Introduction: The Republic of the Sea

Alina Payne

When, in 1879–1880, the Pergamon altar ruins—frieze, columns, and podium remains—were painstakingly packed in hundreds of wooden cases and transported by mules and ship from Smyrna to Berlin and were displayed in a "well-mannered" European museum against the neoclassical backdrop of the city as a whole (see Fig. 1), the extent of the consternation they caused corresponded to the unexpectedness of the event.[1] In this case, it caused the reevaluation of Baroque art and a major *mise-en-abîme* of an aesthetic outlook that had predominated for the better part of a hundred years. As the impact of the Pergamon altar demonstrates, displaced objects can be explosive agents—they can be events.[2] Once they have been removed from their original environments, they generate discourse by the very nature of their oddness, and they create communities around them.

Interesting though this may be, there are very few cases of Pergamon-like mobility, and it is not the goal of this volume of essays to identify similar examples and discuss them. Yet this particular case of displacement involving architecture is a useful starting point because it dramatizes the issue and presents a phenomenon—architecture's portability—that deserves more concentrated attention, along with the sites and conditions connected with it. This then is a book about this phenomenon—about the mobility and portability of artifacts that are part of, involve, surround and refer to architecture. Such a connection may seem counterintuitive at first blush for architecture is the most rooted of all the arts: architecture does not travel, people and objects do. Yet on those occasions when this self-evident equation is challenged—as the Pergamon example illustrates—the effect is proportional to its singularity. Indeed, the more unlikely a scenario the more powerful its consequences will be.

1 Alina Payne, "Portable Ruins: The Pergamon Altar, Heinrich Wölfflin and German Art History at the *fin de siècle*," *RES: Journal of Aesthetics and Anthropology* 54/55 (Spring/Autumn 2008): 168–189. On the Pergamon altar's museums, see Can Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display. Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; on German archaeology and the intellectual context for the Pergamon discovery, see Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

2 See my Max Planck/Alexander von Humboldt project "The Object as Event," 2006–2012, of which this volume is one sub-project.

© koninklijke brill nv, leiden, 2014 | doi 10.1163/9789004263918_002

FIG. 1 *Detail view, the Great Altar at Pergamon, second quarter of 2nd century* BC.
ANTIKENSAMMLUNG, STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN. PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ/ART SOURCE, NY.

From this initial premise—architecture's portability—the book branches out and investigates more deeply the links and mechanisms that unite objects of various scales and mediums across great distances. Indeed, it is an important contention of the essays collected here that these links and mechanisms involve objects of all sorts beyond architecture and its surrogates, ranging from texts and drawings to crafted objects, fabrics, and even anecdotes—that is, they trigger dialogues across a variety of mediums, democratically connecting "high" and "low" art forms without placing a higher value on either the "genius" object or the hallowed monument.

Such an approach not only casts a different light on architecture and the context that surrounds it, but also on the conventional binary categories of high/low and center/periphery. Once we consider the mobility and portability of all artifacts, as well as their interaction, it becomes clear that such reductive readings do not stand up to closer scrutiny. An economy of things and images that circulated enabled sites that were "off center" to have a significant voice, just as major architectural monuments located on "peripheries" circulated by way of small objects of luxury use. Although on a superficial level mobility and portability may seem to be synonymous, they designate subtle but important differences in the process of transformation and slippage that occurs across artistic mediums.[3] Mobility refers to the capacity to move, whereas portability refers to the capacity to be held and carried. Both suggest transportation, although one focuses on movement and the other on certain characteristics of the objects being moved. The difference is not insignificant. For example, ships and carriages are mobile (and so, in a later era, are trains) but are not portable; small objects are: textiles, furniture, gems, fragments, drawings, caskets, and ivory boxes, to name only a few—that is, a whole world of things that can be held, packed, displayed, bartered, stolen, or lost. Occasionally, architecture also falls into this category, as the Pergamon example clearly reveals. The crucial aspect, of course, is scale. Some things are just too big to be portable, and this naturally affects the way in which they "travel": by proxy (through other related artifacts) and not in actual body,[4] which is where the issue of portability and its relationship to architecture becomes particularly interesting. What happens when architecture moves through a portable proxy?

Circulation, or more specifically, its physical context, raises another significant issue, which serves as the third coordinate around which the writings assembled here cluster. If one part of the mobility equation is the nature of the objects (large or small) that move from their place of origin, the other is the geography of this motion—a geography circumscribed by the paths of people and objects but also by the particular sites from whence these objects originate or to which they are moved. These paths create crisscrossing networks that

---

3 Stephen Greenblatt et al., *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Medieval and Islamic artifacts have received more attention from this perspective than the arts of Europe. See, for example, Eva Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 24, no. 1 (February 2001): 17–50, and Avinoam Shalem, "Objects as Carriers of Real or Contrived Memories in a Cross-Cultural Context," *Mitteilungen zur Spätantiken Archäologie und Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* 4 (2005): 101–109.

4 On the relationship between objects and architecture across scales, see Alina Payne, "Materiality, Crafting and Scale in Renaissance Architecture," *Oxford Art Journal* (December 2009): 365–386.

traverse received ethnic geographies or political entities in unexpected ways. Sometimes encounters along these paths are deliberate, at other times they are random. The same is true of objects that can be transformed into other artifacts as much by chance as by design. Indeed, as will become evident from the essays in this volume, chance is a significant variable of mobility.

On the face of it, the sites from which pieces are torn away—be they Byzantium or Pergamon, Iznik or Venice (locations on the Mediterranean, in keeping with the context of this volume, although the argument could be made with any geography)—are even less mobile than architecture. However, through verbal and written accounts as well as visual representations, not only architecture but entire territories enjoy a certain amount of "mobility" as they are imagined and reconstructed at great distances through various intermediaries or surrogates. But what exactly happens in this transmission? In what guises do places travel or become portable? And how did the material transformation—the passage through various mediums and scales, from large to small and back to large again—affect how they were received, what sort of impact they had, how they resonated once they reached a farther shore or another continent? Did it make a difference if places, monuments, or artifacts became known through a medal, an ornamented piece of cloth, a drawing, a story, or a luxury object? By transposition, analogy, or synecdoche (that is, through a fragment of a scrap or some recycled material) Compressed, telescoped, intensified, and transmitted through one image, one object, one detail, or even one line in a poem standing in for the whole? Moreover, objects by their very nature are reified manifestations of contact; they engender relationships and networks.[5] What contacts then are produced through the circulation of artifacts that pertain to architecture, and how do these affect its reception across a range of materials and scales so alien to its own? This is not a question of aura, although that would be a legitimate issue in its own right. Instead, in this volume, it is a question about the material location and results of contact, about the types of contact and the agency of contact—in other words, about the hardware of cultural transmission.

To explore the phenomenon of portability in its most expansive sense, the core of this book is a single territory: the Mediterranean region (see Fig. 2),

5 On the theory of networks, see especially the work of Bruno Latour, and in particular (with reference to objects) Latour, "The Berlin Key or How to Do Words with Things," in *Matter, Materiality, and Modern Culture*, ed. P.M. Graves-Brown. London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 10–21. For more recent research, see the book-length study by Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation. Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

FIG. 2 *Anonymous, map of the Mediterranean, 15th century.*
FROM DAVID ABOULAFIA ED., THE MEDITERRANEAN IN HISTORY, P. 15.

with resonant sites such as Carthage and Alexandria, Constantinople and Spalato, Syracuse and Damascus, Rome and Palmyra, dotting its perimeter and creating a web of signification. Indeed, the Mediterranean is layered with "thick" sites-as-cultural-tropes that were and are shared equally by the civilizations that succeeded and overlapped on its shores. These are sites that were, and still are, powerful reference points—sites that attracted stories, travelers, and artists; high-density spaces that shape a cultural "imaginary."

The idea of a Mediterranean network that transcends national boundaries—indeed, challenges them—is a Braudelian one, although Braudel himself was standing on the shoulders of Pirenne; and today others stand on his shoulders.[6] But unlike Braudel's profoundly compelling book (and the field of Mediterranean studies that it ignited, from the classic work of Goitein to the recent "classics" by Horden and Purcell and others), this book focuses on the

6 Henri Pirenne, *Mohamet et Charlemagne*. Brussels: Nouvelles Société d'Éditions, 1937; Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1949; and S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–1993.

economy of mobile art, artists, and other agents in the region, which figure very little if at all in the oeuvre of Braudel and his followers.[7] Another difference is a deliberate focus here on the littoral (see Fig. 3) rather than on the interplay between shore and hinterland, arising out of an intent to explore conditions of mobility, portability, and territory in their most radical form. The shore—that strip of coast along which extensive travel developed—is a geo-political area with its own particular identity, and it instilled a particular way of seeing and experiencing proximity and distance, similarity and difference, zooming in and zooming out; and the Dalmatian shore, which had a history much different from its hinterland, is a dramatic instance of this peculiar identity. A thin stretch of land like a golden band winding its way across countries, the littoral is at odds with borders and ethnicities, mixing them all up and creating another republic, a "Republic of the Sea," where communication was easier, faster, more fluid and, perhaps, visually more continuous and linguistically more unified than we acknowledge today. It was also more porous. Goods

FIG. 3 *View of the Adriatic Littoral from Castel del Monte, Puglia* (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR).

7 Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000; David Abulafia, ed., *The Mediterranean in History*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Muzseum, 2003; W.V. Harris, ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005; Gabriel Piterberg, Teofilo F. Ruiz, and Geoffroy Symcox, eds., *Braudel Revisited: The Mediterranean World 1600–1800*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

and materials, immigrants and travelers—also disease and armies—passed through them with greater ease than across foothills and mountain ranges.

Among the territories across which this ribbon of land extends (see Fig. 4), the Istrian, Dalmatian, and Illyrian coasts—as they would have been known in the early modern period—hold a special place. This territory was not only richly endowed with Roman ruins and with operating archaeological sites (whether used for learning or plundering, or both) such as Spalato (Split), Zara, or Pola (Pula), drawn as they were into the tumultuous events that marked the history of the Mediterranean from antiquity to the early modern period (Byzantine, Venetian, Ottoman, etc.), but it was tied by the sea into a tight network of travel, piracy, trade, leisure, and art collecting that went beyond wars and conquests. Moreover, it also existed in a perpetual tension with its hinterland, for it was continually claimed and absorbed as a "territory" into the colonial empires of other sea powers, be they Venetian or Ottoman, and repeatedly separated by such foreign rule from the landmass to which it belonged. As such, it is a paradigmatic shore—indeed, the very distillation of the shore condition: treated as a "thin line" through most of its history, it dramatizes the life of the shore and its near-autonomous existence. Visitors saw its sequence of ruined sites while moving, mostly from boats, like a panorama

FIG. 4 *Anonymous, Fragments of the Temple of Augusts and Roma in Pola. Alinari, No. 21192.*

unfolding before one's eyes, as emphatically recorded in the 1780s by French landscape painter, architect, and archaeologist Louis-François Cassas (Fig. 5).[8] Indeed, such a linear, even filmic, view of the Mediterranean was not uncommon, and can be found in texts from antiquity if not in extant images from the distant past.[9] Like the portolan maps that recorded every detail of the shore's physiognomy as seen from the ship, so the views of the shore—many of them imaginary, like the one by Johannes Baur (c. 1640) of Naples and its satellites (Fig. 6)—testify to the powerful fascination for the meeting of land and sea.[10]

FIG. 5 *Louis-Francois Cassas and Joseph Lavallée, "Vue de l'entrée de la rade et du port de Pola." In* Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*. Paris: P. Didot, 1802.* HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, TYP. 815.02.2616.

8 Louis-Francois Cassas and Joseph Lavallée, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*. Paris: P. Didot, 1802. There has been significant work done on Cassas, especially in 18th-century studies, and with respect to Cassas and the "Orient." See, for example, the exhibitions at the Musée Calvet, Avignon (2007); at the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (2002); and at the Musée des Beaux Arts, Tours and Walraff-Richartz Museum Köln (1994–1995). In addition, see Barbara Nassivera, "Louis-Francois Cassas: il 'Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie,'" *Atti e Memoria della Società Istriana di Archaeologia e Storia Patria* N.S. 47 (1999): 169–206.

9 See, for example, the "Periplous" by the Pseudo Skylax of Karyanda (in fact, it is by an unknown author active in the 4th century BC), which describes the whole of the Greek world as if from a ship undertaking a maritime voyage across all of the Mediterranean from one port to another; Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplous. The Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World*, ed. and trans. G. Shipley. Bristol: Phoenix Press, 2011.

10 Johann Wilhelm Baur, *Iconographia*. Augsburg, 1670.

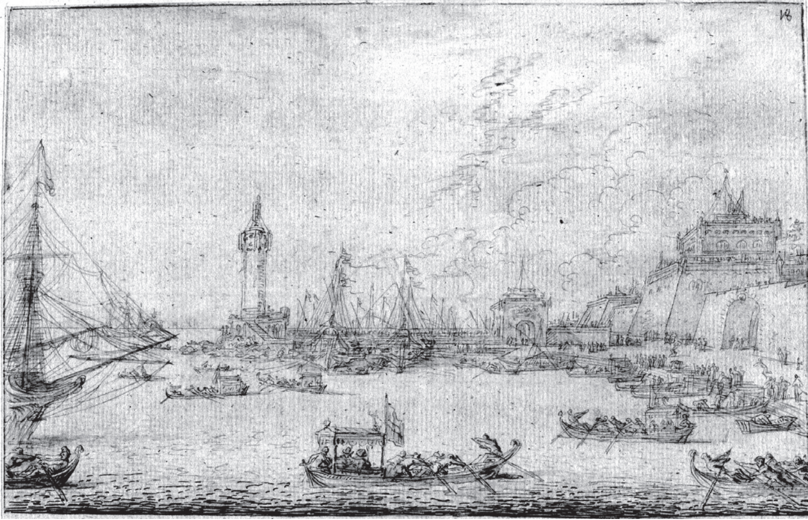

FIG. 6 *Wilhelm Johann Baur, "Imaginary View of Naples," Italian Coastal Views: Illustrations for* Baur's Iconographia. *Augsburg, 1670, f. 110r.* HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

A focus on Dalmatia also offers the opportunity to review the issues of what and where was the center of the Mediterranean region, and what it meant for the culture of the region. In so doing, the authors in this volume attempt to provide a more objective view at the whole, without the blinkers of an a-posteriori construct based on the strong political/economic discourses which claimed privileged places for Italy, France, and the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. The geographic center of the Mediterranean passes through Dalmatia and touches north-Africa, and this invisible vertical line that bisects the sea is therefore further east than is usually assumed. Seeing the Mediterranean in these terms raises a host of different questions: How does our understanding of the intersection of the three powers shift if we acknowledge the powerful effects of geography on the triad of trade, rulership and culture? What picture of the region emerges if we look away from Italy and Rome toward Dalmatia and Istria—territories that were certainly less economically central yet strategically and geographically very much so? Moreover, they were also "lieux de memoire," part of a shared Mediterranean imaginary.[11] So how did these sites make themselves felt in ways that belie their limited territorial spread? To be sure, one answer is that they attracted travelers, merchants, armies, pirates and

11 On the cultural power of *lieux de mèmoire* (sites of collective memory), see Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de memoire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1984–1992. On the shared Mediterranean mythological and literary imaginary, see Frédéric Tinguely, *L'écriture du Levant à la Renaissance*. Geneva: Droz, 2000.

ambassadors in equal measure who acted as go-betweens. But they also made themselves felt by traveling *with* them from whence they came, traveling *through* them, by becoming as mobile as they were.

The other reason it seemed useful to explore the Dalmatian littoral was the opportunity to shift scales: to move from the larger panorama of the Mediterranean to one of its constituent seas, the Adriatic, and place it under the lens of intellectual inquiry. The traffic that operated within the Mediterranean to the east and south (to the Middle East and northern Africa) in the early modern period has been far less studied than the traffic north and west—to Italy, France, and Spain, or to Germany and Flanders.[12] Yet the medieval exchanges left traces and established routes and patterns that did not die away with the Normans or the Byzantines. In this sense, too, the Dalmatian littoral was far from dormant but continued to be an active destination, standing sentinel on one of the most traveled sea routes of the Mediterranean and continuing to bring traffic to the former Byzantium and its archipelago, to north Africa or the Ottoman Empire, and back. Sea routes were far more used—and far more appealing for commerce and travel—than land routes. The transport of stone from the region of Venice to Rome, for example, occurred by ship along the coast of the Italian peninsula, skirting its eastern, southern, and western coasts in turn rather than take the more direct land route across the Apennines, which would seem to be shorter.[13] As Giovanni Uggeri has noted, the route from Venice (or Aquileia) to Alexandria took

12 Recent studies on Dalmatia, predominantly by Croatian scholars, has begun to fill out the history of its important artistic dialogues with the rest of Europe, and in particular with Italy. See, for example, the superb essays by Igor Fisković, "Les arts figuratifs de la Renaissance en Croatie," in *La Renaissance en Croatie*, exh. cat., eds. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg and Miljenko Jurković. Zagreb and Paris: Seuil, 2004, pp. 159–194, and Joško Belamarić, "La chapelle du bien-heureux Jean de Trogir," in ibid., pp. 135–157. Another pioneering volume of essays is *Quattrocento Adriatico: Fifteenth-Century Art of the Adriatic Rim*, ed. Charles Dempsey. Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1996. Broader in scope geographically and historically is Slobodan Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*. London: Yale University Press, 2010, a vast compendium of sites and their histories that continues a long tradition of visual documentation going back to Georg Kowalczyk, ed., *Denkmaeler der Kunst Dalmatien*, intro. Cornelius Gurlitt. Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1910.

13 Like stone, wood also traveled this route: the massive wood structural members that were needed to span the vast spaces of the Palazzo Farnese were shipped by sea from the Veneto and circumnavigated the penninsula. This information is contained in a letter from Jacopo Valvasone di Maniago of April 7, 1565 addressed to Carlo Borromeo (then abbot of Moggio in Carnia); *Descrizione della Cargna del co. Jacopo Valvasone di Maniaco*. Udine: Tipografia Jacob e Colmegna, 1866. I am grateful to Claudia Conforti for this reference.

10 days by sea (with favorable winds) or on average 25 days (with normal weather), compared to 2 months by land.[14] The normal route was along the Illyrian coast, skirting the Greek islands (Corfu, Crete), and then across to north Africa. Indeed, it becomes clear from reading travel accounts such as Lavallée's, Fortis's, or Jacob Spon's that the distances between stops were short, and that 1 day separated Venice from Pola, 2 days from Zara—a far less demanding route than crossing the Apennines on the way south[15] (Fig. 7). Just beyond lay Spalato (next door to ancient Salona), another usual stopover, then Narona, Ragusa, and finally Durazzo and Butrinto (in today's Albania). This was certainly the itinerary that Spon and Wheeler took in 1675 along the Adriatic coast. Given such travel patterns, it seemed important to consider whether

FIG. 7 *Aberto Fortis, "Filoni irregolari del piè del Monte Marian al mare,"* Viaggio in Dalmazia dell'abate Alberto Fortis*. Venice: Alvise Milocco, 1774.*

14 Giovanni Uggeri, "Relazioni marittime tra Aquileia, la Dalmazia e Alessandria," *Antichità altoadriatiche* 26 (1985): 159–162. On the larger historical context, see Raymond Chevallier, "Les anciens voyageurs de Venise à Pola et Salone," in *Aquileia, la Dalmazia e l'Illirico: Atti della XIV Settimana di studi aquilesi*, 23–29 aprile, 1983. *Antichita altoadriatiche* 26, no. 1 (1985): 13–42.

15 Cassas and Lavallée, *Voyage pittoresque*; Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia dell'abate Alberto Fortis*. Venice: Alvise Milocco, 1774; Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 & 1676*. Lyon: A. Cellier le fils, 1678.

there was such as thing as an identity of the Adriatic that went beyond the European confines and included Alexandria, Venice, and Spalato or Bari and that had different inflections from that connecting Naples, Palermo, and Seville, or Marseille and Genoa.[16]

Thus, the Dalmatian archaeological sites emerged as excellent examples of the interaction of the three issues that shape the content of the essays in this book: the dissemination of artifacts, architecture in particular; their dialogue within a geographical continuum in this fluid world of the Mediterranean; and the existence of an Adriatic identity (comparable to that of the Aegean) that went beyond Venice, resulting from a dialogue across this watery realm between Syria and Egypt, Sicily and Ottoman Turkey, Dalmatia and Puglia. Indeed, although Dalmatia was the departure point, the topics expand outward from this center and embrace larger issues and questions that involve the Mediterranean world and its networks as a whole. What became particularly interesting was the question of how such sites operate across great distances, through what agency, and how this agency changes them in turn. How was a lythic, extensive, scattered, and immobile entity such as an architectural ensemble and its site "transported" through portable, small, graspable objects made of paper, oil paints, metal, wood, ceramic, cloth, or stone (spolia)? or simply through the words or images recorded by people who saw them? And, a corollary issue, what sort of an imaginary dimension results from this process, shared among the recipients of such a heterogeneous body of "things," of such a layered transmission? How does the process reflect back upon the site of origin? Finally, how does this transmission/translation affect the artistic behavior of subsequent generations?

Part 1 of this book looks at the historical reception of Dalmatian sites, by late 19th-century Austrian art historians, 18th-century British architects and 17th-century Ottoman travelers. Thus Suzanne Marchand takes a historiographical approach to the topic and reveals how the very treatment of Dalmatia by the fathers of art history was already ambiguous and conflicted: for some of them, it belonged to the European common Roman past (Rudolf von Eitelberger);

16 Federico Zeri posited a "stile adriatico" and André Chastel stressed the cultural unity of cities south of Venice on both sides of the Adriatic in the 15th century, although neither of them considered the larger Mediterranean geography to include the Ottoman and north African territories; see André Chastel, *Art et humanisme à Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique: études sur la Renaissance et l'humanisme platonicien*. Paris: Presse universitaires de France, 1959, and Federico Zeri, "Rinascimento e Pseudo-Rinascimento," in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, part 2, vol. 1. Turin, 1983, p. 568. Dempsey records the Adriatic insights of both authors; see Dempsey, Introduction, *Quattrocento Adriatico*, p. 7.

for others, to the “Orient” (Strzygowski). Just like the visitors of that era who viewed the littoral from the boat, scanning and separating it from the landmass—as indeed it was divided by conquests, one belonging to the Venetian Stato del Mar, the other (mostly) to the Ottomans—so the historians tore at the identity of the territory and its cultural location. And in so doing, they not only reinforced an old pattern but confirmed it as well: Dalmatia and its monuments belonged to several realities at one and the same time and the objects it produced and received entered into this uncomfortable split identity and reified it.

Cemal Kafadar moves from the art historian to the traveler, and from the Western to the Eastern perspective on the Dalmatian territory. Evliya Çelebi, A compulsive 17th-century traveler, wandered across the Mediterranean and allowed his eye to rest at some length on the Dalmatian coast. Indeed, as Kafadar argues, for him this territory was the key to Ottoman control of the Mediterranean, the center of the world. Driven by his curiosity about unfamiliar shores, Evliya Çelebi identified “connective tissue” between places. Such tissue was not only woven out of portable objects but also generated by the behavior of the residents of those places, such as flight and defection, and by the networks that evolved through demographic shifts—in short, historical connections shaped by mobility as a way of life, or by territorial instability. In his telling, the European and Ottoman assessment of sites and landscapes are strikingly different: for the more urban-minded Europeans, the classification of territory was based on sedentary population; for the Ottomans, settlements were more inclusive and embraced transient groups.

In looking at Robert Adam and his *Ruins of Spalatro*, Erika Naginski also interrogates how the Croatian and Mediterranean sites reached well beyond their geographic locations, and how they “traveled” to Britain. The threads identified by Marchand and Kafadar are here picked up with reference to 18th-century historians and travelers who likewise tease out and perpetuate a double identity for Dalmatia: the palace of Spalato (Split) is viewed by some as Oriental in its excessive richness and therefore also as decadent (by Edward Gibbon); but it can also work as an example of eclecticism and therefore as a positive example of variety within the classical canon for a British architect such as Robert Adam.

The shared Mediterranean imagination and its origins are another central theme and the red thread of Part 2. Marzia Faietti turns to imagined landscapes and asks, How does the image of a real city like Jerusalem, whose history resonates across the Mediterranean, reach Andrea Mantegna, an artist who never traveled there? What happens when mobility/portability and

transportation was not lived first-hand? How does a city enter representation and become "portable"? As she reconstructs the sources of an important painting by Mantegna, Faietti reveals the convoluted and complicated process that includes the confluence of real travel (Ciriaco of Ancona's) with fantasy, literary, and antiquarian interventions as well as political events that produce an imagined city for an artist whose most extensive trip had been no farther than Lake Garda, barely 85 miles (140 kilometers) from where he was born.

In my own essay, I look for yet another glimpse of this phenomenon of compounded imagination, in an exploration of the idea of the Renaissance ideal city, particularly as imagined by Andrea Palladio. The white city so familiar in representations as a deeply desired and never attained site of order, beauty, and peace—a *Pathosformel*, really—is, I argue, a measure of the experience and memory of the white Istrian stone and its brilliance in the buildings and ancient cities along the eastern Adriatic. In their clean sparseness Palladio's images of reconstructed temples on stark white pages captured the effects of the white ruins and the white stone of such sites as Spalato and Pola, and transmitted their effects across centuries as far as Georgian London and its own white terraces.

David Young Kim looks at the mobility of the artist rather than that of things, and identifies a counter-impulse that pushes against the collective imagination as the origin of artistic style. Examining an array of sources from Leon Battista Alberti to Giorgio Vasari, Aretino, and beyond, he reveals a strain of anxiety in Renaissance artistic literature with respect to the itinerancy of artists. As presented in their texts, this practice of travel for work threatens historical memory, dissolves distinction between places, and contaminates urban order and artistic style. By showing that this basic phenomenon of artistic behavior was far from unproblematic, Kim reveals how deeply felt, and potentially disruptive, the inherent mobility characteristic of the Mediterranean territories really was.

In Part 3, the essays home in on what exactly moved, how it moved, and how this movement across space and mediums affected the reception and the recording of distant monuments and shores. Ioli Kalavrezou and Avinoam Shalem examine one of the most ubiquitous items that circulated widely and in large quantities: cloth, in the form of luxury silks, embroidered and patterned textiles, sumptuous velvets and brocades. Kalavrezou asks, What circulated, and who actually spoke to whom in the production of hybrid pieces that allowed taste to circulate? Who held the needle? And who understood whom (and how) in this process of translation? As it turns out, royal gifts of ritual cloth or bronze doors for Mediterranean cathedrals that came out of Byzantium were intended to gratify an existing foreign taste just as much as they

conveyed images of Constantinople, its monuments, and its treasures. Like Faietti, Kalavrezou also interrogates a larger phenomenon: what happens when mobility/portability and transport were carried out by proxy rather than firsthand?

Shalem pursues this topic one step further and poses the problem of an intertextuality of objects. Looking at a much manipulated cloth—the so-called chasuble of Thomas Becket, its Arab origins, and its many afterlives—he explores how fabric transported artistic ideas through its patterning or through its use as a "textile architecture." Originally a tent, as a chasuble it was also intended to house the body. The question Shalem ultimately asks is one of agency: How did "objects" such as cloth retain and transport alterity and embed it—with a cloud of layered references—into new contexts? Shalem's "intertextuality of objects," like Kafadar's "connective tissue" between places, emerge as a significant ideas in this book.

Textiles are not just bought and sold, presented and received as gifts. As Joško Belamarić argues in his essay, textile production in and of itself involves an expertise that connects various shores of the Mediterranean. The ambition to develop a cloth industry in Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in the early 15th century involved many steps that brought different cultures together. Not only did this initiative involve competition with Italian centers such as Florence but it also extended to inviting craftsmen who came and shared their secrets, the reopening of aqueducts to supply the quantities of water necessary for manufacturing cloth, and the construction of fountains and specialized stone hooks on buildings to hang the cloth to dry. As a result of the decision to develop this industry, architecture as infrastructure became an essential component of the built environment of Ragusa, and an entire network of connections and contact across the Adriatic emerged, with significant and lasting cultural and architectural consequences.

The essays in Part 4 scrutinize the networks along which this phenomenon of portability manifested itself. Thus Gulrü Necipoğlu and Goran Niksić focus on the materials of architecture and look at their circulation, as does Doris Abouseif. In these three essays, it becomes clear just how intense and how loaded with meaning was the circulation of spolia and fragments—whether just the basic materials or carved stone—into and around Dalmatia and the Mediterranean. By order of Venice's doges and Mamluk or Ottoman sultans, an enormous number of stones, columns, and capitals were moved, lifted, and carried, then shipped to distant lands and erected there, in a dizzying sequence of aesthetic, political, and/or practical construction choices. Yet as these authors point out, spoliation is not always destruction. As Necipoğlu stresses, the agents are of prime significance and are the originators of "contact"

between cultures. Converts—viziers and pashas who hailed from European territories—continued to traffic in the arts of their homelands with a new Islamic fervor. Here, we encounter patrons and materials leaving traces across the Mediterranean region, rather than artists on the move. Nor is the practice of gathering meaningful stones an exclusively early modern one: as Abouseif argues, the practice goes back to the ancient Egyptians, the Byzantines, and the Gothic Crusaders, as well as to the Mamluks, who collected not only exquisitely carved stones but their craftsmen as well—not as trophies, but for their novelty and aesthetic appeal. Gudelj likewise delves into the agents of architectural portability and argues that the Roman Arch of the Sergii in Pola is quoted in the 15th-century Arch of Alfonso of Aragon in Naples. However, what is striking here is just how convoluted was the translation of various motifs: descriptions, coins, drawings, paintings, and itinerant artists all contributed to connect a monument on the Istrian coast with the royal seat in Campania.

In the final analysis, as the authors of these essays show, portability and hybridity went hand in hand, and in tracing transformation they tease out both expected patterns and unexpected, serendipitous moments when cultural exchange occurred. By focusing on translation and its instruments, these essays ultimately expand the traditional concept of influence by thrusting mobility and the process of cultural translation—its mechanisms, rather than its effects—into the foreground. Reaching beyond its physical boundaries, Dalmatia emerges as an aggregation of physical and abstract elements that operates on many vectors like an intense node that radiates cultural energy and touches a collective Mediterranean.

Bibliography

Abulafia, David, ed., *The Mediterranean in History*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003.

Belamarić, Joško, "La chapelle du bien-heureux Jean de Trogir," in Ibid., pp. 135–157.

Bilsel, Can, *Antiquity on Display. Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Braudel, Fernand, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1949.

Cassas, Louis-Francois and Joseph Lavallée, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*. Paris: P. Didot, 1802.

Chastel, André, *Art et humanisme à Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique: études sur la Renaissance et l'humanisme platonicien*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1959.

Chevallier, Raymond, "Les anciens voyageurs de Venise à Pola et Salone." In *Aquileia, la Dalmazia e l'Illirico. Atti della XIV Settimana di studi aquilesi*, 23–29 aprile 1983. *Antichita altoadriatiche*, 26, no. 1, 1985: 13–42.

Ćurčić, Slobodan, *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*. London: Yale University Press, 2010.

Dempsey, Charles, ed., *Quattrocento Adriatico. Fifteenth-Century Art of the Adriatic Rim*, Villa Spelman Colloquia, vol. 5. Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1996.

Descrizione della Cargna del co. Jacopo Valvasone di Maniaco. Udine: Tipografia Jacob e Colmegna, 1866.

Fisković, Igor, "Les arts figuratifs de la Renaissance en Croatie." In *La Renaissance en Croatie*, exh. cat., eds. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg and Miljenko Jurković. Zagreb and Paris: Seuil, 2004, pp. 159–194.

Flood, Finbarr B., *Objects of Translation. Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Fortis, Alberto, *Viaggio in Dalmazia dell'abate Alberto Fortis*. Venice: Alvise Milocco, 1774.

Goitein, S.D., *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–1993.

Greenblatt, Stephen et al., *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Harris, W.V., ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Hoffman, Eva, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 24, no. 1 (2001): 17–50.

Horden, Peregrine and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.

Kowalczyk, Georg, ed., *Denkmaeler der Kunst Dalmatien*. Intro. Cornelius Gurlitt. Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1910.

Latour, Bruno, "The Berlin Key or How to Do Words with Things." In *Matter, Materiality, and Modern Culture*, ed. P.M. Graves-Brown. London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 10–21.

Marchand, Suzanne, *Down from Olympus*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Nassivera, Barbara, "Louis-Francois Cassas: il 'Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie'," *Atti e Memoria della Società Istriana di Archaeologia e Storia Patria* N.S. 47 (1999): 169–206.

Nora, Pierre, ed., *Les lieux de memoire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1984–1992.

Payne, Alina, "Portable Ruins: The Pergamon Altar, Heinrich Wölfflin and German Art History at the *fin de siècle*," *RES. Journal of Aesthetics and Anthropology* 54/55 (spring/autumn 2008): 168–189.

Piterberg, Gabriel, Teofilo F. Ruiz, and Geoffroy Symcox, eds., *Braudel Revisited: The Mediterranean World 1600–1800*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplous. The Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World*, ed. and trans. G. Shipley. Bristol: Phoenix Press, 2011.

Shalem, Avinoam, "Objects as Carriers of Real or Contrived Memories in a Cross-Cultural Context," *Mitteilungen zur Spätantiken Archäologie und Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* 4 (2005): 101–109.

Spon, Jacob and George Wheeler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 & 1676*. Lyon: A. Cellier le fils, 1678.

Tinguely, Frédéric, *L'écriture du Levant à la Renaissance*. Geneva: Droz, 2000.

Uggeri, Giovanni, "Relazioni marittime tra Aquileia, la Dalmazia e Alessandria," *Antichità altoadriatiche* 26 (1985): 159–162.

Zeri, Federico, "Rinascimento e Pseudo-Rinascimento." In *Storia dell'arte italiana*, part II, vol. 1. Turin: 1983.