

PROSTOR

27 [2019] 1 [57]

ZNANSTVENI ČASOPIS ZA ARHITEKTURU I URBANIZAM
A SCHOLARLY JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN PLANNING

SVEUČILIŠTE
U ZAGREBU,
ARHITEKTONSKI
FAKULTET
UNIVERSITY
OF ZAGREB,
FACULTY OF
ARCHITECTURE

ISSN 1330-0652
[https://doi.org/
10.31522/p](https://doi.org/10.31522/p)
UDK | UDC 71/72
CODEN PORREV
27 [2019] 1 [57]
1-190
1-6 [2019]

POSEBNI OTISAK / SEPARAT | OFFPRINT

ZNANSTVENI PRILOZI | SCIENTIFIC PAPERS

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ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER
[HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.31522/P.27.1\(57\).4](https://doi.org/10.31522/p.27.1(57).4)
UDC 712:253 M. HABSBURG (497.5 LOKRUM) "18"

LOKRUMSKO ŠETALIŠTE – ALAMEDA
IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANAK
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FIG. 1 LOKRUM ALAMEDA FROM THE AIR, 2019
SL. 1. LOKRUMSKA ALAMEDA IZ ZRAKA, 2019.



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TECHNICAL SCIENCES / ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN PLANNING
2.01.05. – LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

ARTICLE RECEIVED / ACCEPTED: 10. 5. 2019. / 17. 6. 2019.

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ČLANAK PRIMLJEN / PRIHVACEN: 10. 5. 2019. / 17. 6. 2019.

LOKRUM WALKWAY – *ALAMEDA*

LOKRUMSKO ŠETALIŠTE – *ALAMEDA*

ALAMEDA
ARCHDUKE MAXIMILIAN OF HABSBURO
LOKRUM
SPANISH INFLUENCE
WALKWAY

Between 1859 and 1867, when Lokrum island was the property of the Austrian Archduke and Emperor of Mexico, Maximilian of Habsburg, a walkway influenced by Spanish promenades known as *alamedas*, has been constructed in front of his residence. The research is based on the archived material and the authentic bills of quantities, signed by the court gardener Joseph Laube. The Lokrum walkway is Maximilian's original concept.

ALAMEDA
NADVOJVODA MAKSIMILIJANA HABSBUROŠKI
LOKRUM
ŠPANJOLSKI UTJECAJ
ŠETALIŠTE

Između 1859. i 1867., kada je otok Lokrum bio u vlasništvu austrijskoga nadvojvode i meksičkoga cara Maksimilijana Habsburga, ispred njegove rezidencije na otoku izvedeno je šetalište inspirirano španjolskim šetalištima, poznatim pod imenom *alameda*. Istraživanja se temelje na grafičkoj arhivskoj građi i autentičnim troškovnicima radova, koje je potpisao dvorski vrtlar Joseph Laube. Lokrumsko šetalište izvorna je Maksimilijanova zamisao.

FOREWORD

UVOD

The park of Maximilian of Habsburg located on the island of Lokrum has been the topic of a wider research that took place in the archives of Vienna, Trieste and Zadar. The first paper, published in late 2018, gave an overview of development of the concept and design of the Lokrum Park (emphasis was put on the cloister gardens and the gardens in the west part of the complex).¹ This article explains the concept, the design and the construction of the Lokrum walkway, as part of the Lokrum park, built by the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph Maria², the Austrian member of Habsburg-Lothringen dynasty (1832-1867), who later became the Emperor of Mexico, and who was also the brother of the Austrian Emperor and King of Hungary and Croatia, Francis Joseph I of Habsburg.³

Maximilian created the landscape architecture of the Lokrum island in the initial years upon taking possession of the island, between 1859 and 1863. The subject matter of this article are the access gardens in the east part of the island, connected by three longitudinal promenades with several transversal promenades, leading from the Portoč harbour to the front of Maximilian's residence (former Benedictine monastery), in the total area of 6,000 m² (Fig. 1). This area was called *Alameda* as inspired by similar urban walkways in the cities of Spain, where this specific form of landscape architecture appeared for the first time, and which were often visited by

Maximilian in the south of Spain, as he wrote in his numerous descriptions.⁴

The letters and bills of quantities of the principal court gardener Joseph Laube (1823-1901) and the chief treasurer Jacob Kuchačević (Jakov Kuhačević)⁵, in which Maximilian's instructions from the mid-19th century were explicitly indicated, show that the Lokrum *alameda* was an authentic concept conceived by Maximilian.

This paper is the first one to interpret the typical elements of the Lokrum *alameda*. This interpretation includes for the first time the sketch made by Anton Perko and showing the parterre in front of the east front of the monastery/residence, which forms the integral part of the access gardens. The paper reveals for the first time the representative archived data from the bill of quantities, signed by the then court gardener on the island, Joseph Laube (1823-1901), which show that the name of *alameda* has also been used in written correspondence. The research was conducted on the basis of the graphic material archived in the National Library in Vienna and the documents archived in the Vienna City Archive, and the bills of quantities and letters kept at the State Archive in Trieste⁶, while also using the private collection of paintings by Anton Perko owned by Hilda Tetsis. Numerous historical postcards and photographs were used as well, together with field research (Fig. 1).

1 MARIĆ, OBAD ŠCITAROCI, 2018

2 Instead of using his full name, the text will use only the name Maximilian, which was used most often.

3 The research was conducted over a couple of years as a project held at Dubrovnik University, and in cooperation with the research project of *Heritage Urbanism* conducted at the Faculty of Architecture, Zagreb University. This paper includes the research of the access gardens – walkway – from the harbour to the Maximilian residence. The authentic contribution of this research includes the definition of the original concept and the representation of the landscaping works for the Lokrum *alameda*, as well as the indisputable confirmation that the Lokrum *alameda* has been the original concept conceived by Maximilian. This paper represents a part of a much larger research to be published in the book entitled *Maximilian's Park on the Island of Lokrum*, planned to be printed at the end of 2019 / beginning of 2020.

4 MAXIMILIAN I., Vol I-III, 1868

5 Jakov Kuhačević was of Croatian origin. His personal data is unknown, except of the fact that he came from a respectable patrician family of Senj Uskoks, the Kuhačevićs, the most prominent member of which was Antun Matesa Kuhačević (1697-1772) who was educated in Graz and appointed the representative of Senj Municipality in the imperial court. [DEROSSI, 1996: 158]

6 We owe special thanks for help in transcribing the bills of quantities and letters to the native speaker, the biologist, D.Sc. Rainer Dornbusch.

7 NIČEVIĆ, 2008: 32

8 LUČIĆ, 1990: 276

9 The Society of Friends of Dubrovnik Antiques sponsored an extensive project of renewal and presentation of the archaeological site of the Romanesque Benedictine monastery on Lokrum, presented to the public in 2017 on

ISLAND OF LOKRUM

OTOK LOKRUM

The island of Lokrum, with its historical name of Lacroma, is situated only half a nautical mile (approximately 600 meters) away from Dubrovnik. Along its longer north-south axis, the island is 1.5 km long, and takes up the area of 72 hectares, which is three times more than the area of the Old Town Dubrovnik (24.7 ha). The island is entirely covered in Mediterranean Maquis shrubland and the holm oak wood with manna ash trees. The oldest archaeological discovery found on the island is the bronze female jewelry dating from 6-5 century BC, which indicates the long continuity of population.⁷ The documented period of the Lokrum history began in 1023, when the island has been donated to the Benedictines by Vital, the archbishop of Dubrovnik, and the Dubrovnik nobility, for building a monastery.⁸ The island is characterised by two elevations, the higher one on the far north and the lower one on the south end on the island, while at centre of the island there is a large fertile plain where the Benedictines built the monastery complex and cultivated the land. The special feature of the Lokrum Benedictine complex arises from the fact that it is composed of the two adjacent monasteries. The preserved remains of the Romanesque monastery, set in direction of north, include only the west wing used

for commercial purposes with the mill on the ground floor, while the remains of the east wing include only the partially preserved perimeter walls. The remains of the large and once representative Romanesque triple-apsed church of St. Mary, with the preserved observation tower on the northeast corner of the Romanesque part, have been conserved and presented to the public.⁹

The new monastic structure of the Benedictine monasteries (observance) in the second half of the 15th century corresponded with the construction of the gothic-renaissance monastery. The big earthquake in 1667 caused great damages in the entire Dubrovnik area and the then most representative Benedictine monasterial complex in the Adriatic suffered significant damages.

The earliest written record on the island is from the year 1115, when the island was named *Lacromono*, while the Dubrovnik Statute from the 13th century mentioned the Lokrum Benedictine Monastery as *monasterio Lacrimonensi*.¹⁰ The Italianised name *Lacroma* was also used in the period when the area of the former Dubrovnik Republic belonged to the Austrian Empire (1813-1918).¹¹ The name of the island is considered to be derived from the Latin word *acrumen*, *acruminis* which means sour fruit, which is assumed to be connected with the citrus fruits cultivated on the island (the citron *Citrus medica* and the oranges *Citrus aurantium*).¹²

The period in which the island was the property of Maximilian (1859-1967), who was then the Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian Navy, and since 1964 the Emperor of Mexico, was important for the acclimatisation of the exotic types of fruits on the Lokrum island. Maximilian was a passionate botanist, gardener, constructor and collector. All his designs for parks relied on the idea of introduction and acclimatisation of exotic plants, which was in line with the popular trend of designing parks inspired by the 'gardenesque' style, promoted by John Claudius Loudon since 1832.¹³

In the period in which Lokrum belonged to Maximilian, the island was perceived as a large park. Experimenting with the production, planting and acclimatisation of the exotic plants turned out to be successful due to the typical Mediterranean climate characterised by sunny, warm and dry summer season and mild and rainy winter season. Maximilian's personal diary written in Mexico by his personal assistant Anselmo della Portilla, clearly shows that Lokrum has been a special place for him.¹⁴ A place where he turned a monastery into his residence by altering the gothic-renaissance part of the monastery with a minimum intervention into the architectural integrity of the original complex.¹⁵

Lokrum. ARHITA d.o.o. Dubrovnik and ARHEO PLAN d.o.o. Dubravka, Zvezdana Tolja, graduate engineer of archaeology, project leader and conservation research manager, Maris Kristović, graduate archaeologist, archaeological research manager.

10 SKOK, 1950: 247; LONZA et al., 2002: 642

11 The Republic of Ragusa has been abolished on 31 January 1808, pursuant to a decree of the general Marmont. The French reign lasted from then until 1813.

12 In the period of Renaissance, cultivating citrus fruits was the issue of prestige. There is no Renaissance villa or mansion without the citrus garden. There was a famous citrus collection of Lorenzo de Medici in Villa La Petraia.

13 John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843), a Scottish botanist and landscape architect. He influenced the establishment of the English Victorian style in the landscape architecture. Loudon thought that nature and art must be clearly distinguished. In his opinion, the exotic plants were perfect for emphasising this difference.

14 "El Emperador debía detenerse algunas horas en la isla de Lacroma, que está enfrente à Ragusa, y que es su propiedad particular. Allí fué donde Ricardo Corazon de Leon tocó tierra por primera vez regresando de Palestina. Había hecho voto de levantar una iglesia en el punto à donde abordase. Cerca de la iglesia se construyó despues un convento, que fué abandonado mas tarde, y transformado por último en castillo por el archiduque Fedrinando Maximiliano. Esta isla es notable por su vegetacion, y las plantas de los trópicos se aclimatan facilmente en ella." [PORTILLA, 1864: 44]

15 Probably the best-known example of turning a monasterial complex into a private residency is the one of the Ville d'Este in Tivoli, which was also originally constructed as a Benedictine monastery and then renovated by the cardinal Ippolito d'Este in the second half of the 16th century.

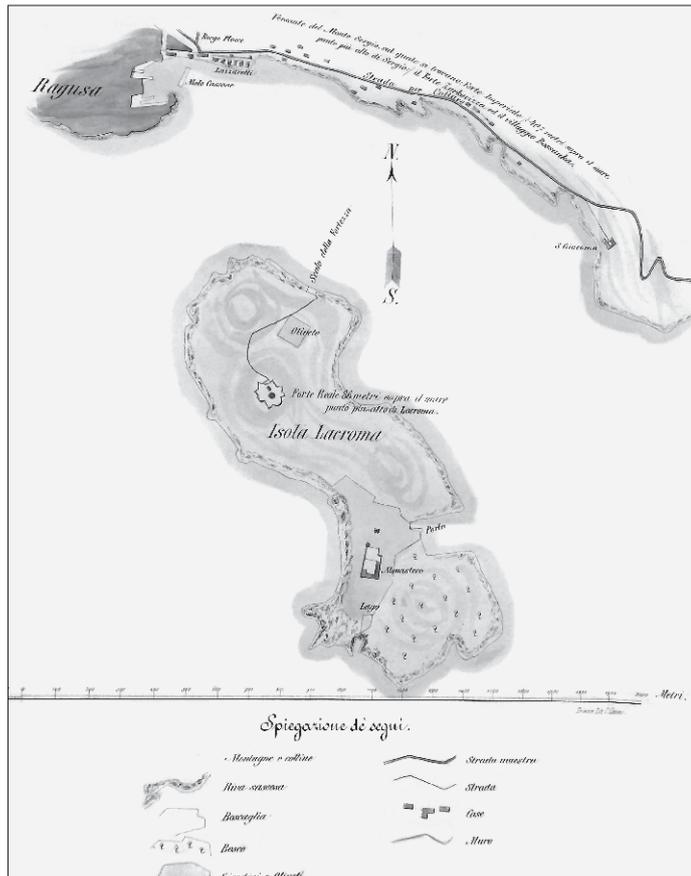


FIG. 2 THE ISLAND OF LOKRUM, MAXIMILIAN'S GARDENS AND OLIVE GROVES, ACCORDING TO ROBERTO VISIANI
SL. 2. OTOK LOKRUM, MAKSIMILIJANOVI VRTOVI I MASLINICI, PREMA ROBERTU VISIANIU

For instance, the upper floor of the monastery that was originally composed of monastic rooms located opposite to one another and entered from a spacious hallway, were kept as they were without installing partitions or expanding the monastic cells. The installation of a new building (the tower) adjacent to the gothic-renaissance cloister, at the point of connection with the ruins of the east part of the Romanesque cloister, was carried out quite gracefully. But the archive sources indicate that this interpolation was carried out after Maximilian had gone to Mexico in 1865/66.¹⁶

Apart from being a historical curiosity showing that Maximilian never stayed in the new tract of the residency bearing his emblem and featuring his monograms on door knobs, this earlier unknown fact shows that the park has truly been his priority, since in the years spent in Europe he was largely focused on this aspect of landscaping activities on Lokrum. As written by Portilla, he planted the island with numerous exotic plants from tropical areas. Maximilian had the opportunity to find motives for the park during his numerous travels in the areas from the Mediterranean to Brazil.

EARLIER RESEARCH OF LOKRUM

DOSADAŠNJA ISTRAŽIVANJA LOKRUMA

The earlier research and records on the access gardens (walkway) on the Lokrum island were very few, but important as they were the confirmation that the Lokrum *alameda* has in its time had a recognisable features and function, which disappeared over time due to lack of maintenance.

The oldest descriptions of the Maximilian's Lokrum access gardens were published in 1863 in a booklet by Roberto Visiani *Sulla vegetazione e sul clima Dell Isola di Lacroma in Dalmazia*.¹⁷ Visiani arrived upon Maximilian's personal invitation in order to give his opinion on the completed works on constructing the acclimatisation park for exotic species and provide proposals for further works. On the map of the island drawn by Visiani, decorative gardens and olive groves were presented in a special category (*Giardini o Olivetti*). They fully encircle the area of the monastery, the then Maximilian's residence (Fig. 2). The map also indicated the access gardens with the promenades. Although the map showed only the communication for the smaller pier of Skalica to the Fort Royal located at the highest point on the island, Visiani wrote that since April 1863, a number of works have been conducted and numerous promenades constructed on the island: "... there are many paths on the island going in different directions and slightly uphill, which facilitates the research and enable the visitors to admire the variety of perspectives of the island and its surroundings; whether they enjoy the solitude and rest in shady hideouts, or in various types of walks, and in the comfort of hunt or the possibility of going fishing."¹⁸

Eight years following Maximilian's death, Francis Joseph I (1830-1916), the then Emper-

¹⁶ Lacroma: Kronprinz Rudolf Verwaltung von Lacroma – Erledigungen 1878-1891, At – OeSta / HH StA PPF GDF SR 41, Document of the island value assessment "Nell isola di Lacroma Li 24 Aprile 1873"

¹⁷ Roberto de Visiani (1800-1878), physician and botanist born in Sibenik, was one of the leading European botanist scientists in the 19th century and a longstanding prefect of the famous botanical garden in Padua. He was an honourable member of many European botanist societies and received several awards for his work. The most famous of his works is the representative *Flora Dalmatica* in which he listed the flora in Dalmatia in three extensive books with the subsequent supplements, in which he described numerous species that were new at the time. He was Maximilian's advisor and he followed Maximilian's work.

¹⁸ VISIANI, 1863: 12

¹⁹ SKURLA, 1876: 129

²⁰ *Jerula* means bed.

²¹ KUNIČIĆ, 1897: 20

²² WARSBERG, 1903

or of Austria and King of Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia, during his visit to Lokrum taken on 30 April 1875, wrote in his personal diary that "there were flower carpets in front of the palace".¹⁹

In 1887, Petar Kuničić (1862-1940), writer, poet, travel writer and translator, wrote the following in his booklet on the Lokrum Island: "At the guard's house we turned right and took a very lovely path adjacent to the bridge. This was a proper entrance into the beauty of nature enhanced by the artist's hand. There are thick shrubs on both sides, while on the right and left side there are flower beds called *jerula*²⁰ of rich flowers, flaring and overflowing under the bright sunshine of the shiny August. It is noon, and you are deep in the shades, unable to see the skies above. The local trees are hugging, kissing and intertwining with the trees from Africa, Australia and black Arabia. In front of us there is a well-known monastery, the witness of devoted prayer and passionate love."²¹

In the second half of the 19th century, a German traveller and writer Alexander Freiherr von Warsberg (1836-1889), was, during his travel in the Adriatic and Mediterranean, fascinated by the beauty of the cultivated island, the credit for which he attributed to Maximilian.²² During the two-day visit to the island he described the gardens, mentioned the antiquity sculptures in them, but provided no details on the access gardens with promenades. The book published in 1903 shows a painting of the part of the access gardens of *alameda* painted in late 19th or early 20th century by the Austrian landscape painter Ludwig Hans Fischer (1848-1915).

The botanist Gustav Adolf Poscharsky (1832-1915), in his booklet entitled *Flora von Kroatien und Dalmatien* dated in 1896, wrote that Maximilian built spacious gardens on the Lokrum island by using huge areas, and rec-

ommended them to be visited by educated gardeners.²³

A prominent Croatian natural scientist, botanist, mountaineer and travel writer Dragutin (Adolf) Hirc (1853-1921), mentioned when visiting Lokrum in the early 20th century that the merit for the best part of the Lokrum promenades and gardens belongs to Maximilian, and about the access gardens and promenades he wrote:

"A lovely pier has been built on the east side. There is a guard's house surrounded by a garden, in which one can see beautiful plants walled in sea shells. A nice and neatly aligned path leads from his house to the monastery. The path is called *Via Calaroga*, in honour of the hometown of St. Dominic, founder of the Dominican Order, who reign the island today.²⁴ The path is fenced by a double row of evergreen hedge, various trees and decorative plants. Here one can see *Thuja horison-talis*, *Laurus nobilis*, *Arbutus unedo*, and there is a pleasant scent of the jasmine tree, smelled every step of the way. On the *Calaroga* path, there is an eye-catching trunk of an old *Ficus indica* tree and a board on which the Archduke Maximilian had his lunch when he first stepped on the island. Few more steps and you are facing the monastery building."²⁵

In 1911, a botanist Lujo Adamović (1864-1935) wrote his principle observations on Maximilian's ornamental gardens, mentioning their poor maintenance and degradation that has already begun.²⁶

Zdravko Arnold (1898-1943), during his visit to Lokrum in 1936, wrote down the following, "... I found the gardens around the monastery in quite a good shape, although it is only a shadow of what they used to be, judging by Adamović and the other writers, when they were in the hands of the true garden-lovers and overseen by experts. And we can believe that, if we look at the sorry remains of the various exotic plants, scattered away from the castle in the natural part of the park. This part of the park is today completely neglected and gone wild, since the rich natural vegetation unrestrained by human hands has become very strong and gradually destroyed all of the more sensitive and gentle plants. Here we can still see two poor *araucarias*, *Araucaria imbricata* and *A. excelsa*, the last traces of what used to be a fine collection."²⁷

In 1959, a botanist Stjepan Horvatic (1899-1975) conducted a vegetation mapping on the Lokrum island and recorded on the map that the access gardens belong to the category of the park.²⁸ Landscape architect D.Sc. Bruno Šišić (1927-2015), has taken an interest in Lokrum in the 1950ies as a researcher and designer. On the map of the island he drew the access gardens located between

23 POSCHARSKY, 1896: 19

24 The Dominicans gave the name of *Via Calaroga* to the main access walkway in honour of the town of Caleruega in Spain (the old Castile), the hometown of St. Dominic, the founder of the Dominican Order. In 1891, the emperor and king Francis Joseph I gave Lokrum to the Dominicans. In 1913, the island again became the property of the Habsburg family, as it was given to the Archduchess Elisabeth Marie, Austrian princess Windisch-Graetz, who was a daughter of the heir-apparent Rudolf and princess Stephanie. In 1919, Lokrum was taken over by the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS), which indemnified the Princess, while in 1921, the Kingdom of SHS opened the "State Recovery and Medical Centre" on Lokrum island.

25 HIRC, 1905: 661

26 ADAMOVIĆ, 1911: 98

27 ARNOLD, 1938: 50

28 The map of Lokrum is located in Maximilian's residence, the former monastery, in the study of Prof. D.Sc. Tomo Gamulin (1906-1991), the former director of the Biological Institute.

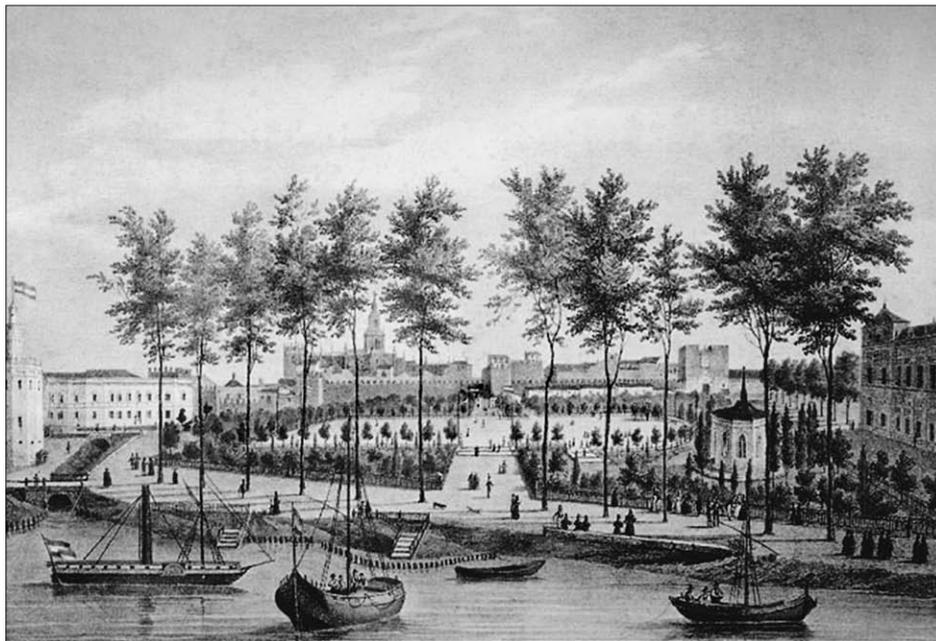


FIG. 3 ALAMEDA IN SEVILLE, PASEO DE CRISTINA, 1868, ACCORDING TO D. MANUEL ÁLVAREZ-BENAVIDES
SL. 3. ALAMEDA U SEVILLI, PASEO DE CRISTINA, 1868., PREMA: D. MANUEL ÁLVAREZ-BENAVIDES

the port of Portoč and the monastery as a landscape heritage from the mid-19th century.²⁹ In the second half of the 20th century, the promenades and gardens were partially reconstructed, but without any relations with the originally planned 19th century concept designs.

ALAMEDA – URBAN PROMENADE IN SPANISH CITIES

ALAMEDA – GRADSKO ŠETALIŠTE ŠPANJOLSKIH GRADOVA

*Alameda*³⁰ is a Spanish term for a public walkway or a promenade, which has been in use in the Spanish language since the late 18th century. It was derived from the Spanish term "álamos", which, if translated literally, means poplar trees, which were originally planted in the Spanish parks in the past. Later on, this expression has been used in the Spanish-speaking countries for a walkway in the shade of the tall trees in the parks. Over time, in the Spanish-speaking countries *alameda* became a generic term for a walkway in the shade, promenade, boulevard, avenue, esplanade, boardwalk.³¹ *Alameda* has a strong urbanist-developmental and social role. Unlike the park, *alameda* has a specific walkway – and promenade-related character, as a location of daily, mostly evening, encounters among the members of the upper class.

Alameda has become a tradition and an expression of a recognisable urban character of the cities belonging to the Spanish urban culture. *Alameda* in Mexico City is the oldest *alameda* in South America. In 1592, the Span-

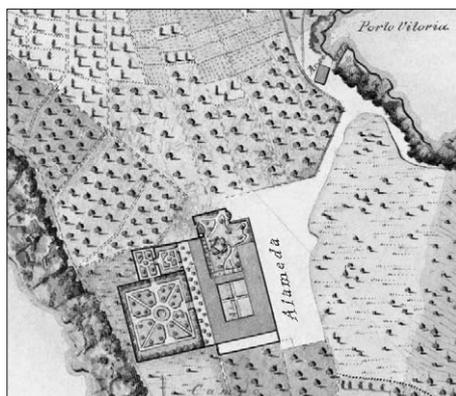
ish Viceroy Luis de Velasco II (1511-1564) had the public space designed with the poplar plantations to be used by the town dwellers. Therefore, this public space was named *alameda*. The Mexican *alameda* was inspired by *Alameda de Hércules* in Sevilla originating from 1574, which is considered to be the oldest public park in Spain and one of the oldest in Europe.³² The Sevillian model became a prototype for the public landscapes in the towns in the countries ruled by Spain, both in Europe and in South America.³³

In his travel accounts written in the course of his travel in the Mediterranean in early 1850ties, Maximilian of Habsburg left numerous descriptions of the Spanish *alamedas*. The most of them originated in the first half of the 19th century. These travel writings were published immediately after his death.³⁴ One of the *alamedas* described was the one in Seville, named *Salon de Cristina* and built in 1830 (Fig. 3). During his stay in Mexico, he had the Mexico City *Alameda* remade.³⁵ In his descriptions there were two different types – urban *alameda* (less plantations and more tiling) and park *alameda* (close to the botanical garden), but they are always used for walks and encounters in the shades of the trees, and as a decoration to the city and the buildings the *alameda* is adjacent to (Fig. 5)

The plantations are the key substance of each *alameda*. Parterres are usually edged by plants that may be easily sheared (thuja, privet, Japanese mock orange and similar). Deciduous trees are grown to ensure sunshine and airiness in the winter months. Exotic species such as Australian banyan tree, are planted directly by the sea.

When travelling through Spanish towns, Maximilian saw and described numerous *alamedas* before he had the Lokrum *alameda* built in 1860.

FIG. 4 THE FIRST KNOWN PLAN OF LOKRUM WITH THE VIEW OF THE AREA OF ALAMEDA, 1860, UNKNOWN AUTHOR
SL. 4. PRVI POZNATI PLAN LOKRUMA S PRIKAZOM PROSTORA ALAMEDE, 1860., NEPOZNATI AUTOR



²⁹ "Consolidated historical overview of landscaping on the Lokrum island" [ŠIŠIĆ, 2001: 423]

³⁰ <http://www.wordreference.com/es/en/translation.asp?spen=alameda> ; <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/alameda> ; <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/alameda> ; <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/alameda> [15.3.2019].

³¹ *Alameda* is also used as a name for big 20th century avenues with alleys in South America, such as *La Alameda del Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins* in Santiago de Chile, *Alameda El Porvenir* in Bogota, Columbia, and in numerous other cities. The famous *alameda* in Spain is the one in Santiago de Compostela.

³² Located in the north part of the historical core of Seville, today it represents a small park square as a remainder of the original walkway with eight rows of poplar alleys. [ALBARDONEDO FREIRE, 2002: 191-208]

³³ *Alameda Écija* in Seville (1578), *Alameda de los Descalzos* in Lima (1611), *La Alameda Chuquiaguada* in Quito, Ecuador (1596), *La Alameda* in Valencia (1667), *La Alameda Principal* in Malaga (early 19th century), *alameda* in Granada, *Alameda del Tajo* (originally named *Alameda de San Carlos*) in the town of Ronda (1806) etc. For more details:

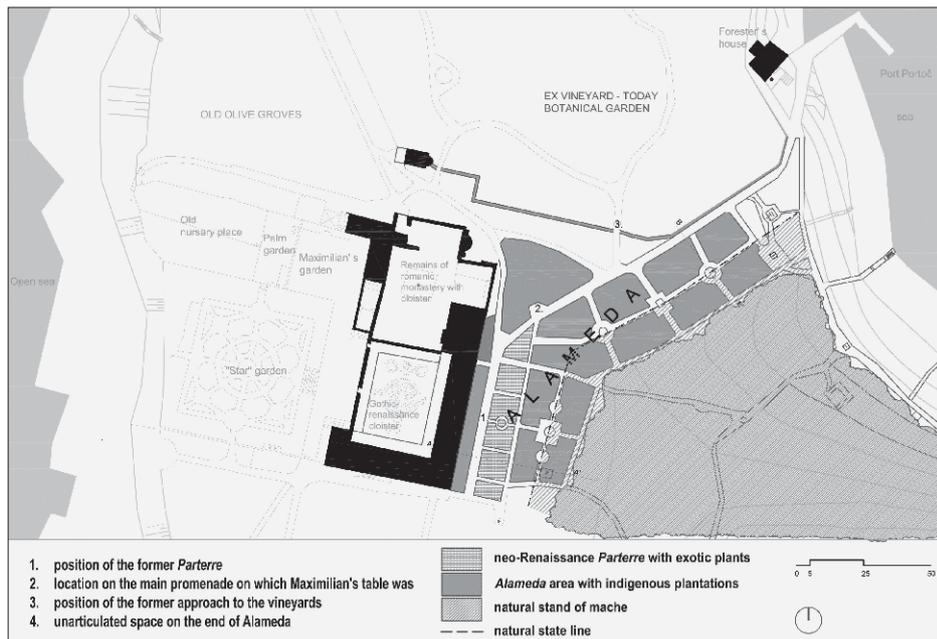
DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE LOKRUM ALAMEDA

PROJEKT I IZVEDBA LOKRUMSKE ALAMEDE

The initial concept of constructing the access promenades with gardens on the Lokrum island all the way to the Portoč harbour, named *Alameda*, was Maximilian's, which is proved by the first known plan for the island dated in 1860 (Fig. 4).³⁶ The plan is not signed. In the relatively rare researches involving Lokrum, it was assumed that the first plans for the island were drafted by an architect Carl Junker (1827-1882)³⁷ who drew up the initial blueprint of Maximilian's castle Miramar in Trieste. It is a well-known fact that Maximilian himself drew in and laid out all the main lines in his parks.³⁸ Therefore, this blueprint must have been created according to his instruction.

Landscaping of the second half of the 19th century was marked by the historicistic movement, as was the case in architecture. In the plan of Lokrum dated in 1860 (Fig. 4) we can see a neo-renaissance parterre located west of the building, while a romantic landscape garden was planned in the ruined Romanesque cloister. The area of the Lokrum *alameda* was marked only as an area – a large rectangle space along the east front of the building with a funnel-shaped constriction towards Portoč, of the total draw-in area of approximately 5,702 m². The plan did not include the promenades within the *alameda* and the manner of designing the garden spaces between them.

According to the Austrian cadastre from 1837, the area that Maximilian will use to construct the *alameda*, the Lokrum walkway, was an agricultural land – pasture with fruit trees (cadastral plot 2264 *Pascolo con frutti*). Only a small southeast part was categorised as a



natural Maquis shrubland (cadastral plot 2289 *Bosco Mezzano*).³⁹ (Fig. 6).

Today, the Lokrum *alameda* consists of the three longitudinal promenades laid parallel with the front of the monastery building all the way to Portoč, and eight straight transverse secondary promenades forming the irregular rectangular or trapezoidal garden sections almost equal in size (Fig. 5). The main longitudinal promenade is almost 200 metres long.⁴⁰ The width in front of the building is 43 metres, and about 30 metres in the remaining parts.

As-built condition of *alameda* reveals a slight deviation from the originally planned direction of *alameda* (Figs. 4 and 6). The as-built *alameda* is about ten metres shorter in front of the building, since the building was not annexed in accordance with Maximilian's design.⁴¹ *Alameda* was adapted to the existing natural features of the island – topography, vegetation cover and materials used in Dubrovnik. The field survey and the analysis of the historical photographs (for instance, Fig. 13) show that, although the promenades of *alameda* in Spanish examples were laid linearly, the construction of the Lokrum *alameda* was not consistent with this concept. Namely, on several locations along the promenades there was a certain deflection in order to preserve the existing high vegetation, such as the pine trees (*Pinus halepensis*) planted back at the time of the Benedictines.

Maximilian clearly had an intention to simply use the typological character of *alameda*, and not to literally copy-paste the examples that he saw.

FIG. 5 BLUEPRINT OF THE LOKRUM ALAMEDA
SL. 5. TLOCRT LOKRUMSKE ALAMEDE

FIG. 6 PART OF THE MAP FROM THE AUSTRIAN CADASTRE REFERRING TO THE AREA OF ACCESS GARDENS ON THE ISLAND OF LOKRUM, 1837

SL. 6. DIO KARTE AUSTRIJSKOG KATASTRA ZA PREDIO PRISTUPNIH VRTOVA NA OTOKU LOKRUMU, 1837.



DURÁN MONTERO, 1984; MAXIMILIAN I., 1868; NAVARRO BURGOS, 2013.

³⁴ MAXIMILIAN I., 1868

³⁵ *Alameda* in Mexico City inspired the design of the Central Park in New York. For more details: <http://www.alamedacentral.cdmx.gob.mx/en/historia.html> ; <http://en.mxcity.mx/2017/01/latin-americas-favorite/> ; <https://www.bryantlibrary.org/local-history-v15-172/from-the-bryant-room/158-wc-bryant-and-the-origins-of-central-park> [1.3.2019].

³⁶ The plan was initially published in: MARIĆ; OBAD ŠĆITAROCI, 2018.

³⁷ ČORAK, 1989: 208; BRAILO, 2002: 87-109

³⁸ ANDERS, 2009: 139-259

³⁹ Cadastral review of the part of the island dated in 1837, published for the first time in the paper by MARIĆ, OBAD ŠĆITAROCI, 2018

⁴⁰ The main walkways of *alameda* were usually wide enough to enable access by carriage. [ÁLVARO RECIO, 2015]

⁴¹ The project of redesign was drafted by Segendschmid (1865) and Hofmann (1866/67). The designs were not implemented. They are kept in the Vienna City Archive.

planting. There is no source of water on the island, so the water was shipped by boats in the summer seasons.⁵⁰ During his visit in April 1963, Visiani mentioned that the plants in front of the monastery grow weaker in spite of being protected from the winds and receiving sufficient sunlight.⁵¹ Today's design of the parterre gardens was changed in relation to their historical design in both, layout and vegetation (Fig. 12).⁵²

Plantations of Alameda – Lokrum is covered in thick forest and Maquis vegetation.⁵³ The Maquis shrubland prevails in the southeast part of the island.⁵⁴ The pyramid cypress (*Cupressus sempervirens* 'Pyramidalis') and Aleppo pine (*Pinus halepensis*) (Fig. 14).⁵⁵ were planted in accordance with the plan. Numerous cypress trees were planted for the purpose of wind protection, but also in order to create a romantic atmosphere. The gardener Laube mentioned that 50 cypress trees were planted in January 1861 in front of the residence.⁵⁶ By visiting the terrain today, one can estimate that over 60% of plants are indigenous. Many among them were planted, such as the strawberry tree (*Arbutus unedo*), as stated in the weekly report drafted by the gardener Laube in 1863 (Fig. 8). The archive

49 In this sense, the arid characteristics refer primarily to the period of warm summer seasons in Dubrovnik area, without precipitation, which is especially relevant for Lokrum, which has no sources of drinking water. This problem of the lack of water was addressed by the renaissance authors such as Serafino Razzi. In Maximilian's period the cisterns dating from the times of the Benedictines were rebuilt, a new large water tank was built on the south side below the Fort Royal, including the so-called Charlotte's well and a cistern in front of Portoc, but in spite of that, the water had to be shipped by vessels during the summer months.

50 Archivio di Stato di Trieste, op.cit., 1863, nn 1-69

51 VISIANI, 1863: 12

52 Among the original plantations, only *Yucca recurvifolia* survived due to its resistance to drought and other ecological conditions.

53 Two associations prevail: *Quercus ilicis*-*Pinetum halepensis*, *Myrta communis*-*Quercetum ilicis* and *Fraxino ornifolia*-*Quercetum ilicis*. [DOLINA, JASPRICA, 2015: 27-30]

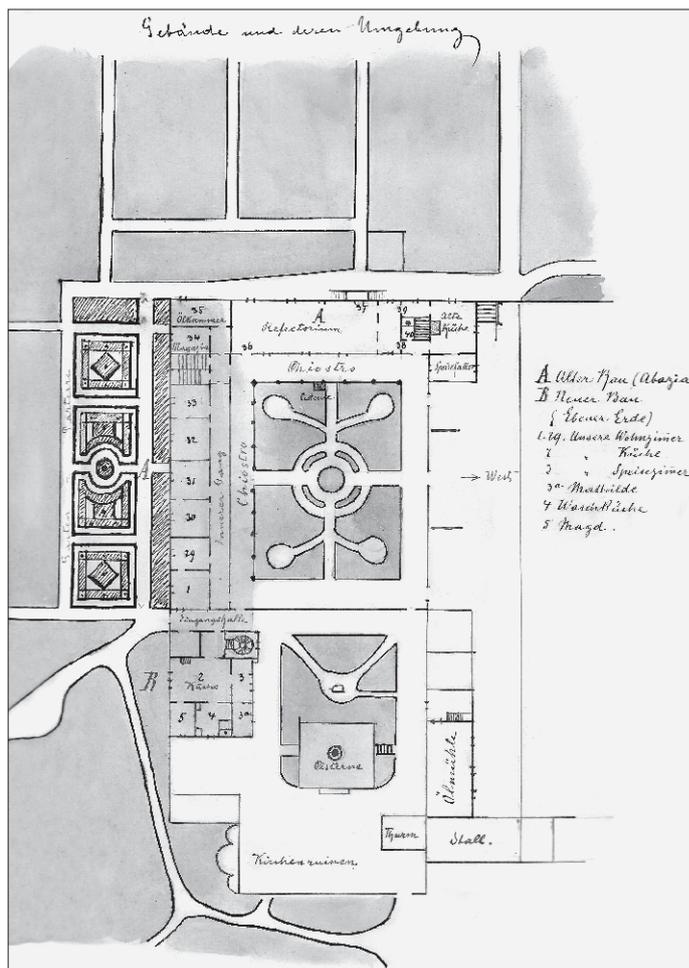
54 Maquis shrubs primarily include the following species: meadowsweet (*Viburnum tinus*), pistachio (*Pistacia lentiscus*), mock privet (*Phyllirea latifolia*), Italian buckthorn (*Rhamnus alaternus*), laurel (*Laurus nobilis*), laurustinus (*Viburnum tinus*), tree heath (*Erica arborea*) and sporadically, manna ash (*Fraxinus ornus*).

55 Cypress trees were planted according to the plan by Maximilian's gardeners, while the Aleppo pine and Stone pine in the south part of the island were planted in line with the plan already at the time of the Benedictines, as well as the protection from the direct view from the open sea, including the protection of agricultural land from the salt sediment and high winds.

56 Archivio di Stato di Trieste, op.cit. 1861-1862, nn. 373-1233

57 Weekly list / *Wochenliste*, 17 January 1863 "Über die Arbeiter welche vom 12 ten bis 17 ten Jänner bei Herrichten der Wege und beim nachpflanzen der *Arbutus unedo* auf der Alameda und bei Herrichten der Baumschule verwendet wurden." [Archivio di Stato di Trieste, op. cit., 1861-1862, nn. 373-1233]

58 VISIANI, 1863: 11



documents confirm that in 1863, the island had a tree nursery.⁵⁷ The autochthonous vegetation had a role of protecting the introduced exotic plants from the wind and salt sediment, particularly in winter months (Fig. 13).

The archived documents, especially the weekly gardener's report, show that Maximilian wished to introduce the exotic plants into the natural autochthonous vegetation. Visiani wrote that Maximilian's intention was to give the entire park area the character of *natural wilderness*.⁵⁸ Historical photographs and sources show that *araucarias* and even *sequoias* were once planted in this area.

The concept of planting exotic plants within the indigenous vegetation was also used in the forest park Sijana near Pula, where the exotic trees were introduced in the natural forest stand of downy oak, white hornbeam and holm oak, exactly at the time of the Austrian rule (the forest was called *Kaiserwald*), starting from the 1860ties. However, apart from Lokrum, there is no other location on the east Adriatic coast, where the Spanish

FIG. 9 DRAWING BY ANTUN PERKO, 1880, GARDENS IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY OF MAXIMILIAN'S RESIDENCE
SL. 9. CRTEŽ ANTUNA PERKA, 1880., VRTOVI U NEPOSREDNOM OKRUŽENJU MAKSIMILIJANOVE REZIDENCIJE



FIG. 10 VIEW OF ALAMEDA IN FRONT OF THE EAST FRONT OF THE MONASTERY, 1870

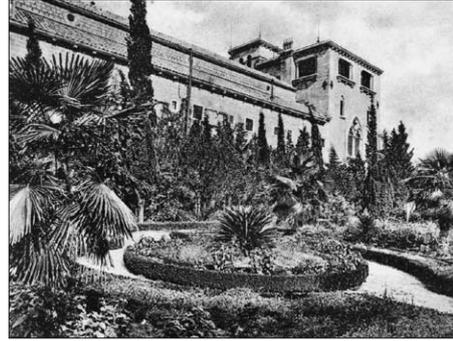
SL. 10. POGLED NA ALAMEDU ISPRED ISTOČNOG PROČELJA SAMOSTANA, 1870.

FIG. 11 VIEW OF THE PART OF ALAMEDA WITH THE CIRCULAR SHAPES IN FRONT OF THE RESIDENCE, LATE 19TH/EARLY 20TH CENTURY

SL. 11. PRIKAZ DIJELA ALAMEDE S KRUŽNIM LIKOVIMA ISPRED PROČELJA REZIDENCIJE, KRAJ 19. ST./POČ. 20. ST.

FIG. 12 GARDEN AREA IN FRONT OF THE RESIDENCE, 2019

SL. 12. VRJNI PROSTORI ISPRED PROČELJA REZIDENCIJE, 2019.



landscaping-urbanistic form of *alameda* had been constructed.

Park equipment of *alameda* – Spanish *alamedas* included the equipment such as the benches, sculptures and fountains, while the starting and the ending points of walkways were often emphasised by pillars with sculptures or with a lovely panoramic view. None of these were preserved on Lokrum. The end of the Lokrum *alameda* is today inarticulate. The only remnant is a cistern with a pedestal of the former water pump on the great plateau.

Immediately adjacent to Maximilian's residence there used to be a widening with a stone table, which apparently used to be Maximilian's favourite sitting spot (Fig. 14).⁵⁹ The field works conducted in the upper part of the access walkway resulted in finding the original travertine curbs from the age of Maximilian. The most of the curbs on the other walkways were dated more recently and include different types and qualities of curbs.

CONCLUSION

ZAKLJUČAK

At first it seemed impossible to compare the Spanish *alamedas* with the Lokrum *alameda*. Lokrum is an island, distant from the urban environment of Dubrovnik, and has very distinguished natural characteristics, unlike *alamedas* which are the public landscaped urban areas typical of the cities in Spain and South America. Therefore, the Lokrum *alameda* is essentially different from all Spanish examples.

The analysis of historical maps and archived documents show that Maximilian and his engineers followed two basic landscaping principles: 1 – Intensively cultivated decorative parterre garden in front of Maximilian's residence (former monastery) and 2 – Extensively cultivated garden with promenades towards the Portoč harbour, along which an environment similar to the original Mediterranean forest and Maquis was formed, and where the exotic plants were introduced in a

point-like manner, in line with the romantic *gardenesque* style.

The idea of designing a parterre decorative garden arises from the intention of creating an attractive patio to Maximilian's residence on the Lokrum island, which significantly changed the earlier character of the landscape – former agricultural landscape was reshaped into a residential one, as appropriate for the residence of the Archduke and the later Emperor.

Enthusiastic about the Spanish examples, Maximilian wished to construct a pleasant walkway. The conceived *alameda* was facing east and therefore was ideal for taking walks in the shade on warm summer days. The Lokrum walkway was conceived as a public space, as a location of encounters, having in mind Maximilian's social awareness and his tendency to make his parks and residences open to the public. In that sense, there is a well-known idea on opening a museum in the Miramar castle⁶⁰, and long before that, on giving the park Maxing to the dwellers of the Hietzing quarter.⁶¹ Unlike the Lokrum *alameda* as a representative access walkway open to the public, the gardens in the west part of Maximilian's estate were of an intimate character and fenced, and could not have been accessed without permission.

On the island of Lokrum, Maximilian fulfilled his landscaping-botanical affinities and interests. His architectural, planning and urbanis-

⁵⁹ HIRC, 1905: 661

⁶⁰ ANDERS, 2016: 31

⁶¹ RIEDL-DORN, 1992: 3-153

⁶² Among the projects of urban transformation in Mexico City, Maximilian planned an avenue connecting the city with the Capultepec palace, he planned construction of fishponds and parks at *Plaza Mayor*, and he also planned to extend the *Alameda* in Mexico City, which has been his original idea. The avenue used to be called *Calzada de los Emperadores*, and today it is called *Paseo de la Reforma*. More details: DREWES, 2000: 159

The access to the Miramar residence and park in vicinity of Trieste, was designed (architect Giuseppe Giulizzzi) as an impressive, about half a kilometre long, representative access – walkway, with passages through rocks and double-rows of holly oak (*Quercus ilex*) on both sides. More details: ANDERS, 2009.

tic affinities will be fulfilled after becoming the Emperor of Mexico, when he faced his architects with an urbanistic programme involving the reconstruction of streets, parks, squares and infrastructure systems (water supply system and drainage), having a holistic perception of the city and thinking about the overall improvement of the hygiene-sanitary standards in the cities. Due to the short duration of his empire, but also because of financial reasons, a vast majority of such projects has not been implemented.⁶²

The Lokrum *alameda* should be viewed in the context of Maximilian's works on planning and constructing walkways in the cities, but also as a special and valuable example of introducing the "imported" urbanistic-landscaping typological form into the natural environment of the island of Lokrum. At the same time, the non-indigenous concept has been adapted to the topographic and other indigenous features, thus creating an atypical model which was recently recognised as a valuable cultural landscape.

This paper is the first one to interpret the manner in which the large area in front of Maximilian's residence on Lokrum has been conceived and constructed. On the basis of analysing the original records from the relevant period, this paper indisputably determines that the construction of the Lokrum *alameda* has been Maximilian's idea. Although the Lokrum walkway was inspired by a specific type of Spanish walkways known under the name of *alameda*, it has been



adapted to the island of Lokrum and to the local context by cultivating and planting shrub-like indigenous species, and by adapting the walkways to the existing topography and the existing vegetation of tall trees.

Maximilian wished to join several functions in this space: to use the parterre garden in front of the residence to enhance and beautify his place of residence, to enable the visitors of the island to take a walk in the shade of the tall trees between the residence and the small harbour, but also to investigate the adaptation of the exotic plants in the shelter of indigenous plantations. As a connoisseur of the Spanish cities and parks, Maximilian chose the form of *alameda* as the most appropriate one to consolidate all of these goals.

[Translated by
„Ekonomik agencija d.o.o.“, Dubrovnik]



FIG. 13 ACCESS WALKWAY AND GARDENS WITH INTRODUCED VEGETATION, AROUND 1870

SL. 13. PRISTUPNA ŠETNICA I VRTOVI S UNESENOM VEGETACIJOM, OKO 1870.

FIG. 14 ACCESS WALKWAY WITH WIDENING FOR MAXIMILIAN'S TABLE IN FRONT OF HIS RESIDENCE, PHOTOGRAPHER ALOIS BEER, 1878-1889

SL. 14. PRISTUPNA ŠETNICA S PROŠIRENJEJ ZA MAKSIMILIJANOV STOL ISPRED MAKSIMILIJANOVE REZIDENCIJE, FOTOGRAF ALOIS BEER, 1878.-1889.

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- FIG. 4 ÖNB, Sign. +Z210707905
- FIGS. 5, 7 Authors
- FIG. 6 DAZD
- FIG. 8 Archivio di Stato di Trieste
- FIG. 9 Private collection of Hilda Tetsis
- FIG. 10 Photo: Francesco Laforest, ÖNB, Sign. 125 69566-Pk 5027
- FIG. 11 Private collection of Eduard Šuljak
- FIG. 12 M. Marić
- FIG. 13 ÖNB, Sign. Pk 1864-0065
- FIG. 14 ÖNB, Sign. Pk 2898-0020

SUMMARY

SAŽETAK

LOKRUMSKO ŠETALIŠTE – ALAMEDA

Članak objašnjava ideju, projekt i izvedbu šetalista na otoku Lokrumu kao dijela lokrumškoga perivoja, za podizanje kojeg je zaslužan nadvojvoda Ferdinand Maksimilijan Josip Marija Habsburg-Lothringen (1832.-1867.), poslije meksički car, brat austrijskoga cara i ugarskohrvatskoga kralja Franje Josipa I. (1830.-1916.).

Maksimilijan je napravio pejzažno uređenje otoka Lokruma u prvim godinama vlasništva nad otokom, između 1859. i 1863. godine. Tema su ovoga članka pristupni vrtovi povezani trima uzdužnim setnicama s nekoliko poprečnih koje vode od lučice Portoč do pročelja Maksimilijanove rezidencije (nekadašnji benediktinski samostan), u ukupnoj površini od oko 6000 m². Taj prostor Maksimilijan naziva *Alameda* po uzoru na slična gradska šetalista u španjolskim gradovima gdje se javlja taj specifični oblik perivojne arhitekture, koje je na jugu Španjolske Maksimilijan rado posjećivao, a o čemu je ostavio brojne opise.

Nacrti i zapisi iz sredine 19. stoljeća pokazuju da je lokrumska *alameda* bila autentična Maksimilijanova ideja. U radu se prvi put tumače tipični elementi lokrumške *alamede*. Interpretira se skica partera koji je sastavni dio pristupnih vrtova, ispred pročelja rezidencije/samostana, slikara Antona Perka. Objavljuju se arhivski podatci iz troškovnika radova koje potpisuje tadašnji dvorski vrtlar na otoku Joseph Laube, u čije se vrijeme *alameda* izvodi. Istraživanje je provedeno na temelju grafičke građe pohranjene u Nacionalnoj knjižnici u Beču i arhivskih troškovnika pohranjenih u Državnom arhivu u Trstu, a korištena je privatna zbirka slika Antona Perka, kao i brojne povijesne razglednice i fotografije. Provedeni su i terenski izvodi.

Prema austrijskom katastru iz 1837. godine prostor na kojem će Maksimilijan izvesti *alamedu*, lokrumsko šetaliste, bio je poljodjelskog karaktera – pašnjak s vockama. Na planu Lokruma iz 1860. godine uočavamo neorenesansni parter zapadno od zgrade, a u razrušenome romanickom klasturu planiran je romantičarski pejzažni vrt. Prostor lokrumške *alamede* obilježen je tek u obliku površine – velika

pravokutna površina duž istočnoga pročelja zgrade s ljevkastim suženjem prema Portoču, ukupne površine na nacrtu približno 5702 m².

Lokrumsku *alamedu* danas čine tri uzdužne setnice koje se pružaju usporedno s pročeljem Maksimilijanove rezidencije sve do Portoča i osam pravocrtnih poprečnih sporednih setnica koje formiraju nepravilna pravokutna ili trapezna vrtna polja približnih velicina. Glavna je uzdužna setnica približno 200 metara duljine. Širina ispred pročelja zgrade jest 43 metra, a u ostalom dijelu 30-ak metara.

Povijesne fotografije, podatci iz izvornih troškovnika radova vrtlara Josepha Laubea, kao i analiza površinskog pokrova, pokazuju da su bila primijenjena dva različita pristupa uređenja. Duž pročelja Maksimilijanove rezidencije bio je izveden uredni parterni vrt, a u ostalom jugoistočnom dijelu – setnice i vrtna polja izvedeni su kroz prirodnu makiju.

Analizom povijesnih karata i arhivskih dokumenata zaključuje se da su Maksimilijan i njegovi inženjeri slijedili dva temeljna načela uređenja Lokruma: 1 – intenzivno njegovan uredni parterni vrt ispred pročelja Maksimilijanove rezidencije i 2 – ekstenzivno njegovan vrt sa setnicama do lučice Portoč, uzduž kojih se oblikovao ambijent sličan izvornoj mediteranskoj sumi i makiji, gdje se točkasto nosilo egzotično bilje, u skladu s romantičarskim stilom perivojne arhitekture.

Ideja oblikovanja parternoga urednog vrta proizlazi iz namjere da se uspostavi atraktivan predvrt lokrumskoj Maksimilijanovoj rezidenciji, čime se značajno mijenja dotadašnji karakter pejzažnog okruženja – dotadašnji agrikulturni krajolik preoblikuje se u rezidencijalni.

Oduševljen španjolskim primjerima, Maksimilijan je želio podići ugodno šetaliste. Zamisljena *alameda* bila je okrenuta prema istoku i zbog toga idealna za setnje u hladovini za toplih ljetnih dana. Lokrumsko šetaliste bilo je zamišljeno kao javni prostor, kao mjesto susreta, s obzirom na Maksimilijanovu socijalnu osviještenost i sklonost otvaranju svojih perivoja i rezidencija stanovništvu. U tome smislu poznata je ideja o uređenju muzeja u

dvorcu Miramare u Trstu. Nasuprot lokrumskoj *alamedu* kao reprezentativnom javnom pristupnom šetalistu, vrtovi na zapadu Maksimilijanove rezidencije bili su intimnoga karaktera i ograđeni, pa se u njih nije moglo pristupiti bez dopuštenja.

Maksimilijan je na Lokrumu ostvario svoje pejzažno-botaničke sklonosti i interes. Svoje arhitektonske, pejzažne i urbanističke sklonosti izrazio je nakon što će postati car Meksika, kada pred svoje arhitekta postavlja urbanistički program koji je uključivao obnovu ulica, parkova, trgova i infrastrukturnih sustava (vodovoda i odvodnje), gledajući grad cjelovito i razmišljajući o općem poboljšanju higijensko-sanitarnoga standarda gradova. Zbog kratkoce trajanja carstva, ali i iz financijskih razloga, velika većina takvih projekata nije izvedena.

Lokrumsku *alamedu* potrebno je promatrati u kontekstu Maksimilijanova opusa planiranja i uređenja šetalista u gradovima, ali i kao osobit i vrijedan primjer unošenja 'uvezenoga' urbanističko-pejzažnog tipološkog oblika u prirodni otočni ambijent otoka Lokruma. Pritom se neautohtoni koncept prilagođavao topografskim i drugim autohtonim obilježjima, čime je ostvaren netipičan model koji je u novije doba prepoznat kao vrijedan kulturni krajolik.

Ovaj rad prvi put tumači kako je veliki prostor ispred Maksimilijanove lokrumške rezidencije bio zamišljen i izveden. Nedvojbeno je utvrđeno da je to bila Maksimilijanova zamisao. Iako je lokrumsko šetaliste inspirirano specifičnim tipom španjolskih šetalista, ono je bilo prilagođeno Lokrumu i lokalnom kontekstu.

Maksimilijan je želio spojiti nekoliko funkcija u tome prostoru: parternim vrtom ispred rezidencije uljepšati prostor boravka, omogućiti setnju posjetiteljima otoka u hladovini visokih stabala između rezidencije i lučice, ali i istraživati prilagodbu egzotičnoga bilja u okrilju autohtonih nasada. Kao poznavatelju španjolskih gradova i perivoja, forma *alamede* činila mu se najprimjerenijom u objedinjavanju svih tih ciljeva.

BIOGRAPHIES

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