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POVIJESNA ISTRAŽIVANJA I ZAHVATI NA MALOM RIMSKOM KAZALIŠTU U PULI

PAST INVESTIGATION AND INTERVENTION AT THE SMALL ROMAN THEATRE SITE IN PULA

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Malo rimsko kazalište u Puli važan je spomenik kulture koji pokazuje status grada u vrijeme rimske vladavine. Ovaj je spomenik dugi niz godina ležao zatpan i neprimijećen, korišten uglavnom kao izvor građevinskog kamena za okolne strukture. Tijekom 19. st. i dalje se nije znalo za njegovo postojanje, ali su počela prva istraživanja koja su na svjetlo dana donijela jedan od ulaza u kazalište. Otkrivanje ostataka kazališta u cjelini postupno se odvijalo tijekom 20. st., ali praćeno dokumentiranjem tipičnim za razdoblje u kojem je provedeno. Stoga danas imamo vrlo malo sačuvanih informacija o istraživanju kazališta. Isto vrijedi za zahvate rekonstrukcije koji su provedeni, a koji su mjestimično bili i tolikog opsega da su promijenili izgled spomenika u odnosu na stanje prije zahvata. Cilj članka je objediniti dostupne informacije kako bi se dobio pregled događanja koja su se do kraja 20. stoljeća vezivala uz Malo rimsko kazalište.

The Small Roman Theatre in Pula is a major cultural monument that bears witness to the city's status during the Roman administration. It was buried and unnoticed for many years, having been exploited primarily as a source of construction materials for nearby structures. It had been forgotten by the 19th c. until the initial investigation that uncovered one of the entrances to the theatre. The uncovering of the remains of the theatre continued gradually in the 20th c.; this was, however, attended by record keeping typical of the time in which it was performed. As a result, we now have very modest surviving data on the investigation of the theatre. The same is true of the reconstruction interventions that have been performed, the scope of which in places was so significant as to have altered the appearance of the monument in relation to the condition prior to the intervention. The objective of this paper is to consolidate the available data in order to obtain an overview of the events associated with the Small Roman Theatre up to the end of the 20th c.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: antičko kazalište; povijesna istraživanja; konzervacija; rekonstrukcija

KEY WORDS: antique period theatre; past investigation; conservation; reconstruction

UVOD

Malo rimsko kazalište¹ u Puli, unatoč mogućim očekivanjima, nije kroz povijest bilo poznato ni dokumentirano. Ni u povijesnim opisima Pule niti u podacima o aktivnostima prvih konzervatora i povjesničara koji su se zanimali za arheologiju Pule poput P. Nobilea, P. Kandlera ili G. Carrare, ne nalazi se podataka o njemu. Građevina je istražena postupno te je kroz faze otkrivanja najprije pogrešno interpretirana, da bi zaključno tek početkom 20. stoljeća stručnjaci shvatili da se radi o drugom antičkom kazalištu na području grada. Navedeno je otkriće dopunilo viziju antičke Pule i njene važnosti za područje Istre. Potreba da jedan grad, na samom dnu poluotoka, na svojem teritoriju ima amfiteatar i veliko kazalište izvan gradskih zidina te manje rimsko kazalište unutar zidina, govori o bogatom društvenom životu i o broju stanovnika antičke Pule te šireg područja utjecaja grada.

Od samog početka, istraživanja kazališta bila su sporadična i često nedovoljno dokumentirana, vođena metodama tipičnim za svoje vrijeme, od prvih desetljeća 20. stoljeća, tijekom razdoblja talijanske vladavine 20-ih do 40-ih godina, te kasnije, 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća. Početkom 21. stoljeća istraživanja kazališta ponovno su započela, ovaj put u skladu sa suvremenim arheološkim metodama koje podrazumijevaju i vodenje dokumentacije. Cilj je ovoga članka što sistematičnije i potpunije prikazati istraživanja i zahvate provedene na Malom rimskom kazalištu u Puli kroz čitavo 20. stoljeće, odnosno od početaka na samom kraju 19. st. kada je dio kazališta prvi puta zabilježen, iako se još nije znalo da se radi baš o kazalištu.

OPIS KAZALIŠTA

Izgradnja Malog rimskog kazališta u Puli smješta se u kraj 1. stoljeća temeljem fragmentarnog natpisa na kojem se spominje kurator kazališta, a koji je vremenski smješten u taj period (Mlakar 1981, 91-107). Izgrađeno je na istočnim i sjeveroistočnim padinama gradskog kapitolija. Pristupalo mu se dvjema glavnim cestama, jedna je polazila od Dvojnih vrata i vodila direktno do glavnog sjevernog ulaza u kazalište, a druga je od Herkulovih vrata vodila prema kazalištu. Ove su se dvije ceste vjerojatno spajale poprečnom cestom koja je išla uz vanjski zid kazališta prema istoku (Matijašić 1994, 129-145). Kazalište je izgrađeno lokalnim istarskim

INTRODUCTION

Contrary to what might be expected, the Small Roman Theatre¹ in Pula was long forgotten and, accordingly, was not documented. We find no data concerning the edifice in descriptions of Pula made in the past nor data concerning the activities of the first conservators and historians who took an interest in the archaeology of Pula, including P. Nobile, P. Kandler and G. Carrara. The building was investigated gradually and was, in the course of the phases of its discovery, initially erroneously interpreted; it was only in the early 20th c. that the experts grasped that this was in fact the second of Pula's antiquity period theatres. This discovery broadened our understanding of the appearance of antiquity period Pula and its stature within Istria. The fact that a Roman period city located at the tip of the peninsula required an amphitheatre, a large theatre outside the city wall, and a small theatre within its walls, speaks to flourishing societal activity, the size of the population of antiquity period Pula, and the broad reach of the city's influence.

From the start, the investigation of the theatre was sporadic, often poorly documented, and implemented methods typical of the time: in the first decades of the 20th c., during the period of the Italian regime of the 1920s to 1940s, and later, in the 1970s. Investigation of the theatre resumed in the early 21st c., this time adhering to modern archaeological methods, which necessarily entail records keeping (i.e., full documentation). The aim of this paper is to provide an as systematic and complete as possible overview of the investigative work and interventions performed at the Small Roman Theatre in Pula over the course of the whole of the 20th c., more precisely from its beginnings at the very end of the 19th c. when part of the edifice was first recorded, albeit not yet properly identified as a theatre.

DESCRIPTION OF THE THEATRE

The erection of the Small Roman Theatre in Pula is dated to the late 1st c. based on a fragmentary inscription that mentions a theatre curator from that period (Mlakar 1981, 91-107). It was raised on the eastern and northeastern slopes of the city's *capitolium*. The building was accessed from two main roads, one running from the Porta Gemina directly to the primary north entrance to the theatre, and the second from the Hercules Gate toward the theatre building. These two roads were likely connected by a road

¹ U antičko doba Pula je imala dva kazališta. Jedno veliko, izvan gradskih zidina, koje je u potpunosti uništeno još u 17. stoljeću, i drugo manje, unutar gradskih zidina.

¹ Antiquity period Pula boasted two theatres. The larger theatre, sited outside the city wall, was entirely destroyed by the 17th c.; the smaller theatre was located within the bounds of the city wall.

vapnencima. Za monumentalne blokove korišten je izuzetno kompaktan bijeli istarski vapnenac i paralelno s njim varijacija bogata rudistima i drugim školjkašima. Nosive strukture bile su zidane malim, grubo obrađenim kamenim ulomcima povezanim kvalitetnom vapnenom žbukom, a zidovi koji su bili zidani manjim klesancima sigurno su bili obloženi mramornim inkrustacijama te ožbukani u višim dijelovima, o čemu svjedoče nalazi pronađeni tijekom arheoloških istraživanja (Matijašić 1994, 129–145; Mlakar 1981, 91–107; Weisshäupl 1892, 5–25; Weisshäupl 1894, 220–221).

Samo je kazalište polukružnog oblika, orijentacije po svojoj dužoj osi sjeverozapad-jugoistok². Prostori za glumce i osoblje kazališta smješteni su unutar njegova ravnog dijela, prema istoku, dok je polukružno gledalište usmjereni prema zapadu. Danas su poznata četiri ulaza koja su vodila izravno u gledalište. Unutar gledališta sistem stepenica razvodio je publiku na različite nivoje.

Scenski dio kazališta dužine je oko 65 m. Njegovo je vanjsko lice vjerojatno bilo jednostavno, bez dekoracija (Matijašić 1994, 129–145). Utilitarni prostori između ulaza i scene duboki su tek 8 metara, a sastojali su se od nekoliko međusobno povezanih prostorija i prolaza, s tri glavna izlaza na scenu. Glavni, centralni ulaz na scenu bio je uvučen u odnosu na one bočne te širi od njih (3,6 m glavni ulaz, a 2 m bočni ulazi). Utilitarni su prostori jednostavniji, dok je sama scena, koja je morala biti raščlanjena u najmanje dvije etaže, bila bogato ukrašena pilastrima, stupovima, arhitravima, lukovima, a moguće i skulpturama. Iz kamenih ostataka scenske dekoracije moguće je utvrditi da su elementi bili ukrašeni geometrijskim i vegetabilnim motivima.

Orkestra je promjera oko 83 m, a prostire se polukružno zapadno od scene. Razina orkestre 1,1 m je niža od razine pozornice. Prostor orkestre, kao i prilazni hodnici, bio je popločan velikim pravilnim pločama od kamena vapnenca, od kojih su danas ostala djelomično sačuvana samo dva reda prema stubištu. Unutarnji red ujedno prekriva i kanal za odvodnju oborinskih voda. Iznad unutarnjeg reda kamenih ploča izdizao se, na 1,15 m od prve stube gledališta, kameni zidić širine 0,6 m koji je dijelio gledalište od centralnog dijela orkestre (Matijašić 1994, 129–145; Mlakar 1981, 91–107).

Gledalište je u nižim dijelovima bilo položeno direktno na živu stijenu, koja je u grubim linijama isklesana na način da prihvati kamene obloge stepenastog gledališta. U višim je dijelovima bilo položeno na sistem koncentričnih

² Otklon je minimalni te se pri orijentaciji može koristiti i smjer sjever-jug.

that ran to the east passing along the outer wall of the theatre building (Matijašić 1994, 129–145). The theatre was built with various varieties of local Istrian limestone. The highly compact white variety of local limestone was used for the very large blocks, along with a variety rich in rudists and other molluscs. The load-bearing structures were built of small, coarsely dressed stone blocks bonded with high quality lime mortar. Walls built of small dressed blocks were certainly faced with marble, or plastered at the higher elevations, as is borne out by finds made in the course of the archaeological investigations (Matijašić 1994, 129–145; Mlakar 1981, 91–107; Weisshäupl 1892, 5–25; Weisshäupl 1894, 220–221).

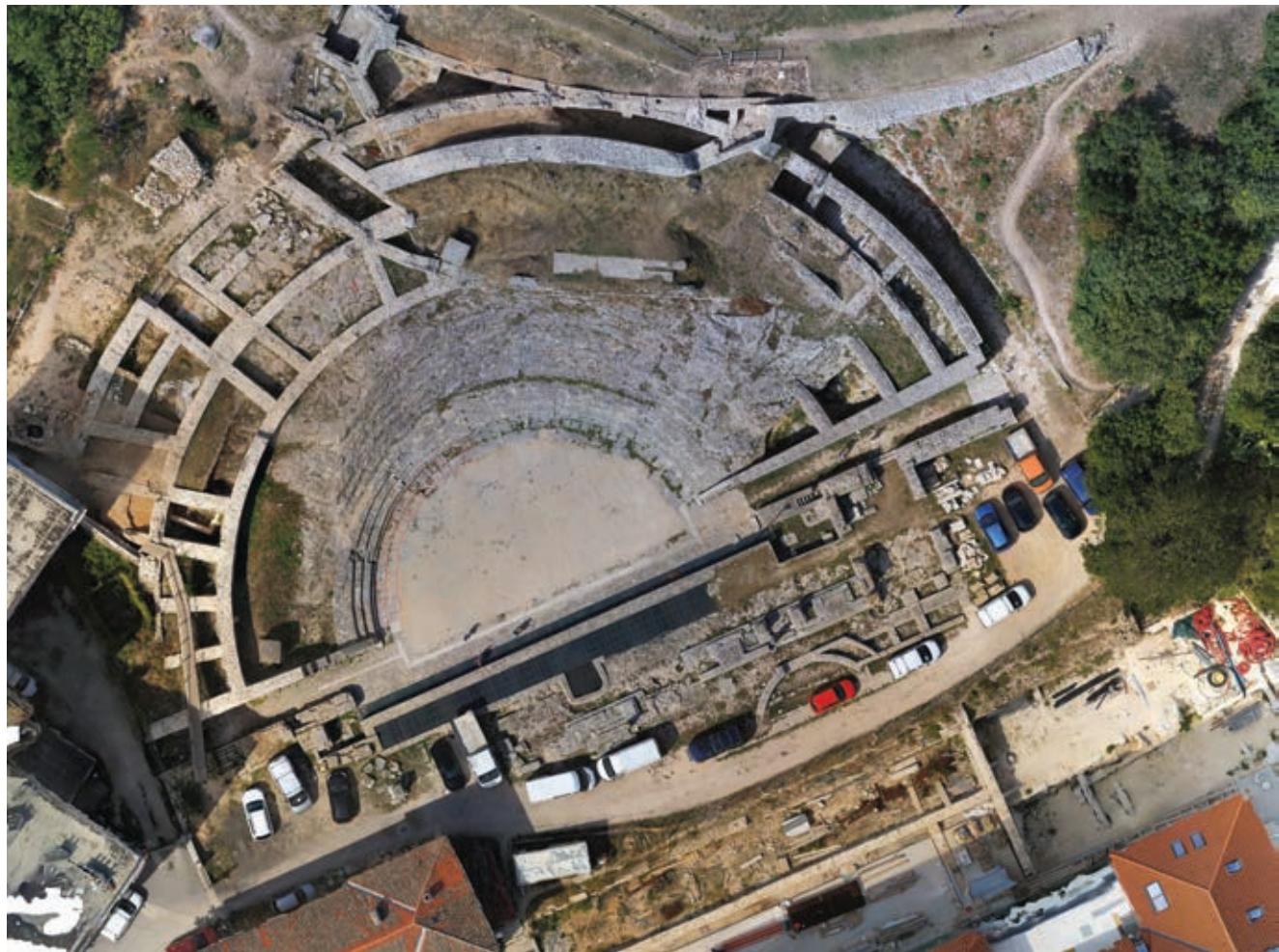
The theatre itself is of semi-circular layout, with its major axis aligned northwest to southeast². The actors' and personnel area was located in the *post-scaenae*, to the east, while the semi-circular auditorium faces west. We now know of four entrances that led directly to the auditorium. Within the auditorium a system of stairs distributed spectators to the separate tiers.

The *scaenae* had a length of about 65 m. Its exterior face was likely plain and undecorated (Matijašić 1994, 129–145). The utility areas between the entrance and the stage were only eight metres deep, consisting of a number of interconnected rooms and corridors, with three primary doors opening to the stage. The primary, central door leading to the stage was recessed in relation to the ones to its sides, and was wider (primary door 3.6 m, side doors 2 m). The utility rooms were plain, while the *scaenae frons*, having at least two levels, was lavishly decorated with pilasters, columns, architraves, arches, and possibly also sculptures. From the stone remains of the *scaenae* decoration we see that the elements were decorated with geometric and vegetal motifs.

The *cavea* had a diameter of about 83 m, forming a semi-circle to the west of the *scaenae*. The orchestra lay at a level 1.1 m lower than the stage. The orchestra area, and the corridors that accessed it, were paved with large uniform limestone slabs, of which only two rows towards the steps now partially survive. The inside row also covers a rainwater drainage canal. Rising above the inside row of stone slabs, at 1.15 from the first row of the auditorium, was a 0.6 m wide low stone wall that separated the auditorium area from the orchestra (Matijašić 1994, 129–145; Mlakar 1981, 91–107).

The lower part of the auditorium was built directly into the bedrock, carved roughly such that it could be covered

² The deviation is minimal, such that a north to south line is useful in orientation.



Sl. 1 Pogled na malo rimsko kazalište 2020. godine (Ortofoto AGG d.o.o.).
Fig. 1 The Small Roman Theatre in 2020 (Orthophoto AGG d.o.o.).

i radijalnih zidova (Matijašić 1994, 129-145; Mlakar 1981, 91-107)³.

POVIJEST ISTRAŽIVANJA

Sjeverni ulaz u gledalište Malog rimskog kazališta prva je otkrivena i zabilježena struktura kazališta, još 1845. godine, iako se tada smatralo da se radi o vratima koja vode prema Kaštelu (akropoli ili kapitoliju) (Weisshäupl 1892, 5-25; Weisshäupl 1894, 220-221). U tom su periodu izrađeni izvještaji o istraživanjima koje je proveo G. Carrara, a koje je gotovo pola stoljeća kasnije objavio Weisshäupl. Postoji i bilješka da je "rimski struktura na sjevernoj padini akropole" zabilježena već u travnju 1840. godine. Tada djelomično zatrpana, struktura je bila vidljiva iznad zemlje u vidu zidina, lukova i stepenica. Sredstva za istraživanje omogućena su tek 1845. godine (Weisshäupl 1892, 5-25; Weisshäupl 1894, 220-221).

by the stone facing that formed the rows of seats of the stepped auditorium. The upper parts rested on a system of concentric and radial walls (Matijašić 1994, 129-145; Mlakar 1981, 91-107)³.

AN OVERVIEW OF PAST INVESTIGATIONS

The north entrance to the auditorium of the Small Roman Theatre was the first part of the theatre to be discovered, found and recorded in 1845, at the time thought to have been a gate leading to the *Kaštel* fortress (the acropolis or *capitolium*) (Weisshäupl 1892, 5-25; Weisshäupl 1894, 220-221). It was at this time that reports were produced concerning the investigations led by G. Carrara, published almost fifty years later by Weisshäupl. There are also notes to the effect that a "Roman structure on the north slope of the acropolis" was found in April of 1840. Partially buried at the time, the structure was

³ Za detaljniji opis kazališta vidi Matijašić 1994. i Mlakar 1981.

³ For a detailed description see Matijašić (1994) and Mlakar (1981).

Weisshäupl navodi: "Na padinama prema Kaštelu još uvijek stoje ostaci koji se vide iznad nivoa zemlje. Vidljiva su dva luka postavljena međusobno pod pravim kutom. Stubište vodi u prostor između ta dva luka. Različiti smjerovi zidina (na koje se lukovi vezuju) pokazuju da su dio veće strukture, koju trenutno nije moguće precizno definirati. Čitava je struktura u ruševnom stanju te je ponovno zatrpana. Ulaz je nazvan 'Porta dell'Acropoli'." Također prenosi izvještaj samoga Carrare od 27. srpnja 1845.: "Testna iskopavanja kod vrata prema akropoli pokazala su nastavak zida koji zatvara stubište i koji na 21,5 m od otvora vrata završava uglom izrađenim lijepim kamenim blokovima dužine 2,5 m; ovaj zid nastavlja se paralelno sa zidom akropole." "Kod vrata prema akropoli pojavio se još jedan rimski zid nasuprot zidu koji zatvara stubište. Otvor između ta dva zida tvori prolaz koji iznosi malo više od 3 metra. Ovaj put usmjeren je prema Dvojnim vratima. Među ostacima pronađeni su ovdje mnogi predmeti, veliki broj mramornih pločica koje su sigurno služile kao zidne obloge ovih plemenitih zidova te votivna arca uklesanim reljefom vepra i vase..." (Weisshäupl 1892, 5-25; Weisshäupl 1894, 220-221).

Oko pola stoljeća kasnije, 1891., za potrebe popločenja igrališta iza zgrade gimnazije radovi su zaustavljeni nakon što je otkriven antički, masivni zid dužine oko 40 metara. Zid se pod pravim kutom lomio u smjeru Kaštela (Gnirs 1912, 239-263). Međutim, nisu provedena daljnja istraživanja struktura.

O samim "vratima prema kaštelu" Gnirs je pisao 1904. godine, još uvijek ne sluteći da se radi o monumentalnom ulazu u kazalište, povezujući ih s Dvojnim vratima. Piše tada Gnirs: "Put koji vodi od Dvojnih vrata prema Kaštelu završava kamenim zidom visine oko 5 m.



Sl. 2 Fotografija ulaznih vrata na gledalište iz 1904. godine (Gnirs 1904).
Fig. 2 The gate leading to the auditorium in 1904 (Gnirs 1904).

visible above ground as walls, arches and steps. It was only in 1845 that funding was provided for investigative work (Weisshäupl 1892, 5-25; Weisshäupl 1894, 220-221). Weisshäupl notes that, "On the slopes towards the fortress there are still visible remains above the ground level. Two arches are visible perpendicular one to the other. Steps led to a space between the two arches. The different alignments of the walls (from which the arches extend), indicate that they are part of a larger structure that cannot as yet be precisely identified. The entire structure is in a state of ruin and was backfilled. The entrance was given the name 'Porta dell'Acropoli'." He also cites Carrara's report of 27 July 1845: "The trial dig at the gate towards the acropolis indicates that the wall that encloses the steps continues and terminates at 21.5 m from the gate opening with a corner done with nice stone blocks at a length of 2.5 m; this wall continues parallel with the wall of the acropolis. ... At the gate towards the acropolis there is yet another Roman wall opposite the wall that encloses the steps. The opening between these two walls forms a corridor of just over three metres. This route is oriented towards the Porta Gemina. Many pieces were found among the ruins; a great number of marble tiles that certainly served as wall panelling for these noble walls, and a votive altar with a boar and vase in carved relief..." (Weisshäupl 1892, 5-25; Weisshäupl 1894, 220-221).

Works to pave a playground to the rear of the gymnasium (secondary school) building in 1891, a half century later, were halted upon the discovery of a massive antique period wall running about 40 m. This wall turned at a right angle towards the fortress (Gnirs 1912, 239-263). However, no further investigation of this feature was undertaken.

Gnirs wrote in 1904 concerning the "gate towards the fortress", still entirely unaware that this was a monumental entrance to a theatre, associating it with the Porta Gemina. Gnirs wrote at the time that "The route that leads from the Porta Gemina to the fortress ends with a stone wall standing about five metres. A stone wall runs to the left of this route, partially holding back soil to the other side, and partially concealing a set of steps that runs on to a stone gate. This monumental gate runs off the wall. Large interlocked cuboid limestone blocks form pilasters that terminate at a beam in the Corinthian style. An arch done with seven large blocks rises above the beam. Past the gate is an area similar to a room of almost square layout, still surrounded by antique period walls of great height ... The inside blocks of the gate have cuboid openings for the insertion of a beam to shut the gate, likely made at a later date. The floor within the gate and the road surface were paved with large limestone blocks, some

Lijevom stranom ovog puta proteže se kameni zid koji djelomično drži zemlju s druge strane, a djelomično skriva stubište koje se nastavlja na kamena vrata. Ova se monumentalna vrata nastavljaju na zid. Veliki kubični blokovi iz kamena vapnenca, međusobno povezani, tvore pilastre koji završavaju gredom u korintskom stilu. Luk izveden iz 7 velikih blokova podiže se iznad grede. Iza vrata nalazi se prostor koji naliči sobi gotovo kvadratnog tlocrta, još uvijek okružen antičkim zidovima velike visine. Unutarnji blokovi vrata sadrže i kubične otvore za umetanje greda za zatvaranje vrata, koji su vjerojatno kasnije izrađeni. Pod unutar vrata i pod ceste bili su popločani velikim blokovima od vapnenca, neki su još *in situ*. Iz kubičnog prostora stepenice vode na gornji plato kojim se prilazi kapitoliju. No, prije ovih stuba prolazi se ispod drugih vrata, čiji je luk također sačuvan. Izgrađen je od kamena; počeci luka su izrađeni od istarskog kamena.”

Gnirs navodi da je ovaj “slijepi put” možda povezan sa strukturama javne zgrade koja se još uvijek nalazi ispod prostora igrališta srednje škole. Na taj ga zaključak navode ostaci kaneliranog stupa i pilastra koji se po njegovu mišljenju nalaze na originalnom lokalitetu, čemu svjedoči njihova vrlo dobra očuvanost, što je dokaz da nisu pomicani kroz povijest (Gnirs 1904, 347-356).

Tek su 1911. godine, dva desetljeća nakon otkrića zida kazališta, provedena istraživanja radi dobivanja više informacija o nepoznatoj antičkoj građevini te je otkriven zid dužine otprilike 40 m, debljine 1,20 m, koji je činio istočni fasadni zid zgrade manjeg scenskog kazališta, kao i ostaci zidova prostorije neposredno iza pozornice. Istraživanja je omogućio i odobrio tadašnji ravnatelj gimnazije Johann Pupp. Istražena je tada sjeverna polovica scenske zgrade s drugim pomoćnim prostorijama, prostorom duboke galerije *hiposcaeniuma* te kanal u kojem su raspoređeni kameni blokovi s četvrtastim usjecima za usađivanje drvenih struktura za podizanje i spuštanje zavjese (Gnirs 1912, 239-263; Mlakar 1981, 91-107). Tek su ova arheološka istraživanja uvjetovala točnu definiciju strukture kao kazališne te definiranje sjevernog antičkog ulaza u kazalište, koji se do tada smatrao ulazom prema kaštelu.

Istraživanja su nastavljana tijekom 20. stoljeća, za vrijeme talijanske vladavine, a provodili su ih djelatnici Kraljevskog muzeja Istre sredstvima koja je uglavnom omogućavao Grad Pula.

Godine 1927. B. Tamara istražuje gledalište u dužini od oko 20 metara, a tom prilikom otkriva i kvalitetan zid prosječne visine 4 m. Zid je položen izravno na

still in situ. From the cuboid room steps lead to an upper plateau through which the *capitolium* is accessed. Before these steps, however, one passes under another gate, where the arch has also survived. It is done in stone; the first part of the arch is done in Istrian stone.”

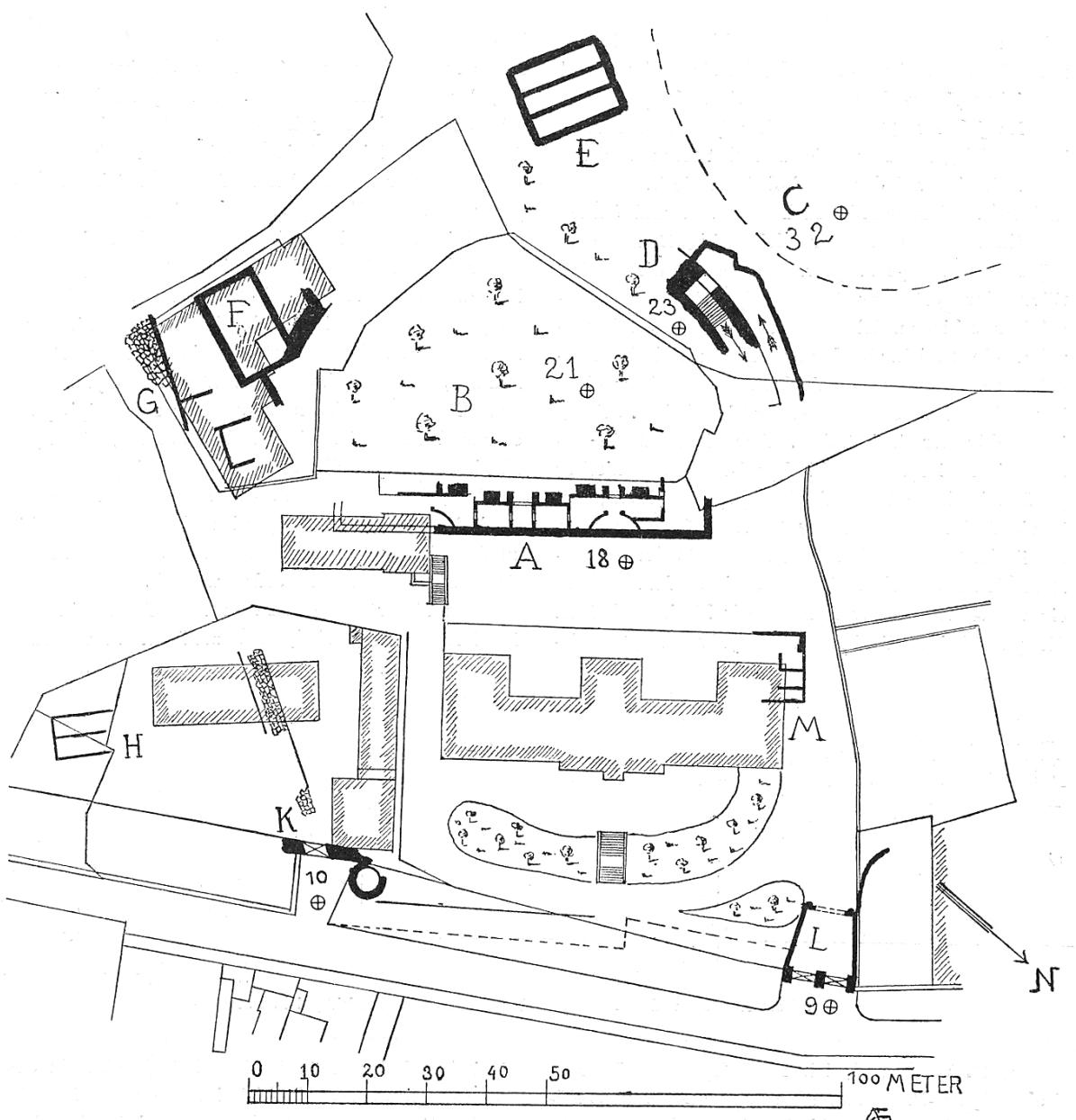
Gnirs notes that this “blind alley” may be associated with the structure of a public building still beneath the secondary school playground area. He draws this conclusion on the basis of the remains of a fluted column and a pilaster he considers to be in their original position, as borne out by their very good state of preservation, which would indicate that they had not been moved in the past (Gnirs 1904, 347-356).

In was only in 1911, two decades after the discovery of the theatre building walls, that an investigation was performed in order to obtain more information concerning the unidentified antique edifice, involving the uncovering of a wall about 40 m long and 1.2 m across, which formed the east face wall of the building of the Small Theatre, and the remains of the walls of a room just behind the stage. The investigative work was provided for and approved by the then gymnasium principal Johann Pupp. This campaign involved the investigation of the north half of the *scaenae* and auxiliary rooms, the area of the deep gallery of the *hyposcaenium*, and a canal in which stone blocks are arranged with squared depressions into which wooden structures were inserted, used to raise and drop a curtain (Gnirs 1912, 239-263; Mlakar 1981, 91-107). It was this investigative campaign that finally correctly identified the structure as a theatre and identified the north antiquity period entrance to the theatre, which had up to that point been considered a gate facing the fortress.

Other investigative campaigns were undertaken in the course of the 20th c., during the Italian regime, performed by the then Royal Museum of Istria, with funding provided by the municipal government in Pula.

In 1927 B. Tamara performed an investigation that saw some 20 m of the auditorium excavated, in the course of which she uncovered a well-built wall with an average height of four metres. This wall is laid directly on the bedrock, and is made of small blocks of stone. The intention was to perform an archaeological investigation of the entire theatre area (Degrassi 1927, 384).

In 1932 and 1933 the engineer Brass cleared the passage towards what appeared to be two entrances to the Small Roman Theatre of a large quantity of material it had been buried under, and began the investigation of the entrance that accessed the orchestra from the north (Degrassi 1934, 277-278).



Sl. 3 Prikaz situacije kazališta i okolnih građevina nakon istraživanja 1911. godine (Gnirs 1912).

Fig. 3 The situation of the theatre and the surrounding buildings following the investigative campaign of 1911 (Gnirs 1912).

kameni živac, a izrađen je od malih kamenih blokova. Namjera je tada bila arheološki istražiti čitavo područje kazališta (Degrassi 1927, 384).

Od godina 1932. do 1933. ing. Brass oslobodio je prolaz prema dva (?) ulaza u Malo rimsko kazalište od velike količine materijala koji ga je zatrپavao, te je započeo istraživanje ulaza kojim se pristupalo orkestri sa sjeverne strane (Degrassi 1934, 277-278).

Investigative work at the site of the Small Roman Theatre resumed in 1934 thanks to a new round of municipal funding. Degrassi reports that the "layout of the building is confidently known. The diameter of the semi-circle is 82 m, and the length of the *scaenae* is 46 m. There were five primary entrances. Two broad, covered passages, one to the right and one to the left side, which also accessed the side gates, led to the orchestra area and the auditorium. The auditorium and the honorary areas

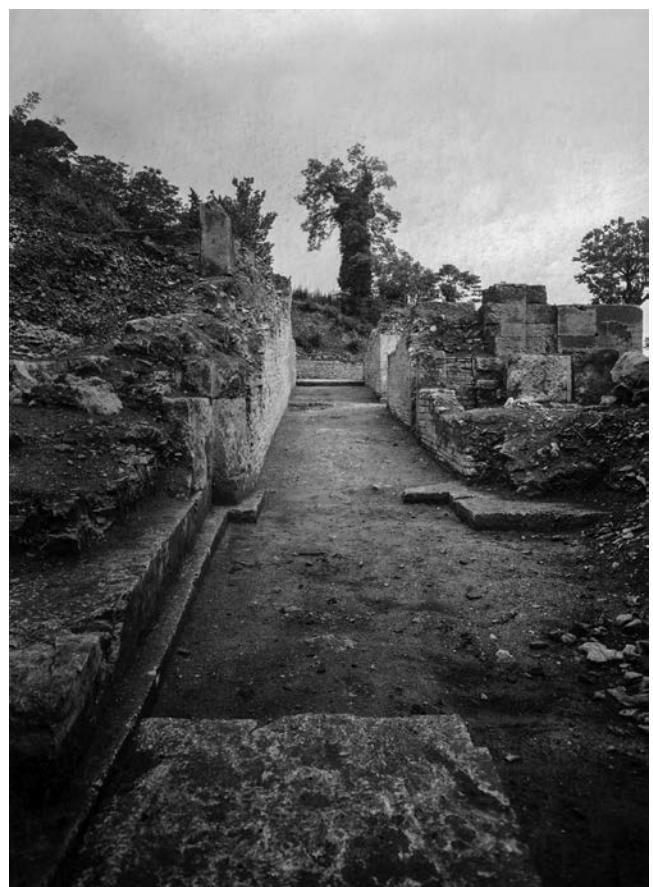


Sl. 4 Fotografija kazališta 1947. godine (fotografija: Ž. Laszlo, MKM-FKN, Pula, 1947.).

Fig. 4 The theatre in 1947 (photo by: Ž. Laszlo, MKM-FKN, Pula, 1947).

Godine 1934. zahvaljujući gradskim sredstvima ponovno započinju istraživanja Malog rimskog kazališta. Degrassi prenosi da je "sigurno poznat tlocrt građevine. Promjer polukruga iznosi 82 m, a dužina scene 46 m. Postojalo je pet glavnih ulaza. Dva široka natkrivena prolaza, jedan s desne i jedan s lijeve strane, kojima se moglo pristupati i bočnim vratima, vodila su na područje orkestre i gledališta. Gledalištu i počasnim platoima koji su bili sagrađeni iznad tih prolaza pristupalo se i stubištima, do kojih se dolazilo kroz tri portala otvorena u ogradnom zidu; lučni portal i desno stubište, savršeno očuvani, otkriveni su još 1913. godine. Između ogradnog zida i gledališta protezao se vjerojatno natkriveni hodnik. Gledalište je bilo sagrađeno iznad tri polukružna zida, međusobno povezana mnogobrojnim radikalnim zidovima. Dva manja stubišta povezivala su scenu s prolazima i orkestrom. Perimetralni zid građevine sačuvan je na nekim mjestima do nekoliko metara visine; nedostaje samo u jednom dijelu lijeve strane, gdje je uništen prije nekoliko desetljeća zbog izgradnje školske zgrade. Polukružni ogradni zid i zidovi dvaju prolaza izvrsno su građeni, malim pravilno obrađenim kamenim blokovima; s druge strane zid koji čini desni dio scene i dio ogradnog zida koji je njemu paralelan bili su izrađeni od masovnih blokova vapnenca, rustične obrade, međusobno savršeno spojeni. Na jednom od ovih blokova pronađen je i potpis klesara. Manje su pažljivo obrađeni zidovi koji su nosili gledalište; bili su to potporni zidovi pa nisu bili vidljivi. Unutrašnjost i okoliš kazališta bili su popločani velikim pločama od kamena vapnenca. Pod je još uvijek u potpunosti očuvan na ulazu u desni prolaz, ispod portala lijevog ulaza i na orkestri; nažalost, nedostaje u drugim dijelovima. Očigledno je odstranjen nakon što zbog širenja kršćanstva završavaju

built above these passages were also accessed by steps, which were reached through three portals penetrating the enclosure wall; an arched portal and the right steps, perfectly preserved, were uncovered back in 1913. A covered corridor likely ran between the enclosure wall and the auditorium. The auditorium was built atop three semi-circular walls, interconnected by numerous radial walls. Two small sets of steps connected the *scaenae* with the corridors and the orchestra. The building's perimetral wall survives in places to a height of a few metres; it is missing at only one part of the left side, where it was destroyed a few decades ago during the construction of the school building. The semi-circular enclosure wall and the walls of the two passages are very well built with small well-dressed stone blocks; to the other side the wall that forms the right part of the *scaenae* and a part of the enclosure wall parallel to it were done with massive rustically dressed limestone blocks, with perfect joints. A mason's mark was found on one of these blocks. The walls that supported the auditorium were built with less attention to detail; these were load-bearing walls and not



Sl. 5 Fotografija sjevernog prilaza orkestri 1934. godine (fotografija: Ž. Laszlo, MKM-FKN, Pula, 1947.).

Fig. 5 The north access to the orchestra in 1934 (photo by: Ž. Laszlo, MKM-FKN, Pula, 1947).



Sl. 6 Fotografija scene 1947. godine (fotografija: Ž. Laszlo, MKM-FKN, Pula, 1947.).

Fig. 6 The *scaenae* in 1947 (photo by: Ž. Laszlo, MKM-FKN, Pula, 1947).

kazališne predstave i zgrada se pretvara u kamenolom.” (Degrassi 1934, 277-278).

Godine 1935. B. Forlati i A. Degrassi istražuju prostor orkestre: “...gotovo je čitav prostor orkestre oslobođen te je pronađen cijeloviti prvi red stuba koje su je omeđivale. Nisu pronađeni ostaci gledališta, s obzirom da se naišlo na živu stijenu isklesanu na način da podržava prva dva reda.” U potpunosti je istraženo i područje scene, ali do visine antičkog drvenog podesta. Pronađeni su tada bočni prostori za upravljanje zastorom, kao i kanal ispred scene u kojem su se nalazile baze za zastore. Nešto kasnije, kad su istraživanja nastavljena došlo se do kamenog živca u centralnom dijelu gledališta, sve do temelja jednog od polukružnih zidova. Istraživanja su provedena do stražnjeg ulaza, koji je već prepoznao Degrassi, ali iskopavanje nije nastavljeno, kako bi se mogla istražiti zona ispred vodospreme (Mirabella Roberti 1937, 300-302).

Godine 1939. provedeno je nekoliko manjih istraživanja na prostoru kazališta. Istražen je tada vanjski ogradni zid prema sjeveru, uz put koji je vodio prema sjevernom monumentalnom ulazu. Istraživanja su se nastavila i u 1940. godini. Na južnom kraju vanjskog zida pronađena su vrata i nekoliko stepenica. Provedeno je istraživanje ruba scene prema orkestri, kada je pronađen duboki kanal ukopan u živu stijenu, odnosno prostor hiposcene (Mirabella Roberti 1940, 249-251; Mirabella Roberti 1949, 247-250).

Treba naglasiti da je u određenom povijesnom trenutku prostor orkestre zatrpan. Iako trenutno nisu poznati zapisi koji bi to potvrdili, moguće je da je to napravljeno da bi se prostor očuvao tijekom ratnog perioda, s obzirom da je zabilježeno kako je u vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata na sceni kazališta bila sagrađena “... baraka za vojnu

visible. The interior and the area around the theatre were paved with large limestone slabs. The paving has survived entirely at the entrance to the right passage, under the portal of the left entrance, and in the orchestra area; unfortunately, it is missing in other areas. It was evidently removed after theatrical productions ceased with the spread of Christianity, and the building became a stone quarry” (Degrassi 1934, 277-278).

In 1935 B. Forlati and A. Degrassi investigated the orchestra area, noting that “...almost the entire orchestra area has been cleared and the intact first row that bordered it was found. Remains of the auditorium were not found, given that bedrock was uncovered, carved in a manner that supported the first two rows.” The area of the *scaenae* was also entirely investigated, but only to the level of the antique period wooden platform. The side rooms from which the curtain was controlled were found at this time, as was the canal in front of the *scaenae* that contained the bases for a curtain. Somewhat later, when investigative work continued, the excavation reached the bedrock at the central part of the auditorium, down to the foundations of one of the semi-circular walls. The investigated area reached the back entrance, which had already been identified by Degrassi, but excavation did not continue further in order for the zone facing the cistern to be investigated (Mirabella Roberti 1937, 300-302).

A number of minor investigative campaigns were staged in the theatre area in 1939. This work saw the investigation of the outer enclosure wall to the north, along the route that led to the monumental north entrance. Investigative work continued in 1940. A gate and several steps were identified at the south end of the outer wall. The edge of the *scaenae* towards the orchestra was investigated, in the course of which a deep canal dug into the bedrock was identified as the *hyposcaenium* (Mirabella Roberti 1940, 249-251; Mirabella Roberti 1949, 247-250).

It is worth pointing out that the orchestra area was filled in at some point in the past. Although we do not currently have records that would confirm this, it is possible that this was done to protect the area during a wartime period, given that it was recorded that during the Second World War “a field kitchen shed, at the north access a depot for automobiles, and a munitions tent at the orchestra” were installed at the *scaenae*. Further it is noted that an “aerial bomb that fell on munitions on 8 June 1944, but failed to explode, sent a crate of munitions all the way to the roof of the museum” (Mirabella Roberti 1949, 247-250).

There were, of course, no archaeological investigations during the Second World War, but they were resumed in

kuhinju, u sjevernom prilazu ostava za automobile, na orkestri šator za čuvanje municije..." Nadalje, navodi se da je "avionska bomba koja je 8. lipnja 1944. pala na municiju bez da eksplodira poslala sanduk s municijom sve do krova muzeja" (Mirabella Roberti 1949, 247-250).

Naravno, tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata nije bilo arheoloških istraživanja, ali su ona nastavljena u poslijeratno vrijeme. Mirabella Roberti nastavio je 1946. godine istraživanje prostora hiposcene (Mirabella Roberti 1949, 247-250).

Sljedećih su desetljeća okolnosti istraživanja područja Malog rimskog kazališta ostala neobjavljena i nedokumentirana. Tek se sporadično saznaju informacije o provedenim istraživanjima, poput onih 80-ih godina, koja se navode u elaboratu iz 1995. koji je priložen molbi za izdavanje dozvole za arheološko istraživanje kazališta 1997. godine (Broj 574/97, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI-ja). Po elaboratu, u tom je periodu ponovno očišćena padina orkestre, odnosno gledalište, te je postalo vidljivo oblikovanje žive stijene za prihvrat kamenih obloga stubišta odnosno sjedala.

Ovim posljednjim izvještajem iz 1995. dovršeno je istraživanje dokumentacije koja se vezuje uz Malo rimsko kazalište tijekom 20. stoljeća.

POVIJESNI ZAHVATI

Na strukturama Malog rimskog kazališta od prvih otkrića 1845. godine pa sve do 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća nisu obavljeni značajni zahvati u pravcu očuvanja ovog spomenika, što je često bilo i uslijed nedostatka sredstava, koja su radije usmjeravana na istraživanje nego na kasniju konzervaciju otkrivenih struktura. Ipak, poneki zapis pokazuje da kazalište nije bilo zanemareno i da su arheolozi i povjesničari o njemu razmišljali i pokušavali skrbiti na najbolji mogući način.

Prvi podatak o zahvatima na području kazališta donio je Weisshäupl, koji prenosi da su ostaci vrata prema Kaštelu ponovno zatrpani (Weisshäupl 1892, 5-25; Weisshäupl 1894, 220-221), što se smatra jednim od najboljih načina zaštite i očuvanja nekog monumentalnog spomenika u trenutku kada ne postoji mogućnosti za provođenje zahtjevnih konzervatorskih zahvata. Međutim, iz Weisshäuplova navoda nije moguće razaznati jesu li vrata zatrpana nakon njihova otkrića ili su tijekom skoro 50 godina od njihova istraživanja ponovno zatrpana nanosima koji su se oko njih urušavali s okolnih litica.

Prvi sljedeći osvrt na stanje luka dobivamo 1904. godine, kada referent Reisch prenosi kako konzervator

the post-war period. In 1946 Mirabella Roberti continued the investigation of the *hyposcaenium* area (Mirabella Roberti 1949, 247-250).

Over the decades that followed, the circumstances of the investigation of the site of the Small Roman Theatre were not published or documented. There is only sporadic data concerning investigative work, such as work performed in the 1980s, cited in a 1995 study appended to a permit request for the archaeological investigation of the theatre in 1997 (No. 574/97, AMI documentation department). According to the study, the incline of the *cavea* was again cleared, revealing how the bedrock was formed to receive the stone panelling of the rows of seating.

The 1995 report is the final identified piece of 20th c. documentation associated with the Small Roman Theatre.

PAST INTERVENTIONS

No large scale interventions to the structure of the Small Roman Theatre aimed at the preservation of this monument were undertaken from the initial find of 1845 to the 1970s, often due to a lack of funding, which was directed at investigation rather than at any follow-through conservation of uncovered features. Some of the records do, however, indicate that the theatre was by no means neglected and that both archaeologists and historians gave it due consideration and saw to its care as well as was possible.

The first data concerning interventions at the theatre site come to us from Weisshäupl, who reports that the ruins of the gate towards the fortress were filled up again (Weisshäupl 1892, 5-25; Weisshäupl 1894, 220-221), which is considered one of the best protective and preservation measures for monuments, absent the immediate means to conduct demanding conservation work. What we cannot, however, glean from the Weisshäupl report is whether the gates were backfilled following their discovery, or whether over the almost fifty years that followed their investigation they were simply once again covered up by collapse material deposited around them from the surrounding cliffs.

The next overview of the condition of the arch comes to us from the year 1904, when the clerk Reisch reports that the conservator Gnirs indicated that the antique period arch towards the fortress had been partially buried by a landslide and that much vegetation was growing between the stone blocks of the walls. The vegetation was cleared at his request, and some minor work was done to repair damage to the walls; the collapsed soil was cleared

Gnirs javlja da je antički luk prema Kaštelu djelomično zatrpan odronom zemlje te da je mnogo vegetacije izraslo među kamenim blokovima zidova. Na njegov zahtjev odstranjena je vegetacija te su obavljeni manji popravci oštećenih zidova; odronjena je zemlja uklonjena te je izgrađen potporni zid nasuprot luku kako bi se spriječili daljnji odroni. Na taj je način monumentalni luk otvoren i vidljiv (Gnirs 1904, 347-356).

Nakon istraživanja prostora kazališta 1912. godine nemamo mnogo podataka o mogućim provedenim zahvatima na njemu. Ipak, Gnirs prenosi da je zaustavljeno širenje školskog igrališta s obzirom na važnost pronađenih ostataka te da su "poduzeti koraci kako bi iskopani elementi *post scaenae* bili sačuvani" (Gnirs 1913, 98-99).

Između Prvog svjetskog rata i 1927. godine talijanska vlast posvećuje Puli i antičkim spomenicima veću pažnju - donosi odluke o njihovom očuvanju i potrebi da ih se istraži i izolira kako bi se spriječilo da ih lokalno stanovništvo dodatno ošteće. Međutim, o scenskom kazalištu nema spomena (Tamaro 1927, 293-307).

Sredinom 1939. godine ograđen je prostor kazališta sa strane prema Kaštelu te duž ruba parcele prema sjeveru. Ograđivanje je bilo nužno, ne samo radi sigurnosti samoga muzeja, već i zato što je istraženo područje, predugo zapostavljeno, bilo često prostor dječjih igara, a ona su prljala i razbijala kamenje. Dio sredstava usmjeren je i na zahvate na arheološkim ostacima - tada je djelomično rekonstruiran rubni zid koji je vodio prema sjevernom monumentalnom ulazu. Čišćenjem zemlje



Sl. 7 "Pogled na krunu vanjskog zida desnoga paradosa (načinjena ljeti 1949.) i lukove balkonske lože, radene 1933. i uzidane u VI/VII mj. 1939. lijevo od prolaza - cliva." (fotografija: nepoznat autor, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI). Fig. 7 "View of the top of the outer wall of the right side parodos [aditus maximus] (shot taken in 1949) and the arches of the balcony loggia, done in 1933 and walled up in June/July of 1939 left of the passage/incline." (photo by: anonymous, AMI documentation department).

and a retaining wall was installed opposite the arch to prevent further landslides. This kept the monumental arch clear and visible (Gnirs 1904, 347-356).

We have little data concerning any possible interventions at the theatre site following the investigations of 1912. Gnirs does, however, report that the expansion of the school playground was halted given the significance of the discovered ruins and that "steps were taken to preserve the excavated elements of the *post scaenae*" (Gnirs 1913, 98-99).

In the period between the First World War and 1927 the Italian authorities afforded greater attention to both Pula and its antiquity period monuments: decisions were adopted concerning their protection and the need to investigate and isolate them in order to prevent further devastation by local residents. There is no mention, however, of the theatre site (Tamaro 1927, 293-307).

The theatre site was fenced in mid-1939 to the side facing the fortress and along the north edge of the plot. Installing the fencing was necessary, not only to provide for the security of the museum, but also because the investigated area, long neglected, was often used by children for play, leading to the dirtying and breaking of the stones. Some of the provided funding was also directed at interventions to the archaeological remains; there was a partial reconstruction of the perimetral wall that led towards the monumental north entrance. The clearing of soil around this wall uncovered the lower part of the paved approach to the fortress, which began with a gate and several steps. The right side jamb of this gateway was reconstructed with small masonry units, although it was once certainly a single stone block (Mirabella Roberti 1940, 249-251).

Later that year Mirabella Roberti led minor intervention work at the theatre building, although it is difficult to identify the exact elements in question; given the imprecise description of the positions of the elements, Mirabella Roberti writes that in the course of the investigative work at the south end of the *scaenae* he identified the base of what he refers to as a plinth⁴ in situ as the edge of the right *portae hospitalis*. That year, using original and new blocks he was able to restore the plinth found nearby in 1935 to its original position, which he judged was an original piece from this position (Mirabella Roberti 1940, 249-251). From this note we see that new stone blocks were used in the course of interventions to the *scaenae*,

⁴ It appears that by *plinto* [plinth] Mirabella Roberti actually means the whole of the square base that bore the columns of the *scaenae* decoration.

oko tog zida pronađen je i donji dio popločanog prilaza prema Kaštelu, koji je počinjao vratima i s nekoliko stuba. Desni dovratnik ovog prolaza rekonstruiran je zidanjem manjim kamenim ulomcima, iako je nekad sigurno bio jedinstveni kameni blok (Mirabella Roberti 1940, 249-251).

Nešto kasnije iste godine Mirabella Roberti proveo je manje zahvate na kazalištu, ali teško je definirati o kojim se točno elementima radi, s obzirom na neprecizan opis položaja elemenata. Mirabella Roberti piše da je tijekom istraživanja južnog dijela scene prepoznao još uвijek *in situ* bazu "plinta"⁴, koji je bio rub desne *portae hospitalis*. Te je godine koristeći originalne blokove, kao i druge, nove, mogao vratiti u originalnu poziciju "plint" koji je u blizini pronađen 1935. i za koji je smatrao da se radi o originalnom dijelu upravo s ove pozicije (Mirabella Roberti 1940, 249-251). Iz ove zabilješke moguće je vidjeti da su prilikom zahvata na scenskom dijelu kazališta korišteni i novi kameni blokovi, obrađeni na način da se uklope u postojeće strukture. Pretpostavka je da se to odnosi na jedinu danas postojeću *in situ* bazu stupa koja se nalazi na južnoj strani kazališta. Vidljivo je da su na njoj obavljeni zahvati, s obzirom da je dio položen na podlogu u vidu neuredno složenih kamenih blokova povezanih cementnim mortom.

Mirabella Roberti navodi iste godine da je po pronađenom ulomku gornje profilacije pilastra, koji je bio izgubljen, ali je naknadno opet otkriven te vraćen na originalnu poziciju, izrađena šablonu po kojoj je trebalo izraditi stiliziranu repliku profilirane baze na kojoj su stajali stupovi scene (Mirabella Roberti 1940, 249-251). Usporednom fotografija iz 1912. godine zaključeno je da se radi o jedinom profiliranom i reljefno ukrašenom arhitektonskom elementu koji je bio pričvršćen iznad posljednje baze scenskog prostora prema sjeveru. Očigledno je u nekom trenutku ovaj profilirani element uklonjen s pozicije te je 1939. pronađen i vraćen. Međutim, Mirabella Roberti je pogrešno interpretirao element. Ne radi se o profiliranom završnom dijelu baze stupa, već o dijelu grede, vjerojatno scenske dekoracije. Temeljem ove profilacije izrađena je profilirana ploča u dva dijela, koja je postavljena na sljedeću postojeću bazu stupova *in situ*. Ona je vidljiva na fotografijama iz 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća, ali je kasnije uklonjena i položena na tlo u jednom od sporednih prostora na sjevernom dijelu scenske zgrade. Nema zapisa o uklanjanju ove ploče, kao ni baze stupa i ulomka kapitela koji su na njoj stajali; stoga nemamo dokumentiran razlog ni period

dressed such that they matched the existing structures. This is held to refer to the only currently surviving *in situ* column base, located at the south side of the theatre. It is evident that it has been subjected to an intervention; part of it lies atop crudely arranged stone blocks bonded with cement mortar.

In the same year Mirabella Roberti notes that a template has been produced—based on a discovered fragment of the upper moulding of a pilaster, which had been lost but was re-discovered and restored to its original position—based upon which a stylised replica of the moulded base on which the *scaenae* columns stood should be produced (Mirabella Roberti 1940, 249-251). Based on a comparison of photographs made in 1912 it has been concluded that this was the only moulded and relief decorated architectural element that was set above the last of the bases of the *scaenae* to the north. This moulded element was evidently at some point removed from its position and was found and restored to that position in 1939. Mirabella Roberti had, however, erroneously interpreted this element. This was not the moulded terminal part of a column base, rather it was part of a beam, likely from the *scaenae* decoration. Based on this moulding a two-part moulded piece was produced and placed on the next existing *in situ* column base. It is evident on photographs made in the 1970s, but was later removed and set on the ground in one of the side rooms at the north end of the *scaenae*. There is no record of the removal of this piece, nor of the column base and the fragment of a capital that stood atop it; thus, we have no documented reason or period in which this intervention was performed. One may, however, posit that the column base and capital fragment were removed in order to avoid vandalism, which occurred frequently at the theatre site, while the moulded reconstructed piece may have been removed because it was determined that the created form and moulding profile did not correspond to the decoration above the base (the plinth) but rather to moulding that would have stood at higher parts of the *scaenae frons*. A 1971 photograph (Fig. 8) shows the base with the moulded piece, and we see that a base and part of a capital are also present, while there is no capital fragment on a photograph from 1974 (Fig. 9). From the existing photographs we cannot determine the time at which the moulded replica piece was removed.

In 1946 Mirabella Roberti notes that he has "consolidated the walls of the *scaenae* canal and the walls of the stage device control room" (Mirabella Roberti, 1949). There is no detailed data as to the nature of the intervention. It is possible that this involved reconstructing

⁴ Smatram da Mirabella Roberti riječju "plinto" ustvari označava čitavu četvrtastu bazu koja je nosila stupove scenske dekoracije.



Sl. 8 Pogled na scenu s profilacijom, bazom i stupom položenim na bazu 1971. godine (fotografija: B. Marušić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 8 View of the scaenae with a moulding, base, and a column set on the base in 1971 (photo by: B. Marušić, AMI documentation department).

u kojem je obavljen ovaj zahvat. Međutim, moguće je prepostaviti da su baza stupa i ulomak kapitela uklonjeni da ne bi bili oštećeni vandalizmima koji su bili česti na kazalištu, dok je profilirana rekonstruirana ploča možda uklonjena jer je utvrđeno da izrađeni oblik i profil ne odgovaraju dekoraciji iznad baze (plinta) već profilaciji koja je trebala stajati u višim dijelovima scenske fasade. Fotografija iz 1971. godine prikazuje bazu s pločom, prisutni su baza i dio kapitela, a na onoj iz 1974. godine ulomak kapitela je uklonjen. Iz postojećih fotografija nije moguće definirati u kojem je trenutku uklonjena profilirana replika.

Godine 1946. Mirabella Roberti navodi da je "konsolidirao zidove scenskog kanala i one zidove prostorija za rukovanje..." (Mirabella Roberti 1949). Nema detaljnih informacija o kakvoj se vrsti zahvata radilo. Moguće je prepostaviti da su obavljene



Sl. 9 Pogled na dio scene i orkestre, baza i stup uklonjeni su s profilacije, 1974. godine (fotografija: Š. Mlakar, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 9 View of a part of the scaenae and orchestra; the base and column have been removed from the moulding, 1974 (photo by: Š. Mlakar, AMI documentation department).

walls to a certain height with stone and cement mortar integrations.

Although it is likely that minor clearing and protective interventions were performed in the area of the *scaenae*, we have no written sources or reports to confirm this. Thus, the reconstruction of events at the site over the course of the second half of the 20th c. is based on work plans, documentation requesting funding for various interventions, and photographic negatives kept at the AMI documentation department. From the descriptions appended to photographic negatives we can get an idea of the interventions and of the period in which they were performed.

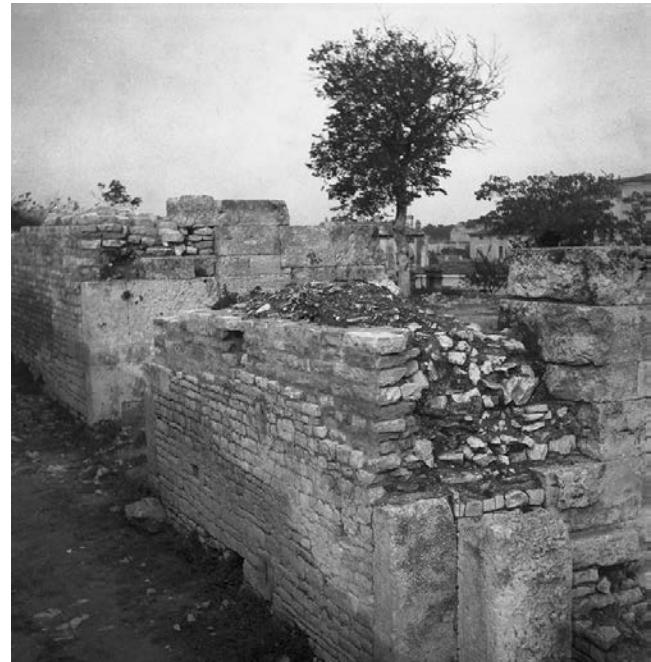
Based on only a few photographic negatives from 1949 we learn that a minor "restoration" was performed of the *scaenae* walls toward the north access to the orchestra.

From a 1966 work plan we learn that "On two occasions (in 1956 and 1962) the Archaeological Museum in Pula initiated works on the development of this complex (removal of material, conservation and partial restoration works), but the work was not completed due to insufficient funds. To date the removal of a part of the soil and rock has been performed; with the objective of acquiring a more complete picture of the theatre the height of the perimetral antique period walls were raised, as was the south side load bearing façade wall of the auditorium; the



Sl. 10 "U prvoj polovini 1949. restaurirana vanjska stijena desnog paradosa." (fotografija: nepoznati autor, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 10 "The outer wall of the right side parodos [aditus maximus], restored in the first half of 1949." (photo by: anonymous, AMI documentation department).



Sl. 11 "U prvoj polovini 1949. restaurirani zid lijevo od vratiju, koje su vodile iz scenske zgrade u desni parados." (fotografija: nepoznati autor, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 11 "The wall to the left of the gate, which led from the scaenae to the right side parodos [aditus maximus], restored in the first half of 1949." (photo by: anonymous, AMI documentation department).

nadogradnje kamenim ulomcima i cementnim mortom čime su zidovi rekonstruirani do određene visine.

Iako je moguće pretpostaviti da su na području scene provedeni manji zahvati čišćenja i zaštite, o njima nema pisanih izvora ni izvještaja. Stoga je rekonstrukcija događaja na nalazištu tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća temeljena na planovima rada, na dokumentima o traženju sredstava za razne zahvate te na fotonegativima koji se čuvaju u Dokumentacijskom odjelu AMI-ja. Temeljem opisa fotonegativa moguće je okvirno dobiti ideju o izvedenim zahvatima, kao i o razdoblju u kojem su oni provedeni.

Temeljem tek nekoliko fotonegativa iz 1949. godine saznajemo da su obavljeni manji zahvati "restauracije" scenskih zidova prema sjevernom prilazu orkestri.

Iz Radnog programa za 1966. godinu saznajemo: "U dva navrata (godine 1956 i godine 1962, započeo je Arheološki muzej u Puli sa radovima uredjenja ovoga kompleksa (odvoz materijala, konzervatorski i dijelom restavratorski radovi), ali je ostao posao nedovršen zbog nedovoljnih financijskih sredstava. Dosada je izvršen odvoz dijela zemljjanog i kamenog materijala, radi dobivanja cjelovitije slike teatra povišeni su perimetralni antički zidovi i na južnoj strani pročeljni nosioni zid

existing antique period walls in the north access corridor were conserved; some of the walls of the back passage were filled out and conserved"⁵ (Nos. 793/2-1965 and 157/65, AMI documentation department). This record likely does not include only works performed in 1956 and 1962, rather it also covers all those performed up to the end of 1965.

We learn from a 1964 grant request (No. 713/1-1963, AMI documentation department) that "The removal of rock and soil material from the antique period theatre was initiated in 1963 with a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Cultural Activities of the [Socialist] Republic [of Croatia], but the removal was not completed as works were performed only in the amount covered by this grant". A further grant was requested for the following year for the planned removal of rock and soil from the orchestra and the north end of the theatre, and for a conservation/restoration reconstruction of walls. Further in an appendix to this correspondence (No. 18/2-1963, AMI documentation department) we find specifications for requested funds for planned interventions: a geodetic

⁵ Although there are no written reports concerning the interventions performed, we can infer from the cost estimates used to request funding that the masonry reconstructions used stone and a lime/cement mortar mix (1964 grant request, No. 713/1-1963).



Sl. 12 Pogled na zatrpani prostor orkestre i gledališta 1968. godine (fotografija: B. Marušić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 12 View of the filled orchestra and auditorium area in 1968 (photo by: B. Marušić, AMI documentation department).

gledališta, konzervirani su postojeći antički zidovi u sjevernom prilaznom koridoru, dopunjeni i konzervirani nekoji zidovi stražnjeg prilaza⁵. (broj 793/2-1965 i 157/65, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI-ja). Ovaj dopis vjerojatno ne obuhvaća samo radove iz 1956. i 1962. godine već sve što je bilo izvedeno do kraja 1965.

Iz "Molbe za dotaciju za godinu 1964." (broj 713/1-1963, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI-ja) saznajemo: "U godini 1963. započeto je sa odvozom kamene i zemljane gradje iz antičkog kazališta uz dotaciju Republičkog Fonda za uznapredjivanje kulturnih djelatnosti, ali odvoz nije dovršen, je(r) su radovi izvršeni samo u visini ove dotacije..." Dalje se traži "dotacija" za sljedeću godinu za planirani odvoz kamene i zemljane građe iz orkestre i sjevernog dijela kazališta te za konzervatorsku i restauratorsku rekonstrukciju zidova. Kasnije u prilogu istog dopisa (broj 18/2-1963, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI-ja) stoji i specifikacija traženih sredstava za planirane zahvate: geodetski snimak, iskop orkestre, odvoz materijala iz orkestre, iskop cavee i odvoz materijala, povišenje zidova do odgovarajuće visine

⁵ Iako ne postoje pisana izvješća o obavljenim zahvatima, temeljem troškovnika kojima su tražena sredstva moguće je zaključiti da su zidane rekonstrukcije izvedene kamenim ulomcima i mortom na bazi mješavine vapna i cementa (Molba za dotaciju za godinu 1964., broj 713/1-1963).



Sl. 13 Pogled na scenu nakon djelomično izvršenih zahvata 1969. godine (fotografija: B. Marušić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 13 View of the scaenae in the course of the interventions of 1969 (photo by: B. Marušić, AMI documentation department).

survey, excavation of the orchestra area, the removal of the material excavated from the orchestra area, the excavation of the *cavea* area and the removal of this material, increasing the height of walls to an appropriate height, and additions to the foundation walls at the west side of the theatre, levelling work in the auditorium area with soil and grass, the installation of steps, and developing the access routes towards the Roman period cistern.

In his plan for 1966 Boris Baćić notes that works were in the planning stage on an ongoing basis, but that the necessary funds had not been approved. He points out that "...following the excavations ... there was no conservation of the walls or restoration of damaged sections." Plans were made for the removal of rock and soil material, the conservation and restoration of the antiquity period walls, and the development of the access routes (No. 133/66, AMI documentation department).

We have no written sources from the year 1968, only a few photographic negatives that show the auditorium area and part of the orchestra entirely covered with soil.

1969 saw the beginning of small scale conservation work on the walls of the *scaenae*. Judging by what we see on the photographic negatives, integrations were made at the outer faces of the walls, while the interior was left filled with assorted material. What we do see on photographs taken in December of 1969 is that the architectural remains of the theatre, and the immediate surroundings, were in a state of significant neglect. Around the walls where integration work had been performed, we see a significant quantity of scattered rubble, likely the residual material from the dressing of masonry, and soil.

i dograđivanje temeljnih zidova na zapadnoj strani kazališta, planiranje gledališta zemljom i travom, izrada stepenica, uređenje prilaza prema rimskoj cisterni.

U svom planu za 1966. godinu Boris Baćić ističe da su radovi stalno u planu, ali sredstva nisu odobrena. Naglašava da "...poslije iskapanja... nije došlo do konzervacije zidova i do restavriranja oštećenih dijelova". Planiran je odvoz kamene i zemljane građe, konzerviranje i restauriranje antičkih zidova te uređenje prilaza (broj 133/66, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI-ja).

Za 1968. godinu ne postoje pisani tragovi, već samo nekoliko fotonegativa koji prikazuju prostore gledališta i djelomično orkestre potpuno prekrivene zemljom.

Godine 1969. započeta je manja konzervacija zidova scenske zgrade. Sudeći po prikazima na fotonegativima, nadograđena su vanjska lica zidova dok je unutrašnjost ostavljena zasuta raznovrsnim materijalom. Ono što je moguće vidjeti s fotografija snimljenih u prosincu 1969. jest da su arhitektonski ostaci kazališta, kao i neposredni okoliš, prilično zapušteni. Oko nadograđenih zidova vidljiva je velika količina rasutih ulomaka kamena, vjerojatno ostataka njegove obrade za zidanje, kao i zemlje.

Sljedeće godine nastavljena je rekonstrukcija kruništa zidova scenske zgrade, ali i drugi veći zahvati. Tako temeljem fotonegativa saznajemo da su u dva sjeverna prilaza scenskom prostoru iz sjevernog hodnika ugrađene nove kamene stepenice. Uz sjevernije stepenice postojao je *in situ* ortostat za koji se smatralo da je loše očuvan te je demontiran i zamijenjen novim. Također, obavljene su opsežne

The following year saw continuing work on the reconstruction of the tops of the wall of the *scaenae*, and other large scale interventions. From the photographic negatives we see that new stone steps were installed at the two north access points to the *scaenae* area from the north corridor. Next to the steps further to the north there was an orthostate *in situ* deemed to be in a poor state of preservation; it was taken down and replaced with a new one. There was also comprehensive reconstruction work on the wall around the north room from which stage devices were controlled. Work on the reconstruction of the east walls of the *scaenae* were completed with stone and mortar integrations built into the heads of walls.

The interventions continued into 1971 with work on the masonry structures of the *scaenae*. The walls that connected with the remaining monolithic stone elements of the *scaenae frons* were reconstructed. Notable are the interventions made in the *scaenae* area. An examination of the photographic documentation from the investigations of 1911, namely, shows that the remains of the walls of the *scaenae* survived to varying heights, in places, it appears, up to about one metre in height. On the photographs taken prior to the performance of interventions in the 1970s, however, we see the remains of the original walls at the floor level. There is only one photographic negative—admittedly with no indication of the year it was taken, but having a low inventory number which would indicate that this was a post-war shot taken before the interventions of the 1970s—on which we see a large section of the wall, which was later destroyed.

The interventions of 1972 were focused on the north corner of the auditorium. The interior sides of the wall



Sl. 14 Ulaz u sjeverni prostor glavne scenske zgrade s hodnika - poslije rekonstrukcije 1970. godine (fotografija: B. Marušić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 14 Entrance to the north part of the *scaenae* from a corridor following the reconstruction of 1970 (photo by: B. Marušić, AMI documentation department).



Sl. 15 Ulaz na sjeverni paraskenij s rekonstruiranim stepenicama 1970. godine (fotografija: B. Marušić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 15 Entrance to the north paraskenion with reconstructed steps in 1970 (photo by: B. Marušić, AMI documentation department).



Sl. 16 Originalni ortostat prije zamjene 1970. godine (fotografija: B. Marušić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 16 The original orthostate prior to its replacement in 1970 (photo by: B. Marušić, AMI documentation department).



Sl. 17 Priprema za zamjenu ortostata 1970. godine (fotografija: B. Marušić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 17 Preparations for the replacement of the orthostate in 1970 (photo by: B. Marušić, AMI documentation department).

rekonstrukcije zidova oko sjeverne prostorije za rukovanje scenskim strukturama. Dovršena je i rekonstrukcija istočnih zidova scenske zgrade, ispunjavanjem zidanih čela kamenim ulomcima povezanim mortom.

Zahvati su nastavljeni i 1971. godine, na zidanim strukturama scene. Rekonstruirani su zidovi koji su se vezivali uz preostale monolitne kamene elemente scenskog pročelja. Važno je na ovom se mjestu osvrnuti na zahvate izvedene na scenskom prostoru. Naime, uvidom u fotodokumentaciju s istraživanja provedenih 1911. godine, vidljivo je da su ostaci zidova scenskog prostora očuvani do raznih visina, njestimično naizgled i do oko 1 m visine. Međutim, na fotografijama prije obavljanja zahvata 70-ih godina ostaci originalnih zidova na razini su poda. Postoji tek jedan fotonegativ, doduše

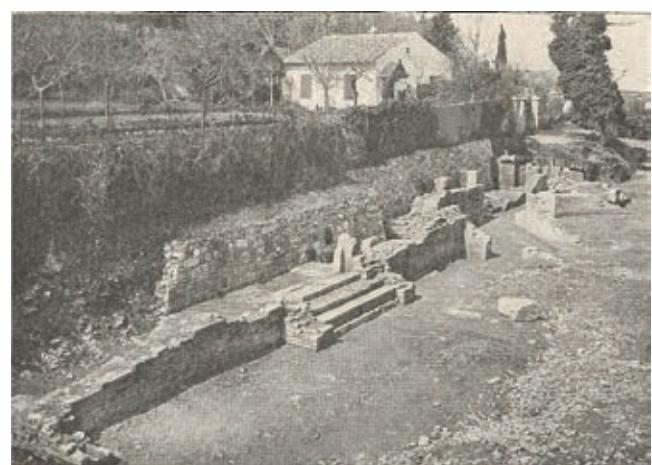
along the north access corridor to the orchestra, the northern terminal wall of the auditorium, and the sections of the radial inner walls, were cleared of material. The walls were then cleaned and reconstructed with stone and cement mortar. Later that year works moved to the *hyposcaenium* and the canal with stone blocks for the curtain, with work on their cleaning and preparation for conservation initiated, and continued over the following two years. This was also the period of the conservation of the orchestra floor, which ended at the curtain canal. The interventions covered the area up to the inside edge of the drainage canal, which was restored to its function.

1974 saw integration work on walls along the access corridor towards the orchestra, and the reconstruction in stone of the missing first three rows of the auditorium.



Sl. 18 Novopostavljeni ortostat 1970. godine (fotografija: B. Marušić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 18 The newly installed orthostate in 1970 (photo by: B. Marušić, AMI documentation department).



Sl. 19 Pogled na lokalitet tijekom istraživanja 1911. godine s vidljivim ostacima zidova (Gnirs 1912).

Fig. 19 The site in the course of investigative work in 1911 with visible remains of walls (Gnirs 1912).



Sl. 20 Pogled na scenu s potpuno nedostajućim zidovima struktura prije zahvata 70-ih godina (fotografija: V. Karlić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).
Fig. 20 View of the scaenae with entirely absent walls of the structure prior to the interventions of the 1970s (photo by: V. Karlić, AMI documentation department).

bez godine snimanja, ali sudeći po njegovom niskom inventarnom broju trebalo bi se raditi o poslijeratnoj fotografiji prije početka zahvata 70-ih godina, na kojem se vidi jedna veća dionica zida, koja je kasnije uništena.

Godine 1972. zahvati su fokusirani na sjeverni ugao gledališta. Tada su oslobođeni, s unutrašnje strane, zid uz sjeverni prilazni hodnik orkestri, sjeverni završni zid gledališta te dionice radijalnih unutarnjih zidova. Isti su zidovi očišćeni te rekonstruirani kamenim ulomcima i cementnim mortom. Krajem iste godine prešlo se na prostor hiposcene i kanala s kamenim blokovima za zastor te je započeto njihovo čišćenje i priprema za konzervaciju, što je nastavljeno iduće dvije godine. Tada je obavljena i konzervacija podnice orkestre, koja



Sl. 21 Pogled na strukture, snimljeno s krova muzeja (fotografija: Lj. Horvat, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).
Fig. 21 View of the structure from the museum roof (photo by: Lj. Horvat, AMI documentation department).

The following year saw the cleaning of the terminal wall and the steps of the north access to the auditorium—the part toward the monumental arch that was not covered by the interventions of 1972. The reconstruction was completed in 1976.

The only subsequent data on interventions in the area of the *scaenae* is a photograph from 1995 when the stone surfaces were cleaned, by all appearances with the use of a pressure washer.

From the examination of the chronology of interventions at the theatre site in the course of the 20th c. we can conclude that the peak of interventions occurred in the 1970s, when large scale reconstruction work was performed, including integration work and



Sl. 22 Pogled na konzervirani sjeverni ugao gledališta 1972. godine (fotografija: B. Marušić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).
Fig. 22 The conserved north corner of the auditorium in 1972 (photo by: B. Marušić, AMI documentation department).



Sl. 23 Pogled na zahvate završnog zida scene prema orkestri te kanala i odvodnog kanala orkestre (fotografija: V. Karlić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).
Fig. 23 View of the interventions to the wall of the scaenae bordering the orchestra, and the canal and drainage canal at the orchestra (photo by: V. Karlić, AMI documentation department).



Sl. 24 Ostaci originalnih stepenica gledališta prije zahvata rekonstrukcije (fotografija: V. Karlić, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 24 The remains of the original stepped auditorium rows prior to the reconstruction intervention (photo by: V. Karlić, AMI documentation department).

je završavala kanalom za zastor. Zahvati su izvedeni do unutarnjeg ruba odvodnog kanala, kojem je tada vraćena funkcija.

Tijekom 1974. izvedene su i nadogradnje zidova uz prilazne hodnike prema orkestri te rekonstrukcija u kamenim ulomcima nedostajuća prva tri reda stepenica gledališta. Sljedeće godine, obavljena su čišćenja završnog zida i stepenica sjevernog prilaza gledalištu, dio prema monumentalnom luku koji nije bio obuhvaćen zahvatima 1972. godine. Rekonstrukcija je dovršena 1976. godine.

Jedina iduća informacija o zahvatima na području scenske zgrade jest fotografija iz 1995. godine, kada su provedena čišćenja kamenih površina, naizgled vodom pod visokim tlakom.

Uvidom u kronologiju zahvata koji su se na kazalištu događali tijekom 20. stoljeća moguće je zaključiti da su se najveći zahvati odvijali 70-ih godina, kada su obavljene masovne rekonstrukcije, nadogradnje pa čak i zamjene oštećenih originalnih dijelova novim. Izvedeni su zahvati sigurno pridonijeli očuvanju kazališta kao arheološkog spomenika, ali su istovremeno prezentirali strukture u cijelovitijem obliku nego što su zaista bile nakon arheoloških istraživanja. Nedostatak dokumentacije o zahvatima otežavajuća je okolnost za konzervatorsku struku, koja bi pri planiranju budućih zahvata morala moći točno interpretirati kulturno dobro. Također, bilo bi zanimljivo saznati koji su stručni argumenti bili ključni pri odabiru korištenih postupaka, kao i koje su osobe stajale iza odluka o zahvatima.



Sl. 25 Pogled na sjeverni dio kazališta nakon zahvata 70-ih godina. Zanimljiv je detalj u donjem lijevom ugлу fotografije gdje je još uvijek vidljiv ostatak kamene ogradi in situ, koja je dijelila gledalište od orkestre (fotografija: Š. Mlakar, Dokumentacijski odjel AMI).

Fig. 25 View of the north part of the theatre following the interventions of the 1970s. An interesting detail in the lower left corner of the photograph is the still visible in situ remains of the stone barrier that separated the auditorium from the orchestra (photo by: Š. Mlakar, AMI documentation department).

even the replacement of damaged original sections with new material. The performed interventions certainly contributed to the preservation of the theatre as an archaeological monument, but they also presented the structure in a form more complete than that found by the archaeological investigative work. The dearth of documentation concerning the interventions certainly creates difficulties for conservation specialists who—when planning future interventions—need to be able to provide an accurate interpretation of cultural property. It would also be of interest to learn what expert argumentation was pivotal in the choice of the procedures that were implemented, and who the people were that proposed and adopted the decisions to move forward with these interventions.

CONCLUSION

Numerous interventions have been performed at the Small Roman Theatre site in Pula in the past, from the initial discovery of the monumental entrance when it was not yet known that this was part of an access route to a theatre auditorium. The backfilling of the monument,

ZAKLJUČAK

Na Malom rimskom kazalištu u Puli tijekom povijesti su provedeni mnogi zahvati, već od prvog otkrića monumentalnog ulaza, u vrijeme kada se nije ni znalo da se radi o prilazu gledalištu scenskog kazališta. Ponovno zatrpanjvanje spomenika, odstranjivanje vegetacije te manji popravci kamenom i cementnim mortom svakako su prihvatljivi zahvati u vrijeme kada se o konzervaciji i restauraciji kao važnoj struci za očuvanje spomenika nije još ni govorilo.

Zahvati provedeni za vrijeme talijanske vladavine nisu znatno utjecali na izgled spomenika. Vjerojatno su tada bile poznate propozicije Atenske povelje iz 1931. godine i u skladu s time provedena je manja rekonstrukcija originalnih dijelova kazališta po načelima anastylosis, odnosno rekonstrukcije koja se obavlja originalnim dijelovima na originalnim pozicijama. Ovi su zahvati dosta vjerno izvedeni. Današnji nedostatak jedino je korištenje cementnog morta, koji je međutim u vrijeme izvođenja zahvata bio u potpunosti prihvaćen kao kvalitetan materijal za konzervacije te čak i preporučen samom poveljom.

Godine 1964. napisana je Povelja iz Venecije, koja se u nekoliko točaka odmiče od one iz Atene, a za slučaj Malog rimskog kazališta svakako je važna točka koja više ne stavlja na prvo mjesto inovativne tehnološke solucije i materijale, poput cementa, već tradicijske materijale i tehnike bliske vremenu nastanka spomenika. Povelja iz Venecije također ističe potrebu da se pri restauraciji poštuje original te navodi da je s rekonstrukcijama potrebno stati u trenutku kada počinje pretpostavka originalnog oblika. Osim toga, prilikom rekonstrukcije potrebno je vidljivo razlikovati original od novog dijela, kako se ne bi falsificirao originalni izgled. Ova su načela dodatno potvrđena Europskom poveljom o arhitektonskim kulturnim dobrima iz Amsterdama 1975. godine. Ista povelja dodatno naglašava važnost vođenja ispravne dokumentacije prilikom provođenja konzervatorskih i restauratorskih zahvata.

Vidljivo je da zahvati provedeni 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća nisu uskladjeni s poveljama iz 1964. i 1975. Jesu li osobe odgovorne za zahvate poznavale sadržaj ovih povelja, nije moguće znati. Rekonstrukcija zidova obavljena je nakon točke pretpostavke i moguće je da su stvorili falsifikat originalne situacije, a originalni su zidovi često rušeni kako bi bili nanovo izgrađeni. Korišteno je cementno vezivo umjesto vapnenog, koje bi bilo uskladeno s tehnologijama i materijalima antičkog perioda kada je kazalište građeno. Zamijenjeni originalni

removal of vegetation, and minor repairs in stone and cement mortar were certainly acceptable interventions at a time when there was little discussion of the importance of conservation and restoration as professions significant to the preservation of monuments.

The interventions made during the Italian administration did not significantly impact the monument's appearance. It is likely that the propositions incorporated into the Athens Charter of 1931 were known of at the time and that a minor reconstruction was performed in adherence to them, based on the principles of anastylosis, i.e., reconstruction that reinstates original fragments to their original place. These interventions were faithfully performed. What is now seen as a fault is the use of cement mortar, which—at the time the intervention was performed—was fully accepted as a quality conservation material, even recommended by the Charter.

1964 saw the drafting of the Venice Charter, which on several points differs from the Athens Charter; certainly consequential in the case of the Small Roman Theatre site is an important item that no longer sees innovative technological solutions and materials, such as cement, as primary solutions, opting rather for traditional materials and techniques close to those of the time in which a monument was created. The Venice Charter also highlighted the need for restoration to respect the original and that any reconstruction must stop where conjecture concerning the original form begins. Further, any reconstruction should visibly differentiate the original from new sections in order to avoid falsifying the original appearance. These principles were reaffirmed under the 1975 European Charter of the Architectural Heritage adopted in Amsterdam. This charter emphasises the importance of proper records keeping (documentation) in the course of conservation and restoration interventions.

The interventions of the 1970s are evidently not consistent with the 1964 and 1975 charters. We do not know if the persons who were responsible for implementing these interventions were familiar with the contents of these charters. The reconstruction of the walls certainly goes into the realm of conjecture and it is possible that they have falsified the original condition. Further, original walls were often demolished and then rebuilt. Cement binder was used rather than a lime-based binder that would have been consistent with the technologies and materials of the antique period in which the theatre was built. The replaced original sections have forever been lost, and the new pieces were done in a manner that entirely replicates the original, to such an extent that, with the passage of several decades,

dijelovi zauvijek su izgubljeni, a novi su izrađeni na način da u potpunosti repliciraju original, do stupnja da je nakon nekoliko desetaka godina bilo gotovo nemoguće razlikovati original od kopije. Završno, nije vođena dokumentacija o zahvatima što danas uvelike otežava čitanje spomenika, kako s arheološkog, tako i s konzervatorskog gledišta.

Malo rimske kazalište u Puli važan je antički spomenik koji pokazuje status i veličinu grada u vrijeme rimske vladavine. Iako se danas više ne radi o cjelovitoj građevini, već o arheološkom nalazištu koje je u posljednjih 100 godina istraživano, čišćeno, konzervirano i rekonstruirano, njegova važnost i privlačnost nisu umanjene.

Ovim su radom objedinjene sve informacije koje je u ovom trenutku bilo moguće prikupiti, sistematizirane su i kronološki posložene ne bi li se stekao uvid u aktivnosti koje su se odvijale na kazalištu te definirale njegov današnji izgled.

Srećom, posljednjih godina osobe nadležne kako za konzervatorsko-restauratorske zahvate, tako i za istraživanja, vode iscrpnju dokumentaciju te će u budućnosti uvijek biti moguće ispravno sagledati stanje spomenika.

it is almost impossible to differentiate the original from the copy. And, finally, records were not kept concerning the interventions, which now significantly hampers our reading of the monument, from the aspects of both archaeology and conservation.

The Small Roman Theatre in Pula is an important antiquity period monument that speaks to the status and size of the city during the period of Roman rule. Although no longer an intact edifice, but rather an archaeological site that has been investigated, cleaned, conserved and reconstructed over the past one hundred years, it is no less important or fascinating.

This paper compiles all the data currently available to us, presenting it in a systematised and chronological order with the aim of gaining insight into the activities that occurred at the theatre site and that defined its present appearance.

Happily, the people now responsible for conservation and restoration interventions and for investigative work do develop and maintain detailed documentation, which lays the groundwork for any proper future assessment of the condition of the monument.

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