 19<sup>th</sup>-century sculptural ensemble permanently commemorating cultural and political figures or events. In 1829, the park now dedicated to Yelena of the Madii family, featuring some interesting ancient and Renaissance spolia, was opened in the former bastion, followed by other parks, but the only monumental memorial complex in town was the 1926 one commemorating Dalmatians (mostly from Zadar) fallen in WWI on the Italian side.<sup>59</sup> This now-demolished monument featured some typical classical references such as the rostrums and the ara, but in terms of uses of the ancient past particularly interesting is the installment of the four imperial ancient statues in the park around the central composition. The figures originated from Nin and were part of a scattered private collection of Zadar physician Tommasoni before the Kingdom of Italy purchased them for the Archeological museum in Venice. After lengthy negotiations, the sculptures arrived at the Dalmatian Italian enclave in 1928. They were first displayed with other archaeological material in the church of St Donatus, then as part of a small garden outside the church. Finally, these sculptures were placed within the park of the *Monumento ai caduti Dalmati*, as originally planned. Their presence within the monumental complex was required to testify to an ancient right of Italy to the territory of Zadar, supported by efforts of modern Dalmatians. The monument was damaged in the WWII bombings and dismantled after the war, while the ancient sculptures are now in the Archeological museum.

This brief comparison of the confrontations of the ancient past and contemporary monuments in the Eastern Adriatic within the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century culture of memory was closely linked to political interpretations and appropriations. As shown, the array of attribution of meanings was wide, oscillating between imperial and national as well as between generic and individual, but the ancient setting, building or even sculpture was never a neutral element.

In conclusion, the territorialization paradigm shows itself to be particularly fertile ground for the inquiry into the different layers of the afterlife of Eastern Adriatic antiquity: a study of a range of uses and abuses of the iconic ancient buildings from the area led to the rich array of the given meanings and appropriations, both locally and internationally. The empowerment of a local humanist and his 'dissident' family, the affirmation of the Venetian victory over the infidels at Lepanto with the help of local forces, joyous entries as metaphor of exercise of triumph of political power, the construction of knowledge on ancient buildings as an argument for political domination and the juxtaposition of contemporary memorials and classical settings are all strategies that consciously impose resemiotisation of antiquities to produce territories. Further research across European border zones will create a more nuanced image of the impact of these strategies and their role in the early modern period and in contemporary architectural and political culture.



6 Jean Goujon, Corinthian arch in front of Saint-Jacques de l'Hôpital (from: MARTIN, 1549, p 17; © Getty's Open Content Program)



7 Louis-Francois Cassas, Interior of the Diocletian's mausoleum, Split (from: CASSAS-LAVALÉE, 1802)



8 Pula, Alfonso Canciani, Monument to Empress Elizabeth, postcard, 1916 (© Gradska knjižnica i čitaonica Pula, zavičajna zbirka G-R33)



9 Pula, Monument to Emperor Augustus, postcard, c. 1936 (private collection)



10 Split, Ivan Meštrović, Monument to Grgur of Nin, postcard, c. 1937 (private collection)

- 1 For the sake of economy and clarity, modern Croatian names are used in the article. On classical tradition and the Eastern Adriatic see at least *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean*, A. PAYNE (ed.), Leiden, Brill, 2014; *A Handbook to Classical Reception in Eastern and Central Europe*, Z. MARTIROSOVA TORLONE-D. LACOURSE MUNTEANU-D. DUTSCH (eds.), Blackwells, John Wiley & Sons, 2017.
- 2 The notion is based on concepts used by geographer David Storey to explain the relationship between political entities and the space they occupy, understanding architecture as part of the strategy of the presence on the territory and development of certain symbolic and functional needs. See D. STOREY, *Territories. The Claiming of Space*, London, Routledge, 2012.
- 3 On the bias in the history of archaeology see at least *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, M. DÍAZ-ANDREU-T. CHAMPION (eds.), London&New York, Routledge, 1996; *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, C. L. LYONS-J. K. PAPADOPOULOS (eds.), Los Angeles, Getty, 2002; O. MORO-ABADÍA, "The History of Archaeology as a 'Colonial Discourse'", in: *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*, 2006, pp. 4-17. For recent discussions of the early modern antiquarianism see A. NAGEL-CH. WOOD, *Anachronistic Renaissance*, New York, Zone books, 2010; *Local Antiquities, Local Identities: Art, Literature and Antiquarianism in Europe c. 1400-1700*, K. CHRISTIAN-B. DE DIVITIIS (eds.), Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2018; *Antichità, identità, umanesimo. Nuovi studi sulla cultura antiquaria nel Mediterraneo in età rinascimentale*, special number of *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen institutes in Florenz*, B. DE DIVITIIS-A. NOVA-S. VITALI (eds.), LX, 1, 2018.
- 4 For bibliography on Ciriaco see F. SCALAMONTI, *Vita viri clarissimi famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, C. MITCHELL-E. W. BODNAR (eds.), N. S., LXXXVI, 1996, 4; G. PACI, "Ciriaco d'Ancona e la scoperta dell'antichità in area adriatica", in: *Ciriaco d'Ancona e il suo tempo*, Ancona: Edizioni Canonici, 2002, pp. 127-139; J. GUDELJ, "The Triumph and the Threshold Ciriaco d'Ancona and the Renaissance Discovery of the Ancient Arch", in: *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, XXII, 2, 2014, pp. 159-176.
- 5 Ciriaco writes to Leonardo Bruni: "Etenim eo duce alia inter civitatis egregia et memoratu dignissima vidi maritima prope moenia, insignem Meliae nobilissimae mulieris arcum, ubi tubicen ille aequorei numinis Τῦριτων mira fabricatoris arte conspicitur, et consculptum quod habet epigramma ut nostrae dignum spectationis, quam nee vidisse semel sa tis esset, sed et pluries utique lectitare iuvasset, primorum in conspectu Liburnorum hominum de altissimis maiorum nostrorum meritis ad inextimabilem comparacionem incidimus"; James Hankins: Add. 13 (unedited), in: *Censimento dei codici dell'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni, vol. 2: Manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane e della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, L. GUALDO ROSA, (ed.), Roma, 2004, pp. 396-406, here pp. 397-398.
- 6 MELIA ANNIANA IN MEMOR[IAM]. Q[INTI]. LAEPICI Q[INTI]. F[ILII]. SERG[IA TRIBU]. BASSI MARITI SVI EMPORIVM STERNI ET ARCVM FIERI ET STATVAS SVPERPONI TEST[AMENTO] IVSS[IT] EX DC D[DUCTA] XX P[OPULO] R[OMANO]. CIL-3, 2922=99897. For the transcription see M. SUIĆ, "Novija arheološko-topografska istraživanja antičkog Jadera", in: *Zbornik Instituta za historijske nauke u Zadru*, 2, 41, 1958, ill. 24. On the arch now see I. BABIĆ, "Antičke starine u srednjevjekovnom Zadru", in: *Renansans i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske*, J. GUDELJ-P. MARKOVIĆ (eds.), Zagreb, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2008, pp. 427-440: 429; P. VEŽIĆ, "Slavoluk Melije Anijane u Zadru", in: *Likovne umjetnosti, arhitektura i povijesni identiteti. Zbornik Dana Cvita Fiskovića VII*, A. MUNK-A. MARINKOVIĆ (eds.), Zagreb, FFPress, 2018, pp. 9-18.
- 7 The inscription was registered by Cyriacus of Ancona: DLIII OLYMPIADIS ANNO .II. PETRVS CRESIL .F. CRESIAVIVS .IAd. DIVINI .IVR. DOCT. AC.B. MAT. ET IADERT. PATRON! CRISONORII ECCLESIAE VENER. ABB. ARC. PUR. TEMP. LAB. ET LONG A PA... MAIOR INCVR. OBSCVREATQVE INDIGN. OPRESS. PROPRIO SVMTV HODIE IDIB. NOVEMB. AD PRISTINAM SV. FACIEM SPLENDQ. RESTITVIT. E. W. BODNAR, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, Brussels, Latomus, 1960, pp. 88- 89. For the reconstruction of inscriptions and the original position of the arch, see V. BRUNELLI, *Storia della città di Zara. Dai tempi piu remoti sino al 1409 compilata sulle fonti e integrata da tre capitoli sugli usi e costumi*, Venezia, 1913, pp. 127-129.
- 8 E. PERIČIĆ, "Samostan Svetog Krševana kroz lik i djelovanje njegovih opata", in: *Zadarska revija*, XXXIX/2-3, Zadar, 1990, pp. 216-219.
- 9 E. HILJE, "Zidne slike u južnoj apsidi crkve Sv. Krševana - prijedlog za Ivana Petrova iz Milana", in: *Ars Adriatica* 7, 2017, pp. 99-112.
- 10 B. GRBAVAC, ad vocem KRŠAVA, in: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, 2013 (<http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=6992>; accessed 20 October 2019).
- 11 BABIĆ, *op. cit.*, 2008.

- 12 CIL III 2922= ILS 5598; A. NESSELRATH, "Disegni di Francesco di Giorgio Martini", in: *Francesco di Giorgio alla corte di Federico da Montefeltro*. F. P. FIORE (ed.), Firenze, Leo S. Olschki, 2004, pp. 337-367, here 351; M. WATERS, "Francesco di Giorgio and the Reconstruction of Antiquity: Epigraphy, archeology, and newly discovered drawings", in: *Pegasus*, 2014, (i. e. 2015), pp. 9-102, here 20.
- 13 WATERS, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- 14 C. F. BIANCHI, *Fasti di Zara*, Zara, Tipografia di G. Woditzka, 1888, p. 81; G. SABALICH, *Guida archeologica di Zara*, Zara, 1897, 18; VEŽIĆ, *op. cit.*, 2018, p. 9.
- 15 Cvito Fisković dates the external decorative apparatus of the gate in the XVII century, see C. FISKOVIĆ, "Radovi Nikole Firentinca u Zadru", in: *Radovi filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio historije, arheologije, historije umjetnosti*, 3, 1964-1965 (i. e. 1969), 86. On the putti relief see L. BORIĆ, "Festoni i putti u Zadarskoj ranorenesansnoj skulpturi", in: *Meta-morfoze mita, Zbornik Dana Cvita Fiskovića*, 4, D. MILINOVIĆ-J. BELAMARIĆ (eds.), Zagreb, 2012, pp. 53-66, here 61. Borić questions Fisković's dating of the external facade, expressing the possibility that it is also a late 16<sup>th</sup>-century composition, see L. BORIĆ, *Renesansna skulptura i arhitektonska plastika u Zadru*, PhD diss., Zadar, University of Zadar, 2010, p. 342. Given the pastiche overall approach and the rather classical form of the aedicula, it is likely that both internal and external facades were devised around 1572.
- 16 On the galley under the command of Pietro Grisogono – Bartolacius sent from Zadar and captured by the Ottomans near Corfù see A. USMIANI, "Sudbina zadarske galije predviđene za bitku kod Lepanta", in: *Adriatica maritima*, I, (Lepantska bitka, Udio hrvatskih pomoraca u Lepantskoj bitki 1571. godine), Zadar, Institut JAZU u Zadru, 1974, pp. 106, 112-114.
- 17 Further analysis of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century refurbishment of the arch and its civic meaning has been presented by Laris Borić at the Sixty-first Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Berlin, 2015.
- 18 See J. GUDELJ, *Europska renesansa antičke Pule*, Zagreb, Školska knjiga, 2014.
- 19 At the moment, seventeen Renaissance drawings of the Arch of Sergii are known, circulating, among others, in the workshops of Raphael, the Sangallo family and Andrea Palladio. Moreover, Sebastiano Serlio included the Arch in his Third book of 1540, ensuring a European-wide impact for this model. For further discussion, see J. GUDELJ, *op. cit.*, 2014.
- 20 For further discussion of the mentioned examples, see GUDELJ, *op. cit.*, 2014.
- 21 The bibliography on triumphal entries is very rich, see at least B. MITCHELL, *The Majesty of the State: Triumphal Progresses of Foreign Sovereigns in Renaissance Italy (1494-1600)*, Florence, Olschki, 1986; *All the world's a stage...: art and pageantry in the Renaissance and baroque*, B. WISCH-S. SCOTT MUNSHOWER (eds.), Papers in art history from the Pennsylvania State University, 6, 2nd v., 1990; *Court festivals of the European Renaissance: art, politics and performance*, J. R. MULRYNE-E. GOLDRING (eds.), Aldershot, 2002; *Europa triumphans: court and civic festivals in early modern Europe*, J. MULRYNE (ed.), Aldershot, 2004.
- 22 GUDELJ, *op. cit.*, 2014, pp. 300-313.
- 23 G. L. GORSE, "Between empire and republic: triumphal entries into Genoa during the sixteenth century", in: *All the world's a stage, op. cit.*, pp. 188-256; L. STAGNO, "Sovrani spagnoli a Genova: apparati trionfali e ospitaggi alla corte dei Doria", in: *Genova e la Spagna. Opere, artisti, committenti, collezionisti*, P. BOCCARDO-J. L. COLOMER-C. DI FABIO (eds.), Cinisello Balsamo (Milan), Silvana ed., 2002, pp. 73-87.
- 24 The drawing is in Kunstbibliothek of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, Hdz. 2131. On Perino del Vaga in service of Andrea Doria, see: E. PARMA ARMANI, *Il Palazzo del principe Andrea Doria a Fassolo in Genova*, in: *L'Arte*, 10, 1970, pp. 12-59; P. BOCCARDO, "Pietro Buonaccorsi detto Perin del Vaga. Ciclo decorativo del palazzo Doria a Fassolo", in: *Raffaello e la cultura raffaellesca in Liguria*, exhibition catalogue, Genoa, 1983, pp. 37-58; P. BOCCARDO, *Andrea Doria e le arti*, Rome, 1989, pp. 25-88; *Perino del Vaga. Prima, durante, dopo*, E. PARMA (ed.), Genoa, 2001, pp. 200-203.
- 25 The drawing is on the f. 18r of Egger album, Albertina, Wien. See GUDELJ, *op. cit.*, 2014, pp. 196, 304-305.
- 26 W. EISLER, "Celestial Harmonies and Habsburg Rule: Levels of Meaning in a Triumphal Arch for Philip II in Antwerp, 1549", in: *All the World's a stage..., op. cit.*, pp. 332-356; W. KUYPER, *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture into the Netherlands. The Joyeuse Entrée of Philip of Spain into Antwerp in 1549, Renaissance and Mannerism Architecture in the Low Countries from 1530 to 1630*, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1994; Y. PAUWELS, "Propagande architecturale et rhétorique du Sublim: Serlio et les Joyeuses Entrées de 1549", in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 137, May-June 2001, pp. 221-236; K. DE JONGE, "Le livret de l'Entrée du prince Philippe à Anvers par Cornelis Grapheus et Pieter Coecke, à Anvers en 1550", in: *Sebastiano Serlio à Lyon. Architecture et imprimerie*, S. DESWARTE-ROSA (ed.), Lyon, Mémoire active, 2004, pp. 482-483; S. BUSSELS, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power: the triumphal entry of Prince Philip of Spain into Antwerp*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2012.

- 27 S. C. GRAPHEUS, *Le triumphe d'Anuers, faict en la susception du Prince Philips, Prince d'Espaign[e]*, Antwerpen, Pieter Coeck van Aelst, 1550, p. 87.
- 28 T. CHOLCMAN, *Art on Paper: Ephemeral Art in the Low Countries; the Triumphal Entry of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella into Antwerp, 1599*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2012.
- 29 J. BOCH, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis, spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu Sereniss[imi] Principis Ernesti Archiducis Austriae, Ducis Burgundiae, Comitibus Habsburgi aurei vellleris equitis, Belgicis provinciis a regia Ma[gesta]te Cathol[ici] praefecti, An[no] M.D.XCIII. XVIII. Kal[endas] Iulias, aliisque diebus Antwerpiae editorum. Cui est praefixa, De Belgii Principatu a Romano in ea Prouincia Imperio ad nostra usq[ue] tempora breuis narratio*, Antwerpen, Johannes Moretus, 1595. The graphic artist was Pieter van der Borcht.
- 30 J. ANDROUET DU CERCEAU, *Quinque et vinginti exempla arcum*, Orléans, 1549.
- 31 It is also possible that Du Cerceau used Serlio's illustrations, supplementing them with other drawings of the same monument, but in that case he probably would have correctly transmitted the name of the city. Furthermore, Du Cerceau also presents the Susa Arch, which Serlio excludes, but does not include the Arch of the Argentarii or Verona's Porta Borsari and Porta Leoni. See: F. LEMERLE, "Jacques Androuet du Cerceau et les antiquités", in: *Journal de la Renaissance*, 2, 2004, pp. 135-144; H. GÜNTHER, "Du Cerceau et l'antiquité", in: *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau*, J. GUILLAUME (ed.), Paris, Picard, 2010, pp. 75-90.
- 32 LEMERLE, *op. cit.*, 2004, p. 140.
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- 34 J. MARTIN, *C'est l'ordre qui a este tenu a la nouvelle et ioyeuse entrée, que ... le roy tres chrestien Henry deuxieme de ce nom, a faicte en sa bonne ville [et] cité de Paris*, Jacques Dallier, Paris, 1549, Antwerpen, 1550, p. 17.
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- 39 B. NASSIVERA, "Louis-François Cassas. Il 'Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie'", in: *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Storia Patria*, 99, N. S. 47, 1999, pp. 169-206.
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**Jasenska Gudelj**

**Resemiotizacija istočnojadranskih starina:  
uporaba i zlouporaba antičke prošlosti**

Gradovi istočnoga Jadrana s bogatim antičkim naslijeđem, poput Pule, Zadra i Splita, aktivno su sudjelovali u stvaranju i širenju različitih slojeva europske klasične tradicije. Specifična geopolitička situacija koja je regiju od srednjega vijeka nadalje pretvorila u dinamičan prostor granice između država, religija i etničkih grupa, uvjetovala je uporabu lokalnih antičkih građevina kao modela, ali i kao znakova političkog pritiska. U tekstu se analiziraju primjeri njihove uporabe u lokalnoj, ali i europskoj arhitektonskoj i političkoj kulturi između 15. i 20. stoljeća, pri čemu se uspoređuju oscilacije značenja u različitim urbanim i društvenim kontekstima u dugome trajanju, kao dijela političke strategije teritorijalizacije. Uspoređuju se primjeri korištenja antičkih slavoluka u renesansnom razdoblju, poput pomicanja, rastavljanja i sastavljanja Slavoluka Melie Anniane u Zadru od Petra Kršave do sjećanja na Lepantsku bitku te korištenja modela pulskog Slavoluka Sergijevaca u kontekstu trijumfalnih ulazaka u europske gradove vladara iz dinastije Habsburg i Valois, koja osciliraju između imperijalnog emblema i retoričke figure klasičnog jezika arhitekture. Nadalje, ukazuje se na paradigmu o teritorijalnom pripadanju zone s antičkim građevinama onim silama koje raspolažu arheološkim znanjem na temelju analize diskursa L. F. Cassasa i J. Lavalléa iz 1802. godine. Konačno, uspoređuju se različite uloge slike antičkih građevina u kontekstu podizanja spomenika povijesnim ličnostima tzv. 'monumentomanije' kasnog 19. i prve polovice 20. stoljeća u Puli, Splitu i Zadru. Zaključno, paradigma teritorijalizacije pokazuje se kao posebno plodna za uočavanje dodatnih slojeva značenja antičkih građevina istočnoga Jadrana. Osnaživanje lokalnog humanista i njegove obitelji 'disidenata', afirmacija mletačke pobjede nad nevjernicima u Lepantu uz pomoć lokalnih snaga, trijumfalni ulasci kao metafora vlasti, izgradnja znanja o drevnim građevinama kao argument za političku dominaciju i preklapanja suvremenih spomenika i klasičnih građevina - sve su to strategije koje svjesno nameću resemiotizaciju starina kako bi se proizveli teritoriji moći. Daljnja istraživanja stvorit će nijansiranu sliku utjecaja ovih strategija i njihove uloge u ranonovovjekovnoj i suvremenoj arhitektonskoj i političkoj kulturi.

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