A SHARED GLOBAL HERITAGE

Architectural History, Conservation, and Preservation

Edited by Barbara Faedda

Italian Academy
Publications

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This volume takes the reader across continents and through the centuries, touching on topics and research informed by an array of disciplines. The contributors, listed below, are among the winners of the Weinberg Fellowship in Architectural History and Preservation at the Italian Academy, a fellowship designed to support the understanding and conservation of architecture in all geographic areas and periods.

Sahar Al-Qaisi, Koya University

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Essays by Sahar Al-Qaisi, Pınar Aykaç, Sheila Crane,
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PREFACE

DAVID FREEDBERG

Director of the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies and
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When we first met, Sydney Weinberg had long been interested in the history and conservation of architecture. She had recently made a spectacular discovery of an important copy of a lost manuscript by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, the late-fifteenth-century architect, engineer, and painter, on whom she was writing her MA thesis in architectural history at Columbia. She was introduced to me by the distinguished architectural historian Francesco Benelli, my former colleague at Columbia. From others I soon learned about her long and devoted service on the board of the World Monuments Fund. Before long we were exchanging views about matters of conservation, whether the neglected state of some notable building or the clumsy or misconceived restoration of a monument or architectural feature. These topics seemed to be more controversial than ever, whether in terms of techniques of conservation, the ideological dimensions of how and what to restore, or the best use of limited resources. We agreed about many of the successes and failures of current efforts in the field and were as appalled as others were about the rapidity with which the great monuments of the Near East and elsewhere were being destroyed—Palmyra, for example, with its great temples, theaters, arenas, and other public spaces, or the disappearing buildings of Mali

and elsewhere in Africa, their condition exacerbated by neglect or the ever fiercer effects of climate change. The urgency of all this was clear, and within a short while we were discussing what measures we thought might be taken to contribute positively to these fraught issues.

Soon we realized that Columbia would be an ideal place in which to embark on a large-scale postdoctoral program devoted to the history and conservation of architecture. Its Graduate School of Architecture (GSAPP) is one of the largest and most distinguished of its kind in the world. Its School of Engineering is actively involved in conservation projects not only of the most practical and everyday kinds but also of the effects of war, climate, and natural disasters. Its Department of Art History and Archaeology has had a long succession of famous architectural historians. In any case, this university is one of the epicenters of discussion (and theory) about these matters.

At the same time, the Fellowship program at the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America had for almost two decades invited well-known figures in the many and diverse fields of architecture. We were determined that since architecture is an international concern, we should expand our pool (as we already had in many other areas) to fellowships for candidates from

other areas besides Italy and the United States. We had already invited historians of architecture and architects to be Fellows of the Academy, but—with the help of Raimondo Betti and Rene Testa of our School of Engineering and Applied Science—we had also benefited from the presence in our cohort of Fellows involved in the effects of earthquakes, flooding, fires, and structural weaknesses of everything from bridges to buildings to arenas ancient and modern. The results were always heartening, and the discussions among historians, philosophers, architects, engineers, and other disciplines represented by our Fellowship program were consistently fruitful.

Then, too, the Academy's International Observatory for Cultural Heritage had been set up to serve as an umbrella—and a haven and meeting place—for all those involved in this now vast and complex area. Under the watchful eye of Barbara Faedda, the Observatory had become increasingly active in the organization of conferences, seminars, and projects of conservation, preservation, and restitution across the globe. Its activities ranged from collaborations with Native American communities to architects and urban planners in Iraq, Turkey, and Tunisia; with restitution organizations from America, Australia, and Africa; and with local communities, universities, large government organizations, NGOs, and the UN.

The result of all this was the creation of a highly competitive program that awards fellowships to candidates from countries ranging from the Middle East to Mongolia, Australia, Latin America, and Europe. We were fortunate that few countries have as much practical expertise and experience as Italy in this domain, and

from the outset we had strong support from its Ministry of Culture.

And so, after considerable discussion and reflection, and with the realization that talk could achieve only so much, the path forward seemed clear. I hesitantly suggested to Sydney that perhaps the Academy might be able to sponsor a fellowship in precisely these areas. And so it was. Sydney enthusiastically endorsed the idea and was able to convince the foundation named for her father to sponsor not just one or two but four semester-long fellowships in architectural history and conservation at the Italian Academy.

We could not have been more grateful. It seemed to be the right thing to do at the right place and time. Thanks to Sydney's vision and the Sidney J. Weinberg Jr. Foundation's generosity, we have been able to sponsor no fewer than twenty Weinberg Fellows at the Italian Academy since 2017. Many have called it a unique program, though there are similar initiatives elsewhere now. Our intake is truly international. The program deals with architectural masterpieces as well as humble edifices of relevance to the societies in which they are situated. It attends to their aesthetic importance as well as their social and symbolic meanings. It concerns itself with famous structures as well as others that are of local pride and critical to the social cohesiveness of the communities they serve or which their histories exemplify. In the end, it is probably true to say that no other fellowship program like it exists anywhere in the world. The wide constellation of domains represented by the Weinberg Fellows so far is unparalleled and has already begun to take effect. It is involved not only with architectural matters and the history of architecture

tout court, but also with practical engineering issues caused by natural disasters, as well as the inevitable structural weaknesses resulting from aging and neglect. Weinberg Fellows have collaborated with studios and laboratories at institutions across the world, ranging from the Metropolitan Museum to the Getty, from the University of Technology in Baghdad to, for example, the Italian Superintendencies, the Presidential Ataturk Museum Pavilion in Ankara, and the Agence Nationale de Mise en Valeur du Patrimoine et de Promotion Culturelle at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in Tunisia. Fellows' experiences at Columbia, at the Italian Academy, in the city of New York, and elsewhere during their fellowship period have all been (or will be) briefly recounted in the Annual Reports of the Academy, as well as in many of their subsequent writings. The essays in this volume testify to the range of fields to which they have given so much and to the skills they have brought to them.

But back to Sydney Weinberg, the *fons et origo* of the Sidney J. Weinberg Jr. Fellowships at the Italian Academy. Her interests are wide, her modesty great. Her openness to the cultures of far-flung fields and her support for Fellows from countries both rich and poor have been exceptional. She has a quiet yet notable commitment to the conservation of American architecture, both its great urban manifestations and the unpretentious wooden structures that grace New England's towns and villages. Indeed, I recall with pleasure the many vivid and illuminating exchanges we have had about the practical and local issues that have arisen in her own historical conservation projects in the town of Marion, Massachusetts, where she and her family

have had homes for many years. Her strenuous efforts there have also stimulated my thinking about my own involvement with the preservation and conservation of Liberty Hall in Machiasport, Maine, which overlooks the bay in which the first American maritime victory took place in June 1775. Sydney's attentiveness to local concerns provides ample evidence of her passionate and compassionate engagement with all forms of architecture, high and low, and of all periods, whether buildings by the unknown builders and designers of humble places in New England or the canonical achievements of the architects of the Italian Renaissance.

Sydney has at least one other commitment of profound relevance to all these contexts, though at first one might not have thought so. I refer to her erudite interest in the field of music in general, but especially in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Her long support of the work of William Christie and Les Arts Florissants testifies abundantly to her devotion to the history of music. (A recent performance by Christie and a group of young musicians from the Juilliard School of Handel's first Italian oratorio *Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno* at the Academy could hardly have exemplified it better.) The deep relationship between music and architecture profoundly animates both Sydney's work and that of the architects she has most admired and engaged with.

It was a happy turn of fate that the Weinberg Fellowships should have been established at a Columbia institution headed by a member of its Department of Art History and Architecture, the famous émigré historian of art and architecture Rudolf Wittkower, department chair from 1956 to 1969, who was (and still

is) a resonant name in the department. Wittkower's *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, first published in 1949 but revised during his Columbia years for its third and definitive edition of 1971, has influenced architects of all regions and persuasions. The most critical element in that fundamental work is Wittkower's emphasis on the historical, philosophical, and metaphysical relationship between music and architecture. Wittkower fleshed out and proved beyond any doubt there was hardly a Renaissance architect—indeed, hardly a medieval architect either—who was not influenced by those ancient theories of music in which harmony and proportion play a central role, from Pythagoras and Plato right on through Vitruvius and Alberti, to say nothing of Francesco di Giorgio Martini himself (the subject of Sydney's MA research). As Wittkower made clear, the medievals were especially interested in the geometrical dimensions of the matter, as in Plato; the Renaissance architects, more in the arithmetical ones, as in Pythagoras. But for all of them (as too in the works of later architects and writers), the understanding of ancient music theory and its afterlife in the works of writers and musicians was essential—whether in terms of sight, sound, and rhythm or the moral and ethical implications of these. At stake were the means and beauty of musical proportion and harmony, which reappear in almost every musical theorist up to Alberti and Palladio and onward to French theorists like Marin Mersenne and above all François Blondel, so important for those favorite composers of both Sydney and Bill Christie—Charpentier, Lully, and Rameau. But one could scarcely find a Renaissance architect and theorist, including both Alberti and

Palladio, who was not deeply indebted to music theory. Can it be a surprise, or rather a wonderful reappearance of Dame Fortune, when a unique appendix to the manuscript of Francesco di Giorgio Martini—which Sydney found in the New York Public Library—turns out to contain a marvelously vivid description of the ceremonies for the inauguration of Palladio's *Teatro Olimpico* in Vicenza in 1585? One has only to remember that when Alberti (in the *Ten Books of Architecture* of around 1450) cited Pythagoras, the great philosopher of number, proportion, and harmony, as putting forward an arithmetical theory of proportion derived from the harmonic intervals of the Greek musical scale, he went on to observe that "the means by which the agreement of sounds affects our ears with delight, are the very same which please our eyes and mind." Architecture has many dimensions, of course, but whether one takes the side of geometry or arithmetic in this discussion, one can imagine no more fitting mode of reflection with which to preface this volume of essays by scholars funded by the Sidney J. Weinberg Jr. Foundation than that which brings together beauty, proportion, and harmony in the practice and performance not just of music but of architecture as well. Even in those cases in which these qualities appear to be disruptive, the connection still remains and provides precisely the kinds of stimulus to creative thinking, even about ugliness, that architecture continues to require.

INTRODUCTION

BARBARA FAEDDA

Executive Director of the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies, Columbia University

This book is a series of studies on fascinating cases in the areas of architectural history, conservation, and preservation. These are topics and accounts expertly studied and interpreted in their context by the Weinberg Fellows, who thus contribute to revealing pages of history, rich scenarios, complicated and sometimes painful events, and unique treasures to our eyes. The reader will learn about analyses, theories, and interventions—in a range of geographical areas and historical periods—based on the research projects the authors pursued during their residency at Columbia's Italian Academy for Advanced Studies. The essays show the complexity of the issues, help raise awareness of the importance and value of architectural heritage (especially heritage at risk), and suggest possible interpretations as well as alternative methods in the preservation, conservation, reconstruction, and use of architectural heritage.

Just like the broader and encompassing field of cultural heritage, the field of architectural heritage is also an essential element of people's identity: it has a special meaning and deep value related to cultural, historical, and social distinctiveness. Individuals and social groups are strongly influenced by the built environment: places carry specific social, political, or spiritual meanings, and different types of spaces, buildings, areas, and structures have different effects on people. These essays help us understand spaces as they are now, as they were in the past (remote and more recent), and the impact they have had, and will have, in shaping cities and communities. They also illuminate the role that architectural design can play in maintaining, supporting, and achieving peace in various communities and groups. The processes involved are complex, and this interdisciplinary analysis draws on perspectives from architecture, landscape and urban studies, anthropology, history, art history, economics, and human rights—just to mention a few—at the intersection of research, practice, and theory.

To study architecture as cultural heritage is complex and can be challenging. This book is a testament to the commitment to understanding cultural transmission in the field of architecture, to be aware of the most pressing issues faced by scholars, practitioners, and communities, and to reflect on our need to preserve what is significant in culture. These essays help us understand how people make choices when they identify an architectural structure as part of their cultural heritage; how they decide what language is most appropriate to convey and represent the values carried by that structure; and, finally, how they select strategies to maintain—through architectural heritage—the well-being of local communities and of society at large. The authors show us the variety of actors and contexts related to

cultural heritage, the (sometimes precarious) balance between cultural and traditional legacy and innovative drives and developments, as well as the many different environmental factors, the government policies, and the public decisions, reactions, and engagement in heritage practices. In these texts, you will also read in-depth analyses of colonial pasts and postcolonial developments, of shifting narratives and multilevel discourses, of old and new agendas and paradigms, as well as of different protocols and standards.

Critical issues in architectural heritage touch on the intersections of architecture, archaeology, art, anthropology, and history, but they also inevitably brush up against political connotations. As highlighted in this volume, we must not forget that heritage preservation is also related to tourism as well as development, and it is a strategic economic asset as well. Therefore, it is important to address people's reactions and perceptions, and their use of architectural heritage. New technologies and techniques also play a crucial role: they have brought profound changes to the processes of conservation, restoration, and preservation (and sometimes some friction among the experts), and at the same time they have also challenged the traditional notions of how heritage is used, enjoyed, and made available. Architectural heritage undergoes destruction, rebirth, memorialization, museification, and reinterpretation; it thus emerges as an arena in which individual and collective identities are negotiated and renegotiated, especially in times of crisis, conflict, or transition.

The concept of heritage in general is extensive and is frequently redefined, reinterpreted, and updated.

The same applies to architectural heritage: not only its definition has changed through the years, but the scope and methods of conservation and restoration of sites and monuments have also inevitably evolved over time (dramatically, at times). Therefore, there is a tendency now to consider heritage in relation to the surrounding area, rather than assessing the single building or monument on its own; this change is also accompanied by growing efforts to involve local communities in the conservation, management, and monitoring of conservation and use plans.

Through the decades, the field of cultural heritage has become increasingly wide-ranging and complex: stakeholders, experts, scientists, professionals, and disciplines continue to grow, multiply, and diversify. Scholars and observers across the world agree that the field needs to rethink, renew, and somehow reinvent itself. It is vital that the field start to offer more satisfactory answers, reaching out to and involving more communities and social groups, and using innovative approaches better suited to ongoing changes and current challenges, such as climate change, wars, and other conflicts.

The Academy's International Observatory for Cultural Heritage—of which the Weinberg Fellowships are a part—has for years been trying to address the most urgent and critical issues in cultural heritage by looking to many disciplines and various experiences, with an interdisciplinary approach whose main purposes are (a) to facilitate dialogue among scientists and experts, with different expertise and background, from all around the world, (b) to challenge current theories and practices with new intellectual and

scientific interpretations, and (c) to conceive innovative approaches and methodologies.

The protection of architectural heritage is a challenging mission that requires the knowledge and analysis of historical, artistic, scientific, religious, and humanistic elements. Interdisciplinarity is at the very basis of this mission, which requires involving several specialists integrating their expertise.

It is therefore crucial to work across the disciplines and fields at all levels—academic, institutional, and professional—and to focus on both the interactions within the broader framework of local, national, and international actors and the fruitful contribution that often comes from the involvement of local communities. Focusing on the architectural object without placing the human element at the center is inconceivable today, just as it is essential to pay attention to inclusivity and diversity, to involve underrepresented groups, and to uncover histories of injustice and inequality.

THE ESSAYS

This volume takes the reader across continents and through the centuries, touching on topics and research informed by an array of disciplines.

It starts with Sheila Crane, probing what kinds of new evidence and information can be offered by photographs and films. She shows that old images can focus attention on overlooked details to produce new insight into past urban interventions and their resonance for the present. In her essay, the shantytown of Algiers is examined as an urban landscape, an object of reengineering, a place of knowledge production and of socio-spatial reinvention by the residents.

Pınar Aykaç analyzes the reconversion of Hagia Sophia from a museum to a mosque in 2020. To conceptualize heritage as a common good can be a useful tool for reconciliation in politically charged heritage sites in Turkey and elsewhere. Aykaç unpacks the ways that the public can understand cultural heritage as a marker of past material and spiritual achievements and as a reflection now of the identity associated with historical monuments.

Cristina Ruggero investigates the impact of photography as she analyzes Hadrian's Villa near Rome. She explains that the camera refracted different interests around an archaeological site and notes that photography becomes a scientific tool as well as an educational tool for tourists. Her essay is a call to use and appreciate photographic archives.

Sahar Al-Qaisi describes the way that Iraqi artists and architects used their memory and definition of Iraq's cultural heritage to personalize modern Iraqi art and architecture—embracing Islamic, colonial, and Western styles in the 1920s; representing local traditions and a unique Iraqi style in the 1950s and 1960s; following international trends in the early 2000s; and recently getting inspiration from heroic Mesopotamian art.

Gianmarco de Felice examines ancient buildings and addresses the tension between safety and preservation in the contemporary debate on architectural heritage in earthquake zones. This work requires collaboration among historians, conservators, and engineers. De Felice brings his expertise on using composites to develop innovative strengthening systems.

Alen Žunić explores the case of three company towns built on Croatia's Adriatic coast—locales created

by modernist architects during Mussolini's urbanization of Italy's "new provinces." He investigates the rationalism movement, the image of industry as emblem of modernization, and the reaction of local communities.

Denise La Monica reflects on America's legislation regarding natural areas, analyzing its cultural roots and the various historical phases in a comparative perspective with similar European legal measures. She also traces the debate over the foundation of natural parks in the United States.

Last, Francesco Marcorin looks at Verona, providing an alternative reading of the development of the Renaissance city. He brings in architectural history, art history, and archaeology and analyzes the strong influence of non-Vitruvian models and the sixteenth-century rediscovery of late Gothic architecture.

THE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATORY FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE (IOCH)

Conceived in 2016, the International Observatory for Cultural Heritage is dedicated to all issues relating to the survival, protection, and conservation of cultural heritage. It is historical, practical, and theoretical. It sponsors and encourages research into monuments, artifacts, practices, and traditions. It records losses and destruction of international cultural heritage in all media and across all boundaries and conducts research on treasures at risk—whether from age or location, natural disaster, urban development, conflict, war, or other perils. It is also social, in that it seeks to understand the meaning and value of monuments and objects not only for their value to humanity but also in their local contexts. And it is timely, as it spotlights the political uses and abuses of heritage sites and monuments as well as the exchange, transport, and trafficking of material culture.

THE CAMERA AND THE BULLDOZER
Fugitive Landscapes and the Architecture of Destruction in Algiers

SHEILA CRANE

In *A Peculiar Family Album*, a short film from 2012, Amina Menia paired film footage from the mid-1950s of new housing estates then in the process of being constructed in Algiers with an extended voice-over by the artist.[1] Both the camera and Menia's narrative voice-over frame Jacques Chevalier, the mayor of Algiers, as a focal anchor and recurring presence throughout the film's re-edited sequences documenting the rapid and thorough transformation of the urban landscape that was then underway. The film's title, *A Peculiar Family Album*, references the fact that this film footage had been carefully preserved in Chevalier's personal archives until his family granted Menia permission to redeploy it to her own artistic ends. In numerous scenes included in the artist's reassemblage, Chevalier is shown, often flanked by architect Fernand Pouillon, ceremoniously guiding visiting dignitaries through the construction sites of monumental new *cités* in Algiers, including Diar es Saada (1953–1954) and Diar el Mahsul

(1953–1955). The mayor commissioned this film footage as part of the concerted effort to promote his ambitious building campaign, which he repeatedly described as a battle for housing, mere months before November 1954, when the National Liberation Front (FLN, Front nationale de Libération) formally declared armed resistance to over a century of colonial occupation by France.

Menia offers a provocative meditation on the ambivalent legacies of the episodes captured in film through her extended reflections on her own experiences of Algiers and its current urban transformations. As she observes at one point in her narration about the found film footage, "The images speak to me through their tiny details that make up an urban narration for my Algiers today."[2] In one striking sequence, the artist draws a connection between Pouillon's much-publicized feat of planting fifty-five palm trees in a single day at Diar es Saada and the efforts Menia observed in the summer of 2012 to blanket the capital with palm trees.[3] Indeed, the Algerian government's current campaign to commission new housing estates—projects that, as Menia notes, have largely been outsourced to Chinese firms—reveals the degree to which the battle for housing, as Chevalier dubbed it in 1953, is still far from over.

Through pointed juxtapositions of past and present, visual shifts in scale and focus, as well as the calm discordance of her voice-over, Menia allows us to understand Chevalier's "family album" in radically new ways. Pouillon's new cités are testament not only to the mayor's investment in new housing, but also to the enduring legacies of militarized violence submerged beneath monumental limestone walls. Through the strategic rereading of these images, *A Peculiar Family Album* reveals the ideological work enabled by the camera lens, particularly in the conjoined frenzy of building and photographic documentation that was a hallmark of Chevalier's administration. Indeed, photographs of Diar el Mahsul, like those of Pouillon's other projects, routinely framed these imposing complexes as monumental, self-contained cités detached from the surrounding city (fig. 1). Looking with new eyes at such images, Menia's film demonstrates the power of shifting our vantage point to refocus attention on overlooked details and ambivalent gestures that might catalyze new insights about past urban interventions and their resonance for the present. In this way, *A Peculiar Family Album* provides a compelling point of departure for my own recovery and rereading of another album initiated by Chevalier, likewise focused on the so-called battle for housing. In this case, however, the album in question assembled a series of still photographs cataloging areas of Algiers officially identified as bidonvilles, or shantytowns, that Pouillon's new cités claimed to redress.

Following Tina Campt, the images carefully assembled in Chevalier's second album might be characterized as "quiet photography," the banal productions of the colonial bureaucratic state. As Campt argues, tuning in to registers submerged beneath the surface claims of photographs like these opens up "the radical interpretive possibilities of images and state archives we are most often inclined to overlook," a mode of listening to photographs that is especially resonant with Chevalier's newly uncovered visual archive.[4] Given the complex interweaving of construction and demolition that serves as a defining thread across these photographs, Ariella Azoulay's analysis of the Israeli state's sprawling photographic archive of "house demolitions" provides a suggestive counterpoint to the situation in Algiers.[5] Understanding what we might describe as Chevalier's two peculiar family albums in relation to each other raises new questions about urban transformation undertaken in Algiers under cover of war, even as it opens onto a broader reconsideration of the uses of photography for architectural history and cultural heritage.

SCENE ONE: CHEMIN DES SABLIÈRES AND RUE LAURENT-PICHAT

In 1954 Mayor Chevalier commissioned a remarkable creation: a cordovan-colored, leather-bound album with the word "*BIDONVILLES*" embossed in gold lettering on its cover.[6] The term *bidonville* had first been coined in Casablanca in the late 1920s to describe rapidly growing clusters of dwellings built by recent rural migrants to the city, although it was quickly adopted to describe similar developments across the Maghreb. A large-format, fold-out map of the capital, with its street network and key landmarks outlined in black, indicated the location of the bidonvilles that had

been identified in a comprehensive survey undertaken by municipal authorities in May 1954, each site vividly shaded in fuchsia ink on the otherwise monochrome map. The pages that followed, similar in color to the cover, featured carefully mounted, glossy black-and-white photographs, embossed with "Ville d'Alger" (City of Algiers) in their bottom right corner. Each photograph was preceded by a title page, with painstakingly hand-lettered gold text noting the name of the site, the numbers of *baraques* (shacks) and inhabitants it housed, as well as its legal status—whether it was designated private property, land owned by the municipality or the local housing authority, or some combination thereof. These carefully written intertitles also noted the six areas that had been evacuated and leveled in May 1954—clearings that aimed to facilitate the construction of the new cité, Diar el Mahsul. By implication, the remaining fifty-four urban areas categorized as bidonvilles and systematically captured in photographs would be next on the agenda.

This very process of visualization, through photographs and descriptive data keyed to the accompanying map, vested the sites depicted with novel significance and newfound coherence. At the same time the emphasis on identification and calculation that fueled the photographic targeting of these inhabited urban landscapes ensured they would no longer go unnoticed or could no longer fly, as it were, under the radar. This album's existence was a testament to the colonial state's identificatory impulse that aimed to ensure the elimination of developments deemed illegal. At the same time, however, the *BIDONVILLES* album was a seemingly singular artifact, one designed for a more intimate

mode of address and engagement. In this sense, its aims of dispassionately cataloging sites identified in the municipal survey contrasted sharply with what Campt has insightfully described as "the multiple forms of contact and touch that characterize any encounter with a photo album."[7] Indeed, Chevalier's photo album offers a self-consciously haptic experience, as the viewer is invited to open its substantial leather cover, turn its thick, rough-edge pages, and lift the protective sheet to reveal each photograph. This thoughtfully orchestrated compendium of still photographs was thus even more akin to a family album than the found film footage Amina Menia described as such. Given the album's seemingly straightforward bureaucratic aims, the meticulousness and lavishness of its construction are particularly striking. As a result, the urban landscapes captured by the camera lens were imbued with aesthetic weight and affective presence.

Several photographs included in the album feature sites adjacent to Diar el Mahsul, including one focused on the intersection of the Chemin des Sablières and Rue Laurent-Pichat (fig. 2). The hulking form of a building under construction stands at the crest of this dramatically sloping urban landscape, its windowless structure further dramatizing its modular logic and substantial limestone walls. Just visible at the edge of the photograph, a massive construction crane is silhouetted against the sky. In an echo of the triumphalist footage commissioned by Chevalier, this photograph captures Diar el Mahsul in the process of construction. However, the angle of view foregrounds instead a well-trodden, unpaved footpath leading up the hill, which forms a defining spine of activity, evidenced in

FIG. 2. *Chemin des Sabliers & rue Laurent-Pichat,* Algiers, Algeria, 1954, photographer unknown. AN Pierrefitte, "Recensement et état des bidonvilles de la Ville d'Alger, Mai 1954," photo album.

the clusters of people dispersed along it. A rudimentary storehouse was strategically positioned at a corner of the paved Rue Laurent-Pichat and surrounded by impressive piles of sand—the material traces of the quarry and depot for which the Chemin des Sablières was named. Vegetation in the foreground makes this portion of the image difficult to read, even as this cluster of trees serves to partially camouflage metal carcasses of abandoned vehicles amassed near the path. Farther up the hill, densely packed, ad hoc construction follows the pathway as it ascends toward Diar el Mahsul, flanked on its opposite side by terraced rows of houses built with more conventional materials and construction methods. A structure in the photo's lower right corner further complicates the scene as it foregrounds a wall constructed of rough-hewn stone, with rebar projecting upward. Is this an ancient wall partially dismantled or new construction paused midway? The photograph thus effects a strategic reversal, rendering Pouillon's monumental cité an incidental detail within the urban landscape while redirecting our focus to the city's contingent, interstitial spaces.

Ambitious building campaigns, which accompanied the early stages of the war for independence and accelerated even further in 1958 with the launching of the Constantine Plan, radically transformed the city of Algiers. An outpouring of official photographs, like the one depicting Diar el Mahsul as a kind of modern fortification (fig. 1), perched at the crest of the hills overlooking the city, has ensured that such monumental constructions have been privileged as the defining landmarks of this consequential historical period. Although it was likely not the photographer's explicit intention, the view of the Chemin des Sablières and the Rue Laurent-Pichat effectively decenters Diar el Mahsul. As Patricia Hayes has powerfully argued, overlapping photographic sources allow us to question such normative frames of view by shifting our attention to the interstices between images and new insights that then might emerge.[8] In this case, Diar el Mahsul appears quite differently, within the contingencies of overlooked spaces between buildings, defined by the entangled processes of construction, recuperation, and appropriation.

In the context of the *BIDONVILLES* album, however, photographs, including the one of the Chemin des Sablières and the Rue Laurent-Pichat, functioned simultaneously as documentary evidence and as projective memorials to sites of anticipated and actualized dispossession. Indeed, the accompanying caption tells us that this site contained seventy-five baraques accommodating 339 residents, but that the bidonville in question was "eliminated" in May 1954, the same month the survey was undertaken. The task of the camera, in this case, as with all the album's photos, was to identify, make visible, and target areas officially designated as bidonvilles in order to facilitate their demolition. This photograph, however, reveals the uncertainty and ambiguity of this process, not least through the lack of clarity about what it is we are meant to see. Was this shot taken prior to or following the razing of the carefully enumerated baraques? Despite its definitive caption, the photograph seems to obscure as much as it reveals. Whereas the film footage Chevalier commissioned projected a triumphalist vision of Algiers on the move, this quiet—perhaps even trivial—photograph

provides a glimpse of the hum of daily life in Algiers, as it was constructed through the daily paths of its residents and the fugitivity of the urban landscape. Even the figure in the foreground, who turns his head away from the camera, might be seen to refuse the camera's desire for fixity and control. On multiple registers, then, the photograph reveals the impossibility of establishing clear boundaries, between new cités and their surroundings, as between the bidonville and the city proper. Ultimately, the bidonville that this photograph intends to make legible likewise eludes capture, even if Chevalier's administration succeeded nonetheless in its dispossession.

SCENE TWO: CLOS-SALEMBIER-MANSALI

At various points throughout *A Peculiar Family Album*, the camera followed the movements of machinery in the process of reshaping the very ground of the city. Indeed, the striking figure of a bright red bulldozer becomes the focus of action at various points throughout the film, forming an uncanny counterpoint—something like a mechanized doppelgänger—to Pouillon, who appears and reappears in several clips, often sporting distinctive reddish boots, which set him apart from the more sober sartorial style of the politicians accompanying him on the construction site. The camera followed the bulldozer with especially avid attention, echoing its movements as it lumbered across the terrain, often pulling attachments behind it that helped to further displace the soil along its path. The thoroughgoing reterracing of terrain to prepare for new construction was a hallmark of Pouillon's cités in Algiers. The film provides a front-row seat onto this

very process, described by one commentator as a kind of "geologic urbanism," which is framed, as a result, as a key element of the spectacle of constructive efforts that Chevalier's cinematographer worked so hard to capture.[9]

The bulldozer's reappearance at various points in Menia's montage provided a thread of continuity across fragmented and often disorienting glimpses of Algiers, focused more on dramatizing the activity of rapid urban transformation than on clearly situating the viewer in relation to identifiable locales, which was, by contrast, a central aim of the *BIDONVILLES* album. One brief sequence in the film shows two workers applying a new coat of paint to the red bulldozer, in a captivating dance between men and machine that appears almost like an intimate caress. Transmuting the bulldozer into a vital actor, this sequence shifts to provide a broader view of the surrounding landscape. When we first glimpse the red bulldozer in *A Peculiar Family Album*, it is moving across a stretch of open, grassy field. Shortly thereafter it makes a precipitous descent, and, as the camera follows, a densely built settlement of whitewashed, single-story structures emerges into view, the bulldozer seemingly heading in their direction. A still photograph included in Chevalier's leather-bound album features a view of this same settlement, in this case framed from a considerable distance and identified, in the accompanying caption, as Clos-Salembier-Mansali (fig. 3).

Taken from the slope of a nearby hill looking down on a lush valley, the photograph revealed the contours of a small but densely constructed settlement, nestled in a valley beyond the crest of the bluff overlooking

FIG. 3. *Clos-Salembier-Mansali*, Algiers, Algeria, 1954,
photographer unknown. AN Pierrefitte, "Recensement et état
des bidonvilles de la Ville d'Alger, Mai 1954," photo album.

Algiers where construction of Diar el Mahsul was then beginning. A cluster of single-story structures had grown up in a clearing nestled beneath a wooded area traversed by paved road, which connected to a well-trodden footpath leading to the terraced rows of houses. This area of Algiers, situated on a plateau above the city, had long been known as the Clos Salembier, named for the owner of a nearly forty-acre parcel covered with vineyards, although a variety of small-scale agricultural properties still dominated this area in the early decades of the twentieth century.[10] By the 1920s there was increasing pressure to subdivide and develop the agricultural lands of the Clos Salembier, including the vineyard that had been developed on the property known as el-Mansali, given its proximity to the leading edge of urban development.[11] At the same time, however, the area's cultivated landscapes likely made it easier to erect temporary structures there under the pretense that they were supporting even smaller-scale *jardins maraîcheurs*, modest garden plots whose produce could easily be transported by truck to provision residents in Algiers. In the photograph of Clos-Salembier-Mansali, the distinctive lines of earthen terraces built into the gently sloping land opposite the cluster of buildings revealed this property's previous cultivation as a vineyard.

The settlement that the bulldozer appeared to threaten, through its posturing in the film sequence, appeared fully intact in the photograph. If we shift our focus from the cluster of dwellings to the foreground in the photo, however, we see compelling signs of recent disturbance. In the film, clusters of Algerian residents stand as silent spectators while the bulldozer levels the open terrain in its path. These figures echo our position as viewers, albeit with an entirely different sense of how they were implicated in the scene they (and we) are witnessing. The still photo of Clos-Salembier-Mansali seems to continue the film's fragmented narrative. Here the bulldozer has retreated from view, but a careful viewer can glimpse its imprint in the foreground. What might at first appear as sinewy shadows cast onto the ground equivocate even when we recognize the tracks left across these fields. Is this the foundation for a new road or the initial work of terracing that was so critical to Diar el Mahsul's construction? Ostensibly the settlement targeted by the camera (and the bulldozer) as a bidonville is the intended focus of the photograph, and the caption redoubles this emphasis. On closer examination, however, the tracks of machinery and the deep black of newly disturbed soil dominate the image, revealing the destructive action underway just beyond the photographic frame. By putting still and moving images in dialogue with each other, we can see beyond the limits of each to grasp more fully the substantial undertaking that was the transformation of the el-Mansali property into a site of construction.[12]

Even this expanded frame, however, fails to clarify what the *BIDONVILLES* album meant by suggesting that the Clos-Salembier-Mansali site was "partially suppressed" in May 1954, seven months after the official launch of Diar el Mahsul's construction. Indeed, what is perhaps even more apparent, as the transformations of Clos-Salembier-Mansali come newly into view, is what Shawn Michelle Smith has aptly described as "the edge of sight." As she suggests, even though photography has the capacity to make things visible, paradoxically

there is the "revelation of an unseen world that photography does not fully disclose but makes us aware of."[13] The bulldozer, in its plodding tango with the camera, thematizes a fundamental sleight of hand at the very heart of Chevalier's so-called battle for housing—the willfully blurred lines between destruction and construction. Indeed, the film footage of earth-moving at the Clos-Salembier-Mansali was presented as part and parcel of the building of Diar el Mahsul, even as the relationship of these efforts to the razing of baraques touted in the *BIDONVILLES* album remains opaque.

SCENE THREE: NADOR

Shortly after the Clos-Salembier-Mansali's brief cameo in the film footage edited by Menia, the red bulldozer reappeared, this time in the process of demolishing the so-called Nador bidonville, another site targeted in the 1954 survey that was encroaching on the terrain designated for Diar el Mahsul's construction. In this case, we can trace a direct line between Chevalier's film footage and the still photos that were harnessed for promotional purposes by the mayor's concerted publicity machine. At the end of an article in the city's monthly magazine *Alger: Revue Municipale*, touting the completion of Diar el Mahsul, a vignette of carefully assembled photographs communicates, in visual shorthand, a straightforward narrative framing the completion of Pouillon's new cités as the definitive solution to the bidonville. As a caption at the end of the montage claimed, "The nightmare of the *bidonville* is becoming, bit by bit, nothing but a memory."[14] The destructive act of the bulldozer was thus concisely reframed as an ameliorative act of building.

In her sustained consideration of photographs documenting the destruction of houses and villages by the military and the emergent Israeli state in the late 1940s, Ariella Azoulay traces how these images served in no small part to normalize widespread acts of demolition. In this context, Azoulay argues, "clearing the rubble of demolished Arab houses simply became synonymous with building the land."[15] While the historical circumstances in Algiers in 1954 were vastly different, Chevalier's concerted deployment of photography and film as key weapons in his battle of housing similarly aimed to normalize the targeting and demolition of urban areas identified as bidonvilles. Organized like a film reel, the montage created an exceedingly simple narrative, presented in terms of a clear problem and a definitive solution—a move that recast the violence of destruction and dispossession as necessarily constructive work. A closer examination of the photograph of Nador (fig. 4) featured in Chevalier's *BIDONVILLES* album upends the seemingly straightforward narrative asserted by the montage, particularly when understood in relation to the earlier history of this site.

Taken from an elevated vantage point, the photograph provides a dramatic view onto densely packed structures, arrayed in rows defined by a series of terraces and pathways that define this sloping site, located not far from the area depicted in the Clos-Salembier-Mansali photograph. The foreground is dominated by a group of low-rise buildings, distinguished from their surroundings by their concrete walls and barrel-vaulted roof structures. The vaulted structures atop one section of the complex tower above the rest, although in this case the vaults were not enclosed, and even the walls

Nador, Algiers, Algeria, 1954, photographer unknown.
AN Pierrefitte, "Recensement et état des bidonvilles de la Ville
d'Alger, Mai 1954," photo album.

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supporting them appear to be partially in ruins. Most of the courtyards in the complex have been covered over by makeshift roofing, their ad hoc assembly held in place by stones, bricks, and even an occasional iron cooking pot. A second cluster of structures with similarly vaulted roofs stands at distance, near a group of cypress trees, although its concrete walls have been absorbed into and reconfigured by the addition of wooden shacks that surround it on nearly all sides. In the distance, piles of dirt and displaced soil bear the marks of recent incursions in this terrain, beyond which prefabricated housing units are arrayed in rigid rows. The elevated vantage point of the photograph presents "Nador" in an image akin to a geologic chart, insofar as it emphasizes the sedimented layers of more or less temporary constructions within this distinctive landscape. And yet the marks of recent interventions by residents—who, by way of self-built additions, have clearly taken the battle of housing into their own hands—reveal potent traces of the site's earlier history. Notably, stands of mature trees, including a row of tall cypresses and the well-established olive trees in the foreground, have been incorporated into this layered settlement and helped to shape its contours and organization.

Once again, the camera ensures that the bulldozer figures as an absent presence, insofar as the results of new terracing and massive piles of earth create a physical dividing line between prefabricated emergency dwellings recently erected by the municipal housing authority visible in the distance and the structures dominating the photograph's foreground intended to justify the cataloging of this site as a bidonville. The album's accompanying caption noted that the land in question was under the jurisdiction of the municipal housing authority, but it remained silent about the role the city had played in creating the very foundations for what was now framed as the Nador bidonville. In fact, the vaulted structures in the foreground were products of an earlier battle for housing, initiated by General Weygrand, the Vichy government's representative in French Algeria, as part of an intensive campaign to eliminate the bidonvilles in Algiers begun in 1941. First launched with much ceremony in October that year, this new housing development, originally dubbed the Cité Maréchal Pétain as an homage to the head of the Vichy government, was undertaken to provide new housing for residents of Mahieddine, an urban area that had been singled out in a municipal survey done in March 1941 as the most extensive bidonville in Algiers.[16] The exigencies of the ongoing war, particularly the lack of available materials, meant that construction quickly ground to a halt, and the project was effectively abandoned. Although construction resumed after the war (without the Pétain moniker), it was never completed as planned.[17]

The *BIDONVILLES* album effectively submerged this earlier history, not only through the expanded frame of the photograph that aimed to merge successive building campaigns into a unified landscape, but also by labeling this area as "Nador." In this way, the album willfully reconstituted dispersed developments into a singular entity that might, in turn, be more readily targeted for destruction. The sedimented constructions pictured here bear vivid traces of the multiple temporalities and compounded building campaigns that make

up this distinctive urban transect and that resist such ready repackaging. Indeed, this photograph unwittingly reveals the abandoned relics of a failed previous campaign to provide improved housing for residents of the so-called bidonville, a cycle of failed promises and lost battles that the image is called on to catalyze once again.

By harnessing the power of photography and film with evident fervor, Chevalier and his administration ensured that Pouillon's new cités would receive the continuing attention of architectural and urban historians, while the fugitive landscapes they displaced were more readily erased from view. However, the rediscovered visual archive of the *BIDONVILLES* album allows a significant reassessment of Algiers and its rapidly shifting built landscape on the brink of war. The three scenes examined here usefully shift the focus from habitually centered landmarks, like Diar el Mahsul, to probe "the edges of sight."[18] While photographs are routinely harnessed as key evidence for the interpretive work of architectural history and historic preservation, it is critical to ask, following Patricia Hayes, what kind of evidence photography provides.[19] Even images that are quintessential products of the colonial archive, like Chevalier's two peculiar (family) albums, may provide new insights, gleaned from careful consideration of their overlooked details, ambivalent traces, and multiple temporalities.

Chevalier's albums raise critical questions about how urban landscapes were made legible through the mediation of the camera lens, an operation that unfolded in direct dialogue with the work of the bulldozer, a machine whose work expanded exponentially during the war. The three scenes explored here provide compelling glimpses of fugitive landscapes that have often eluded capture and the strategic deployment of construction for destructive ends. It is certainly the case that urban areas officially categorized in 1954 as bidonvilles represented a significant, if now largely erased and forgotten, urban presence across the capital. Indeed, the three scenes drawn from Chevalier's albums bring to light contested territories that were as integral to the mayor's so-called battle for housing as the sprawling cités designed by Pouillon. These three "quiet photographs," all trained on terrain at the edges of the emergent building site of Diar el Mahsul, then very much under construction, provide an expanded archaeology of this process, even as much remains obscure. Nevertheless, the *BIDONVILLES* album provides potent testament of what Asef Bayat has described as "the quiet encroachment of the ordinary," the significant, if often ephemeral, means by which the urban landscape is shaped as much by everyday incursions as by monumental building campaigns.[20] Architectural history and historic preservation might then benefit from privileging a kind of peripheral vision, focused simultaneously on the interstitial spaces between buildings and the unintended traces hovering at the photographic margins.

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Notes

1. Amina Menia, *A Peculiar Family Album/Un Album de Famille bien particulier*, 2012, 14 min., 48 sec. I am grateful to Katarzyna Pieprzak for having brought Menia's artwork to my attention and for sharing with me her insightful, extended analysis of Menia's film in her manuscript of the forthcoming book *Poetics of Repair: Afterlives of Modern Mass Housing in the Maghreb*.

2. Menia, *A Peculiar Family Album*, 10:52.

3. See Fernand Pouillon, *Mémoires d'un architecte* (Paris: Seuil, 1968), 195–96. Alberto Ferlenga has observed that spectacular construction feats like this one provided a kind of ready-made epic history for Pouillon's new buildings, in "L'histoire comme matériau," in *Fernand Pouillon: architecte méditerranéen*, ed. Jean-Lucien Bonillo (Marseille: Éditions Imbernon, 2001), 119–20.

4. Tina M. Campt, *Listening to Images* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2017), 5.

5. Ariella Azoulay, *From Palestine to Israel: A Photographic Record of Destruction and State Formation, 1947–1950* (London: Pluto Press, 2011).

6. AN Pierrefitte, "Recensement et état des bidonvilles de la Ville d'Alger, Mai 1954," photo album, May 1954.

7. Campt, *Listening to Images*, 71.

8. Patricia Hayes, "Stealing Time: Photographs and the Long Inception of Colonialism in Southern Angola," online lecture, Institute for the Humanities and Global Cultures, University of Virginia, September 23, 2021. See also Patricia Hayes and Iona Gilburt, "Other Lives of Images," *Kronos* 46 (2020): 10–28; Patricia Hayes and Gary Minkley, eds., *Ambivalent: Photography and Visibility in African History* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2019).

9. Jacques Berque, "Médinas, villeneuves et bidonvilles," *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 21–22 (1958): 37.

10. AN Pierrefitte, Centre des Hautes Études d'Administration Musulmane, Capitaine C. Courbon, "Les bidonvilles et leur resorption," unpublished report, 1960, 4–5. According to Courbon, the property in question covered twenty hectares.

11. René Lespès, *Alger: Étude de géographie et d'histoire urbaines* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1930), 436.

12. The promotional magazine published by Chevalier's office, *Alger: Revue Municipale*, included a panoramic photograph of the twelve-hectare el-Mansali property where Diar el Mahsul would be built, taken on the evening of the groundbreaking ceremony on October 15, 1953. "La Bataille du logement," *Alger: Revue Municipale*, no. 3 (1954): 20–21.

13. Shawn Michelle Smith, *At the Edge of Sight: Photography and the Unseen* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2013), 6; cited in Patricia Hayes and Gary Minkley, "Africa and the Ambivalence of Seeing," in *Ambivalent*, 4.

14. "Opération Bull-Dozer," *Alger: Revue Municipale* (Christmas 1955): 31.

15. Azoulay, *From Palestine to Israel*, 87.

16. Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer, 10I, Habitat indigène, 1941–1950, March 1941 survey.

17. Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Archives de l'architecture contemporarine, Gaston Bardet papers, 161 IFA 10/1, undated press clipping, "Résorption des bidonvilles."

18. Smith, *At the Edge of Sight*, 6.

19. Hayes, "Stealing Time."

20. Asef Bayat, *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010).

RIGHT(S) TO ISTANBUL'S HAGIA SOPHIA
Rethinking Heritage as "Commons"

PINAR AYKAÇ

On July 10, 2020, Turkey's Council of State overruled the cabinet decree of 1934, which declared the conversion of Istanbul's Hagia Sophia from a mosque into a museum. Recalling that the monument was part of the charitable trust of Mehmed II, the council stated that the monument cannot be allocated for other purposes. As one of Istanbul's most symbolic monuments, Hagia Sophia's reconversion into a mosque has stirred a heated debate among many scholars, statespeople, and NGOs, from both Turkey and abroad. While many were concerned by this manifestation of rising political Islam, heritage professionals mainly stated that the mosque function necessitates substantial interventions to the monument's multilayered character. In its ruling, the Council of State narrowed down the discussion to the ownership status of the monument and property rights and claimed that Hagia Sophia cannot be used for any purpose other than a mosque in accordance with its foundation deed. The ruling of the court, however, raises broader questions regarding who owns heritage and who has the right to access to it and enjoyment of it, which has been recognized as a

human right under international law. Discussing the contestations surrounding Istanbul's Hagia Sophia from a human rights perspective, this essay asserts that the conceptualization of heritage as commons can be a useful theoretical framework to accomplish reconciliation for politically loaded heritage sites in Turkey.

RIGHT(S) TO THE HERITAGE

Heritage is a present-centered phenomenon related to the past and is continuously interpreted, negotiated, challenged, and constructed by people in the present.[1] People—as individuals, communities, states, heritage specialists, and international entities—attribute various values and meanings to heritage, as active agents in their construction. William Logan defines heritage conservation—which includes identification, inscription, management, and monitoring—as a cultural practice that can only be understood in a broader social, economic, and political context, just like other cultural practices.[2] Therefore, this very nature of heritage as a cultural practice makes it a disputed notion, related to power, ideology, and identity politics.

Recognizing competing and conflicting claims of the complex set of agents in heritage construction,

FIG. 1. Hagia Sophia.

recent scholarship puts great emphasis on a human rights–based approach to heritage.[3] This approach considers heritage as an "intrinsically ethical and political issue," since people reframe it in the present to construct a collective cultural identity for a shared future. It allows the recognition of all stakeholders associated with heritage in its conservation and provides them with "a collective human right to heritage."[4] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly states that "everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community."[5] Although the declaration does not specifically mention heritage, other international policy documents discuss that term as an essential component of cultural life. The Faro Convention, adopted as a framework convention by the Council of Europe, presents a shift from the question of "how" to conserve heritage to questions of "for whom" and "why."[6] It conceptualizes heritage as part of people's identity. The convention elaborates the rights to heritage as "everyone, alone or collectively, has the right to benefit from the heritage and to contribute towards its enrichment."[7] Similarly, a recent resolution of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) recognizes "the ability to access and enjoy cultural heritage" as part of cultural life, and thus as a cultural practice.[8]

Despite the acknowledgment of rights to heritage within the framework of human rights, its practical implications raise further questions regarding what these rights are, who holds them, and which body will administer them. The Faro Convention evaluates any process related to heritage conservation within the scope of access, ranging from identification to presentation.[9] Likewise, Farida Shaheed, an independent expert in the field of cultural rights, categorizes access as physical (including digital), economic, and informational, as well as "access to decision making and monitoring procedures."[10] Access to heritage, therefore, should be evaluated as any activity related to heritage and participation in any process related to its conservation.

While this broad definition of access is relatively straightforward, the discussion regarding who has these rights and for which heritage is more complicated. The Faro Convention highlights that "every person has a right to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice," "independently of ownership."[11] The issue of ownership here is crucial since the ways in which people identify themselves and engage with heritage are quite diverse. Placing ownership at the very center of heritage rights not only overlooks different notions of ownership but also ignores different ways of interacting with heritage since the ownership of heritage is mostly collective.[12] Therefore, any claim to the ownership of the past and heritage as its remnants can be challenged.

This complex character of ownership can be traced in the policy documents of UNESCO, which see heritage as belonging to humanity, nation-states, communities, and peoples.[13] Although UNESCO—and other international heritage organizations, such as ICOMOS—recognizes different groups associated with heritage, it identifies the nation-state as the sovereign power, responsible for the identification, conservation, and management of heritage.[14] This (traditional) perception of nation-states as the owners/guardians/

stewards of heritage not only promotes the state's monopoly over the rights to heritage but also paves the way for the state's exercise of power over politically underrepresented groups or indigenous people through heritage.[15] Similarly, conceptualizing heritage as the "common heritage of humanity" and assigning an "outstanding universal value" runs the risk of homogenizing the notion of heritage and marginalizing certain groups and their claims.[16]

Likewise, UNHRC resolutions assign the state as the main responsible body for the enforcement and protection of human rights.[17] For heritage rights, however, states cannot be regarded as the ultimate guardians of heritage rights due to their varying political agendas and therefore cannot be representative of different communities and their associated sites since heritage, by nature, is exploited and manipulated by political agendas.[18] Recognizing the state's role in contested heritage places, the Faro Convention distributes this responsibility among the people—either individuals or communities.[19] Nevertheless, the operational devices of UNESCO or heritage conservation regulations of nation-states are still inadequate to embrace a rights-based approach.

Ian Hodder reminds us that in our contemporary globalized world, notions of ownership, guardianship, or descent fall short in dealing with the ways in which heritage works, since many claims are transnational.[20] Human rights–based approaches, which recognize any access claim to heritage, require further conceptualization of heritage surpassing these notions of ownership, guardianship, and descent. Current scholarship offers a (re)conceptualization of heritage as "commons"

to bridge the gap between current theories on heritage and their implications, since heritage is a type of "public good, inherently a commons concept."[21] The notion of commons can be described as resources used, (re)produced, and managed collectively by communities.[22] They are shared by the people and often vulnerable to enclosure (privatization), overuse, and social dilemmas.[23]

Heritage as commons sees heritage as a shared-by-all resource and opens the way toward a discussion of how a right and access to heritage can be achieved above and beyond legal ownership, and how it can be managed by the commoners (people associating themselves with heritage) in the participatory act of "commoning."[24] Conceptualizing heritage as commons acts as an alternative to private and public modes of governance, by placing them "under collective control for the common benefit of society and our planet."[25] Thus they challenge the traditional dichotomy of public and private ownership, recognize rights and claims to heritage, and regulate different ways of access. Peter C. Gould clearly outlines the main motive behind searching for a commons-based approach to heritage management as follows: "The utility of the 'commons' concept in practice depends prominently on whether a system can be devised to manage the value conflicts, contention for power, and differing views of local community members versus those of outsiders at the regional, national, or even global levels."[26]

For contested heritage, to which diverse communities have different claims, whether commons-based management strategies can resolve conflicts over many disputes surrounding heritage remains a heated

discussion. It can still be a starting point since it envisions these diverse communities as equal parties in heritage conservation. Zbigniew Kobylinski sees the ways to resolve conflicts over the ownership of heritage as an ethical rather than a political or legal issue, since access to heritage, by definition, cannot be determined by the rules of ownership.[27] A heritage site, regardless of whether it is in public or private ownership, should be considered as "commons," to which people (individually or collectively) must have all means of access (ranging from identification to presentation of heritage), and therefore their collective management should only regulate the limits of access.[28] Implementing commons-based strategies in heritage management, however, cannot be effortless given the fact that international and national legislative frameworks, as well as UNHRC, still favor states or property owners as the guardians of rights to heritage. Nevertheless, in a milieu when heritage's role for the people, its use and abuse, is well embraced, conceptualizing heritage as commons—and seeking ways to "commonize" in a legislative framework—offers a way forward for heritage studies considering the rights claims of a complex set of agents in a globalized world.

HAGIA SOPHIA AS A CONTESTED HERITAGE SITE BETWEEN SECULARISTS AND ISLAMISTS IN TURKEY

Istanbul's Hagia Sophia was the principal church of Byzantine Constantinople, commissioned by the Emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565). After the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1453, the church was converted into a mosque by Sultan Mehmed II and thereby was transformed into one of the most iconic symbols of conquest and domination among many other converted Byzantine churches.[29] Mehmed II established a charitable trust in 1462 and endowed Hagia Sophia as a mosque.[30] After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the monument was converted into a museum with a cabinet decree in 1934, along with the museumification strategy of the early Republican authorities aiming to neutralize the imperial and Islamic associations of significant heritage sites.[31] The monument, which was the property of the General Directorate of Foundations, was handed over to the Ministry of Education, which was responsible for the management of museums. In this way, the monument became a further symbol of the nascent secular Republic.

While the initial reactions to the museumification of Hagia Sophia were weak, they accelerated in the following years. The first publicly known demand to convert Hagia Sophia back to a mosque was made by a famous theologian, Said-i Nursi, in the 1950s. The timing was not a coincidence, since after the 1950 general elections the single-party state of the Republican People's Party came to an end. The incoming conservative Democrat Party marked a significant departure from the secularist ideology and put great emphasis on the Ottoman heritage and its religious meanings.[32] Within this context, Said-i Nursi requested that the new government "clean Hagia Sophia from the waste/spoil and make it a place of worship."[33] Although his request was never realized, the claims asking for the reopening of Hagia Sophia for Muslim prayers only accelerated. When Pope Paul VI came to Istanbul in 1967, he visited Hagia Sophia and prayed inside the museum, touching off protests by

religious groups. Convinced that the pope was trying to reassert the Christian identity of the monument, the protesters performed Muslim prayers inside.[34] In 1980 the Islamist National Salvation Party organized a massive rally to protest the declaration of Jerusalem as Israel's capital, calling for the introduction of Islamic sharia law in Turkey and the opening of Hagia Sophia as a mosque.[35] This massive protest stirred fears, and a week later, on September 12, the Turkish military seized power in what became known as the military coup of 1980.

This coup opened a new period for Turkey as the state supposedly adopted the policy of "state-controlled Islam" to protect the country from radical Islamic movements, which sought to dismantle the secular character of the early Republican nation-state and reframe it along the lines of Islamic values.[36] The rise of political Islam in the aftermath of the coup manifested itself in the demands to reopen Hagia Sophia as a mosque, which soon led to the opening of the Imperial Lodge as a masjid and the recitation of the Muslim call to prayer (*azan*) from its minarets in 1991.[37] Despite this compromise, Islamist groups centered on the Welfare Party continued their demands to see the monument as a mosque. After current president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan became the mayor of Istanbul in 1994, he clearly stated his intentions for Istanbul's Hagia Sophia: that it would return to being a mosque for Muslims.[38]

After the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power in 2002, the party represented itself as "conservative democrat," dissociating itself from the Islamist Welfare Party. Over the years, however, AKP's governance has proved to be a complete break from the foundational secular state institutions and has become increasingly authoritarian, with an underlying agenda of shaping society with Islamic and Turkish nationalistic values.[39] In parallel with its political agenda, AKP government put great emphasis on the Ottoman legacy, aiming to draw attention to the Islamic identity of Turkey as an antidote to the secularist nation-state, a phenomenon commonly referred to as neo-Ottomanism.[40] Neo-Ottomanism has also found its reflections in heritage making, which prioritized Ottoman heritage—specifically for its Islamic and imperial associations—over Turkey's diverse and multilayered heritage. Correspondingly, heritage sites with multilayered pasts like Istanbul's Hagia Sophia were exposed to interventions aiming to highlight their Ottoman identities. One of the earliest debates hinging on the extent and effects of interventions in multilayered monuments involved Hagia Sophia in İznik, which was functioning as a museum. After extensive restoration work by the General Directorate of Foundations, the monument was allocated to the Directorate of Religious Affairs and began functioning as Ayasofya Orhan Mosque. For the case of Trabzon's Hagia Sophia, the monument started functioning as a mosque in 2012 after a court decision ruled that the Ministry of Culture and Tourism violated ownership rights of the General Directorate of Foundations by illicitly occupying the monument as a museum.[41] Like many, journalist Andrew Finkel evaluated these conversions as precedents that would affect the future of Istanbul's Hagia Sophia as a museum.[42]

The debates to reopen Hagia Sophia as a mosque heated up once again in 2019, before the local elections.

In an interview during an election rally, President Erdoğan felt compelled to make a statement regarding Hagia Sophia: "We should not be deceived since these [debates] are indeed provocations. . . . I am sorry, they do not know the world, or their interlocutors. As a political leader, I have not lost my direction enough to be deceived."[43] A few days later, in another election rally, President Erdoğan this time clearly declared as a campaign promise that he would reinstate the "original status" of Hagia Sophia, meaning that its museum status would be changed and it would be named Ayasofya Mosque.[44] Erdoğan's sudden U-turn was a clear indicator that Hagia Sophia's opening as a mosque was used as a bargaining chip, as the election forecasts predicted a serious decline in support for AKP.

On July 10, 2020, Turkey's Council of State annulled the 1934 cabinet decree, which had declared Istanbul's Hagia Sophia as a museum. Immediately after this court decision, President Erdoğan issued a decree transferring the monument's administration to the Directorate of Religious Affairs, and thereby its reopening as a mosque for Muslim prayers. This court decision was not unforeseen but rather the result of a long legal struggle of religious groups, which were supported by the public statements of the ruling AKP, especially after the 2010s.

The reopening of Hagia Sophia as a mosque has immediately found an echo both in Turkey and abroad. On the very first Friday after the presidential decree, thousands of people gathered in Istanbul to participate in the prayer at Hagia Sophia in the presence of President Erdoğan. The same day, many gathered in Athens and Thessaloniki to protest the conversion,

which was even evaluated as "the second capture of Constantinople by the Turks."[45] President Katerina Sakellaropoulou of Greece called this conversion a "profoundly provocative act," which "brutally insults historical memory, undermines the value of tolerance, and poisons Turkey's relations with the entire civilized world,"[46] referring mainly to the significance of Hagia Sophia for the Greek community and the Orthodox Christians. Correspondingly, the foreign ministers of several EU member states also condemned the decision by emphasizing its social and political consequences that would "promote renewed division between religious communities."[47]

Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Turkey's minister of foreign affairs, described the reactions to Hagia Sophia's opening as a mosque as interference in Turkey's domestic policies and even an attack on national sovereignty.[48] While the echoes of the decision were still ongoing, other statespeople in Turkey celebrated the reopening as a mosque almost with one voice. Devlet Bahçeli, the head of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) and AKP's ultranationalist ally, evaluated the conversion as "a new phase" in the "conquest process" lasting for 567 years, whereas the president's director of communications, Fahrettin Altun, evaluated the decision as "a victory for religious freedom."[49]

International and domestic heritage organizations were also concerned by this decision but have approached it with caution in order not to be involved in a political discussion. They have highlighted the significance of Hagia Sophia with its different periods for diverse groups. ICOMOS's Turkey National Committee called for the presentation of Hagia Sophia

"as the symbol of peace in the world and interfaith fraternity" with all its layers.[50] Similarly, ICOMOS's International and International Council of Museums pointed out that the "conservation and accessibility" of the monument's historical layers side by side had only been possible after its conversion into a museum.[51] Since Istanbul has been inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1985, UNESCO's director-general Audrey Azoulay criticized Turkey for not giving prior notice to UNESCO, since any intervention significantly affecting its authenticity would jeopardize the World Heritage status of Istanbul.[52]

Unlike international concerns, which centered on the monument's multilayered character and accessibility for diverse communities, the Council of State's decision concentrated on its ownership status and property rights. The lawsuit that resulted in the annulment of the 1934 cabinet decree was opened by an NGO, the Association of Service to Foundations, Historic Monuments and Environments. The association had already appealed to the Council of State as early as 2005 for the cancellation of the cabinet decree, which was initially rejected.[53]

Almost ten years later, the association applied to the Constitutional Court in 2015, claiming that the use of Hagia Sophia solely as a museum was a "violation of religious freedom." The court decided in 2018 that the "alleged violation of the freedom of religion [was] inadmissible" since there was not such a case directly affecting the association itself.[54] Subsequently, the association submitted another petition to the Prime Ministry suggesting that the use of Hagia Sophia as a museum was unlawful since properties of charitable

trusts should be allocated to the General Directorate of Foundations. As the addressee, the General Directorate replied that Hagia Sophia was within its ownership but had been used as a museum by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in compliance with the 1934 cabinet decree.[55]

After this reply, the association appealed to the Council of State in 2016, requesting the cancellation of the 1934 cabinet decree since Hagia Sophia was identified as a mosque, not a museum, in its title deed records, and the monument should be used as a mosque in accordance with its foundation deed. Despite its earlier rejection of the association's appeal, the Council of State made an entirely opposite decision in 2020. After examining different aspects of the case, such as the foundation deed, title deed records, and the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the council evaluated the case in terms of international and national law.[56]

In terms of international law, the Council of State ruled that there was not any directive in the World Heritage Convention that prevents determining the use of Hagia Sophia in accordance with national legislation. Referring to the article 6 of the convention, the council claimed that determining the use of Hagia Sophia within national legislation was in fact an obligation arising from the convention itself, which stated that it respects the "sovereignty of the states" and "property right provided by national legislation."[57] Consequently, the council not only overruled any probable lawsuit grounded on the World Heritage Convention but also pointed out that the use of a heritage site on the World Heritage List should be determined by the national legislation of the member states.

In terms of national legislation, the Council of State first referred to the Act on Foundations (date: February 20, 2008, no: 5737), which stated that charitable services—such as places of worship, hospitals, and soup kitchens—are originally left to the "use of the public." These properties are protected against third parties regarding their use other than their intended purposes as well as against the state itself, and the state is only responsible for ensuring that they are used for their intended purposes. Therefore the council concluded that assigning these properties to functions other than their intended purposes would be contradictory to the legislation and principles of universal jurisprudence. The Council of State also consulted the Civil Code of 1926, which ruled that the legal provisions before this act should be considered lawful in its historical context. With this Civil Code, the charitable trust of Mehmed II—established in 1470—gained the status of "former foundation" founded before 1926. Since the 1934 cabinet decree was issued after the Civil Code, the council ruled that it is clearly against the Civil Code, which stipulates that "the legislation of the date on which the foundation deed was drawn up should be applied."[58]

In its evaluation, the council also referred to the case of Chora Museum in Istanbul, another Byzantine church converted into a mosque by Mehmed II and opened as a museum by a cabinet decree in 1945. In 2019 the Association of Service to Foundations, Historic Monuments and Environments filed a lawsuit for the cancellation of this 1945 decree, which was initially dismissed by the Council of State in 2014. After the association requested the decision's rectification,

the higher board of the Council of State this time ruled that the properties of charitable services cannot be allocated for functions other than their intended purposes, referring to the Act on Foundations.[59] Many evaluated the board's decision as a precedent for the Istanbul Hagia Sophia, since both monuments were converted into a museum by a cabinet decree.[60] The Chora Museum's ruling was significant, unlike Hagia Sophias in İznik and Trabzon, which were functioning as museums without a cabinet decree. As a matter of fact, after the Chamber of Architects opened lawsuits against their conversion into mosques, court decisions asserted that their use as museums was unlawful since they both became part of charitable services after their conversion into mosques during the Ottoman period.[61] Based on these evaluations, the Council of State finally ruled that the properties intended for charitable services "cannot be prevented from being used by society," and therefore Istanbul's Hagia Sophia cannot be used for purposes other than a mosque, as indicated in its foundation deed.

While Hagia Sophia was opened as a mosque after a presidential decree, the ruling of the Council of State not only affected the destiny of other converted churches that became part of charitable services, like Hagia Sophia in Enez, but also was an indicator of a larger shift in heritage politics in Turkey. Bülent Batuman evaluates this shift within the framework of the government's "nation-(re)building" process as "the antithesis of the secular nation-building of the early Republican period," and an attempt to reframe the national identity in Islamic terms.[62] One of the major instruments of this (re)building process is heritage

practices. Starting with Hagia Sophia in İznik and Trabzon, the government has integrated the symbolic heritage sites of the secular republic, the most iconic of which was Istanbul's Hagia Sophia. The ruling of the Council of State for Istanbul's Hagia Sophia, however, had further implications for other heritage sites that are the locus of disputes between the central authority and other heritage agents.

In 2021, after the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality opened an architectural competition for Taksim Square in Istanbul, Gezi Park—which was the spark of countrywide antigovernment protests in 2013—was handed over from the municipality to the General Directorate of Foundations. The justification for this transfer was that Gezi Park lot was originally registered to the foundation of the Sultan Beyazıt.[63] Consequently, Mayor Ekrem İmamoğlu, from the main opposition Republican People's Party, announced that a lawsuit would be filed to overturn the decision since the foundation mentioned in the decision was not active.[64] More recently, the General Directorate of Foundations publicly announced that it registered 1,014 properties that have been allocated to different state institutions.[65]

Hence the General Directorate of Foundations has become a renewed actor in state ideology in the service of neo-Ottomanist heritage policies, aiming to reclaim contested heritage places or to suppress actors conflicting with this state ideology. The Turkish government, however, exploits property rights to dominate heritage politics, through the legal status of Ottoman charitable foundations. The government's heritage making therefore raises broader issues concerning who owns heritage and who has the right to access and enjoy it, which has been recognized not only by heritage scholars but also under international law as an inherent human right.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: "COMMONING" ISTANBUL'S HAGIA SOPHIA

As one of the most symbolic heritage sites in Turkey, Hagia Sophia in Istanbul has gradually become a site of contestation due to competing claims of different communities, religions, and ideologies. In 2020 the monument was reopened as a mosque, after the Council of State overruled the 1934 cabinet decree that officially transformed the monument into a museum. This highly controversial ruling was based on the ownership status of the monument, as part of Mehmed II's charitable trust, and mentioned that the state was responsible for ensuring the monument's use for its intended purpose. The Council of State therefore not only overlooked various claims by diverse groups but also disregarded any other heritage right to the monument.

The ruling specifically highlighted that the monument "cannot be prevented from being used by the society" as a mosque since charitable services like mosques are left to the "use of the public" by their trustees. While its museum function—which had an admission fee—might have contradicted the economic accessibility of the monument, the ruling limited accessibility only to physical terms, without referring to its broader definition as any process related to the conservation of heritage. Similarly, the council evaluated "society" or "the public" as a uniform entity,

overlooking its diverse and transnational character composed of various religious and ethnic communities with varying claims as well as civil society and heritage professionals. Art historian Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh evaluated the ruling within the human rights framework and contended that it contradicts the right to participate in cultural life without discrimination. She also raised concerns about the future of other heritage sites in Turkey, since this ruling could be a precedent for further reclamations or takeovers.[66]

The recent transfer of Gezi Park and other heritage sites from the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality to the Directorate of Foundations is a clear indicator that the state—through the directorate—will continue to reclaim sites that are the symbols of the struggle for human rights in an attempt to integrate them into neo-Ottomanist heritage narratives and homogenize and silence varying communities. Hagia Sophia's reopening as a mosque is legitimized by state institutions based on ownership rights of the General Directorate of Foundations and whether the foundation deed of Mehmed II is legally binding. The state authorities presented a united front by claiming that international calls to overrule the court decision would be evaluated as an attack on "national sovereignty" by referring specifically to the World Heritage Convention, which underlines respect for the "sovereignty of the states." Legal experts assert that the ruling of the Council of State is lawful based on the legal status of the foundation deed of Mehmed II according to Turkish laws and regulations, even though the council had completely reversed its earlier decisions regarding the

official status of Hagia Sophia.[67] The ruling's legality, however, is a topic for another day.

This essay proposes an alternative standpoint on the status of Istanbul's Hagia Sophia by questioning whether it is ethical or abides with human rights–based approaches to heritage in a time when heritage is embraced as a present-centered phenomenon and rights to heritage are recognized as a cultural practice. Why is the claim of the government in line with the state ideology recognized as the only legitimate claim? Are the claims of local municipalities, the Greek or Orthodox communities, secularists, heritage professionals, inhabitants, and tourists less important?

Considering the rights claims of people or communities to heritage in a globalized world, reducing the discussion of the future of Hagia Sophia as a heritage site to property rights of a state institution is not only obsolete but also unethical. Perhaps the discussion can be moved forward to embrace the contemporary understanding of heritage, which recognizes claims of different agencies to heritage as legitimate and evaluates rights to heritage within the framework of human rights.

Current scholarship calls for reconceptualizing heritage as commons, an entity produced, used, and managed collectively by the associated communities.[68] Reconceptualizing Istanbul's Hagia Sophia as commons primarily helps us accept any heritage claim to the monument as legitimate without giving priority to the nation-state and considers any group associated with the monument equal, regardless of ownership status. Moreover, it offers a broader framework for rights to the monument, which range from physical

accessibility to performing cultural practices as well as involvement in the decision-making and implementation processes regarding the monument's function and related conservation interventions. More important, it calls for a conservation management system that is a "socially mediated, collective, and distributed activity," which encourages negotiation and reconciliation among different groups without prioritizing one over the other.[69] Even though there is a long way to go in an increasingly authoritarian context like Turkey, it is time to discuss the status of Hagia Sophia through the lens of commons.

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CAPTURING THE PAST THROUGH THE CAMERA LENS

Hadrian's Villa Between Scientific Documentation and Nascent Cultural Industry

CRISTINA RUGGERO

HADRIAN'S VILLA—TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF HISTORY
Tivoli is a region in the Roman countryside, twenty miles northeast of the Italian capital, that lies between the Aniene River and the Tiburtine hills. It has enjoyed an enduring fortune of classical interest for its many ancient and early modern historical attractions, as well as by virtue of its natural setting.[1] Hadrian's Villa (second century C.E., henceforth HV)—since 1999 a UNESCO World Heritage site—embodies the excellence of the territory, being a unique and heterogeneous construction project. Of the Roman imperial residences, it is the biggest (more than 120 hectares), the most articulated in relation to its disposition, and

distinctive for its exceptional architectural legacy, with at least thirty building complexes.

Since its "official" rediscovery in the 1430s, HV has been celebrated internationally for its extraordinary artistic and architectural riches, eliciting a constant and increasing fascination, which has in turn generated an immense production of visual and written records.[2] In spite of this, to date, its photographic documentation has never been taken on.

The present essay is dedicated to the new visual medium and falls in a period of historical and geopolitical upheaval in Italy between 1850 and 1920, which spans the wars of independence, the subsequent unification of the country, and the rise of the fascist dictatorship. Alongside these transformations, the decisive purchase of HV in 1870 by the newly established Italian state was followed a few weeks later by the institution of the Superintendence for the excavation and conservation of monuments of Rome. The world's first authority for the preservation of the "national heritage" prompted the execution of a coherent photographic documentation. But this new medium played a significant role not only in the mythologization of Italy's past,

FIG. 1. Giuseppe Primoli, *Walk through the Ruins of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli*, c. 1890 (inv. 3819/A) - Primoli Foundation, Rome. The position of the group of people can be easily identified. They are in front of the praetorium in the direction of the Antiquarium and Pecile/Canopus, recognizable thanks to the nineteenth-century buttress spur made in the form of a staircase to support the walls of the praetorium (it was demolished after 1960). See Stefano Gizzi, "Per una rilettura della storia dei restauri di Villa Adriana dal 1841 al 1990," *Bollettino d'Arte*, 109–10 (1999).

but also in supporting the personal undertakings of erudite travelers by virtue of its narrative nature.

HV represents a thought-provoking case study by revealing how the camera lens refracted the varying interests in an archaeological site dense with stories and its surroundings in a phase rich in transformations. This age saw the rebirth of a national consciousness, important developments in academic disciplines, and the opening up of borders due to an increasing mobility, characteristic of the nascent cultural industry.[3]

In all this, the core questions are directed at the position and role the camera has taken on, asking, more specifically, how the perception and representation of HV and the surrounding territory changed with the advent of photography compared to traditional visual media; how scholars used the medium for scientific purposes; in which ways HV served as a backdrop for "artistic" photos in their use and modification for postcards;[4] why the site was relevant for modern heritage management practices; what value nineteenth-century photography has for us today in studying HV; and, finally, how people were involved in photograph making.

In this essay, I do not have the ambition to address these topics exhaustively; rather, I aim for a critical approach that gives an initial overview of the material under scrutiny and the issues it raises, indicating primary lines of research. The key objective here is to identify causes, contexts, transformations, and the growing influence of photography in relation to an archaeological site, both for research goals and for a broader dissemination.

RECORDING HV BEFORE THE ADVENT OF PHOTOGRAPHY

Over the centuries, those who have wanted to record and represent HV have always been fascinated and challenged by the overall size of its territory, the heterogeneity of its architectural and artistic features, and the daunting task of documenting the extent of its scope.

HV has remained an object of study mostly for its architecture and as an inexhaustible source of antiquities. Attempts to measure the territory, to determine the arrangement of the buildings, to identify them, and to record their decoration have been fundamental throughout its history.[5] The imperial residence inspired imagination, stimulated curiosity, and encouraged direct contact with the ancient complex, despite its uninviting appearance and the hardships of the environment. This has resulted in an enormous amount of graphic material and antiquity being entrusted to drawings, engravings, watercolors, and other paintings by international artists, but also to literary descriptions and travel diaries.[6] For these reasons, HV can be considered a multifaceted space for experience and interaction for artists, archaeologists, and foreign visitors.[7] The ruins of the villa complex functioned as a "dynamic contact zone" with a high, dense concentration of educational potential, in which a cross-cultural and transnational transfer of concepts and artistic languages took place. In fact, even under almost identical visiting conditions, what varied were the respective backgrounds of people and their preconceived expectations, fields of specialization, and behavior on site. The focus here, however, is primarily on the groups of artists, architects and drafters, excavators, antiquarians, and

art dealers whose records have provided us with about four hundred years worth of representations, ideas, findings, and impressions, as well as aspects and views that have subsequently shaped interpretations of HV.

The increasing number of visitors to Italy from all over Europe served both to educate artists and to broaden the intellectual horizons of an erudite, mostly aristocratic community. These visitors came to see the "eternal city," often as part of a Grand Tour, and explored the *campagna romana* with various objectives. Scholars dealt primarily with the ruins at HV, and their encounters with the site were framed by the eclectic nature of this suburban imperial residence. Further, they were equally inspired by an attraction to the scenic ambience and the fascinating personality of its patron and *spiritus rector*, Emperor Hadrian.[8] In contrast, the *ciceroni* (tourist guides) took visitors with less specific skills and requirements to the waterfalls in Tivoli or to the Villa d'Este nearby, while HV could be admired from afar. For artists, the choice of the buildings they wanted to study and to draw often depended on the state of preservation and visibility, architectonic peculiarities, and the fame that preceded them. A list or ranking of the most visited and appreciated buildings, and those with the most decisive impact, can be made based on surviving documentation. Among the most famous structures at HV are the *Serapeum* and *Canopus*, which together form a building complex that until the 1950s was characterized only by the deep exedra with niches.[9] Likewise, the *Small* and *Large Baths*, *Maritime Theatre*, *Golden Court* (*Piazza d'Oro*), *Hospitalia*, *Academia*, *Praetorium*, and *Philosophers' Hall*, or the imposing "spina-wall" (external brick wall) of the *Poecile*, were

the most recorded subjects over the centuries.[10] But, more generally, the ruins themselves, with their historical fragments and harmony with the untamed natural surroundings, fascinated everyone.

AN ERA OF RADICAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The substantial historical transformations that occurred throughout the Italian peninsula—unification of the country (1861), annexation of Latium and Rome to the Kingdom of Italy (1870), declaration of Rome as its capital (1871)—also had direct repercussions on the nation's cultural and artistic heritage. A nascent national awareness was manifested toward the new country's ancient monuments through or thanks to the organization of appropriate central and peripheral ministerial structures, and the instigation of specific laws to manage the protection and conservation of national treasures. The Italian government immediately took care to encourage archaeological study and to promote new excavation campaigns. Additionally, it took steps to purchase ancient properties of historical and archaeological interest still held in private hands. After almost five centuries of privatization, in December 1870 HV was put up for purchase in a public auction by the Braschi-Onesti family.[11] The Italian Kingdom bought it, becoming owner of the largest portion of the imperial villa.[12] The passage into public administration brought new topographic surveys with the goal of retracing the initial magnificence of the site prior to over 1,700 years of plundering. The organization of new ministerial structures and the specific legislation issued for the protection and conservation of "national" treasures also affected HV. The site management intended to

give a broader impetus to the cultivation of archaeological studies. The Kingdom of Italy promoted major interventions at HV from 1878, under the guidance of Rodolfo Lanciani and Giuseppe Fiorelli, with excavations following in the *Poecile* area, the *Imperial Palace*, the *Libraries*, the *Hopitalia*, and the *Imperial Triclinium*.[13] The next step was to allow greater access to the various structures by clearing the ancient paths of vegetation and scrub and opening new walkways. The site became systematically reachable for a wider audience and no longer open only to scholars and intrepid tourists. Further, the overseers depended on new photographic practices to document the site's state and preservation work as well as new excavations.[14]

At the turn of the century, two complete studies of the villa by Winnefeld (1895) and Gusman (1904) were conducted.[15] Their respective publications made use of many documentary photographs. In 1906 a general survey of the site was carried out by Vincenzo Reina and the Roman School of Engineers, which led to the publication of Lanciani's guide (alongside his huge compendium on the history of the Roman excavations, 1902–1912), including the first modern plan of the site, which updated the historical one by Piranesi from 1781.[16] Together with the reports of archaeological discoveries, descriptions of monuments brought to light, and their subsequent restoration, a rich photographic documentation was produced by the Superintendence to accurately illustrate the copious material.[17]

Alongside the substantial historical and political changes across the Italian peninsula during the nineteenth century, other major factors contributed to a fresh approach to an ancient legacy by utilizing the advent of photography. As archaeology developed into an academic discipline, excavations became systematic, and their documentation became increasingly necessary, so also did the improved conditions of travel facilitate a new kind of tourism.

Images became more than ever an essential scientific tool to cement and visualize the knowledge that was being acquired, and the fragments that had come to light had to be recorded in order to illustrate the results in publications. But images served also to accomplish the specific expectations of an emerging social group of erudite and enterprising travelers, both through illustrated guidebooks and as documentary proof of their travels after their return. However, it was the development of transportation that not only allowed visitors to change routes, entering ever more distant territories, but likewise enhanced the attractiveness of the less-visited neighboring regions. The railway line (steam locomotive) from Rome to Tivoli, which existed for fifty-five years between 1879 and 1934, helped bring nearby towns like Tivoli closer to Rome, for instance.[18]

While ever-increasing means of transport meant that more people traveled and the study of the national past was "institutionalized," photography served to increase awareness of a site's prestigious past. In previous centuries, the art market served both the demands of scholars and collectors (the antiquities trade) and those of amateurs with fewer financial resources through numerous printed reproductions, as well as culturally less pretentious souvenirs. Commensurately, in the second half of the nineteenth century, photographs began to take on more and more cultural value, thereby influencing the professional profile of many artists. The

public perception of Tivoli, as well, began to undergo a transformation, enjoying renewed popularity.

Stemming from this historical situation, different areas of competencies coexisted for those people acting "behind the lens"—given that the professional figure of the photographer did not yet exist as we have come to know it today—in order to intuit their interests as well as their goals and the image's intended audience. After its official birth in 1839 (with the daguerreotype), photography established a new way of perceiving. Graphic records had always served key purposes—for expert surveys and as descriptive material—and so did photography. Pivotal is the paradigmatic relationship between the photography applied to precisely recorded antiquities—from excavations through preservation and restoration (*documentation*)—and the chronicles of passionate and erudite travelers (*narration*). Basically, photographs would adapt subjects and shots that had already been tested by previous media so that the "traditional views" represented a kind of *déjà vu* for creators and consumers. This recognition of subjects and angles was precisely the basis of much of the success of these new images.[19]

International photographers, like the brothers Alinari, Giuseppe Caneva, Romualdo Moscioni, James and Domenico Anderson, Giorgio and Edmondo Sommer, Paul Picher, and Michele Mang, recorded HV for both documentary and commercial purposes, flanked by archaeologists and artists such as Thomas Ashby, Henry J. Parker, Robert Turnbull MacPherson, Louis Sortais, and Pierre Gusman.[20] As a result, the ruins enjoyed a more widespread reception, becoming a much coveted setting for photo souvenirs. Even though photography served as an indispensable tool for archaeologists, art historians, and the visual arts in general, its commercial aspect, together with its potential to disseminate information, made the past more accessible and thus more popular, and, as such, the medium should not be underestimated. The tourist's gaze was educated and directed by guidebooks but captured and immortalized by photos. The remarkable liminality of photography between professional use and individual fulfillment is reflected in the different meanings assigned to antiquities by locals, scholars, and tourists: the ancient object bears a symbolic-traditional significance for the first, an artistic-cultural worth for the second, and a romantic, fascinating involvement for the last.

DOCUMENTING HV AFTER THE ADVENT OF PHOTOGRAPHY

Starting from the statement that "the invention of photography provides a radically new picture-making process—a process based not on synthesis but on selection," because "paintings were *made* . . . but photographs were *taken*,"[21] the main questions are: Did the advent of photography represent a watershed moment, and, if so, how has it molded the way in which to perceive and document HV and its surroundings?

Apart from the technical aspects, here we should ask how photographers acted behind the camera, given that the first pioneers of photomechanical reproductions came from the traditional fields of visual arts. Initially it was mainly painters and engravers who accepted this challenge of acquiring knowledge and skills as well as in "updating" their art while continuing to represent previous subjects, drawn, engraved, or painted. Even if still two-dimensional, the new medium changed

definitely in terms of materiality and visual quality, while the subjects—broadly speaking—already familiar to the public, continued to be offered through new procedures of reproduction that gave a fresh solemnity to the monuments. This was achieved, for instance, while including people in the images of artworks and sites of historical interest, so that "photography entered with determination into the mass media circuits of the nascent cultural industry."[22]

The involvement of the spaces experienced by even the most common people was strengthened, and a sort of continuity between past and present, between ancient and modern, was affirmed, carrying on the tradition of historical stratification typical of Rome and its territory.

Although the photographs taken by and for art historians and archaeologists are supposed to be different from those produced for the nascent "cultural tourism," and their commercial value was likely considered lower than that of the images aimed at the general public, the angles and settings used recur in the various categories of representation. Indeed, apart from specific images of masonry, construction, or decorative details, as well as particular excavation contexts, often the same "picturesque" shots were touched up for commercial use, adding the presence of elegant women, strolling couples, villagers, or even interested and educated visitors, lending the pictures a certain refinement.

Photography turned out to be a truly multifaceted medium, and its study can be approached by applying different methodologies. Photography embodied for both "makers" and "recipients" a revolutionary opportunity to choose, represent, perceive, and enjoy national cultural heritage, artworks, and riches of the countryside. It is possible to interrogate and sift through the copious material regarding interests, motivations, and instrumentalizations of the past during a challenging historical era, and comments on the audiences addressed, as well as the aesthetic and artistic values promoted. This inquiry will serve to differentiate the diverse purposes of photographic production and explain its potential to visually mediate the Tiburtine region.

Photography can also be analyzed comparatively for both scientific and commercial purposes. This analysis regards the paradigmatic relationship between photography applied for the purpose of recording the past and that for chronicling the modern-day expedition or excursion. Although photography has been an indispensable tool for archaeologists, art historians, and the visual arts, its potential to make the past more accessible and popular has also been exploited for commercial gain. Photography reflects the different meanings assigned to antiquities by locals, scholars, and tourists.

Handling photos according to use is a central aspect of understanding the interrelated ways of dealing with this visual material: the processes of creation and adaptation. Originals often underwent adjustments. These interventions highlight the novelty the new technique embodied and ranged from small touches to the addition of coloring for a more realistic impact; from manipulations to eliminate unwanted details to their use as a matrix from which to derive engravings. A critical analysis of this resemantization of photographs will reveal the heated debate that developed in Europe between the 1850s and 1920s on the "mechanical" reproduction of works of art and the objectivity of this modern visual medium.[23]

Crucial are the role and the significance of photography in the reception of HV and Tivoli compared to traditional representations while fostering a new perception of the past. The evaluation of photographs and their derivatives, such as postcards, will substantiate the working hypotheses by reconstructing photo campaigns, collaborations among artists, public and private commissions, beloved subjects, and target audiences. This approach addresses some strategic areas: questioning traditional methodologies while dealing with the reception of historical sites; stressing aspects of continuity and fracture within national and European culture; and encouraging a closer dialogue with new visual media, which in turn would open up new lines of research.

Photography instigates a social evaluation of national identity within a global discourse. Among the various known localities of the Roman countryside, HV and Tivoli enjoyed continuous international popularity. Besides the substantial historical transformations that occurred throughout the Italian peninsula, photography proved to be of functional value for the scope of the Superintendence. The agenda of this monitoring authority affected the imperial site as part of the conservation program of "national" treasures, consolidating the concept of national identity and lending a cosmopolitan connotation to the territory.[24] These measures precipitated a new presentation of HV, which became physically accessible to a wider audience. Together with the descriptions of monuments, reports of archaeological discoveries, and restorations, a rich collection of photographic documentation was produced. This reflects a cultural-historical attitude of appropriation of the past to create a modern historiography.

Photography imposed itself in a period of great social shifts: after centuries of territorial fragmentation, lack of identity, foreign domination, and church supremacy, the unification of Italy and rebirth of a national consciousness improved travel conditions and led to the emergence of new social classes and new academic disciplines. Government activities aimed at safeguarding and ascribing value to the "national" artistic, cultural patrimony and natural environment and creating photo archives as depositories of knowledge.[25] These transformations had a great impact on the perception of historical sites, as in the cases of HV and Tivoli, which were already internationally beloved ancient places.

Likewise, HV turned out to be an excellent example for sociological studies, mostly as a gender sensitive topic. This perspective considers the photo makers and the figures populating the pictures as representatives of gendered experience. Even though photography was dominated by males, a modest number of women photographers actively and innovatively recorded antiquities.[26] Women were often the privileged subjects populating ruins. Different phases can be recorded: shortly before the advent of photography, women were seen either as *popolane* (country women, by Bartolomeo Pinelli[27]) accentuating the traditional agricultural activities of the territory or as belonging to the cultured society (by Agostino Penna[28]). Photography also encouraged the idea of women as refined visitors to historical places, although erudite female experiences somehow contrasted the coeval promotion of the bourgeois "cult of domesticity."[29] Men also posed in photos during staged breaks in excavation work or while also visiting the ruins. Photography took further possession of the

antique. While nude photography had an accepted position within the new visual medium, archaeological sites became the backdrop for animated scenarios. Remarkably, a group of photographers portrayed young people in antique-like robes among the ruins and attempted to evoke, "reinvent," and "stage" the past while downplaying or emphasizing (depending on the point of view) HV's homoerotic associations, as in work by Guglielmo von Plüschow, his uncle Wilhelm von Gloeden, and Vincenzo Galdi.[30]

A new gaze through a wide-angle lens opens new perspectives for interpretation, exploitation, and understanding of the HV site, revealing an intrinsic potential and the prospect given to different disciplines by utilizing the information that has emerged. HV and its surroundings also embody an ideal starting point to exemplify *how* photography mirrored a series of interrelated events. The concatenation and interdependence of the outcomes will present many elements of novelty by

- focusing on the role played by photography in recording, disseminating, and reframing images and the modern reception of HV between ca. 1850 and 1920, also including Tivoli as a natural extension of the imperial residence in several respects;
- emphasizing the liminal position of photography between scientific purposes and their use by a public of nonexperts while considering documentary photos, "archeo-touristic" photography, and historical postcards to situate the personal visual experience on site and/or to share information with the image's addressees;

- helping to understand how the production and spread of photography, its replicas, and its derivatives have become relevant both for the self-awareness of the country and for its international perception;
- providing original sources to be exploited by archaeologists, restorers, engineers, and architects to better comprehend and reconstruct aspects of the site that have been destroyed, plundered, or damaged during the two world conflicts or have suffered from restorations;
- offering an exemplary study on a phenomenon of national self-awareness and international relevance;
- promoting dialogues between traditional studies on the afterlife of the classical world and the investigations of photography's role for the scrutiny of cultural patrimony;
- building a historical-cultural-social framework that fortifies and enhances the strictly archaeological analyses of HV and Tivoli, paving the way for public involvement; and
- filling a gap in existing scholarship and valorizing photo archives and their holdings.

The potential of the visual medium reinvigorated the Tiburtine territory in the second half of the nineteenth century both internally and internationally during a vibrant period of political and social changes. The outreach of the project will bring new perspectives to different fields of research and help raise awareness of this World Heritage site through engagement with the international nonacademic public on multiple levels.

Notes

1. The Weinberg Fellowship at the Italian Academy gave me the extraordinary opportunity to expand the study of Hadrian's Villa, addressing new questions concerning the reception of the imperial residence beyond traditional graphical representations. A warm *grazie* to Sydney Weinberg and the entire Academy staff. The attractions of Tivoli include, for example, the much-loved Temples of Vesta and Sybil, the huge Sanctuary of Hercules Victor, the early modern Villa d'Este with its fantastic waterworks, famous waterfalls (*Cascatelle*), the thermal springs (*Acque Albule*), and travertine quarries.

2. William L. MacDonald and John A. Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and Its Legacy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995). I have dealt with these aspects during a research fellowship (2017–2020) financed by the German Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, based at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich: *Microcosm Hadrian's Villa: An Artistic Interaction Space in 18th- and 19th-Century.*

3. Cristina Ruggero, "La fortuna visiva di Villa Adriana tra documentazione scientifica e diffusione culturale (1870–1930)," in *Phönix aus der Asche. Bildwerdung der Antike—Druckgrafiken bis 1869 / L'Araba Fenice. L'Antico visualizzato nella grafica a stampa fino al 1869* (exhib. cat., Munich 27.6.-22.9.2019), ed. Ulrich Pfisterer and Cristina Ruggero (Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München, 50) (Petersberg: Imhof Verlag, 2019), 372–89.

4. A rich collection of images is in Franco Sciarretta, *Saluti da Tivoli. La storia della città attraverso la cartolina d'epoca* (Tivoli: Media Communications, 2003).

5. Three historical plans of HV made between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries by Italian architects—the Neapolitan Pirro Ligorio (1513–1583), the Roman Francesco Contini (1599–1669), and the Venetian Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) and his son Francesco (1758–1810)—are evidence of this interest, considering that others were begun but never completed. See recently Giuseppina E. Cinque, *Le rappresentazioni planimetriche di Villa Adriana tra XVI e XVIII secolo. Ligorio, Contini, Kircher, Gondoin, Piranesi* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 525) (Rome: École française de Rome, 2017).

6. See note 2. Also, Pierre Pinon and François-Xavier Amprimoz, eds., *Les envois de Rome (1778–1968). Architecture et archéologie* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 110 (Rome: Boccard et al., 1988); Annie Jacques, Stéphanie Verger, and Olivier Bonfait, eds., *Italia antiqua. Envois de Rome des architectes français en Italie et dans le monde méditerranéen aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (exhib. cat.), Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, 12.02–21.04.2002; Rome, Villa Medici, 21.06–21.09.2002) (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts 2002), 120–38.

7. John Soane emphasized this aspect in 1815 in his IX Architecture Lecture at the Royal Academy in London. See Cristina Ruggero, "Villa Adriana: 'Taste and Manners of the Different Nations,' " in *Adventus Hadriani. Investigaciones sobre arquitectura adrianea*, ed. Giuseppina E. Cinque, Rafael Hidalgo Prieto, Antonio Pizzo, and Alessandro Viscogliosi (convegno internazionale di studi di architettura, Rome/Tivoli 03–06.07.2018), collana Hispania Antigua, 11 (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider 2020), 509–25.

8. Benedetta Adembri, ed., *Suggestioni egizie a Villa Adriana* (exhib. Cat. Tivoli, Villa Adriana 11.01–15.10-2006) (Milan: Electa 2006); Thorsten Opper, *Hadrian, Empire and Conflict* (London: British Museum Press, 2008).

9. The long channel before it, originally filled with water, was excavated only in the 1950s.

10. Among others, in drawings by Charles-Louis Clérisseau (1721–1820) and Robert Adam (1728–1792), engravings by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778), etchings by Luigi Rossini (1819–1823), views by Agostino Penna (1836), plates by Luigi Canina (1856), and many paintings.

11. Compare the tables with the names of the owners by De Franceschini and Cinque: Marina De Franceschini, *Villa Adriana. Accademia. Hadrian's Secret Garden, I. History of the Excavations, Ancient Sources and Antiquarian Studies from the XVth to the XVIIth centuries* (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2016), 120, fig. 4; Cinque, *Le rappresentazioni planimetriche di Villa Adriana tra XVI e XVIII secolo . . .* , color pl. 2.

12. Massimiliano Papini, *Palazzo Braschi: la collezione di sculture antiche* (Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica di Roma, suppl. 7) (Rome, 2000), 26–36.

13. Stefano Gizzi, "Per una rilettura della storia dei restauri di Villa Adriana dal 1841 al 1990," *Bollettino d'Arte*, 109–10 (1999): 1–76.

14. It began with the restoration of the Roman Forum—the greatest testimony of a glorious and authoritative past—and on December 2, 1870, the purchase of the Farnese Gardens, ceded by Napoleon III to the Italian government, together with the Palatine Museum, was completed.

15. Hermann Winnefeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin, Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich-Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Berlin / Ergänzungsheft, 3 (Berlin: Reimer, 1895); Pierre Gusman, *La villa impériale de Tibur* (Paris: Hachette, 1904).

16. Vincenzo Reina and Ubaldo Barbieri, "Rilievo planimetrico e altimetrico di Villa Adriana, eseguito dagli allievi della Scuola degli Ingegneri di Roma nel 1905," *Notizie degli Scavi* 8 (1906): 313–18; Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani, *La Villa Adriana—guida e descrizione* (Rome: Tipografia della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1906).

17. *Sulle scoperte archeologiche della città e provincia di Roma negli anni 1871–1872. Relazione presentata a S.E. il Ministro di Pubblica Istruzione della R. Sopraintendenza degli scavi della provincia di Roma* (Rome, 1873).

18. Vittorio Formigari and Pietro Muscolino, "La prima tramvia a vapore: La Roma-Tivoli," in Formigari and Muscolino, *Le tramvie del Lazio* (Cortona: Calosci, 1982), 11–54.

19. Piero Becchetti, *Fotografi e fotografia in Italia, 1839–1880* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar 1978).

20. Therefore it is fundamental to examine personalities like John Henry Parker (1806–1884), Thomas Ashby (1874–1931), and Pierre Gusman (1862–1940, particularly the photogravure in his book on HV), and all archaeologists and nonprofessional photographers. They decisively contributed to utilizing photography as an important documentary tool while possessing aesthetic-artistic values. Considering the technical challenges facing photographers of archaeological sites, one can compare photographs taken at sites of historical and archaeological interest executed by scholars and those for or by tourists.

21. John Szarkowski, *The Photographer's Eye* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966, 2018), introduction.

22. W. Bruce Lundberg and John A. Pinto, eds., *Steps off the Beaten Path: Nineteenth-Century Photographs of Rome and Its Environs. Images from the Collection of Delaney and W. Bruce Lundberg / Sentieri smarriti e ritrovati. Roma e dintorni nelle fotografie del secondo Ottocento. Immagini dalla collezione di Delaney e W. Bruce Lundberg* (exhib. cat., Rome 2007–2008) (Milan: Charta, 2007), 22.

23. Benedetta Cestelli Guidi, "Appropriazione e attribuzione della fotografia," in *Un patrimonio da ordinare—i cataloghi a stampa dei fotografi*, ed. Pierangelo Cavanna and Francesca Mambelli (Nuovi diari di lavoro, 6) (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2019), 198–99; Jesse Lockard, "Seeing Through a Roman Lens: Formalism, Photography, and the Lost Visual Rhetoric of Riegl's Late Roman Art Industry," *History of Photography* 40, no. 3 (2016): 301–29.

24. Marcello Barbanera, "L'antichità reinventata. Le rovine di Roma come immagine del regno d'Italia," in *Dall'Italia: omaggio a Barbro Santillo Frizell*, ed. A. Capoferro et al. (Florence: edizioni Polistampa, 2013), 221–39; Barbanera, "Die Erinnerung an Altes bewahren—Die Restaurierung antiker Monumente zur Zeit der Einigung Italiens," in *Denkmal–Erinnerung–Wertstiftung. Aspekte der Validierung im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Henner von Hesberg et al. (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2017), 48–56.

25. Clemente Marsicola, ed., *Le origini del Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale 1895–1913* (exhib. cat., Rome, 2014–2015) (Rome: Iccd, 2014).

26. Karin Bull-Simonsen Einaudi, *Esther B. van Deman. immagini dall'archivio di un'archeologa americana in Italia all'inizio del secolo* (Rome, 1991); Antonella Bucci, "La collezione fotografica Bulwer e i manoscritti Lanciani," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 14 (2007): 95–118.

27. Renato Mammucari, *Ottocento romano. Le indimenticabili immagini dei pittori italiani e stranieri, che immortalarono Roma e la sua Campagna . . .* (Rome: Newton & Compton, 1997).

28. *Viaggio pittorico della Villa Adriana di Tivoli composto di vedute disegnate dal vero ed incise da Agostino Penna con la descrizione di ciascun monumento nella tipografia di Pietro Aurelj*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1831–1836).

29. Lucia Re, "Passion and Sexual Difference. The Risorgimento and the Gendering of Writing in Nineteenth-Century Italian Culture," in *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento*, ed. Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 155–200.

30. Tobias G. Natter and Peter Weiermair, eds., *Et in Arcadia ego. Fotografien von Wilhelm von Gloeden, Guglielmo Plüschow und Vincenzo Galdi* (Zurich: Edition Oehrli, 2000).

MEMORY AND THE SENSE OF HERITAGE IN IRAQ
A Century of Contemporary Iraqi Art and Architecture

SAHAR AL-QAISI

Since their earliest moves in Iraq's modern history, Iraqi artists and architects have worked to combine local sources of inspiration with changing international styles, representing their ideas about global schools of art and architecture through work that sought to personalize global styles through references to traditional environments.

While Iraqi rulers have focused on new monuments rather than conserving the old, Iraqi artists such as Jawad Salim and architects such as Makiya and Chadirji have created works that express the value of the built environment as a keystone for reconnecting the past, present, and future. Efforts by Iraqi elites, academics, artists, and architects have helped protect the Iraqi Marshlands, Ur, and Eridu by having them registered in 2016 in the UNESCO World Heritage List. They have also set up DoCoMoMo with their first office in Iraq, to protect and rehabilitate Iraq's modern architectural heritage.

This essay discusses how Iraqi artists and architects have used their memory and definition of Iraq's cultural heritage to personalize modern Iraqi art and architecture. It is divided into four main phases according to the successive governments that have ruled Iraq since 1921. Each phase discusses how Iraqi artists and architects responded to critical events by motivating the collective memory, celebrating certain moments in history, and supporting their cultural heritage.

PHASE 1: THE MONARCHY IN IRAQ, 1921–1958

In 1921 Iraq, a former Ottoman colony that had passed through the British mandate in 1917, was declared a state under a monarchic ruling system. King Faisal I, the first Arab ruler in Iraq's modern history, was supported by the British and opened the door to British culture, encouraging Iraqis to study in Britain and other European countries.[1]

Art during the Iraqi Monarchy, 1921–1958

Documents clearly indicate that art in Iraq did not receive real attention during the long dark ages after the Mogul occupation of Baghdad[2] in A.D. 1258.[3] The first step toward revaluing art was taken at the end of the nineteenth century when some of Iraqi officers studying at the military academy in Turkey attended some painting classes. Abdul-Qadir Ar-Rassam and Mohammed Salim were among those officers. Their

FIG. 2. Art in Iraq before the British mandate: (left) thirteenth century—School of Baghdad; (right) nineteenth and twentieth centuries—painting by Abdul-Qadir Ar-Rassam.

paintings developed in a different way from the old Islamic art of the Abbasid Caliphate (Fig. 2a); using perspective, they were clearly influenced by the European art they had seen in Turkey. They commonly dealt with landscape scenes,[4] portraits, ancient Iraqi monuments, and holy shrines (Fig. 2b).

The true beginning of contemporary art in Iraq, however, came in 1931–1939, when scholars who had studied art abroad came back and initiated the Painting Department in the Institution of Fine Arts. They established the Society of Art's Friends, which Ar-Rassam and Salim joined, participating in its first exhibition

in 1941. This critical period in Iraq included not only World War II but a revolt against the British and the kingdom that lasted for about a month. Because Iraqi artists couldn't find the basic materials they needed, they tried to assist one another.[5] Their art was influenced by Polish impressionists who served as military personnel and were evacuated to Baghdad during World War II, and by the English artist Kenneth Wood, who stayed in Baghdad for a while.[6]

In the 1950s three main art schools emerged. The Société Primitive-S.P./Ar-Ruwad, led by Faiq Hasan in 1950, focused on picturing rural life. The Group of Baghdad for Modern Art, founded by Jawad Salim in 1951, had as its main goal a merger between the contemporary Western art schools and the Eastern old school of Baghdad (the thirteenth-century school of Yahya Al-Wasiti). In addition, the Group of Iraqi Impressionists, led by Hafidh Al-Drobi, was established in 1952. Al-Drobi's own paintings are characterized by an interest in scenes of Iraqi daily life, executed in a technique that moved from impressionism, which focused on the effect of light, to Cubism's fragmentation of space. All these groups joined the Society of Iraqi Artists, which was established in 1956.[7]

Architecture during the Iraqi Monarchy, 1921–1958
Before the British mandate, Iraq had a very rich architectural heritage that went further back than the Abbasid era, as well as Ottoman buildings[8] and some German and French buildings that were built before the World War I.[9]

During the British mandate and Iraqi monarchy, the first government architects were British officers who had previously worked in India. The style of these

FIG. 3. Ahmed Mukhtar's 1940 Olympic Club.

architects, such as Major James M. Wilson, was classical, influenced by the British experience in India—especially in designing New Delhi. They used brick with jack arching.[10] The first Iraqi government architect was Ahmed Mukhtar, who had studied in the UK and returned to Iraq in 1936 (Fig. 3).[11]

Baghdadi houses witnessed many transformations in the 1930s. Privacy was reduced as the inward-looking courtyard houses became outward-oriented, like European villas.[12]
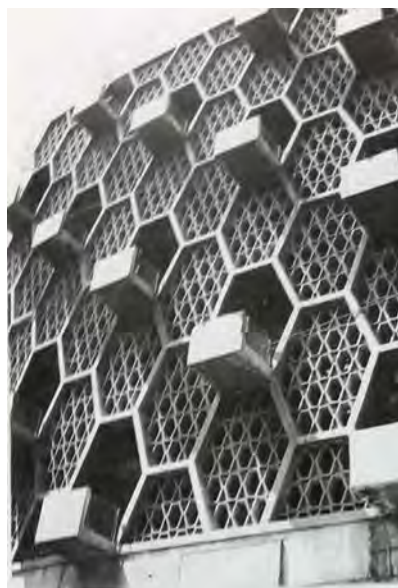
FIG. 4. Detail of the façade of the Khan Al-Basha Al-Saghir in 1957 by Abdullah Ihsan.

By the 1950s, Iraqi architects who had studied architecture in the UK and United States were working in Iraq. More than twenty Iraqi architects participated in executing the projects of the Iraqi Council of Construction, which was initiated in the 1950s. Their work, such as that by Abdullah Ihsan and Medhat Ali Madhloom, displayed influences from the Western modernist movement. These architects tried to find solutions to local environmental issues by using louvers, screens, and colonnades. They also used concrete and brick (Fig. 4).[13]

In 1957 the Iraqi government asked famous international architects—including Gio Ponti, Gropius, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier—to design important public and governmental buildings in Baghdad (Fig. 5).[14]

A

B

FIG. 5 (ABOVE AND OPPOSITE). Projects by famous international architects in Iraq: (a) Council of Construction and the Ministry of Construction (later, Ministry of Planning) by Gio Ponti, 1956; (b) Baghdad Opera by Frank Lloyd Wright, 1957; (c) University of Baghdad by W. Gropius, 1957.

c

In 1958 a group of Iraqi military officers called the "Patriot/Free Officers" rose up against the monarchy, claiming that it worked only for Britons. They killed the royal family and declared the Republic of Iraq. Two of those officers, Mohammed N. Ar-Rubai'i and Abd Al-Kareem Qasim, were named president and prime minister, respectively. The latter was the real leader of that epoch.[15]

Qasim, who praised Iraqi nationality highly, was killed a few years later in the 1963 revolution, and Iraq was led for the next five years by the brothers Arif, Qasim's friends and the leaders of the revolution.[16]

Art During the Initiation of the Republic of Iraq, 1958–1968

In 1959–1960 Iraq witnessed for the first time in its modern history the art of monuments with political messages that honor the revolution and the ones beyond it.[17] The government wanted to celebrate its first year and asked Rifat Chadirji to design two monuments: one of them, later known as the Hurriya (Liberty) Monument, was meant to praise the 1958 revolution (Fig. 6); the other, the Monument of the Unknown Soldier, was a memorial to soldiers who were killed in battle and whose identities remain unknown (Fig. 7). As Chadirji has stated, the concept of the first monument was to serve as a huge eternal banner of the rebels. The figures on it were sculpted in bronze by Jawad Salim, who designed the story in imitation of the Mesopotamian way of recording great events. In his second monument, Chadirji was inspired for the shape

FIG. 6. The emergence of monuments that carry political messages: the Hurriya (Liberty) Monument (1959–1961) by Rifat Chadirji and Jawad Salim.

FIG. 7. The Monument of the Unknown Soldier.

by Taq-Kisra in Ctesiphon (near Baghdad) to indicate the greatness and the ascending of the soldier's spirit.[18]

Iraqi artists like Tariq Madhloom found their inspiration in ancient Mesopotamian art and legends or in Islamic art—especially ornaments, 2D paintings, and using Arabic letters and texts like those in the thirteenth-century Baghdad school. Those approaches, which started at the end of 1950s and flourished in the 1960s, carried the messages of praising the revolution, martyrs, and sacrificing oneself for the sake of freedom.[19]

Architecture during the Initiation of the Republic of Iraq, 1958–1968

In the 1960s architects were looking for special features to personalize their style and make it different from modern Western architecture.[20]

Iraqi artists, with their various schools, were able to develop a special Iraqi style of painting earlier than architects, by picturing rural as well as daily Iraqi life and merging contemporary Western art schools with the thirteeenth-century Old School of Baghdad. Iraqi architects who joined these schools of art, like Makiyah and Chadirji, were influenced by them,[21] and they tried in the 1960s to capture their own special features from ancient and cultural heritage. One such building was the Al-Khulafaa Mosque by Mohammed Makiyah (1963). The mosque was built for a remaining Abbasid minaret at the site. Makiyah used concrete with brick and focused on his new version of ornaments and pointed arches that reflect Islamic style (fig. 8).[22] Three other examples were produced by Rifat Chadirji: the Federation of Industries building in Baghdad (1966),

　　　　　　　　　　SAHAR AL-QAISI

A   B   A   B

FIG. 8. Architecture in Iraq in the 1960s: (a) detail in Al-Khulafaa
Mosque by Mohammed Makiyah, 1963; (b) Al-Khulafaa Mosque
by Mohammed Makiyah, 1963.

influenced by the traditional *shanshul* (the wooden
balconies that provide visual access but privacy for res-
idents); the offices and stores of the Tobacco Monopoly
(also 1966); and the Yasoub Rafiq Residence in Baghdad
(1965). All were inspired by the Abbasid Ukhaider Palace
(fig. 9).[23] Two final examples were the Institute of Fine
Arts by Saied Madhloom (1968) and Al-Mustansiriya
University by Qahtan Awni (1965); both of these Bagh-
dad structures used brick ornaments and both reflect
traditional Islamic style (fig. 10).[24]

In 1959 the first architectural engineering depart-
ment in Iraq was established at the University of
Baghdad.[25]

C

FIG. 9. Architecture in Iraq in the 1960s, Rifat Chadirji works:
(a) Federation of Industries building in Baghdad, 1966, inspired
by *shanshul* window treatments; (b) Yasoub Rafiq residence
in Baghdad, 1965, inspired by Abbasid Ukhaider Palace; (c)
Ukhaider Palace-Karbala for the Abbasid prince Isa bin Musa in
A.C. 778.

FIG. 10. Architecture in Iraq in the 1960s: (a) the Institute of Fine Arts by Saied Madhloom, 1968; (b) Al-Mustansiriya University by Qahtan Awni in 1965.

PHASE 3: THE REIGN OF THE ARAB BA'ATH SOCIALIST PARTY, 1968–2003

Another revolution occurred in 1968 when Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, who was also one of the Patriot/Free Officers, became president of Iraq. In 1972 he declared the nationalization of the Iraqi Oil Company. The 1970s were the wealthiest years in Iraq and a relatively peaceful decade. In 1979 Saddam Hussein, al-Bakr's prime minister, became president and started his twenty-four-year rule with the Iraqi-Persian War in 1980, which lasted eight years.[26] In 1991, following its occupation of Kuwait, Iraq faced another struggle in the Gulf War, which lasted for forty days. Many buildings and infrastructure were demolished and Iraq was put under international

sanctions until the second Gulf War in 2003,[27] when Saddam Hussein was captured and forced to leave the presidency of Iraq.

Art during the Reign of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, 1968–1979

The art of the 1970s brought to the surface the high expectations and promises of the 1968 revolution and praise of the Ba'ath Party. It also lauded the nationalization of oil and its use as a weapon in the battle. People were mostly satisfied with the flourishing economic situation, enjoying a decade of peace, and the building process was at its best. Artists also took inspiration for their works from the legends of the Arabian Nights (*1,001 Nights*), as these were the tales that showed Baghdad in its golden era as the wealthy capital of science
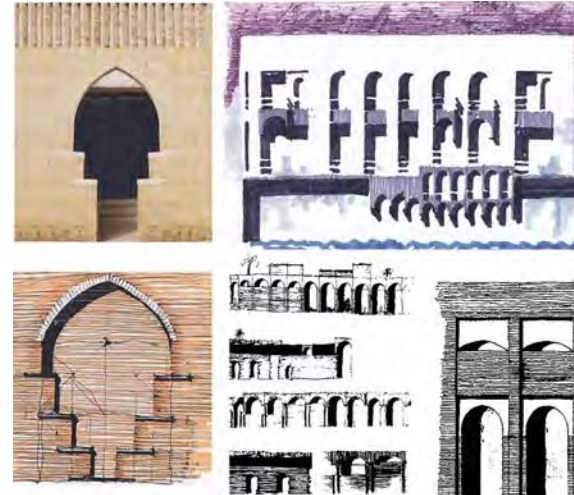
FIG. 11. Architecture in Iraq in the 1970s, when the arch was the dominant element of identity: (a) Hamood House by Rifat Chadirji, 1972–1977; (b) sketches by Ma'ath Al-Alusi.

and arts (the era of Harun Ar-Rashid and his sons, the Abbasid caliphs).

Architecture during the Reign of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, 1968–1979

Architects in the 1970s kept developing their own style, which was inspired by local Islamic architectural features (especially the arch, vault, and dome, as well as ornamentation with brick, in addition to the *shanshul*). The use of concrete with brick was essential in this period to reflect modernity.

Chadirji (1991) and Sherzad (2002)[28] have distinguished three main approaches used by architects in contemporary Iraqi architecture: (1) The common approach, which follows the European and Western schools of architecture and pays little attention to relations to the cultural heritage; (2) The cloning and the sophisticated/confused approach, which clones heritage features' forms and styles or uses them as a sophisticated cover for the building regardless of the available current technology—or uses many different features, collected in a confusing way; (3) The contemporary local approach, which is inspired by cultural heritage yet represents it in a new way, considering available technology and contemporary global approaches to architecture.

However, the most significant feature on which Iraqi architects have focused is the arch. Architects have developed their own arches and vaults based on Babylonian and Abbasid arches (fig. 11).

A

FIG. 12. Art and architecture in Iraq in the 1980s—monuments that indicate tragedies and victories of war: (a) Monument of Martyr by Ismail Fattah; (b) Victory Arch by Khaled Al-Rahal (also known as the Swords of Qadisiya).

Art and Architecture during the Reign of Saddam Hussein, 1979–2003

Saddam Hussein focused on leading Mesopotamian and Islamic historic figures like Nebuchadnezzar II (the famous king in the New Babylon Dynasty) and Sa'ad bin-Abi-Al-Waqas (the famous Muslim leader of the Qadisiya battle in Old Iraq).[29]

In this vein, he ordered the conservation and reconstruction of the ruins of Ctesiphon and Babylon cities. A huge, painted panorama enhanced by sound, figures, and furniture was created to showcase the so-called First Qadisiya (the Second Qadisiya was the name Hussein used for the Iraqi-Persian War).[30] An annual international festival was also held in Babylon City,

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B

featuring the slogan "From Nebuchadnezzar to Saddam Hussein, Babylon rises up again."[31]

During his reign, Hussein encouraged what was known as the Art of the Battles, monuments that praised him as the leader of the Arab nation and huge presidential buildings. This was especially the case in the 1980s during the Iraqi-Persian War, when the main subjects were martyrs and victory (fig. 12).[32]

In the 1990s, to better appeal to the Iraqi people and control the anger and disappointment that resulted from crises and poverty, Hussein became more concerned with religious issues.[33] He began a campaign to build huge mosques, along with what he termed public palaces (fig. 13), calling for deep faith and patience despite the severe poverty that most Iraqis faced.[34] He also instituted the patriot campaign to reconstruct

FIG. 13. Architecture in Iraq in 1990s: (a) Mother of Battles Mosque (after 2003 Um Al-Qura-Mother of Cities Mosque); (b) one of the public palaces (Al-Faw Palace).

and rehabilitate buildings and infrastructure that were damaged or demolished during the 1991 Gulf War.

PHASE 4: POST-2003 IRAQ

In 2003 the U.S.-led invasion toppled Hussein's government, marking the start of years of violent conflict, with different groups competing for power. The United States subsequently appointed the Iraqi Governing Council. Iraq has since witnessed suicide bomber attacks, looting, and other aspects of sectarian violence. In 2005 Iraqis voted for the first full-term government and parliament since the U.S.-led invasion. In 2011 U.S. troops were withdrawn, but the violence continued, and in 2014 several Iraqi governorates were under the control of ISIS, with tens of thousands of residents fleeing to other, safer governorates, and with many historical sites, buildings, and artifacts either looted, severely damaged, or entirely destroyed. In 2016 government troops were able to take back almost all the governorates that had been under ISIS control, and Mosul was taken back as well in 2017.[35]

Violence and chaos were the main characteristics of this phase, as Iraqis were introduced to the option of letting many conflicting political and religious parties rule the country together after it had been led by only one person and his own party. This led to destruction and changing priorities.[36]

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Art and Architecture during the American Occupation, 2003–2011

After 2003 many sculptures and monuments tied to the past regime were removed by the public and the government; others were initiated without being assessed by real experts on art and architecture and regardless of their aesthetic value. Many significant buildings, both old and modern, suffered distortion under the claim of renovating them.

Nostalgia and longing for the peaceful, cozy environment of old were the main themes for many Iraqi artists during this time, especially those who emigrated because of the increasing violence in Iraq. Legends, spells, and famous Iraqi poems that describe the pain of missing the homeland or loved ones inspired these artists.[37]

FIG. 14. Iraq after 2003: end of the first decade. Saving heritage: revitalization of the historic areas that host cultural and intellectual public activities.

Art and Architecture after the American Occupation, 2011–Present

Iraq's heritage, both old and modern, has become the main topic of concern for many current Iraqi artists, archaeologists, architects, and elites, who have all called for and worked for saving the tangible and nontangible Iraqi heritage from loss or deformation.[38] Conferences and social media have become important platforms to raise awareness about this heritage and the dramatic challenges it faces. As a result, there have been achievements like the revitalization of the historic Ottoman Qishla of Baghdad and Al-Mutanbai Street (fig. 14) and the listing of some remarkable historical sites (such as the Citadel of Erbil, the Iraqi *Ahwar* [marshes], and Babylon) by UNESCO as World Heritage sites. Individual initiatives for public outreach by some artists and

architects have enhanced this approach—for example, the weekly free downtown tour in the historic city center of Baghdad, guided by Mohammed Al-Hasani, an Iraqi architect with a PhD degree, and the Origin of Ark Re-Imagined project by Rashad Salim, which aims to encourage a reimagination of the ancient ark based on ancient Iraqi ark traditions.[39]

Artists and architects are trying again to take inspiration from the Mesopotamian heritage to indicate that a land that was the cradle of more than five thousand years of civilization could never die and, like a phoenix, will rise out of the ashes again. The significant final monuments by the late Mohammed Ghani Hikmat are examples of this (fig. 15). A remarkable project that exemplifies this approach and motivates other Iraqi architects to follow its steps is the Iraqi

A

B

FIG. 15. Iraq after 2003: art and architecture. Mohammed Ghani Hikmat's last works in Baghdad just before his death in 2011: (a) Saving Iraqi culture monument, 2010; (b) Baghdad Monument in Baghdad, 2010–2013.

General Secretariate of the Council of Ministers Project, designed by architect Manhal Al-Habbobi. His design was inspired by ancient Mesopotamian icons and uses cuneiform writing to narrate the story of this land and to reconnect with its ancient civilization (fig. 1).

CONCLUSIONS

In their quest to develop a style in art and architecture that can reflect the local identity, Iraqi artists and architects tend to focus on particular historical events and certain moments to evoke the collective memory that deepens the bond among Iraqis, despite their diverse ethno-religious groups, and roots them all in the ancient land of their relatively new state.

The Iraqi style in art and architecture was initially influenced by Islamic, colonial, and Western styles during the 1920s. In the 1950s Iraqi artists found their own ways of representing local traditions while

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adopting new techniques. On the other hand, Iraqi architecture was recognized as a unique style during the 1960s. Since 2003, most of the young architects have followed the common approach of going along with international architectural trends for almost all types of buildings, indicating a loss of the earlier unique Iraqi style. Yet within the past decade there have been some serious attempts to give a rebirth to an Iraqi style, inspired mainly by Mesopotamian heroic art.

This quick overview of a century of contemporary art and architecture in Iraq has revealed the role of the successive political powers and tendencies in honoring or underestimating certain pages of history and their recognized heritage. It also shows the response of artists and architects to the sociopolitical situation in each of the four chief phases that we can summarize here below.

The monarchy ruling system under the British supervision encouraged the British and Western style of life, education, and traditions to influence Iraqi traditional life. Iraqi artists and architects adopted Western styles of art and architecture. Memory was implied in art using landscape and traditional scenes, while in architecture this was accomplished through the use of local materials, particularly bricks. Memory has been involved in the use of local materials, traditional features, Islamic style in planning and details, and heroic stories from Mesopotamian art.

Through the Abd Al-Kareem Qasim epoch, the focus was on praising Iraqi nationality and the 1958 revolution, and seeking an Iraqi style in architecture. During this time the art of monuments emerged. Memory was involved in the use of local materials, traditional

features, Islamic style, and heroic stories from Mesopotamian art.

During the reign of Ba'athists, the tendency was for independence, praising Arab nationality and the 1968 revolution, as well as wars, martyrs, and victory. Religious beliefs were encouraged, to control people's anger over their poverty and being internationally isolated by severe sanctions. The art of battles and huge monuments were the main themes in art and architecture. Artists and architects realized that heritage could connect the past and the present and bring to mind the image of courageous leaders.

Post-2003, Iraq has witnessed violence and huge destruction of buildings and heritage, the praising of religious characters, and the encouragement of religious beliefs to control people. There has been a focus on investment and the flourishing of the private sector, along with the praising of martyrs and victory. People have fled from dangerous places to safer ones. Artists and architects have focused on monuments that represent religious characters and those that indicate the rebirth. They have also taken responsibility for saving the cultural heritage and rebuilding the country. Memory has been involved through recalling heroic stories from Mesopotamian art.

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BETWEEN SAFETY AND PRESERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IN EARTHQUAKE-PRONE REGIONS

GIANMARCO DE FELICE

Safety and *preservation* have been the two recurring terms in the debate that followed the Central Italy earthquake of 2016. The scientific community and practitioners separated between the champions of "to do," driven by the need to ensure an adequate level of seismic safety, and the champions of "not to do," moved by the instance of preservation, against a pressing interventionism disrespectful of heritage buildings. The complex harmonization between safety and preservation leads us back to twenty-five years ago, when Antonino Giuffrè published his book *Sicurezza e conservazione dei centri storici. Il caso Ortigia*.[1] There was, in fact, a rather peculiar situation in Ortigia (Italy), since the design drawn up according to the preservation plan did not meet seismic standards. In this institutional impasse, the municipality asked Giuffrè to design retrofitting interventions to meet safety targets without destroying material and constructional consistency. This landmark study was the starting point for a new approach to the seismic analysis of historical buildings, based on the use

of so-called *collapse mechanisms* instead of the current *linear dynamic analysis*. It was also the occasion to open a new season of studies and investigations focused on the seismic effectiveness of traditional technologies and historical methods of construction.

After twenty-five years, the Central Italy seismic sequence has reopened the debate.[2] Looking at the widespread destruction of Amatrice (fig. 1), Accumuli, and neighboring villages, it is apparent that the damage caused by the earthquake was not restricted to just a few buildings or due to inappropriate technological solutions.[3] The destruction was generalized and affected most of the built heritage. The scientific community has therefore been asked to address the problem and seek solutions that combine the preservation of historic centers, together with their architectural features, with the achievement of the required safety targets.

This line of reasoning leads to the following question: Were the buildings that suffered such extensive damage built in defiance of the rule of art, or rather was the rule of art itself not sufficient to ensure their seismic safety? This debate gives rise to divergent

FIG. 1. Amatrice, after the earthquake of 24 August 2016.

solutions. In one case, it is a matter of highlighting and isolating those buildings that were deficient or have become vulnerable due to lack of maintenance or incongruous interventions. In the other case, it is a matter of recognizing the intrinsic weakness of the rubble masonry of large swaths of the Apennines.

The images of damaged buildings after the 2016 earthquake have above all highlighted the lack of monolithicity of the rubble masonry walls built with irregular stones bonded with a poor mortar that, over time, had completely lost its binding properties.[4] The disintegration of rubble masonry was also due to the number and intensity of aftershocks that struck the same buildings already weakened by previous events, in a progression of damage. Moreover, a careful inspection of the damage revealed that many buildings were previously subjected to the insertion of rigid and massive reinforced concrete elements (curbs, slabs, roofs). The related increase in mass and the sudden change in stiffness were responsible for a concentration of stresses and the consequent accumulation of damage that triggered the premature collapse of masonry.

A similar situation occurred in 2009 during the L'Aquila (Italy) earthquake, where most of the historic churches had been retrofitted in the 1970s by adding concrete slabs over the vaults and replacing the original wooden roof with concrete slabs fixed with reinforced concrete ring-beams on top of the walls. This choice was driven by the intention of providing the constructions with a box-like behavior. Eventually, this resulted in undesired outcomes regarding both preservation and seismic safety. Indeed, due to the increased weight and stiffness, most of the retrofitted churches suffered

heavier damage during the earthquake than churches that retained their original roof systems.

Today, especially if compared to twenty-five years ago, many steps have been taken in the assessment of the seismic behavior of historical buildings. A specific regulation is now available in the current guidelines that provides different procedures for assessing the seismic safety of existing buildings compared to new ones. Every intervention must be preceded by a knowledge path, which is considered a fundamental part of the design process of the retrofitting strategy. The structural analysis includes the assessment of the collapse mechanisms to simulate, as closely as possible, the recurrent failure modes during earthquakes. Nonetheless, even today, safety and preservation are often opposing goals that, due to different cultural backgrounds and the different responsibilities of the various actors, lead to divergent visions. Too often safety becomes a bulwark on which to entrench oneself to support improper design solutions. In the name of safety, historic roofs are completely replaced, plaster is removed to enclose the masonry within reinforcing nets, or vaulting hoods are built to support them, even where these interventions are not needed. Current practice has naturally moved away from the technologies adopted in the 1970s. The techniques in use today are much more refined and evolved. Retrofitting is experiencing innovations in technologies and materials, with an effort by industry and research to devise structural solutions that are more compatible, durable, and reversible. Instead of concrete slabs, lighter floors are made with steel structures, curbs become rows of bricks with steel-reinforced grout inserted into the

mortar joints, plaster is made with lime-based binders and reinforced with glass fiber–reinforced mesh, and vaults are strengthened with thin bands of inorganic matrix composites attached to the extrados.

The structural engineer usually argues the following: If there is strengthening work that manages to increase the safety of the building without violating the principles of preservation, why should it not be carried out? This position, however, would lead to an extensive and indiscriminate use of interventions that, in many cases, might not be necessary. The conservator could reply: If the structure already has an acceptable safety level, why should further structural retrofitting work be carried out? And so the choice of "to do or not to do" moves to the side of the safety assessment.

Ancient structures were built following design rules that now have fallen out of use.[5] Design was based on geometry instead of mechanics and focused on the equilibrium among the parts of the building rather than on the strength of the materials.[6] Since for these structures the load is mainly represented by the weight itself, the safety was assessed by controlling the displacement during the construction, with no particular care for the stress level. The change in perspective of design rules from ancient to modern times is one of the reasons for the difficulty in providing an adequate estimation of the safety of historic buildings. We have lost the capacity to design arches, vaults, or buttresses since we usually deal with other structural typologies.[7] This is also why we intervene when there is no need to intervene.

Motivated by the large number of examples that show an excessive, unnecessary, and at times damaging retrofitting intervention, there are those who believe that the

assessment of seismic safety is a superfluous and even dangerous exercise. They believe that there is no need to carry out the seismic assessment since the mere existence of a historic building in a seismic-prone area is the experimental proof of the building's capability to resist the expected earthquake. Moreover, any intervention on a historical building that is carried out to improve its seismic behavior is, in principle, failing to comply with the principles of preservation theories because it would result in a distortion of the original structural design.

However, considering the intrinsic randomness of seismic action, the mere presence of intact historic buildings does not guarantee their safety. Moreover, many existing buildings may have been subject to degradation, trauma, or even transformations that have altered and weakened their original structure. The designer is therefore rightly required to perform calculations and provide an assessment of the level of seismic protection.

In light of recent seismic events, we have experienced a systematic discrepancy between the result of numerical analyses and the actual seismic damage, with standard calculations commonly providing us with a conservative estimate of the actual seismic capacity. The bias of numerical evaluation is affected by the adoption of safety coefficients, as well as by the inherent uncertainties in both the input data and the model itself. The adoption of partial coefficients in current standards is necessary to ensure a safety margin in the design of the new but becomes problematic in the retrofitting of the old, where an unbiased esteem is needed to decide whether it is a case of "to do" or "not to do."

As far as the input data are concerned, too often the designer's attention is focused on the mechanical

parameters of masonry, such as strength and stiffness, while neglecting information on geometry and construction characteristics. The uncritical transposition of strength and stiffness into the structural analysis code has led in many cases to unnecessarily invasive intervention for the sole purpose of increasing the strength of masonry to achieve the requested seismic improvement in the output printouts.

As far as the model is concerned, the scientific community is making great strides in the seismic analysis of monuments and historic buildings, thanks to the rediscovery of treaties on the history of construction and the systematic recognition of earthquake damage from past events.[8] It is finally recognized that the ultimate seismic behavior of historical structures is governed by the dynamics of rigid bodies rather than by that of elastic systems.[9] Due to the lack of connection, the walls could detach and start overturning, resulting in a rocking motion no longer governed by a period of vibration, since the period itself depends on the amplitude of the motion.[10] The stability during earthquakes is mainly controlled by the geometry rather than by the strength. The squatter the wall, the greater the horizontal acceleration necessary to trigger the tilting collapse mechanism. The detachment of one wall does not necessarily affect the adjacent wall, and therefore only the weakest part of the construction yields to the earthquake, without dragging with it the neighboring portions. The concept of structural regularity, so important in classical earthquake engineering, becomes negligible in structural masonry. Simulation by continuous models shows all its limits as soon as the mechanism is activated, and the inability to represent the dynamic interaction of the structure during motion. This has led to approaches based on the discrete element method capable of reproducing the discontinuities and simulating the dynamic evolution of the collapse mechanism through explicit integration of the equations of motion.

It will take time for these approaches and computational tools to be transferred from research into current practice. In addition, the complexity and variability of historic structures are such that there can be no single, reliable strategy for structural modeling and analysis. It is therefore necessary to keep in mind the assumptions and simplifications that underlie each calculation and affect the reliability of the results of structural analysis. It is sufficient to think of the schematization usually used in the current codes, where the masonry structure is reduced to a set of columns and beams that form equivalent frames. In several cases, this scheme has led the designer to automatically transpose the result of the calculation onto the project, with the perverse effect of fragmented and disorganized interventions on the weaker elements, lacking a coherent overall design.

It is recommended that the designer not mistake the automaticity of the calculation with the reliability of the result. Structural analyses are an important tool in the knowledge of the response and the estimate of seismic safety, but structural design is a broader and more complex operation, the result of which is not summarized by the level of seismic improvement achieved.

The designer who intervenes in the historical heritage is required to prefer the solutions of *minimum intervention*, deepening, where necessary, the evaluation of seismic safety. Reducing the intervention to a minimum means paying due respect to the conservation of

the heritage; deepening the evaluation of seismic safety means verifying, with adequate and diversified tools and methodologies, whether the intervention is necessary. For monumental assets, it is preferable to accept a higher level of risk than for ordinary structures, rather than intervene in a way contrary to preservation criteria.

As far as intervention techniques are concerned, it is often possible, and certainly preferable, to guarantee seismic safety through traditional methods and technologies, which are typical for masonry constructions. Once misunderstood and neglected, archaic structural systems and traditional earthquake-proof devices are now recognized for their effectiveness and durability. The use of traditional methods succeeds in meeting the following criteria: (1) *do not alter the original structural conception*, (2) *do not create discontinuity in the seismic behavior of the building*, and (3) *ensure durability using materials that have already experienced the action of time*. Traditional construction technologies not only bear historical witness to a way of building but also ensure the resilience of historic buildings and their ability to survive with little maintenance, to withstand failure and then be repaired, modified, and adapted to change in use.There are some cases, however, in which innovative techniques and materials, if properly controlled to ensure durability and designed in compliance with the conception of the building, are entitled to be used in seismic retrofitting. It would be anachronistic to renounce the use of what technology makes available to us. To evoke the analogy with human health, it would be like not accepting medicines, prostheses, or surgical operations and resorting exclusively to homeopathic remedies.

The preservation of architectural heritage in earthquake-prone areas is a complex task that requires the harmonization of opposing and equally relevant needs, which can be achieved only through a multidisciplinary approach based on a deep understanding of the ancient building, fostering the link between historians, conservators, and structural engineers.

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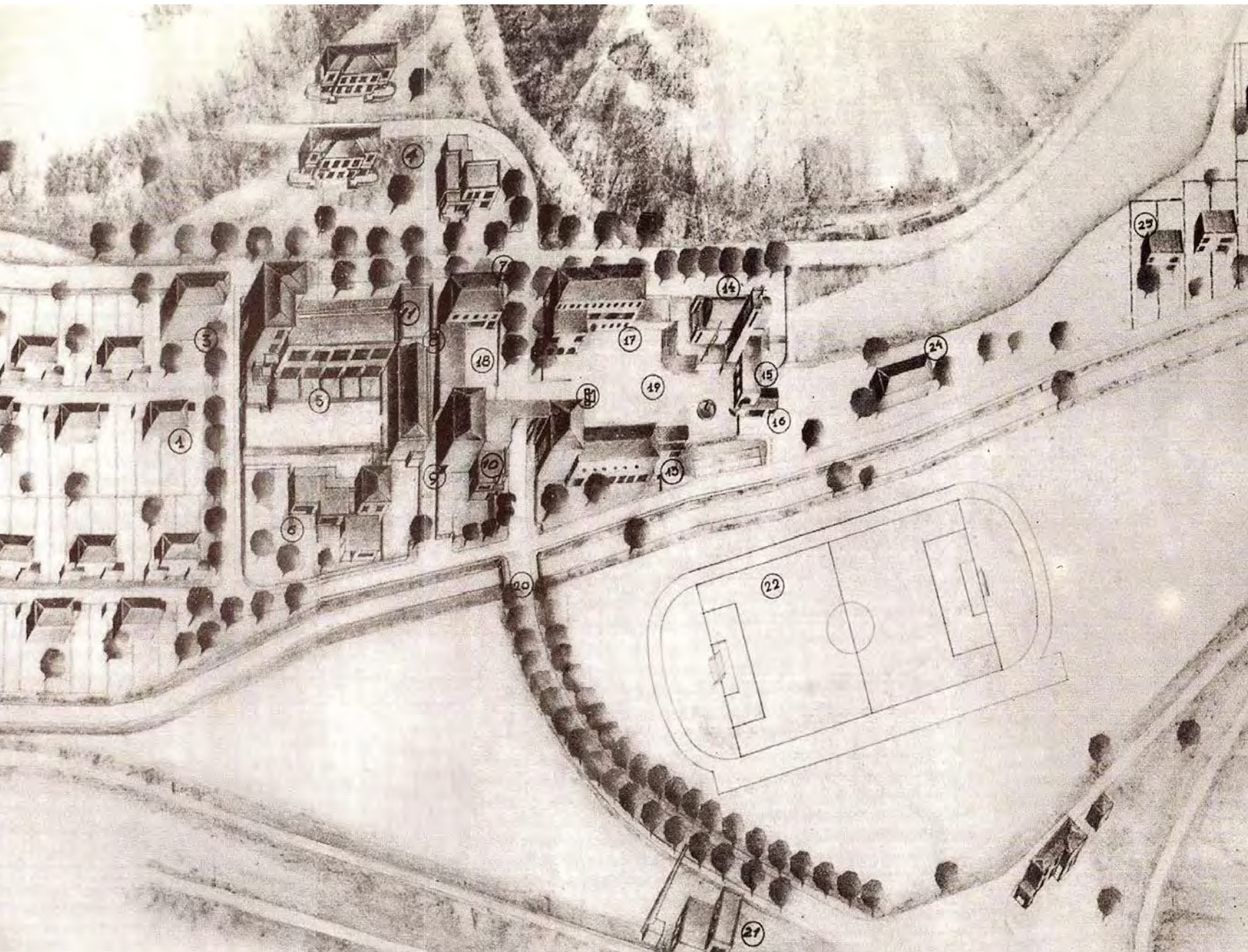
THE URBAN HERITAGE OF THE MODERNIST *CITTÀ DI FONDAZIONE* ON THE CROATIAN MEDITERRANEAN

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In the 1920s, after the fascists had come to power in Italy, a program was started for the planned building of new cities, the *città di fondazione*, in which Mussolini's aim was to exemplify the strength and élan of the new regime. These cities were "part of the promise of a presumably forward-looking political program that aimed in part to put Italy on an equal if not superior footing with the rest of the industrialized world."[1] These manifesto cities of Mussolini were, however, only model examples of a project of urbanization of much broader compass, in which, during fifteen years, as many as 147 such complete new settlements were produced in Italy, in the newly conquered territories of Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia, and in various Mediterranean countries, like Libya and Greece, and in Croatia along the coast. In this modernist period between the world wars, in just ten or so years (1933–1942), Croatia saw the foundation of three contemporary company towns featuring functionalist concepts and avant-garde architecture—Uble (San Pietro), Raša (Arsia), and Podlabin (Pozzo Littorio). These three cities were formed in the Adriatic zone of Croatia,

Detail of site plan, Raša (fig. 3, p. 86).

in the part that at that time belonged to Italy.[2] Although all these cities were created as programmatic projects of the fascist government, in the domain of their city planning concepts and in their architectural expression there were some exceptionally high-quality works of some of the leaders of Italian modernism (G. Pulitzer Finali, E. Montuori), who, along with a rationalist composition, always endeavored to incorporate specific local elements, particularly in the details and choice of materials.

The construction of company towns in all the Italian territories was a result of Mussolini's planned urbanization of the "new provinces." During the twenty-five years of occupation, the Duce tried to "re-Romanize" the existing ethnic and cultural environment, attempting at the same time to stage the revitalization and improvement of infrastructure, transport, and economy in the neglected border regions. Different locations had different approaches to colonization. For example, Italian colonization of North Africa, which focused on tourism and a primary orientation toward agriculture, looked to Arab vernacular houses as a source for modern colonial architecture. In Croatia, on the other hand, the strategy of settling new territories involved industrial
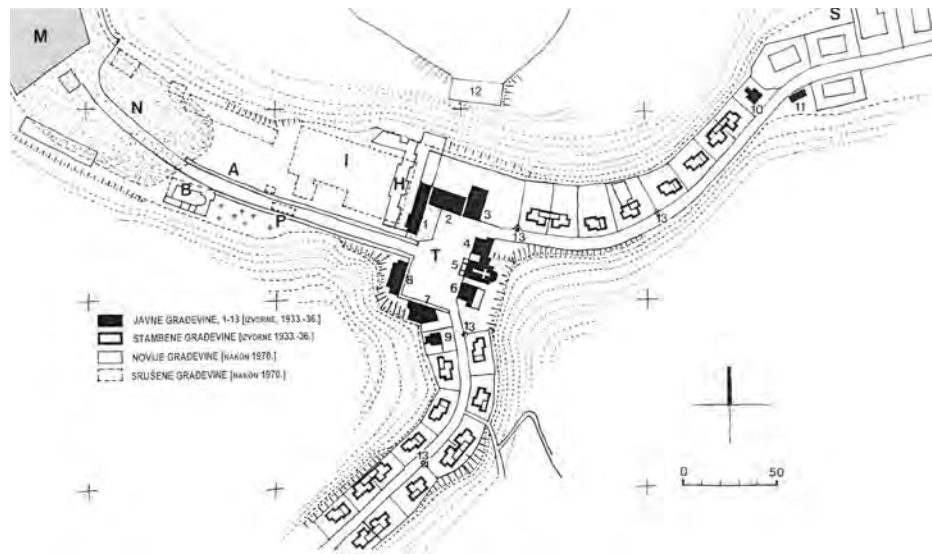
FIG. 1. Site plan, Uble.

development rather than agriculture. Establishing new towns mostly took place under the guise of a newly established Italian rationalism, which intelligently combined previously incompatible extremes: "Unlike their reactionary counterparts in Italy and elsewhere, they looked to tradition as a source of invention, neither slavishly imitating it nor resisting progress in the name of past glories."[3] How great the promotional importance of this project of the new *città* was for the fascist *apparat* at the time is evident from the fact that the construction site of Raša/Arsia in Croatian Istria was visited by Mussolini himself on August 7, 1936. He criticized the choice of location in the valley because "the town will not be grandiose or visible enough," while the prince of Spoleto inaugurated the new Arsia on behalf of the king. However, the Italian urbanist acquisitions in Croatia

had started several years earlier, less pompously, with discreet investments on the undeveloped islands.

THREE INDUSTRIAL TOWNS ON THE CROATIAN SIDE OF THE ADRIATIC COAST

San Pietro (today Uble), on the island of Lastovo, is a small settlement created in a place that used to be the uninhabited cove of Uble, the most favorable natural harbor on the island.[4] Subsequently, "an industrial fishermen settlement was built between 1933 and 1936 next to the sardine factory 'Conservifici di Trieste' which was established in 1931. It was first called San Pietro, later renamed to Luigi Razza."[5] The construction of San Pietro, then, was started just a year after the finest example of Italian rationalism and the new town program—Sabaudia.[6] Uble was established as the first

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FIG. 2. Main square, Uble.

Italian quasi-governmental investment within Mussolini's urbanization politics of new *città* in the occupied regions of the Croatian Adriatic (fig. 1). In the rare notes in postwar Yugoslavia about the construction of Uble, "the entire project always received negative (and incorrect) connotations, primarily as a political intent of fascist Italy to colonize Lastovo with families of Calabrian fishermen, thus changing the ethnic structure of this historically Croatian island. Colonization did happen in the end, but only as an unwanted side effect of the dogged resistance of Lastovo inhabitants to working in the factory and being relocated to this new settlement."[7] In the meantime, only two families from Lastovo settled in the empty houses of Uble; contrary to the original idea, the Italian administration was forced to bring in people from outside for the needs of the factory. "Only

then, in May 1937, were some forty fishermen from Calabria brought in (the literature quotes some 10 to 12 fishermen families, a total of 80 people), or to be correct, 'landless laborers' from the island of Ponza in the Tyrrhenian Sea between Anzio and Naples."[8]

The settlement was planned and designed as a typical small industrial town based on a modernist concept, with a clear functional differentiation of basic zones according to their separate purposes, and with an accentuated affiliation with the factory for which it was established. "The composition of the settlement is dominated by an axially disposed tree-lined road access that connects the harbor and the symmetrical quadrangular square designed as a cloister, lined with public buildings (Casa di dopo lavoro, Casa Littoria, school, parish hall, cafeteria, office building . . .) (fig. 2)."[9] The

harmoniously formatted rationalist atmosphere of the square seems like a uniquely designed whole of almost idealized stage setting, with the same approach to every detail, which probably was the intent, to provide a background for a new fascist ideology.[10] The architecture on the square is a typical offspring of the avant-garde Italian rationalism of the 1930s and has considerable value as a high-quality complex from the time of modernism, something very rare in the southern Adriatic. Located along the central axis of the square, the new church of St. Peter was handled differently in terms of composition and design, in the spirit of the Italian Novecento, with an accentuated belfry and a porch in front of the façade. It is the church that has the most design details made of bricks with pointed joints, particularly elegantly used on the tall, narrow windows of the nave.

Almost all the construction workers employed were the earlier mentioned factory settlers (Istrians) and the locally mobilized men from the village of Lastovo, and only a few foremen and managers were Italian. Building advanced very quickly because all the installation elements, like doors and windows, stairway and balcony railings, some of the concrete elements, and so on, were prepared as typed prefabricated elements and brought in from Italy. "For example, 200 of the same window units were delivered for residential houses together with several thousand bricks, making the construction quicker and much more symmetrical than construction in stone and so on."[11] But to what extent this is vernacular is rather debatable. It is interesting that the settlement had a full utility infrastructure (water supply and sewage system, power plant); the traffic infrastructure included new piers in the harbor and installations for the hydroplane that flew daily to Italy until the start of World War II.

It has been often claimed in books and articles on the history of Croatian architecture that this settlement can be considered one of the rare examples in Croatia of an independent "total design" in early modernist zoning.[12] In terms of dimensions, all the public buildings around the square are simple cubes without a plastic division, while the houses are dominated by pronounced avant-corps and volume "shifts" on all four façades. That is why the stylistic characteristics of the public secular architecture of Uble are closest to the visual characteristics of the Italian rationalism that was dominant at the time. "It was characteristic for its pure geometric forms, flat roofs, plastered façades, coloristic palettes and associative 'ship' details on terrace railings. The buildings are made of bricks, with smooth, painted façades with white 'line' details on consoles, with cornices and windowsills made of reinforced concrete."[13] This created a pronounced visual detachment from the local, traditional stone architecture, which is interesting, since this was a Mediterranean environment and stone would presumably have to have been adopted if the ambition were to reinforce the collocation of "Mediterranean" and "typically Italian."

From the square, two residential streets lead to the interior of the island. Their geometry is soft and winding, adapted to natural valleys. The individual characteristics of housing are accentuated here, with separate lots and house gardens harmoniously blended into the preserved landscape.

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Twenty-one stand-alone and "duplex" one-story houses with one or two apartments were built (thirty-five residential units in total). Workers' houses in Uble were built like small Mediterranean "villas," all with lush green gardens, picturesquely blended into the background landscape of a pine forest that goes down to the very lots.[14]

Their volumes are discreetly separated with shallow avant-corps on the entrance and on the sides, and indented roof terraces. The local literature, unfortunately, even today evaluates the houses in Uble as unsuccessful architecture, "without roofs, in bricks and cement, in complete disharmony with the construction style of the island."[15] Unlike the secular public construction, the façades of the residential houses are somewhat more conventional, with the use of typically narrow windows and regional details like "škure," wooden window shutters. As Karač writes, "In all houses, the dominant part of the floor layout is a somewhat 'nonmodern' huge residential kitchen—which on one hand is a probable concession to the local tradition and the way of life of factory workers and fishermen, and on the other hand is perhaps the 'targeted' place of socialization of preferably numerous family members (a topic held dear by all totalitarian regimes, including Mussolini's)."[16]

In Uble, there is a question of who the author is. Although it might be possible from the historical context, judging by the visual design, it is quite unlikely that the author is Marcello Piacentini, which, in the case of Uble, is so far the only attribution proposed in recent literature. Another possible author, more because of the context than the architectural similarity, is Umberto Nordio, who worked on projects in Zadar and Rijeka, and, which is particularly telling, for the Trieste company that established the sardine canning factory in Uble. The blueprints of the public buildings, as well as the layout of the square itself, were signed by Ettore Vacchi, an engineer from the town of Zadar and the head of the Genio Civile state office, but it is not clear whether he is the author of the concept design of the entire settlement and the buildings.[17]

Soon after Mussolini's Italy capitulated in 1943, almost the entire settlement of San Pietro (i.e., Luigi Razza), as already mentioned, was vacated. "The Calabrian settlers returned to Italy, the damaged factory did not reopen until 1946, and the vacated houses and other buildings were left for a short time without users or caretakers, exposed to occasional devastation and looting. The factory part of the settlement was torn down in the mid-70s, together with some public buildings, and the rest of the settlement with several new non-contextualized interpolations still stands today in a dilapidated state."[18] Over the past few years, the originally flat roofs of the houses have been unsystematically covered with steeply pitched roofs. Another sad sight is the completely deserted and devastated elementary school building, and that of the cinema. Luckily, the modern tourist construction, due to the configuration of the terrain in the cove of Uble, has not yet come close to the original settlement complex.

Arsia (today Raša) is the second town established on the Croatian coast. It was a planned mining town, constructed in 1936–1937 in the reclaimed marshy valley of the Krapanski Potok stream along the coal beds,

FIG. 3. Site plan, Raša.

designed after the project of Gustavo Pulitzer Finali, architect from Trieste (designed under the name Liburnia). Pulitzer Finali was born in 1887 in Trieste to a family of Jewish and Hungarian descent. In those years, Trieste was the biggest port in Austria-Hungary—a town in Central Europe where different cultures, languages, and nations mixed.

This Central European Schtimmung left a permanent mark on Pulitzer's entire body of work. In 1908, Pulitzer entered the Polytechnic in Munich, where his teacher was architect Theodor Fischer. This was the time when the Deutscher Werkbund was established in Munich. This was a professional association that left a permanent trace on the history of 20th century architecture. After he completed his studies, Pulitzer traveled

to Greece, England, the USA, and Italy, looking for inspiration. In the 1920s, he ran his own studio, S.T.U.A.R.D. (Studio d' architettura e decorazione), where, in collaboration with architect Ceas, he designed several interiors for apartments for the haute bourgeoisie, hotel interiors, exhibition equipment. In early the 1930s he went to London, where he designed several companies and hotels.[19]

One thing that made him famous worldwide is the architecture of ships, done together with architect Nicolo Constanzi. However, the turning point in the life of Gustavo Pulitzer Finali came in 1935, when he was entrusted with the construction of Raša within the *città di fondazione* program (fig. 3).[20]

"The construction of Raša took only 547 days, with the majority of work on the houses being done by the

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FIG. 4. Raša.

company Zelko & Lucatelli. The stone for construction was excavated in situ, resulting in a new configuration of the terrain. The total value of the Raša construction investment was 15 million lira. The projects were executed under the supervision of Instituto autonomo per la case popolari dell' Istria orientale from Trieste."[21] The first projects included plans for the town of Raša (Arsia) for two thousand inhabitants. According to the plans, the next stages of construction were supposed to expand that number to six thousand. "The plan was executed only to a smaller extent (357 apartments and 166 singles' beds), but with all the important urban functions."[22] The town has an extremely elongated and very narrow, regular matrix, with clear reminiscences of the "linear town" concept, laid in a mile-long stretch along the Krapanski Potok stream and the Pula-Labin road. Raša's zoning is consistently functional, with a separate mining-industrial complex on the left bank of the stream opposite the settlement (fig. 4).[23]

Looking at the context of the time it was created, it seems almost impossible that on the periphery of fascist Italy of the time, Pulitzer was able completely to realize Le Corbusier's concept of a linear industrial town, which he placed ingeniously into a natural environment.[24] Raša is a town with a clear social and functional division into a residential area with one-story

FIG. 5. Main square, Raša.

houses for the workers and villas for the clerks and management, and an industrial zone. Between them is an area for rest and recreation of the workers with a pool and a football pitch. The main square area was designed so as to have a distinctive atmosphere, with a series of public buildings. It could be said that Pulitzer was quite consistent in translating Le Corbusier's idea of a linear industrial town into real space by celebrating three functions that are the foundation of zoning: housing, work, and improving the mind and body. A linear town, Le Corbusier wrote, follows the line written by geography, as is the case in Raša. Pulitzer placed it in a narrow longitudinal valley, fitting it perfectly into the surrounding environment. However, the grande Duce did not like this concept. He voiced his dislike of the town's location when he visited the construction site on August 7, 1936. "Because the town is in a valley," wrote Berislav Valušek in a monograph about

Raša, "it isn't grandiose enough, representative, dominant, 'loud' enough to speak and convey the message of the greatness of the regime—because it fitted in so well."[25] Another important element of the longitudinal industrial town according to Le Corbusier is the routes (water, road, and rail) that need to provide an unhindered two-way flow: the arrival of raw materials and departure of finished products. "Because of that, according to Le Corbusier, they occupy one of the two borders of the linear town: 'The buildings are only on one side of the routes; the routes always need to be free and should not be used for other purposes: otherwise, if there are buildings on both sides, the routes will be permanently narrowed.' "[26] That is why the local road between Rijeka and Pula, which runs parallel to the town and does not enter it, will morphologically define Raša, lying along the valley of Krapanski Potok stream (fig. 5).

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FIG. 6. Typological house, Raša.

Pulitzer paid particular attention to designing the town's center—the main town square with the two most important public buildings, the church of St. Barbara and Casa del Fascio, as well as the hotel, post office, Balilla Hall, workers' hall, and cinema. "With the motif of the square, Pulitzer interconnects two separated town entities, creating an agora of sorts that at the same time separates the secular from the spiritual authorities, placing the church of St. Barbara and Casa del Fascio diagonally opposite of each other. However, the main characteristic of the square is that on a very limited space, Pulitzer provided an overview of all relevant directions of Italian architecture in the 1930s, from functionalism, Italian realism, novecentism, to new classicism (the so-called Stile Littorio)."[27] In its visual vocabulary, the architecture of Raša is a combination of avant-garde modernism (a derivative of Italian rationalism) and traditional materials and details (favored in the language of Novecento), like the pitched imbrex-and-tegula roofs, the rustic stone masonry, and the arched balatura. Art historian Krešimir Galović points out that in Raša, Pulitzer realized "one of the most picturesque town landscapes of modern planning, whose melancholic scene can be compared only to the works of the famous Italian metaphysical painter Giorgio de Chirico" (fig. 6).[28]

FIG. 7. The Church of St. Barbara, Raša.

In contrast to the monumentality of similar works at the time, Pulitzer adapted his *porte* to the town's scale. This detail contains, as Valušek puts it, "the ingenuity of Pulitzer's solution (although this is a compilation of the existing, recent roles of an ideological and phraseological type), in both the town's scale, i.e., low construction, as well as the fact that the height of the town gates is made ideally level with the heights of the side buildings, so the gates seem like a punctuation in a continued wall plane of the buildings, i.e., the square."[29]

We might say that Pulitzer's solution for the town gates contains not only his ingenuity but also his ideological attitude toward fascism, which is particularly evident, for example, in the construction of the church of St. Barbara, "whose reinforced concrete structure of parabolic arches recalls a mining cart turned upside down,"[30] as well as of the wooden structure of a mining shaft, which somewhere deep inside bears remote traits of construction traditions (fig. 7). "In Istria, an ancient meeting place of three great European cultures, Roman,
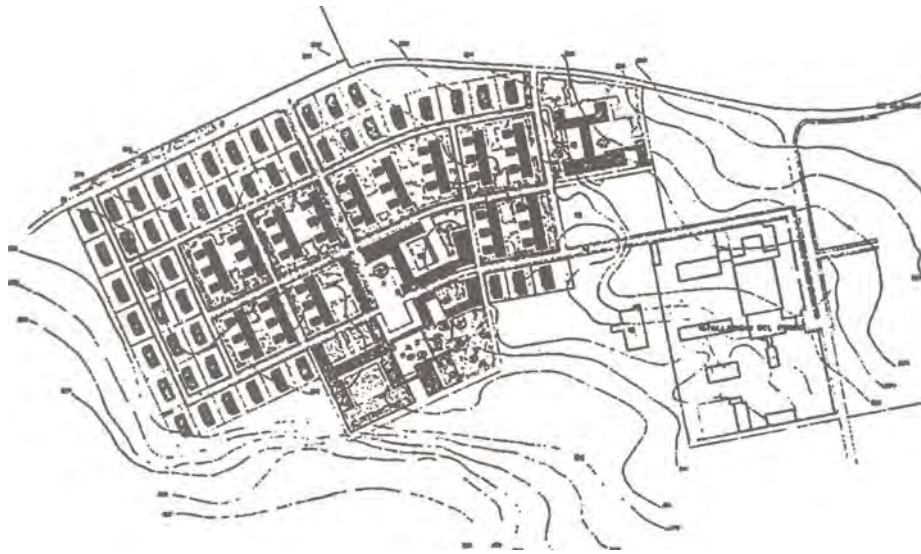
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FIG. 8. Site plan, Podlabin.

Slavic, and German, a town was created whose architect (of Jewish heritage and Hungarian roots) knew how to combine the parts of these traditions into a new value. From the Romans, he took the town building; from the Slavs the local construction tradition, while from the Germans he took over the sense and meaning of Gesamtkunstwerk, as an ideal position of the artist who designs everything—from the town itself, through architecture, to urban and interior equipment."[31]

After finishing Raša, Pulitzer moved with his family to the United States in 1939, offering the design of the Italian pavilion on the World Expo in New York as a reason. He designed numerous villas in Beverly Hills and worked as a set designer in the movies. After the war, he returned to Italy, working primarily on ship design. He also participated in numerous competitions.

After a long illness, Gustavo Pulitzer Finali died on April 16, 1967.

Pozzo Littorio (today Podlabin), like the nearby Raša, is also "a planned mining town of the company L' Azienda Carboni Italiani. It was built between 1939 and 1942 to the design of Roman architect Eugenio Montuori (who was among the authors who built the famous Italian città Carbonia and Sabaudia)."[32] It was positioned along the regional road between Labin and Pula beneath the historical center of Labin, but in terms of art conservation, a measured detachment on a leveled terrace, where it was possible to lay the orthogonally regular network of a new town. "Podlabin was dimensioned for 600 families with 3,000 inhabitants (much more than Raša), with all the necessary social content" (fig. 8).[33]
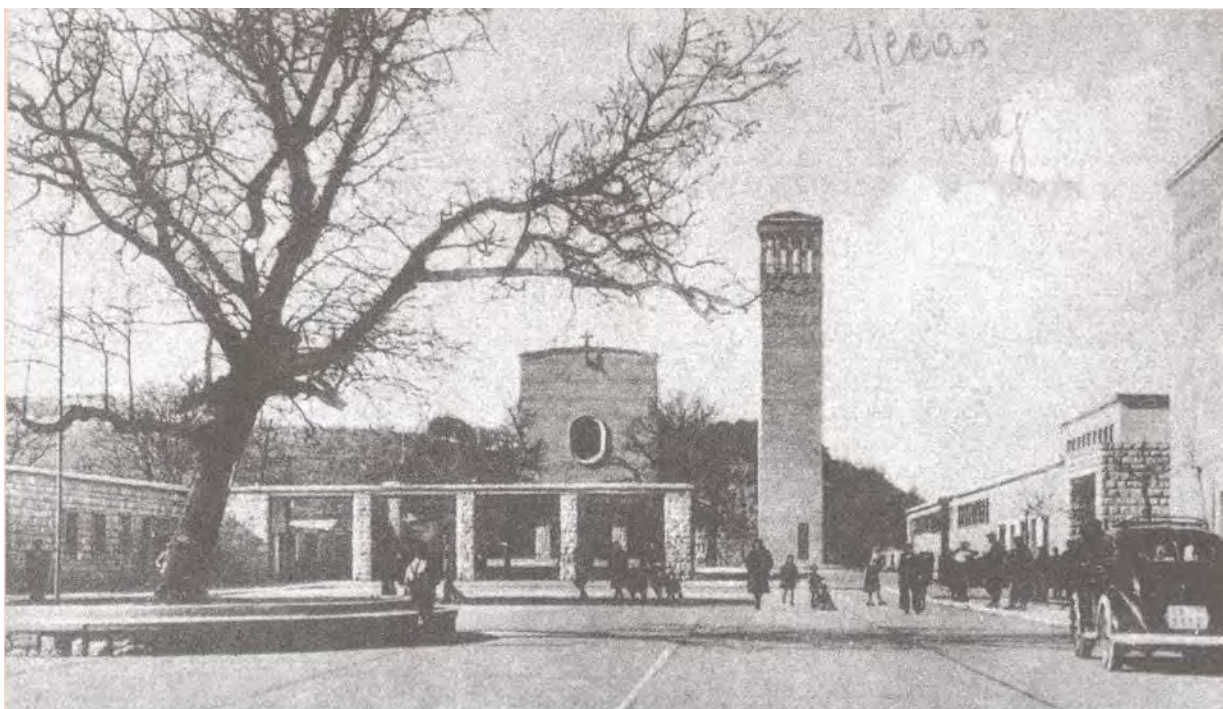
FIG. 9. Main square, Podlabin.

The central area of the settlement is a regular elongated quadrangular square, placed on the crossing of two main streets, which is a paraphrase of Roman forums, harmoniously formatted around an old oak tree used as a point to gather around and sit in the open. "The square is designed as a cloister, with two separated zones on a different level—an elevated sacred part in front of the new church, and a secular, with public content around it, partly distributed in the square's background (administration buildings, singles' hotel, cinema, sports hall, shops, market, post office, cafeteria, school and kindergarten . . .) (fig. 9)." The

infirmary was planned on the edge of the settlement, closer to the mine. "Composition accents of the square are the standalone belfry in the axis of the main access street and the massive 'tower' ('Lictorian tower') with a balcony for political speeches on Ceva Hall, the façades on both buildings being made with rustic stone (a concession to the vernacular tradition)."[34]

The housing typology follows the spatial hierarchy of the settlement, so "the central part closer to the square holds only two-story multiapartment buildings of cubist design, with smoothly plastered façades and flat roofs (27 apartments each), while the edges

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FIG. 10. Typological housing buildings, Podlabin.

hold smaller one-story buildings with four workers' apartments and 'atmospheric' shallow pitched roofs" (fig. 10).³⁵ There is a separate residential zone of single-family houses for the management staff. "Recently constructed annexes on some of the key objects on the square erased its original proportions, but the geometry of the settlement is still very well preserved today. For some of the abandoned coal mine facilities (closed in 1988) there was an architectural competition focusing on revitalization and new use (2007), with a program of museum and cultural functions."³⁶ Recently, a new municipal library of avant-garde design was constructed in the mine and received awards as the best designed interior in Croatia in 2013.

IDEOLOGY OF VERNACULARIZATION

It is interesting that Mussolini's regime had a cunning approach, different from that of the French and other "Westerners." His regime did not separate the Italians and the local people but integrated them. Mussolini was not thinking about Croatia as an occupied territory, but rather as a place that was a natural extension of Italy, and not only spatially: local construction techniques were taken into account to create a kind

of hybrid. Mussolini thought that the Mediterranean was Roman by definition.[37] Famous Norwegian architect Christian Norberg-Schulz says that "things have to invoke images,"[38] meaning that if we see particular elements in architecture, they should invoke in us a feeling that this is something very close to us, turning a location into a "home." However, with the creation of these images, architecture can be used to spread "negative" ideology. Although there has been constant speculation in the field of architecture that the topics of *Heimat* and the *vernacular* have been repressed and subordinated by the tyranny of cold modernism (rational and functional), this essay claims that references to traditional architecture can become an even more effective space for manipulation than the dogmatic ideological architecture of modernism (the international style) and so be much more dangerous. Therefore, the Italian approach seems to be an "ideology of vernacularization" (to vernacularize means "adapting to or making someone adapt to the specificity of a region, to make the person feel at home") in which, in order to prevent resistance by the domicile inhabitants or the profession, the centers of power use smaller modifications to "sell" their ideology (their values and culture) much more easily, under the guise of the vernacular of the smaller locations they are influencing. All this is united, in Mussolini's case, under the slogan "the Mediterranean style," which is different in various places but at first it sounds like an ideal tool of identity and unity (an ideal mask under which all people are ostensibly the same and belong to the same culture, Italian).[39] As Sabatino writes, "Whether for single or multifamily patio houses in Italy and its colonies, new towns on the Roman littoral, . . . gave 'progressive' Fascist architects with socially conscious aspirations opportunities to assert 'Italian' as well as international values as they forged a Mediterranean modernism."

In these three examples, however, it can be noticed that the Italian fascist system did not know from the beginning the right principle for expanding ideology by constructing new towns. The town of Uble was built of imported materials from Italy (prefabricated elements), and only later does in situ extraction of stone appear, where the materials are truly authentic and attempts are made to win over the population. In Uble there was great resistance by the population to this foreign architecture (prefabricated elements from Italy) because it seemed distant and not similar to what they considered "Mediterranean," so people refused to live in it.

Despite the adaptations, some of the basic Italian characteristics, which are part of the expansion policy and conquering of new spaces, were preserved in order to implement the ideological component. If Sabaudia were taken as an ideal example of the organization of a fascist town, it could be seen that in all three Croatian examples the same or very similar rhetoric is present. The central square always contains a clearly organized empty space (for gatherings and adulation of Mussolini),[40] an elevated building with a familiar motif of a balcony for speeches, and finally, along with the public buildings that appear on the square, a church with its tower. (The latter was more than welcomed by Croatian regions since they were all predominantly Catholic). Especially interesting is the square in Raša, with a spatial play between Casa del Fascio and the church (also present in Sabaudia). That square with the Casa surely

evokes a much better example of Terragni's house of houses—Casa del Fascio in Como, in northern Italy (completed in the same year as the one in Raša). From this it can be seen that the very creation of an ideal model for a fascist town had roots of sorts in the motifs from existing Italian towns that were appropriated.[41]

Public buildings apart, there was much more freedom in forming residential units, where it was less crucial to impose a rationalist style. It was more important to oblige the inhabitants, so they could feel at home, to seemingly vernacularize their environment, although they were indeed deeply immersed in the regime of the leading ideology. An interesting fact is that the towns were built next to the existing industrial plants, so that Mussolini's wish for his fascism to be an agent of modernization was made much easier to implement (unlike in the African countries, where the focus was on agriculture or tourism). "From the late 1920s, architects in Italy used the term 'Rationalism' to describe a movement in modern architecture that prioritized functional or technical requirements as well as spiritual qualities having to do with tradition and identity,"[42] and industry at the time was the embodiment of modernization.

TOPICS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Three examples of the *città di fondazione* (Uble, Raša, and Podlabin) founded in the period in which the Mussolini regime ruled parts of the Croatian Adriatic have recently been the subject of research and have been recognized as valuable examples of town planning and architecture in the spirit of Italian rationalism of the 1930s. To complement this research, it is worth referring to three more sites that might be of the same provenance and dating and yet are completely unknown to scholarship and certainly deserve to be explored in detail. In Italian registers of *città di fondazione nel periodo fascista*, which are constantly being updated with new examples of cities that were either built or only designed and identified on the basis of newly discovered documents and archival sources, there are references (with not very reliable data) to the Istrian settlements of Potpićan, Levade, and Čepićko polje.[43]

A design, dated 1942, was probably made for Potpićan[44] (*Sottopedena, frazione Chersano*), a new mining settlement functionally similar to nearby Raša and Podlabin, and would be worth looking for in Italian archives. In 1942 the first shaft of the new mine was opened up, but there was probably no time for the development of the town to be started, for the Mussolini state and its projects in the provinces had collapsed before the end of the following year. The mine, however, went on developing well after World War II and was in operation until the mid-1980s. In the early 1950s, the construction of the first typed housing buildings and other facilities began; the regular modernist composition of freestanding architecture in the midst of greenery deployed along the diagonal street shows the characteristics of city planning. Later development did not adhere to the original plan that is visible in this nucleus of the settlement. Potpićan is today considered the most recent settlement in Istria. A hypothesis that can at the moment be erected is that the postwar development of the settlement was in fact a partial accomplishment of the original design of 1942/43,

which perhaps was kept in the offices of the mine management and employed as the basis for town planning in later postwar years.

The settlement of Levade has not yet been reliably identified on the ground (it is referred to only as a *frazione di Pola*), but there is no such place-name in or around Pula.[45] However, in central Istria, at the foot of the hill on which the historic city of Motovun is built, there is a settlement called Livade on the banks of the Mirna and what is currently the main road through that part of Istria. It is an older rural settlement that dates from the sixteenth century, with extant examples of nineteenth-century architecture. It is possible that in 1942 (the date given in the register of *città*) an extension was planned here, or perhaps the redevelopment of the existing village; the very regular matrix of two roads crossing each other at right angles is perhaps the germ of this incomplete redevelopment. For the moment it is only the similarity of the names that would tend to support the proposition that it is in this Livade that the unknown Mussolini settlement should be sought. Until the town plan is found, however, this cannot be confirmed.

The third example mentioned in the register of *città* is called Piana d'Arsia, Cepich, today's Čepićko polje, close to Kršan, dating from 1930.[46] Between the two wars, a major land reclamation project was begun in the area of the shallow lake or marshland, called Čepić, beneath the foothills of Mt Ućka. The aim was to eradicate malaria and turn this drowned plain into a fertile agrarian area. The plan was implemented for several decades. A settlement for the workers employed on the operation was certainly planned but was never built. It is possible that there are other examples of planned urbanization along the Croatian Adriatic from the Mussolini era (at least on paper), and this topic could give rise to interesting further research.

Notes

1. Diane Yvonne Ghirardo, *Building New Communities: New Deal, America and Fascist Italy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989).

2. In the introduction to Mia Fuller, *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism* (London: Routledge, 2007), the author says that "each of the colonial enterprises was promoted as a reinforcement to national identity and unity, implying that colonial possessions would act as a bulwark against disintegration and a possible loss of autonomy. For Italy, perhaps even more than for other modern European colonial powers, the colonial project was integral to the struggle for greater modernity and state legitimacy." After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, parts of the Croatian Adriatic—some cities, such as Rijeka and Zadar, Istria (the whole northwestern part of the state), and some islands—were assigned to Italy. In Istria, where Raša and Podlabin are located, even today there are strongly positive feelings for Italy, and for a while secession from Croatia was discussed, since a large number of people there speak Italian, and the area is still hugely influenced by Italian culture.

3. Michelangelo Sabatino, "The Politics of Mediterraneita in Italian Modernist Architecture," in *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*, ed. J. F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino (London: Routledge, 2010), 41–63.

4. Lastovo is the most remote inhabited Croatian island. It has formed in its historical topography only one settlement with residential-rural characteristics (also named Lastovo), located in the interior of the island, with a fertile plain.

5. Zlatko Karač, Nataša Jakšić, and Nana Palinić, "Planirano industrijsko ribarsko naselje Uble na Lastovu iz 1936. Godine: Primjer talijanske urbanizacije otoka iz razdoblja moderne" [Planned industrial fishermen settlement of Uble on the island of Lastovo, 1936: Example of the Italian urbanization of the island from the period of modernism], *Prostor* 1 (37), no. 17 (2009): 90–111.

6. Richard Burdett, ed., *Sabaudia: Città Nuova Fascista* (London: AA, 1982).

7. Branko Grlić, "Ubli," in *Pomorska enciklopedija* 8 (Zagreb: JLZ, 1984), 273.

8. Karač, Jakšić, and Palinić, "Planirano industrijsko ribarsko naselje Uble na Lastovu iz 1936."

9. The whole polyvalent urban ensemble of the planned village of San Pietro was formed on a very small area, where the settlement, excluding the industrial assembly, occupies about 1.45 ha. If the factory plot of 0.35 ha is included, the total area is only about 1.8 ha.

10. "Apart from being service centers, towns also fulfilled a second role, a representative one; thus they had to accomplish 'certain scenographic effects' appropriately to set off and enhance the public buildings." Ghirardo, *Building New Communities*.

11. Ghirardo, *Building New Communities*.

12. Karač, Jakšić, and Palinić, "Planirano industrijsko ribarsko naselje Uble na Lastovu iz 1936."

13. Karač, Jakšić, and Palinić, "Planirano industrijsko ribarsko naselje Uble na Lastovu iz 1936."

14. Zlatko Karač, "Planirani novoutemeljeni industrijski gradovi u Hrvatskoj između dvaju svjetskih ratova: Borovo–Uble–Raša–Podlabin," in *IV. Međunarodna konferencija o industrijskoj baštini posvećena temi Rijeka i brodograđevno naslijeđe jučer—danas—sutra: zbornik radova*, ed. Velid Đekić and Nana Palinić (Rijeka: Pro Torpedo, 2012), 701–14.

15. Grlić, "Ubli," 8:273.

16. Karač, Jakšić, and Palinić, "Planirano industrijsko rib-arsko naselje Uble na Lastovu iz 1936."

17. Karač, Jakšić, and Palinić, "Planirano industrijsko rib-arsko naselje Uble na Lastovu iz 1936."

18. Manda Horvat and Katica Mutak, "Graditeljstvo otoka Lastova" [Construction on the island of Lastovo], in *Etnološka istraživanja*, no. 11 (Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 2006), 317–34.

19. Krešimir Galović, "Grad za 547 dana," *Vijenac* 10, no. 226 (2002): 18.

20. Darja Radović Mahečić, "Rudarski grad Raša—arhitekta Gustava Pulitzer Finalija—spomenik moderne arhitekture" [Mining town of Raša—of architect Gustavo Pulitzer Finali—a monument of modern architecture], *Radovi IPU*, no. 24 (2000): 113–26.

21. Galović, "Grad za 547 dana."

22. Radović Mahečić, "Rudarski grad Raša."

23. Borislav Valušek, *Gustavo Pulitzer Finali. Raša—Arsia* (Rovinj: Habitat d.o.o.), 2002.

24. In that context, it is interesting to mention that Le Corbusier himself sent his project for Addis Ababa to Mussolini, hoping to have it built, which shows that modernism (and Le Corbusier is considered its embodiment) is a style that easily adapts to any kind of ideology and knows no ethical barriers.

25. Valušek, *Gustavo Pulitzer Finali. Raša—Arsia*.

26. Antonio Rubbi, "Urbane vrijednosti Podlabina" [Urban Values of Podlabin], in *Moderna arhitektura u Istri* (Pula: Društvo arhitekata Istre, 1995), 8–10, 51–55.

27. Valušek, *Gustavo Pulitzer Finali. Raša—Arsia*.

28. Galović, "Grad za 547 dana." The de Chirico–like atmosphere in new towns was also mentioned in Giuseppe Pasquali, "Notes on Rationalism and Metaphysics," in *Sabaudia: Città Nuova Fascista*, ed. Richard Burdett (London: AA, 1982), 6–8.

29. Valušek, *Gustavo Pulitzer Finali. Raša—Arsia*.

30. Galović, "Grad za 547 dana."

31. Antonio Rubbi, "Vrijednosti urbanog bića Raše" [Value of urban body of Raša], in *Moderna arhitektura u Istri* (Pula: Društvo arhitekata Istre, 1995), 6–7, 45–47.

32. Maroje Mrduljaš, "Aktivacija Podlabina" [Activation of Podlabin], *Projekt*, no. 24 (2010): 10–11.

33. Milica Đilas, "Rudarsko naselje Podlabin" [Miners' town Podlabin], in *Moderna arhitektura u Hrvatskoj 1930-ih* [Modern architecture in Croatia 1930s], ed. Darja Radović Mahečić (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Školska knjiga, 2007), 455–60.

34. Karač, "Planirani novoutemeljeni industrijski gradovi u Hrvatskoj između dvaju svjetskih ratova."

35. Rubbi, "Urbane vrijednosti Podlabina."

36. Đilas, "Rudarsko naselje Podlabin."

37. Mussolini's references to the "Mediterranean" (1922) are the best confirmation of his desire to claim it as the genius loci of modern fascist Italian identity and architecture.

38. Hilde Heynen, "Architecture Facing Modernity," in *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), 8–25.

39. Sabatino, "The Politics of Mediterraneita in Italian Modernist Architecture."

40. In the 1973 movie *Amarcord* by F. Fellini (Criterion Collection, 1998, DVD), when the celebration of the arrival of fascists in the city is shown (42nd minute), the viewer gets an insight into the atmosphere and how the squares of fascist cities were used (despite the fact that it is a parody of a fascist regime, of the kind Charlie Chaplin created in *The Great Dictator*). Also, some elements specific to new cities can be seen there—entrance building, the bell tower of the church, and even a speech by the general to an enthusiastic crowd.

41. Even in Lucy Maulsby's *Fascism, Architecture, and the Claiming of Modern Milan, 1922–1943* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), it can be seen how certain motifs visible in the colonial towns appeared in older Italian towns, as in Milan, although not all those elements were rationally gathered around one square.

42. Sabatino, "The Politics of Mediterraneita in Italian Modernist Architecture."

43. https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citt%C3%A0_di _fondazione_nel_periodo_fascista#Ex_provincia_di _Pola; https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Centri_fondati _durante_il_fascismo_per_data_di_fondazione#1936.

44. https://www.istria-krsan.com/hr/istrazi/potpican; M. Bertoša, ed., *Istarska enciklopedija* (Zagreb: LZ Miroslav Krležam, 2005), 621–22.

45. Bertoša, *Istarska enciklopedija*, 445–46.

46. Bertoša, *Istarska enciklopedija*, 155–56.

THE "GRANT" BEFORE THE "PARK"

The Beginnings of Protecting Natural Areas

DENISE LA MONICA

The aim of this essay is to reflect on how legislation to protect "natural beauties" has developed in the United States in comparison with Europe, with the particular intention of highlighting its originality and specificity. For this perspective, it will be useful to briefly present the regulatory situation in some European countries before describing the genesis of the first acts issued in the United States. It is widely known that legislation on the protection of monuments as well as artistic and archaeological heritage developed in the European context between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.[1] Subsequently, the so-called natural beauties were also subject to protection from the technological progress and industrialization that threatened them.

In 1906 the first law for protection of natural assets ("sites and natural monuments having artistic interest") was approved in France.[2] Since then, natural assets have been subject to protection after having been deemed to be of a "general interest under the artistic or picturesque point of view." Thus the protection of natural

FIG. 1. Carleton Watkins, *The Cathedral Rock View*, 1861. Albumen silver print from glass negative. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

assets was organized through a mechanism similar to the one already used for the historical buildings: the "listing system" indeed had already been introduced in 1837, but it was enacted only fifty years later, in 1887.[3] The 1887 law defines the features that need to be detected in an immovable asset in order to put it under a specific protection system. The identification of particular typologies of interest creates a selection (list) of assets and then, on this basis, limits what actions (not to do something) or obligations (maintenance, repair, restoration) can be imposed.

In Italy, repeated parliamentary battles had to be engaged in order to finally approve in 1922 a law to protect natural beauties.[4] The 778/1922 law protecting natural beauties was inspired by those regarding antiquities and works of art. These acts had a similar approach: the "enjoyment" of the *cose di antichità e d'arte* was considered a primary public interest with respect to others; hence it was possible for public authorities to impose obligations and prohibitions to protect this primary interest. The protection of artistic assets and antiquities promoted by the Italian states of the pre-unification period and by the pontifical state was based on this same legal mechanism, which derived from Roman law.[5]

In the United Kingdom, the situation was completely different.[6] Quite belatedly, in 1932 the protection of natural beauties was introduced into the British legal system under the concept of countryside planning.[7] We could thus wonder if and how the natural beauties had been protected up to 1932, when the expansion of industries deeply modified not only urban areas but also rural ones: railways and petrol stations, advertisements and metallic bridges started being built everywhere, often damaging the general view and scenery.[8] In some cases a protest movement arose, fighting against the so-called progress that was destroying the natural beauties.[9] After the founding of the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877),[10] in 1884 William Morris wrote that "our towns must not eat up the fields and natural features of the country," evidently aiming at focusing attention on the larger problem of the British countryside.[11] In these same years, the Commons Preservation Society was founded, and many scholars, belonging also to the National Trust, became members. Its purpose was the protection of open lands and public spaces against their privatization.[12] Moreover, in 1898 some architects founded the Garden Cities Movement and discussed the uncontrolled expansion (sprawl) of the built space into the rural environment.[13] In this lively framework, the construction of infrastructure raised vibrant debate. One of the most contentious areas was the Lake District in Cumberland.[14] At least three bills were presented in order to build a water supply and two railways in this still isolated and sparsely populated area.[15] The parliamentary discussions about these bills point to some recurrent themes: the contrast between different public interests, such as the right to

use by current generations and the duty of preservation for future ones; the protection of nature as such, without a human presence and in its wilderness; and the protection of nature according to the European concept of landscape, a result of the interaction among nature, human presence, and history. In the end, however, each of these battles had a different outcome, based on the power and promptness of the different forces at stake. In the United Kingdom a general legal instrument was still lacking until 1932: against the huge power of corporations, every battle for the protection of natural scenery had to be fought case by case, finding the most efficient and suitable arguments.

During the nineteenth century, in parallel with the formation of the various protection systems in Europe, a similar process took place in the United States. Environmental movements were born, the first protection regulations were approved, and offices were set up to carry out these functions.[16] With respect to natural assets, two lines of normative production can be identified. The first, which is closer to the model derived from Roman law, is based on the formulation of general and nonepisodic principles of preservation, corresponding to collective interests. This approach was first developed for forests (Forest Act, 1891) and only later applied to the archaeological heritage (Antiquities Act, 1906). This line, in a preliminary, general, and abstract way, defines the interests to be protected; if they are found in a specific asset, then that asset deserves protection, by means of its declaration as national monument by the president.

A second line of normative production is characterized by the approval of rules that identify, from time

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to time, certain assets in order to subject them to a regime of nonavailability. Along this line, we find the first ever protection provisions in the United States: those adopted for the protection of Yosemite Valley (1864) and Mariposa Grove (1864). These provisions for the direct protection of individually named assets can also be deemed as outcomes of paths that led first to the cultural "discovery" of these assets and then to the emergence of various systems of alliances and pressures among civil society, the cultural world, and politics. This line of normative production is procedurally similar to the way in which, in the United Kingdom, the protection of specific natural assets has been achieved through battles fought by conservation associations and social and political forces.

At this point, it is necessary to focus on the first approved measure, both to understand its legal form and to highlight its originality. On June 30, 1864, President Abraham Lincoln signed the measure for the protection of Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove.[17] This law is known in the literature as the Yosemite Park Act (Runte), but in reality this name is a bibliographical invention that corresponds to an a posteriori simplification of the complex historical, cultural, and legal process that gradually led to the formulation of the concept of a "national park"; in fact, the park concept does not appear either in the body or in the title of the 1864 law.[18] Instead, the measure is more properly conceived as a concession from the U.S. federal government to the state of California regarding "the Cleft or Gorge in the granite peak of the Sierra Nevada" and "the headwaters of the Merced River," known as "the Yo-semite Valley." The act provides that these territories are given as a grant to the state of California on the condition that they will be preserved for "public use, resort and recreation" and in a state of perpetual inalienability ("inalienable for all time"). The act thus defines a temporary and conditional transfer of a property from an owner (the federal government) to a holder (the state of California), who accepts the grant on dictated conditions. Implicitly, if the conditions had not been fulfilled by the grantee, the assets could have been revoked and returned to the rightful owner (the federal government). This first act of protection that came into force in the United States therefore presents a number of original aspects: unlike the European states, it does not protect a limited asset (a thing, a monument, a building) but a vast natural and wild area, which had yet to be precisely delimited. Moreover, it applied a new legal device, the concession of a "grant," the validity of which had to be tested in subsequent years.

Not all the preliminary steps leading to the approval of the act are known.[19] Captain Israel Ward Raymond organized an expedition to Yosemite Valley around 1861, accompanied by Carleton Watkins, who was applying new methods to his photographic creations. Following that expedition, the captain sent a letter to a young senator from California, John Conness, with the intention of drawing his attention to the importance of that territory and the need to guarantee its inalienability and its destination as a source of public enjoyment. The letter was accompanied by Watkins's stereoscopic photographs, which reinforced the idea of the majesty and grandeur of the territory.[20] Shortly afterward, Senator Conness forwarded Captain Raymond's letter, accompanied by the photographs, to the General Land

Office (GLO), requesting that a bill be drafted.[21] On March 28, 1864, Conness introduced the bill in the Senate, after having already referred it to the Committee on Public Lands.[22] On May 17 he presented the bill to the Senate, pointing out that the goods to be protected constituted "some of the greatest wonders in the world" and that they should be preserved "for the benefit of mankind."[23] Thus, on the one hand he used the concept of "wonders," rooted in an ancient literary tradition, while, on the other hand, he accompanied it with the innovative and more recent perspective of benefiting mankind as a whole. During the same session on May 17, Senator Foster, critical of the bill, shrewdly observed that the proposed legal device was "a singular grant, unprecedented so far as my recollection goes, and unless the State through her appropriate authorities signified some wish in the matter, it might be deemed by the State officious on our part to make a grant of this kind." Conness responded by arguing that the "plan" came from high-ranking people in California and was then submitted to the commissioners of the General Land Office, who themselves had a great interest in the preservation of these properties. The singularity of the legal solution thus corresponded, according to Conness, to the extraordinary character of the property to be defended: "There is no parallel, and can be no parallel for this measure, for there is not . . . on earth just such a condition of things." In a clever move, Conness then turned the argument against the United Kingdom: with contempt and haughtiness, the antiquity of these trees had been judged by the British people to be just a "Yankee invention." This argument proved decisive and convinced even the doubters to approve the bill.[24]

In the following years, the management of the territories had to be organized: commissioners were appointed, and the perimeter of the areas to be submitted to the General Land Office was set.[25] At the same time, the legal system was subjected to harsh attacks by private subjects claiming rights to the land. To meet these claims, legal action was necessary.[26] From 1841 onward, settlers had been able to claim property rights to land belonging to the public domain on which they had lived or worked; prior to this, those who settled on public lands were considered trespassers.[27] In addition to these regulations, since 1853 the state of California had provided for conditions, ways, and times for claiming the right to settle.[28] Moreover, in 1862 Congress had passed a rule inviting those who had settled on public lands to submit their claims for ownership. Using these legal opportunities, two citizens claimed settlement rights in the Yosemite Valley area. They considered the government's refusal an act of "plundering despotism, robbing its own citizens." The governor of California, for his part, had vetoed the granting of the right of settlement, as he considered his state "not competent to grant relief since Congress had made the Grant and made it inalienable"; consequently, a congressional pronouncement on this issue would have been necessary.

To reinforce the governor's position, the commissioners confirmed that "the State was owner in fee of the premises, and that they were entitled to the possession as commissioners of the State." Therefore the conditional concession of the territories as a "grant," on the one hand, made the state of California not entitled to grant rights on the property and, on the other, required the pronouncement of Congress as the

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only subject actually owning the property. The court case ended in 1872 with a ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court that the citizens' claims were invalid because, at the time the grant had been awarded to the state of California, the citizens had not yet taken any action to claim their settlement.[29] Finally, in 1879, even the Committee on Private Lands Claims took the position that the state of California could not assign the land to the claimants and that, indeed, such an act would have to be ratified by Congress, not only because the private parties had never officially commenced proceedings to take possession of the land, but also because such lands "on account of remarkable features . . . cannot be treated by the government . . . like agricultural lands of an ordinary character" so that "the government is under no equitable obligation to maintain their claims to the prejudice of the public interests."[30] Yosemite Valley was thus definitively recognized as "one of the wonders of the world" and "one of those magnificent developments of natural scenery in which all the people of the country feel a pride and an interest, and to which their equal right of access and enjoyment ought to be protected."

This digression on the Yo-semite Valley Protection Act allows me to highlight two points: first, that an innovative and entirely experimental legal solution had been invented to protect this territory, proving even effective over time; and second, that, at this very early stage, the legislation did not include the concept of "park," which would soon be associated with this type of protection, but only as a second step and separately from the first official acts.

The term *park*, indeed, cannot be found in the above-mentioned legal acts but does appear in other texts. The landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted had already held the position of superintendent of New York's Central Park in 1857. Olmsted did not take the job for granted and managed to win the esteem of his superiors, thanks to his proposals for the planning and management of the park, driven by the desire to make the area functional for the well-being of citizens. After several trips to Europe, where he had the opportunity to visit English parks, on his return in 1863 Olmsted took on the role of superintendent of Mariposa Estate and then, from 1865, also the position of commissioner of the newly founded Yo-semite Grant.[31] On August 9, 1865, he had the opportunity to read a speech to the other commissioners at a meeting held in Yosemite Valley, which even caused some of his colleagues to take a dim view.[32] In this report, Olmsted extolled the beauty of scenery as a fundamental element for the physical and mental health of all citizens, whatever their social class; therefore, he believed that not only wealthy people should have the right to this source of spiritual recreation, but also less well-off ones ("the mass of the people"), framing this right within the state's constitutional duty to remove obstacles to the "pursuit of happiness." To this end, not only did he consider it the state's duty to preserve this unparalleled beauty for future generations and the current population, but he also believed it would be useful to provide the area with the minimum means necessary to reach it (road, rail), to make it accessible to a greater number of citizens. In making this proposal, Olmsted pointed out that similar "enjoyment" areas (parks) already existed, but only for rich people, whereas New York's Central Park aimed to offer the same opportunity to all citizens.[33] In Olmsted's

view, therefore, the majestic space of Yosemite Valley was perceived as a "park," a natural space reachable by ordinary people aiming for spiritual well-being.

Soon this concept would also be associated with the natural areas of the Yosemite Valley even by other types of text, especially travel or adventure fiction and guidebooks.[34] In 1869 Samuel Bowles III published two similar volumes, *Across the Continent* and *Our New West*, dedicated to Schuyler Colfax, then vice president of the United States.[35] Bowles and Colfax had embarked on a journey in 1865, which also led them to visit Yosemite Valley. In both volumes a chapter was devoted to the valley, which was celebrated for its "majesty" and grandeur as a source for "public resort and popular enjoyment." Olmsted's efforts to make the area more accessible were thus praised. In the same year (1869), the geologist Josiah D. Whitney, also a commissioner, published a guidebook illustrated with maps and landscape images, in which he openly took a stand against those who claimed rights to these lands; he considered the valley an "exceptional creation" and a "National public park" to maintain "as a place of public use, resort, and recreation, inalienable for all time."[36] This application of the concept of park to Yosemite Valley was then reflected in its explicit inclusion, in 1872, in the official act of protection of the subsequent preserved naturalistic area in the United States: Yellowstone.[37]

In 1912 the British ambassador James Bryce gave a public speech in which he extolled the national park system as one of the best American ideas, thus interpreting it as original, innovative, and specific to the American context. Now it is possible to argue that,

even before the park system, an even newer idea had been the completely experimental and pragmatic one according to which a natural area was given as a "grant" by a higher authority to another of lower rank on the basis of certain conditions. This grant mechanism indeed made it possible not only to give immediate effectiveness to the protection of the land, but also, as we have seen, to create a double line of defense against external attacks. This *ex novo* solution thus permitted those concerned to gain time and to create more suitable occasions to subsequently associate the idea of the park with other wonderful natural assets to be protected. Thus the definition of a North American identity, modern and autonomous with respect to its European ancestors, took place also through the identification of a "new" cultural heritage (the natural wide and wild areas), for which new, specific measures of law had to be invented.

DENISE LA MONICA

Notes

1. A. Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage: Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England, 1789–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); A. Swenson, "The Law's Delay? Preservation Legislation in France, Germany and England, 1870–1914," in *Towards World Heritage: International Origins of the Preservation Movement, 1870–1930*, ed. M. Hall (Farnham, UK: Taylor & Francis, 2011); F. Walter, *Les figures paysagères de la nation territoire et paysage en Europe (16e–20e siècle)* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2004).

2. A. Auduc, *Quand les monuments construisaient la Nation: le service des monuments historiques de 1830 à 1940* (Paris: Diffusion Documentation Française, 2008); "Loi pour la protection des sites et monuments naturels," *Le Bulletin annoté des lois* 59 (1906): 208–9.

3. J. Challamel, *Loi du 30 mars 1887 sur la conservation des monuments historiques et des objets d'art: étude de législation comparée* (Paris: F. Pichon, 1888); "Loi relative à la conservation des monuments et objets d'art ayant un intérêt historique et artistique," *Bulletin des lois de la République française* 1076 (1887): 537–40.

4. S. Settis, *Paesaggio, costituzione, cemento. La battaglia per l'ambiente contro il degrado civile* (Turin: Einaudi, 2012).

5. For a general overview of the Italian law system addressing the protection of cultural heritage in the second half of the nineteenth century, see E. Mattaliano, "Il movimento legislativo per la tutela delle cose di interesse artistico e storico dal 1861 al 1939," in *Ricerca sui beni culturali* (Roma: Camera dei Deputati, 1975), 3–88; M. Bencivenni, R. Dalla Negra, and P. Grifoni, *Monumenti e Istituzioni, Parte I, La nascita del servizio di tutela dei monumenti in Italia, 1860-1880* (Florence: Alinea editrice, 1987); M. Musacchio, *L'archivio della Direzione generale delle antichità e belle arti (1860–1890). Inventario* (Rome: Ministero Beni Att. Culturali, 1994); A. Gioli, *Monumenti e oggetti d'arte nel Regno d'Italia. Il patrimonio artistico degli enti religiosi soppressi tra riuso, tutela e dispersione* (Rome: Ministero Beni Att. Culturali, 1997); R. Balzani, *Per le antichità e le belle arti: la legge n. 364 del 20 giugno 1909 e l'Italia giolittiana* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003).

6. For a general overview of the British law system, see C. Mynors, *Listed Buildings, Conservation Areas and Monuments* (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1999; 2006); C. Miele, ed., *The Conservation Movement. From William Morris: Building Conservation and the Arts and Crafts Cult of Authenticity, 1877–1939* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005); M. Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation: Antiquity to Modernity* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013).

7. The role of Patrick Abercrombie, founder of the *Town Planning Review*, was very important in these years. His article "The Preservation of Rural England," *Town Planning Review* 12, no. 1 (1926): 5–56, was the founding manifesto of the Council for Preservation for Rural England (CPRE), created in 1928; the article "Planning of Town and Country," in *Town Planning Review* 14, no. 1 (1930): 1–12, was the premise of the Town and Country Planning Act (1932).

8. The idea of a radical change can be traced, for example, in G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England: The Life of Saxon England in Its Relation to the Arts* (New York: J. Murray, 1903): 44: "The alterations of the last century are greater than all those the country has seen since its Teutonic conquerors settled down upon its fields, but even these transformations have not yet obliterated the time-worn landmarks, the significance of which the student of antiquity will train himself to seize."

9. A. Swenson, "Historic Preservation, the State and Nationalism in Britain," *Nations and Nationalism* 24, no. 1 (2018): 43–63; M. Hall, "Plunder or Preservation? Negotiating an Anglo-American Heritage in the Later Nineteenth Century in the Old World and the New," in *From Plunder to Preservation: Britain and the Heritage of Empire, 1800–1940*, ed. A. Swenson and P. Mandler (Oxford: British Academy Scholarship Online, 2014); M. Hall, "The Politics of Collecting: The Early Aspirations of the National Trust, 1883–1913," *Transactions of Royal Historical Society* 13 (2003): 345–57.

10. On this topic, see particularly A. E. Donovan, *William Morris and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

11. W. Morris, "Art and Socialism (1884)," in *The Collected Works of William Morris*, vol. 23 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 209; M. I. D. Botto, "On (Re)building the City: William Morris and the Regeneration of the British City," in *William Morris in the Twenty-first Century*, ed. P. Bennett and R. Miles (Oxford: Lang, 2010), 25.

12. G. J. Shaw-Lefevre, *English Commons and Forests* (London: Cassel & Co., 1896), and *Commons, Forests and Footpaths: The Story of the Battle during the Last Forty-five Years for Public Rights of Forests and Footpaths of England and Wales* (London: Cassell, 1910).

13. The Town Gardens Protection Act was approved on May 4, 1863, defined as an act "for the better Protection and Charge of enclosed Garden or Ornamental Grounds which have been set apart for the Use of the Inhabitants," http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga /Vict/26-27/13/introduction/enacted. See S. Buder, *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

14. W. Wordsworth, *A Guide through the District of the Lakes in the North of England* (Kendal, UK: Hudson and Nicholson, 1835), 88. The Lake District was "a sort of national property in which every man has a right and interest, who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy."

15. The three official acts promoted in 1876–1878 were the Manchester Water Supply Bill, the Ambleside Railway Bill, and the Ennerdale Railway Bill.

16. L. M. Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

17. A. Runte, *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), https://www.nps .gov/parkhistory/online_books/runte2/contents.htm.

18. "An Act Authorizing a Grant to the State of California of the Yo-semite Valley, and of the Land Embracing the Mariposa Big Tree Grove," *U.S. Statutes at Large* 13 (1864): 325, chap. 184.

19. Runte, *Yosemite*, chap. 2, notes: "Precisely how the campaign evolved remains largely a mystery." According to R. Diamant, "Lincoln, Olmsted and Yosemite: Time for a Closer Look," in *The George Wright Forum* 31, no. 1 (2014): 2, http://www.georgewright.org /311diamant.pdf: "A grant of federal land for a park, like land grants to build colleges, would never have made it through the political system before."

20. Runte, *Yosemite*, chap. 2, mentions the letter of February 20, 1864, from Raymond to John Conness; this letter already outlined the principles and terminology of the subsequent bill. According to Runte, the original letter is conserved in the National Archives, Records of the General Land Office, Miscellaneous Letters Received, G3 3572.

21. H. Huth, "Yosemite: The Story of an Idea," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 33 (1948): 63–76; Holway R. Jones, *John Muir*

and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite (San Francisco: Sierra Club 1965), 28–29.

22. "A Bill Authorizing a Grant to the State of California of the Yo-Semite Valley and of the Land Embracing the Mariposa Big Tree Grove," *Congressional Globe*, March 18, 1864: 1310.

23. "A Bill Authorizing a Grant to the State of California of the Yo-Semite Valley and of the Land Embracing the Mariposa Big Tree Grove," *Congressional Globe*, May 17, 1864: 2300–2301; Runte, *Yosemite*, chap. 2.

24. Runte, *Yosemite*, chap. 2.

25. According to the *Report of the Commissioners to Manage the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Tree*, *for the Years 1866–7* (San Francisco: Towne and Bacon, 1868), 3, the state of California "by an Act of its Legislature . . . accepted the same [grant] and pledged itself to the fulfillment of these conditions . . . that the premises shall be held for public use, resort and recreation, and shall be inalienable for all time." Runte, *Yosemite*, chap. 2, n. 21.

26. *Report of the Commissioners* (1868), 7–10: "The State is the really proprietor of the grant made by the Congress or in short whether the United States have authority to dispose of the unserveyed and unsold public land." Runte, *Yosemite*, chap. 2.

27. "An Act to Appropriate the Proceeds of the Sales of the Public Lands, and to Grant Pre-emption Rights," *U.S. Statutes at Large* 5 (1846): 453, chap. 16, https://digitalcommons.csumb.edu/hornbeck_usa_2_d/8/?utm_source=digitalcommons.csumb.edu%2Fhornbeck_usa_2_d%2F8&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages.

28. "An Act to Provide for the Survey of the Public Lands in California, the Granting of Pre-emption Rights Therein, and for Other Purposes (3rd March 1853)," *Journal of the Senate of the State of California* 5 (1854): 24.

29. *The Yosemite Valley case Hutchings v. Low* (1872), https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/82/77.

30. Runte, *Yosemite*, chap. 2, n. 31.

31. M. Childers, "For Public Use, Resort, and Recreation," *George Wright Forum* 35, no. 3 (2018): 304–11; R. Diamant, "Lincoln, Olmsted, and Yosemite: Time for a Closer Look," *George Wright Forum* 31, no. 1 (2014): 10–16; C. E. Beveridge, "Olmsted and Yosemite," *SiteLINES: A Journal of Place* 5, no. 1 (2009): 6–8.

32. F. L. Olmsted, "Yosemite and the Mariposa Grove: A Preliminary Report," 1865, http://www.yosemite.ca.us/library/olmsted/report.html.

33. In the first case, the "Park of New York" was mentioned as one of the manifestations of "temper, spirit and artistic talent" of the American people, along with "the exquisite hall of the Academy of Arts" and of "Crawford's great statue of Liberty."

34. S. Kneeland, *The Wonders of the Yosemite Valley and of California* (New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, 1868), 29: "The Yosemite Valley is an exceptional creation, and, as such, has been exceptionally provided for jointly by the Nation and the State; it has been made a National public park, and placed under the charge of the State of California."

35. S. Bowles, *Across the Continent* (New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1865; Springfield: S. Bowles, 1869), 230–31.

36. J. D. Whitney, *The Yosemite Guide-book: A Description of the Yosemite Valley and the Adjacent Region of the Sierra Nevada, and of the Big Trees of California, Illustrated by Maps and Woodcuts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1869), 23.

37. "Yellowstone National Park Establishment Act, to Set Apart a Certain Tract of Land Lying Near the Head-waters of the Yellowstone River as a Public Park," *U.S. Statutes at Large* 17 (1872): 32–33, chap. 24.

CRAFTED IDENTITIES
Renaissance Verona as a Case Study

FRANCESCO MARCORIN

In 2016 the city of Verona was visited by two million tourists. In the time frame of an average two-day stay, of every one hundred tourists who entered a museum, forty-nine visited the Arena (Roman Amphitheater) (fig. 1); twenty, the so-called Juliet's House; ten, the Museum of Castelvecchio; six, the Roman Theater and Archaeological Museum; and one, the Scaliger Tombs.[1] Only a few of the 329,000 annual visitors who paid to enter Juliet's House knew that the legendary balcony associated with Shakespeare was actually a fake and did not exist until 1937–1940, when a whole house museum was invented to launch a new brand in the world: Verona, the city of lovers.

Although nowadays the identity of a city is often shaped by the requirements of the tourist industry (this is not the place to analyze the greatly debated "authenticity" of this phenomenon), the ways of describing local identities have been similar throughout the centuries, the only difference being the ultimate purpose. Until the advent of mass tourism and its development as a marketable phenomenon, the construction of a local identity had political, cultural,

or religious aims. In recent centuries, Verona tried several times to construct an identity. It did so, for example, in the eighteenth century, through a sort of revival of Sanmicheli's architecture in response to the "rediscovery" of Palladio in nearby Vicenza and elsewhere in the Veneto.

Even earlier, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Verona resorted to a formula common to other cities: the adoption of a model. From a religious point of view, in fact, Verona presented itself as a *Minor Hierusalem* (Little Jerusalem), an epithet that identified it as a center of pilgrimage and worship on a par with Bologna, Pisa, Milan, Rome, and other cities in Europe, or even the Spanish colonies in the Americas.[2] From a cultural point of view, partly due to the importance of the city in Roman times and its wealth of ancient monuments, Verona was described as an *Altera Roma* (Second Rome), referring to both the pagan and the papal city. The comparison with Rome was not new. In various ages, Trier and Aachen in Germany, Avignon and Fontainebleau in France, Winchester in England, and Tarnovo in Bulgaria were called "Second Rome," as were Milan, Ravenna, Aquileia, Vicenza, and Frascati in Italy. During the late Roman Empire, the title of "Second Rome" was given to Constantinople to describe its role as the new

FIG. 1. Verona, the Roman Amphitheater, also known as the Arena.

capital of the world.[3] The same name had previously been given to Carthage and Capua.[4]

In terms of this kind of rhetoric, the sixteenth century was a period of great significance for Verona. For the first time, the history of the city was reconstructed from its foundation to the present, and its surviving Roman monuments were systematically studied. Just as ancient monuments had been a reference point for the construction of a new artistic language in Rome, the cultural epicenter of the time, so too in Verona artists and architects were able to draw inspiration from local antiquities to construct their "own" Renaissance. This was nothing unusual, except that Verona was under the rule of the Republic of Venice, which had a powerful cultural identity and was actually on bad terms with Rome. Even in the early sixteenth century, when what Vasari called the "buona maniera del costruire" (good manner of building) was gaining ground throughout the Italian peninsula, the late Gothic tradition persisted in Venice, and artistic influences from Rome were eschewed.[5] To this must be added the fact that for centuries Venice had been a great maritime power, based on trade with the entire Mediterranean, and that its control over the mainland, begun in the fifteenth century, had triggered strong reactions. Even in the sixteenth century, in all the territories of the Serenissima, a large part of the population still harbored anti-Venetian feelings. This phenomenon was recorded in the cities of the eastern Adriatic coast, such as Šibenik and Zadar, and those on the *terraferma*, such as Udine, Vicenza, and Verona.

In this context, Venice was forced to exercise considerable control over the subjugated cities and thus monitored any initiatives involving the rediscovery of origins and the construction of the various local identities. Verona *fidelis* (Verona the faithful), one of the most important cities in the Republic, was a source of great concern for the Venetian *rettori* (chief administrators).

Studies in recent decades have placed great emphasis on this phenomenon, attributing a political-ideological significance to sixteenth-century Veronese architecture and claiming there are parallels between the choice of architectural language (*all'antica* or late Gothic) and ideology (pro-imperial or pro-Venetian faction). Although there was indeed an ideological clash involving the two factions and a drive to construct a local cultural identity, in many cases this interpretation turns out to be an oversimplification. The aim of this essay is to reexamine the issue, not so much in search of a definitive answer, but to provide an overall interpretation of the subject in the light of recent discoveries and to outline new perspectives for further research.

BACK TO ANTIQUITY: AT THE ORIGINS OF A LOCAL IDENTITY

The "golden age" of ancient Verona can be dated to the first century C.E., when the city became an important strategical center and its population reached around 25,000. Despite Verona's well-documented history from the Roman age to the present, we know very little about its origins. Latin historiographers variously identified its earliest inhabitants as the Euganei, Raeti, Veneti (or Heneti), Etruscans, or Gauls, and the issue of the original settlers is still debated. The archaeological evidence, on the other hand, seems to suggest that

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several peoples lived in the same area, but probably at different times.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, Theoderic the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, chose Verona as one of his favorite residences, and the city's ancient walls and most of its monuments were restored.[6] For a short period, Verona was the capital of the Longobard realm, but its status changed many times in the following centuries. Made a commune in 1136, it became a *signoria* in 1262 and flourished again under the rule of the Della Scala family in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Following a brief period under the Visconti of Milan, it was then annexed to the Republic of Venice (1405). In 1509 the Imperial Army invaded Verona and, in turn, annexed it to the Holy Roman Empire. Imperial rule lasted only eight years, and from late 1516 to the fall of the Serenissima Republic in 1797, Verona remained part of the Venetian dominions.

Despite its short duration, imperial rule had such an impact on the local politics and culture that for at least a century the Venetian governors in Verona had to combat a newborn pro-imperial faction, which openly opposed Venetian dominion.[7] This phenomenon in some ways reflected nostalgia for an idealized past, especially the Scaliger period, and was the violent manifestation of a feeling that had never found a tangible means of expression during the fifteenth century.

In a city with such a large number of Roman monuments, antiquities had always been part of the local culture. Some monuments had survived almost intact, while, for centuries, fragments of others had been reused in new buildings.[8] In some cases, the reuse of ancient material even had an ideological significance.

For example, in 1368, long before the conventional dawn of the Renaissance, Cansignorio della Scala had financed the construction of a fountain that still stands today in the middle of the Piazza Erbe, the site of the ancient Roman forum. The fountain was a reassembled ancient marble basin with a female statue, probably removed from the Roman Theater. Some parts were suitably reworked, and the former pagan statue was rebaptized *Madonna Verona*. The significant aspect of this story is the decision to celebrate the greatness of Verona not by creating a new work of art, but by recovering an ancient one to serve as tangible evidence of the city's long history.[9]

A more thoroughgoing interest in Verona's origins and monuments, however, only emerged in the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1477 Francesco Corna da Soncino composed the *Fioretto*, and a few years later, in 1483, Giovanni Antonio Panteo wrote *De laudibus Veronæ*. Although describing historical facts and documenting the monuments of the city, both compositions had a purely celebratory aim.[10]

In 1540 Torello Saraina published *De origine et amplitudine Civitatis Veronæ*, a printed work that reconstructed the history of the city from documents and described its ancient monuments.[11] The text in the form of a dialogue was illustrated with prints of reconstructive drawings by the painter-architect Giovanni Caroto (fig. 2). The treatise had had a long gestation, but its publication was suddenly speeded up in the early months of 1540, when the Bolognese architect Sebastiano Serlio published his *Terzo Libro*.[12] Serlio's treatise was the first book in the history of publishing to contain drawings and descriptions of a
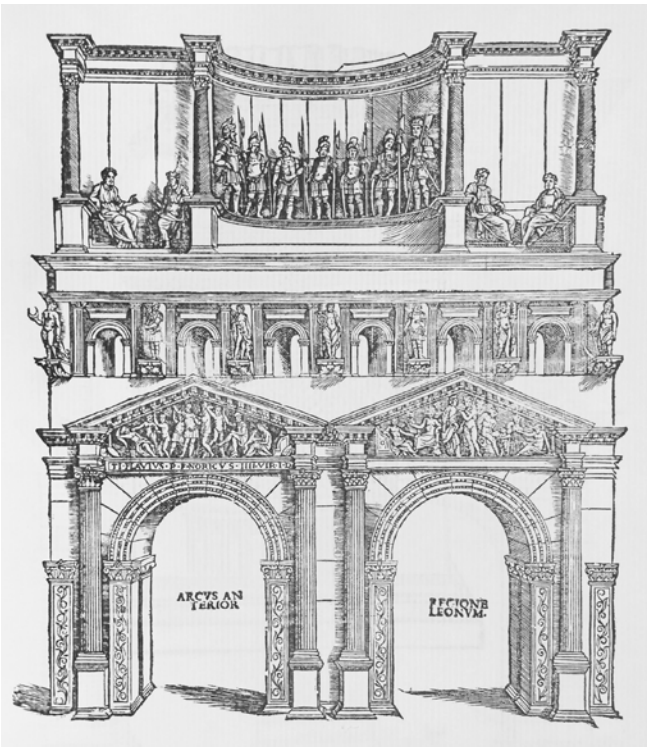
large number of ancient monuments, including some Veronese buildings. Evidently irked by this encroachment on his territory, Saraina inserted a last-minute critical note in the proem of the *De origine*, explaining that his treatise was intended to amend Serlio's numerous inaccuracies.[13] Whatever the case, the treatises by Saraina and Serlio must both be credited with having brought the antiquities of Verona—or rather, the idea that sixteenth-century scholars had of the antiquities of

Verona—to the attention of architects and antiquarians throughout Europe.

After the great success of *De origine*, other authors devoted themselves to historiography, gleaning information from Saraina's books and providing new details from a variety of sources, in most cases apocryphal.[14] In 1560 Giovanni Caroto republished the woodcuts made for Saraina's *De origine*, with some corrections.[15] Around the same time, Onofrio Panvinio wrote his *Antiquitates Veronenses*, which probably circulated as a manuscript for almost a century before its posthumous publication in 1648.[16] In the 1580s Alessandro Canobbio began work on his "Historia intorno la nobiltà e l'antichità di Verona" (unpublished), while Pietro Zagata wrote his *Cronica della Città di Verona*, only eventually printed in 1747.[17] In 1586 Orlando Pescetti published *Dell'origine et ampiezza della Città di Verona*,[18] an Italian translation of Saraina's *De origine*, while in 1590 Giovanni Francesco Tinto published *La nobiltà di Verona*, which was followed by the poet Adriano Valerini's *Le bellezze di Verona* (1586) and Girolamo della Corte's *Delle istorie della città di Verona* (1592).[19]

Of all these works, Valerini's book can be considered the most representative expression of Veronese culture of the time, not so much for its contents as for its celebratory purpose, since it became a kind of manifesto for the local cultural identity. His continual shifting between two registers (the historiographical and the poetical) and between real data and subjective interpretations was deliberately designed to confuse the reader and make such a biased, overstated description of the city credible. For example, writing about the origin of the city's name, Valerini mentions its provenance from

Etruscan and the name of the legendary King Vero, who was the first to reign in the city. He also provided a new etymological explanation—*Vere una*, "truly unique" in Latin—and then suggested interpreting the name as the combination of VE (Venice), RO (Rome), and NA (Naples), since the main features of each of the three cities could all be found in Verona.[20] This purely rhetorical interpretation exercised a great influence on the subsequent literature, and was still cited in nineteenth-century publications.

The allegorical representation of Verona as a "Second Rome" was a constant element in sixteenth-century historiography: the River Adige was compared to the Tiber and the Arena to the Colosseum, while the legendary origin of the founders who had fled from Troy also had similarities to Roman mythography. Another issue concerned the glorification of Latin writers with putative Veronese origins, such as Catullus, Pliny, and Cornelius Nepos, whose marble portraits were placed on top of the Loggia del Consiglio.[21] Even greater importance was attached to the architect Vitruvius (Marcus Vitruvius Pollio), the author of *De Architectura libri decem*, one of the most influential treatises on ancient architecture. Despite the fact that the name of the architect of the Arch of the Gavii can be clearly read in a signature on the building as "Lucius Vitruvius Cerdo," he was confused with the more famous Vitruvius. Although they were almost certainly two different architects, it was easier and more convenient not to pay too much attention to this detail and to leave the ambivalence.[22]

LOCAL ANTIQUITIES, MODERN ARCHITECTS

Thanks to the renown of Vitruvius, the Arch of the Gavii was probably the monument that most impressed and inspired early modern architects. Initially, the arch was adopted as a model for two altars: the Faella altar in the church of Sant'Anastasia (1520–1527) and the Saraina altar in the church of San Fermo Maggiore (1523). It was then reproduced in several other altars: Pindemonte in Santa Anastasia (1529–1542), Nocchieri in San Fermo (1535), Alighieri also in San Fermo (1547), and Fregoso in Santa Anastasia (1565) (fig. 3).[23]

Sebastiano Serlio, who published a short description of the arch and some drawings in 1540,[24] was skeptical about its attribution to the more famous Vitruvius, both for the discrepancy between the two names (Lucius Cerdo/Marcus Pollio) and for the design of the cornice, which was totally alien to the dictates of the author of *De Architectura*.[25] It must be borne in mind that the arch as we see it today is the result of a radical restoration in 1932. It had been dismantled in 1805 to widen the street and then rebuilt in a different place, with the missing parts loosely reconstructed. In the sixteenth century, however, the arch was in a poor condition: the columns, the arch, and a fragment of the entablature were visible, while the entire attic was missing and the pedestals were concealed beneath the level of the medieval street.

After centuries of neglect and looting, the Arena, the Porta Leoni, the Porta Borsari, the Roman Theater, and the Arch of Jupiter Ammon were in a similar or even worse condition. When analyzing Renaissance drawings, we must thus bear in mind that they did not represent the actual form of the ancient monuments but were interpretations made by early modern architects whose
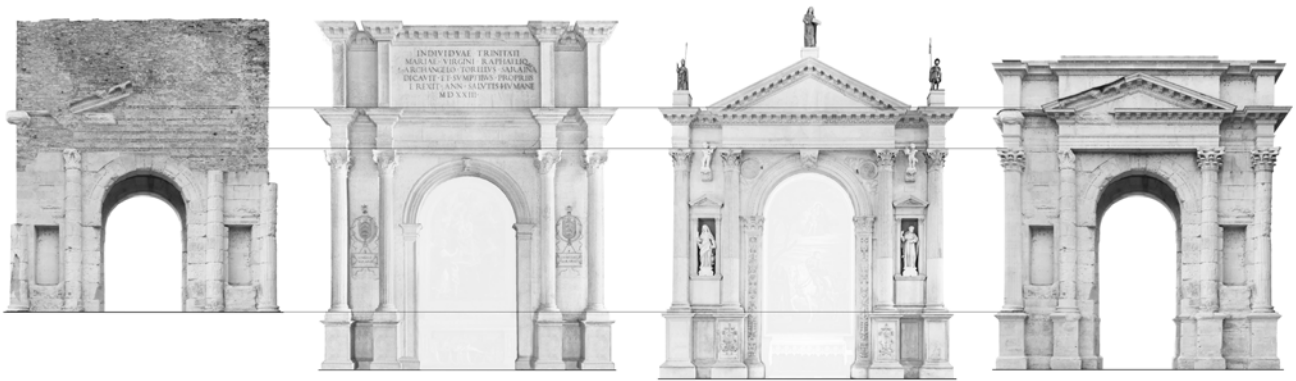
FIG. 3. From left to right: 1. The Arch of the Gavii as it was in the sixteenth century; 2. Francesco da Castello, the Saraina altar in the church of San Fermo Maggiore (1523); 3. Francesco da Castello, the Pindemonte altar in Santa Anastasia (1529–1542); 4. The Arch of the Gavii after its reconstruction in 1932.

reconstructions varied according to their archaeological knowledge and ability to understand the fragments.

The construction of Renaissance Verona inevitably had to take into account the local antiquities, whose physical presence strongly shaped the cityscape. Even before Michele Sanmicheli and Giovan Maria Falconetto brought the "buona maniera del costruire" from Rome to the Veneto,[26] local architects in Verona had studied what had survived of the ancient monuments. By the early sixteenth century, in fact, alongside altars and portals still bound to the late Gothic tradition, the first examples of *all'antica* architecture began to appear in the city. One of those responsible for this new development, prefigured in painting by Mantegna a few decades earlier, was Francesco da Castello. Originally from Lombardy, like most stonecutters working in sixteenth-century Verona, da Castello stood out from

other contemporary Italian artisans for his firsthand studies of Veronese antiquities and his use of Vitruvius's treatise, albeit only a very small part of it.[27] He was responsible for the "serial" design of many of the altars inspired by the Arch of the Gavii, created between 1520 and 1547. Arranged in chronological order, these altars chart a growing understanding of the original model. Alternative ideas were even suggested for the form of the attic, which by the early sixteenth century had been completely lost. In the same years the Arch of the Gavii attracted the attention of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Sebastiano Serlio. It had also been studied by Giovanni Caroto, almost certainly by consulting Giovan Maria Falconetto's drawings and comments, and analyzed by the young Andrea Palladio, possibly on the basis of drawings by Michele Sanmicheli or Falconetto.[28]

Francesco da Castello, whose fame was obscured after Sanmicheli returned from Rome in 1526, participated in the debate on the reconstruction of Verona's ancient monuments. The fact that Torello Saraina commissioned him to build one of the altars inspired by the Arch of the Gavii is particularly significant.

Twenty years ahead of the publication of *De origine*, Saraina had already shown an interest in archaeology, and Francesco da Castello was the only architect able to reconstruct in stone, rather than merely in drawings, the original appearance of a major local ancient monument. From this point of view, altars provided an excellent exercise for making three-dimensional models of the Arch of the Gavii (on a slightly reduced scale) and for exploring the different reconstructive hypotheses suggested by the various architects. Moreover, Saraina and da Castello may already have been in contact with Caroto around this time. Indeed, as Hans Aurenhammer observes, the next few altars all share an error found in Caroto's preparatory drawing of the Arch of the Gavii, later corrected in the printed plate.[29]

Equally significant is the fact that the patron of another altar was Francesco Dante Alighieri, who had translated Vitruvius's *De Architectura* into Italian in the first half of the sixteenth century. Nothing is known of this Veronese translation, nor of the one made around the same time by Bernardino Donato. A few decades later, when Daniele Barbaro asked Ludovico Nogarola for a copy of one of them, neither translation could be found.[30] On the other hand, Francesco Dante Alighieri and Francesco da Castello clearly discussed the particular form of the cornice of the Arch of the Gavii, which Serlio had criticized in his *Terzo Libro* and then "corrected" on the basis of Vitruvius's treatise.[31] Once again, da Castello used an altar as a model for testing an idea, this time the Alighieri altar in San Fermo Maggiore.

Following Sanmicheli's return to Verona, after an absence of twenty-five years, most of them spent in Rome in contact with the Sangallos, the city's

FIG. 4. Michele Sanmicheli, detail of the keystone with the head of Jupiter Ammon in the Porta Nuova in Verona (1532–1540).

architecture underwent a radical transformation. Sanmicheli had brought with him a sound knowledge of the architectural orders and many drawings of central Italian ancient monuments. His ability to blend Veronese and Roman or Tuscan models initiated a crossover process that had a twofold result: it projected Verona beyond the local dimension, while giving rise to a distinctly Veneto *all'antica* language.

In his façades, alongside citations from monuments in Rome, Sanmicheli skillfully placed references to antiquities in Verona: for example, the head of Jupiter Ammon once on a triumphal arch on the *decumanus maximus* was the model for a head on the Porta Nuova, the new entrance to the city (fig. 4). This was not an isolated case: the columns of the Porta Borsari were replicated in the nearby façade of the Palazzo Bevilacqua, the bull's heads on the keystones of the Roman
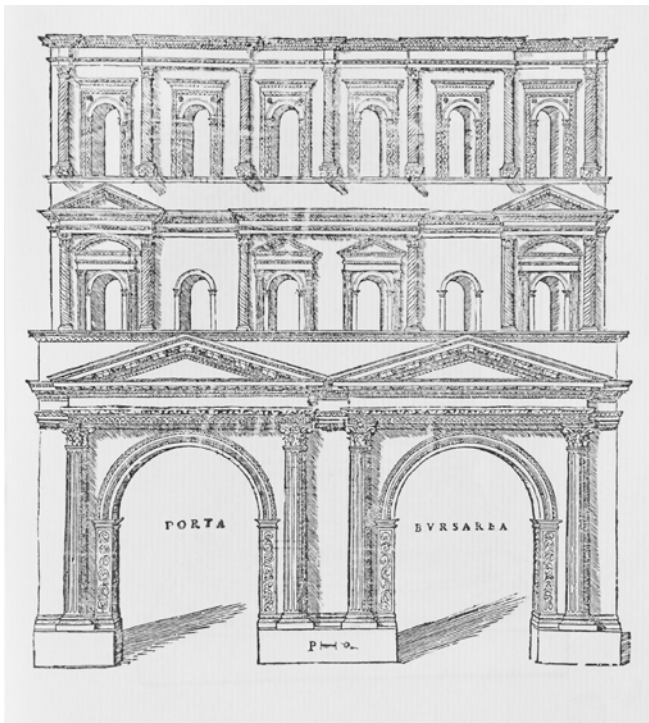
FIG. 5. Giovanni Caroto, elevation of the Porta Borsari in Verona. In Giovanni Caroto, *De le Antiqità de Verona, con novi agionti* (Verona: Paolo Ravagnan, 1560), plate unnumbered.

FIG. 6. Michele Sanmicheli, detail of the façade of the palazzo Bevilacqua in Verona (1556–1559).
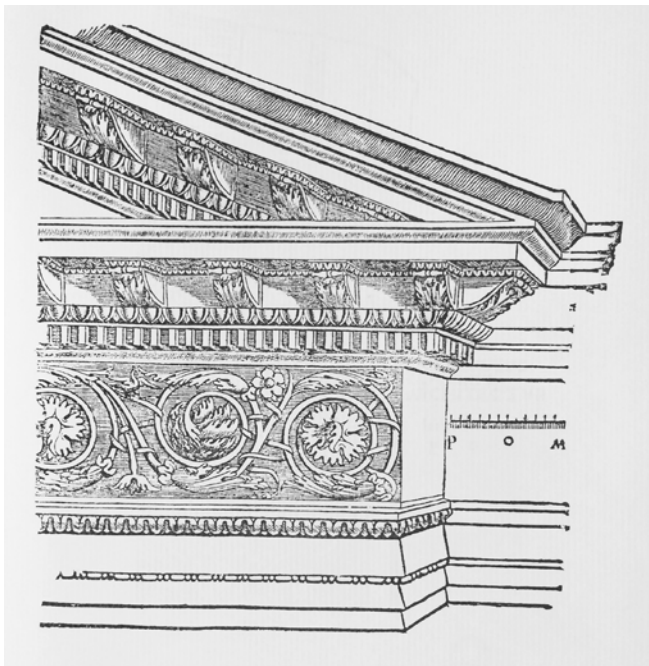

FIG. 7. Giovanni Caroto, the cornice of the Arch of the Gavii in Verona. In Giovanni Caroto, *De le Antiqità de Verona, con novi agionti* (Verona: Paolo Ravagnan, 1560), plate unnumbered.

FIG. 8. Michele Sanmicheli, interior of the Cappella Pellegrini in Verona (started in 1529).

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Theater were copied on the façade of the Palazzo Onorii, and the entablature of the Arch of the Gavii—complete with the "error" criticized by Serlio—was reproduced in the Pellegrini chapel in the church of San Bernardino (figs. 5–8).[32] In Verona, Sanmicheli was the first architect who did not simply mechanically reproduce ancient models in his architecture but reelaborated them by creating original inventions.[33] Palladio would do the same a few decades later in Vicenza.

ARCHITECTURE AND IDENTITY: UNPACKING THE CONNECTION

Like Vicenza, Venice, and other cities in the Veneto, Verona was given a new face in the sixteenth century: Gothic palaces and medieval houses were replaced by *all'antica* palaces with façades whose rhythms were set by classical columns and entablatures. For a while, however, tradition and innovation coexisted, and whether an altar or palace façade was built in traditional forms or by following the new trends was down to the patron's individual taste.

Since the 1980s, several studies have focused on this specific aspect and have explored the reasons for choosing one or the other language. The conclusion seems to be that it was a political choice: the revival of local antiquities in modern architecture was a means of asserting a cultural identity and independence from Venice.[34] The argument ran that Venice was the most recent of all the cities in the Veneto, since according to legend, it had been founded in 421 C.E. by people who had fled to the lagoon islands from the Barbarian invasions. Unlike cities such as Padua, Verona, Vicenza, Pula, and Zadar, which were founded in pre-Roman

FIG. 9. Byzantine spolia reused in the façade of the church of San Marco in Venice.

times and grew under Roman rule, Venice, "born free and Christian," had built up its identity through its links with Byzantium and Greece (fig. 9).[35] Consequently, the lagoon city had no ancient monuments, but only some looted fragments recovered from various parts of the Mediterranean and the Near East. Venice could not engage in "self-citation" and make the study of its own local antiquities the foundation for its Renaissance. The other Veneto cities, on the other hand, could draw inspiration from their past to revive the "golden age" before Venice was founded, and so assert their cultural independence. The studies added further levels of interpretation by linking the fact of belonging to the pro-imperial (Germanic) faction with nostalgia for the imperial architecture of ancient Rome. The new trend toward self-celebration was interpreted

as a legacy of the imperial world, in contrast with the idea of "modesty" typical of the Republican world of Venice.[36]

As regards the choice of language, many scholars have argued that the spread of the "new architecture" was not a generalized phenomenon but found fertile ground within a specific political class.[37] In other words, building a palace, a chapel, or a funerary monument inspired by ancient architecture was not a neutral gesture but implied imperial affiliations, which in the sixteenth century contrasted with Venetian government practices. Many examples can be adduced to support this interpretation. In Vicenza in 1569, Andrea Palladio designed a palace for Montano Barbarano, in which *all'antica* architecture was combined with the celebration of *romanitas*: both on the façade and in the interior, busts of emperors and depictions of Scipio Africanus's deeds extol paragons of ancient Roman virtue. Just over a decade earlier in Verona, around 1556, Sanmicheli had designed a similar palace for the Bevilacqua family. Embellished with busts of Roman emperors, the façade had classical orders, and the rhythm was set by arches with winged victories and river allegories. Given that Antonio Bevilacqua was one of the most ardent anti-Venetians, some scholars see this façade as a political manifesto (fig. 10).[38]

As far as altars and funerary monuments are concerned, however, the reference to antiquity did not merely reflect an ideological stance: it was a real challenge to the Venetian world. While in Venice triumphal monuments were the prerogative of doges and *condottieri* and indirectly celebrated the greatness of the Serenissima, in Verona the great funerary

monuments celebrated members of the local nobility.[39] The models best-suited to meeting this need for individual self-celebration were the ancient triumphal arches, and this explains the copies of the Arch of the Gavii in the form of altars and funerary monuments in Veronese churches.[40]

As Aurenhammer observes, however, this politicized reading of architecture was not always valid. There were some exceptions: for example, the Pindemonte altar, also inspired by the Arch of the Gavii, was erected in memory of Giovanni Pindemonte, a Veronese *condottiero* in the service of the Venetian army.[41]

In recent years, studies have increasingly shown that there were many more exceptions than previously thought. So much so that the whole theory has been called into question. Returning to the Palazzo Bevilacqua, it turns out that there was a case of homonymy: while an Antonio Bevilacqua was indeed an exponent of the anti-Venetian faction, the Antonio Bevilacqua who commissioned the palace belonged to another branch of the family and was a fervent supporter of the Serenissima.[42] This information is confirmed by the reports from the Venetian *rettori* on the recurrent clashes between factions, which listed the names and surnames of those involved. The pro-imperial faction was led by the Nogarola family, aided by the Guarienti and the Lodron, while the pro-Venetian faction was led by the Bevilacqua, flanked by the Pellegrini and the Della Torre families.[43] It is not always easy to fully grasp the political leanings of the families, partly because in some cases they changed allegiances over time or there were variations in different branches. In the second half of the sixteenth century, when the

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FIG. 10. Michele Sanmicheli, one of the busts of Roman emperors in the façade of the palazzo Bevilacqua in Verona (1556–1559).

Della Torre family asked the authorities for a plot of land, they reminded them of the support given to the Serenissima by their ancestor Raimondo. Vasari, however, mentions the fact that the same family were patrons of Falconetto, who was an ardent supporter of the pro-imperial faction.[44]

According to Howard Burns, Palladio's Vicentine patrons included both pro-Venetians and anti-Venetians, whereas Sanmicheli's Veronese patrons all seem to have belonged to the same pro-Venetian political and cultural circle.[45] But, in fact, as chief military engineer of the Serenissima, Sanmicheli would hardly have sympathized with the opponents of Venice.

This updated picture, however, completely overturns the meaning of *all'antica* architecture, which can no longer be interpreted as the architecture of opposition. Indeed, in the case of Verona, it was the Venetian government that promoted the restoration of the city, by paving first Piazza Erbe (once the ancient forum) and then the Corso (the main street running along the *decumanus maximus* and the former Via Processionale), and, last, by erecting a new portal on the façade of the Palazzo del Podestà and the Porta Nuova, at the entrance to the city. The driving force behind these changes was Giovanni Dolfin, the Venetian *podestà*, who in the commemorative inscription described

FIG. 11. Giovan Maria Falconetto, detail of the keystone with the head of Jupiter Ammon in the Loggia Cornaro in Padua (1524).

himself as the *praetor* (magistrate), according to the ancient Roman custom.[46]

If we look farther afield, we also find contemporary references to the antiquities of Verona outside the city and not necessarily linked to the context. In Padua, Giovan Maria Falconetto, who had fled from Verona after it had returned to the hands of the Serenissima, disseminated Veronese references in both private and public buildings. In the Loggia Cornaro (fig. 11), for example, he copied the head of Jupiter Ammon in the keystones of two arches and gave the capitals the same profile as those in the Roman Theater of Verona. At Porta Savonarola and Porta San Giovanni,

he adopted the *guscia* (cavetto), an unusual curved transitional molding between the bases of the columns and the plinths below, commonly found in the ancient monuments of Verona and later also widely used by Palladio. And like Lucius Vitruvius Cerdo in the Arch of the Gavii, Falconetto left his signature on both the Padua city gates and the arch in Piazza dei Signori.[47] A few decades later, again in Padua, the Republic commissioned Sanmicheli to create a temporary triumphal arch as part of the *apparato effimero* for the entry of Bona Sforza to the city. Instead of inventing a new structure, he again chose to copy the Arch of the Gavii.[48]

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Veronese models even reached Venice, which in the meantime had witnessed the spread of *all'antica* public and private palaces, such as the Libreria Marciana, the Zecca, and the Palazzo Grimani. Thus, for example, around 1530 we find Jacopo Sansovino quoting the pilasters in the last order of the Arena in the façade of the Palazzo Corner della Ca' Granda.

At this point we may well wonder how to approach this subject and the studies conducted in recent decades. Summing up at the end of a seminar on Sanmicheli in 1992,[49] Manfredo Tafuri made a suggestion, which basically went unheeded. He argued that it was wrong to apply today's political categories to the context of sixteenth-century Verona, since the very idea of "faction" was profoundly different. Moreover, it was unlikely that the Serenissima's political opponents would have had the audacity and freedom to publicly express imperial ideas, never mind turn the façades of their palaces into ideological manifestos.[50]

Although this might have been possible in other contexts, it was certainly not the case in the Veneto, as confirmed by the examples of Verona and Vicenza, where both factions actually shared an interest in reviving the ancient world.

Even without political implications, the creation of a local identity in sixteenth-century Verona is a documented, real phenomenon. Rediscovering the city's origins meant in some way emulating Rome, albeit on a smaller scale, and being tuned to the sensibilities of the local community. In the past, as today, ancient monuments strongly characterized the appearance of the city and were part of everyday life. Their link with the existing context had never been broken; it was simply reinforced and reinterpreted in the Renaissance.

In light of these considerations, the approach to the transitional architecture, that is, the architecture of the first half of the sixteenth century, should be reassessed in more general terms. In fact, while a posteriori views tend to make a clear distinction between what is "modern" and what is "traditional"—partly due to Vasari's legacy and his idea of a "good" and a "bad manner"—at the time it was a question of choosing between different modes and workshops. It is no coincidence that Francesco da Castello, the exponent of a rather clumsy and far from original Renaissance architecture, continued to receive commissions even after Sanmicheli had returned to Verona, and they worked without interfering with each other in the slightest. The two architects simply frequented different patrons with diverse backgrounds and networks of contacts but tackled the same challenge: how to build sixteenth-century Verona.

More generally, through historiography, architecture, painting, and poetry, Verona vigorously set about asserting its own identity, not so much to oppose Venice, which it would never have had the strength to defeat, as out of the need to distinguish itself culturally within an overarching identity imposed by the Serenissima—out of fear of disappearing.

Notes

1. The statistical data are contained in the annual report published by the Direzione Musei d'Arte Monumenti, 116–17, https://museoarcheologico.comune.verona.it/media/_ComVR/Cdr/Cultura/Allegati/REPORT2016/DirezioneMuseiMonumenti.pdf.

2. See Patricia Saldarriaga, "The Imagery of Jerusalem in the Colonial City," in *The Transatlantic Hispanic Baroque: Complex Identities in the Atlantic World*, ed. Harald E. Braun and Jesús Pérez-Magallón (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), 237–51, esp. 245–46.

3. See Charles du Fresne du Cange, *Historia Byzantina . . . / Constantinopolis Christiana, seu Descriptio Urbis Constantinopolitanæ*, 4 vols. (Paris: Louis Billaine, 1680), 1:33–36.

4. For an overview on the topic, see Ioannis Papadopulos, "The Idea of Rome in Late Antiquity," PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2018, 34–43. See also Ann Vasaly, *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 231–34.

5. This is a recurring topic in Vasari's *Vite*. As for the spread of the "good architecture" in the Veneto, see Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, 11 vols., ed. Paola Barocchi and Rosanna Bettarini (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte), 4:593.

6. Gian Paolo Bognetti, *Teodorico di Verona e Verona Longobarda capitale di regno* (Padova: Cedam, 1959); Lanfranco Franzoni, "Immagine di Verona Romana," *Antichità altoadriatiche* 27 (1986): 345–73; Heleni Porfyriou, "Verona: XV–XVI secolo. Da 'virtù civile' a 'decoro pubblico,'" in *Fabbriche, piazze, mercati. La città italiana nel Rinascimento*, ed. Donatella Calabi (Rome: Officina 1997), 189–223; Valeria Cafà, "Verona, seconda Roma. Frammenti di una identità collettiva," in *Architettura e identità locali*, 2 vols., ed. Howard Burns, Mauro Mussolin (Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 2013), 2:333–43, esp. 334.

7. Girolamo della Corte, *Delle Istorie della città di Verona* (1592), 3 vols. (Venice: Agostino Savioli and Agostino Camporese, ed. 1744), 3:201–4, 281; Giorgio Borelli, "La società tra crisi e ripresa?," in *Palladio e Verona*, ed. Paola Marini (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1980), 1–8, esp. 3; Howard Burns, " 'Vasti desiderij e gran pensieri': i palazzi veronesi di Michele Sanmicheli," in *Michele Sanmicheli: architettura, linguaggio e cultura artistica nel Cinquecento*, ed. Howard Burns, Christoph L. Frommel, and Lionello Puppi (Milan: Electa, 1995), 54–79, 273–76, esp. 70–71; Alessandro Serafini, "Gian Matteo Giberti e il Duomo di Verona. 1. Il programma, il contesto," *Venezia Cinquecento* 11 (1996): 75–61, esp. 108; and Giuseppe Conforti, "Palazzo Bevilacqua. La facciata (1547 circa?)," 369–73, esp. 370; Paul Davies and David Hemsoll, "I portali dei palazzi veronesi nel Rinascimento," 252–66, esp. 263; and Martina Frank, "Città, architettura, politica nel Seicento veronese: il caso di Ottaviano Spolverini," 284–94, esp. 289, all in *Edilizia privata nella Verona rinascimentale. Atti del convegno* (Verona, September 24–26, 1998), ed. Paola Lanaro, Paola Marini, and Gian Maria Varanini (Milan: Electa, 2000).

8. Cafà, "Verona, seconda Roma," 334.

9. Cafà, "Verona, seconda Roma," 339; see also Francesco Corna da Soncino, *Fioretto de le antiche croniche de Verona e de tutti i soi confini e de le reliquie che se trovano in ditta citade*, ed. Gian Paolo Marchi and Pierpaolo Brugnoli (1477) (Verona: Stamperia Valdonega, 1973), 48.

10. Giovanni Antonio Panteo, *De laudibus Veronæ opusculum* (Verona, 1483). See also Gino Castiglioni, "Verona velut altera Roma in un Tito Livio del Quattrocento," in *Imago Urbis. Il volto di Verona nell'arte*, ed. Flavia Pesci (Verona: Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Verona Vicenza Belluno e Ancona, 2001), 47–53, esp. 49.

11. Torello Saraina, *De origine et amplitudine Civitatis Veronæ* (Verona: Antonio Putelleti, 1540).

12. Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro … nel qual si figurano, e descrivono le antiquità di Roma, e le altre che sono in Italia, e fuori d'Italia* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1540).

13. Saraina, *De origine et amplitudine Civitatis Veronæ*, 1ᵛ.

14. The most interesting one is the manuscript "Collectione di una scrittura in un vaso di pietra trovata nella terra di San Martino" [etc.], by Alvise Salviazio (ca. 1550), containing an apocryphal story recounting the foundation of Verona by Aeneas and the Trojans. The manuscript is collected at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

15. Giovanni Caroto, *De le Antiqità de Verona, con novi agionti* (Verona: Paolo Ravagnan, 1560). See also Gunter Schweikhart, *Le antichità di Verona di Giovanni Caroto* (Verona: Centro per la formazione professionale grafica, 1977), 13–23. The Biblioteca Civica di Verona collects the preparatory manuscript, complete with drawings and print proofs (Gabriele Saraina and Giovanni Caroto, "Le historie di Verona di Messer Torello Saraini nuovamente tradotte alla lingua volgare," 1546, ms. 978). On the manuscript, see Francesco Marcorin, "35. Gabriele Saraina, Giovanni Caroto. Le historie di Verona di Messer Torello Saraini nuovamente tradotte alla lingua volgare," in *Caroto / Giovan Francesco Caroto (1480–circa 1555)*, ed. Francesca

Rossi, Gianni Peretti, and Edoardo Rossetti (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2021), 168–69.

16. Onofrio Panvinio, *Antiquitatum Veronensium Libri VIII* (Verona: Paolo Frambotti, 1648). References to Panvinio's book can be found in Alessandro Canobbio's yet unpublished manuscript "Historia intorno la nobiltà e l'antichità di Verona."

17. Alessandro Canobbio, "Historia intorno la nobiltà e l'antichità di Verona" (Verona, Biblioteca Civica, ms. 1968); Pietro Zagata; Jacopo Rizzoni, and Giambattista Biancolini, eds., *Cronica della Città di Verona* (Verona: Dionigi Ramazini, 1747).

18. Torello Saraina; Orlando Pescetti, ed., *Dell'origine et ampiezza della Città di Verona del Molto Eccellente M. Torello Saraina, Dottore di Legge* (Verona: Girolamo Discepolo, 1586).

19. Giovanni Francesco Tinto, *La nobiltà di Verona* (Verona: Girolamo Discepolo, 1590); Della Corte, *Delle Istorie della città di Verona*; Adriano Valerini, *Le bellezze di Verona* (Verona: Girolamo Discepolo, 1586).

20. Valerini, *Le bellezze di Verona*, 9.

21. Saraina, *De origine et amplitudine Civitatis Veronæ*, 38r–39r; Valerini, *Le bellezze di Verona*, 69–92.

22. Saraina, *De origine et amplitudine Civitatis Veronæ*, 38r; Valerini, *Le bellezze di Verona*, 79; Paul Davies and David Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli* (Milan: Electa, 2004): 303.

23. Howard Burns, "VII, 6. Danese Cattaneo e Andrea Palladio. Altare Fregoso. Verona, chiesa di S. Anastasia," in *Palladio e Verona*, ed. Paola Marini (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1980), 165–66; Lanfranco Franzoni, "I fratelli Francesco da Castello e Michele Leoni," in *Palladio e Verona*, ed. Paola Marini (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1980), 155–58; Gunter Schweikhart,

"Lo studio dell'antico a Verona," in Marini, *Palladio e Verona*, 85–87; Giuliana Mazzi, "Il Cinquecento: il nuovo lessico," in *L'architettura a Verona nell'età della Serenissima (sec. XV–sec. XVIII)*, 2 vols., ed. Pierpaolo Brugnoli and Arturo Sandrini (Verona: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1988), 1:149–90, esp. 151; Hans Aurenhammer, " 'Reliquiae antiquitatis urbis': altari veronesi all'epoca di Sanmicheli e il recupero dell'architettura classica," in Burns, Frommel, and Puppi, *Michele Sanmicheli*, 170–79, esp. 175–79; Davies and Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli*, 24, 295.

24. Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro*, CXXXII–CXXXIII.

25. In the same cornice, modillions and dentils are used together. Although it was very common in Roman architecture, Vitruvius in his *De Architectura* described this combination as wrong. Vitruvius, *De Architectura Libri Decem*, 4: caput 2:5; Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 2 vols., ed. Pierre Gros (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), 1:379. Burns, "Le antichità di Verona e l'architettura del Rinascimento," 103n5, 111; Lionello Puppi, *Michele Sanmicheli architetto. Opera completa* (Rome: Calibran Editrice, 1986), 34; Aurenhammer, " 'Reliquiae antiquitatis urbis,' " 178.

26. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, 4:593.

27. On Francesco da Castello, see Franzoni, "I fratelli Francesco da Castello e Michele Leoni"; Lanfranzo Franzoni, "Francesco da Castello (secc. XV–XVI)," in Brugnoli and Sandrini, *L'architettura a Verona nell'età della Serenissima*, 2:158–62; Aurenhammer, " 'Reliquiae antiquitatis urbis.' "

28. VV.AA., "Verona romana," in *Palladio e Verona*, ed. Paola Marini (Venezia: Neri Pozza Editore, 1980), 33–84. On Giovanni Caroto and architecture/antiquarianism, see Marcorin, "Giovanni Caroto architetto?," 154–61.

29. Aurenhammer, " 'Reliquiae antiquitatis urbis,' " 177. For a comparison, see Saraina, Caroto, *ms. 978*: 88ʳ; Saraina, *De origine et amplitudine Civitatis Veronæ*: 21ᵛ–22ʳ (plate without number; caption: "Arcus Castri Veteris"). As regards the activity of Caroto, da Castello, and Saraina in the church of San Fermo, and a different hypothesis on the authorship of the altars, see Stefano Lodi, "Cappelle, altari e sepolcri in San Fermo nel Cinquecento," in I santi Fermo e Rustico. Un culto e una chiesa in Verona. Per il XVII Centenario del loro martirio (304-2004), ed. Paolo Golinelli and Caterina Gemma Brenzoni (Milan: Federico Motta Editore, 2004), 263–79, esp. 265–73.

30. Scipione Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, 4 vols. (Verona: Jacopo Vallarsi and Pierantonio Berno, 1731–1732), 2:104; Berardo Galiani, *L'architettura di Marco Vitruvio Pollione* (Siena: Luigi and Benedetto Bindi, 1790²), IVn9; Paul Davies and David Hemsoll, "Michele Sanmicheli a Verona e a Venezia," in *Storia dell'architettura italiana; il primo Cinquecento*, ed. Arnaldo Bruschi (Milan: Electa, 2002), 354–71, esp. 357; Davies and Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli*, 37, 304; Giuliana Mazzi, "L'esercizio di un mestiere tra invenzione e pratica," in *Paolo Farinati 1524–1606; dipinti, incisioni e disegni per l'architettura*, ed. Giorgio Marini, Paola Marini, and Francesca Rossi (Venice: Marsilio, 2005), 33–37, esp. 34.

31. Franzoni, "Francesco da Castello (secc. XV–XVI)," 160; Aurenhammer, " 'Reliquiae antiquitatis urbis,' " 178.

32. Aurenhammer, " 'Reliquiae antiquitatis urbis,' " 178; Davies and Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli*, 295–302, 306.

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38. Conforti, "Palazzo Bevilacqua," 371.

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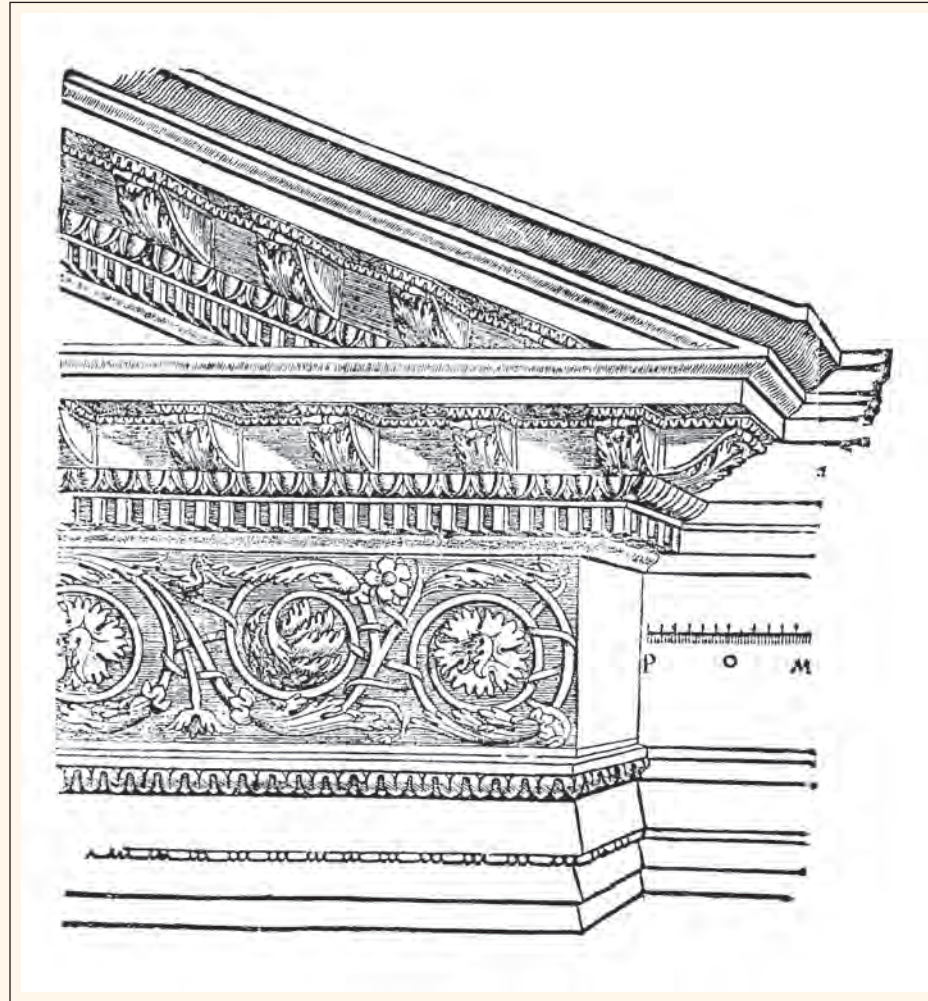
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