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Restoration in Zadar, Split and Pula between the Rapallo and Paris Treaties

ABSTRACT: The article discusses cases of restoration in Zadar (Zara), Split (Spalato) and Pula (Pola), performed in three historical periods by Italian and Yugoslav authorities. The interventions are located within a timeframe outlined by diplomatic arrangements between the Italian and South Slavic states, made in Rapallo in 1920 and Paris in 1947. They were revisionist, selective, discriminative, substitutive, integrative and reconstructive, and they are seen as reflexes of political realities and professional standards in fascist and early republican post-war Italy, as well as in the early communist Popular Republic of Croatia. The article also discusses the role of intellectuals in political agendas of the period under discussion.

KEY WORDS: restoration, conservation, Istria, Dalmatia, Zara, Spalato, Pola, urban planning

While the political use of monuments by the interwar regime in Italy is well-researched and continually attracts new scholars, the history of public perception and political appropriation of monuments in Croatia in the pre- and post-Second World War periods is still under-researched. What we know about the culture of restoration (which includes archaeology and urban planning) comes mainly from the work of Italian scholars.¹ Still unfulfilled is the analysis of the Croatian reception of the Italian restoration methodology, the fate of the pre-war professional standards in the post-war realities of the two countries, and the role of political authorities in the shaping of public spaces in Croatia after 1945.²

Bearing in mind the state of the research, I shall discuss a segment of this problematic, analysing the political and anthropological aspects of the use of monuments in the

two cultures. They will be construed following the work of key professionals in three political periods. By 'anthropological' I imply a web of relations between political authorities, professionals and the public, regarding the perception and treatment of three historic towns in Istria and Dalmatia.

The treaties of Rapallo in 1920/1922 and Paris in 1947 (not omitting the Roman agreement between Italian and Croatian fascists in 1941) represent key moments in political relations between the two sides in the first half of the 20th century. I shall emphasize these treaties following the two global conflicts in order to understand the interconnections between the political programmes and professional treatment of monuments and sites.

The initial enquiry should imply the question 'What were the practical consequences of the treaties for the monuments and their settings in the three historic

towns?'. The diplomatic documents surely served as legal enforcements of peace following the two global conflicts. They can also be seen as preventives of post-war retaliation and as symptoms of perennial social, human and cultural divisions, which even the Treaty of Osimo of 1975 did not fully appease. We can also see them as frameworks for different forms of political meddling with collective identities.

Three cities in three political periods

Transformations of monuments and sites in Zadar (Zara), Split (Spalato) and Pula (Pola) happened (or were supposed to happen) as consequences of the revolutionary political programmes promoted in these historic towns. As was often the case in European historicism, the politicized heritage of this segment of the 20th century can be seen as a vital instrument of identity-construction in changing social conditions. Although interventions within urban nuclei were conducted in two political eras of Italy (Fascist and post-war 'Early-Republican'), it would be more precise to distinguish three periods: pre-war, martial and post-war. The differences between the first two are subtle but important for interpreting the sense of the appropriated past in Italy until September 1943. The three periods brought along three political and professional principles: discriminative selection, substitutive ('demolishing') integration, and reconstruction as the building of new political structure and collective identity. While the first corresponded to requests of the top Fascist authorities (with consequences in racial politics since 1938), and the second can be seen as professional fulfilment of the political dictate in a regulated and disciplined society, the third gained an important role in the democratizing and normalizing processes of republican Italy after September 1943 and the Referendum held on 2 June 1946.

Three interventions, performed on Istrian and Dalmatian monuments, took place (or were envisaged) in the service of the then predominant political cult of the Roman Empire.³ The significance of that cult for the Fascist elite is well-known, and its results are seen, for instance, in (and around) Milan's San Lorenzo, Turin's Porta Palatina, Brescia's Capitolium, Rimini's Arch of Augustus, Ancona's Arch of Traian, Tripoli's Arch of Marcus Aurelius, the ruins of Ostia, Pompeii and Herculaneum and, most famously, in the heart of Rome. Adjusted to the colonization of the Eastern Adriatic, this cult of *romanitas* was joined by the political ideal of *italianità*, recognized in the cultural heritage of another Mediterranean power, that of *Serenissima*. This dual idolatry was crucial for Italian cultural hegemony and political propaganda in the Eastern Adriatic from Giovanni Giolitti's time to Benito Mussolini's, transformed after the Second World War into the anguish and nostalgia of the Italian

exiles. It became a strong ideological incentive for Italian archaeologists and urban planners of the periods we are dealing with.⁴

The two politico-cultural affections were ignited some twenty years before the March on Rome. It is essential to emphasize the role of the professionals (art historians, archaeologists and architects) in the fulfilment of the political programmes, not only to understand the positions of Italian governing and intellectual elites but also to interpret the response from the Croatian, or Yugoslav, side.

The cultural war, which was to become ideological with tragic human consequences, between Italian and Slavic communities, evolved from the 19th-century Romanticist concepts of national emancipation and homogeneity, which had direct consequences on the treatment of historic monuments during the domination of the stylistic-restoration methodology. Since the first appearances of Italian nationalism in Giolitti's days to the triumph of Marshal Tito's communist forces, the war of words was followed by appropriation of cultural heritage in populist myths and colonialist agendas and eventually led to exclusion, discrimination, cultural and racial supremacy – using concepts of race (*stirpe*) and blood (*krv*) – as well as to vandalism, post-war reprisal and construction of exclusive and excluding revolutionary identity. The scale of division grew as Italian fascism was substituted by the prevailing Yugoslav communism.

As pointed out earlier, the role (and responsibility) of intellectuals in the political estrangement of the two cultures is an essential topic that needs further discussion and clarification. By highlighting a fragment of this social phenomenon, we can follow the fate of Gabriele D'Annunzio's concept of the natural right to the Eastern Adriatic in one of the leading literary magazines, the Florentine *Nuova Antologia*. With an eye on the collapsing Habsburg Monarchy, the Italian political and intellectual elite developed their own version of *Drang nach Osten*. As the first documents were signed (the secret Treaty of London in 1915), the politico-intellectual pressure to 'regain' the Venetian legacy intensified. This is probably why such figures as Adolfo Venturi and Giacomo Boni got involved.⁵ On his visit to Dalmatia, Venturi (1856–1941) recognized traces of grandeur (*segni della grandezza*) in Rome, Venice and Italy, as well as similarities between Dalmatian and Italian art (*stessa fisionomia, stesso spirito, nostra stirpe*).⁶ In 1917 Venturi joined Ettore Pais and Pompeo Molmenti in cultural conquest of Dalmatia as anticipation of military campaigns. The aim of the richly illustrated introduction of Dalmatian art to the Italian public was clear and immediate: 'to compose the italic face of Dalmatia'.⁷ Renowned archaeologist Giacomo Boni (1859–1925) published his contribution after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In 1919 he compared

the urbanity of Dalmatian art with worthless suburban traces of the hordes of the Goths, Avars and Slavs. This cultural dichotomy affected monuments, including Diocletian's Palace in Split, seen in this work as the birthplace of Dalmatian architecture. This 'majestic image' was now 'distorted and congested by narrow-minded superstructures'.⁸

Art historians and archaeologists were preceded by Guido Cora, Francesco Salata, Luchino dal Verme and many others; so, even before the beginning of the first global conflict, discussion became heated.⁹ After the Rapallo treaty was signed and Zara became part of the Italian Kingdom (although Sebenico/Šibenik was handed over to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), the cultural struggle for Italian rights, devised in Risorgimento, was transformed into a colonial and imperialist endeavour.

As the societies faced radical changes, so urban monuments, as testimonies to national origin and endurance, gained an important role in the shaping of public spaces and, implicitly, of collective identities. Both fascist and communist political programmes were based on radical social reforms, with tendencies to retaliation, exclusion and prophetic confabulation. This is why the monumental complexes before, during and after the Second World War experienced significant changes. Also, both political systems counted on public participation, so the political elites relied on vitality, even theatrical performativity of the 'corrected', 'liberated' or integrated monuments and sites.

Furthermore, transformation of monuments and sites in the three historic towns of the Eastern Adriatic was followed by shifts in conservation methodologies. These changes brought along the denial of earlier standards, following new political purposes of monuments in transforming societies. In the Italian case, the denied conservation culture was the Austrian one (mainly Alois Riegl's and Max Dvořák's), which was based on democratic values of monuments and active participation of the masses in the perception of Age Value (*Alterswert*),¹⁰ promoting careful conservation of heterogeneous milieus (*Stimmung, Umgebung, Stadtbild*) and opposing interventionism that led to isolation of individual parts from the picturesque whole.¹¹ Denial was later accompanied by submission of professional standards of *restauro scientifico* to political requests of Mussolini's Italy.¹² All three interventions in the historic cores of Istria and Dalmatia depended on restoration practices originating from such conditions.

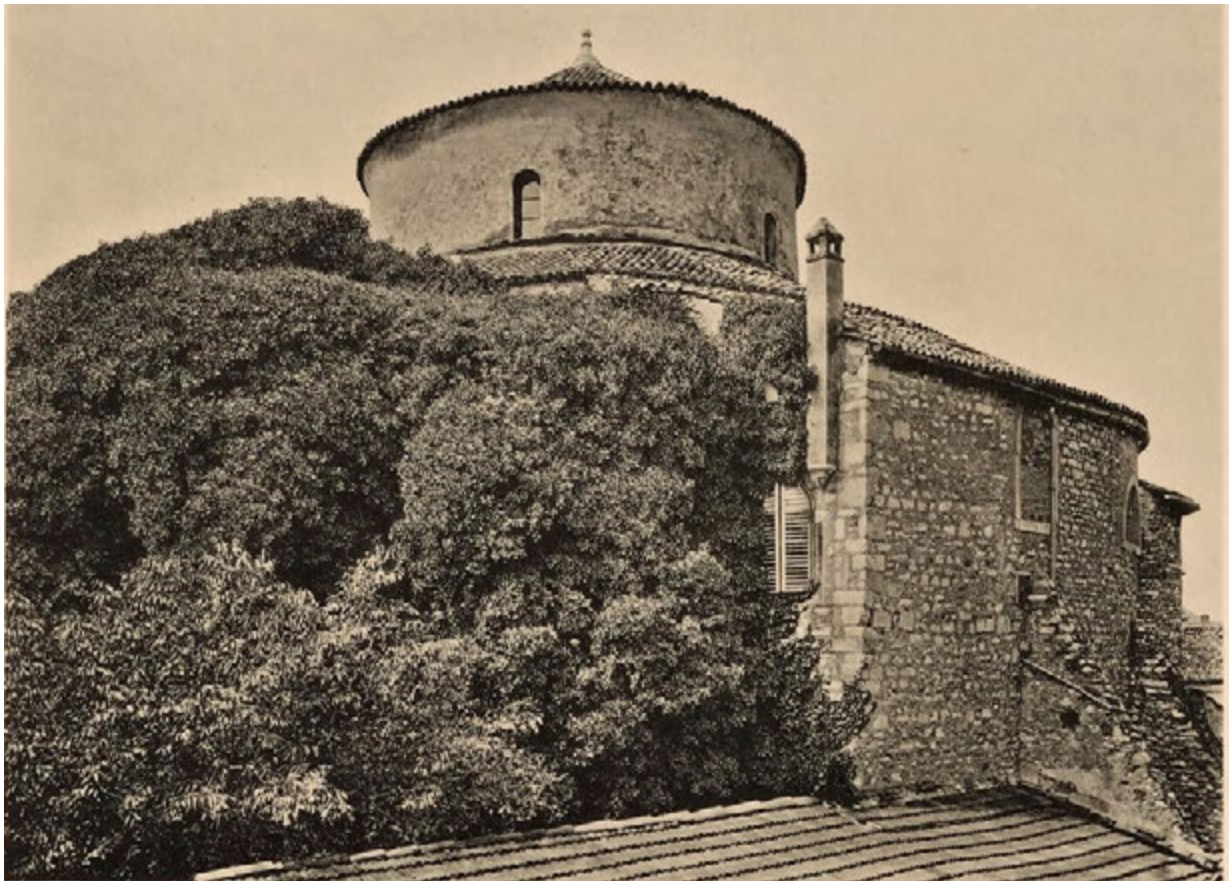
At the beginning of the first political period, when the territories of Istria and the islands of Cherso/Cres, Lussino/Lošinj, Lagosta/Lastovo and Pelagosa/Palagruža, as well as the enclave of Zara, became Italian, the public had to be introduced to new political acquisitions. General Eugenio Barbarich (1863–1931) therefore described,

in 1923, the confined territory of Zara with its Slavic hinterland.¹³ He emphasized the need of *reconstruction, restitution, reintegration* and *reawakening*.¹⁴ Describing the potentials of the confined urban enclave, he used the vocabulary that had been codified years before on the pages of *Nuova Antologia* by leading theoreticians of architectural restoration in Italy, Camillo Boito and Gustavo Giovannoni. With the consolidation of Mussolini's regime, the irredentist ideas were transformed into imperialist claims. So, before the start of the interventions in the historic core of Zara, the Southern Slav Kingdom was, with Albania, seen as a political opponent with unresolved questions with Italy.¹⁵ These questions were left to be solved by the military forces. In the meantime, the newly acquired (or 'regained') territory of Zara experienced urban reform, which, in the fields of archaeology and restoration, implied a discriminative form of introspection.

ONE: ISOLATION OF THE TEMPLE OF SAINT DONATUS IN ZARA

The gaining of Zara by the Treaty of Rapallo was a political success for Italian diplomacy and partial fulfilment of old autonomist and irredentist dreams. Following the conquest, the Italian enclave's authorities focused on the new social role of the monumental testimonies of *italianità*. Contrary to *fin-de-siècle* Central European concepts of the picturesque and organic *Stimmung*, age-value, equivalence (*Gleichwertigkeit*) of parts and the beauty of amalgamated settings, a new discriminative approach was devised in the first decade of the Fascist regime. It implied acts of isolation and stripping of hybrid monuments, as well as the thinning out (*diradamento*) or gutting (*sventramento*) of irregular, unhygienic and 'parasitizing' elements of quarters – therefore, of radical transformation of entire historic areas, turning heterogeneous into homogeneous sites. Furthermore, stylistic conformity had to correspond to social, or class-balanced, and ethnic, or racial, purity.

The historic core of Zara was no exception to this rule. The symbolism of the city and the fulfilment of the political dream were to help establish a new significance for urban monuments. Zara was seen as a 'lighthouse', a remnant of civilization confined by an intruding and hostile surrounding populace, so the monuments were understood as material proofs of the stamina and vitality of Italian civilization. Following Corrado Ricci's (1858–1934) concept of *redemption* of the Imperial past in Rome,¹⁶ isolation of the mediaeval church of Saint Donatus was to gain a similar purpose. A slight difference between the two projects was that Ricci's normative system implied discrimination disguised by historical and aesthetic arguments, whereas that in Zara was to become a symbol of cultural and racial supremacy.¹⁷ Although 'minor architecture' was already recognized in Gustavo Giovannoni's theory of thinning-out of urban fabric (*diradamento*



1. Zadar, Saint Donatus (From Georg Kowalczyk, Cornelius Gurlitt, *Denkmäler der Kunst in Dalmatien*, Berlin 1910, 64)
Zadar, crkva sv. Donata (Georg Kowalczyk, Cornelius Gurlitt, *Denkmäler der Kunst in Dalmatien*, Berlin 1910., str. 64)

edilizio), devised between 1908 and 1913,¹⁸ professional standards in the nuclei of Rome and Zara were substituted by direct instructions from political authorities.¹⁹

Interestingly, the recognition of the 'central' testimonies of national (or rather imperial) identity followed the pattern of the Renaissance discovery of classical antiquity. The path led from literary evocation to physical transformation of monuments. Years before the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, poet and politician Antonio Cippico (1877–1935) used prosopopoeia in a Petrarchan vision of Zara's Temple of Saint Donatus to revive the myth of Roman antiquity. Young Cippico in 1894 addressed the edifice as *Vecchio colosso*, asking it to recount the 'glorious times of Rome'.²⁰ The poet addressed the building, which, in the period, as in the times of Rudolf von Eitelberger's visit to Zara,²¹ was obscured by smaller structures and hardly discernible from the street (Fig. 1). Cippico's verses ended with an ambivalent, but prophetic, vision of the 'solitude' of the monument, hidden by its architectural progeny: *tu sol sei là con le muraglie brune, / vecchio colosso, ne l'azzurro cielo!*²²

Between Cippico's vision and the arrival of the Italian authorities, in Zara there evolved a German and Austrian concept of careful keeping of the multi-layered *status quo* of monuments.²³ After 1920, the monument

was perceived in a substantially different way. Since the whole town was seen as a lighthouse of civilization amidst the darkness of the Slavic world, and the core of Zara became a cultural centre of the Latin Reconquista,²⁴ the main monuments were not allowed to remain vague or hidden. As the home of the National Museum, San Donato was perceived as an obscured haven and future cultural epicentre. Giovanni Smirich (1842–1929), conservator of monuments and director of the Museum, wrote in 1921 on the importance of the church. He appealed to the authorities in Ancona and Rome for a restitution of the original area of the monument, complete exhumation of its precious fundamentals and liberation of the walls from arbitrary constructions that twist the original character.²⁵ This is how the picturesque complex of narrow streets and the central Piazza d'Erbe was reimagined as an open space that offered an unhindered view of the solitary figure of Donato's rotunda and Roman Forum, buried under modern constructions of the Venetian and Austrian town.

Smirich had served as conservator of the Second Section of the Austrian *Zentralkommission* since 1878.²⁶ From that period he inherited Alois Hauser's concept of the purging (*Ausräumung*) of the church. Even though it was not in line with Riegl's and Dvořák's understanding,



2. Zadar, Saint Donatus during isolation work, around 1930 (Ancona, Soprintendenza archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio delle Marche (SABAP), Photo Archive)

Zadar, crkva sv. Donata tijekom izolacijskih radova, oko 1930-te, (Ancona, Soprintendenza archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio delle Marche (SABAP), Fototeka)

developed later, of the Modern cult of monuments as a primarily conservative endeavour, the interventionist, purifying and discriminative approach of the historicist generation was reinstated after 1918 and put into practice. Smirich had already informed the Italian public on the importance of Saint Donatus in 1901, calling for ‘the restitution of the original form’ of the church.²⁷ Writing on restoring the neighbouring church of Saint Chrysogonus in 1920, he disavowed the German and Austrian conservation principle (*il principio di non cambiar l'aspetto dei luoghi*),²⁸ advocating the removal of the ‘wretched buildings’ (*miseri edifizii*) and ‘posterior superfluities’ (*le posteriori superfetazioni*) to be able to create an open space and reintroduce old perspectives.²⁹ Smirich was, therefore, pursuing redefinition of the whole quarter by subtraction (or isolation) and redesign.

Five years after Smirich’s appeal, correspondence between Anconitan Superintendent Giuseppe Moretti (1876–1945)³⁰ and the director of Zara’s Archaeological Museum, Rodolfo Valenti, was initiated.³¹ In 1928 architect Luigi Leporini (1898–1980) prepared the first large-scale intervention (*sistemazione*), which included

expropriation and demolition of the buildings south and west of Saint Donatus, lowering of the ground level to reach the pavement of the Roman Forum, urban planning of the zone surrounding the church, and building of the Museum depository with an apartment for the curator.³² The isolation of Saint Donatus resembled Roman projects of Antonio Muñoz and Alberto Calza Bini in the 1920s on Velabro, Largo Argentina and the Theatre of Marcellus.³³ Liberation became a legitimate part of restoration methodology in Boito’s times, and in 1913 Giovannoni enumerated it among the professional categories, as *restauro di liberazione*.³⁴ However, as in earlier cases of modern restoration, the problem was where and when to stop, so the isolating intervention regarding particular detail was easily turned to *sventramento*, or *en masse* sacrificing of ‘minor architecture’, which had serious consequences for urban agglomeration and traditional life.

The archival sources from Ancona and Zadar show that the liberation of the church in many cases resembled the events taking place on *Via dell’Impero* in Rome. In Rome, *il piccone risanatore* (the healing pickaxe) was held by Il Duce, while in the Empire’s periphery it was in the hands



3. Zadar, Square in front of the liberated Saint Donatus, early 1930s (Ancona, Soprintendenza archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio delle Marche (SABAP), Photo Archive)

Zadar, Trg ispred oslobodene crkve sv. Donata, početak 1930-ih (Ancona, Soprintendenza archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio delle Marche (SABAP), Fototeka)

of the construction workers in service of the local fascist administrators. When the demolition of the houses on the southern and western parts of the block was done in 1931, a 'liberated' monument appeared, lying directly on the Imperial Roman ground, showing fragments inserted in the church's foundations (Fig. 2). Precious Roman spolia, lying on the antique pavement of the Forum and serving as the basis of Saint Donatus, offered a spectacle of decadence and endurance.

In spring 1931 an article in the newspaper *Il giornale d'Italia* reported on restoration of 'a rotunda of a clear Roman type, arisen in the mediaeval times (...) to affirm once again in this country of ours the Italian artistic tradition'. The restored church gained a clear political purpose, because 'with this work Zara reaffirms its eminent place and function as spiritual centre and spreader of light'.³⁵ Seven months later, on the occasion of the reopening of the Museum and the thirteenth anniversary of the town's 'liberation' (*XIII Annuale della sua liberazione*), the liberation (or isolation, redemption) of Saint Donatus was celebrated. Roberto Paribeni (1876–1956), head of the General Direction for Antiquities and Fine Arts since 1929, was among the notables

present. Political liberation thus found its artistic expression, promoting aesthetic, stylistic and ethnic, or racial, superiority.³⁶

As in Rome, this 'refined' gaze into the past was intended for the public eye. The results of three years of liberation work – Roman statues installed on pedestals, clearing of the view to the Roman pavement of the Forum, consolidation and redesign of the south-eastern façade of the church, arrangement of the square with an elevated standpoint and railing – all contributed to the performative effect of the regained heritage. The public space of the new archaeological and museum site became a politically construed *theatrum memoriae*, enabling visual and tactile experiences of the consecrated fragments on the new square (Fig. 3).

TWO: PLANS FOR THE RE-ROMANIZATION OF SPLIT

The arrival of the commission of the Royal Academy of Italy in Split and the report of its members has been studied,³⁷ so here I will discuss the experts' recommendations within the political and cultural contexts of their work. As already mentioned, the fascist allies of Italy and Croatia signed a treaty in spring 1941, which facilitated

the entrance of the Italian troops into Split. This alliance was prepared earlier in Italian political and intellectual circles. If we briefly return to *Nuova Antologia*, we will see that in 1933 articles had already been published about the position of Croatia in unstable Yugoslavia.³⁸ At the end of that year, archaeologist and art historian Pericle Ducati (1880–1944) published an article on Roman antiquity of the Adriatic, criticizing the barbarity of contemporary Split as Giacomo Boni had done fourteen years earlier. Instead of Ivan Meštrović's threatening colossus of *Gregorius of Nin* (Fig. 4), a statue that, since 1929, had contaminated the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace, Ducati wanted to hear a voice calling *Roma!* and an echoing response, shouting: *Italia!*³⁹

At the time of the collapse of the Yugoslav Kingdom in spring 1941, Umberto Nani published an analysis of the political situation in the multi-national Slavic state, emphasizing vandalism against the Venetian lions on Dalmatian soil.⁴⁰ A few weeks later, when Mussolini was preparing a pact with the head of the Croatian puppet-state, Ante Pavelić, irredentist writers reminded the readers of the perennial struggle for an Italian Eastern Adriatic. In May 1941 historian Oscar Randi (1876–1949) published an article on the role of irredentist leader Roberto Ghiglianovich (1863–1930).⁴¹ When the Treaties of Rome were signed on 18 May 1941, Italian perception of Croatia suddenly changed. The president of the Italian Academy, Luigi Federzoni (1878–1967), praised the *pax Adriatica*⁴² and a professor of Slavic languages in Padua, Arturo Cronia (1896–1967), native of Zara, wrote on the history and culture of Croatia,⁴³ while historian Giuseppe Praga (1893–1958) published an article on the Catholic history of Croatia.⁴⁴

Even after the arrival of Italian military forces in Dalmatia, journalist and politician Ezio Maria Gray (1885–1969) continued to prove the Roman and Italian nature of Dalmatian arts and customs.⁴⁵ This was the reality of the second, martial period, when imperial vocabulary was accompanied with academic puritanism, which meant that, in the field of restoration, acts of removal, substitution and selective reintegration could prevail. Fascist leaders were directly involved in deciding the fates of the monumental settings. This was represented in photos and film-recordings by Istituto Luce, presided over by Gray, showing Mussolini and his entourage in frequent ceremonial visits to archaeological sites and torn-down blocks of Rome.⁴⁶ In the 1930s, as Il Duce personally approached *Nuova Antologia*, his close associate and Governor of Rome, Giuseppe Bottai (1895–1959), explained his visions of urban planning in the historic core of the Capital, tackling the problems opened years earlier by Giovannoni.⁴⁷ Mussolini's achievements were also promoted by the director of *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*, Ludwig Curtius (1874–1954).⁴⁸



4. Split, Peristyle with Ivan Meštrović's statue of Gregorius of Nin (Ministry of Culture and the Media, Directorate for Conservation of Cultural Heritage, Photo Archive, inv. no. 22.20.87)
Split, Peristil sa spomenikom Grgura Ninskog Ivana Meštrovića (Ministarstvo kulture i medija, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Fototeka, inv. broj 22.20.87.)



5. Title page of the publication *Spalato romana*, 1942
Naslovna stranica publikacije *Spalato romana*, 1942.

Although politicians were personally involved in the transformation of Roman Fora, Velabro, Ripa and the Vatican, the spirit of official politics in the newly acquired provinces was represented by local authorities and celebrated experts. Luigi Crema (1905–1975) was one of them. During the occupation he served as *Commissioner of Antiquities, Monuments and Galleries of Dalmatia* and, with Bruno Maria Apollonj Ghetti (1905–1989), in 1943 he published the book *Architecture in Dalmatia*. After the war he continued his work as a notable member of the professional community.⁴⁹ While it became habitual in Rome for Il Duce to personally initiate and inspect demolition, excavation and restoration of monuments and sites, in the provinces of Istria and Dalmatia that was not the case.⁵⁰ Therefore, when the emissaries of the Academy of Italy arrived in Split in September 1941, they could apply their professional standards in a seemingly freer way.

The advent of the military forces initially meant the transformation of public spaces in Split by the renaming of streets and squares, so during the occupation the popular waterfront of Spalato bore Hitler's name. When emissaries of Federzoni's Academy – Giovannoni, Amedeo Maiuri, Luigi Marangoni, Ugo Ojetti, Roberto Paribeni and Marcello Piacentini – were sent to town, they used predominantly professional, and not necessarily political, vocabulary. Although they were repeating the political mantra of *italianità* and *romanità* of the 'grandiose monuments' of Split, the modern cult of the Palace prevented them from radical measures. Giovannoni wanted to avoid harsh acts of *sventramenti*, which had taken place in Rome only a few years earlier. Publishing the report (Fig. 5) in 1942, the commission proposed three ways to regain the spirit of *romanitas* of Diocletian's Palace and to enable urban development: first, liberation of the southern, eastern and northern sides of the Palace from superfluities; second, arrangement (*sistemazione*) of the central zone of the Palace around the Peristyle, with restoration procedures (for instance, 'reintegration by demolition'); and third, adoption of the general regulatory plan, based on the theory of thinning-out of urban fabric and expansion.⁵¹

Only part of the plan was fulfilled during the short occupation of Spalato: namely, demolition of the military bakery abutting the eastern wall of the antique Palace, and removal of Meštrović's despised colossus from the Peristyle. The rhetoric of removal of the 'superfluities' and 'arrogant expressions' proves the merging of aesthetic and political concepts.⁵² It may remind one of the treatment of Zara's historic core, where corrective introspection implied refinement of the image of the past, but proposals for Spalato were more ambitious. They did consider Roman and Venetian heritage, but also strived to appreciate minor architecture while encouraging urban growth. If the transformation of Saint Donatus in Zara

can be understood as an inductive approach (moving from a particular, obscured entity towards an ideal whole of the newly-discovered and reformed old town), Romanization (or, rather, Italianization) of Split meant a deductive, holistic or urban-planning interpretation of Boni's 'deformed and suffocated' town. Here the general concept of *sistemazione* supplanted the pedantic treatment of individual monuments, 'liberated' in a biased or discriminative way. Even though Giovannoni's synthesis of demolition and restoration was dismissed by Croatian post-war conservators as simply *fascist*, it was implicitly adopted and adjusted to new ideological circumstances.⁵³

THREE: RECONSTRUCTION AND FAREWELL TO THE OLD WORLD(S) – MONUMENTS OF PULA AFTER 1945

The antique temple of Augustus in Pula/Pola has attracted the attention of European antiquarians and architects since Renaissance times.⁵⁴ Having survived through the centuries, the Temple was damaged in Allied bombardments in March 1945. The destruction of the pronaos became a symbol of the decline of the political system that restored antique monuments for its daily propaganda purposes. The project of the post-war restoration of the Temple has already been researched,⁵⁵ so I am going to focus on the significance of the project in its political context and the treatment of the town's heritage by its post-war political patrons.

Ruined Pola shared the destiny of other Italian cities and sites such as Naples, Montecassino, Rome, Florence, Pisa, Bologna, Padua, Treviso, Brescia and Milan.⁵⁶ A group of architects and restorers – Gino Pavan, Mario Mirabella Roberti, Roberto Grimani and Luigi Peteani – worked intensely for less than two years in 1946 and 1947, conjoining the methods of anastylosis and reconstruction. The political atmosphere in which they acted was complex. Europe was in ruins; Italy had only just initiated transformation from imperial to republican political system; and, during the reconstruction of the Temple, Italian and Yugoslav diplomats negotiated the fate of Trieste and Istria. Believing in a favourable outcome to the Paris negotiations, reconstruction of the monument immortalized by Palladio seemed to proceed naturally. The project was marked by two features: lack of time, and exceptional professional sensibility. It was performed on the eve of the advent of the Yugoslav army, awaiting the departure of the Allied forces from Pola. The results show sensibility towards reinstated fragments, differentiating the aged original from restored parts, as codified already by the architect-restorers Giuseppe Valadier, Raffaele Stern and Giuseppe Camporese in the service of Pope Pius VII. The recomposed Temple, with the restorers' pedantic consideration for surfaces affected by time and war, was immediately introduced as a state-funded success story of the Italian school of restoration.⁵⁷



6. Tihomil Stahuljak, Students from Ljubljana in front of the Temple of Augustus in Pula, October 1947 (Ministry of Culture and the Media, Directorate for Conservation of Cultural Heritage, Photo Archive, inv. no. 5105)

Tihomil Stahuljak, Ljubljanski studenti ispred Augustovog hrama u Puli, listopad 1947. (Ministarstvo kulture i medija, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Fototeka, inv. broj 5105)

Yet, along with the political reforms in the newly established Italian Republic, Giovannoni's successors – Roberto Pane, Guglielmo de Angelis D'Ossat, Renato Bonelli and Carlo Ceschi – initiated a revision of the paradigm of the pre-war patriarch's *scientific restoration*.⁵⁸ Renewed debate on reconstruction of the old settings (*vecchie città, ambienti*) motivated the discussion on interrelations between the isolated entity and a heterogeneous, often bombarded whole; so, amidst political reforms, monuments attained a new social role.⁵⁹ Although it was not easy to propose a new paradigm of restoration in a transforming, post-fascist society, the scale of destruction of the world-famous artworks in the hearts of Italian cities had to become a public – that is, political – issue. At least if we understand reconstruction as the conservators' tool for healing trauma and affirming the country's democratic future and economic stability.

This is why it is important to discuss the political semantics of the reconstructed Temple in Pula. Expecting the precarious outcome of the diplomacy with highest hopes, the Temple was imagined as a conservator's (even conservative) anticipation of the optimistic future. A revived *monumento morto* was supposed to have clear political potential on the site of the ancient and future

Forum – if Pola and Istria were bestowed on republican Italy. But they were not. So, the reconstructed temple of the founder of the Roman Empire, admired and celebrated in Mussolini's Italy in 1938, was to become a cultural testament to Italian culture in the country of the Slavic newcomers (Fig. 6).⁶⁰

When Tito's army arrived in Pola, Spalato and Zara, the victor conceived his own interpretation of the distant or more recent past. Its basic prerequisites ranged from denial, banishment and oblivion to sifting, translation and divulgation. All these procedures were part of the post-war retaliation and social reforms. Revolutionary conditions meant that liberation implied not only exoneration but yet another social exclusion. The abolition of memory was initiated by relocation and was performed by expulsion of its bearers (the process of the Italian exodus from Istria and Dalmatia after 1945 and 1947) and continued by, among others, urban reforms and restoration projects, as a joint enterprise of modernist architects and conservators of the newly-established Popular Republic of Croatia, comparable to those in western Poland after the expulsion of the German population. Conquered public spaces were given a new role in the Yugoslav state: they ceased to be theatres of retrospection, fixed to carefully



7. Pula, Amphitheatre in 1960 (Ministry of Culture and the Media, Directorate for Conservation of Cultural Heritage, Photo Archive, inv. no. 32780, neg. no. II-7961)
Pula, Amfiteatar, 1960. (Ministarstvo kulture i medija, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Fototeka, inv. broj 32780, br. neg. II-7961)

selected elements of memory, and became theatres of yet another revolution and social prophecy, marked by triumphalist retaliation and reinvention of the pre-war Yugoslav nationalism.

The term 'reconstruction' had two faces in the logic of the victor's reform: first, it was understood as a drive to reintegration of fragments (facsimiles of the adopted elements of the past);⁶¹ and, second, as a tool for reformist invention (new artistic, architectural and urban planning creations substituting the fragmented and rejected 'inappropriate monuments').⁶² I will clarify these positions by further examples. In March 1945 Croatian writer Ivo Žic (1903–1973) published an article on ruined and liberated Zadar, where 'a new life is budding and flourishing'. In a brusque rhetoric, characteristic of that period, he attacked Italian evacuees, promoting a puritan Slavic Homeland, which would 'heal all the wounds inflicted by the enemy'. Zadar was to become a scene for new life: 'Once again, Zadar's Croatians, Serbs and Arbanasi will stand firm, defending their national, cultural and historical rights. On the ruins of old Zadar, we will build a new pearl among the Dalmatian towns'.⁶³

Again, as in earlier times, prophetic rhetoric anticipated interventions by the new heritage authorities. One of the key figures in Dalmatian post-war conservation was art historian Cvito Fisković (1908–1996). His first publications enumerated the criminal activities of the occupying forces.⁶⁴ Subsequently, he sought to draft his own conservation procedure, responsive to the political

demands of the new society and state.⁶⁵ He devised a myth (ingeniously enough, founded on archival documents) of the 'local masters' (*domaći majstori*), or creators of once usurped Dalmatian territories and monuments.⁶⁶ As already mentioned, he decided to dismiss and adapt earlier (Central European and Italian) conservation theories and sought to devise specific ethics to construct a socially and politically accepted form and image of Yugoslav national heritage.

Insertion of new content into inherited architectural forms was omnipresent in the period. One of Fisković's main preoccupations was adaptive reuse of older – ruined or deserted – architectural structures. It was implemented much more easily in the living, though damaged, historic towns.⁶⁷ But, as pointed out earlier, what was supposed to become the purpose of the ancient 'dead monuments', such as Roman ruins, temples, baths and theatres? From Sicily, Ostia, Verona and Trieste to Pola, Mussolini's regime reused these monuments for public festivities and political rituals. Before Tito 'discovered' the islands of Brioni as his occasional (and increasingly important) political residence, Pula was left primarily to Slavic colonists, an industrial proletariat in a growing shipyard and local urban planners fulfilling the Five-Year Plan, with only occasional visits of the renowned conservators from Rijeka and Zagreb. The first signs of change in perception are seen in 1949, when members of the Zagreb Opera held a concert in the famous Arena. Composer Ivo Tijardović (1895–1976) reported on the event. As in most post-war accounts, he recalled the recent past and 'fascist bullies' who, in the 1930s, arranged operas as imperial ceremonies. In the new political system – attacked by Stalin and his satellites in 1948 – Pula's amphitheatre gained a precise purpose: 'Today it serves the building of Socialism with the help of theatre, raising the cultural level of the working masses, and above all spreading and affirming brotherhood amongst the Italian national minority and other nations of Yugoslavia'.⁶⁸ In 1954 ancient structures became a venue for the Yugoslav Film Festival (Fig. 7). In the exiled Italian communities, the ancient monument was conceived as an anchorage of collective anguish and nostalgia: since 1945 they had shared their political, cultural and emotional views in a newspaper entitled *L'Arena di Pola*.

The regained and militarily conquered historic towns of the Popular Republic of Croatia became social laboratories of yet another political change. The collectivist spirit of the communist system rested on the values of novelty, unity and integrity of the fortified and exclusive Slavic culture, practising selective memory in service of the new regime's utopian social harmony. We should learn from these experiences, if we want to open our minds to uncomfortable truths from the past, and to avoid harm to people and our common heritage in the future. ■

Endnotes

1. See works by CANALI in the References and SPADA, 2018.
2. Cf. ŠPIKIĆ, 2020, 169-177.
3. KALLIS, 2014.
4. CESCHI, 1970, 115-167.
5. Cf. VENTURI, 1916, 26-36; BONI, 1919, 237-255.
6. VENTURI, 1916, 27.
7. VENTURI, PAIS, MOLMENTI, 1917, 7: *L'intendimento di questa opera, (...) è chiaro ed immediato: si vuol con essa comporre il volto italico della Dalmazia così come risulta dalla organica mole de'suoi mirabili monumenti affacciati sulla riva dell'Adriatico mare.*
8. BONI, 1919, 240: *...il rimanente del palazzo è oggi ingombro da cortili chiusi tra case alte, framezzo alle quali corrono viuzze strette e tortuose dell'aspetto più misero; (...) Il palazzo di Diocleziano, deformato com'è, e soffocato dalle meschine sovrapposizioni di quindici secoli, può tuttora vantarsi d'averci conservato, meglio di ogni altra reliquia del mondo romano, un quadro della magnificenza in mezzo alla quale abitavano i suoi dominatori.*
9. Cf. CORA, 1903, 359-385; N. N., 1903, 514-518; SALATA, 1903, 568-584; DAL VERME, 1903, 435-452. The culmination of these tendencies can be seen in CORRADINI, 1914.
10. This was best represented by one of Alois Riegl's final publications, *New Trends in Monument Care*, a polemic of 1905 with Georg Dehio and Bodo Ehardt. See RIEGL, 1905, 85-104.
11. See DVOŘÁK, 1916 and DVOŘÁK, 2012.
12. This was most clearly seen in Giovannoni's decision to participate in the urban-regulation plan of Rome at the end of the 1920's within the group *La Burbera*. Their plan for rebuilding the historic core of Rome represented a clear negation of Giovannoni's principles of *diradamento edilizio* (urbanistic thinning out), discussed since 1908.
13. BARBARICH, 1923, 274-278.
14. BARBARICH, 1923, 274 and 275: *necessità di ricostruire (...), l'urgenza di restituire (...), reintegrino ricchezze (...), in line with la forza assimilatrice e trasformatrice dei comuni interessi.*
15. VERAX, 1928, 3-30.
16. RICCI, 1911, 445-455.
17. To be more precise, we could argue that Ricci's prioritizing of the artistic and aesthetic values of imperial ruins implied social hygiene and therefore a sort of class denivelation (elitist urban reform confronted with despised images of poverty in the heart of Il Duce's Rome), while in Zara it meant a removal of traces of the post-Venetian urban layers, considered burdensome and worthless. In other words, the enemy in Rome was class (hundreds evicted to peripheric *borgate*); in Zara it was ethnic. Six years after Ricci, Francesco Mora published a plea for the 'unearthing' (*disseppellimento*), 'highlighting' (*porre in luce*) and 'complete resurrection' (*completa risurrezione*) of the 'classical region' of Imperial fora and the Capitol, obscured by 'ignoble constructions' (*ignobili costruzioni*). See MORA, 1917, 429-436.
18. GIOVANNONI, 1908, 317-319 and GIOVANNONI, 1913a, 53-76.
19. On Mussolini's plans for Rome in 1924 and 1925 see KALLIS, 2014, 24. The alliance between politicians and professionals is visible in Giovannoni's enthusiasm for Mussolini's condemnation of the urban 'mediocre defacements' (*deturpazioni medio-cri*) in chapter 8 of his book *Old Towns and New Planning*. See GIOVANNONI, 1995, 209-210.
20. Cippico's poem is inserted in Rodolfo Valenti's letter to the Soprintendenza in Ancona, dated 14 May 1929. Soprintendenza archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio delle Marche (SABAP), Ancona, Archivio Vecchio, Zara – Fascicolo 9, Isolamento di San Donato. The documents were kindly shared by Antonija Mlikota, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Art History, University of Zadar.
21. EITELBERGER, 1884, 84-92.
22. At the time, the Viennese Central Commission invested time and resources in maintenance of the church (*Erhaltungsarbeiten*). See N. N., 1894, 6.
23. On conservation and restoration of the church of Saint Donatus under the auspices of the Viennese *Zentralkommission* see ĆORIĆ, 2010, 254-258.
24. Poet Giorgio del Vecchio wrote in 1920 of Zara as *di latina virtù perenne esempio*. DEL VECCHIO, 1920, 26.
25. SABAP-Ancona, Archivio Vecchio, Zara – Fascicolo 9, Isolamento di San Donato, Giovanni Smirich to the Office for Arts and Monuments in Trieste, 6 December 1921: *l'esumazione completa delle sue preziose fondamenta e la liberazione dei muri perimetrali dalle moderne arbitrarie costruzioni, intonachi, ecc., che ne svanisano il carattere originale.*
26. ĆORIĆ, 2010, 185, 365.
27. SMIRICH, 1901, 50.
28. SMIRICH, 1920, 231.
29. SMIRICH, 1920, 232.
30. On Moretti see CAGIANO DE AZEVEDO, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-moretti_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-moretti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (accessed on 10 March 2022).
31. The *Soprintendenza* in Ancona was responsible for the Museum of Zara and conservation of monuments. Most of the correspondence with the Roman administration (*Consiglio superiore delle antichità e belle arti*) passed through the office in Ancona.
32. SABAP-Ancona, Archivio Vecchio, Zara – Fascicolo 9, Isolamento di San Donato, Leporini's letter to Moretti, 19 September 1928, 1.
33. See BARROERO, CONTI, RACHELI, SERIO, 1983; INSOLERA, 1993, 127-128; RACHELI, 2000, 93-127.
34. GIOVANNONI, 1913b, 24.
35. N. N., 1931a, 8. *Nella Dalmazia non nostra, Zara riafferma, con questa opera, il suo posto eminente, la sua funzione di centro spirituale e irradiatore di luce.*
36. Cf. BAROSSO, 1931, 3. She points out that the old monuments testify to Italian origin. An anonymous report was published on the same day, offering comparisons between Zara and Italian cities as explanation of the works: *Tutte le città italiane sono piene di vestigia romane; ma queste dell'antica Jaderra non hanno soltanto un'importanza archeologica: hanno anche un altissimo valore ideale che illumina di una viva luce il passato e l'avvenire di Zara. Questa città posta come tutte le città marinare della Dalmazia ai confini*

di un mondo e ai principî di un altro, cioè in quella zona grigia in cui ancora si confondono l'Occidente e l'Oriente, soggetta nel corso dei secoli alle più diverse dominazioni, rimase sempre occidentale e romana e fece sempre prevalere il latino sull'illiro, il volgare dalmatico e il veneto sullo slavo, le arti edificative e figurative del romanico e del Rinascimento sulle rudi espressioni dell'arte indigena. N. N., 1931b, 3. On Zara's Archaeological Museum see BRUNELLI, 2016, 89-130.

37. BROCK, 2008, 557-626.

38. SERTOLI, 1933, 72-84.

39. DUCATI, 1933, 579. *E poi? Piccolo è il mare dalle cui coste di occidente spiccò il volo l'aquila di Roma e si mosse poi, come per ricorso di eventi, il leone di Venezia. Piccolo è l'Adriatico, ma grande è la sua storia e la storia non può essere di un subito cancellata. Non si cancella quanto a Venezia e a Roma, dopo la Grecia e l'Etruria, è dovuto sulle sponde bacciate o tormentate dai flutti di questo breve mare. Oggi a Spalato la gesticolante statua di Gregorio da Nona, allungato simulacro di arte repulsiva, contaminando, quale espressione di barbarie, il prothyron che ne sta alle spalle, sembra una sfida all'ambiente romano che è all'intorno, sembra una tracotante minaccia verso il mare nostro. Oggi il musicale nome di Spalato, che dà quasi l'idea di un agile naviglio solcante audace i flutti nemici, si è mutato nel monosillabo barbarico di Split, che sembra un sibilo.*

40. NANI, 1941, 325-338, 329. See also NANI, 1928.

41. RANDI, 1941, 50-57.

42. FEDERZONI, 1941, 209-217.

43. CRONIA, 1941, 218-226.

44. PRAGA, 1941, 360-372.

45. GRAY, 1942, 236-242.

46. This is accessible on <https://www.archivioluce.com/> (accessed on 20 March 2022).

47. BOTTAI, 1936, 75-88. A year later he defended Mussolini's demolitions in the heart of Rome in BOTTAI, 1937, 44-59.

48. CURTIUS, 1934, 487-500.

49. See BESCAPÉ, 1975, 7-10.

50. Archival material in Ancona from the 1920s and 1930s shows that numerous pleas from Zara's conservator Valenti were repudiated on account of 'financial restrictions'. Also, the results of the most important restoration work in Istria and Dalmatia have been represented in a modest way, compared to the interventions in Italy and other colonies. See MORETTI, 1930, 430 and TAMARO, 1925, 235-236.

51. GIOVANNONI, 1942a.

52. GIOVANNONI, 1942a, 13. See also GIOVANNONI, 1942b, 34-35 and CREMA, 1942, 201. Crema reports on the removal of the statue ('deliberate offense of Romanity') from the Peristyle. The statue was never returned to the original setting. Conservators in Split deliberated for years on the new position for Meštrović's monument: in 1954 it was located near the Golden Gates of Diocletian's Palace.

53. On the afterlife of Giovannoni's concepts in post-war Croatia see ŠPIKIĆ, 2019, 69-74.

54. GUDELJ, 2014.

55. PAVAN, 2000. See also VANJAK, ŠPIKIĆ, 2015, 7-24 and ROCCO, 2021.

56. TRECCANI, 2008 and DE STEFANI, 2011.

57. Pola's Temple of Augustus was considered one of the most important interventions in the first post-war period, as can be seen in the publication by the Italian Ministry of Public Education, *La ricostruzione del patrimonio artistico italiano*, Rome, 1950, 86-91.

58. For differences between Giovannoni and promoters of the new paradigm of *critical restoration*, see: GIOVANNONI, 1944, 218-223; PANE, 1944, 68-79; DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT, 1945, 44-46 and BONELLI, 1959 (1945), 30-40. Also CARBONARA, 1976.

59. In his plea for conservation treatment instead of modernist substitutions (which implied reconstruction of demolished monuments), Giovannoni wrote, in 1944: *Tutto questo sarà possibile se una stretta disciplina interverrà a subordinare (...) il privato interesse a quello pubblico, e se la conservazione del carattere cittadino sarà considerata cosa fondamentale al disopra delle tentazioni di guadagni lauti che può fornire una trasformazione radicale.* GIOVANNONI, 1944, 219.

60. A photograph taken by conservator Tihomil Stahuljak in front of the Temple in October 1947 shows art-history students from Ljubljana looking at the sign *Benvenuti*, hung between the Temple and the Municipal Palace. Ministry of Culture and the Media, Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Photo Library, inv. no. 5105, neg. no. I-35-i. I thank my colleague Sanja Grković of the Ministry of Culture and the Media for providing me this and other photographs published in this article.

61. A fine example of the mixture of the strict standards of facsimile reconstruction and a selective approach to authentic fragments *not included* in the process, comparable to Polish examples in Warsaw, Gdansk, Wrocław and Poznań, is Harold Bilinić's integral reconstruction of the bombed Venetian Loggia in Šibenik *without* the original Latin inscription on the façade. See ŠPIKIĆ, RAIČ STOJANOVIĆ, 2016, 82-95.

62. Perhaps the clearest example of this principle is the rebuilding of Zara as Croatian-Yugoslav Zadar. With the 'traditional islands' of the Cathedral, Roman Forum, churches of Saint Donatus, Saint Chrysogonus and Saint Simon, large sections of the heavily bombed historic town were rebuilt by modernist architects. Along with the 'traditional islands', Zadar has another similarity to an East German (or, more precisely, East Berlin) example: reuse of spolia, which attracted the attention of architects, not only of art historians. As in Roland Korn and Hans Erich Bogatzky's East Berlin Staatsgebäude, built between 1962 and 1964 with a large segment of the demolished Stadtschloss, Bruno Milić at a similar time planned reuse of fragments from the gothic Filippi palace as the façade of the new cinema in Zadar. See GAMULIN, 1967, 45. On the reconstruction of Zadar, see MLIKOTA, 2021.

63. ŽIC, 1945, 3.

64. FISKOVIĆ, 1945.

65. In 1950 Fisković wrote that foreign experts 'unilaterally studied our artworks, not respecting the work of our artists, or the national significance of our culture in the Adriatic. It is time for us finally to become independent and raise the staff of experts who will improve

our science and simultaneously become the best interpreter and guardian of *our* monuments' (Author's emphasis). FISKOVIĆ, 1950, 187. Favouring the Slavic component, he also offered 'a new method of conservation of Diocletian's Palace' (in regards to Austrian tradition): along with respect for all the historic layers, he renewed the interest in the late antique forms, opening the views to the Golden and Silver Gates of Diocletian's Palace by demolishing structures considered worthless. See FISKOVIĆ, 1950, 166.

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66. See FISKOVIĆ, 1947.

67. Fisković was soon accompanied by Jerko and Tomislav Marasović, who studied the historic core of Split with possibilities of individual restoration interventions and revitalization of the whole.

68. TIJARDOVIĆ, 1949, 3.

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Sažetak

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RESTAURIRANJE U ZADRU, SPLITU I PULI IZMEĐU RAPALSKOG I PARIŠKOG UGOVORA

U tekstu se govori o restauratorskim intervencijama u trima hrvatskim gradovima, Zadru, Splitu i Puli, od 1920-ih godina do drugoga poraća, odnosno u političkom okviru zacrtanom diplomatskim sporazumima potpisanim u Rapallu 1920./1922. i Parizu 1947. godine. Raspravlja se o odnosu političkih zahtjeva u doba fašizma te u ranim godinama jugoslavenskog komunizma prema izgledu i značenju pojedinih spomenika u tim starim gradovima. Isto se tako raspravlja o ulozi profesionalaca (povjesničara umjetnosti, arheologa, arhitekata, konzervatora) u priključivanju političkim zahtjevima (rastu nacionalizma, kolonijalizma, imperijalizma, poratnoj odmazdi i izgradnji komunističkog sustava) u radovima Adolfa Venturija, Giacomina Bonija, Pericle Ducatija, Giovannija Smiricha, Cvita Fiskovića. Intervencije (odnosno prijedlozi za intervencije) u trima gradovima prezentiraju se u kronološkom slijedu i pokušavaju se razlikovati prema ciljevima. Prvo je riječ o izoliranju (ili „oslobađanju“) crkve sv. Donata u Zadru, zahvatu provedenom krajem 1920-ih i početkom 1930-ih godina. Opisuje se podrijetlo problema, odnos prema austrijskoj konzervatorskoj teoriji i njezinu revidiranju nakon 1918. godine te rezultati, odnosno javni ili politički ciljevi tadašnje uprave pri otkrivanju srednjovjekovnog spomenika i ulomaka Rimskoga foruma u Zadru. Ovaj se zahvat vidi kao introspekcijsko revidiranje urbanog središta Zadra s jasnim elementima isključivosti i usporedivo je s tadašnjim intervencijama u središtu fašističkog Rima.

Drugi primjer ambiciozniji su planovi za središte Splita iz doba ratnih operacija, nakon potpisanih Rimskih ugovora. Podsjeća se na dolazak izaslanstva Talijanske kraljevske akademije u Split krajem rujna 1941. na čelu s

Gustavom Giovannonijem. Njihovi, tek djelomično provedeni planovi (oslobađanje triju stranica Dioklecijanove palače „izlišnih“ gradnji, uklanjanje Meštovićeve kipa Grguru Ninskom s Peristila, provedba Giovannonijevih načela „urbanističkog prorjeđivanja“ i urbanistička ekspanzija s revitalizacijom salonitanske arheologije), shvaćaju se obrnuto od zadarskog induktivnog pristupa – kao deduktivna urbana reforma. Iako su nakon 1945. godine, pod novom vlašću, koncepti Giovannonijeva povjerenstva deklarativno odbačeni, pokazalo se da su nadahnuli konzervatore pod vodstvom Cvita Fiskovića.

Treći je primjer ponovno sastavljanje bombardiranog hrama Augusta i Rome u Puli. Ta je intervencija u duhu predratnih restauratorskih radova talijanskih stručnjaka obavljena u iznimno kratkom vremenu, 1946. i 1947. godine, a dovršena je pred predaju Istre i Pule jugoslavenskim vlastima u jesen 1947. godine. Tu se raspravlja o simboličnosti rekonstrukcijskog postupka u trenutku diplomatskog vakuuma te pretvorbe talijanskog carstva u republiku plebiscitarnim putem, kao i pretvorbe Giovannonijeva „znanstvenog restauriranja“ u novu paradigmu „kritičkog restauriranja“ mlađeg naraštaja R. Panea, R. Bonellija, C. Ceschija. Na kraju članka raspravlja se o poratnom poimanju spomenika koji su u ratno ili međuratno doba bili pod upravom talijanskih vlasti te se navode primjeri ponovne izgradnje Zadra i redefiniranja javne uloge pulske Arene kako u očima novih upravitelja tako i u očima iseljenika.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: restauriranje, konzerviranje, Istra, Dalmacija, Zadar, Split, Pula, urbanizam

