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The lion, the music and the island bridge- winged Venetian monuments in Korčula town

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UDK: 930.85(497.584Korčula+450Venezia):327.2]”18/19”

Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper

Primljeno / Received: 20.11.2020.

Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 17.2.2021.

A floating watchtower on the midpoint of the Adriatic, Korčula town's strategic position gave the island historically significant importance in controlling the lower Adriatic basin. The strategic position of the administrative centre of the island resulted in its rulers putting up numerous sculpted statues of the winged lion of St Mark in the town to demonstrate the presence of Venetian rule on a precarious island borderland.

During the 19th century, the maturing of both Italian and Croatian national feeling led to communal tensions between Croats and Italians. Between 1915-1921 as Italy sought to annex the island, the Italian high naval command coined the term 'Curzola islands' in order to create a geographical term to justify the archipelago's annexation from the mainland.

The article shall examine the instrumentalisation of the lions of St Mark by Italian irredentism in World War I and Italian Fascism in World War II. In the aftermath of two Italian occupations of the island between 1918-21 and 1941-43, the historic town of Korčula would see numerous lion statues vandalised and sometimes destroyed due to their association with Italian imperialism.

Key words: Korčula, Dalmatia, Venetian Empire, Lion of St Mark, Adriatic, Irredentism, Italy





'Ein halbes Jahrtausend haben die vier steineren Markuslöwen auf die Menschen der Stadt Korčula herabgesehen!'

Mutilated and blinded, a winged lion of St Mark still guards the gleaming, cobbled passageway near the entrance to Korčula's town hall. Above the silent, sombre feline features are triumphalist plaques that commemorate key turning points of late 19th century history. One mentions the first electoral triumph of the Croatian people's (*narodnjaci*) party in 1871. Another the establishment of the patriotic music society St Cecilia in 1883 (the first of its kind in Dalmatia). The close of the 19th century would be marked by the raising of the Croatian flag 'for the first time' on the city ramparts. Cowering underneath these plaques of self-congratulatory triumphalism, the face of a disfigured lion appears to look away in disgust. The fate of these winged statues, for centuries symbols of Venetian dominance, began to decline when Napoleon ended the rule of the most Serene Republic in 1797. As Venice drowned into the twilight of history, on its Adriatic *madeleine*,² the fortified town of Korčula, a disgruntled pharmacist would take advantage of the millennial maelstrom.

Korčula was no ordinary island of the Venetian Empire. This 'most faithful black stone of the Venetian Adriatic'³ was the place where the Empire had been symbolically conceived, becoming a keystone part of *il Serenisima's* overseas dominion. The floating maritime fort's historic town had been watched since the 15th century by ubiquitous, chimerical beings. Like in the lagoon city, a winged lion stood on a plinth on Korčula's paved *piazzeta*. (image I). The lion did not stand alone. Three larger winged lions were in their third century of sentry duty, two surveying stoically the land gate of the medieval town while one patrolled inside the municipal Loggia. They were part of a mid-Adriatic flying lion's den of two dozen statutes representing the largest pride of lions on any Dalmatian⁴ island. To the pharmacist, the winged wildcats must have appeared more ferocious than ever, prowling despotically, still looking down triumphantly on the former subjects of the *Signora* of the Adriatic. Like Napoleon's troops in Venice, the pharmacist⁵ attacked the lofty lion. The lion's wings and tail broke, laming the brooding beast and starting in the historic town of Korčula the process of leonoclasm, the vandalism of the *leone Marciano*.

1 For half a millennium the four stone lions of St Mark looked down upon the people of Korčula; Franz Theodor CSOKOR, *Als Zivilist im Balkankrieg* (Vienna: Ullstein Verlag, 1947) 255.

2 Something that triggers memories or nostalgia: in allusion to a nostalgic passage in Marcel Proust's novel *Remembrance of Things Past*.

3 Giuseppe Maria PILO, *The fruitful impact: the Venetian heritage in the art of Dalmatia*, (Monfalcone: Edizioni della Laguna, 2005) 207.

4 Only the provincial capital of Zadar contained more (58); Alberto RIZZI, *Un Catalogue Raisonné di leoni Marciani in Dalmazia: Isola di Curzola*, Prilozi povjesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Vol 36, no. 1, 1996, 155.

5 'In the piazza, there is a diminutive column bearing a dilapidated and shame-faced looking little lion, which at the downfall of the republic, was disgracefully maltreated by a little apothecary who owing the dying government a grudge, relieved his pent-up feeling on learning the news of its dissolution by going out in the square and brutally kicking the little stone lion's tail off and destroying his wings.'; Robert Howard RUSSEL, *The Edge of the Orient*, (London: Kegan Paul Trench and Co, 1896) 72-3.





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Image I. Interwar photo of the municipal square in the historic town of Korčula guarded by two lions, one on the plinth and one in the watchtower above the entrance to the town. Built by local sculptors, both were destroyed after the Second World War by those from the island who saw the lions as symbol of the Italian occupation.

Source: *Die Dalmatinische Inseln*, (Vienna: Anton Schroll und Co, 1927)

This attack on the lions marked the start of a decades-long process where the symbolism of the 'generous lion that gently rules'⁶ became drastically re-interpreted. The smallest of the lions had been one of many carved in public places in the town of Korčula by its longstanding overlords to remind its inhabitants, recalcitrant rural islanders⁷ and potentially hostile neighbours that Korčula was firmly within the realm of the Venetian Empire. As we shall see, due to the nationalisation process of the 19th century, the winged lion came to be associated with the Italian nationalist cause. These sculpted symbols of spatial dominance of an early modern empire would be re-interpreted and instrumentalised in the 20th century as arguments for 20th century Italian irredentist claims on Eastern Adriatic territory.

On the eve of Italy's entry into the First World War, Italian naval

6 Carlo GOLDONI, *La Dalmatina* (Rome: Massimo, 2005) 17.

7 Korčula's urban-rural relations were different from the Dalmatian mainland since the peasants enjoyed more rights than those of places such as Zadar and Šibenik: 'A differenza di Zara o di Sebenico, dove i patrizi erano riusciti a eliminare l'autonomia delle comunità rurali, una simile pretesa di patrizi curzolani è rimasta lettera morta di fronte a un mondo rurale orgoglioso e anche violento nella difesa dei suoi dritti'; Oliver Jens SCHMITT, *Storie d'amore, storie di potere-la tormentata integrazione dell'isola di Curzola nello Stato dal Mar in una prospettiva microstorica*, in: *Venezia e Dalmazia*, (Venice: Viella, 2013) 92.





strategists emphasised the island nature of Korčula to justify its annexation. By inventing the concept *isoli Curzolari*,⁸ the island became a key territorial stake of the Adriatic military theatre during the First⁹ and Second¹⁰ World War whose geopolitical significance was supported by winged monuments of the Venetian lions in Korčula town. During the First World War¹¹ and two rounds of occupations 1918-21 and 1941-43, the Italian government sublimated the pre-modern, tangible remains of *Venetianità* as evidence of the eternal presence of Italy in Korčula. The strategic necessity of controlling the islands for Italy in the modern era was seen as a natural prolongation of the Venetian Empire's control of the island in the early modern era.

On the island of Korčula, the strategic argument for annexation was mixed up with the cultural presence of what was referred to as a '*centro di italianità*'¹² by Italian officials. For the local Italophones and the occupying Italian army, the winged lion's den of Korčula became unbreakable symbols of '*Italianità*'.¹³ In the aftermath of the Italian withdrawal in 1921 and 1943, the winged lions suffered a double-barrelled orgy of vitriolic vandalism. The major statues in public places were mutilated, decapitated and drowned in a ritual action that represented a symbolic slaying of the relics of the Italian occupation and thus excising the memory of the previous Italian occupations.

8 Italian naval strategist and diplomats collectively referred to Korčula, Vis, Mljet, Palagruža, Lastovo as the 'Curzolari islands'/'isole Curzolane/ archipelago Curzolare' which appeared as one of the Italian navy's solution to the Adriatic Question.; Archivio Storico Diplomatico (ASD), Rome, Vice Admiral Thaon DI REVEL, *Promemoria sulle isole Dalmate*, 1 Feb 1915, Carta Sonnino-Busta 9, Ambassada Londra, Inventario delle rappresentanze diplomatiche 1861-1950.

9 The British Ambassador to Italy writes to the British Foreign Secretary during the treaty of London negotiations: "Cursola islands, south of Cape Planca, are regarded by the naval experts here as political key to the Adriatic, where a naval or submarine base established by a strong enemy could neutralise the value of Pola and expose the whole Adriatic coast of Italy to danger. Neutralisation would not suffice to eliminate danger as experience has proved. Only possession offers adequate guarantee."; British National Archives, London, Public Records Office (PRO-London), Sir Rennel RODD secret telegram to Sir Edward GREY, Rome, 2 April 1915-Italy-secret documents for use of the Cabinet, CAB 37/127/50-38809.

10 The diary of the Italian Foreign Minister under Mussolini reveals that in negotiations over annexations in Dalmatia, as the NDH Poglavnik Ante Pavelić sought 'some islands' on the 25 April 1941, the Italian Foreign Minister Ciano would 'hold firm on Curzola.'; Diary entry for 7 May 1941. Galeazzo CIANO, *Ciano's diary 1937-1943*. (London: Phoenix Press, 2002) 348.

11 An Italian pamphlet published during the First World War on the Adriatic Question highlights the marked Venetian legacy on the coast: 'Et voici des calli (rues) rappelant Vénise e qui, moins d'un demi-siècle, ne resonaient d'aucun accent qui ne fût vénétien; voici des places superbes où fleuret encore l'art prestigieux de nos ancêtres; voici des arc que surmontent les lions ailés de la République.'; ITALICUS SENATOR, *La Question de l'Adriatique*, (Rome: Tipographia nazionale di G Bertero, 1916) 13.

12 Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive Rome, Vice Consul of Italy in Korčula Antonio BUCEVICH, Memorandum to Italian Foreign Ministry: La situazione degli Italiani di Curzola 14 February 1921.; R. Vice Consolato d'Italia a Sebenico-Fascicolo no 4. Busta-3/8.

13 ASD-Rome, Lieutenant Colonel Giulio DE NEGRI, Commander of 'isole Curzolane' *Cenno Storico sulla opera da noi svolta a Curzola nel due anni di occupazione*, 14 April 1921, Vice consolate d'Italia a Sebenico, Fascicolo 3/8.





Theory and methodology

The analysis of memory in the Adriatic space has recently been examined in a collected volume 'Borderlands of memory-Adriatic and Central European perspectives'.¹⁴ The chapters focused on the Adriatic dealt extensively with larger coastal cities in the northern Adriatic such as Trieste and Rijeka. As Borhut Klabjan has shown in his work on Trieste, icons from the Middle Ages such as Dante could be 'reconfigured as nationalist icons'¹⁵ through their use by Italian armed forces, nationalist authors and irredentist organizations. Klabjan further demonstrates how Nazi Germany 'used memories of the Habsburg Empire to manage occupation policy'¹⁶ as well as 'promoting the Habsburg myth to introduce the Third Reich as the heir to the Habsburg Empire'.¹⁷ Other works in the volume have followed the concept of the spatial turn in the context of memory, where 'the spatial environment was no longer understood merely as an objective physical framework in which human beings live but also as a cultural construct, a result of ideological impositions where people attribute various symbolic meanings to it and thus actively construct it'.¹⁸

Using the idea of the 'spatial turn' and adapting Pierre Nora's idea of *lieux de memoire*¹⁹, this article will take its analysis further south on the Adriatic and examine the case of the town of Korčula where the lions of St Mark were reconfigured as nationalist icons. Taking Nora's research theory regarding memory together with the idea of urban space being ascribed meaning, the article shall show how the winged lions were instrumentalised as 'messages of power or ideology'²⁰ of the Italian irredentist and nationalist narrative. As we shall see, during the two Italian occupations of Korčula, 'the built environment became an urban media of power and identity'²¹ for the Italian armed forces as well as Korčula's Italian minority. In the context of the town of Korčula, the meaning of the statues of the flying lions would be reinterpreted in the cataclysmic events in the first half of the 20th century such as the defeat and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the two

14 Borhut KLABJAN Ed, *Borderlands of memory-Adriatic and Central European perspectives* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018)

15 Borhut KLABJAN, *Habsburg fantasies: sites of memory in Trieste, Trst, Triest from fin de siècle to present*. In: *Borderlands of memory-Adriatic and Central European perspectives* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018) 70.

16 KLABJAN, *Habsburg fantasies*, 77.

17 *Ibid.*, 78.

18 Matic BATIĆ, *Le terre redente si presentano a noi come vecchie terre italiane: Building italianità in the Provincia di Gorizia between the two world wars*, in: *Borderlands of memory-Adriatic and Central European perspectives* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018) 167.

19 *Lieux de memoire* refers to 'an entity, material or non-material which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community'. Pierre NORA, *Realms of memory: rethinking the French past*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996) xvii.

20 Vjeran PAVLAKOVIĆ and Gruia BADESCU, *Urban monuments and spatialisation of national ideologies*, in: *The Routledge companion to urban media and communication*, ed: Zlatan Krajina and Deborah Stevenson (New York: Routledge, 2020) 143.

21 PAVLAKOVIĆ/BADESCU, *Urban monuments and spatialisation of national ideologies*, 143.





Italian occupations of the city in 1918-21 and 1941-43 and the 'liberation' from Italian rule in 1921 and 1943.

As the article shall argue, the legacy of Venice became the palimpsest for irredentist ideology, with its most evocative symbol of the flying lion of St Mark serving as a justification for the dual Italian occupation. This instrumentalization shall be demonstrated using written sources by the Italian officers, Italian propaganda and military material as well as official signs such as postcards and letter heads that appropriated and reconfigured the image of the flying lion as a modern sign of Italian nationalism. The article shall argue that the leonoclasm that occurs in 1921 and again in 1943 is a form of purging of the urban landscape whose aim is the de-italianisation of Korčula whose winged monuments were perceived as 'visible transmitters of national ideologies in the cityscape'²² that appeared to permanently encode both *Venetianità* and *Italianità* in the urban landscape.

Roaring realms of memory

A *leitmotiv* of Venetian rule on the Eastern Adriatic, the winged lions looked (down) for centuries on the *Serenissima's* subjects. The Venetians were known as *pantalonni* (wearing trousers) which originates from a corruption of *pianta leoni* (lion planters) as wherever they traded, they "planted" their lions to represent the dominance of the 'most Serene republic'. The historian of the Mediterranean Ferdinand Braudel described the Adriatic as the 'location of a triumphant Venetian civilisation' which had 'penetrated the province of Dalmatia.'²³ This was set in stone by some 200-winged lions built in Dalmatia, the 'firstborn province'²⁴ of the Empire. The sculpted lions of St Mark possess powerful, quasi-religious connotations. The muscular, literate lion holds up a book with the angelic message of peace '*Pax tibi, Marce, Evangelista meus.*'²⁵ His raised wings symbolise soaring majestic, divine elevation, while its raised tail represents vigorous power. Its feet, often on both land and sea, show the absolute dominance of Venice over all earthly realms, mainland, sea or island. Found in crucial arteries of the city, the lions became part of Korčula's urban landscape, protecting and projecting power for 377 years of Venetian rule from 1420 to 1797.

Venice's wreath of islands stretched boomerang like from Cres in the northern Mediterranean to Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the centre of its western *Stato da Mar*, stood the island of Korčula. The island was unique amongst the Venetian territories for strategic and historic reasons. As

22 Ibid, 152.

23 Ferdinand BRAUDEL, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1972) 58.

24 Larry WOLFF, Venice and the Slavs of Dalmatia: the drama of the Adriatic Empire in the Venetian Enlightenment, *Slavic Review*, Vol 56, No 3 (Autumn 1997) 438.

25 Peace be upon you, O Mark, my Evangelist.





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the historian Oliver Jens Schmitt has argued, Korčula was the 'first Venetian port of Dalmatia'²⁶ due to its significant strategic importance for the Empire's shipping routes on the Adriatic that aimed to avoid the nearby realms of Dubrovnik, Venice's major competitor.²⁷ The historical circumstances of Venice acquiring Korčula gave the island an additional significance. Korčula first entered the Venetian orbit at the turn of the first millennium as the Venetian Peter Orsello II landed in the year 1000 on Majsan, a small island in the Korčula archipelago. After a victorious battle, Orsello declared himself Duke of Dalmatia. This represented 'the earliest submission of the Dalmatian cities to Venetian sovereignty, remaining fundamental for the mythology of Venice's political culture right up to the end of the republic in 1797.'²⁸ Venice's annual *Festa della Sensa* still commemorates the fateful expedition when the navies of the *leone Marciano* became dominant on the Adriatic.

Yet the paw of the winged lion was interrupted by the republic of Dubrovnik on the Pelješac peninsula. It would be the particularly precarious geographic position which meant that Korčula needed something extra to guard it against its numerous enemies such as Dubrovnik or the Ottoman empire. The empire of St Mark built the lions in visible public places to remind all that this was the realm of the winged lion. The winged lions of Korčula stood for centuries as virtually geological markers of Venice. Found in public places, the biggest lion guarded the port, smaller ones observed the municipal *piazza* while the highest flying one stood on St Mark's cathedral. The largest lion stood like a belt buckle on the rotund *Kneževa kula*, facing westwards in the direction of Venice, standing as a sturdy stoic sentry, serving the *Serenissima* as an extra defender. According to the British writer Rebecca West who visited the island in the interwar period, it was this 'specifically beautiful lion'²⁹ that had certified the city walls as a 'work of art.'³⁰

The historian of the Venetian Empire Jan Morris describes the town of Korčula as 'one of the most Venetian of all its seaports.'³¹ Korčula's terracotta roofs, westwards facing Renaissance lodge and lush, dark green Mediterranean pines contrasted sharply with the rugged, barren mountain range of the Pelješac peninsula. Separated by the azure Adriatic, the tonsured, greying high peaks of Saint Ilija appear another world compared with the rolling verdant hills on

26 Oliver Jens SCHMITT, *Altre Venezie nella Dalmazia tardo-medievale? Un approccio microstorico alle comunità socio-politiche sull'isola di Curzola/Korčula*, in: *Il Commonwealth Veneziano tra 1204 e la fine della repubblica. Identità e peculiarità* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2015), 231.

27 L'île se trouvait à l'entrée de l'Adriatique, et comme les naïvres vénitiens évitaient le port de Dubrovnik, grand concurrent de la Serenissime, ils faisaient halte à Korčula, qui était le premier port sous le drapeau de la république de Venise après les échelles de Corfou et de Durazzo; Oliver Jens SCHMITT, *Korčula sous la domination de Venise au XV^e siècle-pouvoir, économie et vie quotidienne dans un île dalmate au Moyen Âge tardif*, (Paris: Collège de France, 2019) 76.

28 Larry WOLFF, *Venice and the Slavs of Dalmatia: the drama of the Adriatic Empire in the Venetian Enlightenment*, *Slavic Review*, Vol 56, No 3 (Autumn 1997) 428.

29 Rebecca WEST, *Black lamb and grey falcon*, (London: The Viking Press, 1937) 200.

30 WEST, *Black lamb*, 200.

31 Jan MORRIS, *Venetian empire: a sea voyage* (London: Penguin, 1990) 154.





the island, crowned elegantly by the gleaming limestone of the historic town. The island's geographical detachment, the intense Mediterranean climate and the imposing signs of *Venezianità* visually differentiates the historic town from the nearby more Balkan peninsula. The citadel, built on a rocky foreland, surrounded by the Odyssean landscape of the Korčula archipelago, seems to elegantly levitate between sea and sky, enjoying its natural detachment while taunting the *terraferma*. The town's lanes are a slick silhouette of Venice's *calle*. Walking up the windingly narrow, cobbled lanes, the visitor soon arrives at St Mark's *piazza*. The finely polished square is serenely surrounded by elegant Gothic *palazzi*, dominated by a *campanille* decorated with a *leone Marciano* on top and a Tintoretto artwork inside St Mark's cathedral.³²



Image II. One of the surviving winged lions of St Mark still guards the entry to Korčula's former arsenal. The wings in the air, front paws on land and back legs in the sea symbolically demonstrate the ubiquity and omnipotence of Venice.

Source: author's photo



Image III. The watchtowers on the fortifications of the city of Korčula often had a winged lion of St Mark as an indication of the eternal presence of the Venetian Empire.

Source: www.korculainfo.com

³² Morris states that upon entering Korčula's cathedral 'If we had been on the planet Mars, I would have known that the Venetians had got there first' Morris, *Venetian empire*, 155.





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The Venetian Empire followed a unifying narrative that 'considered both Italian and Slavs of Dalmatia as amalgamated members of the same Dalmatian nation.'³³ The flying *Leone Marciano* became the elevated symbol of harmony between the Slavic and Latin races. During the second half of the 18th century the 'Italian oriented Dalmatians began to develop the idea of the 'Dalmatian nation', which united the Slavic and the Roman element.'³⁴ The winged lion emerged as a symbol of unity in contemporary Venetian culture. The Venetian dramatist Carlo Goldoni's 18th century play lauds the heroic, grand and courageous lion in his play *La Dalmatina*:

Of Dalmatia in my breast I have my natal origin
Where the Adriatic Sea mercifully bathes the shore
Where the enjoyment of complete felicity is granted by
The generous lion who gently rules³⁵.

Della Dalmazia in seno ho il mio natal sortito
Dove 'adriaco mare bagna pietoso il lito.
Dove goder concede felicitade intera
Il Leone generoso che dolcemente impera.

Yes, this invincible lion that governs the people
With knowledge, justice and graciousness
Who knows how to reward merit and punish
Within his large empire to make peace flourish again³⁶

Si, quell leon invitto che i popoli governa
Con saper, con giustizia e la clemenza alterna
Che sa premiare il merito, che sa punir l'audace
Che nel suo vasto impero fa rifiori la pace.

According to the historian Larry Wolff, Goldoni's drama assigned to the Dalmatian 'nation' its place within the 'Adriatic empire'. If a Dalmatian nation existed, the *leone marciano* was its magnificent mascot.

Leonesque polarisation

As Austria gained control of Korčula with the Congress of Vienna in 1815, for the first few decades the new administration kept Italian as the official language and civil servants were frequently recruited from the Habsburg Empire's Italian provinces. As the Croatian rebirth movement emerged, it resonated strongly in Korčula, with its leaders Ljudevit Gaj and Antun Mažuranić visiting the island in the 1840s³⁷ and staying at the house of the town mayor Kapor. The arrival of *Ban* Josip Jelačić as governor of Croatia was 'welcomed by the Korčula island city council,³⁸ and a poem eulogised the appointment of Jelačić as the governor of Dalmatia with the rhyming poem:

33 Larry WOLFF, *Venice and the Slavs-the discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001)

34 Oliver Jens SCHMITT, *Die Westliche Balkan, der Adriaraum und Venedig*, (Vienna-Venice: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft, 2009) 181.

35 Carlo GOLDONI, *La Dalmatina* (Rome: Massimo, 2005) 17. (Translation by Larry Wolff)

36 Author's translation.

37 Miodrag POPOVIĆ, *Ljudevit Gaj i Vuk Karadžić*, Hrvatski Institut Povjesti-Radovi, Vol 3. no 1, 1973. 101.

38 Ernst BAUER, *Die Leoparderköpfe in Gold- Österreich in Dalmatien* (Wien: Herold Verlag, 1973) 164.





‘Kruno vitezova
Jelačiće Bane
Primi vrh svih vikova
Virne Korčulane³⁹

Chivalrous crown
of Ban Jelačić
Receive the age-old homage.
Of your loyal Korčulans

During the revolution in Venice, the ‘Republic of San Marco,’ with the lion of St Mark on their flag would cast claims ‘to Istria and Dalmatia in 1848-9.’⁴⁰ As the historian of the Adriatic Dominique Kircher-Reill has argued ‘Dalmatians from the Eastern Adriatic were urged to flock to their former metropolis and join the battle against Austrian troops eager to reconquer the city.’⁴¹ Nevertheless, the failure of the *Marcolini*⁴² in Dalmatia to incite a general revolt against Venice meant that increasingly the Italian nationalist side would gain the advantage and the *Marcolini* were side-lined or absorbed into a growing displacement of *Venezianità* by *Italianità*. In the aftermath of the events of 1848 in Venice, the flying lion seemed to have taken a side as he was appropriated by the revolutionaries in Venice.

The 1860s saw a further polarisation between the Italian and the Croatian communities on the Adriatic. The decade opened with Garibaldi’s successful operations against Sicily and Naples, which ‘sparked fears of a similar landing in Venetia, Istria or Dalmatia.’⁴³ The emergence of the Dalmatian parliament and the Croatian language newspaper *Narodni List*, with its polemics between Nikola Tomasseo and Natko Nodilo led to a deeper crystallisation of political differences on the Adriatic. On the sea itself, it would be the Austrian victory at the battle of Vis in 1866 that intensified the political struggle. The historian of the Adriatic Egidio Ivetic has argued that the battle ‘ratified the cultural fracture of the Adriatic,’⁴⁴ which resonated strongly among partisans of the *narodnjaci* along the coast. In the Dalmatian Diet, the victory was praised⁴⁵ by the *narodnjaci* deputies Vojnović, Kalić and Pavlinović as a triumph fought with Italy over Croatian territory.

Italy had gained Venice but had lost Dalmatia, which was seen by irredentists as both an amputation and a historical aberration. A growing identification of the *autonomaši* with a more specific, homogenous and exclusive ethnic identity increasingly rejected the transcendent dualism of

39 Franko OREB, *Doprinos Korčulanskih svećenika preporodnom pokretu u Dalmaciji*, Crkva u svjetu, Vol 24, 4, 1989. 378. (Author’s translation)

40 Lawrence, SONDHAUS, *In the service of the emperor-Italians in the Austrian armed forces 1814-1918* (Boulder: Columbia University Press, 1990) 151.

41 Dominique KIRCHER-REILL, *A mission of meditation: Dalmatia’s multinational regionalism from the 1830s-1860s*, in: *Re-examining national identity in 19th century Central Europe and Italy*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 164.

42 Name given to supporters of the revolution in Venice in 1848.

43 SONDHAUS, *In the service of the Emperor*, 91.

44 Egidio IVETIC, *La patria del Tomasseo-la Dalmazia tra il 1815 e il 1860*, in: *Niccolo Tomasseo: popolo e nazioni*, (Rome: Antenore, 2004) 619.

45 ‘Der Dalmatinische Landtag dankt unserer Marine und ihrem Kommandanten Tegetoff für den glänzenden Sieg im Kampfe um das kroatische Stadtgebiet. BAUER, *Die Leoparderköpfe in Gold*, 273.





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the early-modern Venetian empire. With the “institutionalisation of national categories through linguistic classification,”⁴⁶ competing (and increasingly confrontational) national programs of Croats and Italians emerged in the public and political sphere that would wrestle vigorously over the Eastern Adriatic space right up to the outbreak of the First World War. The spread of literacy through compulsory education and higher literacy resulted in larger newspaper readership, further increasing the polarisation between Croats and Italians.

Austria, despite granting the Croatian language the right of use in the public sphere and education in 1867, did not allow the union of the provinces of Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia. The *autonomaši*, although a broad movement, generally sought to maintain Dalmatia constitutionally and culturally separate from Croatia, while the *narodnjaci* sought to unite Dalmatia with Croatia-Slavonia. Recent research shows that ‘up to the mid-19th century Korčula’s educated urban intelligentsia cultivated a predominant sentiment of belonging to the Italian cultural-political sphere.’⁴⁷ The Arneri family would from the latter part of the 19th century constitute a dynasty of *narodnjaci*. The *autonomaši* dynasty in Korčula was led by the Smerkinich family.

The revival vs the roar

Korčula was one of the first municipalities in Dalmatia where the *narodnjaci* won power in 1871. In this period, cultural revival organisations, based on reading rooms and musical community groups became fields of contestation. The *Slavjanska narodna čitanonica* (Slav national reading room) was set up in 1871, changing its name to *Hrvatska čitaonica* (Croatian reading room) in 1893. The spread of print media, distributed in the reading rooms and increasingly read by an active and literate population saw the appearance of strong statements in the pro-unionist media. An article written in the *narodnjaci* supporting *Narodni List* shows a strong aversion to those of an irredentist conviction, demonising them as foreign bodies, turncoats and traitors:

Belzebube zaprčeni nosi,
Crni papci puljižke osladi,
Iz milosti Hrvatska vas snosi,
Kukavice, nemiri i gadi,
‘Irredente’ ne treba nam smrad,
Topite se svi u crni had⁴⁸

The laden Belzebub carries
Sweetened Puglian black hoofs
Mercifully Croatia bears you
Rioting cowards and scoundrels
Irredentists, away with your stench
May you drown in the depths of Hades

46 Rok STREGAR/ Tamara SCHEER, Ethnic boxes: the unintended consequences of Habsburg bureaucratic classification, *Nationalities Papers*, 2018, Vol. 46, No. 4, 579-80.

47 Šime PERIČIĆ, Doprinos Rafe Arnerija hrvatskome narodnom preporodu u Dalmaciji, *Zavod za povjesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, No 47, 2005, 327.

48 Vid Vuletić VUKASOVIĆ, Ortacima Italije Irredente i pristasama Avvenire, *Narodni List*, 44, 7, VI, 1879. (Author’s translation)





The Italo-Croat struggle related to language issues was noticed by the British traveller Sir Thomas Jackson during his travels on the Adriatic. The renowned English architect commented on the educational and political battles between the two communities:

“among the Dalmatians, a party has sprung up which clamours for union with Croatia and a share in her anticipated ‘Home rule’. The Croat party insists on the thorough Slavonicism of the whole province, whether urban or rural; they demand that Illyric shall be the official language and the vehicle for education.⁴⁹”

The Italo-Croatian duel in the public sphere would also be played out between Korčula’s two musical community groups, the *Banda Cittadina* (city band) and the *Hrvatska općinska glazba* (Croatia municipal music). The *Banda Cittadina* was set up in 1877 and as its autonomist character became more prominent, the *narodnjaci* established the *Sveta Cecilija* music community group in 1883 and the *Hrvatska Općinska glazba* in 1895. Musical societies embodied the revival spirit as they harnessed the power of the voice in choral societies as explained in an article on patriotic songs:

“The greatest gift for the human heart is the patriotic song of awakening. We nurture them and leave them to guard the borders of the Croatian abode, to show outsiders that the Croatian people is alive and well⁵⁰”.

Musical performances became a field of contestation as both musical groups would perform on festive occasions. On the centenary of Giuseppe Verdi’s birthday in 1913, the *Banda Cittadina* organised celebrations for the bard of Italian nationalism. As Verdi’s music had become strongly associated with the Italian unification movement, the musical performance, carried out in public places in the historic part of Korčula were followed by jeers, insults and fights, with members of the *banda Cittadina* referring to the *općinska glazba* as ‘*Porci croati, crepi i croati, asini croati*⁵¹, while exclaiming sectarian slogans such as *Viva la Dalmazia Italiana* and *Evviva Italia*. Certain Italian language songs like *El si, Lasse pur che i canti e subbi, la cioga l’olio* were banned by the authorities as they were perceived as dangerous for public order.

The late 19th century saw Venice and its winged lion beginning to appear explicitly as a symbol of division rather than social harmony. Literary production by Croatian revivalists such as August Šenoa and Vladimir Nazor frequently featured the Venetians as the enemy. The historic antagonism can

49 Thomas Graham JACKSON, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria* (London: Clarendon Press, 1887) 187.

50 Josip TOMIĆ, *Domorodne Pjesme* (Zagreb: Vjenac, 1872)

51 Croatian pigs, death to Croats, Croat donkeys.





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be seen explicitly in the poetry of Rikard Katalinić Jeretov, who in his *fin de siècle* poem *Mletački Lav* explicitly presents the lion as the eternal nemesis of the Croats:

I gordi lave, ti strašilo svieta,	Heavy pawed lion, this scarecrow of the world
Ko nekoč stani tako silan opet,	As such you stand so mighty again
Moj narod još je golubinje čudi	As my people wander passively
I još te propet!	Crucified
Ajd spavaj dalje, gordi silni lave,	Sleep further, heavy pawed lion
Gospodar nekoč naše biedne raje.	Once the master of our wretched people
Iz groba, što ga izkopa ti njojzi.	From the grave that you dug
Hrvatstvo staje! ⁵²	Croatdom arises

The *autonomaši* would by 1899 turn into a party of the Italian community in Dalmatia, with the role of the Italian language in the public sphere becoming a major focus. In official documents, Croatian only became official in Dalmatia in 1909. The dawn of the 20th century officially saw Korčula town have a Croatian speaking majority with a significant Italian minority of 422⁵³, some 17% of the total population of 2287, the most compact Italophone community on the Dalmatian islands. Following the winning of municipal councils by the *narodnjaci*, Italy began to fund private Italian schools through cultural organisations such as the *Lega Nazionale*. The opening of the Lega in Korčula saw 450 people become members.⁵⁴ Led by Stefano Smerkinich, Korčula became the last island in Dalmatia that contained a secure bastion of an Italian representative in the Dalmatian diet as well as several Italian cultural organisations.

Aside from Split and Šibenik, the *Lega Nazionale*, funded by the Italian state would also open a primary school in Korčula, demonstrating the importance of the island to the Italian state. By 1907 had some 100 pupils, many who benefitted from subsidised free meals, education and books. The reaction in the town to the re-opening of the Italian school was scathing. The local Croatian *Sokol* association reminded its adherents of the 'bitter battle waged by the Korčulan Croats against our largest enemies, the Italians⁵⁵', who are 'taking our money to bring up in Italian schools the offspring of Korčula's renegades to make of them worse Janissaries than those of the Turks.⁵⁶

52 Rikard KATALINIĆ-JERETOV, *S moje lire*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1891)

53 Official statistics of the Austrian census of 1910. Italian post-war demographics disagreed; The Italian consul to 'Curzola' Antonio Bucevich wrote of more than the official amount of 422, noting that it was 'una buona metà della popolazione' where 'fra Curzola e il vicino villaggio di Petrara ben 189 famiglie con 835 membri; ASD, Rome, Vice Consul of Italy in Korčula Antonio Bucevich- Memorandum to Italian Foreign Ministry: *La situazione degli Italiani di Curzola*, 14 February 1921.p2.; R. Vice Consolato d'Italia a Sebenico-Fascicolo no 4. Busta-3/8.

54 Mirko ĐINĐIĆ, *Korčulanski-autonomaški zastupnici u Dalmatinskom Saboru, otac i sin Smrkinić*, Kanavelić-časopis za književnost, umjetnost i znanost, Vol 6, 2020. 29.

55 Svoj k svomu, *Priručni vođ po gradu Korčuli i okolici*, (Dubrovnik: Naklada Hrvatskog Sokola,1913) 52.

56 Ibid, 52-3.





Despite these efforts, Korčula was one of the few places in Dalmatia (and the only island) that had retained an autonomist-Italian representative in the Dalmatian Diet, right up to 1914. Thus, a tense Italo-Croat dualism existed in Korčula by the summer of 1914 as war broke out.

Korčula in the First World War

The great gales of war blowing between 1914-1918 tossed Korčula towards its choppiest ever odyssey of international diplomatic attention. The island's geopolitical significance was multifold; Korčula stood as a latch to the nearby peninsula, a bridge to mainland Dalmatia and from a naval perspective was a principal stepping stone to Italy. European leaders soon found themselves discussing the various stakes of this vital Adriatic island stronghold, the midway choke point of the Central Power's maritime route to the Mediterranean. Having initially declared neutrality in the summer of 1914, Italy would start secret negotiations in 1915 with both the Entente and the Central powers to offer its military services to the highest bidder. Korčula would appear in these negotiations framed as the 'Curzolari islands'.

The Entente powers, by embracing the Italian term 'Curzolari islands' helped Italy affirm the claim that Korčula and the other large southern Dalmatian islands represented a geographically distinct, separate entity. The use of the term would become an important geopolitical concept for *Italia irredenta* politicians. Italy had taken control of the Dodecanese islands in 1912 in the Eastern Mediterranean, just off the coast of Asia Minor, with the tacit support of the European powers. Therefore, by the time Italy started negotiating, the precedent had already been set that an island could be politically amputated from the mainland.

In the spring of 1915, the fate of the 'Curzola islands' was being discussed on one hand by the Austrian Foreign Minister and his Italian counterpart while within the Entente, the Russian Tsar, the French Foreign Minister and the British Prime Minister attempted to decipher why the Italians placed such high value on the islands. The island quandary made British Prime Minister Herbert Asquith write to Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill:

“The Italian government attach the greatest importance to the eventual acquisition of the island of Curzola, which their naval experts regard as the strategical key to the Adriatic; since a naval or submarine base established there by a strong enemy could neutralise the value of Pula and expose the whole Italian Adriatic coast to danger. The Italian government maintains that the neutralisation of the island could not suffice to eliminate the danger, and that possession alone offers adequate guarantee⁵⁷.”

57 PRO-London, Herbert ASQUITH letter on Curzola, 5 April 1915, FO 371/2508-41174.





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Churchill replies that: 'no British objection need be sustained to the Italian possession of Curzola, or any other island of that group. There is no reason why we should not acquiesce in the Adriatic becoming strategically an Italian lake.⁵⁸' A few days later, minutes of a British Cabinet war meeting reveal that Asquith reflected again on Korčula's fate in the ongoing negotiations with Italy:

"The Prime minister mentioned the course of the negotiations during the week between Italy and the Allied powers. The only question outstanding related to the small peninsula of Sabioncello and the Curzola group of islands, and there seemed good reason to hope that a settlement will be reached.⁵⁹"

Parallel to the negotiations with the Entente, the Italian foreign minister Sidney Sonnino was negotiating with Austro-Hungary. Italian demands included the immediate occupation of Korčula⁶⁰. This was supposed to represent territorial compensation according to article VIII of the Triple Alliance. Vienna rejected Italian demands since: 'the question of the Curzolari islands that dominate Dalmatia would make Italy the master of this region and the Adriatic Sea would become an Italian sea.⁶¹' For Austria, the 'Curzolari islands' were an important section of their fortified maritime trenches that linked the Central powers to the Mediterranean. As Austro-Hungary rejected Rome's claims, Italy declared war on May 1915, having been promised Korčula under the 5th clause of the treaty of London. The Entente's embrace of the term '*isoli Curzolari*' meant that Italian plans for the separation of the Dalmatian islands of the Eastern Adriatic gained international recognition as a lawful novel territorial term invented by the Italian navy (map 1) and embraced by Italian diplomats.

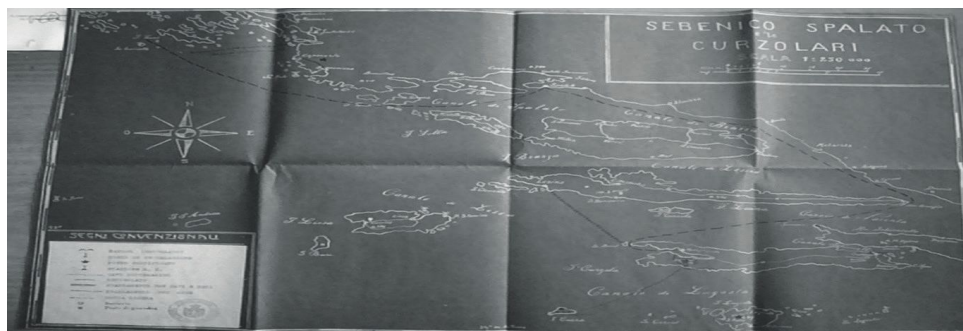
58 PRO-London, Winston CHURCHILL letter to Prime Minister Herbert ASQUITH, 7 April 1915, FO 371/2508, 41174.

59 PRO-London, British cabinet meeting, 8 April 1915, CAB 37/127/14.

60 Article 4- The isoli Curzolari group will be ceded by Austro-Hungary to Italy; Article 5- The territories ceded by Austro-Hungary will immediately be occupied by Italy; Foreign Minister Stephan BURIAN VON RAJECZ telegram to Freiherr von Maccio, Österreich-Ungarn zu Italien diplomatische Dokumente, 11 April 1915.

61 Telegram correspondence between Austro-Hungary and Italy, 8 April 1915 and 16 April 1915. 55-71; Documenti Diplomatici presentati al Parlamento italiano dal Ministro degli Affari esteri (Sonnino); Austro-Ungheria, Seduta del 20 Maggio 1915, Rome, Tipographia della Camera di Deputati.





Map 1. 'Isoli Curzolari' featuring on an Italian naval map from the First World War.

Source: Archivio Storico della Marina Militare, Rome. With Permission.

Instrumentalisation of winged lions

As Italy declared war with the intent to 'redeem' the Italians on the Eastern Adriatic, the winged lion became instrumentalised as a symbol of Italy by state institutions including politicians, the military and academia. Irredentist organisations published maps of unredeemed lands that showed a chained-up lion (map 2) alongside the lands claimed by Italy. Italian art historians published works that appropriated the heritage of Venice. In a book on monuments in Dalmatia, they argue that: "the fundamental, architectural elements of Dalmatia art have a sole Latin essence, which give coastal Dalmatia and its archipelago its deep and indestructible Italian aspect"⁶². Korčula's cathedral is said to have 'the value of a luminous Italian affirmation'⁶³ "The art historians also saw the Venetian lion as having a civilising role:

"Between the Uskoks and the Neretans developed the history of Dalmatia, a history of overpowering, invasion, piracy, martyrdom but the lion of St Mark wanted to defend it with its paws raised on the scriptures. Only when the lion cannot roar any more from the bulwarks of Dalmatia, the ancient civilisation can no longer be redeemed, nor ever be thriving. Wherever one looks, on the coasts and the islands of Dalmatia, the signs of greatness, the knowledge, of virtue, responds by the ancient cry: Rome! resounding with the new times: Venice, Italy!"⁶⁴

62 Tommaso SILLANI, *La Dalmazia monumentale* (Milan: Alfieri e Lacroix, 1917) 8.

63 SILLANI, *La Dalmazia Monumentale*, 11.

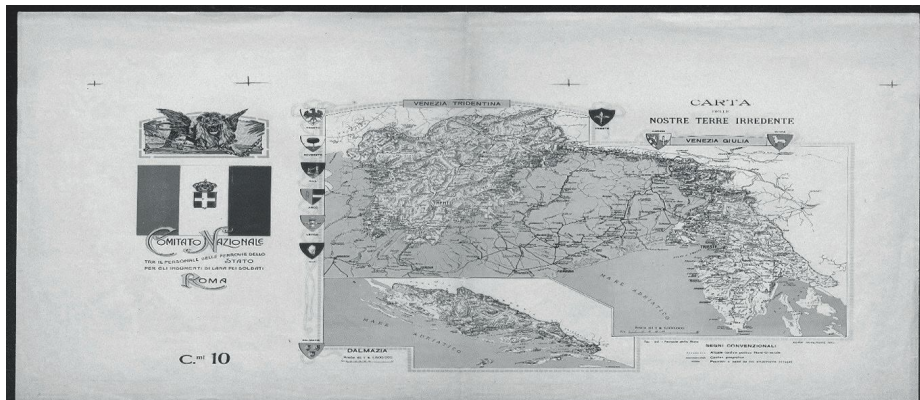
64 Adolfo VENTURI, *La Dalmazia monumentale* (Milan: Alfieri e Lacroix, 1917) 19.





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Map 2. A comprehensive map of unredeemed territory '*carta delle nostre terre irredente*' shows Korčula as the last significant island claimed by Italy in the Adriatic, with a chained winged lion on the map symbolising the imprisoned nature of irredemed territory under Austrian rule.

Source: http://www.14-18.it/mappa/RML0358094_01



Image IV. The airplane of D'Annunzio's *Serenissima* squadron flew sorties with the winged lion of St Mark

Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ansaldo_SVA5_11721_\(6401327535\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ansaldo_SVA5_11721_(6401327535).jpg)

Yet it was in the armed forces that the winged lion was mobilised most intensely. For the navy, the island was crucial as an outpost on the Eastern Adriatic to guard Italy's vulnerable coast. Writing in the *New York Times*,





the Italian fleet commander Thaon di Revel argued that the Curzolari islands constituted a “*bridge between Dalmatia and Italy that was entirely in the hands of the enemy.*”⁶⁵ Di Revel pointed out the serious geostrategic disadvantages for Italy compared to the sheltered, deeper lying and strategically superior ports of the Eastern Adriatic:

“The Curzolari possess excellent ports for a numerous and powerful fleet. Whereas the Italian coast from Otranto to Venice is entirely low-lying, without ports, without anchorages, exposed to the North wind, the Curzolari Isles and Dalmatia, I repeat, offer numerous and vast points of refuge, marvellous ports, and the possibility of navigating inside for shelter from the bad weather”⁶⁶.

The navy had a naval battalion of St Mark whose image uttered the rhyming war cry: ‘When St Mark raises his rear, all other beasts scamper in fear.’ (image V) In the air, the lions could now truly fly, as Gabrielle D’Annunzio’s *Serenissima* squadron was emblazoned with the Venetian lion (image IV) as he flew sorties during the war.



Image V. The Italian navy using the image of the winged lion during the First World War. This one shows the winged lion leading troops in a bayoneted charge towards the Adriatic Sea.

Source: <http://www.aviazione-italiana.it/Reggimento%20San%20Marco.html>

⁶⁵ Thaon DI REVEL, „Italy’s navy chief Admiral di Revel explains Italian claims,” *New York Times*, New York (14 April 1918) 6.

⁶⁶ Ibid. *New York Times* (14 April 1918)





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First Italian occupation 1918-21

As Austro-Hungary collapsed at the end of October, the Italian government proceeded to take over territory promised to them by the Treaty of London. On the 4 November 1918, the same day as the Italians marched into Trieste, Zadar and Rijeka, they also took control of Korčula, where they were greeted by 'some forty people who welcomed the Italian occupation'⁶⁷. As Italian troops arrived into Korčula town, the 'local Italians claimed that the largest winged lion celebrated the Italian army's arrival by wagging his tails in delight'⁶⁸. The town lions became rallying points for the Italian soldiers, who seemed to revel in the comparison between the winged creatures and themselves as can be seen on image VII.



Image VI. Italian troops during the occupation of Korčula 1918-21 pose with the Venetian lion. The label underneath says 'two lions', associating the Italian soldiers directly with the leonesque heritage of dominance.

Source: www.korculainfo.com

The Italian occupation authorities established on the 19th November 1918 the constituency "*il Governatorato militare della Dalmazia e delle isole dalmate e curzolane*" to politically amputate the '*isoli Curzolari*' from the mainland that had remained within the boundaries of a future south Slav state. The Croatian language newspapers reported that the 'unwelcome guests arrived and demanded from the authorities that the administration of Korčula and Lastovo be split from that of Pelješac, which had not been occupied. They wanted Korčula and Lastovo to be run independent from that of what happens in Split.'⁶⁹ The island thus had its own particular constituency, including its

⁶⁷ Ivan PEDERIN, *Otpor talijanskoj okupaciji na Korčuli i otocima*, *Korčulanski zbornik*, 2002, 300.

⁶⁸ Zvonko LETICA, *Sjećanje jedne generacije-grad Korčula 1900-1946*, (Split: Vojna Štamparija, 1990) 202.

⁶⁹ Unknown author, *Narodni List*, 12 November 1918





own postal district which was supposed to distinguish it from the Dalmatian mainland and would gain an Italian consulate that would be the centre administrative point for the surrounding Korčula archipelago.

Italian officials sent to the island wrote in their memorandums about the importance of the island. The commander of the 'isole Curzolane,' Lieutenant Colonel Giglio di Negri enthusiastically reflected on the new chapter of Korčula's history, instrumentalising its Venetian heritage as a justification for the new Italian ascendancy that despite historical setbacks had arrived justifiably to control the island:

“From now begins the new history of Curzola formerly Roman and Venetian....Resurrected were the shadows of the glorious Doges of the most Serene Republic, that there in this island found a secure fort, having made an insurmountable barrier against the oriental barbarians... the Venetian lions of Curzola were awoken from a long, painful sleep, the beautiful small town on the sea, and they had repeated their roar of power and glory.⁷⁰”

The Italian higher class of officers such as Ugo Scotti Berni commented that the Italians had arrived 'full of happy wonder noticing in this place the signs of monuments which are explicitly Italian so that it seemed to us that we had never left.'⁷¹ The ideological meaning ascribed to winged monuments was not accidental. This was, according to the Italian appointed consul a significant town of now redeemed Italy that was the 'most important in Dalmatia after Zadar due to the compact nature of the Italian community that is prevalent over the Croats in the town itself.'⁷²

Diplomatic and historical arguments, together with a compact Italian minority, geographic detachment and the large numbers of winged lions made the Italian delegation at Paris in 1919 press for Korčula to be annexed to Italy. Korčula's leader of the Italian community Stefano Smerkinich came personally to Rome in December 1918 to ask the Italian foreign minister Sydney Sonnino for the annexation of Dalmatia. Several months later, in a telegram to the Italian Foreign Ministry, the leaders of the Italian community in Korčula (Smerkinich, Vinzi, Benussi) demanded that the island be 'immediately

70 Da allora incominciò le nuova storia di Curzola già Romana e Veneziana..Risorgevano le ombre dei Dogi gloriosi della Serenissima, che da questa Isola trova la forte sicurezza, avendone fatto baluardo insormontabile contro i barbari d'Orient...Si erano ridestati da un lungo sonno doloroso i leoni Veneti di Curzola, la bella cittadina speronata sul mare, ed avevano ripetuto il loro urlo di potenza e di gloria. ASD-Rome, Lieutenant Colonel Giulio DE NEGRI, commander of the 'isole Curzolane'; *Cenno Storico sulla opera da noi svolta a Curzola nel due anni di occupazione*, 14 April 1921, Vice consulate d'Italia a Sebenico, Fascicolo 3/8.

71 LETICA, *Sjećanje jedne generacije-grad Korčula*, 180.

72 'Dopo Zara, Curzola e il centro più importante della Dalmazia perché l'elemento italiano che vive compatto nella città e nel vicino Villaggio di Petrarà è in prevalenza nel commne-città su quello croata; ASD, Rome, Vice Consul of Italy in Korčula Antonio BUCEVICH- Memorandum to Italian Foreign Ministry: *La situazione degli Italiani di Curzola*, 14 February 1921. R. Vice Consolato d'Italia a Sebenico-Fascicolo no 4. Busta-3/8.





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annexed to Italy.⁷³ The winged lion was again mobilised in the public sphere as he appeared on stamps and consular letterheads (image VII) in symbiosis with the *isoli Curzolani*, with the Gospel like slogan 'he who finds a stone that is not Venetian, let them cast it off' referring to the eternal presence of Venice by transforming originally biblical verses into messages of Italian nationalism.



Image VII. Italian stamp (left) and letter head (right) used at Korčula's consul's office issued during the first occupation of the island. Both feature the winged lion of St Mark holding a sword marked with the Roman empire's motto, while the eagle of Savoy hovers above, showing the syncretism between the early modern Venetian empire and the modern Italian state. The words read 'he who finds a stone that is not Venetian, let him cast it off.'

Source: (left) Wikipedia entry for isole Curzolane, (right) Archivio Storico Diplomatico, Rome.

At the Paris peace conference, Lloyd George remembers the Italian prime minister Vittorio Orlando arguing for: 'the case of the islands...which were clearly Italian in character. Since historic days right down to the Treaty of Campo Formino, Dalmatia had been connected with Italy- first part of the Roman Empire, subsequently as part of Venice.⁷⁴ Despite the Entente being formally bound to the terms of the treaty of London, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire meant that the Adriatic Question was seen through a different lens. President Woodrow Wilson's 14 points saw the 1915 treaty of London as an iniquitous relic of secret, old world diplomacy that had no part to play in the *post-bellum* settlement of Versailles Europe. Wilson's 9th point prescribed that the frontiers of Italy should be re-adjusted along 'clearly

⁷³ Enrico MILLO, Telegram to Italian Foreign Ministry in Rome, 19788, Ambascata Londra, Busta 470-rapporti Politici-Adriatico e Questione Fiumana, Zadar 13 June 1919.

⁷⁴ David LLOYD GEORGE, *The truth about the peace treaties II* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd. 1938) 811-2.





recognisable lines of nationality'. On January 13, 1919, Wilson informed Orlando that he had decided the Treaty of London was no longer valid. The Italian case in Paris was not helped by disturbing news that was reaching Paris about the nature of the Italian occupation of the Eastern Adriatic.

The Italians had begun their occupation of Korčula by announcing several unpopular measures such as the 'dismissal of local authorities, banning of national colours and the persecution of the Croatian tongue'⁷⁵ This was followed by 'restrictions of the use of the Croatian tongue, requisitions and restrictions on the right of assembly.'⁷⁶ The US Lieutenant Leroy King reporting on Italian behaviour in the occupied territories notes in his report on Korčula and the other islands that: 'the Italians have been brutal to the population' and that 'the Italian regime is one of intimidation and oppressive to the population'⁷⁷. The Italian occupation continued for almost three years with numerous examples of brutality such as beatings and imprisonment of local leaders,⁷⁸ unlawful killings⁷⁹ as well as banishments of local anti-Italian leaders from the town as well as from the surrounding villages.⁸⁰

Apart from the town itself, Italy had also occupied the entire island, which contained villages that were almost exclusively Croatian in ethnicity. Aware of the fact that the villages may act as a hotbed of resistance, the Italian officials 'blocked food supplies for internal villages such as Žrnovo.'⁸¹ A British correspondent for the *Times* was in Korčula at the time and reported the excess and brutality of the Italian army in the village of Blato. In his book, he reports that the Italian '*Arditi* attacked anyone they saw, including women and children with the butt end of their muskets,⁸² striking 'Petar Kraljević with a rifle so severely across the face that he was bathed in blood and was later shot.'⁸³ Such excess towards the island population certainly made Italy's authority on the island become more unpopular as the occupation went on.

Events on other parts of the Adriatic would resonate on the island. As the Italian occupation of the Eastern Adriatic turned bloody in Split with the shooting of an Italian naval officer Captain Tomasso Gulli, local Italians and their supporters in Korčula reacted with attacks on symbolic targets: 'in a state of drunken euphoria setting fire to the beautiful municipal park.'⁸⁴ The park

75 LETICA, *Sjećanje jedne generacije-grad Korčula*, 167.

76 Ibid., 168.

77 Lieutenant LE ROY KING to Professor A. C. Coolidge, Report No. 3, 7 March 1919.

78 Mato Kalodjera, Marko Kačić and Ivo Tedesci were beaten and imprisoned, LETICA, *Sjećanje Jedne Generacije*, 184.

79 A man from Vela Luka Marko Dragojević was 'killed by an Italian soldier without reason,' LETICA, 180.

80 One of them would write a letter to President Woodrow Wilson and would escape from an Italian prison to go to Paris in order to attend the Paris Peace Conference; Anton FARČIĆ, Lettre ouverte a Messieurs Wilson, Clemenceau et Lloyd George: Ce que j'ai souffert: procédés des autorités italiennes dans les territoires Yougoslaves occupés. (Paris: Blanchong et Cie, 1919)

81 LETICA, *Sjećanje jedne generacije-grad Korčula*, 186.

82 Henry BAELERIN, *The birth of Yugoslavia-volume II*, (London: Leonard Parsons, 1920) 161.

83 BAELERIN, *The birth of Yugoslavia*, 161.

84 Unknown author, *Novo Doba*, 23 July 1920.





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contained a memorial to fallen soldiers during the war and had been named after emperor Franz Joseph during the war. The last Italian consul to Korčula criticised his predecessor for 'fanaticising to excess the local Italian population, getting them drunk on not very serious words and promises.'⁸⁵

As the Italian occupation continued and international opposition to Rome's maximalist claims increased, partisans of the extreme Italian plans such as D'Annunzio emerged and would use the symbol of the winged lion in his rhetoric. Having seized control of Rijeka, the veteran wrote a long pamphlet in defence of the Italianess of Dalmatia called the 'Reconquest of the lions' where he pointed directly to the lions of the Adriatic as being the legitimising factor of Italian rule:

"These stones show to all the remains perpetually walled here, on the walls of Istria and the loggias and doors of Dalmatia. It is the imprint of possession it is the sign of dominance...all the lions of Istria from Muggia to Veglia... all the lions of Dalmatia, from Zara, from Sebenico, from Spalato, from Curzola...all today look to Fiume, draw to Fiume, roar to Fiume. It is the reconquest of the lions, it is the reconquest of the dominant, it is the reconquest of Venetian power.'⁸⁶"

In Korčula, according to contemporary Italian media, many local Italians expected⁸⁷ D'Annunzio like invasion of the island. Debating the fate of Dalmatia weeks before it was finally given back to the South Slav state, Italian Senator Attilo Hortis pointed to the heritage of Venice and promising the Italians of Dalmatia that: 'Dalmatian brothers do not despair. Neither the cry of the eagle of Rome or the roar of the lion of St Mark will be silent'⁸⁸. Thus also in Italian parliamentary debates, the winged lion became instrumentalised as a symbol of Italian irredentist nationalism, shifting definitively from Goldoni's image of a neutral, generous and just being.

85 ASD, Rome, BUCEVICH- Memorandum to Italian Foreign Ministry: *La situazione degli Italiani di Curzola*, 14 February 1921. R.Vice Consolato d'Italia a Sebenico-Fascicolo, no 4. Busta-3/8.

86 Gabrielle D'ANNUNZIO, *La Riscossa dei leoni*, 20 June 1920.

87 La popolazione di Curzola viva una vita angosciata di ansia e di attesa, priva, direi, quasi di comunicazioni, la speranza che d'Annunzio verrà ad occupare l'isola si tramuta in certezza. E molti sguardi in molte ore del giorno scutano l'orizzonte in cerca d'una nave libreratrice. M.C, La morte e il dolore nell'isola di Curzola, *Idea Nazionale*, 19 December 1920.

88 Fratelli di Dalmazia non disperate. Non tacerà il grido delle aquile di Rome nè il ruggido del leone di San Marco (Author's translation); Arhivo di Stato Trieste, Senator Attilo HORTIS, Per la soluzione del problema Adriatico, 9 Feb 1920, B/560.



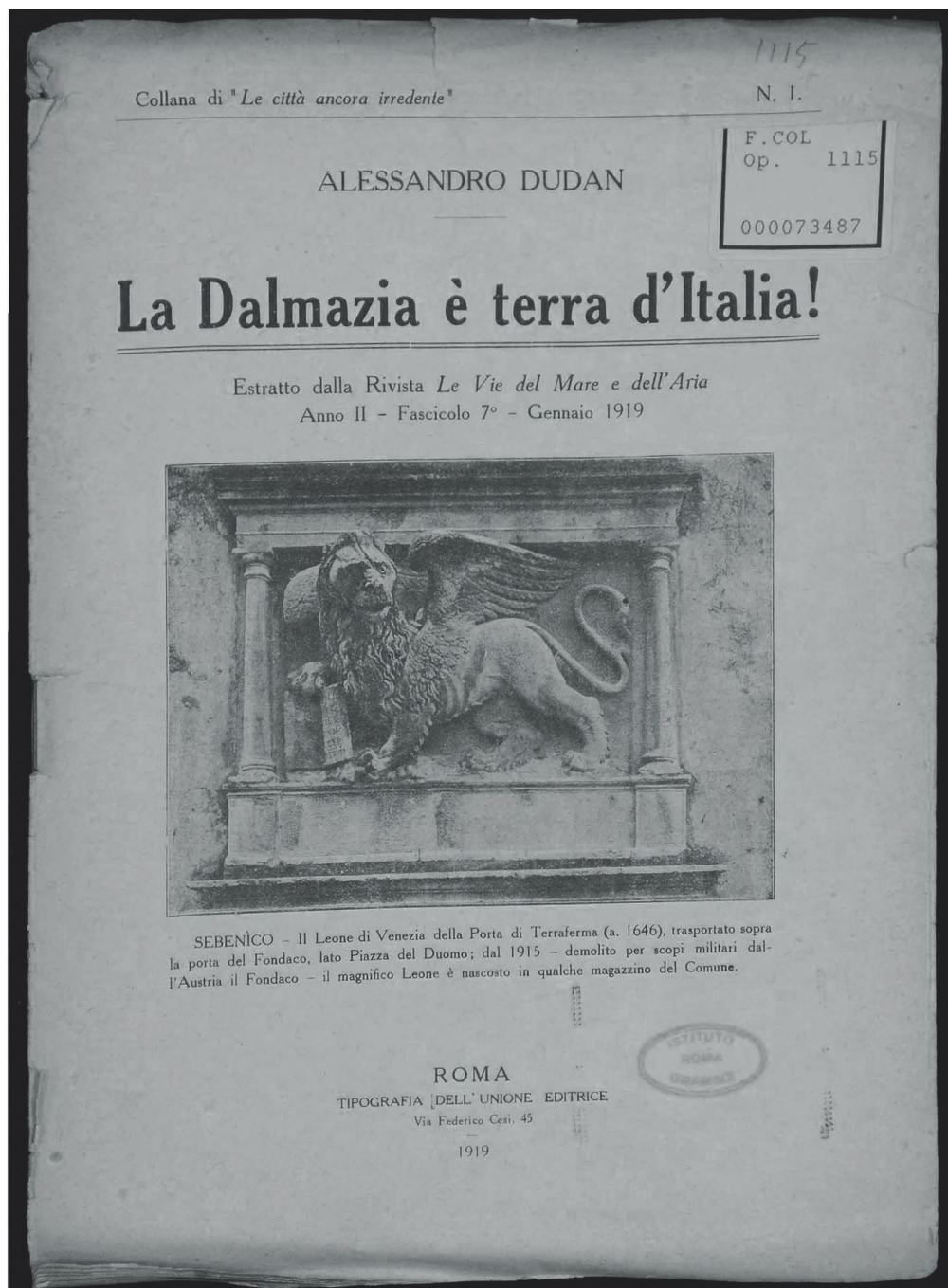


Image VII. An Italian irredentist pamphlet published during the Italian occupation of the Adriatic uses the Lion of St Mark under the principal message that 'Dalmatia is Italian.'

Source: Biblioteca Digitale Fondazione Gramsci, www.bd.fondazionegramsci.org





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Leonoclasm part I

Despite the poetic piracy of D'Annunzio inciting the winged lions to roar, in Korčula the lions would get no further than imaginatively wagging their tails. Under the terms of the treaty of Rapallo 1920, Korčula would be returned to the SHS state. As the Italian army (and hundreds of local Italians) left in the aftermath of the treaty of Rapallo, locals from the surrounding villages turned on the lion statues. With a series of hammer blows, numerous winged lions in the town would be vandalised, including the largest lion on the governor's tower, who lost its tail and had its face mutilated (image IX). The newspaper *Novo Doba* explained the leonoclasm with sympathy as it saw the lion as a 'monumental reminder of centuries of slavery that has been rightfully charged for its malevolence⁸⁹' and explaining the actions of locals as entirely understandable in light of the consequences of a years-long occupation.



Image IX. An Italian picture shows the results of the first round of leonoclasm on the biggest lion that watched over the port. His wings and tail have been broken and his face have been vandalised.

Source: www.korculainfo.com

The demise of the winged lion soon started to emerge as a symbol in local art. A contemporary poster (image XI) shows a man overpowering a winged lion superimposed over the historic town of Korčula. The image shows a turning of the tables in the power relationships. Formerly, the winged lion in its numerous depictions had been symbolically amphibious, with his back feet in the sea and the forefeet on land. Now it was the man, who was amphibious and seemed to have got the upper hand in a wrestling match against the lion.

⁸⁹ Unknown author, *Novo Doba*, 20 May 1921, quoted in: LETICA, 202.



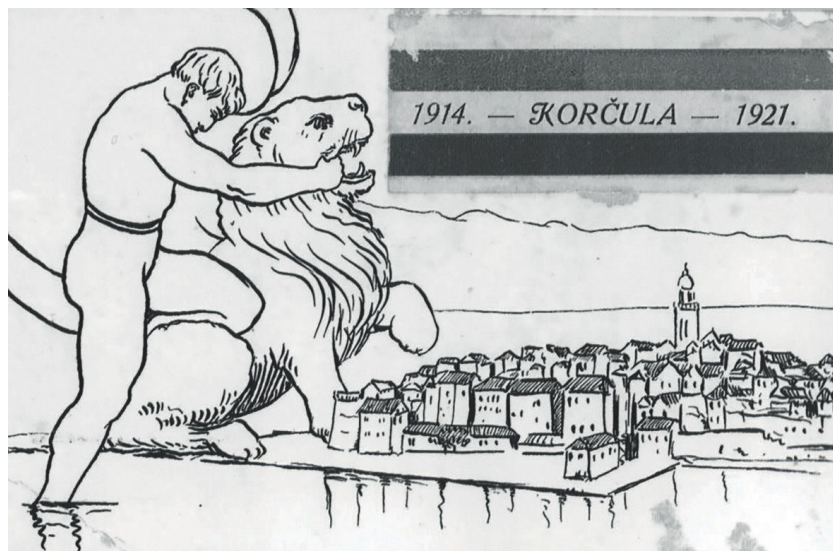


Image X. A poster from the interwar era commemorating the end of the first Italian occupation, with the image of a lion attempting to put his paw on the town of Korčula and being restrained by a man.

Source: Korčulanske kartuline: zaustavljeno vrijeme, izlet u prošlost, 2011.

According to the terms of the 1920 treaty of Rappallo, Korčula was given back to the SHS state, while other '*isoli Curzolani*' such as Palagruža and Lastovo became part of Italy. Writing in the aftermath of the treaty of Rappallo, Mussolini reflected on the role of the Italians of Dalmatia pointing out that they are: 'the purest and the healthiest of the Italians'⁹⁰ to whom he envisages a bright future. A year after the departure of the Italian army from Korčula, the main square just outside the historic would be renamed after the date when the Italian occupation of the island ended, the 19th April 1921 (image XII). It has kept this name up to today. A few years later, on the millennial anniversary of the crowning of the Croatian King Tomislav in 1925, the authorities in the town of Korčula put up a plaque to commemorate the millennia of the Croatian King's rule just underneath a relief of the lion of St Mark on the entrance to the city.

⁹⁰ 'Gli italiani di Dalmazia sono i più puri i più santi degli Italiani. Sono gli eletti del popolo italiano. Per essi la razza non è un patto etnico; è un sentimento, è una devota gelosa intrepida religione che ha avuto i suoi martiri. Benito MUSSOLINI, *Il popolo d'Italia*, 13 November 1920, (Author's translation)





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Image XI. One of the largest squares just outside the historic town is named after the date when the first Italian occupation ended.

Source: author's photo

World War Two

In the aftermath of the capitulation of Yugoslavia in 1941, Italian troops (led by the regiment of San Marco) would occupy Korčula for the second time in the 20th century. Waving the flags of emblazoned with the Venetian lion, the Italians entered the town on the 25 April, the day of St Mark. Removing the plaque to King Tomislav set up in 1925 under the lion of St Mark commemorating the symbolic date with an inscription: "On the 25 April 1941, on the day of St Mark, Italian soldiers entered Curzola to reaffirm the rights of Rome and Venice." (Image XII)

Numerous publications and exhibitions in Italy highlighted the heritage of Venetian monuments in Dalmatia as a testament of eternal Italian rule. The veteran of the First World War Ezio Maria Gray, an early supporter of Mussolini, in a book on Dalmatia, pointed out that "monuments are history on foot."⁹¹ In an introduction to an exhibition on Dalmatia architecture at the noteworthy Italian art academy *Reale Accademia di San Lucca*, the president of the Academy highlights several things that instrumentalise the flying lions of Korčula as 'typically Italian'⁹² that shows the "rights and traditions of this Italian and Christian civilisation"⁹³. Here images of the lion of St Mark in Korčula feature several times (figure 112-114) alongside images of the Italian flag on the watchtowers of Korčula.

91 Ezio Maria GREY, *La Dalmazia*, (Novara: Istituto Geographico de Agostini, 1942) 11.

92 La piazzetta di Curzola, con la sua colonna di Gonfallone, ripete motivi iticamente italiani, Alberto ZALZA BINI, *L'architettura della Dalmazia*, (Rome: Reale Accademia di San Lucca)12.

93 Il leone alato, che dopo il segno di Roma ha affermato sulla sponda orientale la tradizione e il dritto di quella civiltà italiana e cristiana. Bini, *L'architettura della Dalmazia*, 14.





Image XII. Plaque put up in place of the plaque to the Croatian King Tomislav in the aftermath of the second Italian occupation of Korčula between 1941-3 that attempted to echo the Venetian legacy through invoking St Mark.

Source: hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talijanski_iredentizam

The occupation in the 1940s was much bloodier than that after the First World War. The well organised resistance on the island to the Italian occupation led to a brutal Italian anti-guerrilla policy that resulted in the burning of agricultural fields, the shooting of children and the execution local intellectuals such as the sculptors Ivo Lozica, who Ivan Meštrović 'saw as his successor.⁹⁴ The Austrian writer who had taken refuge in Korčula, Franz Theodor Csokor would witness the violence of the war, the instrumentalization of the lions by the Italians as well as the final round of leonoclasm. Csokor reported how the Italians would salute the largest winged lion in the port, indicating that the new fascist order saw the presence of the lions as allied to their cause: 'The fattest tower in the port had a large lion of St Mark on it, which the Fascist groups roaringly saluted.⁹⁵ As the Italian occupation ended in September 1943, a crowd gathered once again near the largest winged lion in Korčula.

Leonoclasm part II

Csokor recalled a conversation with a local who was watching the crowd take out its anger on the lions for the second time in the century. Having implored him not to destroy a work of art, the man from Korčula replies: 'As long as these lions remain standing, the Italian kingdom will claim that the islands belong to them.⁹⁶ As Csokor implored him to stop the vandalism, the local exclaims that 'we should be happy that the rage here is only expressed on stone.⁹⁷ After this conversation, Csokor recognises that the: 'stone lions are signs of dominance of the city walls, just like now the axe on the bundle of rods with the words of Mussolini are a sign of Italy.⁹⁸ The biggest lion on the *Kneževa kula*, (image XIII) which had featured regularly in tourism brochures

94 Marija MESTROVIĆ, *Ivan Meštrović-the making of a master*, (London: Stacey International, 2008) 181.

95 Franz Theodor CSOKOR, *Als Zivilist in Balkankrieg* (Vienna: Ullstein Verlag, 1947) 169.

96 CSOKOR, *Als Zivilist in Balkankrieg*, 258.

97 Ibid, 258.

98 Ibid, 259.





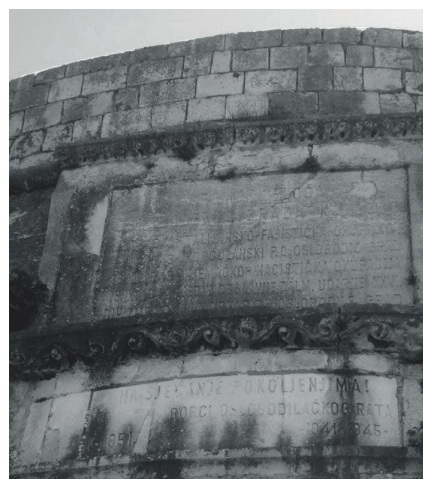
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about Korčula from the Habsburg⁹⁹ up to the interwar era¹⁰⁰ and had been admired by travel writers like Rebecca West, was smashed up and thrown into the sea. It was replaced with a written reminder of the wartime resistance on the island.¹⁰¹ (Image XIV)

The four lions that had for centuries looked down on the people of Korčula would disappear in the second round of leonoclasm, suffering various fates of destruction. The cat sized lion (image XV) that had guarded the town hall would be knocked off his plinth and destroyed. A small part of his face remains in a private collection (image XVI). The ritual vandalism was noticed and commented on by Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean, the special liaison officer for Britain in occupied Yugoslavia:

'Over the doorway the lion of St Mark stood headless, decapitated by some overzealous partisan, who celebrated the end of Mussolini's rule by destroying the symbol of an earlier period of Italian domination.'¹⁰²



The biggest lion in the historic town (**image XIII.**) stood on the governor's tower. After 1921 it would lose its tail and wings to vandalism. After 1943 and Italy's capitulation, the lion would be destroyed, and its remains thrown into the sea. At the beginning of the 1950s, the space would be replaced by a timeline of the key dates (**image XIV**) of the local resistance movement in World War Two.

Sources: (left) www.korculainfo.com, (right) Author's photo.

99 Erwin VOM PASKA, *Praktische Wegweiser durch Dalmatien*, (Vienna: Christof Reissner Söhne, 1912) 45.

100 Artur RÖSSLER, *Dalmatien-kunst und natur in Bildern* (Vienna: Bruder Rosenbaum, 1925); Ćiril Metod Iveković, *Die Dalmatinische Inseln* (Vienna: Anton Schroll und Co, 1927)

101 The 'Memorial plaque of the liberation of the town of Korčula' contains the key dates of the island resistance during the Second World War, including the Italian occupation of the town, the liberation of the town after Italy's capitulation, the German occupation as well as the final date of liberation.

102 Fitzroy MACLEAN, *Eastern Approaches* (New York: Penguin, 1949) 375-6.





Image XV. Korčula's first victim of leonoclasm lost his tail and wings yet survived on the plinth until the Second World War

Image XVI. The remains of the lion's face

Source: Godišnjak Grada Korčule 14-15, Korčula: 2015, 476-477.

During the Second World War, the identitarian element of Italian versus Croatian combined toxically with the ideological bent which gave the winged lions a more intense memorial notoriety, becoming associated with the often-bloody effects of the Italian fascist occupation. The ideological element of the communist led partisan resistance also had a strong anti-clerical element, which saw the lion not just as a symbol of national but also of clerical oppression due to his written message quoted from the Gospels that was in the lion's hand.



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Image XVII. (left), **Image XVIII.** (right)

The lion on the flagpole on the cathedral piazza had his head chipped off during the second round of leonoclasm.

Source: (left) www.korculainfo.com, (right) Author's photo

Out of twenty-four lions in the historic town, eight were destroyed, two partially, while the lion that patrolled the municipal Loggia was first covered in plaster then had a metal sculpture depicting the ultimate demise of the winged lion. The last lion ever carved in Korčula is a metal beast in the process of being slayed by a naked, muscular person, reminiscent of mythical lion slayers Samson or Hercules. The depiction of the duel perhaps aimed to suggest that the new status quo had even superior qualities than a mythical, flying creature, strongly supporting the '*narodno oslobodilačka borba*¹⁰³' narrative that an unequal, unjust fight had been won by the barehanded, courageous and heroic fighters of the local resistance.

¹⁰³ The communist led resistance movement of the Second World War became known as the national liberation struggle.





Image XIX. Monument to the fallen of the 'national liberation struggle 1941-45' - the monument inside the municipal loggia was put over a winged lion. The naked, muscular person is about to slay the winged lion with a sword, suggesting an imbalanced, heroic and victorious struggle against a bestial, monstrous enemy.
Source: author's photo

Conclusion- Twilight of the lions

One hundred and fifty years after the Venetian empire sunk into history, the borders of the Eastern Adriatic would be realigned in 1947. Korčula, alongside the other 'isoli Curzolari' Palagruža and Lastovo would be assigned to Yugoslavia, ending Italian attempts in the 20th century to claim the island through a construction of the island discourse to suit an irredentist agenda. Rome's attempt to make Korčula the last part of the Italian drawbridge to the Balkan peninsula had ultimately failed. The *isoli Curzolari*, like the Venetian Empire on the Adriatic, appeared to sink into history, almost without a trace. Nevertheless, the Italian capital still contains *lieux de memoire* related to this island. In a suburb of Rome, a street named 'Via delle Isoli Curzolane' (image XX) recalls the traces of a now defunct geographical concept.





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Image XX. 'Isoli Curzolane' today are to be found only on a road in the suburbs of Rome.

Source: author's photo

The venerable roars of *il Serenissima* leonophilia, despite being set in stone, faded as it was challenged by the leonophobia of the Croatian national rebirth, the music of the community bands and the destructive rabid leonoclasm of the 20th century. To consign it to history, it was not enough to deconstruct but to visibly mutilate and often destroy its presence in public to conclusively reshape the spatial identity of the city whose striking *Venetianità* was re-interpreted as *Italianità*. The mythical *madeleine* of St Mark, a powerful symbol of the past glories of a maritime empire was fully instrumentalised by Italian irredentists, nationalist and the higher echelons of the armed forces. Thus the *leone Marciano's* image in Korčula changed from being the 'generous lion that gently rules' of Carlo Goldoni to the gargantuan, martial lion that ultimately symbolised of the predatory side of Italian imperialism in all its formats, irredentism at the end of the First World War and Fascism during the second.

Today the remaining, frequently faceless lions of Korčula are a melancholy reminder of an empire which ruled Korčula for several centuries. Alongside the architecture in the historic town, the distinctive Korčula dialect and similar cuisine to Venice is all that remains of the *Venetianità*. Inside the cemetery gates of Korčula, one can find further signs of the 'Curzola' of yonder. Among the older part of the faded, moss-strewn dank sepulchres are grave reminders of a disappeared community with some twenty gravestones decorated with Italian language epitaphs.

The winged lion has retained its reputation as the enemy of the people in island folk songs, which laud local leaders due to their determined opposition to the authorities that are represented by the 'Satanic Venetian lion'¹⁰⁴. Even in the summer of 2017 as research was being carried out for this article, descendants of the Second World War resistance fighters in the town of

104 Ivo Cetinić, Klapa Crnomiri, Legenda o Crnomirima, 1985, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ufr20CjG2ZA>





Korčula called for the removal and the destruction of the ruined remains of the winged lions in conversations with the author.



Image XXI. One of the survivors of the leonoclasm still prowls from the top of Korčula's cathedral.

Source: www.korculainfo.com

Irredentism's drive in the 20th to claim Korčula as part of the 'two-thousand-year legacy of Rome and Venice' meant that Italian policy consciously woke the sleeping lions to participate in the *Risorgimento's* last *Reconquista*. Thanks to secret diplomacy, the Italians, like the Merchant of Venice, had demanded their pound of flesh that included the most strategically significant, most Venetian and most compact Italian settlement on the islands in Dalmatia. As the occupation assumed the character of permanency, the winged lion's crouching, froward presence appeared to be the most permanent and painful sign of a centuries old foreign, malign and oppressive order that had bestially devoured significant amounts of flesh. In 1921 and in 1943, the lions would be cornered in their island den, not being able to escape. Set in stone, they would be removed from the most significant public places, symbolically slaying them and thus neutering them of their powerful, pugnacious status that after centuries of serene observation seemed to have forgotten their message and could only look down; rabidly, oppressively and despotically.





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Sažetak

OTOČNE USPOMENE - LAV, GLAZBA I MOST PREKO JADRANA- KRILATI KIPOVI U GRADU KORČULI

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Istraživajući sudbinu mletačkih lavova u povjesnoj jezgri grada Korčule, članak razmatra mjenjanje značenja krilatih kipova od simbola 'višestoljetne mletačko-hrvatske simbioze na Jadranu' i Venecijanske dominacije do simbola talijanskog nacionalizma i fašizma. Iako je *la Serenissima* potonula 1797, višestoljetna prisutnost Republike sv. Marka na ovoj važnoj pomorsko-strateškom točki na Jadranu ostavila je znatne oznake u kulturi, jeziku i naročito u arhitekturi. Tokom devetnaestog stoljeća, zbog početka Talijanskog procesa ujedinjenja 1848 te paralelnog Hrvatskog narodnog preporoda, uz prepirke oko jezika u školstvu, općini i sudu, sam mletački lav bijaše sustavno instrumentaliziran kao simbol vječnog talijanskog posjeda na Istočnom Jadranu sa strane talijana i talijanaša i sa hrvatske strane kao gordi neprijatelj Hrvatskom narodu.

Londonskim ugovorom 1915. godine, Ententa obećava Italiji Dalmaciju za uzvrat za njezinih 'miljun bajoneta' u 'Velikom Ratu'. U tom razdoblju, otok Korčula dolazi u fokus Europske diplomacije, kao važan predmet u teritorijanim pregovorima između ruskog cara, francuskog ministra vanjskih poslova i britanskog političara Winstona Churchilla, koji prihvaćaju talijansku sintagmu 'isoli Curzolari' kao kolektivan naziv za veće južno-dalmatinske otoke. Nakon pada Austro-Ugarske, Italija počinje prvu od dvije epizode okupacije otoka u prvoj polovici dvadesetog stoljeća, gdje su pored strateških i povjesnih razloga, mletački lavovi instrumentalizirani kao opravdanje talijanske okupacije otoka.

Koristeći metodologiju 'zaokret ka prostoru' zajedno sa pojmom 'lieux de memoire' od Pierre Nora, članak pokazuje kako je prostor stare gradske jezgre u gradu Korčuli sa svojih dvadeset-četiri krilata mletačka lava bio instrumentaliziran od strane talijanskih nacionalista u Prvom svjetskom ratu te talijanskih fašista u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Brutalnost okupatora tokom te dvije epizode talijanske okupacije u prvom djelu dvadesetog stoljeća pridonijela je da neki od ogorčenih stanovnika otoka iskale svoj bijes na kipovima krilatih lavova, koji su bili skinuti iz javnog prostora, često oštećeni i u nekim slučajevima posve uništeni.

